

Reflexive SE with first and second person plural verb forms: A corpus study of spoken Valencian Catalan varieties

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Summary: This paper presents a corpus study of 1st and 2nd person plural verbs and their reflexive clitics in a sample of spoken Valencian Catalan varieties. Previous studies have observed that the reflexive clitic SE, which standardly appears with 3rd person verb inflection, can co-occur with verbs marked for 1st and 2nd person plural in some varieties of Spanish and Catalan. With respect to the latter language, it has been mentioned that the phenomenon is especially extensive in the Valencian Catalan varieties. By means of an examination of data from the corpus *Parlars* it will be shown that even within Valencian Catalan, there is considerable variation with respect to the following factors: (i) whether SE is used with 2nd person only, 1st and 2nd person, or none of the two specifications; (ii) whether SE is the only form or whether it alternates with prototypical 1st and 2nd person plural reflexives (1PL *nos* and 2PL *vos*), and (iii) whether the first person plural reflexive *nos* can be ‘doubled’ by SE (*mo(s) se*). The data indicate that SE can be the result of processes in different components of grammar: in phonology, as the result of a reduction operation, in morphology as the result of the elimination of a person feature, or in the lexicon as a feature bundle that fully lacks person.

Keywords: Valencian Catalan, spoken language, reflexives, corpus study, morpho-syntax ■

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■ 1 Introduction

In Catalan reflexive structures (as in other languages) the reflexive clitic agrees with the subject and the verb in the standard case. The following represents a Valencian Catalan paradigm of the verb *dutxar-se* ‘to shower’:

- (1) a. Jo me/em dutxe.
I REFL.1SG shower.1SG
b. Tu te/et dutxes.
you.SG REFL.2SG shower.2SG



- c. Ell/ella se/es dutxa.¹
 he/she REFL.3 shower.3SG
- d. Mosatros mos/ens dutxem.²
 we REFL.1PL shower.1PL
- e. Vosatros vos/us dutxeu.
 you.PL REFL.2PL shower.2PL
- f. Ells/elles se/es dutxen.
 they.M/F REFL.3 shower.3PL

However, while this situation holds in many (Ibero-)Romance languages, it has been observed that some varieties of Spanish (de Benito Moreno, 2015 and references), Portuguese (Martins, 2003; Henriques, *to appear*), and Catalan (Bonet, 1991; Perea, 2011; 2013; de Benito Moreno, 2015) show diverging patterns in the first and/or second person plural (henceforth 1PL and 2PL). The following represents an example from Portuguese, in which a verb marked for 1PL appears with the reflexive clitic SE (Martins, 2003: 8):

- (2) Levantávamos-se de manhã, aquecíamos logo a água para
 got-up.1PL-SE of morning heated.1PL then the water for
 amassar.
 knead.INF

(Lavre, Évora. CORDIAL-SIN, LVR 35;
 taken from Martins, 2003: 9 [my glosses])

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- 1 There is variation in Valencian Catalan with respect to whether SE is realized as *se* or *es* in proclitic position (cf. e.g. Sanchis Guarner, 1950: 232f). In a similar vein, first and second person accusative pronouns are realized as the plain forms *me* and *te* in several Valencian Catalan varieties (see Veny, 1984: 163), but as *em* and *et* in Standard Central Catalan. The *Gramàtica normativa valenciana* of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL 2006:171) points out: “En alguns parlars les formes plenes es mantenen de manera general davant de verb començat per consonant [...]. Es tracta de formes acceptables, però en els registres formals són preferibles les formes reforçades.”
- 2 There is considerable dialectal variation in the expression of 1st person plural object pronouns in Catalan. Some variants include *mos*, *nos*, *mo'*, *no'*, *ens* and, as we will examine in this paper, *se/es*. Also with respect to second person plural reflexives different variants can be found, such as *vos*, *us*, and *se/es*. See Veny (1984) and Beltran & Segura (2019) for further discussion. In the present paper, the focus is on the alternation between ‘canonical’ 1pl/2pl forms, i.e. *mos/mo'/ens* or *vos/vo'/us* vs. reflexives lacking person marking, i.e. *se/es/s'*.

As can be seen, the reflexive clitic SE,³ which standardly occurs with 3rd person forms, appears with a verb inflected for 1st person plural. A similar situation can be observed in some varieties of Spanish, as in the following example from the corpus COSER, reported by de Benito Moreno (2015: 105):

- (3) yo creo, no sé si será la palabra,
 I think not know.1SG if be.3SG.FUT the word
 ‘I think, I don’t know if that’s the proper word’
 pero **se** **decimos** “acurrucarte”
 but REFL.3 say.1PL curl.up-REFL.2SG
 ‘but we say “curling up”’

(COSER; Rodrigoillo, AL 309;
 taken from de Benito Moreno, 2015: 105)

For Catalan, only a few studies exist (see section 2), but one observation that has been made is that the use of SE with 1PL/2PL seems to be especially frequent in Valencian Catalan varieties (DCVB; Colomina i Castanyer, 2006: 575; de Benito Moreno, 2015: 101). The following represent examples with a 2PL imperative (4a) and with a 1PL declarative verb form (5a) that appear with reflexive SE, comparing them to the versions with the expected 1st and 2nd person reflexives (cf. the respective examples in (b)):

- (4) a. **Animeu-se!**
 animate.IMP.2PL=REFL.3
 b. **Animeu-vos!**
 Animate.IMP.2PL=REFL.2PL
 ‘Come on!’ (lit. ‘Animate yourself!’)
- (5) a. **se** **reunim** una volta a l’any (*Parlars*, Catarroja)
 REFL.3 get-together.1PL one time at the=year
 b. **mos** **reunim** una volta a l’any
 REFL.1PL get-together.1PL one time at the=year
 ‘we get together once per year’

Even though this phenomenon has been observed to be common in (some) Valencian Catalan varieties, studies that examine the actual situa-

3 Throughout the present paper, SE is used with capital letters to refer to the 3rd person (or zero-person) reflexive clitic without focusing on its concrete realization as *se*, *es* or reduced *s*’, in opposition to MOS (with its realizations *mos* or *mo*’).

tion, its use and variation in oral production data are, to the best of our knowledge, rare or even absent. One main goal of the present paper is thus to provide new empirical data in order to get a clearer picture of agreement mismatches with reflexive verbs in spoken Valencian Catalan.⁴

To reach this goal, we have carried out a study of 7 interviews representing different varieties of Valencian Catalan from the speech corpus *Parlars* (Montserrat & Segura, 2020; Esplà & Sentí, in prep.). We have examined 1PL and 2PL reflexive verbs and their clitics regarding the following factors: reduced (*s'*) vs. plain (*se/es*) form, alternation vs. exclusive use of 1PL/2PL/3PL forms, appearance in clitic clusters, and the phonological context (vowel, type of consonant). Furthermore, we have compared the pattern in the 7 interviews in detail to see whether inter-speaker and/or regional variation could be found.

