Faithfulness to Prosodic Edges. Dialectal Variation in Truncated Words in Catalan*

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to account for the similarities and differences between Eastern Catalan and Valencian truncated hypochoristic words in the framework of Correspondence Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1995), specifically Transderivational Relation Theory or output-to-output correspondence relation (Benua 1995, 1997). The prosodic constituent determined by lexical stress in Catalan makes up the most of the hypochoristic truncated forms in both dialects. Faithfulness to the base in Eastern Catalan can make longer forms than the left edge of the metrical constituent imposes; instead unmarked conditions on the shape of Valencian truncated forms can force the insertion of the gender vowel, thus increasing the metrical constituent at its right edge. In addition, some Catalan hypochoristics furnish empirical evidence for the full model of Correspondence Theory since they require underlying information of the base form.

Key words: dialectology, Catalan, truncation, correspondence theory.

Resum. *Fidelitat als límits prosòdics. Variació dialectal en els mots truncats del català*

L'objectiu d'aquest article és donar compte de les similituds i diferències entre els mots hipocorístics truncats del català oriental i els del valencià en el marc de la Teoria de la correspondència (McCarthy i Prince 1995), específicament de la Teoria de la relació transderivacional o relació de correspondència entre outputs (Benua 1995, 1997). El constituent prosòdic determinat per l'accent lèxic en català constiueix la majoria de les formes hipocorístiques truncades en tots dos dialectes. La fidelitat a la base en català oriental pot formar formes més llargues que les que imposa el límit esquerre del constituent mètric; en canvi les condicions no marcades sobre la configuració de les formes truncades valencianes poden forçar la inserció de la vocal de gènere i així allarguen el constituent mètric en el seu marge dret. A més, alguns hipocorístics catalans aporten

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evidència empírica per al model ple de la Teoria de la correspondència ja que requereixen informació subjacent de la forma base.

Paraules clau: dialectologia, català, truncació, teoria de la correspondència.

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1. Preliminary considerations

As is well known, all dialects of Catalan delete the underlying final /n/ of nouns and adjectives in which stress falls on the final syllable. This phenomenon can be explained in Correspondence Theory by a specific condition of No Coda that dominates the input-to-output faithfulness conditions. This underlying final /n/ constitues the second mora of the final heavy syllable. Except for some marked cases, Catalan needs a final heavy syllable to have final stress[1]. This final /n/ appears in plurals and in derived words: camí «path», but camins, caminet, caminar, caminal. We show this phenomenon in (1). (Only the syllabification and stress assignment is specified; otherwise the standard spelling is used).

(1) input	camin	No Coda (final n)	Faith -IO
	ca.mín	*!	
☞	ca.mí		*

input	Damian	No Coda (final n)	Faith -IO
	Da.mi.án	*!	
☞	Da.mi.á		*

On the other hand, a similar deletion of final /R/ occurs in Eastern Catalan and North-Western Catalan but not in Valencian[2]. Final /R/ is also deleted before the plural morpheme, but appears in derived words: *pape(r)* «paper», *pape(r)s*, *pape-*

1. The final stress in camí<n> and papé<r> is an opacity effect because two moras are needed to have final stress but the second mora is deleted.
2. North-Western Catalan and Valencian have been considered traditionally in the same dialectal group.

ret, empaperar, paperassa, paperer. It is shown in (2). (The standard written form of these words is with *r* in all dialects).

(2) input	paper	No Coda (final r)	Faith -IO
	pa.pér	*!	
☞	pa.pé		*

input	Roser	No Coda (final r)	Faith -IO
	Ro.sér	*!	
☞	Ro.sé		*

This phenomenon is reflected in truncated words like *Ció, Tià, Vador* or *Tasar.* All are unmarked final syllable stressed words with the final consonant deleted.

2. The data

The dominant characteristic of the truncated hypochoristics[3] in both dialects consists of the fact that the truncated form corresponds to the metrical foot, settled on the right edge of the base, which holds the word stress. So the stressed syllable of the base is always the stressed syllable of the truncated form. If the metrical foot is disyllabic, the truncated form mimics it in all dialects.

We will try to show why Eastern Catalan has monosyllabic and disyllabic truncated hypochoristics when the bases end in a stressed heavy syllable, whereas in Valencian all truncated forms are leftheaded and disyllabic.

