



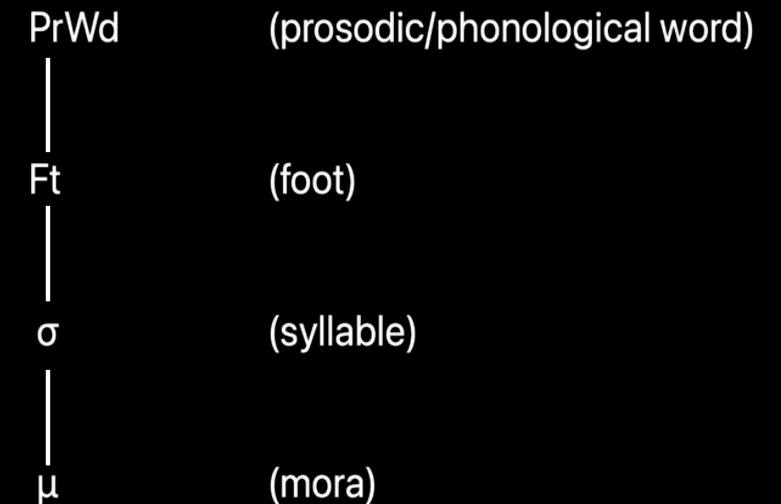
Minimality, prosodic hierarchy and melodic content in hypocoristics

Mohamed Lahrouchi (CNRS & Université Paris 8)



1. Truncation, prosodic weight

- Truncation is the process by which the shape of the input is reduced to a certain size.
- The minimum size corresponds to a bisyllabic or bimoraic foot \Leftrightarrow THE MINIMAL WORD (McCarthy & Prince 1995: 321).
- A strict CV reanalysis of word minimality:
 - No appeal is made to prosodic hierarchy.
 - "nuclei and only nuclei", whether contentful or empty (Scheer & Szigetvári 2005, Faust & Ulfsbjorninn 2018).

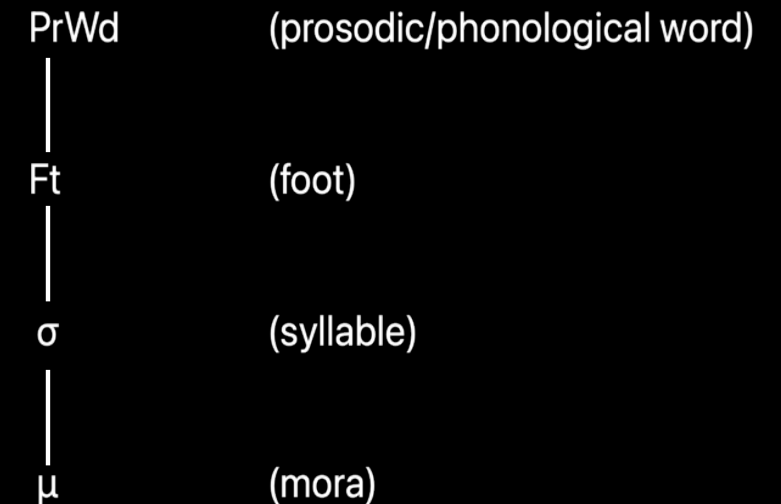


Selkirk 1980, 1984, McCarthy & Prince 1986, Nespor & Vogel 1986, among others.



1. Truncation, prosodic weight

- Truncation is the process by which the shape of the input is reduced to a certain size.
- The minimum size corresponds to a bisyllabic or bimoraic foot \Leftrightarrow THE MINIMAL WORD (McCarthy & Prince 1995: 321).
- A strict CV account for word minimality:
 - No appeal is made to prosodic hierarchy.
 - "nuclei and only nuclei" can contribute to weight, whether contentful or empty (Scheer & Szigetvári 2005, Faust & Ulfsbjorninn 2018).

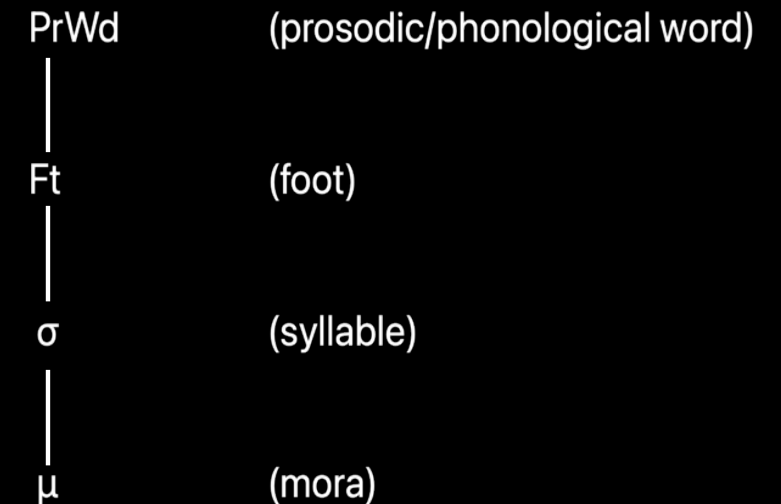


Selkirk 1980, 1984, McCarthy & Prince 1986, Nespor & Vogel 1986, among others.



