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Abstract

In several varieties of Catalan, Valencian and Occitan, inflectional exponents originating in the imperfect subjunctive (reflex of Latin pluperfect subjunctive) are analogically extended into the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms, resulting in syncretism between present and imperfect subjunctive forms for the relevant persons. The scope and directionality of such extensions are remarkably consistent, and are indicative of a change driven by the structure of the inflectional paradigm in the relevant varieties. A significant consequence of this development, which fits into a general Romance tendency for analogical remodelling of first and second person plural forms, is alignment between previously overlapping distributions of stem allomorphs and stress placement, and thus greater predictability of inflected forms.

Keywords

syncretism, analogical change, verb inflection, Occitan, Catalan, Valencian

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1. Introduction[1]

In varieties of Catalan, Valencian, Occitan, and the *Croissant linguistique*,[2] inflectional material originating in the preterite and/or imperfect subjunctive (i.e. in the continuants of Latin *perfectum* forms) is extended into other areas of the verb paradigm: almost exclusively, the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms. The highly constrained nature of the extension, both with respect to directionality of change and with respect to the resulting paradigmatic distributions, is remarkable, and indicative of a change driven by the structure of the inflectional paradigm in the relevant varieties: that is to say, that there are structural properties of the inflectional paradigm which consistently and uniquely identify the set of cells {PRS.SBJV.1PL, PRS.SBJV.2PL} as a suitable target for analogy from the reflexes of Latin *perfectum* forms, and in particular from the imperfect subjunctive. Based on data drawn from linguistic atlases and dialect descriptions, as well as recent fieldwork data, this paper offers a detailed typology of the observed developments, and discusses the factors which motivate them.

The paper opens with a brief sketch of relevant theoretical background on the structure and behaviour of Romance verb inflection in diachrony (section 2), with particular attention to recurrent patterns in the paradigmatic distribution of exponents, and to groupings of paradigm cells which behave as consistent blocks in analogical change. These patterns and groupings constitute 'morphomes' in the sense of Aronoff (1994, pp.22–29) and Maiden (2009a, 2016a, 2018, pp.9–24); the present study refers to them by the more specific term 'metamorphomes' (Round, 2015), which exclusively denotes distributions of exponents within an inflectional paradigm, as distinct from other morphomic phenomena such as inflectional classes.[3]

The core of the paper examines the developments observed, which cluster into two main strands. In the first strand (section 3) , only a subset of verb lexemes are affected, all of which present established root allomorphy: for each affected lexeme, a root or thematic element present across all reflexes of Latin *perfectum* forms in the lexeme is copied to the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms. In the second strand (section 4), usually affecting all verb lexemes, entire imperfect subjunctive wordforms are imported into the first and second person plural present subjunctive, ousting the etymological present subjunctive forms; such developments result in systematic, symmetrical

[1] Elements of the research reported here were conducted as part of the following projects, funded by the French National Research Agency and contributing to the IdEx Université de Paris - ANR-18-IDEX-0001: ANR-17-CE27-0001-01 (projet 'Les parlers du Croissant : une approche multidisciplinaire du contact oc-oïl') & ANR-10-LABX-0083 (programme 'Investissements d'Avenir', Labex EFL, Axe 3, Operation LC4 – 'Les parlers du Croissant : une aire de contact entre oc et oil', 2016-2020; programme 'Investissements d'Avenir', Labex EFL, Axe 3, Opération VC2 – 'Central Gallo-Romance: linguistics and ecology of a transitional zone', 2020-24). A preliminary version of the study was presented at the XXIXe Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes (Copenhagen, 1-6 July 2019), and I thank audience members there for their constructive suggestions. The paper has benefited significantly from the generosity of Nicolas Quint, who made available unpublished fieldwork data, and Martin Maiden, who commented on an early draft. The two anonymous *Revue Romane* reviewers were exemplary in their detailed guidance and their collegial concern for the intended aims and potential readership of the paper. Responsibility for remaining errors and oversights rests with the author alone.
[2] The *Croissant linguistique* (literally, 'Linguistic Crescent' in reference to its crescent-like shape when plotted on a map) is an area comprising central Gallo-Romance varieties transitional between northern (Oïl) and southern (Occitan) groupings; see Brun-Trigaud (1990).
[3] The term 'metamorphome' will be used throughout for consistency. Note, however, that the majority of cited authors use the more general term 'morphome' (Maiden, 2018, p.3), with some variance as to its definition and scope (O'Neill, 2014, pp.31–32; Maiden, 2018, pp.9–24).

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syncretism between present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive for the relevant person and number values.

The common theme across both strands is of analogical change targeting paradigm cells which constitute a coherent block (share one or more exponents with each other), and which also share one or more exponents with *perfectum* reflexes. Framed in more theoretical terms, the first and second person present subjunctive cells constitute an area of overlap (termed 'clash' by Maiden, 2009a, 2018, pp.288–289) between metamorphomes; the analogical developments observed are a means of resolving the overlap by increasing the consistency of alignment between the paradigmatic distributions of distinct exponents. Thus, the overall finding of the paper is that analogical change (in this case, redistribution of stem exponents) preferentially occurs in cells which constitute the locus of clash between established paradigmatic distributions of inflectional exponents, and that the effect of such change is to reinforce the mutually predictive relationship between distinct inflectional exponents (in this case, root allomorphs and stress placement). The scope and substance of the developments discussed here further illustrate the empirical reality and explanatory relevance of structured, paradigmatic relationships between inflectional forms.

2. Present and imperfect subjunctives in the diachrony of Romance metamorphomes

Work in morphology seeking to characterise the structure and organisation of inflectional systems has repeatedly identified recurrent and systematic patterning in the paradigmatic distribution of inflectional exponents (see e.g. Aronoff, 1994; Bonami & Boyé, 2002, 2003; Baerman et al., 2005; Ackerman et al., 2009; Stump & Finkel, 2013; Bonami, 2014; Round, 2015; Blevins, 2016; Stump, 2016). Within this research programme, Maiden's investigation of stem distribution (e.g. 2009a, 2016a, 2016b, 2018) firmly establishes the value of diachronic data in demonstrating the psychological reality of paradigmatic distribution patterns: the persistence and (analogical) productivity of many such patterns indicates that they are real and relevant to speakers. Existing research on the shape and behaviour of Romance metamorphomes relevant to the categories discussed in the paper is outlined in this section.

2.1. Romance metamorphomes involving the present and imperfect subjunctives

The inflectional paradigm of Latin verbs conventionally divides into three consistent groupings of cells, each characterised by a distinct stem: the 'third stem' which is among the first identified metamorphomes (Aronoff 1994, pp.31–59), the *infectum* or 'present' stem, and the *perfectum* or 'perfect' stem. The paradigmatic distribution of *infectum* and *perfectum* stems is partially correlated with, but technically independent of, the aspectual contrast between imperfective and perfective values, and will be treated here as metamorphomic (see also Meul, 2013, pp.30–31; Maiden, 2013, 2018, pp.81–82, 247).

In the varieties under discussion here, the present and imperfect subjunctive originate within the *infectum* and *perfectum* distributions respectively: the modern present subjunctive continues the Latin present subjunctive, e.g. CANTEM 'sing.PRS.SBJV.1SG', FACIAM 'do.PRS.SBJV.1SG' (*infectum* stem); while the modern imperfect subjunctive continues the Latin pluperfect subjunctive in some varieties, e.g. CANTĀUISSEM 'sing.PLPF.SBJV.1SG', FĒCISSEM 'do.PLPF.SBJV.1SG' (*perfectum* stem),

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and the Latin pluperfect indicative in others, e.g. CANTĀUERAM 'sing.PLPF.IND.1SG', FĒCERAM 'do.PLPF.IND.1SG' (*perfectum* stem).

The reflexes of *perfectum* forms constitute a well-documented metamorphome, given the abstract label 'PYTA'[4] by Maiden (2001, 2018, p.48), and usually comprising the preterite (reflex of Latin perfect indicative: CANTĀUĪ 'sing.PFV.IND.1SG', FĒCĪ 'do.PFV.IND.1SG', etc.), and the imperfect subjunctive. Comparative Romance data indicate strong tendencies for all constituent cells of PYTA to maintain perfect interpredictability, undergoing analogical change as a coherent block (Maiden, 2005, 2018, pp.48–62; O'Neill, 2014), and for exponents within PYTA to acquire a characteristic phonological shape across cells and lexemes: for instance, in Castilian, almost all distinctive PYTA roots are characterised by a high root vowel (Maiden, 2001, 2005), while in both Occitan and Catalan PYTA forms commonly present a thematic velar element /sk/ or /g/ (Wheeler, 2011; Esher, 2016). PYTA may also act as a domain constraining the analogical extension of exponents associated with particular morphosemantic or morphosyntactic values: for example, in Daco-Romance, some personal desinences are harmonised across all and only TAM (tense, aspect, mood) categories within PYTA (Maiden, 2009b).

