VOWEL HARMONY AND COARTICULATION IN NORTHERN VALENCIAN

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SUBJECT: Realization of final /a/ vowels in the Northern Valencian varieties of Borriana and Nules.

(a) To demonstrate that Borriana variety displays Round vowel harmony from stressed /5/ to a posttonic /a/ **GOALS**: (context /ɔ/+/a/: pistola [pistɔlɔ]), whereas Nules variety only shows high coarticulation levels in the same environment.

> (b) To establish if there are similar processes with $\frac{1}{\epsilon}$ (context $\frac{1}{\epsilon} + \frac{1}{2}$), and, with $\frac{1}{2}$, in non-prototypical harmonic environments: across another vowel, catòlica, and across word-boundaries, correspon-la.

1. INTRODUCTION

(a) Sequences analyzed:

Final unstressed /a/, in the same consonantal environment

- ...after the stressed vowels [ɔ] and [ɛ], which can appear
- Prototypically: In contiguous syllables: *pistola*, *terra*
- Non-prototypical cases:

(b) Sample description

7 male subjects from each variety, above 65-years old, with no studies in Valencian Catalan Two tokens of each context (if possible): **Reference context for comparison**, /á/+/a/: tara, Sara

Prototypical harmonic contexts Context /ɔ́/+/a/: pistola, cassola Context /ɛ́/+/a/: terra, serra

Non-prototypical contexts: Context /5/+V+/a/: catòlica, històrica Context /ś/#/a/: correspon-la

- - Separated by another vowel & syllable: catòlica
 - Separated by a morphological word-boundary: correspon-la

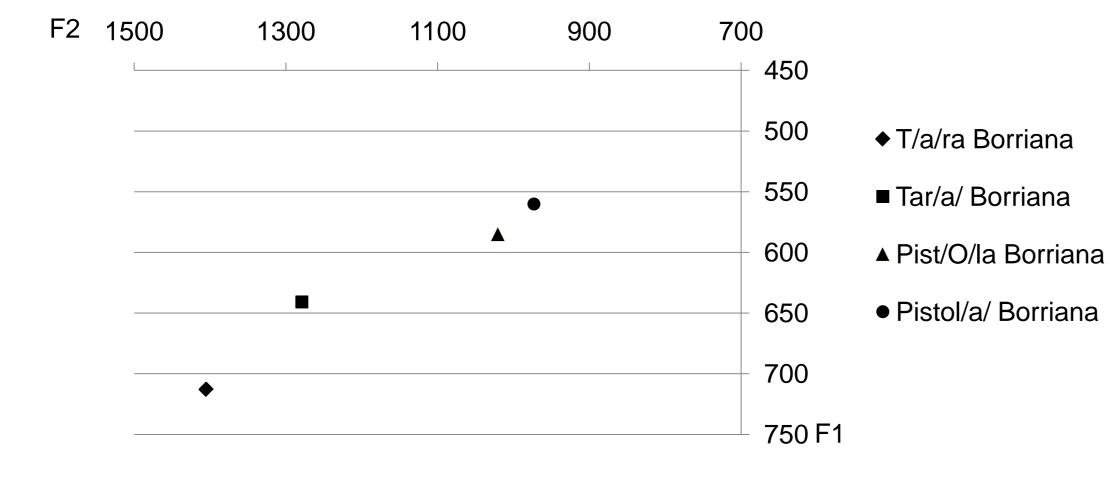
2. ROUND VOWEL HARMONY AND COARTICULATION IN PROTOTYPICAL CONTEXTS

2.1. Borriana variety

\succ Environment /á/+/a/:

- Unstressed /a/ is significantly less open and more backed than its stressed counterpart. \succ Environment /ɔ́/+/a/:
 - Unstressed /a/ is significantly different in F1 and F2 from unstressed /a/ in the context /á/+/a/.

• The F1 value for unstressed /a/ is statistically non different from stressed /ɔ/; both vowels differ in F2, but /a/ is less centralized, echoing thus the shift from stressed to unstressed vowels in the context /á/+/a/.