2. Onsets

- Weight-by-Position (Hayes 1989: 258): "prevocalic consonants must be parsed as non-moraic onset elements and thus can never receive weight by position".
- Coda consonant may or not count in weight calculation, onsets never count (e.g. Lardil where a CVC syllable counts as light, Hayes 1989: 255, Hyman 1985: 8).
- Counterevidence
 - (initial) geminates can be moraic in languages such as Turkese and Pattani Malay (see Topinzi 2008, 2010, 2011).
 - Complex onsets can affect weight in quantitative meter (Ryan 2014).
 - French hypocoristics.

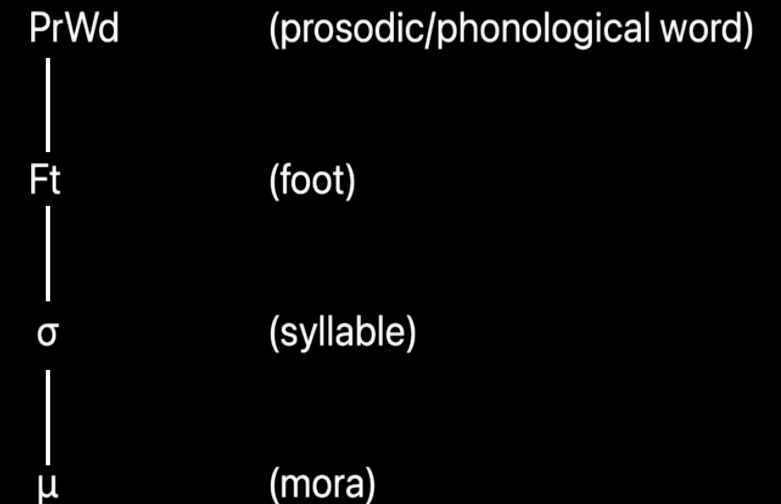


Selkirk 1980, 1984, McCarthy & Prince 1986, Nespor & Vogel 1986, among others.



2. Onsets

- Weight-by-Position (Hayes 1989: 258): "prevocalic consonants must be parsed as non-moraic onset elements and thus can never receive weight by position".
- Coda consonant may or not count in weight calculation, onsets never count (e.g. Lardil where a CVC syllable counts as light, Hayes 1989: 255, Hyman 1985: 8).
- Counterevidence
 - (initial) geminates can be moraic in languages such as Turkese and Pattani Malay (see Topinzi 2008, 2010, 2011).
 - Complex onsets can affect weight in quantitative meter (Ryan 2014).
 - French hypocoristics.



Selkirk 1980, 1984, McCarthy & Prince 1986, Nespor & Vogel 1986, among others.



2. Onsets

- French hypocoristics require their onsets to be weighted in order to meet the minimum size.
- Complex onsets may contribute to weight, provided that their second consonant contains a closure element (Element theory, see Harris 1990, 1994, Backley 2011).
- flo, klo, but never *fre or *kri
- Two types of *Obstruent-Liquid* clusters:
 - Obstruent-Rhotic are monopositional (k^r , f^r ...).
 - Obstruent-Lateral are bipositional, they contain an empty nucleus which contributes to weight ($k\emptyset l$, $f\emptyset l$...).
 - The closure element [ʔ] present in // but not in /r/ requires the consonant to be associated to its own C-slot.

	<i>Base</i>	<i>Hypo.</i>	<i>Weight</i>
a.	ʃaʁlɔt	ʃaʃa	2 σ , μ
	mikaɛl	mika	
	gabrijɛl	gabi	
b.	kristjã	kris	1 σ ,2 μ
	frederik	fred	
	viktwar	vik	
c.	florãs	flo	1 σ , μ
	klod	klo	
	ʒoana	dʒo	