This paper is structured as follows: in section 2, we discuss previous mentions of SE with 1PL/2PL inflection in grammars and studies of Catalan. Thereafter, we present the methodology, data and results of the present study of SE with 1PL/2PL inflection in spoken Valencian Catalan varieties. In section 4, we discuss some general properties of Valencian Catalan and address the question of which factors could influence the existence of SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms in these varieties. In section 5, we lay out some theoretic consequences of the existence of different patterns of SE with 1PL/2PL, and section 6 concludes the paper.

■ 2 SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in Catalan: previous mentions and studies

■ 2.1 Dictionaries and grammars

The phenomenon of using SE with verb forms inflected for 1PL or 2PL has been mentioned in dictionaries and both descriptive as well as normative grammars.

4 An anonymous reviewer points out that an even more radical phenomenon of SE with personal verb forms exists in the Sursilvan dialect of the Romansh language. Here, clitic reflexive pronouns are systematically the reflexive particle SE or S'. For example, the reviewer mentions the following example of (*se*)*regurdar* 'remember' where SE even appears with first person singular:

(i) *regurdar* 'remember' → reflexive verb: *seregurdar* 'remember'
jeu seregordel 'I remember'

The *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB; Alcover & Moll, 1978) mentions the use of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in the fourth and fifth entry for SE. In fact, the reflexive pronoun *es* (and the variants *se*, ‘s, and *s’*) is defined there as a colloquial form of the enclitic and proclitic first person plural personal pronoun which is “equivalent to the literary and correct forms *ens* and *nos*” [our translation]. The same is stated about SE with 2PL:

4. ES (i ses variants SE, ‘S, S’),

forma vulgar de pronom personal enclític i proclític de primera persona plural, equivalent a les formes literàries i correctes *ens* i *nos*, de les quals és una deformació produïda per analogia del pronom reflexiu de tercera persona, *es* o *se* (*s’*, ‘s). Aquesta deformació és freqüent i molt estesa en el català continental, principalment en el valencià; en canvi, és desconeguda en mallorquí.

5. ES (i ses variants SE, ‘S, S’),

forma vulgar de pronom personal reflexiu de segona persona plural, enclític i proclític, equivalent a les formes correctes i literàries *us* i *vos*, de les quals és una deformació produïda per analogia del pronom reflexiu de tercera persona, *es* o *se* (*s’*, ‘s). Aquesta deformació, anàloga a la que hem estudiada en l'article precedent, és freqüent i molt estesa en el català continental; en canvi, és gairebé desconeguda en mallorquí.

(DCVB, Alcover & Moll, 1978)

The *Gramàtica Essencial de la Llengua Catalana* of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (GEIEC, 13.6) observes the existence of reductions (*s/s'*) of 1PL/2PL reflexive clitics with imperative forms (*¿Anem's-en* instead of *Anem-nos-en* or *Poseu's-bo al cap* instead of *Poseu-vos-bo al cap*). In some reflexive contexts in Central Catalan varieties, the GEIEC (13.6) mentions that the reduced *s* [z] is followed by an epenthetic vowel [ə] (*Donem[ɤə] les mans* instead of *Donem-nos les mans*; *Porteu[ɤə] bé* instead of *Porteu-vos bé*). Furthermore, Valencian Catalan and *tarragoní* are mentioned as varieties where a confusion of the reductions of 1PL/2PL reflexives with SE also occurs in proclitic position (*Se n'anem* instead of *Ens n'anem*; *S'heu volgut com a germans* instead of *Us heu volgut com a germans*; GEIEC, 13.6). This implies that the phenomenon also exists outside Valencian Catalan, but it might be more restricted (e. g. to enclitic position and imperatives) in other varieties.

Sanchis Guarner (1950: 231), in his *Gramàtica valenciana*, mentions the existence of the reflexive pronoun *se* with 1PL and 2PL reflexive verbs in the Valencian capital and large parts of the Valencian region. Its use is described as part of colloquial language (“s’usa vulgarment”) and as a “dialectism”, in opposition to the “correct forms” *ens*, *nos*, *us* and *vos* (cf. *ibid.*).

Also Salvador's (1978) *Gramàtica valenciana* mentions several uses of SE instead of *nos/ens* and *us/vos*: after an imperative, if the imperative is followed by a combination of two weak clitics, after a gerund, and before a finite verb (even though in the last case, Salvador [1978: 171] gives examples of reduced *s'* followed by a verb starting with a vowel: *Ja s'haven saludat*). The use of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms is relegated to spoken informal language and condemned as an "improper" use ("ús indegut", cf. *ibid.*). In fact, the examples containing SE are always followed by examples of the "correct" form (cf. *ibid.*: 171f).

In the *Gramàtica del català contemporani*, Colomina i Castanyer (2006: 575) mentions the existence of SE with verbs inflected for 1PL or 2PL as a phenomenon of Valencian and the *tarragoní* varieties. According to the author, SE is the result of the reduction of the older forms *ens* and *eus* to *es* and subsequent confusion with the reflexive pronoun SE. He also notes the restriction of this process to reflexive contexts. This way *mos/vos* are used in non-reflexive and *es/se* in reflexive contexts in some Valencian varieties (examples (6) and (7) from Colomina i Castanyer, 2006: 575 [glosses added]):

- (6) Non-reflexive contexts:
- a. (Ells) *mos volen com a germans.*
they us want.3PL as brothers
 - b. (Nosaltres) *vos volem com a germans.*
we you.2PL want.1PL as brothers
- (7) Reflexive contexts:
- a. (Nosaltres) *es volem com a germans.*
we REFL want.1PL as brothers
 - b. (Vosaltres) *es voleu com a germans.*
you.2PL REFL want.2PL as brothers

In the *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana* of the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (henceforth AVL, 2006) the use is described as part of colloquial language and, similarly to Castanyer i Colomina (2006), the existence of SE is described as the result of a reduction of the plain form *ens/eus* and subsequent "confusion" with *es* (= *se*). Furthermore, the use of SE with 1PL/2PL is restricted to reflexive, pronominal, and reciprocal verbs:

[...] A partir de la forma reforçada *ens*, també s'ha produït col·loquialment la reducció en *es* i la posterior confusió amb el pronom reflexiu *se*: *Es pensàvem que vindríeu. Tots s'hem*

de morir. Donem-se les mans. No podem entendre's. El canvi només s'ha produït quan estos pronoms febles van amb verbs pronominals, reflexius i recíprocs, és a dir, quan el pronom i el verb coincidixen en persona i nombre, i afecta també el pronom *vos* (a partir de la reducció en *es* de l'antiga forma *eus*): *Es pensàveu una altra cosa. S'heu volgut com a germans. Poden agafar-se les mans. No podíeu entendre's.* (AVL, 2006: 172)

If there is in fact a confusion with reflexive *se*, this would a priori entail that SE with 1PL/2PL has developed into a genuine 3rd person reflexive as a result of phonological similarity and subsequent syncretism. We will see in sections 3 and 4 that, even though this situation might be true for some cases, there is evidence that other cases of SE with 1PL/2PL should receive a different treatment.