On the other hand, the differences between the truncated forms and the correspondent part of the bases in both dialects are the result of the dominance of two wellformedness phonological requirements: the truncated words must have initial onset and do not accept complex onsets.

The examples in (3) all have the same shape in both dialects: ‘LL and ‘HL. The Prosodic Word coincides with the stress foot of the base. The lack of a hypochoristic form in one of the two dialects is not relevant, since it can be due to a lack of information or a lack of use in a particular dialect. (All names are presented with their syllabic limits, but some of them can show dialectal differences.)

(3)	Base name	Eastern Cat.	Valencian
	Er.nes.ti.na	Ti.na	Ti.na
	A.gus.ti.na	Ti.na	Ti.na
	En.ri.que.ta	Que.ta	Que.ta

3. Modern Catalan exhibits a different kind of truncation at the left edge of the base (for example, Montse from Montserrat). This type of truncation constitues a different system of the one analysed in this paper. It is not possible to compare it to the French system in which Anchor left and Anchor right compete. See N. Nelson (1998) for an analysis of French hypochoristics in terms of Correspondence Theory.

(3)	Base name	Eastern Cat.	Valencian
	Jo.se.fi.na	Fi.na	Fi.na
	Jo.se.pa	Pe.pa	Pe.pa
	Te.o.do.ra	Do.ra	Do.ra
	Ge.no.ve.va	Ve.va	—
	Ma.no.li.ta	Li.ta	Li.ta
	Ca.ro.li.na	Li.na	Li.na
	Ce.les.ti.no	Ti.no	Ti.no
	Mar.ga.ri.ta	Mi.ta	Mi.ta
	Je.ro.ni	No.ni	—
	Do.min.go	Min.go	Min.go
	Rai.mun.da	Mun.da	Mun.da
	Fran.cis.co	Cis.co	Cis.co
	Clo.til.de	Til.de	—
	Vi.cen.ta	Cen.ta	Cen.ta
	Le.o.pol.do	Pol.do	Pol.do
	Ce.cí.lia	Ci.la	—
	Eu.là.lia	La.ia	—
	Mi.se.ri.còr.dia	Co.ia	—
	Ro.sa.rio	—	Sa.ri
	An.tò.nia	To.na	To.na

The set of examples in (4) is typified by the fact that all the bases end with a stressed heavy syllable. The shape of the truncated outputs changes: while in Valencian all the examples are leftheaded disyllabic Prosodic Words, in Eastern Catalan the truncated forms, much more faithful to the base, can take one or two syllables from the base. Cases like *Remei* or *Joaquim* can only produce monosyllabic hipochoristics, cases like *Bartomeu* or *Montserrat* make disyllabic and monosyllabic truncates, and finally other bases like *Daniel* or *Sebastià* only make disyllabic ones.

(4)	Base name	Eastern Cat.	Valencian
	Re.mei	Mei	—
	Mi.quel	Quel	Que.lo
	Meritxell	Txell	—
	Vi.cent	—	Cen.to
	Llu.ís	—	Ui.sso
	I.sa.bel	Bel	Be.la
	Jo.a.quim	Quim	Xi.mo
	Se.gi.mon	Mon	—
	Mont.se.rrat	Se.rrat, Rat	—
	Bar.to.meu	To.meu, Meu	—
	Bal.ta.sar	Ta.sar, Xar	Sa.ro
	Sal.va.dor	Va.dor	Vo.ro
	Is.ma.el	—	Me.lo

(4)

Base name	Eastern Cat.	Valencian
Da.ni.el	Ni.el	Ne.lo
Con.cep.ció	Ci.ó	—
Se.bas.ti.à	Ti.à	—

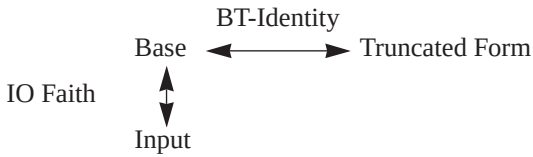
It is interesting to note that hypochorization in Eastern Catalan is always a shortening process of the bases whereas in Valencian it can be understood as a way to make leftheaded disyllabic Prosodic Words. Thus disyllabic iambic bases hypochorize in disyllabic trochaic forms: *Vicent* → *Cento, Manel* → *Nelo, Rafel* → *Felo, Lluís* → *Uisso.*[4]

The possible shapes of truncated forms in Eastern Catalan are: ‘LL, ‘HL, ‘H and L’H; only a subset of them are possible in Valencian: ‘LL and ‘HL.