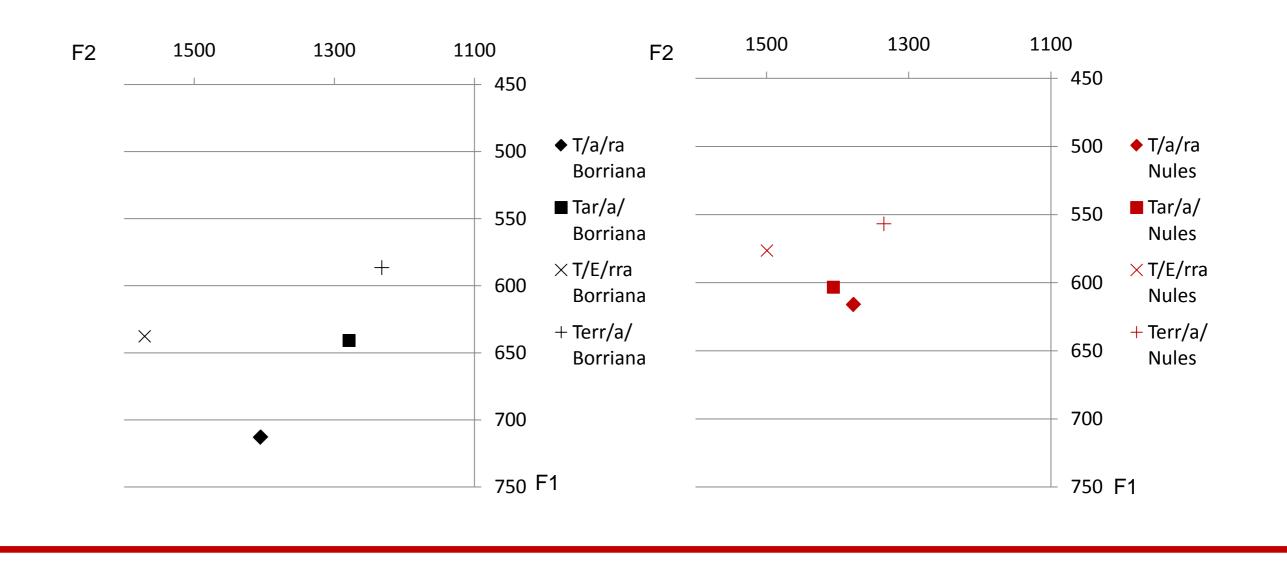


2.2. Nules variety

Environment /á/+/a/:

3. FRONT VOWEL HARMONY AND COARTICULATION

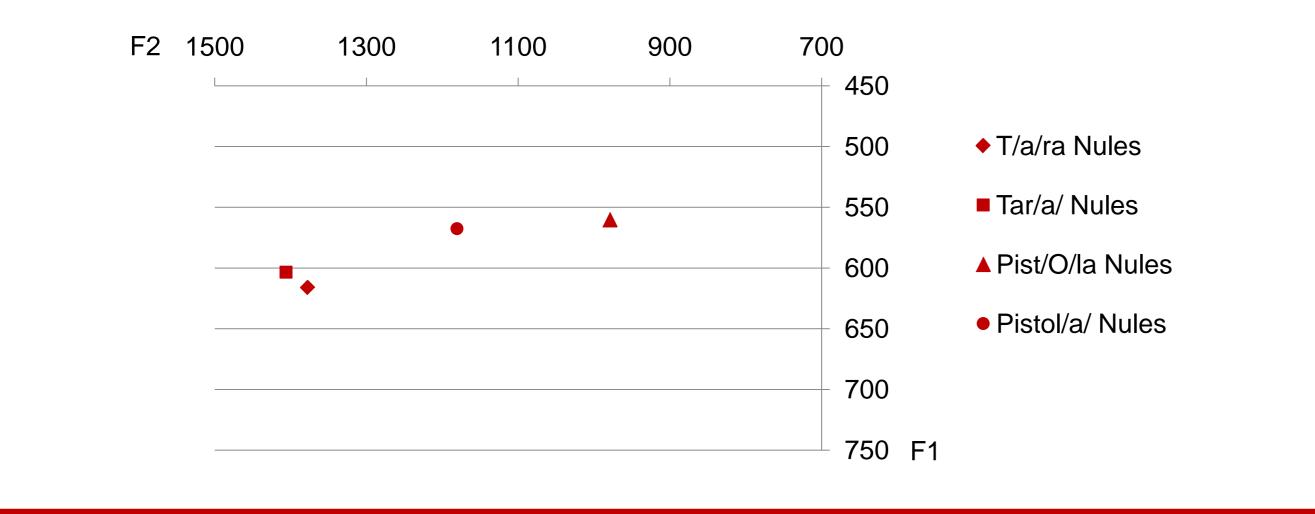
 \geq Neither in Borriana nor in Nules is there a fronting of /a/ in the context / ϵ /+/a/ comparable with the rounding of /a/ in the context /ɔ</+/a/. However, in this context /a/ is distinctly more closed in both varieties than unstressed /a/ in the environment /á/+/a/.