The set of reflexes of *infectum* forms (present indicative, present subjunctive, imperfect indicative) undergoes substantial fragmentation due to context-sensitive sound changes which introduce novel alternation patterns (for illustrative examples of these patterns, see Tables 1–4 in section 2.2). Two distinct sound changes with identical paradigmatic distribution (palatalisation and affrication of root-final consonants before yod, and affrication of root-final velars before front vowels) introduce distinctive root allomorphs in the cells {PRS.SBJV, PRS.IND.1SG, (PRS.IND.3PL)}, a distributional pattern which subsequently persists as a productive metamorphome (Maiden's 'L/U-pattern', 2009a, 2018, pp.84–90).[5] In an unrelated change, the rhizotonic (root-stressed) forms found in the singular and third person plural cells of the present indicative and subjunctive develop root allomorphs distinct from the arrhizotonic (non-root-stressed) forms found elsewhere, an alternation pattern which is subsequently morphologised by speakers; the set of cells {PRS.SG, PRS.3PL, IMPV.2SG} is identified as a diachronically productive metamorphome, the 'N-pattern', by Maiden (2009a, 2018, pp.167–192).[6] For both these patterns, as for PYTA, there is widespread and abundant evidence for 'coherence' (all constituent cells of a given metamorphome are subject to the same analogical changes; Maiden, 2005) and 'convergence' (across lexemes, the exponents of a given metamorphome tend towards a consistent phonological shape; Maiden, 2005).

Historically, therefore, the present and imperfect subjunctives of modern Romance originate with formally distinct exponents, and are expected to display stems distinct from one another.

[4] 'PYTA' is an acronym for the expression *perfecto y tiempos afines* 'perfect and related tenses' conventionally used in the Spanish grammatical tradition to designate reflexes of *perfectum* forms.

[5] Within a tabular presentation of the paradigm, the constituent cells form a shape resembling the letter L (for varieties in which the context relevant to the sound changes only occurred in present subjunctive and first person singular present indicative forms) or the letter U (for varieties in which the third person plural present indicative also presented the relevant context).

[6] Within a tabular presentation of the paradigm, the singular and third person plural cells form a shape resembling a dash and dot, corresponding to the letter N in Morse code.

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2.2. Clash, coalescence and shared exponents

Romance inflectional forms involve multiple exponents, the paradigmatic distributions of which typically overlap to some degree. For example, the paradigmatic distribution of lexically specified stress alternations does not necessarily coincide with the paradigmatic distribution of lexically specified stem alternations; and the paradigmatic distribution of an alternation concerning stem consonants (e.g. the L/U-pattern) may differ from the paradigmatic distribution of an alternation concerning stem vowels (e.g. the N-pattern). Furthermore, not all metamorphomic patterns are visible to speakers in all lexemes. Thus, in standard Catalan *sortir* 'go out' (Table 1), there is no exponent unique to all and only L-pattern and PYTA forms, while the N-pattern is realised by both stress patterns and root vowel alternation: in this verb, non-root stress and a root vowel [o] occur in the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms (i.e. a proper subset of the L-pattern) and in all PYTA forms; whereas root stress and a root vowel [u] distinctively occur in all N-pattern cells, including the singular and third person plural present subjunctive forms (a further subset of the L-pattern). In standard Catalan *poder* 'be able' (Table 2), the L-pattern and PYTA share a thematic velar consonant, but differ in their root vowels, while an N-pattern-shaped stress contrast is retained between different persons of the present subjunctive.

In cases where two exponent distributions overlap in the same lexeme, speakers may alter the distribution of one exponent, aligning it with the distribution of the other, as observed in the 'reinforcement' of inflectional class exponents described by Enger (2014). This strategy, which increases the predictability and systematicity of exponent-distributions, has been documented for stress and stem alternations in the history of Italo-Romance and Gallo-Romance preterites (Maiden, 2000; Esher, 2015), as well as in the history of present subjunctive forms in some Ibero-Romance, Raeto-Romance and Italo-Romance varieties (Maiden, 2012, 2018, pp.117–122). In the present subjunctive, such changes typically affect the first and second person plural forms, which may remain arrhizotonic (non-root-stressed) and lose the characteristic L-pattern root, or become rhizotonic (root-stressed) and retain the characteristic root.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*ˈsurto*	*sorˈtia*	*ˈsurti*	*sorˈtí*	*sorˈtís*	*sortiˈré*	*sortiˈria*
2SG	*ˈsurts*	*sorˈties*	*ˈsurtis*	*sorˈtires*	*sorˈtissis*	*sortiˈràs*	*sortiˈries*
3SG	*surt*	*sorˈtia*	*ˈsurti*	*sorˈtí*	*sorˈtís*	*sortiˈrà*	*sortiˈria*
1PL	*sorˈtim*	*sorˈtíem*	*sorˈtim*	*sorˈtírem*	*sorˈtíssim*	*sortiˈrem*	*sortiˈríem*
2PL	*sorˈtiu*	*sorˈtíeu*	*sorˈtiu*	*sorˈtíreu*	*sorˈtíssiu*	*sortiˈreu*	*sortiˈríeu*
3PL	*ˈsurten*	*sorˈtien*	*ˈsurten*	*sorˈtiren*	*sorˈtissin*	*sortiˈran*	*sortiˈrien*

Table 1. Finite synthetic forms of *sortir* 'go out', standard Catalan. Standard orthography, with the addition of an IPA stress mark to indicate primary stress.

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	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*puc*	*po ˈdia*	*ˈpugui*	*po ˈguí*	*po ˈgués*	*po ˈdré*	*po ˈdria*
2SG	*pots*	*po ˈdies*	*ˈpuguis*	*po ˈgueres*	*po ˈguessis*	*po ˈdràs*	*po ˈdries*
3SG	*pot*	*po ˈdia*	*ˈpugui*	*po ˈgué*	*po ˈgués*	*po ˈdrà*	*po ˈdria*
1PL	*po ˈdem*	*po ˈdíem*	*pu ˈguem*	*po ˈguérem*	*po ˈguéssim*	*po ˈdrem*	*po ˈdríem*
2PL	*po ˈdeu*	*po ˈdíeu*	*pu ˈgueu*	*po ˈguéreu*	*po ˈguéssiu*	*po ˈdreu*	*po ˈdríeu*
3PL	*ˈpoden*	*po ˈdien*	*ˈpuguin*	*po ˈguéren*	*po ˈguessin*	*po ˈdran*	*po ˈdrien*

Table 2. Finite synthetic forms of *poder* ‘be able’, standard Catalan. Standard orthography, with the addition of an IPA stress mark to indicate primary stress.

The data in Table 2 also illustrate a tendency characteristic of both Catalan and Occitan, in which the L-pattern and PYTA share stem exponents, particularly a thematic velar element /sk/ or /g/. For Catalan, Wheeler (2011, p.183) analyses the set of cells with a thematic velar as a single metamorphome; in Maiden’s terms, this is a case of ‘coalescence’ (i.e. fusion) between the L-pattern and PYTA (2018, pp.294–295). As Wheeler demonstrates, most modern instances of the velar are of analogical origin: from the few verbs in which a velar element is etymological in the preterite and/or present subjunctive, this element has been spread throughout PYTA and the L-pattern, and to many additional verb lexemes.

Extensive analogical spread of thematic velar elements, and close formal parallelism between the constituent cells of the L-pattern and PYTA, is also found in Occitan (Table 3; Esher, 2016, p.279), though in most Occitan varieties, due to regular sound change the L-pattern is now coextensive with the present subjunctive, and no longer includes the first person singular present indicative (Maiden, 2018, pp.145–148). The major differences between the exponents of the L-pattern and PYTA now concern theme vowels (typically, all and only PYTA forms display stressed /ɛ/) and stress assignment (a subset of L-pattern forms are rhizotonic, whereas all PYTA forms are arrhizotonic); for verbs with a mid vowel or diphthong in their root, the contrast between rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms also involves a contrast of vowel quality, as shown in Table 4.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*fau*	*fa ˈsiá*	*ˈfaga*	*fa ˈguèri*	*fa ˈguèsse*	*fa ˈrai*	*fa ˈriá*
2SG	*fas*	*fa ˈsiás*	*ˈfagas*	*fa ˈguères*	*fa ˈguèsses*	*fa ˈràs*	*fa ˈriás*
3SG	*fa*	*fa ˈsiá*	*ˈfaga*	*fa ˈguèt*	*fa ˈguèsse*	*fa ˈrà*	*fa ˈriá*
1PL	*fa ˈsèm*	*fa ˈsiam*	*fa ˈguem*	*fa ˈguèrem*	*fa ˈguèssem*	*fa ˈrem*	*fa ˈriam*
2PL	*fa ˈsètz*	*fa ˈsiatz*	*fa ˈguetz*	*fa ˈguèretz*	*fa ˈguèssetz*	*fa ˈretz*	*fa ˈriatz*
3PL	*fan*	*fa ˈsián*	*ˈfagan*	*fa ˈguèron*	*fa ˈguèsson*	*fa ˈràn*	*fa ˈrián*

Table 3. Finite synthetic forms of *far* ‘do’, normative Occitan (Alibèrt, 1976, p.161). Standard orthography, with the addition of an IPA stress mark to indicate primary stress: <á> and post-tonic <a> represent [ɔ]; <i> preceding a vowel represents [j].

