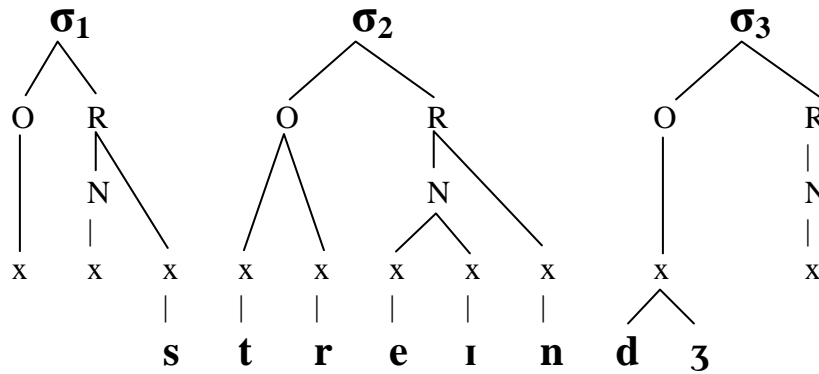


Final codas...?



Stress facts:

-show the distinct function of nuclei (relevant) and onsets (irrelevant), another irrelevant object is the word-final consonant – the so called ‘final coda’.

(1) Final consonant is irrelevant for stress placement, just as onsets are. It is extrametrical.

- | | | |
|------------|-----------|----------|
| a. tormént | b. cajóle | c. édit |
| lamént | maintáin | astónish |
| colláps | caróuse | cáncel |

Vowel quantity

(2) Another argument against final consonants as codas comes from vowel length. A coda consonant enforces shortness of the preceding vowel as in (b). But not if the so called coda is final (a).

- a. b.

domain-final

domain-internal

| | | | |
|-----------|------|--------------|-----|
| perceive | [i:] | perceptive | [ε] |
| describe | [ay] | description | [I] |
| scribe | [ay] | scripture | [I] |
| reduce | [u:] | reduction | [Λ] |
| five | [ay] | fifty | [I] |
| wise | [ay] | wisdom | [I] |
| intervene | [i:] | intervention | [ε] |
| retain | [ey] | retentive | [ε] |

Icelandic metrical lengthening

(3) Vowel length in Icelandic is fully predictable. It occurs in stressed open syllables.

a word-final stressed vowel must be long, as in the following examples.

[svo:] svo 'so' [θu:] þú 'you'
[fai:] fæ 'I get' [fjɛ:] fé 'livestock'

(4)

Domain-internally, stressed vowels are long before single consonants, which clearly belong to the onset of the following syllable (see (4a)) and before clusters of two consonants which form branching onsets (see (4b)).

- a. [fɛ:la] fela 'hide' [tʰa:la] tala 'speak'
 [rau:ða] ráða 'advise' [jɛ:tʰa] éta 'devour'
 [θɔ:la] þola 'tolerate' [ɪ:vɪr] yfir 'over'
 [si:mɪ] sími 'telephone' [mai:la] mæla 'speak'
- b. [pɛ:tʰrɪ] betri 'better' [nɛ:pʰja] nepja 'cold weather'
 [vo:kʰva] vökva 'water flowers' [ɛ:tru] edrú 'sober'
- c. [pʰanta] panta 'order, vb.' [senta] senda 'send'
 [ma:ltɪ] mælti 'speak, pret.' [ha:hta] háttá 'go to sleep'

(5) With a word-final consonant the preceding stressed vowel is invariably long

- [tʰa:l] tal 'number' [vɔ:n] von 'hope'
 [hai:ð] hæð 'height' [θjou:ð] þjóð 'nation'
 [rø:kʰ] rök 'cause' [pɪ:l] bil 'moment'
 [fɛ:tʰ] fet 'step' [pau:tʰ] bát 'boat, acc.sg.'

(6) The vowel is long also when a rising sonority cluster is found word-finally! Are the two consonants extra syllabic? Extrametricality sucks...

- a. [snɪ:pɾ] snupr 'scolding' [flɪ:sç] flysj 'peeling'
 [pʰɪ:kɾ] pukr 'secretiveness' [sø:tr] sötr 'slurping'
- b. [kʰɪmr] kumr 'bleating' [ɛmj] emj 'wailing'
 [pølv] bölv 'cursing'

Final consonants are onsets?

(7) medial and final phonotactics are almost identical... unexpected with extrasyllabicity...