■ 2.2 Previous studies and theoretic analyses

One of the first studies that aims at explaining the particular behavior of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms on a theoretic level is Bonet (1991), which is couched within the framework of Distributed Morphology (see Halle & Marantz, 1993 and related work). In this framework, the morphological component can apply operations to morpho-syntactic feature bundles after syntax. One such post-syntactic operation in morphology is *Impoverishment* (Bonet, 1991; Halle & Marantz, 1993), which removes a feature from a syntactic feature bundle so that it is not visible to phonology. This is precisely the operation that is responsible for SE with 1PL/2PL in some Catalan varieties according to Bonet (1991).

Bonet (1991: 138f), citing Colomina i Castanyer (1985), points out that SE is different from canonical 1PL/2PL reflexive pronouns in that it does not have a non-reflexive counterpart (see the reflexive clitics in (8)–(9) and the impossible non-reflexive instances of SE in (10)–(11)):

- (8) Mos/Es posarem darrera.
REFL.1PL/REFL.3 put.FUT.1PL behind
'We will move behind'
- (9) Vos/Es poseu darrera.
REFL.2PL/REFL.3 put.2PL behind
'You will move behind'
- (10) Mos/#Es posaran darrera.
REFL.1PL/REFL.3 put.FUT.3PL behind
'Intended: They will move us behind'

- (11) Vos/#Es posen darrera.
 REFL.2PL/REFL.3 put.3PL behind
 ‘Intended: They will move you behind’

This is evidence in favor of assuming that SE is not specified for 1PL or 2PL in all components of grammar because this would predict that these clitics can also have non-reflexive counterparts, similarly to 1PL *ens/mos* and 2PL *us/vos*.

Bonet (1991: 140) thus argues that the person feature of the clitic is present in syntax, but it is deleted in post-syntactic morphology before the insertion of phonological content:

- (12) CL [~~±1~~], PL → /es/

This way, the [person] feature is invisible to the phonological component, which can only see the plural number feature. In this theory, SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms is different from proto-typical cases of SE in syntax (i.e. it is not 3rd person). However, they correspond to the same element in post-syntactic morphology and phonology.

The fact that these (syntactically 1st and 2nd person) clitics cannot have free reference follows from a general requirement of “recoverability”:

- (13) a. The features of a [PERSON] clitic must be recoverable.
 b. A feature is recoverable if, after being suppressed, it is still instantiated (realized) in the syntactic chain the clitic belongs to. (Bonet, 1991: 39)

Given that the person feature is deleted by *Impoverishment*, it must be recoverable from verb inflection.

Partly left open in Bonet’s (1991) approach is why this operation only applies to plural forms. One solution could be found in the work by Jiménez Martínez (1997). Even though the main focus of his study is not the use of SE with 1PL/2PL, the phenomenon is mentioned in the context of re-syllabification and the insertion of an epenthetic vowel.

Re-syllabification occurs to satisfy the tendency that syllables prefer to be open (the principle of “obertura”; *ibid.*: 337):

However, given the condition of recoverability of person features, the author concludes in the vein of Bonet (1991) that the phenomenon is morphological and not purely phonological.

Perea (2011, 2012, 2013) also analyzes variation with the 1st person plural object pronouns *ens/nos* and the 2nd person plural *us/vos* and mentions the existence of several reduced forms, either with the elimination of the plural *s* (*mo, no*, etc.; cf. Perea, 2012: 114f), or the elimination of person, resulting in a reduction to *s* in proclisis (*se'n tornarem*) and enclisis (*Dolguem-se'n*; Perea, 2013: 305) sometimes with an epenthetic vowel /e/ resulting in *se*.

However, as de Benito Moreno (2015: 119), referring to Perea (2011: 442), notes, while the reduction to 's/s' can easily be accounted for on phonetic grounds, the form *se* is harder to explain, above all, in enclisis because Catalan allows final *-s* quite regularly in other contexts. While this issue will be taken up again in section 4, it is important to note at this point that de Benito Moreno (2015: 119) explicitly considers the possibility that SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms might be a 3rd person reflexive pronoun: "I believe, however, that the vowel in *se* could be explained if we do not consider it a reduced form but the expression of the reflexive 3rd person pronoun" (*ibid.*: 119).

Taking this idea further, SE with verb forms in 1PL/2PL would in fact be a configuration of an agreement mismatch:

(19) Animeu[2pl]-se[3]

This would make the structure similar to well-known cases of unagreement configurations which, similarly to the phenomenon under discussion, is only possible with 1PL and 2PL verb forms (see Torrego, 1996 for extensive discussion of Spanish). The following represents two corpus examples from the Valencian Catalan varieties investigated here:

- (20) a. que anàvem a llavar les dones (Parlars, Alginet)
 that went.1PL to wash.INF the women.3PL
 'which we women went to wash'
- b. i els xiquets o les xiquetes que tingueu els matrimonis
 and thekids.M or thekids.F that have.2PL the couples.3PL
 'and the kids that you couples have' (Parlars, Catarroja)

This way, SE with 1PL/2PL can in principle have three different structures: a (phonologically reduced) 1PL/2PL clitic, a zero person clitic (after deletion of [person]), or a genuine 3rd person *se*-reflexive yielding an unagreement configuration.

■ 2.3 Interim summary

Valencian Catalan varieties have instances of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms. Several grammars and studies point out that the realization of 1PL and 2PL clitics in non-subject position as SE is restricted to reflexive, pronominal or reciprocal verbs, i.e., contexts in which the person feature of the SE clitic is recoverable. Furthermore, it is mentioned in some sources that the phenomenon is widespread in Valencian Catalan varieties, but specific studies of the use of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in actual spoken Valencian Catalan are, to the best of our knowledge, very rare (see Beltran & Segura, 2019 for the dialectal distribution of the two forms *Se n'anem* and *mo n'anem*).