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	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*ˈvòli*	*voˈliá*	*ˈvòlga*	*volˈguèri*	*volˈguèsse*	*volˈrai*	*volˈriá*
2SG	*vòls*	*voˈliás*	*ˈvòlgas*	*volˈguères*	*volˈguèsses*	*volˈràs*	*volˈriás*
3SG	*vòl*	*voˈliá*	*ˈvòlga*	*volˈguèt*	*volˈguèsse*	*volˈrà*	*volˈriá*
1PL	*voˈlèm*	*voˈliam*	*volˈguem*	*volˈguèrem*	*volˈguèssem*	*volˈrem*	*volˈriam*
2PL	*voˈlètz*	*voˈliatz*	*volˈguetz*	*volˈguèretz*	*volˈguèssetz*	*volˈretz*	*volˈriatz*
3PL	*ˈvòlon*	*voˈlián*	*ˈvòlgan*	*volˈguèron*	*volˈguèsson*	*volˈràn*	*volˈrián*

Table 4. Finite synthetic forms of *voler* ‘want’, normative Occitan (Alibèrt, 1976, pp.196–197). Standard orthography, with the addition of an IPA stress mark to indicate primary stress: <ò>, <á> and post-tonic <a> represent [ɔ]; unstressed <o> represents [u]; <i> preceding a vowel represents [j].

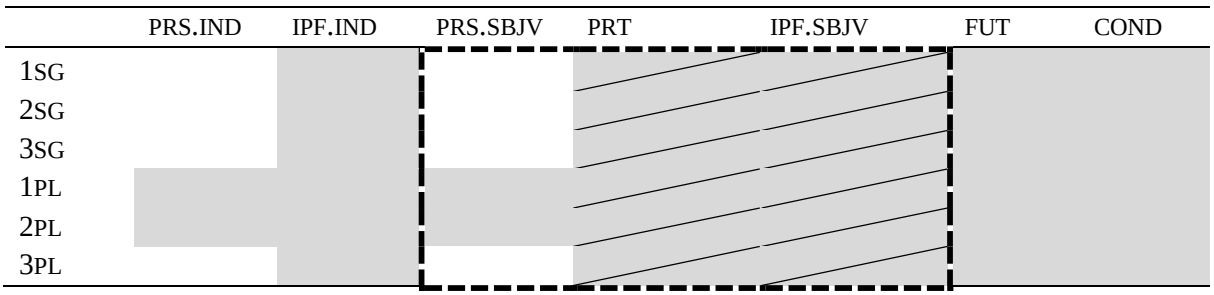

Table 5. Schematic representation of exponent distributions in Occitan verbs. Arrhizotonic forms are shaded; rhizotonic forms are unshaded; *perfectum* reflexes are crosshatched; forms with a thematic velar are enclosed by a broken line.

Within a single variety, different lexemes instantiate subtly differing distributional patterns; within a single lexeme, differing distributional patterns can be inferred according to different inflectional exponents. The varied patterns inferrable from the stem exponents of a lexeme such as *voler* ‘want’ (Table 4) are schematised in Table 5. As can be seen, the cells {PRS.SBJV.1PL, PRS.SBJV.2PL} occur at the intersection of stem and stress distributions: within the set of forms which can display a thematic velar, they share the property of arrhizotonicity and the associated root variant with the *perfectum* reflexes, but share the lack of thematic /ɛ/ with the other present subjunctive cells. These two cells thus constitute the locus of clash between exponent distributions; it will be argued here that analogical change redistributing stem exponents preferentially occurs in these two cells, ‘reinforcing’ the mutually predictive relationship between stem exponents and stress via redistribution of stem exponents.

3. Analogical extension of root allomorphs and stem formatives

3.1. Spread of a thematic velar consonant

As discussed by Wheeler (2011) and Esher (2016), and illustrated in Tables 2–4, the extension of the thematic velar in Occitan and Catalan ordinarily affects all present subjunctive cells. However, in some

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varieties or conjugational classes, the extension is clearly limited to the first person plural and second person plural present subjunctive forms only.

For Occitan, this development is attested particularly in historical varieties of the Provence region. In the nineteenth-century grammars of Savinian (1978[1882], pp.48–49) and Koschwitz (1973[1894], pp.128–135), third-conjugation *rèndre* 'give back', displaying exactly this pattern (Table 6), is used as an exemplar. The representativity of this lexeme is unclear in Savinian's grammar, which gives only three fully conjugated verbs (*avé/agué* 'have', *èstre* 'be', *rèndre* 'give back'; 1978[1882], pp.44–49); but Koschwitz' description, which provides a complete exemplar paradigm for each of the three major conjugations, as well as principal parts for a number of additional verbs, indicates that *rèndre* exemplifies the ordinary pattern for regular third-conjugation verbs. The generality of the pattern among such verbs is explicitly confirmed for literary and colloquial varieties of the Rhône valley by Ronjat (1937, p.62), using the example of *vèndre* 'sell': '[l]es verbes normaux de II[7] insèrent *-egu-* devant la désinence des 1. et 2. p[ersonnes]. pl[uriel]. en prov[ençal] litt[éraire] r[h]od[anien] pop[ulaire], ex. *vèndre* < vend(e)re, subj[onctif]. *vènde, [vènd]-es, [vènd]-e, vendeguen, [vend]-egués, vèndon*' (1937, p.62).[8] More recently, a similar distributional pattern is given for the varieties of the southern Gévaudan (north-east Languedoc) by Camproux (1962, p.417), who notes that first and second person plural present subjunctive forms in -ˈɛgen, -ˈɛges are repeatedly attested ('la zone sud offre régulièrement aux première, deuxième personnes du pluriel une désinence -ˈ*ègen*, -ˈ*èges* ajoutée au radical'),[9] giving the illustrative examples *respundègen* 'reply.PRS.SBJV.1PL', *reskundègen* 'conceal.PRS.SBJV.1PL', *rumpègen* 'break.PRS.SBJV.1PL', *perdègen* 'lose.PRS.SBJV.1PL'.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*ˈrènde*	*renˈdiéu*	*ˈrènde*	*rendeˈguère*	*rendeˈguèsse*	*renˈdrai*	*renˈdriéu*
2SG	*ˈrèndes*	*renˈdiés*	*ˈrèndes*	*rendeˈguères*	*rendeˈguèsses*	*renˈdras*	*renˈdriés*
3SG	*rènd*	*renˈdié*	*ˈrènde*	*rendeˈguè*	*rendeˈguèsse*	*renˈdra*	*renˈdrié*
1PL	*renˈdèn*	*renˈdian*	*rendeˈguen*	*rendegueˈrian*	*rendegueˈssian*	*renˈdren*	*renˈdrian*
2PL	*renˈdès*	*renˈdias*	*rendeˈgués*	*rendegueˈrias*	*rendegueˈssias*	*renˈdrés*	*renˈdrias*
3PL	*ˈrèndon*	*renˈdien*	*ˈrèndon*	*rendeˈguèron*	*rendeˈguèsson*	*renˈdran*	*renˈdrien*

Table 6. Finite synthetic forms of *rèndre* 'give back' (Savinian, 1978[1882], pp.48–49; Koschwitz, 1973[1894], pp.128–135; data consistent with Ronjat, 1937, p.62). Orthography as in source, with addition of IPA stress mark.

In Provence, this pattern is not attested for first-conjugation verbs (continuants of Latin conjugation I, which do not have a thematic velar anywhere in the paradigm), or for regular second-

[7] Ronjat adopts the Catalan convention, in which reflexes of Latin conjugation III are labelled II.
[8] 'Regular verbs of class II insert *-egu-* before the desinence of the first and second person plural in literary and Rhône valley vernacular Provençal, e.g. *vèndre* <vend(e)re, [present] subjunctive *vènde, [vènd]-es, [vènd]-e, vendeguen, [vend]-egués, vèndon*' [my translation].
[9] 'The southern area regularly displays, in the first and second person plural, a desinence -ˈ*ègen*, -ˈ*èges* added to the root' [my translation]. Note that the source indicates stress by means of an apostrophe; on the recommendation of an anonymous reviewer, the IPA stress mark has been substituted here for clarity.

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conjugation verbs (continuants of Latin conjugation IV, with thematic vowel /i/), in which a thematic velar occurs throughout the present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive and preterite (e.g. *punir* 'punish', Table 7; see also Ronjat, 1937, p.224).