3. The model

Benua (1995, 1997) adapts the basic model of Correspondence Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1995) to the truncation process. The truncated forms are only dependent on the outputs of the base words because the outputs are needed to produce truncated words. We are dealing with a transderivational or output-to-output relation. The base outputs are the inputs of the truncated words.«Truncated forms do not stand in a correspondence relation with the input» (Benua 1995:122). Benua’s schema is presented in (5):

(5)



This proposal accounts for two questions raised in an input-to-output relation (Cabré, 1993). On the one hand, truncated forms cannot strengthen the initial flap of the base foot in cases like *Je*[ɾ]*oni* —> *[r]*oni,* or *Marga*[ɾ]*ita* —> *[r]*ita,* or *Ma*[ɾ]*ia* —> *[r]*ia.* On the other hand, Catalan cannot truncate proparoxiton bases like *Angèlica* or *Penèlope,* but forms like *Laia, Coia, Sari, Tona* are very common in spite of their proparoxiton base inputs *Eulàlia, Misericòrdia, Rosàrio, Antònia.* Only a transderivational or an output-to-output relation can explain why a trill does not fulfil the BT-Identity relation with a correspondent flap. We can account for forms like *Laia* or *Coia,* given the impossible proparoxiton forms, if the stress foot is disyllabic like the base output. Starting from the base input, repairing strategies are needed which are ruled out by Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky, 1993). Truncated words must be faithful to the surface prosodic and segmental shape of their bases. Onset conditions on the truncated outputs force the differences between

4. One finds *Pep* and *Pepo* from *Josep* in Valencian, but monosyllabic hypocoristics must be understood as lexicalized forms since they are not generalized.

them. These cases constitute empirical evidence in favor of the output-to-output correspondence relation since the truncated forms appear completely dependent on the output base.

Truncated forms in Catalan have been analyzed as templatic targets that copy the positive Prosodic Circumscription of the bases (Cabré, 1993, 1994). They also have been analyzed under Optimality Theory, with alignment and parsing constraints which make useless the old repairing strategies to adapt the Prosodic Circumscription limits to templatic targets (Cabré & Kenstowicz, 1995). Under Correspondence Theory, the faithfulness to the Prosodic Circumscription is changed in terms of prosodic faithfulness requirements. «Foot faithfulness is never direct, it is always mediated by segments bearing head or edge roles in the foot. Constraints of the Anchoring family (successors to Alignment) are responsible» (McCarthy, 1998:10).

Following this proposal, we take the notion of Anchor-Position to characterize the faithfulness to the head and the edges of the prosodic constituent formed by the stressed foot of the base, which is settled on the right edge of the word, as is well known.

Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(FT, head): The prominent element of the truncated form and the prominent element of the base form stand in correspondence relation.

Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(FT, initial): The initial segment of the prosodic constituent of the base stands in correspondence relation with the initial segment of the truncated form.

Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(FT, final): The final segment of the prosodic constituent of the base stands in correspondence relation with the final segment of the truncated form.

We must keep in mind that lexical stress in Catalan is assigned under a moraic trochee pattern.[5] The shape that determines the assignment of word stress can be modified in the output form. As the final /n/ and the final /r/, which constitute the second mora of the monosyllabic foot, are deleted, the stressed constituent has only one mora in the output form. On the other hand, no onset position is needed to fulfil the metrical requirements, but onset conditions can compel the output form to fill this position, even with two segments, as in *Con.cep.ci.ón* → *Con.cep.ció.* In this example *-ció* is the prosodic constituent of the base output on which the Anchor-Position constraints operate.

As Benua states «in languages with contrastive stress, lexical prosodic structure is posited, but the surface prosody of the word must still be determined by the interaction of faithfulness constraints with metrical output constraints» (Benua, 1995:122). The full parsing of the base can be also modified by the interaction of faithfulness and unmarkedness constraints, as in *Daniel.* In spite of the fact that

5. For a proposal of the lexical stress asignment in Catalan in OT, see T. Vallverdú (1997).

-el is the constituent on which the Anchor-Position constraints operate, the requirements on the Prosodic Word force a disyllabic truncated form.