With respect to the nature of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms, three main analyses have been proposed in the literature:

- (i) Phonological reduction (SE = 1PL/2PL)
SE is the result of a phonological reduction of *mos/ens* and *us/vos* (= *s*) which in some contexts involves an epenthetic vowel (= *se/es*). According to this approach, SE is specified for the abstract features 1PL or 2PL and phonological processes yield a homophonous element with 3rd person SE.
- (ii) Morphological reduction (SE = Ø-person)
SE is 1PL/2PL in syntax, but the person feature gets deleted in post-syntactic morphology (Bonet, 1991) prior to phonology. Deletion of the person feature has the result that the 1PL or 2PL reflexive is specified for plural number, but zero person, in morphology and phonology, resulting in SE.
- (iii) SE = 3rd person
SE is specified as 3rd person in syntax (and the lexicon). This implies that SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms has been re-analyzed as a 3rd person reflexive. The syntactic configuration would resemble unagreement patterns between 3rd person plural subjects and 1PL/2PL verb forms.

The reasoning we would like to pursue in this paper is that the options (i) to (iii) are not mutually exclusive, but might be genuine options that are

used by different varieties and/or different speakers. A study of Valencian Catalan is particularly interesting in this context because it has been observed in the literature that the investigated phenomenon is especially frequent in these varieties.

■ 3 The study: SE with 1PL and 2PL reflexive verbs in a sample of spoken Valencian Catalan

In this section, we present the study that has been carried out to examine reflexive clitics with 1PL/2PL verbs in spoken Valencian Catalan. First, we outline our research questions. Then we present the methodology, i.e. the corpus that has been used, data extraction and data classification. In subsection 3.3, we present the results.

■ 3.1 Research questions

We have carried out a corpus study of 7 interviews of the corpus *Parlars* with speakers of different locations within the Comunitat Valenciana in order to get a more complete picture of the use of SE in 1PL and 2PL reflexive contexts. The leading research questions of our study are the following:

- (i) Is the use of 1PL and 2PL reflexives the same across different varieties and speakers? Do 1PL and 2PL verb forms behave the same with respect to SE vs. canonical reflexives?
- (ii) What are the properties of the grammatical system of Valencian Catalan varieties that favor the existence of SE with 1PL and 2PL?
- (iii) What type of element is SE with 1PL/2PL? Is it a phonological reduction of the corresponding 1PL and 2PL reflexives or is it morpho-syntactically a non-1st/2nd person reflexive? What are the contexts that condition the use of either 1PL/2PL reflexives or SE if an alternation between the two forms exists?

■ 3.2 The data: the corpus *Parlars*

For our study of the use of reflexive clitics with 1PL and 2PL verb forms, 7 interviews from the corpus *Parlars* (Montserrat & Segura, 2020; Esplà-Gomis & Sentí, in prep.) have been examined in detail. This corpus contains data of spoken Valencian Catalan of speakers older than 60 years (cf. Montserrat & Segura, 2020: 12, for discussion). The 7 interviews we have

examined were from the following localities: Alcoi, Agost, Algemesí, Alginet, Catarroja, Sollana and Tírig. Out of these, Algemesí, Alginet, Catarroja and Sollana represent the variety of *valencià central*, Agost represents *valencià alacantí*, Alcoi *valencià meridional*, and Tírig the variety of *valencià tortosí* (in the classification of Beltran & Segura, 2019).

With respect to the type of data, 5 interviews were semi-spontaneous conversations (Agost, Alginet, Algemesí, Catarroja, Tírig) in which an interviewer offers some topics of conversation, but the main conversation is maintained between 2 or more informants. One interview was a ‘monologue’ (Alcoi) in which there is only one informant and one interviewer who asks questions. Another interview could be classified as a (quasi-)monologue (Sollana). In this interview, there were two informants, but one of them produced almost all turns so that the overall genre is more similar to that of Alcoi, which is classified as a ‘monologue’, than to a semi-spontaneous conversation between informants. The main topics of the interviews are past experiences of the speakers, past life in the village, customs, and activities, among others (see Montserrat & Segura, 2020 for further discussion of the data of *Parlars*).

■ 3.3 Data extraction and classification

The interviews of *Parlars* already contained a transcription and an automatic lemmatization and morpho-syntactic annotation (Beltran et al., 2019). All annotations relating to the verb have been manually revised by the author of the present study. Especially relevant for this goal is the annotation of person/number. Thereafter, verbs have been classified according to whether they contain a reflexive clitic or not. Table 1 presents the general number of 1PL and 2PL verb forms and the number of reflexive clitics in the examined interviews:

| person/number | no. of verbs | reflexives |
|---------------|--------------|------------|
| 1PL | 987 | 161 |
| 2PL | 82 | 21 |
| TOT | 1069 | 182 |

Table 1. Number of analyzed 1PL/2PL verb forms and reflexive clitics

As can be seen, 2PL verb forms are generally not frequent in the examined data. In total, 7699 verbs (of all person/number specifications) were annotated and only 82 verb forms were 2PL. If we look at these verbs appearing with reflexive clitics, the number is reduced to 21. This way, the analysis of 2PL is mainly qualitative in nature. Reflexive clitics with 1PL verbs were more frequent in the corpus sample: 987 1PL verb forms out of 7699 annotated verbs. Out of these, 161 verb forms in 1PL appear with a reflexive pronoun.

The 182 contexts containing a reflexive pronoun were analyzed according to the following criteria:

- (i) Form of the clitic: MOS/VOS (*mos, mo', vos, vo'*) vs. SE (*se/es, 's, s'*)
- (ii) Plain vs. reduced: *se/es* vs. *'s/s'*
- (iii) Context:
 - a. Appearance in clitic clusters
 - b. Phonological context (type of following sound (vowel, type of consonant))
- (iv) Frequent verbs / verb forms appearing with SE
- (v) Interview

As has been pointed out, the number of data points does not allow a quantitative analysis relying on statistical models. However, as we will see in the following sections, the qualitative analysis allows us to make several intriguing observations with respect to the use of SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms in spoken Valencian Catalan varieties.

■ 3.4 Results in the different interviews of spoken Valencian Catalan

We will first consider the use of SE with 1PL and 2PL verbs according to the different interviews and varieties. Interestingly, four patterns of use of reflexive pronouns can be observed: (i) interviews in which SE neither occurs with 1PL nor with 2PL, (ii) interviews in which *mos* is used in 1PL, but SE in 2PL, (iii) interviews in which SE is used with both 1PL and 2PL, and (iv) interviews in which speakers alternate between the use *mos* and SE in 1PL, sometimes within the same discourse and with the same verb.