However, the pattern is attested in a subset of second-conjugation verbs, namely those which lack the thematic 'augment' continuing Latin ingressive -ĪSC- (for the history of this item in Romance see Maiden, 2004; Meul, 2010, 2013, pp. 52–70; Esher, 2016; Maiden, 2018, pp.175–192), as exemplified by *dormir* 'sleep' in Table 8. For augmentless second-conjugation verbs, Ronjat (1937, p.224) lists only velarless present subjunctive forms in the singular and third person plural, but gives concurrent variants (with and without a velar) in the first and second person plural (*parte, [part]es, [part]e, [part]en/[part]iguen, [part]és/[part]igués, [part]on*), and comments that in colloquial or non-literary varieties, the velar forms predominate: 'les formes pop[ulaires] sont plutôt *iguen igués*'.[10] Ronjat's data corroborate those of Savinian (1978[1882], pp. 54–55).

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*pu ˈnisse*	*puni ˈssiéu*	*pu ˈnigue*	*puni ˈguère*	*puni ˈguèsse*	*puni ˈrai*	*puni ˈriéu*
2SG	*pu ˈnisses*	*puni ˈssiés*	*pu ˈnigues*	*puni ˈguères*	*puni ˈguèsses*	*puni ˈras*	*puni ˈriés*
3SG	*pu ˈnis*	*puni ˈssié*	*pu ˈnigue*	*puni ˈguè*	*puni ˈguèsse*	*puni ˈra*	*puni ˈrié*
1PL	*puni ˈssèn*	*puni ˈssian*	*puni ˈguen*	*punigue ˈrian*	*punigue ˈssian*	*puni ˈren*	*puni ˈrian*
2PL	*puni ˈssès*	*puni ˈssias*	*puni ˈgués*	*punigue ˈrias*	*punigue ˈssias*	*puni ˈrés*	*puni ˈrias*
3PL	*pu ˈnisson*	*puni ˈssien*	*pu ˈnigon*	*puni ˈguèron*	*puni ˈguèsson*	*puni ˈran*	*puni ˈrien*

Table 7. Finite synthetic forms of *punir* 'punish' (Koschwitz 1973[1894], pp.128–135). Orthography as in source, with addition of IPA stress mark.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*ˈdorme*	*dour ˈmiéu*	*ˈdorme*	*dourmi ˈguère*	*dourmi ˈguèsse*	*dourmi ˈrai*	*dormi ˈriéu*
2SG	*ˈdormes*	*dour ˈmiés*	*ˈdormes*	*dourmi ˈguères*	*dourmi ˈguèsses*	*dourmi ˈras*	*dourmi ˈriés*
3SG	*ˈdorm*	*dour ˈmié*	*ˈdorme*	*dourmi ˈguè*	*dourmi ˈguèsse*	*dourmi ˈra*	*dourmi ˈrié*
1PL	*dour ˈmèn*	*dour ˈmian*	*dourmi ˈguen/ dour ˈmen*	*dourmigue ˈrian*	*dourmigue ˈssian*	*dourmi ˈren*	*dourmi ˈrian*
2PL	*dour ˈmès*	*dour ˈmias*	*dourmi ˈgués/ dour ˈmés*	*dourmigue ˈrias*	*dourmigue ˈssias*	*dourmi ˈrés*	*dourmi ˈrias*
3PL	*ˈdormon*	*dour ˈmien*	*ˈdormon*	*dourmi ˈguèron*	*dourmi ˈguèsson*	*dourmi ˈran*	*dourmi ˈrien*

Table 8. Finite synthetic forms of *dormir* 'sleep' (Savinian, 1978[1882], pp.54–55), data consistent with Ronjat (1937, p.224). Orthography as in source, with addition of IPA stress mark.

[10] 'The vernacular forms are more usually *iguen igués*' [my translation].

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More recent data, for both Provence and the Gévaudan, suggest that the distributions illustrated in Tables 7 and 8 are vulnerable to levelling across present subjunctive forms. In the Gévaudan, the thematic velar is generalised from the first and second person plural to all present subjunctive forms: Camproux (1962, p.417) observes that 'dans la zone sud, il existe une tendance à unifier le subjonctif des verbes en question d'après l'analogie d'un radical à gutturale', giving the example of *pèrdre* 'lose' conjugated '*perdège, perdèges, perdège, perdˈègen, perdˈègès, perdègu*'.[11] For Provence, the modern standard grammar of Martin & Moulin (2007) does not mention the patterns illustrated in Tables 7 and 8 at all, instead recommending forms without a velar for third-conjugation and augmentless second-conjugation verbs, and offering a choice between forms in *-igu-* or *-iss-* for all persons in second-conjugation verbs with the augment (2007, p.94fn.119, p.95fn.120)

There is robust historical and morphological precedent for the contrast between the two subtypes of second-conjugation verbs. In most Occitan varieties of the Languedoc and Provence, verbs of the *punir* type would historically have presented an augment *-isc-* or *-iss-*, continuing Latin -ĪSC-, throughout the present subjunctive; thus, in Provence, the established distribution template was for the presence of a thematic vowel /i/ and one or more thematic consonants occurring in all person forms, and thematic *-igu-* could be introduced into all or none. By contrast, for verbs of the *dormir* type, like verbs of the *rèndre* type, there is contrast between first and second person plural and all other present subjunctive forms, via stress alternation and (for a subset of lexemes) stem vowel alternation. This contrast furnishes a precedent for the introduction of *-igu-* into the first and second person plural forms only, on analogy with the *rèndre* type in which the velar appears more established. The preference for extension of the velar to the first and second person plural rather than singular and third person plural reflects the fact that the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms share arrhizotonicity with the *perfectum* reflexes from which the velar spreads.

An instructive comparison is afforded by second-conjugation verbs in the Occitan varieties of the Val d'Aran. In these varieties, the augment continuing -ĪSC- is traditionally confined to the singular and third person plural forms of the present subjunctive, as illustrated by *servir* 'serve' in Table 9; the *-igu-* augment originating in PYTA is introduced into the first and second person plural present subjunctive, but does not progress further.

	PRS.IND	IPF.PST.IND	PRS.SBJV	PFV.PST.IND	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	*serˈvisqui*	*serˈvia*	*serˈvisca*	*serviˈguí*	*serviˈguessa*	*serviˈrè*	*serviˈria*
2SG	*serˈvisses*	*serˈvies*	*serˈvisques*	*serviˈguéres*	*serviˈguesses*	*serviˈràs*	*servirˈies*
3SG	*serˈvís*	*serˈvie*	*serˈvisque*	*serviˈguec*	*serviˈguesse*	*serviˈrà*	*serviˈrie*
1PL	*serˈvim*	*serˈvíem*	*serviˈgam*	*serviˈguérem*	*serviˈguéssem*	*serviˈram*	*serviˈríem*
2PL	*serˈvitz*	*serˈvíetz*	*serviˈgatz*	*serviˈguéretz*	*serviˈguéssetz*	*serviˈratz*	*serviˈríetz*
3PL	*serˈvissen*	*serˈvien*	*serˈvisquen*	*serviˈguéren*	*serviˈguessen*	*serviˈràn*	*serviˈrien*

Table 9. *servir* 'serve', Val d'Aran (Carrera, 2007, p.189). Orthography as in source, with addition of IPA stress mark.

[11] 'In the southern area, there is a tendency to level the [present] subjunctive forms of the verbs in question, on the analogy of a velar root' [my translation].'

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Finally, it should be noted that similar distributions are attested in some Balearic Catalan varieties: Wheeler et al. (1999, p.305) and Maiden (2018, p.111) both mention introduction of a thematic velar into only the first and second person plural forms of the present subjunctive, e.g. arrhizotonic *dormiguen*, *dormigueu* 'sleep.PRS.SBJV.1PL,2PL' (contrasting with rhizotonic *dormi*, *dormis*, *dormi*, *dormin* in the corresponding singular and third person plural forms).

3.2 Summary

The Occitan and Catalan data discussed in this section all involve the extension of inflectional formatives characteristic of *perfectum* reflexes into the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms. The inflectional exponents which undergo extension are either roots or stem formatives, found throughout both the preterite and the imperfect subjunctive; they replace the etymological stem of the present subjunctive, whereas the desinences of the present subjunctive remain unchanged. The development affects a subset of verb lexemes, characterised by the presence of a distinctive root in their *perfectum* reflexes. In some varieties (Catalan, Val d'Aran) the novel distribution remains stable, while in others (Gévaudan, Provence) it is eliminated in favour of a uniform stem throughout the present subjunctive. In all cases, the paradigmatic scope of the change exactly corresponds to a set of cells at the intersection of multiple existing patterns of exponent distribution (i.e. a set of cells defined by the overlap between patterns of stem and/or stress distribution); and following the change, alignment between patterns is increased.

4. Importation and syncretism

In a number of Gallo- and Ibero-Romance varieties, the modern first and second person plural present subjunctive forms are reflexes not of the Latin present subjunctive (CANTEM, FACIAM, etc.) but of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive (CANTĀUISSEM, FĒCISSEM, etc.); singular and (usually) third person plural present subjunctive forms in these varieties continue the Latin present subjunctive as expected. These examples are due to the analogical replacement of etymological present subjunctive forms by reflexes of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive.