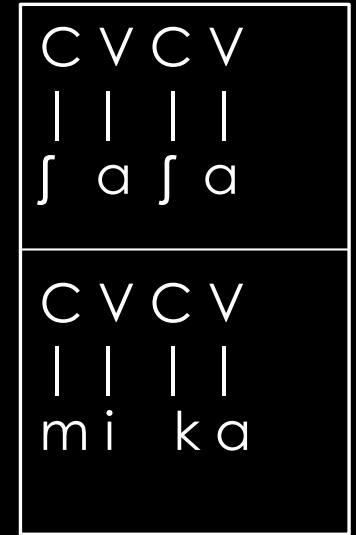
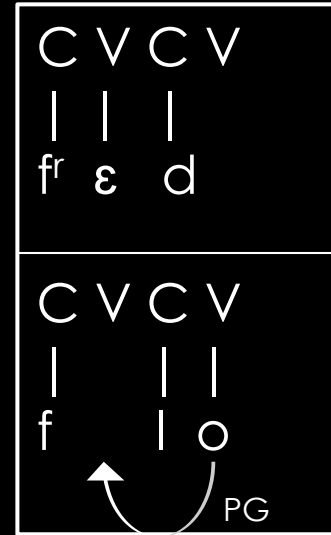
Plénat 1982, 1984, 1999, Plénat & Huerta 2006



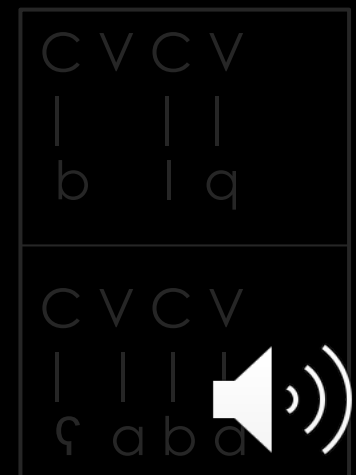
3. The minimal template

- The minimal template which French hypocoristics display consists of two CV units.
- CVCV is the minimal domain where Proper Government holds (Kaye et al. 1990, Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004).

French



Tashlhiyt Berber



3. The minimal template

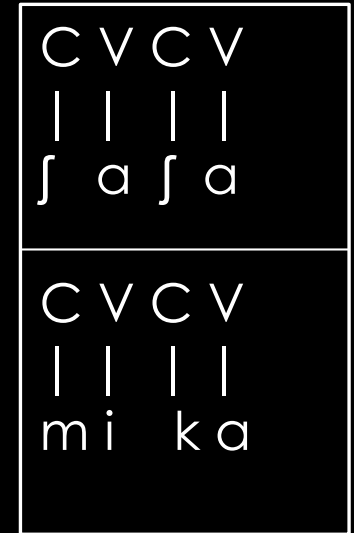
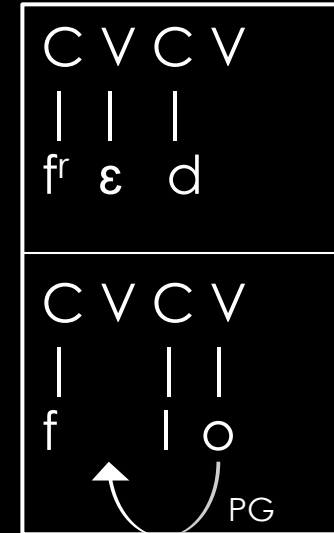
- The minimal template which French hypocoristics display consists of two CV units.
- CVCV is the minimal domain where Proper Government holds (Kaye et al. 1990, Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004).

□ Berber (Boudlal & Yeou 2019)

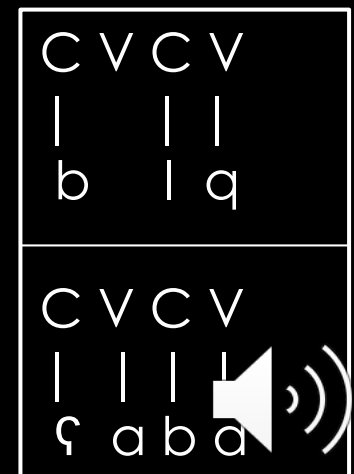
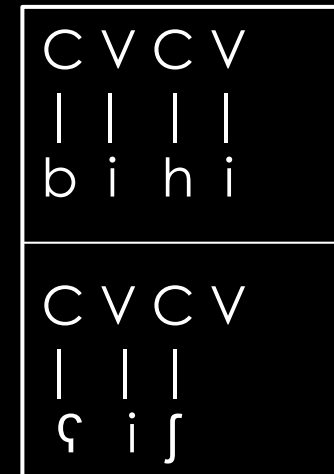
- Any segment can be syllabic in Tashlhiyt Berber.
- Ungoverned V slots host syllabic consonants.

	Base	Hypo.	Weight
a.	brahim	bihi	2σ,μ
	ɣbdʕollah	ɣabd	
	fadʕna	fadʕn	
b.	muħmmad	muħ	1σ,2μ
	ɣija	ɣij	
	ħusajn	ħus	
c.	blɣid	blɣ	1σ,2μ
	ɣbdʕollah	ɣbl	
	blqasm	blq	

French



Tashlhiyt Berber



Further details, references and analysis available at:
<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03483236v2/document>

Thank you!