- | <i>medial</i> | <i>final</i> | <i>medial</i> | <i>final</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| a. <i>stop-stop</i> | | b. <i>sonorant-stop</i> | |
| chapter | apt | pamper | damp |
| vector | sect | winter | flint |
| | | wrinkle | rink |
| | | filter | guilt |
| | | scalpel | scalp |
| c. <i>fricative-stop</i> | | d. <i>sonorant-fricative</i> | |
| mister | mist | cancer | manse |
| after | raft | dolphin | golf |
| whisper | wisp | parcel | course |

(8) Branching onset phonotactics in Polish and French the same initially and finally

| | <i>word-initial</i> | <i>word-final</i> |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| [tr] | trawa 'grass' | jesiotr 'sturgeon' |
| [dr] | droga 'road' | wydr 'otter, gen.pl.' |
| [bł/bw] | błądzić 'err' | zasłabł 'he fainted' |
| [dł/dw] | długi 'long' | zbladł 'he grew pale' |
| [tł/tw] | thusty 'fat' | zamiótł 'he swept' |
| [fl] | flądra 'flounder' | trefl 'clubs' |
| [fr] | fraza 'phrase' | szyfr 'code' |
| [kl] | kląć 'curse' | cykl 'cycle' |
| [kr] | kret 'mole' | akr 'acre' |
| [gł/gw] | głowa 'head' | biegł 'he ran' |

same situation prevails in French.

| | <i>word-initial</i> | <i>word-final</i> |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|
| [br] | bras 'shoulder' | sabre 'sabre' |
| [tr] | trou 'hole' | vitre 'pane' |
| [dr] | drap 'drape' | poudre 'dust' |
| [gr] | gris 'grey' | maigre 'slim' |
| [vr] | vrai 'true' | pauvre 'poor' |
| [kl] | clou 'nail' | boucle 'buckle' |
| [fl] | flotte 'fleet' | souffle 'breath' |
| [bl] | blanc 'white' | lisible 'legible' |
| [pl] | plaisir 'pleasure' | peuple 'people' |

(9) Representations are formally identical, the difference lies in the presence/absence of melody

- a. *medial complex onset* b. *final complex onset*
souffler 'to blow' souffle 'breath'
katedra 'cathedral' \katedr 'cathedral, gen.pl.'

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|-----|
| O | N | O | N | |
| | | | | |
| x | x | x | x | x] |
| | | | | |
| s | u | f | l | e |
| ... | t | e | d | r a |

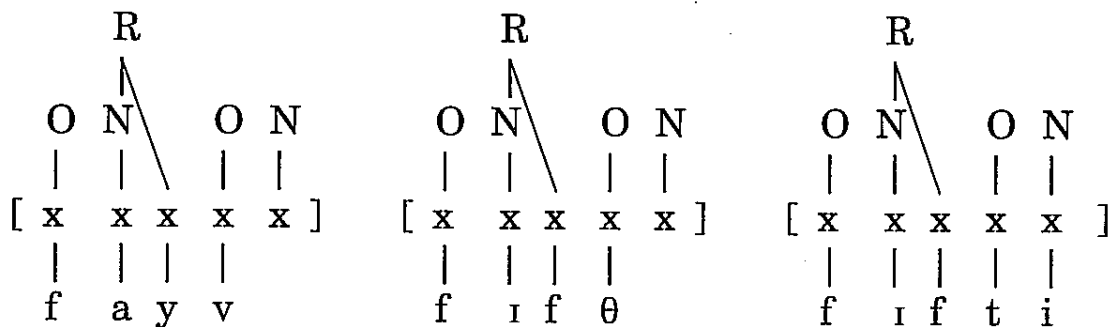
| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|-----|
| O | N | O | N | |
| | | | | |
| x | x | x | x | x] |
| | | | | |
| s | u | f | l | |
| ... | t | e | d | r |

(10) the length alternations in English begin to make sense... onset maximisation, internal codas are ok, final codas don't exist

a. five

b. fifth

c. fifty



(11) So does the metrical lengthening in Icelandic begin to make sense

a. VV•C]

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|----------|-----------------------|------|------------------|
| [t ^h a:l] | tal | 'number' | [vɔ:n] | von | 'hope' |
| [hai:ð] | hæð | 'height' | [θjou:ð] | þjóð | 'nation' |
| [rø:k ^h] | rök | 'cause' | [pr:l] | bil | 'moment' |
| [fɛ:t ^h] | fet | 'step' | [pau:t ^h] | bát | 'boat, acc. sg.' |

b. VV•]

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|---------|--------|----|-------------|
| [svo:] | svo | 'so' | [θu:] | þú | 'you' |
| [fai:] | fæ | 'I get' | [fjɛ:] | fé | 'livestock' |

c. VV•CV

| | | | | | |
|----------|------|-------------|-----------------------|------|----------|
| [fɛ:la] | fela | 'hide' | [t ^h a:la] | tala | 'speak' |
| [rau:ða] | ráða | 'advise' | [jɛ:t ^h a] | éta | 'devour' |
| [θɔ:la] | þola | 'tolerate' | [ɪ:vɪr] | yfir | 'over' |
| [si:mɪ] | sími | 'telephone' | [mai:la] | mæla | 'speak' |

(12) even when two consonants are involved

a. VV•CC]