The development is reminiscent of the phenomenon termed 'incursion' (Corbett, 2007, p.13; Juge, 2013, p.177), a type of suppletion in which inflectional forms originating in a lexeme L_1 are analogically extended into an etymologically distinct lexeme L_2, replacing the corresponding etymological forms of L_2. As in cases of incursion, the data under discussion involve the replacement of one set of forms (i.e. a subset of present subjunctive forms) by a set of forms analogically introduced from an external source (i.e. imperfect subjunctive forms). However, a key distinction between the two is that incursion is specifically defined as involving forms from two distinct lexemes, whereas in the case at hand the forms are members of distinct TAM categories within the inflectional paradigm of the same lexeme. Hinzelin (2011a, p.306) uses the term 'intrusion' for such paradigm-internal cases, but 'importation' more accurately reflects the systematic nature of the developments described here.

In many of the examples adduced in this section, importation results in syncretism (Baerman, 2007) between the present and imperfect subjunctives in the first and second person plural. In other varieties, where the modern imperfect subjunctive is a continuant of the Latin pluperfect indicative

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(CANTĀUERAM, FĒCERAM, etc.), the importation of reflexes of the pluperfect subjunctive into the present subjunctive does not result in syncretism.

4.1. Importation with syncretism, affecting PRS.SBJV.1PL and PRS.SBJV.2PL

4.1.1 *Overview of importation with syncretism*

Syncretism between present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive in the first person plural and second person plural is attested in two substantial clusters of varieties: in the transitional zone between southern Catalan and northern Valencian (Wheeler, 1993, citing data from Alcover & Moll, 1929–1933), and in northern Occitan (Camproux, 1962, pp.420–421; Casagrande, 2011, pp.201–202, citing data from *ALLOc*; Sibille, 2015, pp.135–150, 156). Unlike the sporadic extensions of roots or thematic elements described in section 3, which are limited to a few lexemes or specific inflectional classes, this development is widely generalised across verb lexemes, with few or no exceptions in any given variety: illustrative examples from the northern Occitan variety of Concots (ALLOc survey point 46.33, in the département Lot), covering reflexes of Latin conjugations I, III and IV and the reflex of FACERE 'do' are shown in Tables 10–13.

In all cases, the syncretism results from replacement of etymological present subjunctive forms by continuants of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, recognisable by their distinctive exponent /Vs/. From a diachronic perspective, the direction of change is plain. However, in synchrony, for the relevant varieties, the contrast between present and imperfect subjunctive is entirely neutralised in the first person plural and second person plural, across all conjugational classes and all lexemes: as the syncretism is symmetrical (see Baerman et al., 2005, pp.133–134), the original directionality is not accessible to speakers.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ˈkanti	kɔnˈtaβi	ˈkanti	kɔnˈtɛɾi	kɔnˈtɛsi	kɔntɔˈɾaj	kɔntɔˈɾjɔ
2SG	ˈkantɔs	kɔnˈtaβɔs	ˈkantes	kɔnˈtɛɾɔs	kɔnˈtɛsɔs	kɔntɔˈɾas	kɔntɔˈɾjɔs
3SG	ˈkantɔ	kɔnˈtaβɔ	ˈkante	kɔnˈtɛt	kɔnˈtɛs	kɔntɔˈɾɔ	kɔntɔˈɾjɔ
1PL	kɔnˈten	kɔnˈtaβen	kɔnˈtɛsen	kɔnˈtɛɾen	kɔnˈtɛsen	kɔntɔˈɾen	kɔntɔˈɾjan
2PL	kɔnˈtas	kɔnˈtaβes	kɔnˈtɛses	kɔnˈtɛɾes	kɔnˈtɛses	kɔntɔˈɾes	kɔntɔˈɾjas
3PL	ˈkantu	kɔnˈtaβu	ˈkantu	kɔnˈtɛɾu	kɔnˈtɛsu	kɔntɔˈɾɔw	kɔntɔˈɾjɔw

Table 10. *cantar* 'sing' in the Occitan variety of Concots (ALLOc survey point 46.33). IPA, converted from original Gilliéron-Rousselot transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	bɔsˈtisi	bɔstiˈsjɔ	bɔsˈtie	bɔstiˈɛɾi	bɔstiˈɛsi	bɔstiˈɾaj	bɔstiˈɾjɔ
2SG	bɔsˈtises	bɔstiˈsjɔs	bɔsˈties	bɔstiˈɛɾɔs	bɔstiˈɛsɔs	bɔstiˈɾas	bɔstiˈɾjɔs
3SG	bɔsˈtis	bɔstiˈsjɔ	bɔsˈtie	bɔstiˈɛt	bɔstiˈɛs	bɔstiˈɾɔ	bɔstiˈɾjɔ
1PL	bɔstiˈsɛn	bɔstiˈsjan	bɔstiˈɛsen	bɔstiˈɛɾen	bɔstiˈɛsen	bɔstiˈɾen	bɔstiˈɾjan
2PL	bɔstiˈsɛs	bɔstiˈsjan	bɔstiˈɛses	bɔstiˈɛɾes	bɔstiˈɛses	bɔstiˈɾes	bɔstiˈɾjas
3PL	bɔsˈtisu	bɔstiˈsjɔw	bɔsˈtiu	bɔstiˈɛɾu	bɔstiˈɛsu	bɔstiˈɾɔw	bɔstiˈɾjɔw

Table 11. *bastir* 'build' in the Occitan variety of Concots (ALLOc survey point 46.33). IPA, converted from original Gilliéron-Rousselot transcription.

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	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ˈbendi	benˈdjɔ	ˈbende	benˈdɛɾi	benˈdɛsi	benˈdɾaj	benˈdɾjɔ
2SG	ˈbendes	benˈdjɔs	ˈbendes	benˈdɛɾɔs	benˈdɛsɔs	benˈdɾas	benˈdɾjɔs
3SG	ben	benˈdjɔ	ˈbende	benˈdɛt	benˈdɛs	benˈdɾɔ	benˈdɾjɔ
1PL	benˈdɛn	benˈdjan	benˈdɛsen	benˈdɛɾen	benˈdɛsen	benˈdɾen	benˈdɾjan
2PL	benˈdɛs	benˈdjan	benˈdɛses	benˈdɛɾes	benˈdɛses	benˈdɾes	benˈdɾjas
3PL	ˈbendu	benˈdjɔw	ˈbendu	benˈdɛɾu	benˈdɛsu	benˈdɾɔw	benˈdɾjɔw

Table 12. *bastir* ‘build’ in the Occitan variety of Concots (ALLOc survey point 46.33). IPA, converted from original Gilliéron-Rousselot transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	faw	fɔˈzjɔ	ˈfahke	ˈfɛɾi	fɔhˈkɛsi	fɔˈɾaj	fɔˈɾjɔ
2SG	fɔs	fɔˈzjɔs	ˈfahkɔs	ˈfɛɾɔs	fɔhˈkɛsɔs	fɔˈɾas	fɔˈɾjɔs
3SG	fɔ	fɔˈzjɔ	ˈfahke	ˈfɛt	fɔhˈkɛs	fɔˈɾɔ	fɔˈɾjɔ
1PL	fɔˈzɛn	fɔˈzjan	fahˈkɛsen	ˈfɛɾen	fɔhˈkɛsen	fɔˈɾen	fɔˈɾjan
2PL	fɔˈzɛs	fɔˈzjas	fahˈkɛses	ˈfɛɾes	fɔhˈkɛses	fɔˈɾes	fɔˈɾjas
3PL	fɔw	fɔˈzjɔw	ˈfahku	ˈfɛɾu	fɔhˈkɛsu	fɔˈɾɔw	fɔˈɾjɔw

Table 13. *far* ‘do’ in the Occitan variety of Concots (ALLOc survey point 46.33). IPA, converted from original Gilliéron-Rousselot transcription.

In the variety of Concots, forms in -/ˈɛsen/, -/ˈɛses/, recognisable as reflexes of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive due to the formative /ˈɛs/, have replaced the expected forms in -/ˈen/, -/ˈes/. For many verbs, the change simply amounts to the introduction of /ˈɛs/, since the etymological first and second plural present subjunctive forms (kɔnˈten, bɔsˈti.en, benˈden, etc.) already shared their root and arrhizotonic stress pattern with the corresponding reflexes of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive (kɔnˈtɛsen, bɔsˈti.ɛsen, benˈdɛsen, etc.); the same extent of formal commonality is found for verbs with stem consonant alternations, since the same thematic consonant is found throughout the subjunctives and preterite, with the exception of *far* ‘do’ (Table 13).[12] The formal proximity identifies the first and second person plural present subjunctive as favourable targets for analogy from PYTA; in this case, the substance of the change allows the source form to be specifically identified as the imperfect subjunctive. The choice of the imperfect subjunctive in preference to the preterite may be favoured by the present and imperfect subjunctives sharing the morphosyntactic value ‘subjunctive’ (compare Maiden, 2018, p.291).