In the examined sample, Agost (*valencià alacantí*) and Tírig (*valencià tortosí*) do not make use of SE. In the interviews, we find MOS (and the reduced *mo'*) in 1PL and VOS in 2PL:

- (21) 1PL: *mos + mo'*
- a. después **mo** n'anàvem a banyar-**mos**
 after REFL.1PL=EN=went.1PL to take.bath.INF=REFL.1PL
 molt els xiquets als als clots (Agost)
 much the kids to.the to.the pits
 'and thereafter, we kids went a lot to the pits to swim'
- b. **mos** hem quedat (Tírig)
 REFL.1PL have.1PL stayed
 'we have stayed'
- (22) 2PL: *vos*
- a. voleu sentir-**vos** (Agost)
 want.2PL hear.INF=REFL.2PL
 'do you want to listen to yourself'
- b. el pa **vos** el feu també (Tírig)
 the bread REFL.2PL it made.2PL as.well
 'the bread, you made it yourself as well'

With respect to 2PL, however, reflexive verbs are infrequent in the sample (1 in Agost and 2 in Tírig). Thus, given the scarcity of 2PL forms, it cannot be excluded that these speakers use SE in other contexts.

Another variety that uses *mos/mo'* in 1PL is Algemesí. However, in the examined data, SE is used in 2PL:

- (23) 1PL: *mos/mo'*
- i **mos** assentàvem en caixons (Algemesí)
 and REFL.1PL sat.down.1PL on boxes
 'and we sat in boxes'
- (24) 2PL: *se/s'*
- i si **se** fiqueu vosatros sí que venen (Algemesí)
 and if SE put.2PL you.2PL yes that come.3PL
 'and if you turn up there, they will come'

What is interesting is that, even though the only 1PL reflexive forms that were found in the interview of Algemesí are *mos/mo'*, there are also examples of an apparent 'doubling configuration' of *mos+se* (see (25)):

As can be seen, the speaker alternates between several variants of SE in 1PL – *es*, *se*, and reduced *s'* before a vowel – but no case of *mos/mo'* was found in the data. In 2PL, the only two forms that have been found in the data are both SE, one in proclisis and one in enclisis.

An interesting situation can be found in type (iv), where speakers alternate between a variant of MOS and SE, sometimes even within the same discourse and with the same verb. This can be observed in the data from Alginet (see ex. (28)) and Sollana – both Central Valencian Catalan varieties:

- (28) 1PL: alternation between *mos* / *se* / *s'*
 i... **mos** casàrem allí perquè jo no volia
 and REFL.1PL married.1PL there because I not wanted
 casar-me ací [...] **se** n'anàrem a X i
 marry.INF=me here SE EN=went.1PL to X <place> and
se casàrem allí (Alginet)
 SE married.1PL there
 'and... we got married there because I didn't want to get married here
 [...] we went to X <place> and got married there'

In (28) the 1PL reflexive *mos* is used first and then the speaker uses *se* in a clitic cluster and subsequently *se casàrem*. Interestingly, *mos* and *se* are used with the same verb *casar-se* and in the same discourse. This indicates that *mos* and *se* co-exist and are both options for one and the same speaker. In these same varieties, the apparently 'duplicated' form *mo se* is also produced:

- (29) quant acabí l'escola **mo se** n'anàrem a
 when finished.1SG the=school REFL.1PL SE EN=went.1PL to
 X (Sollana)
 X <place>
 'when I finished school, we went to X <place>'
 (30) tres anys quan **mo se** n'anàrem d'ahí (Alginet)
 three years when REFL.1PL SE EN=went.1PL from=here
 '[I was] three years old when we went from there'

As mentioned above, these forms are arguably the result of the insertion of an epenthetic vowel because of the similarity in the production between the final [s] of *mos* and the following consonant [n] – *mos e n'* – plus subsequent re-syllabification: [mo.se.na]. Interestingly, *mo se n'anàrem* with *mos*+epenthetic vowel alternates in the same interview with *se n'anàrem*

(compare (30) with (28)). This might indicate that *se* is in fact the result of an initially phonological process in these varieties, in which insertion of an epenthetic vowel and re-syllabification is followed by an additional operation of deletion:

(31) *mos + n'anàrem > mos e n'anàrem > mo se n'anàrem > se n'anàrem*

This would mean that the last two steps in (31) co-exist.

With respect to 2PL, only SE (*se*, *s'*) has been found in the interviews of Alginet and Sollana:

- (32) 2PL: *se*, *s'*
- a. jo he vist la foto de quan **se** casàreu (Alginet)
 I have.1SG seen the photo of when SE married.2PL
 'I have seen the photo of the time you got married'
- b. ja **s'**apanyareu vosatros (Sollana)
 already SE=manage.2PL you.2PL
 'well, you will manage'

However, there are only two cases of 2PL reflexive verbs in the interview of Alginet. In Sollana, on the other hand, there are 10 cases of 2PL reflexive verbs, all of them are realized as SE, either in its plain (*se*) or reduced (*s'*) form. Thus, SE seems to be the predominant form in 2PL, but 1PL reflexive clitics show alternation between the variants of MOS and SE in these varieties.

Lastly, in the interview of Catarroja, no 2PL reflexive context has been produced, but 1PL is consistently realized as SE, as is demonstrated by the following examples:

- (33) a. mosatros **se'**1 férem en el seixanta-cinc o seixanta-quatre
 we.NOM SE=IT made.1PL in the sixty-five or sixty-four
se férem el cotxe (Catarroja)
 SE made.1PL the car
 'we got the car in the year 65 or 64'
- b. **s'**haviem jubilat (Catarroja)
 SE=had.1P retired
 'we had retired'

With respect to 1PL, reflexive clitics in the interview of Catarroja are thus uniformly used in the form of SE, similarly to what we observed in the interview of Alcoi.

■ 3.5 Interim summary

We have seen that even within spoken Valencian Catalan, there is considerable variation with respect to the use of either 1PL/2PL reflexives MOS/VOS or SE: In some interviews, speakers use SE with both 1PL and 2PL, in others SE is used only with 2PL, but not with 1PL, and in still others there is an alternation in the use of canonical 1PL reflexives and SE in the same discourse and even with the same verb forms. Table 2 depicts the total frequencies of *mos/mo'/se/s'* and *vos/se/s'* in the different samples of spoken Valencian Catalan.

| interview | 1PL | | | 2PL | | excluded | total |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|----------|-------|
| | <i>mos/mo'</i> | <i>se/s'</i> | <i>mo se</i> | <i>vos</i> | <i>se/s'</i> | | |
| Agost | 39 (100%) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 41 |
| Tírig | 12 (100%) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Algemesí | 22 (96%) | 0 | 1 (4%) | 0 | 4 | 1 | 28 |
| Alginet | 12 (32%) | 24 (63%) | 2 (5%) | 0 | 2 | 0 | 40 |
| Sollana | 9 (47,4%) | 9 (47,4%) | 1 (5,2%) | 0 | 10 | 0 | 29 |
| Catarroja | 0 | 16 (100%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Alcoi (<i>es</i>) | 0 | 12 (100%) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 14 |
| total | 94 (59%) | 61 (38%) | 4 (3%) | 3 (14%) | 18 (86%) | 2 | 182 |