4. Analysis

In Catalan, there are a reduced number of very common words whose output forms are monomoraic *(vi* 'wine', *pa* 'bread', *bé* 'good', *por* 'fear', *dur* 'strong', etc). Starting from the general truncated forms in (3), we can state that Catalan truncated words are minimally bimoraic and maximally bisyllabic. Truncated forms are unmarked prosodic words, so Foot Binarity constraint must be observed. Thus, a low position of Max-BT in the ranking allows the truncated hypochoristics to not copy the whole base.

FtBin: Feet are binary at the moraic level or at the syllable level.

Max-BT: Each element of the base form has a corresponding element in the truncated form.

The tableaux in (6) illustrate two examples of the first group. As is evident, each violation in MAX-BT corresponds to a deletion of a syllable.

(6) input En.ri.que.ta	FtBin	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	MaxBT
☞ Que.ta					**
En.ri		*!	*	*	**
Ri.que.ta	*!		*		*

Le.o.pol.do	FtBin	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	Max-BT
☞ Pol.do					**
Le.o		*!	*	*	**
O.pol.do	*!		*		*

Some of the examples of this first group display important violations of BT-Indentity. We have said that the initial flap of the stressed foot cannot be kept in initial position of the hypochoristic form, but cannot be strengthened either. On the other hand, unmarked onset conditions on truncated outputs force the initial onset position to be filled.[6] Even though an underlying flap becomes a trill in some syllabic positions, the faithfulness relation is not preserved because it deals with a correspondence relation between two outputs. The best way to be faithful to the

6. It is possible to find a few disyllabic hypochoristics without initial onset: *Ita* (from *Margarita)* and *Ia* (from *Maria)*, but *Mita* and *Mia* are more common. Other possible hypochoristics like *Oni* (from *Jeroni)* or *El* (from *Daniel)* are completely unacceptable.

base is by taking one of the unmarked available consonants (there is no trill in the base form), preferably the initial consonant of the base name that identifies it (Kenstowicz, 1996). Thus, nasals and stops are the favoured consonants, while fricatives are marked. In order to restrict the amount of constraints in the ranking we have included different types of faithfulness under BT-Faith, as specified below. Two examples of this are shown in (7).

BT-Faith: There must be structural and segmental faithfulness between corresponding outputs. No deletion, no insertion.

I-Onset: Truncated forms are required to have initial onset.

(7):

Je.ro.ni	I-Onset	BT-Faith
☞ No.ni		
Ro.ni		*!
O.ni	*	*!

Mar.ga.ri.ta	I-Onset	BT-Faith
☞ Mi.ta		
Ri.ta		*!

The violations of BT-Faith mean different things: the initial trill segment of **Roni* and **Rita* is not present in the corresponding base form, whereas **Oni* shows that the initial onset has been deleted.

We have seen before too that there are a set of truncated words in the first group that violate faithfulness in another way: the bases have complex onsets and they are systematically simplified in a glide or consonant. The reason is the domination of BT-Faith by a wellformedness condition on syllabic structure that emerges in this kind of words.

No C-Onset: Complex Onsets are forbidden in truncated forms.

We must say about these cases that the simplification in a glide or consonant depends on the consonant featural characterization: nasal plus glide is reduced to a nasal *(Tona)*, whereas other clusters are simplified into a glide *(Coia)*, unless an adjacent vowel with the same articulatory features blocks it *(Cila* from *Cecília)*.[7] The tableaux in (8) show two examples of this phenomenon:

7. These solutions coincide with the evolution of a universal phenomenon of palatalization (Bhat 1978). Nowadays they can display another form like *Lali* or *Cori.* Nevertheless, it is possible to find a few hypochoristics with no onset simplification: *Xènia* (from *Eugènia)* and *Sèbio* (from *Eusebio).* Initial palatalization is another phenomenon that Catalan truncation exhibits: *Xènia, Xar, Ximo.*

(8): Eu.là.lia	No C-Onset	BT-Faith
☞ La.ia		*
La.lia	*!	

An.tò.nia	No C-Onset	BT-Faith
☞ To.na		*
To.nia	*!	

At this point of the analysis we cannot provide a strict ranking of the proposed conditions. We know that hypochoristics must observe wellformedness constraints like FtBin, I-Onset and No C-Onset; Anchor-Pos (Ft) preserves the identity with the head and the edges of the base lexical stress foot; BT-Faith can be violated under the wellformedness constraints.