4. ROUND VOWEL HARMONY AND COARTICULATION IN NON-PROTOTYPICAL CONTEXTS

- Across vowels, that is, in the environment /ɔ́/+V+/a/ (catòlica), neither of the varieties displays significant assimilatory effects stemming from /ɔ/. Posttonic /i/, though, influences slightly the F1 value of /a/.
- In the context /ɔ/#/a/ (correspon-la) Nules variety values coincide with those of the harmonic

- Non-significant differences in F1 and F2 between both vowels.
- \succ Environment /ɔ́/+/a/:
 - Unstressed /a/ F1 value is not significantly different from stressed /ɔ/ nor from unstressed /a/ in the context /á/+/a/.
 - Unstressed /a/ F2 value, intermediate between that of stressed /ɔ/ and that of unstressed /a/ in the context /á/+/a/, is significantly different from the F2 value of the last two vowels.



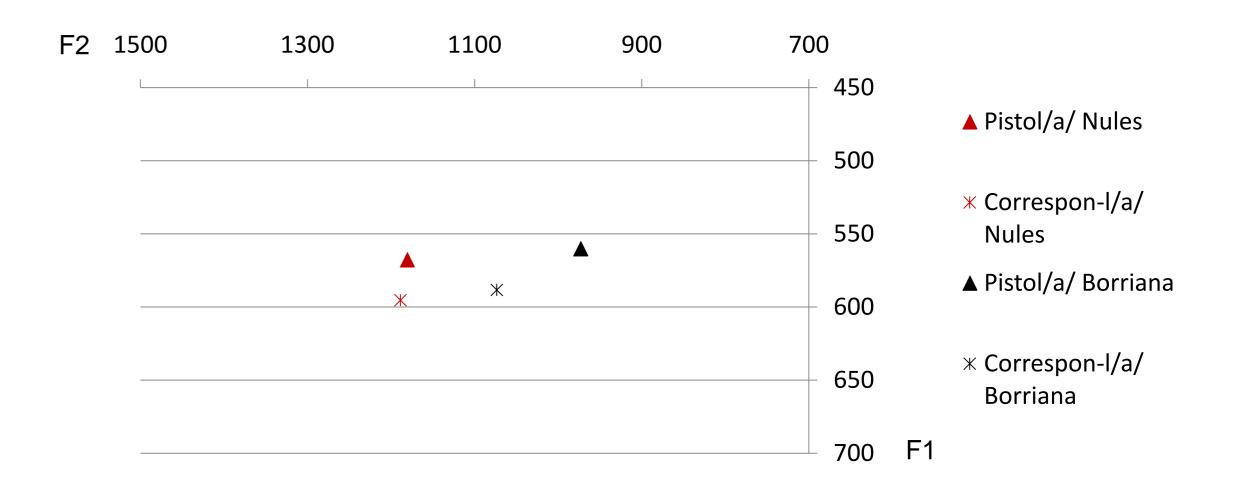
5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

- In the prototypical harmonic context /5/+/a/, both varieties display different degrees of assimilation: partial (Nules) and total (Borriana).
- In contrast, in the other prototypical harmonic context, $\frac{\dot{\epsilon}}{4}$, there are only changes in the F1 values of the last vowel, which do not significantly differ from $/\epsilon/$ in any variety.