Table 2. 1PL and 2PL reflexives in spoken Valencian Catalan

Furthermore, the existence of *mo se* in the data of some speakers points to the conclusion that phonological factors (insertion of an epenthetic vowel, re-syllabification, and deletion) play a role. However, we will see

- b. **se**'l férem en el sixty-tres (Catarroja)
 SE=it made.1PL in the sixty-three
 'we got it in the year 63'

Turning to the 21 unambiguously plain forms of SE that occur in the data, i.e., realizations as either *se* or *es*, we observe that 6 of them appear before a verb that starts with an alveolar consonant (see Table 4 and example (35)):

| | |
|------------------|----|
| SE + [+alveolar] | 6 |
| SE + [-alveolar] | 15 |
| Total | 21 |

Table 4. Plain SE preceding a verb starting with [+/-alveolar] consonants

- (35) encà **se** reunim els que viuen (Catarroja)
 still SE meet.1PL the.ones that live.3PL
 'and those who are alive, we still get together'

Cases in which *se* is followed by an alveolar consonant – both within a clitic cluster and before a verb – are contexts which favor the insertion of an epenthetic vowel. This is also evidenced by the existence of *mo se* discussed in section 3.4. In all cases of ‘duplicated’ *mo se* the following consonant is alveolar (*mo se lo* in Algemesí, *mo se n’anàrem* and *sopar-mo-se-lo* in Alginet and *mo se n’anàrem* in Sollana).

Table 4 leaves us with 15 cases of plain realization of SE with 1PL verb forms that cannot easily be explained by means of a phonological reduction process or an epenthetic vowel. This demonstrates that, even though the phenomenon occurs to a large proportion in contexts that phonologically favor a reduction of *mos* to *s(e)*, SE does exist in contexts in which phonological reduction cannot be at stake.

With respect to 2PL verb forms, the data is scarce. As shown in Table 2, there are only 21 cases of 2PL reflexive clitics in the sample. Apart from Agost and Tírig, where 2PL *vos* is used in the data, the other interviews have a uniform use of *se/s'*. Also here, we find cases of reduced and non-reduced SE (see (24), (27) and (32)). Further research of a database with a higher number of 2PL verb forms is necessary to investigate the exact contexts for the use of 2PL SE. However, it is interesting to note that

there is not a single interview in which 1PL *se* is used, but canonical *vos/us* in 2PL. The reverse case, i.e. use of 2PL *se* and use of canonical 1PL reflexives *mos/mo'*, on the contrary, is found in Algemésí and exclusive use of 2PL *se* and alternation of 1PL *se* with *mos* is observed in Sollana.

Lastly, there is one further context that might favor the re-analysis of SE as a zero-person reflexive in contexts of 1PL and 2PL verb forms: *s(è)* occurs in one frequently produced chunk or semi-fixed sequence in spoken discourse: *anar-se'n* 'to go (away)', 'to leave', 'let's go'. This form is frequently used in 1PL and it shows a certain degree of fixation either as *mo n'anem* or *se n'anem* (see Beltran & Segura, 2019 for a detail analysis of the use of these two forms in different varieties of Valencian Catalan), with the form *mo se n'anem* in between. In fact, 14 out of 65 cases of 1PL *se* or *mo se* (= 22%) and 10 out of 94 cases of *mo'* (= 11%) occurred with the verb *anar-se'n*. This might indicate that frequent, re-occurring sequences in spoken discourse have as a consequence a certain routinization of *se/s'* with 1PL verb forms.

■ 4.2 Alternation

We have noted that some speakers use both a variant of MOS and a variant of SE with 1PL verb forms. In this section, we examine some of these contexts in detail and highlight possible reasons for use of either form.

Recall that alternations of this type have been found in the interviews of Alginet and Sollana, representing Central Valencian Catalan. Let us consider the example in (28), repeated here for convenience as (36), and the example in (37):

- (36) i... **mos** casàrem allí perquè jo no volia
 and REFL.1PL married.1PL there because I not wanted
 casar-me ací [...] **se** n'anàrem a X i
 marry.INF=me here **SE** EN=went.1PL to X<place> and
se casàrem allí (Alginet, cf. (28))
 SE married.1PL there

- (37) i després pos ja **mos** en vàrem quant la
 and then well already REFL.1PL EN go.1PL when the
 meua xiqueta se va fer més fadrineta i el meu X.
 my daughter SE made.3SG more girl and my X
 ja estava d'això **se'n** vinguérem pacací i **se**
 already was that SE=EN came.1PL to.here and SE

Even though further research is necessary to confirm these tendencies quantitatively, there is a first indication that verb type and form might play a role in influencing the use of MOS or SE.

■ 4.3 Some relevant properties of Valencian Catalan varieties

Let us consider some properties of Valencian Catalan on a morpho-syntactic level that might play a role in the existence of SE in these varieties. We will discuss (i) the particular nature of some clitic pronouns, (ii) general contexts of confusion between 1st and 3rd person in some paradigms, and (iii) the production of unagreement configurations.

In comparison with Standard Central Catalan, Valencian Catalan varieties show more contexts in which the final consonant of a 1PL reflexive pronoun (*mos*) is followed by an alveolar consonant if two clitics are combined. Thus, in several Valencian Catalan varieties, the partitive clitic is realized as *ne* (and not *en*), which causes a combination of *mos+ne* and might favor the insertion of an epenthetic vowel (*mos+e+n*). After re-syllabification and reduction, the sequence is *se* on the surface and might have been re-analyzed as a *se* reflexive due to frequent use in clitic clusters.

A further factor that might play a role is that the indefinite accusative clitic *ho* is realized, not as [u], but as [eu] in several Valencian Catalan varieties. If *mos* or *vos* is combined with this clitic, the clitic cluster again contains *se* on the surface. This can in fact be observed in some corpus examples:

- (40) això després **s'ho** partirem (Alginet) (→ *s'ho* = [seu])
 that after SE=it divided.1PL
 ‘afterwards we divided it’
- (41) que **s'ho** cregueu vosatros (Sollana) (→ *s'ho* = [seu])
 that SE=it believe.2PL you.PL
 ‘that’s what you believe’

This creates another frequent context of the surface sequence [se] in clitic clusters.

Let us turn to two properties of the system of verb inflection of some Valencian Catalan varieties. As mentioned by Veny (1984: 164), Beltran & Segura (2019: 219) and Herbeck (2022: 134f), there are some contexts of additional syncretism between 1st person singular and 3rd person singular in the present perfect (*jo ha cantat*). Thus, confusions of first and third person

exist in other parts of the morpho-syntax of Valencian Catalan varieties. Even closer to our case of SE with 1PL is a (quasi-)syncretism between 1PL and 3PL verb inflection in the paradigms of the indicative imperfect and the simple past. While 1PL and 3PL are unambiguously differentiated in the indicative present, not only by the final consonant, but also by stress (1PL *mosatros cantem* vs. *ells/ells canten*), stress does not disambiguate 1PL and 3PL in the indicative imperfect and simple past, where the difference is only marked by the two nasal consonants /m/ and /n/ (*cantàvem/cantaven*, *cantàrem/cantaren*). The difference between /m/ and /n/, however, is neutralized in several contexts, depending on the following consonant (*mosatros/ells/elles cantave[m] bé*). Thus, similarities between 1PL and 3PL are also found in some parts of the system of verb inflection, which might be a further property of (Valencian) Catalan that favors the confusion of (reduced) 1st person plural and 3rd person reflexives.