In contrast to the spread of root or thematic material, the syncretism of imperfect subjunctive and present subjunctive forms is highly systematic across lexemes for all Occitan varieties in which it is attested. In the absence of cases in which the development affects only a subset of inflectional classes, it is difficult to ascertain the diachronic progression of this syncretism through the lexicon, and correspondingly to isolate the motivation and process causing it to arise.

[12] The forms /fahˈkɛsen/, /fahˈkɛses/ are anomalous since all other verbs in this variety present systematic realisation of atonic /a/ as [ɔ], but are included for completeness. A further unusual characteristic of *far* ‘do’ in the variety of Concots is the stem asymmetry between the preterite and imperfect subjunctive.

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4.1.2 *Interaction with conjugation class and root allomorphy*

For Valencian, illustrative examples from the variety of Alcalà de Xivert (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 98, in the comarca Baix Maestrat) are shown in Tables 14–16.[13] In this variety, syncretism is near-systematic, but the forms of the present and imperfect subjunctive in first-conjugation verbs remain differentiated by theme vowel (Table 14). These data raise the possibility that, like the developments discussed in section 3 (and the spread of velar augments in Occitan; Esher, 2016), importation of imperfect subjunctive forms into present subjunctive cells initially occurred in non-first-conjugation verbs. The forms of the first-conjugation present subjunctive are suggestive of analogical influence both from first-conjugation imperfect subjunctive forms and from non-first-conjugation present subjunctive forms.

A further point of interest in the data from Alcalà de Xivert is the wide lexical extension of velar roots, which is much greater than in Concots (Tables 10–13) and indeed most Occitan varieties, including all present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive forms of typical second- and third-conjugation verbs. The data in Tables 14–16 illustrate the productivity of Wheeler's 'Catalan velar morphome' (2011); the widespread velars of Table 16 most plausibly originate in the present subjunctive (compare Wheeler, 2011, p.208).[14] Comparison with data from Occitan and other Catalan and Valencian varieties nevertheless indicates that the presence of a thematic velar throughout the present and imperfect subjunctive forms of many lexemes is not a necessary precondition for importation of the type examined in this section; indeed, importation is more likely to precede widespread generalisation of the velar beyond lexemes with significant inherited root allomorphy.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ˈkanto	kanˈtaβa	ˈkanto	—	kanˈtas	kantaˈre	kantaˈria
2SG	ˈkantes	kanˈtaβes	ˈkantos	—	kanˈtases	kantaˈras	kantaˈries
3SG	ˈkante	kanˈtaβa	ˈkanto	—	kanˈtas	kantaˈra	kantaˈria
1PL	kanˈtem	kanˈtaβem	kanˈtesem	—	kanˈtasem	kantaˈrem	kantaˈriem
2PL	kanˈtew	kanˈtaβew	kanˈtesew	—	kanˈtasew	kantaˈrew	kantaˈriew
3PL	ˈkanten	kanˈtaβen	ˈkanton	—	kanˈtasu	kantaˈran	kantaˈrien

Table 14. Finite synthetic forms of *cantar* 'sing' in Alcalà de Xivert (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 98). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

[13] In this and many other Catalan varieties, the synthetic preterite is no longer in common usage.

[14] Wheeler (2011, p.208) notes sporadic cases in which a thematic velar has undergone analogical extension from the L-pattern to PYTA, suggesting that this directionality occurs when the existing PYTA root is not of readily extendable phonological shape; these data concern the spread of a root already present in all present subjunctive cells into all imperfect subjunctive cells, without distinction of person.

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	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ʎuˈisk	ʎuˈia	ʎuˈiska	—	ʎuisˈkes	ʎuiˈre	ʎuiˈria
2SG	ʎuˈises	ʎuˈies	ʎuˈiskes	—	ʎuisˈkeses	ʎuiˈras	ʎuiˈries
3SG	ʎuˈis	ʎuˈia	ʎuˈiska	—	ʎuisˈkes	ʎuiˈra	ʎuiˈria
1PL	ʎuˈim	ʎuˈiem	ʎuisˈkesem	—	ʎuisˈkesem	ʎuiˈrem	ʎuiˈriem
2PL	ʎuˈiw	ʎuˈiew	ʎuisˈkesew	—	ʎuisˈkesew	ʎuiˈrew	ʎuiˈriew
3PL	ʎuˈisen	ʎuˈien	ʎuˈisken	—	ʎuisˈkesen	ʎuiˈran	ʎuiˈrien

Table 15. Finite synthetic forms of *lluir* ‘shine’ in Alcalà de Xivert (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 98). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	bat	baˈtia	ˈbatiga	—	batiˈges	batˈre	batˈria
2SG	baʃ	baˈties	ˈbatiges	—	batiˈgeses	batˈras	batˈries
3SG	bat	baˈtia	ˈbatiga	—	batiˈges	batˈra	batˈria
1PL	baˈtem	baˈtiem	batiˈgesem	—	batiˈgesem	batˈrem	batˈriem
2PL	baˈtew	baˈtiew	batiˈgesew	—	batiˈgesew	batˈrew	batˈriew
3PL	ˈbaten	baˈtien	ˈbatigen	—	batiˈgesen	batˈran	batˈrien

Table 16. Finite synthetic forms of *batre* ‘beat’ in Alcalà de Xivert (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 98). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

4.1.3. *Existing approaches to the actuation and directionality of importation with syncretism*

Somewhat ironically given the prevalence of syncretism resulting directly from importation, there are repeated attempts in the literature to propose ‘syncretism avoidance’ as a factor motivating importation. The most serious account is developed by Wheeler (1993) for Catalan varieties, within the framework of Natural Morphology. Wheeler tracks the analogical remodelling and redistribution of personal desinences throughout the present indicative and present subjunctive of all three major conjugations. In the course of these developments, the reassertion of contrasts such as that between first-conjugation and non-first conjugation verbs, via morphological analogy, leads to syncretism between indicative and subjunctive.

In eastern Catalan varieties, Wheeler observes that syncretism between present indicative and present subjunctive forms is lexically and geographically widespread for the first person plural and second person plural forms, so much so that he describes it as a ‘persistent structural property of the regular verbs’ (1993, p.194). In several north-western Catalan varieties, though, he notes a different distribution: the etymological first and second person plural present subjunctive forms have been replaced by the corresponding reflexes of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive (i.e. the development here termed ‘importation’). Wheeler’s interpretation is that the innovation in north-western varieties occurs as a form of repair, ‘to reestablish contrast ‘S[ubjunctive] distinct from I[ndicative]’ in persons 4 and 5’ (1993, p.195); though he concedes that it ‘remains rather surprising’ (1993, p.195), since the comparative data which he adduces as evidence for the existence of mood syncretism in the relevant persons show precisely that such syncretism is a well-established and entirely tolerable property of the inflectional system.

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The Catalan data call into question the fundamental assumptions of the syncretism-avoidance hypothesis, since in these varieties, syncretism across TAM categories is not intrinsically problematic or dispreferred, and importation does not reduce the overall incidence of syncretism within the paradigm. A separate concern emerges from Gévaudan Occitan data adduced in earlier work by Camproux (1962, pp.420–421): these data illustrate paradigmatic mismatch between forms subject to importation and forms originally participating in mood syncretism, indicating that pre-existing syncretism is not a reliable predictor of vulnerability to importation. Firstly, there are cases in which some syncretic forms escape importation: second person plural present subjunctive forms are subject to importation, e.g. *parlesyas* 'speak.PRS/IPF.SBJV.2PL', while the corresponding first person plural forms are unaffected, e.g. *parlen* 'speak.PRS.IND/SBJV.1PL'. Secondly, there are cases in which non-syncretic forms undergo importation: both first and second person plural present subjunctive forms are subject to importation, although the first person plural form of the present indicative retains a distinctive theme vowel [ɔ] < /a/, which would contrast with an etymological present subjunctive form in *-en* (e.g. *parlon* 'speak.PRS.IND.1PL' vs. *parlen* 'speak.PRS.SBJV.1PL'). Thus, at least in the Gévaudan, pre-existing mood syncretism is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for importation to occur.

Camproux suggests an alternative hypothesis based on existing formal similarities between present and imperfect subjunctive forms. Firstly, the present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive shared a second person plural desinence which is rare within the paradigm (*-at/-as*, as opposed to *-et/-es* in other TAM categories; 1962, p.420); and secondly, the present subjunctive forms of second-conjugation verbs with the augment (e.g. *fenissyat* 'finish.PRS.SBJV.2PL') shared the sequence /ˈVs/ with imperfect subjunctive forms (e.g. *parlesyat, parlasyat* 'speak.IPF.SBJV.2PL', 1962, p.421).

Camproux' comment on rarity chimes with the recent findings of Milizia (2016), who observes that in central Italo-Romance varieties, the desinences of first and second person plural forms are commonly subject to analogical influence from other TAM categories. Milizia explains the development in terms of the relatively lower token frequency of first and second person plural forms compared to other person/number combinations within a single TAM category: in these low-frequency areas, rare or unique exponents are not sustainable, and are vulnerable to replacement by exponents of higher paradigmatic type frequency.