5. Cases from final syllable stressed bases

The second group of truncated forms is certainly the most interesting one. All bases finish in a heavy syllable, the prosodic constituent that holds the lexical stress. This base constituent becomes a Prosodic Word with a leftheaded disyllabic shape in Valencian, whereas in Eastern Catalan one or two syllables are taken from the base under requirements of faithfulness and wellformedness in conflict.

Let us consider the first monosyllabic cases as opposed to disyllabic ones. Monosyllabic truncates from disyllabic bases are the single possibility for hypochorization to occur. The tableaux in (9) show two examples:

(9): Mi.quel	FtBin	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	Max-BT
☞ Quel					*
Mi.quel			*!		

Re.mei	FtBin	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	Max-BT
☞ Mei					*
Re.mei			*!		

More striking is the mess set of possibilities and ungrammaticalities permitted by the longer bases. *Isabel, Joaquim, Segimon* or *Meritxell* can only yield monosyllabic truncated forms: *Bel, Quim, Mon, Txell* (**Sabel, *Aquim, *Gimon, *Mitxell* are completely unacceptable), whereas *Bartomeu, Montserrat* or *Baltasar* can yield *Tomeu, Serrat, Tasar* and also *Meu, Rat, Xar.* Finally, other bases like *Daniel* or *Sebastià* can only yield disyllabic hypochoristics *(Niel, Tià),* but this is due to the dominance of wellformedness constraints, as we will see later.

Taking into account the outcome from disyllabic bases, we will assume that the monosyllabic hypochoristics *Meu, Rat* and *Xar* are a recursive truncation from disyllabic hypochoristics *Tomeu, Serrat*[8] and *Tasar.* If we accept this, we must account for the opposition between the monosyllabic and disyllabic hypochoristics from long bases (longer than two syllables).

The truncation of final syllable stressed bases in two syllable words implies the violation of Anchor-Pos (Ft, initial). So this constraint has to ocupy a lower position in the ranking. The PW-2σ requirement on truncated forms increases the base stressed constituent at its initial edge by taking the contiguous light syllable. On the other hand, Parse σ requires the full parsing of the base while keeping the truncated form inside the stress foot edges, like in (I.sa).[bel], and blocking an unacceptable disyllabic output like **Sabel.* The two new constraints are specified as follows. The tableaux in (10) show some examples.

Parse σ: Syllables are parsed into feet
PW-2σ: PW is required to have two syllables

(10): I.sa.bel	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	Parse σ	PW-2σ	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)
☞ (Isa)[Bel]				*	
I[Sa.bel]			*!		*

Bar.to.meu	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, head)	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, fin)	Parse σ	PW-2σ	Anchor-Pos BT (Ft, ini)
(Bar.to) [Meu]				*!	
(Bar) ☞ [To.meu]					*

It is important to note that if a complete parsing is needed, as seems to be the case, the stress foot indicates the direction of parsing. This makes sense in cases like *Elisabet*, because *Bet* is the single possibility for hypochorization. Otherwise a trapped syllable would force a disyllabic Prosodic Word, which is completely unacceptable.

The remaining disyllabic forms are due to the dominance of wellformedness requirements on the onsets. In cases with no available segment to fill the initial onset position, I-Onset compels disyllabic forms, thus violating Parse σ. Some of these cases are examplified in (11):

8. The truncation of *Montserrat* give further evidence of the output-to-output correspondence relation. Independently of the suitability of the underlying analysis of the intervocalic trills in two flaps, the surface form of *Montserrat* has the penultimate syllable light. (For an alternative analysis of rhotics, see Bonet & Mascaró 1997).

(11): (Ho.no)(rat)	I-Onset	BT-Faith	Parse σ	PW-2σ
Rat		*!		*
At	*!	*		*
☞ No.rat			*	

(Da.ni)(el)	I-Onset	BT-Faith	Parse σ	PW-2σ
Nel		*!		*
El	*!			*
☞ Ni.el			*	

Examples like *Concepció* and *Sebastià*, even *Daniel* or *Gabriel* (colloquially, *Grabiel)* have two, three or four syllables, depending on the dialect and speech rate. The hypochorization process always yields disyllabic forms: *Ció, Tià, Niel, Biel.* No C-Onset constraint is responsible. The two wellformedness constraints on the onsets dominate BT-Faith. We consider these possibilities in (12):

(12) Da.niel	No C-Ons	I-Ons	BT-Faith	Parse σ	PW-2σ
Niel	*!				*
☞ Ni.el					
Nel			*!		*