Another property of some Valencian Catalan varieties – such as Central Valencian Catalan (*apitxat*) – is mentioned by an anonymous reviewer: s/he points out that SE seems to arise in those Catalan varieties, in which the phoneme /z/ does not exist or is weakened. As the reviewer notes, only in these varieties, a sequence like *Us he dit* [use'dit] can become *S'he dit* [se'dit]. In Majorcan, on the contrary, /z/ is maintained and *vos he dit* is realized as [voze'dit]. As the anonymous reviewer points out, an interesting future line of investigation would look at how Majorcan Catalan behaves in those contexts, in which the *apitxat* varieties use SE, above all because Majorcan also uses *mos* in 1PL.

Let us turn to a general property of several Romance null subject languages that might favor the existence of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms. As has been mentioned, it is well known that unagreement configurations between 3PL subjects and 1PL or 2PL verb forms are possible (see Torrego, 1996 for a detailed analysis of Spanish). In the Valencian Catalan data, such configurations are not rare and they exist even with morpho-syntactically 3rd person singular subjects that semantically refer to a group (*ad sensum* agreement):

- (42) eh? *tota la plaça [=3sg] / anàvem [=1pl] / de la de la mà*
 eh all the square went.1PL of theof the hand
 ‘and the whole square, [we] went holding hands’ (Algemesi)
- (43) *pos el personal [=3sg] estàem [=1pl] tots [=3pl] per allí* (Alginet)
 well the people were.1PL all there
 ‘and the people, we were all there’

Note that these configurations even appear with the clitic SE:

- (44) i per la nit **se** n'anàvem [=1pl] les xiques joves [=3pl] en
 and at night **SE** EN=went.1PL the girls young with
 el cançoneret a la plaça (Alginet)
 the jug.DIM to the square
 'and at night, [we], the young girls went with a jug to the square'
- (45) **totes** [=3pl] **se** fem [1pl] de lo més d'ací [...] (Sollana)
 all.3PL.F **SE** make.1PL of the most of=here
 'we all get along very well [those that are] from here [...]'

In these configurations, it is impossible to tell whether SE agrees with the 3rd person subject (*les xiques joves* and *totes*) or with 1PL inflection (*anàvem* and *fem*). The existence of these unagreement phenomena between 3rd person subjects and 1PL/2PL inflection in Romance null subject languages might be a favoring factor for the existence of SE in 1PL/2PL reflexive verbs in some Romance varieties (of Catalan, Spanish, and Portuguese).

■ 4.4 Some evidence that SE is not only 'built' in phonology

Lastly, let us turn to some further empirical evidence that, even though phonological factors play a role in favoring use of SE with 1PL/2PL, they cannot be the only factor and, as hypothesized by de Benito Moreno (2015), SE might have been re-analyzed as a 3rd person (or, rather zero-person) reflexive.

Our evidence stems from the use of SE in the interview of Alcoi. In this interview, the speaker uses the 1PL *mos* in non-reflexive contexts (and not *ens*):

- (46) no **mos** falta el menjar què més volem (Alcoi)
 not CL.1PL lacks the food what else want.1PL
 'we aren't lacking food – what else do we want'

If reduction plus insertion of an epenthetic vowel was involved, we would a priori expect the result to be *se* as in the other varieties of the sample. However, in 1PL reflexive contexts, the reduced form *s'* is used before a vowel, *s(e)* in clitic combinations and in enclisis, and *es* in all other contexts. In 2PL, *se* is used in enclisis:

- (47) a. **se'n** pujàvem a la una [...]

SE=EN went.up.1PL at the one

'we went up at one o'clock [...]'

b. i **s'ho** hem passat molt bé

and SE=it have.1PL passed very well

'and we had a lot of fun'

c. nem **es** fem una cerveseta?

go.1PL SE make.1PL a beer

'come on, let's have a beer.'
- (48) al primer concert dien "poseu-**se** un tapó!"

at.the first concert said.3PL put.2PL=SE an earplug

(Alcoi; cf. (27a))

The alternation between 1PL *s'*, *se* and *es* is hard to explain by means of a phonologically conditioned operation. In fact, while reduction of *ens* could easily explain *es*, the speaker uses *mos* in non-reflexive contexts and, thus, *es* as a result of phonological reduction is harder to motivate.

Note that the same alternation between *se* and *es* is observed with reflexives and passives in 3rd person contexts:

- (49) a. si **es** presenta alguna peça que té algun solo de clarinet

if SE present.3SG some piece that has some solo of clarinet

'and if some piece (of music) that has a clarinet solo comes up'

b. i **se** n'han anat i jo m'he quedat (Alcoi)

and SE EN=have.3PL gone and I me=have.1SG stayed

'and they have gone and I have stayed'

Thus, reflexive SE with 1PL verb forms 'imitates' the form of SE in 3rd person contexts. This is strong evidence that we are not dealing with a phonologically conditioned operation in all contexts and varieties, but that SE with 1PL verb forms has been re-analyzed as a 3rd (or zero) person reflexive in analogy to reflexives in 3rd person contexts, at least in some varieties. These data thus support de Benito Moreno's (2015) view that SE with 1PL/2PL verb forms might be a non-1PL/2PL reflexive in some contexts.

■ 4.5 A short note: 1PL and 2PL SE in written sources

In this paper, we have examined spoken Valencian Catalan. Note, however, that the phenomenon under discussion can also be found in written sources. The following represent examples from the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC):

(50) 1PL *se* in enclisis:

- a. que hagué despues en Valensia, mes amunt de la Bolseria, aon **solíem reunir-se** pera raonar sobre conversacions de paraules, [...] (Publicacions Periòdiques: El Mole, 6, València, 1863)
- b. —aquí estém malament... **Anemsen**, y jo las acompanyaré fins á casa seva.

(Anònim: *La Xinxa*, 1869)

(51) 1PL *se* in proclisis:

- a. M'ha dit mai ell una paraula? **Se tractem** desde chics; **s'estimem** com a bons cosins: [...]
(Morales Sanmartín, Bernat: *Idilis llevantins*, 1910)
- b. Chi: Señor tío, yo no ment [(Transición.)] els dos **se volem casar**.
(Millàs i Casanoves, Manuel: *Cascarràbies*, 1889)

(52) 2PL *se* in enclisis:

—Ja ho veyeu, **rigueusen** ara. —Si qu'es fort, diguè l'avi Lluch.