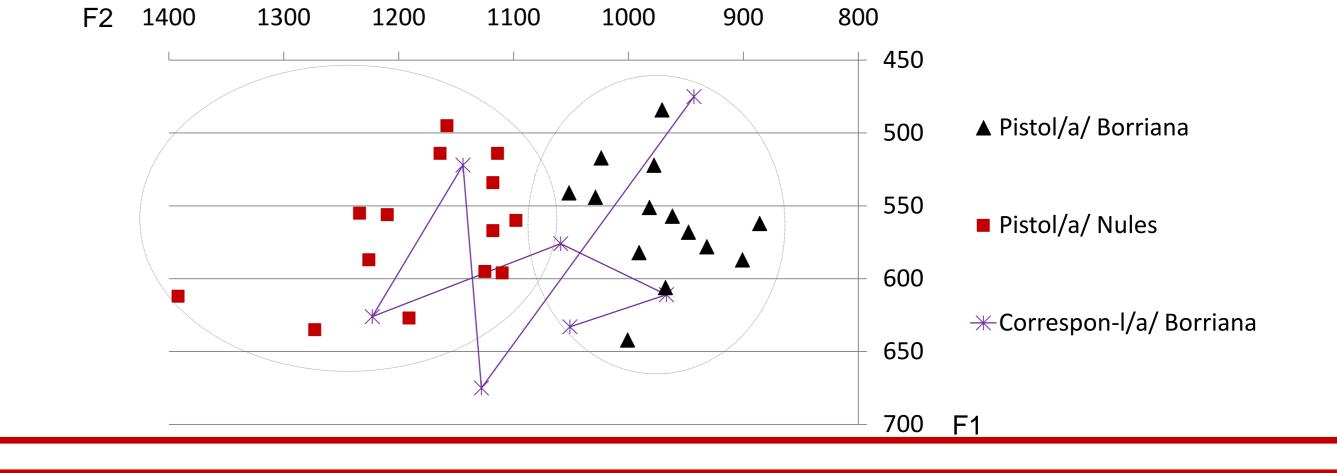
• Open issues:

- Are the two assimilatory patterns found in the context /ɔ/+/a/ gradual or of a different nature?
- ✓ What factors could justify this different behavior?

environment /ɔ/+/a/, whereas Borriana variety values for that context are somewhere between those of Nules /5/+/a/ and /5/#/a/ contexts and those of Borriana harmonic context /5/+/a/.



- Hence, there appears to be a gradation from total assimilation (in Borriana *pistola*) to partial assimilation (in Nules *pistola*), being the Borriana form *correspon-la* the intermediate stage.
- However, when we look at the whole range of occurrences of Borriana correspon-la, the values appear dispersed. In fact, it seems that for some Borriana speakers, correspon-la is exactly as *pistola*; for others, instead, there is only coarticulation (partial assimilation), as in Nules *pistola*.
- Although more data would be required, this difference could indicate that there is a conceptual difference between partial assimilation in Nules and total assimilation in Borriana.



- \checkmark Why doesn't / ϵ / trigger the same processes?
- Considering all the contexts together, there seems to be a gradation in the interaction between the stressed and the final vowel:
 - 1. No remarkable changes in the final vowel: context /á/+/a/ (Nules)
 - 2. Leveling/rising of F1 without significant changes in F2: context $\frac{\xi}{+a}$, among others (Nules & Borriana)
 - 3. Leveling of F1 with a partial leveling of F2: context /5/+/a/ (Nules)
 - 4. Leveling of F1 and F2: context /5/+/a/ (Borriana)
- Open issue: Do these four stages constitute a diachronic chain or are they completely independent from each other?

6. REFERENCES

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