Con.cep.ció	No C-Ons	I-Ons	BT-Faith	Parse σ	PW-2σ
Ció	*!				*
☞ Ci.ó					
O		*!	**		*

Se.bas.ti.à	No C-Ons	I-Ons	BT-Faith	Parse σ	PW-2σ
☞ Ti.à					
Tià	*!				*
A		*!			*

**Ció* and **A,* with only one mora, are also ruled out by FtBin, which is not present in the tableau. We might suppose that FtBin forces the disyllabicity of the output forms. However, *Xar* violates FtBin too because the surface monomoraicity. In spite of the exceptionality of *Xar* (since *Dor* from *Salvador* is not attested), we will say for the moment that the markedness conditions on the onsets are the real reason for ruling out the monomoraic forms **Ció* and **A.*

As we have noted above, BT-Faith forbids deletion and epenthesis. So *Ni.el, Ci.ó* or *Ti.à* do not violate it in any case, since the vowel and the glide have the same articulatory features.

Leaving aside the case under moraic minimums, the truncation ranking in Eastern Catalan is as follows:

FtBin >> Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, head), Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, final) >> No C-Onset, I-Onset >>BT-Faith >> Parse σ >> PW-2σ >> Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, initial)

6. Valencian final syllable stressed bases

Let us recall now some aspects of Valencian dialect. The final /n/ is deleted like in Eastern Catalan but final /r/ is not. This means that *Baltasar* and *Salvador* have a final heavy syllable in the underlying and phonetic forms. On the other hand, all final syllable stressed base names truncate in leftheaded disyllabic forms like those in (3).

(13)

Mi.quel	Que.lo
Rafel	Fe.lo
Vi.cent	Cen.to
Llu.ís	Ui.sso
I.sa.bel	Be.la
Jo.a.quim	Xi.mo
Bal.ta.sar	Sa.ro
Sal.va.dor	Vo.ro
Is.ma.el	Me.lo
Da.niel	Ne.lo

According to this behavior, Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, head) remains undominated, and also Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, initial), being irrelevant Parse σ. Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, final) is in a lower position since all truncated hypochoristics must be leftheaded and disyllabic and the stressed constituent of the base is monosyllabic. BT-Faith is systematically violated because of the addition of the gender vowel. The wellformedness conditions on the onsets remain undominated too. The new condition for Valencian truncation is PW (leftheaded):

PW (leftheaded): PW is required to have the strong position on the left.

The complete ranking in Valencian seems to be as follows. Some examples are shown in (14).

FtBin >> Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, head), Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, initial) >> No C-Onset, I-Onset >> PW-Lefthead >> PW-2σ >> BT-Faith >> Anchor-Pos$_{BT}$(Ft, initial)

(14)

Vi.cent	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
Cent					*!			
Cen.to							*	*

Llu.ís	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
Is				*!		*		
I.sso				*!			*	*
Ui.sso							**	*

Bal.ta.sar	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
.Sar						*!		
Ta.sar		*!			*			
☞ Sa.ro							*	*

I.sa.bel	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
Bel						*!		
Sa.bel		*!			*			
☞ Be.la							*	*

Is.ma.el	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
Mel						*!	*	
E.lo				*!			*	*
☞ Me.lo							**	*

Da.niel	Anc-Pos (head)	Anc-Pos (initial)	No C-On	I-On	PW (lefthead)	PW-2σ	BT-Faith	Anc-Pos (final)
Niel			*!			*		
Ni.el					*!			
Nel						*!	*	
☞ Ne.lo							*	*

Some of the Valencian solutions need to be commented on. *Ximo* bears initial palatalization. The initial change in *Voro* is due to an available labial segment preferred to the correspondent coronal one. *Uisso* is a similar case, the initial onset must be filled and the best available segment is the vowel that becomes a glide in onset position, keeping the same articulatory features. *Ismael* is a three-syllable word whereas it seems that the more usual pronounciation of *Daniel* in Valencian is disyllabic. This fact makes necessary the PW-leftheaded condition to yield *Nelo,* otherwise the disyllabic *Niel* would be the outcome.