Aside from the question of motivation, Camproux' data provide additional evidence for the directionality of the change within the paradigm. In the Gévaudan, the innovation begins with the second person plural, a person/number combination attested with lower token frequency than the first person plural, and in which there is stronger formal commonality between present and imperfect subjunctive forms. The innovation is subsequently propagated to the first person plural, which in Romance reliably and consistently shares stem exponents with the second person plural for a given TAM category (see e.g. the stem space analyses of Bonami & Boyé, 2002, 2003; Stump & Finkel 2013, p.190; Guerrero, 2011, 2014, p.161).

4.2. Importation without syncretism, affecting PRS.SBJV.1PL and PRS.SBJV.2PL

In a development restricted to parts of northern Valencia, the etymological first and second person plural present subjunctive forms are replaced by continuants of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, but this development does not involve syncretism, since the modern imperfect subjunctive forms are instead continuants of the Latin pluperfect indicative. This study found no examples in which the first and

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second person plural present subjunctive forms were syncretic with continuants of the Latin pluperfect indicative.

This distribution is illustrated in Tables 17–19 for the variety of Calaceit (Alcover & Moll 1929–33, survey point 93, in the comarca Matarranya). In this variety, the L-pattern is well conserved, as is the etymological three-way conjugational distinction of theme vowels in reflexes of *perfectum* forms; however, the synthetic preterite has fallen from use due to replacement by the periphrasis *anar* 'go' + infinitive.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ˈkanto	kanˈtaβa	ˈkanta	—	kanˈtara	kantaˈre	kantaˈria
2SG	ˈkantes	kanˈtaβes	ˈkantos	—	kanˈtares	kantaˈras	kantaˈries
3SG	ˈkante	kanˈtaβe	ˈkanto	—	kanˈtare	kantaˈra	kantaˈrie
1PL	kanˈtam	kanˈtaβem	kanˈtasem	—	kanˈtarem	kantaˈrem	kantaˈriem
2PL	kanˈtaw	kanˈtaβew	kanˈtasew	—	kanˈtarew	kantaˈrew	kantaˈriew
3PL	ˈkanten	kanˈtaβen	ˈkanton	—	kanˈtaren	kantaˈran	kantaˈrien

Table 17. Finite synthetic forms of *cantar* 'sing', Calaceit (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 93). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ʎuˈiʃko	ʎuˈia	ʎuˈiʃka	—	ʎuˈira	ʎuiˈre	ʎuiˈria
2SG	ʎuˈiʃes	ʎuˈies	ʎuˈiʃkes	—	ʎuˈires	ʎuiˈras	ʎuiˈries
3SG	ʎuˈiʃ	ʎuˈie	ʎuˈiʃke	—	ʎuˈire	ʎuiˈra	ʎuiˈrie
1PL	ʎuˈim	ʎuˈiem	ʎuˈisem	—	ʎuˈirem	ʎuiˈrem	ʎuiˈriem
2PL	ʎuˈiw	ʎuˈiew	ʎuˈisew	—	ʎuˈirew	ʎuiˈrew	ʎuiˈriew
3PL	ʎuˈiʃen	ʎuˈien	ʎuˈiʃken	—	ʎuˈiren	ʎuiˈran	ʎuiˈrien

Table 18. Finite synthetic forms of *lluir* 'shine', Calaceit (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 93). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	ˈmeto	meˈtia	ˈmetiga	—	meˈtera	meˈtre	meˈtria
2SG	ˈmeʃ	meˈties	ˈmetiges	—	meˈteres	meˈtras	meˈtries
3SG	ˈmet	meˈtie	ˈmetige	—	meˈtere	meˈtra	meˈtrie
1PL	meˈtem	meˈtiem	meˈtesem	—	meˈterem	meˈtrem	meˈtriem
2PL	meˈtew	meˈtiew	meˈtesew	—	meˈterew	meˈtrew	meˈtriew
3PL	ˈmeten	meˈtien	ˈmetigen	—	meˈteren	meˈtran	meˈtrien

Table 19. Finite synthetic forms of *metre* 'put', Calaceit (Alcover & Moll, 1929–33, survey point 93). IPA, converted from original Romanist transcription.

While detailed investigation of the chronology of these developments falls outside the scope of the present study, two hypotheses may be entertained based on the comparative data considered here. One possibility is that importation occurred at an early stage, while the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive still functionally contrasted with the reflex of the Latin pluperfect indicative (i.e. fifteenth century or earlier; Moll, 2006, p.215), in a development comparable to the data in section 4.1. Another

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is that importation occurred precisely during the period at which the reflex of the Latin pluperfect indicative came to supplant the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive in the function of imperfect subjunctive.

The second hypothesis is appealing in the Valencian context, because the proposed development would be congruent with existing cases of analogical redistribution following the loss of a functional distinction. For lexical suppletion, such as is observed in Romance verbs meaning 'go', which typically conflate reflexes of three distinct Latin lexemes, Maiden claims that:

> speakers' systematic inability to make a clear functional distinction between lexemes, is a precondition for the emergence of suppletion [...] between formerly semantically distinct lexemes (2018, p.310)

In the Valencian case, one can imagine a systematic inability to make a clear functional distinction not between lexemes, but between TAM categories: historically, speakers were exposed to three formal series (the reflexes of the Latin present subjunctive, pluperfect subjunctive and pluperfect indicative) but only two clearly distinguishable functional categories (present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive). Just as lexical suppletive alternants (and the thematic augment -ĪSC- bleached of its original ingressive content) are distributed within the paradigm according to existing patterns of exponent distribution, each of the three subjunctive series is assigned to a particular subpart of the paradigm. The reflexes of the present subjunctive are maintained in the cells where the N-pattern overlaps with the present subjunctive; reflexes of the pluperfect subjunctive occupy the cells originally filled by arrhizotonic present subjunctive forms; and reflexes of the pluperfect indicative fill all the cells associated with the category of imperfect subjunctive. Such a development might also be considered an instance of refunctionalisation (Lass, 1990; Smith, 2013[15]), in which a formal distinction associated with an obsolescent functional or distributional distinction is mapped onto an alternative functional or (as here) distributional distinction; it is not anodyne that the importation of (etymologically arrhizotonic) pluperfect subjunctive reflexes applies precisely to cells associated with etymologically arrhizotonic forms.

4.3. Importation and category loss

In the central Gallo-Romance varieties of the *Croissant linguistique* ('Linguistic Crescent', see Brun-Trigaud 1990), the functional distinction between present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive is significantly eroded (see e.g. Guérin, 2019, pp.137–139): subjunctive forms are confined to subordinate clauses, and tense and aspect instruction is provided by the matrix verb. Correspondingly, most varieties maintain only one series of subjunctive forms, either the former present subjunctive (as in French) or, more often, the former imperfect subjunctive (i.e. reflex of Latin pluperfect subjunctive).[16]

[15] Smith's discussion of suppletion in the Romance verb is concerned with lexical suppletion, for which he argues that the novel mappings of forms to functional contrasts is determined by vestigial semantic content. In the absence of such content, though, the phonological shape of exponents or their previous distribution offers a plausible basis for novel mappings.

[16] The Croissant data thus give the lie to the popular French conception of the imperfect subjunctive as intrinsically difficult to acquire.

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The stepwise nature of the change is directly observable in the Croissant variety of Azérables,[17] where some verbs retain only reflexes of the pluperfect subjunctive (Table 20), while others retain reflexes of the present subjunctive in singular forms (Table 21).

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	j a	j aˈvø	j ɔˈgɛs	j ɔˈgi	j ɔˈgɛs	j ɔˈre	j ɔˈrø
2SG	t a	t aˈvø	t ɔˈgɛs	t ɔˈgi	t ɔˈgɛs	t ɔˈrɑ	t ɔˈrø
3SG	oz/al a	oz/al aˈvø	oz/al ɔˈgɛs	oz/al ɔˈgi	oz/al ɔˈgɛs	oz/al ˈɔr	oz/al ɔˈrø
1PL	n aˈvɛ̃	n aˈvjɛ̃	n ogeˈsjɛ̃	n ogeˈrjɛ̃	n ogeˈsjɛ̃	n ɔˈrɛ̃	n oˈrjɛ̃
2PL	w aˈvɛ	w aˈvjɛ	w ogeˈsjɛ	w ogeˈrjɛ	w ogeˈsjɛ	w ɔˈrɛ	uz oˈrjɛ
3PL	j/al aˈvɛ̃	j/al aˈvjɛ̃	j/al ogeˈsjɛ̃	j/al ogeˈrjɛ̃	j/al ogeˈsjɛ̃	j/al ɔˈrɛ̃	j/al oˈrjɛ̃

Table 20. Finite synthetic forms of *avèr* ‘have’, Azérables (Quint, ms.). IPA transcription.