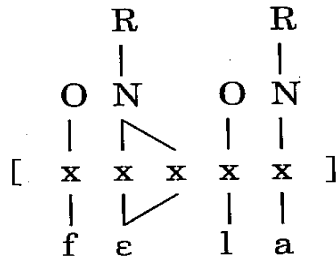
| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------|-----------------|----------|-------|------------|
| [snɪ:pr̥] | snupr | 'scolding' | [flɪ:sç] | flysj | 'peeling' |
| [p ^h ɪ:k̥r̥] | pukr | 'secretiveness' | [sø:tr̥] | sötr | 'slurping' |

b. VV•CCV

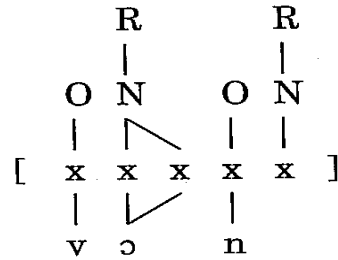
| | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|----------------|------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| [bɛ:t ^h ri] | betri | 'better' | [vø:k ^h va] | vökva | 'water flowers' |
| [nɛ:p ^h ja] | nepja | 'cold weather' | [ɛ:tru] | edru | 'sober' |

(13) structures for (11) and (12)

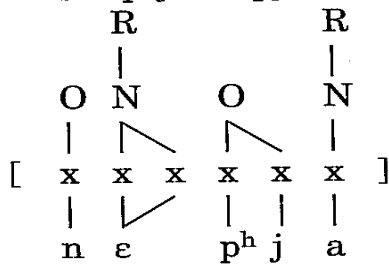
a. [fɛ:la] fela 'hide'



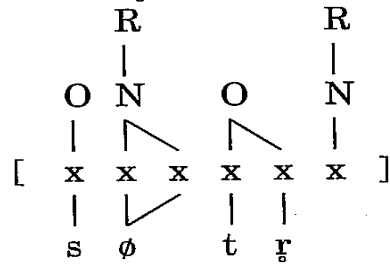
[vɔ:n] von 'hope'



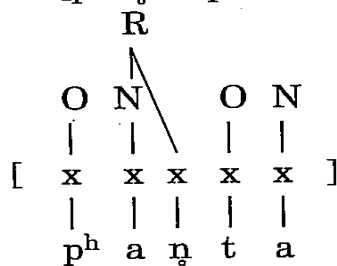
[nɛ:p^hja] nepja 'cold weather'



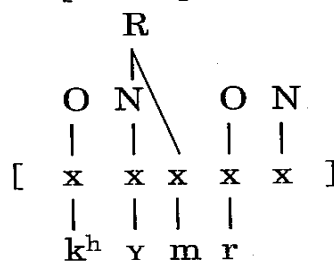
[sø:tr̥] sötr 'slurping'



b. [p^hanta] panta 'order'



[k^hymr] kumr 'bleating'



If final consonants are onsets, they are followed by an empty nucleus

The metricality of empty nuclei

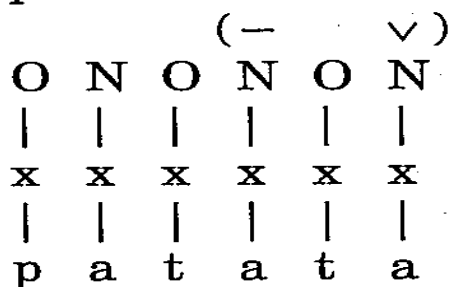
(14) Stress in Spanish

a. patáta 'potato'
palóma 'pretty'
camísa 'shirt'

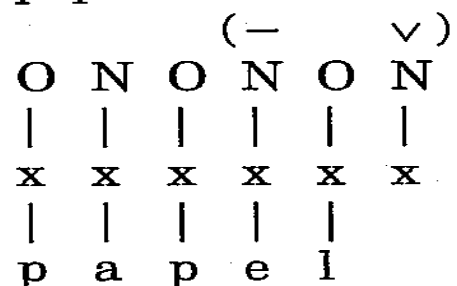
b. Madríd
jamón 'ham'
papél 'paper'

(15) Generalization

a. patáta



b. papél



(16) empty beats

A parting shot on versification: the notion that there exist metrifiable entities that are nevertheless silent is not completely alien to the Graeco-Roman tradition. It is inherent in the device of *catalexis*, described in standard works on verse structure and now integrated into modern metrical theory (e.g. Giegerich 1985, Kiparsky 1991). As traditionally used, this refers to a silent stress – in musical terms a rest – which must be counted at the end of a line of verse in order for it to scan. Examples of it are marked by Ø at the end of the second and fourth lines of the following piece of doggerel (cited by Malof 1970:40):

Taffy was a Welshman
Taffy was a thief Ø
Taffy came to my house
And stole a piece of beef Ø

(18) The sound of silence

a. wedded

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|----|---|----|
| O | N | O | N | O | N | |
| | | | | | | |
| [[| x | x | x | x] | x | x] |
| | | | ♩ | | | |
| w | ɛ | d | | d | | |

b. misses

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|----|---|----|
| O | N | O | N | O | N | |
| | | | | | | |
| [[| x | x | x | x] | x | x] |
| | | | ♩ | | | |
| m | i | s | | z | | |

- do analysis of past tense or plural allomorphy in English
- review binarity effects of constituents
- review apparent and real (SHR) exceptions to binarity
- GP