(Argullol, Josep d': *La guerra*, 1877)

(53) 2PL *se* in proclisis:

- a. ¿pero que **s'heu tornat** ximplas? que es aixó alborot tan gran.
(Robrenyo, Josep: *La union ó la tia Sacallona, en las fiestas de Barcelona*, 1833)
- b. I d'aquesta manera, tu i el Noi **s'heu barrinat** els virgos més blindats de València —vaig afegir jo—.
(Torrent, Ferran: *Un negre amb un saxo*, 1987)
- c. Però per què tots **s'entesteu** a fer que el meu teatre siga... no, no, millor dit: que “semble”.

(Sirera, Josep Lluís; Sirera, Rodolf: *El dia que Bertolt Brecht va morir a Finlàndia*, 2006)

As can be seen, examples of SE with 1PL and 2PL can be found in enclisis as well as proclisis and in reduced as well as plain forms. Furthermore, examples can be found from sources of the 19th, 20th as well as 21st centuries. This indicates that the phenomenon under investigation is not a recent development.

■ 5 Some theoretical consequences

We have shown that, even within Valencian Catalan, there is considerable variation with respect to the nature of reflexive pronouns with 1PL (and 2PL) verb forms. In some varieties, there is strong evidence that phonological factors play a role (e.g. *mo se*). Furthermore, the existence of alternation between SE and MOS with some speakers indicates that SE has not fully ‘replaced’ MOS in the spoken language of these speakers. However, some speakers exclusively produce SE in the interviews and there is strong evidence, at least in the interview of Alcoi, that SE has been re-analyzed as a non-first person reflexive with 1PL verb forms, adopting the same variation in its shape as third person reflexives.

In a modular architecture of grammar in which morphology is distributed among various components and in which morphological operations apply after syntax, but before phonology (cf. Distributed Morphology; Bonet, 1991; Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1997, among many others), it can be argued that SE itself can be ‘distributed’ among various components:

| | syntax | morphology | phonology |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| A) Phonological process: → deletion of phonological material (+ insertion of an epenthetic vowel) | $\varphi =$ 1+pl+refl | $\varphi =$ 1+pl+refl | /se/ |
| B) Morphological process: (<i>impoverishment</i>) → deletion of [person] after syntax | $\varphi =$ 1+pl+refl | $\varphi =$ pl+refl | /se/ |
| C) Lack of person feature (SE = <i>default</i>) | refl | refl | /se/ |

Table 5. Different types of SE

SE is a 1st or 2nd person reflexive in those varieties in which phonological factors determine reduction of *mos/ens* to *s'* plus optional insertion of epenthetic /e/. In this case, SE is an interface phenomenon in the phonological component. In some varieties, however, we have evidence that SE is not a mere phonological reduction of a 1st or 2nd person reflexive. Here, SE shows traits of reflexive SE with 3rd person forms, e.g. it shares the same Vocabulary Items in morphology. As Bonet (1991) men-

tions, the morphological operation of feature deletion can be defined as optional. This way, we predict a co-existence of SE and proto-typical 1PL/2PL reflexives. A further step would consist in lexicalizing this zero-person SE and generalize it to 1PL, 2PL and 3rd person contexts. This might be the case in spoken varieties where we observe exclusive use of SE in 1PL and 2PL contexts and in which the distribution of different forms of SE (e.g. *es* and *se*) mirrors the distribution of third person reflexives (as we observed in the interview of Alcoi). In these cases, there is syncretism between 1PL, 2PL and 3rd person reflexives.

Turning to the question of why the pass from a phonological to a morphological operation and a collapsing of 1PL, 2PL and the 3rd person reflexive SE should exist in some varieties, economy is one evident factor. If we look at the Vocabulary Items in a system with and without syncretism, the following situation obtains:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (54) System without syncretism: | System with syncretism: |
| /se/ ↔ [refl] (default) | /se/ ↔ [refl] (default) |
| /me/ ↔ [1], [sg], [refl] | /me/ ↔ [refl], [sg], [1] |
| /te/ ↔ [2], [sg], [refl] | /te/ ↔ [refl], [sg], [2] |
| /mos/ ↔ [1], [pl], [refl] | |
| /vos/ ↔ [2], [pl], [refl] | |

As can be seen, a system that makes use of 1PL/2PL SE does not only have fewer insertion rules, but these rules are also internally less complex: they do not have to encode the differentiation between singular and plural forms, SE being the default plural reflexive marker.

■ 6 Conclusions and issues for future research

In this paper, we have investigated reflexive clitics appearing with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in a corpus spoken Valencian Catalan. In particular, we have examined the existence of SE (and its variants) in competition with 1st and 2nd person plural clitics like *mos*, *mo'*, and *vos*. The data have shown that there is considerable variation with respect to the use of SE even within Valencian Catalan varieties. Four main types have been identified in the data of the 7 examined interviews: (i) exclusive use of SE, with 1PL and 2PL, (ii) use of SE with 2PL but not with 1PL, (iii) alternation of SE and MOS in 1PL within the same discourse, and (iv) no use of SE. We have argued that variation might be due to different processes being

responsible for sanctioning SE: in phonology, morphology, or as a fully re-analyzed zero person SE clitic in the lexicon (and syntax). Thus, an analysis of SE as a phonological reduction does not necessarily exclude an analysis of SE in morphology or the lexicon, but these options might in fact co-exist in different varieties and for different speakers. Since our study has relied on a qualitative and descriptive analysis of the alternation between different reflexive forms, future research will shed more light on the use of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in Catalan also from a quantitative perspective. Furthermore, the observations with respect to 2PL contexts are necessarily preliminary given the scarce existence of 2PL verb forms in the sample of spoken Valencian Catalan examined here. Lastly, we have examined the existence of SE with 1PL and 2PL verb forms in spoken data of Valencian Catalan all including speakers older than 60. An interesting research question for future research would investigate whether differences with respect to the variable of age can be observed in the use of SE vs. *mos/ens/vos/us*. Note in this context that SE in 1PL and 2PL reflexive contexts does not seem to be a recent phenomenon, as our examples from the written corpus CTILC have shown. Future research will shade some light on the diachronic development of 1PL and 2PL SE, looking at a corpus containing texts from previous stages of Catalan. ■

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■ Corpora

CTILC = IEC (1985–): *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana*, Barcelona, IEC, <<https://ctilc.iec.cat/scripts/index.asp>>.

Parlars = *Parlars. Corpus oral del valencià col·loquial*, València: Universitat de València, <<http://www.uv.es/corvalc>>.

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