	PRS.IND	IPF.IND	PRS.SBJV	PRT	IPF.SBJV	FUT	COND
1SG	i ˈfe	i fəˈzø	i ˈfas	i fəˈzi/i fəˈgi	i fəˈgɛs	i ˈfre	i ˈfrø
2SG	ti ˈfe	ti fəˈzø	ti ˈfas	ti fəˈzi	ti fəˈgɛs	ti ˈfrɑ	ti ˈfrø
3SG	o/al ˈfe	o/al fəˈzø	o/al ˈfas	o/al fəˈzi	o/al fəˈgɛs	o/al ˈfer	o/al ˈfrø
1PL	n fəˈzɛ̃	n fəˈzjɛ̃	n fəgeˈsjɛ̃	n fəgeˈrjɛ̃	n fəgeˈsjɛ̃	n ˈfrɛ̃	n fəˈrjɛ̃
2PL	u fəˈzɛ	u fəˈzjɛ	u fəgeˈsjɛ	u fəgeˈrjɛ	u fəgeˈsjɛ	u ˈfrɛ	u fəˈrjɛ
3PL	i/al fəˈzɛ̃	i/al fəˈzjɛ̃	i/al fəgeˈsjɛ̃	i/al fəgeˈrjɛ̃	i/al fəgeˈsjɛ̃	i/al ˈfrɛ̃	i/al fəˈrjɛ̃

Table 21. Finite synthetic forms of *faire* ‘do’, Azérables (Quint, ms.). IPA transcription.

To the extent that there is importation in the variety of Azérables, its distribution differs from that described in the previous sections of this study: importation affects either all plural present subjunctive forms, or all present subjunctive forms (conceivably, in the context of change, first all plural forms and then all forms).

The inclusion of the third person plural present subjunctive in the first stage of the development is linked to another distributional property of verb paradigms in the variety of Azérables. In this variety, ‘complete’, i.e. exceptionless, syncretism (Baerman et al., 2005, p.59) obtains between first person plural forms and third person plural forms within each TAM category and for all lexemes. Established, systematic syncretism patterns in Gallo-Romance consistently act as productive templates for analogy (Hinzelin, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Esher, 2020): thus, any analogical change affecting a first person plural form in the variety of Azérables, including importation of imperfect subjunctive forms, is expected to affect the corresponding third person plural form as well.

The interest of the data from Azérables resides in the fact that, even in a situation of reduction of paradigm categories for syntactic reasons, change progresses in a stepwise, structured fashion, according to established patterns of paradigmatic distribution.

[17] Inflectional forms for the variety of Azérables (département Creuse) are reproduced from unpublished transcriptions (Quint, ms.) of fieldwork data obtained via bilingual elicitation, within the framework of the ANR and LabEx projects documenting speech varieties of the Croissant. Recordings of the fieldwork interviews are archived at <http://parlersducroissant.huma-num.fr/corpus/>.

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4.4. Summary

The data discussed in this section illustrate the analogical introduction of both roots and desinences from the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive into the Latin present subjunctive. In all cases, the desinences are distinctively identifiable as originating in the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, and this form is thus unequivocally the source of the analogy.[18]

In Occitan, Catalan and Valencian, importation is strictly confined to the first person plural and second person plural forms; in the Croissant, the third person plural is also included due to its complete syncretism with the first person plural. The result is systematic syncretism between the present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive for the relevant persons, except in Valencian where the modern imperfect subjunctive series is a reflex of the Latin pluperfect indicative. Because importation is highly systematic, affecting all verb lexemes, the resulting syncretisms cannot be treated as directional in synchrony, since speakers do not have access to evidence from which directionality could be inferred.

Two distinct scenarios for change are attested in these data. In the Valencian and Croissant examples, there is robust evidence for the loss of a functional category distinction between multiple series of forms: in the history of Valencian, three series of inflectional forms were available, but the syntax ultimately distinguishes only two categories; while for the Croissant, two series of forms are available for what is becoming a single functional category. In both these examples, sets of inflectional forms which are no longer reliably mapped to functional distinctions are remapped onto metamorphomic distributions, with members of each series occupying a defined set of paradigm cells.

In the Catalan and Occitan examples, present subjunctive and imperfect subjunctive remain distinct TAM categories: an explanation in terms of category loss is not supported, nor are the data consistent with syncretism avoidance. These examples are more plausibly accounted for in terms of aligning existing patterns of exponent (stem and stress) distribution, increasing the predictability of exponent distribution and co-occurrence.

Both scenarios may also form part of a more general Romance tendency in which TAM syncretism in first and second person plural forms is favoured over the presence of unique or low type frequency exponents in these low token frequency forms (Milizia, 2016).

5. Conclusions

This paper examines comparative evidence for the analogical extension of exponents characteristic of reflexes of Latin *perfectum* forms into the first and second person plural present subjunctive. Such developments are recurrent in Gallo- and Ibero-Romance varieties, including varieties of Catalan, Valencian, Occitan and the *Croissant linguistique*; some varieties cluster geographically, while others are isolated from each other.

The developments attested are tightly constrained: the changes consistently affect specific sets of paradigm cells, paradigm categories and lexemes. Some developments involve the extension of

[18] In the Catalan and Valencian varieties discussed, the synthetic preterite is no longer in use. This does not of itself preclude influence from the preterite, because it is possible that the developments investigated in section 4 of this study occurred at a period when the preterite was still in use. The phonological form of the exponents, however, indicates the primacy of the reflex of the Latin pluperfect indicative in the relevant analogical developments.

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distinctive root allomorphs, in which case the changes originate in, and often remain confined to, non-first-conjugation verbs with substantial root allomorphy; more commonly, importation of entire inflected forms is found, and affects all verb lexemes. The typical synchronic result of importation is thus non-directional complete syncretism.

In cases of importation, the source of the exponents is uniquely identifiable as the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive. The prevalence, indeed predominance, of this item as a model for analogy, together with the shared modal value 'subjunctive', offers cautious support for the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive constituting the principal factor in the extension of distinctive roots characteristic of *perfectum* reflexes in general: although the roots themselves could conceivably be spread from any or all series of *perfectum* reflexes, overall their extension fits into a wider recurrent pattern of analogical influence from the reflex of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive.

The systematic targeting of the first and second person plural present subjunctive is argued to relate to existing paradigmatic distributions of exponents, and a tendency for such distributions to become aligned with each other. In Catalan and Occitan varieties particularly, the present subjunctive forms of verbs with root allomorphy commonly share some, but not all, elements of their root with the reflexes of *perfectum* forms. The similarity is strongest in the first and second person plural present subjunctive forms, which, like the surviving *perfectum* forms, are arrhizotonic; extending the *perfectum* root, or even an entire form, to the first and second person plural present subjunctive, increases the reliability and systematicity of the correlation between arrhizotonicity and segmental exponents. Explanations in terms of alignment prove preferable to explanations in terms of syncretism avoidance, since they offer a more precise and constrained prediction for the directionality of change and the sets of cells which are targeted. Under this view, the analogical changes observed fit into a wider pattern in which overlapping metamorphomes tend towards alignment on each other, and in which the progress of changes through the paradigm follows existing morphomic templates.

Implicit in this analysis is the importance of predictability for speakers. In a language with a rich inflectional system, such as the Romance varieties discussed here, each lexeme has multiple forms; as speakers cannot rely on having encountered a particular form of a given lexeme prior to needing to produce it, some means of inferring the appropriate form is required (Ackerman et al., 2009, pp.54–55).[19] Reliable inference is facilitated by structured, consistent relationships between inflectional forms, and the recurrent patterning instantiated by metamorphomes forms part of such structure (Esher, 2015; Blevins, 2016, pp.104–105, 109; Maiden, 2018, pp.317–318). In cases of clash, speakers are faced with ambiguity: the inflectional forms associated with cells that simultaneously participate in two conflicting metamorphomes do not constitute a reliable guide to the forms associated with other cells belonging to either metamorphome, nor are they readily predictable on the basis of those other forms. The developments described in this article illustrate changes which resolve the ambiguity, by modifying the perimeter of one metamorphome to match that of the other more exactly: the locus of analogical change involving redistribution of stem exponents corresponds to the locus of clash between exponent distributions (i.e. such change affects cells which are neither reliable predictors nor reliably predictable), and the substance of such change amounts to aligning one of the distributions on the other (with the

[19] Ackerman et al. (2009) label this conceptual issue the 'Paradigm Cell Filling Problem'; while the label is explicitly framed in terms of paradigm-based approaches, the central question 'What licenses reliable inferences about the inflected (and derived) forms of a lexical item?' (Ackerman et al., 2009, p.54) is of relevance beyond such frameworks.

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result that the affected cells become both more reliable predictors and more reliably predictable). Throughout, change is demonstrably delimited by structured relationships between inflectional forms, and increases the consistency of such relationships; the tendency towards greater consistency is motivated by the role of these relationships in speaker competence, namely in scaffolding 'generalization beyond direct experience' (Ackerman et al. 2009, p.55). The empirical relevance and thus the explanatory power of relationships between inflectional forms supports a view of morphology in which such morphomic, paradigmatic relationships are explicitly recognised as fundamental to the structure of inflectional systems.

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