7. Final comment

Correspondence Theory give us a good framework to account for the dialectal differences in the Catalan truncation process. Different outputs (such as *Tasar / Saro, Vador / Voro, Niel / Nelo,* etc.) are explained basically under the same conditions. The Catalan hypochoristics in both dialects are always faithful to the head of the stressed foot of the base. In Eastern Catalan the dominance of the Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, final) and BT-Faith conditions accounts for the rightheaded disyllabic truncated forms that have violated the Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, initial) condition, but Parse σ prevents this violation in the monosyllabic cases. In Valencian the dominance of Anchor-

Pos_{BT}(Ft, initial) condition and the requirements on the output shapes force the violation of BTFaith. A comparison of the two rankings shows that the dialectal differences are essentially due to a different dominance of the same constraints, as was expected.

Eastern Catalan: FtBin >> Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, head), Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, final) >> No C-Onset, I-Onset >> BT-Faith >> Parse σ >> PW-2σ >> Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, initial)

Valencian: FtBin >> Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, head), Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, initial)>>No C-Ons, I-Ons >> PW-Lefthead >> PW-2σ >> BT-Faith >> Anchor-Pos_{BT}(Ft, final)

Finally we will try to give an explanation for *Xar,* one of the two hypochoristic forms from *Baltasar* in Eastern Catalan. As we have seen, *Xar* is a phonetic monomoraic Prosodic Word because of the deletion of the underlying final /ɾ/. Nonetheless, it is a wellformed word like any of the significant set of words *(vi, pa, dur, por).* Since *Dor* from *Salvador* is not attested to, we can consider *Xar* as an isolated lexicalized form, if we only take into account the output-to-output correspondence relation between base and truncated form.

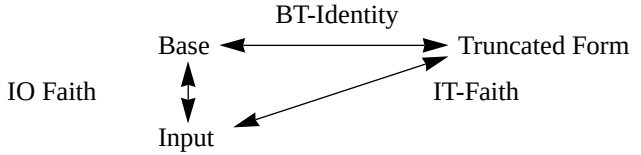
On the other hand, truncated hypochoristics with final segment deleted can be affixed in the same way as the rest, e.g. with an inflective or a diminutive affix. Then the underlying consonant emerges: *Ció* but *Cions, Tià* but *Tiana, Vador* but *Vadoret.*[9] These forms cannot be seen as truncated hypochoristics from their corresponding bases but derived words from the truncated hypochoristics since the three-syllable shapes are banned in the truncation process.

This fact raises an important problem for the transderivational model of Correspondence Theory, as we have done thus far. The underlying form of the truncated words is the output of the base form, and the deleted segments cannot be recovered yet. The segments that reappear in the derived hypochoristics are exactly the same as the input base forms. So we have no alternative but to connect truncated forms with the input of the base. In consequence we have to propose a new model of correspondence relation (15), basing ourselves on the full model of McCarthy & Prince 1995. This proposal allows us to consider *Xar* [ʃa] as a phonologically bimoraic Prosodic Word.

Nevertheless, we retain the remaining assumptions of Benua's proposal. As she points out, truncated words cannot be more faithful to the underlying form than the base is, but the statement that «there is no correspondence relation between the input and the truncated words» (Benua, 1995:82) is wrong. The disyllabicity of *Ció* or *Niel,* apparently more faithful to the base input, is not a consequence of the correspondence relation with this input, but the dominance of wellformedness constraints on the onsets.

9. Other derived words from truncated hypochoristics are: *Beló* from *Bel (Isabel), Tonet* from *Ton (Anton), Rateta* from *Rat (Montserrat), Pepeta* from *Pepa (Josepa), Mundeta* from *Munda (Raimunda), Tueietes* from *Tuies (Gertrudis),* etc. See Cabré (1993) for more examples.

(15)



With this model we can account for the recovery of the deleted segments of the input, but the IT-Faithfulness relation is overridden by the BT-faithfulness, unless certain requirements make it necessary (for example, many Catalan suffixes must be adjoined to a morpheme that ends in a consonant). It seems that IT-Faithfulness only operates when a segment that fills a syllabic position has been deleted.[10]

If truncated words can be affixed, as in Catalan, it is assumed that the morphological operation is realized in the same way as with other words. The truncated words must have an underlying form in the lexicon because they are independent words. This underlying form takes into account the output but also the input of the base form.

The status of truncated words in the lexicon is a question that has not been adequately debated thus far and it seems that the data from Catalan can shed a certain amount of light upon it.

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10. This proposal is similar to that of McCarthy & Prince for Klamath reduplication. See McCarthy & Prince (1995).

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