Matthew King University of Edinburgh
mking34@exseed.ed.ac.uk

Hypocoristics in Chilean Spanish: a Stratal OT Analysis

This talk presents an analysis of hypocoristic formation (HF) in Chilean Spanish. A key argument is that, within an optimality-theoretic framework, a stratal architecture is necessary to capture the core patterns adequately. I further present a critique of the recent work that has approached the question of hypocoristics through a classic OT architecture Piñeros, 2000a,b, 2016; Alber, 2009; Alber & Arndt-Lappe, 2012; Martínez Paricio & Torres-Tamarit 2019).

(1)

Rightmost elision (apocope)				Leftmost elision (aphaeresis)			
a. Ceci~~lia~~	[se.sí.lja]	→	Chechi [(t͡ʃé.t͡ʃi)]	f. ~~Ig~~nacio	[ig.ná.sjo]	→	Nacho [(ná.t͡ʃo)]
b. Anto~~nia~~	[an.tó.nja]	→	Anto [(án.to)]	g. ~~Gon~~zalo	[gon.sá.lo]	→	Chalo [(t͡ʃá.lo)]
c. Agu~~stín~~	[a.ɣus.tín]	→	Agu [(á.ɣu)]	h. ~~Mar~~celo	[maɾ.sé.lo]	→	Chelo [(t͡ʃé.lo)]
d. Edu~~ardo~~	[e.ðwáɾ.ðo]	→	Edu [(é.ðu)]	i. ~~Gus~~tavo	[gus.tá.βo]	→	Tavo [(tá.βo)]
e. Joaqu~~ín~~	[xwa.kín]	→	Juaco [(xwá.ko)]	j. ~~Ale~~jan~~dro~~	[a.le.xán.dɾo]	→	Jano [(xá.no)]

In (1) we can distinguish two patterns that, in relatively theory-neutral terms, can be considered left- and rightmost elision of the proper noun. We see that the template for HF is a disyllabic trochee with non-branching margins. A segmental process repairing obstruent-yod sequences via palatalisation is also observable in examples like (1f), and the alveolar fricative /s/ palatalises through the same mechanism in (1g-h). Both of these processes are subject to socio-linguistic variation, and the forms listed here are standardised ones. Finally, we can observe a prohibition against branching rhymes in the second syllable, demonstrated by the division of the diphthong [wá] in (1d) whose glide /w/ is realised as [u] in the hypocoristic. This prohibition is further evidenced by (1c) where a coda /s/ is deleted. Thus, we may con1clude that the first syllable may optionally close, as exemplified by (1b), but the second must remain open.

A stratal architecture incorporates the phonological cycle (Kiparsky 2000; Bermúdez Otero 2011; Ramsammy 2017), and as such, it has recourse to stratification effects for the analysis of the data that are not available in classic OT. The version of Stratal OT I adopt is limited to three strata: the stem, the word and the post-lexical. The output of each stratum serves as the input to the next. Stratal OT loses none of Classic OT's explanatory power of the global constraint as parallel evaluation is retained but becomes localised to each stratum. Rules which cannot see beyond their inputs and outputs do not have an equivalent to a global (or stratum-specific) prohibition of a certain phenomenon in the grammar.

Nevertheless, many recent analyses of hypocoristics prefer to use a classic OT architecture with additional machinery such as Output-Output constraints (Martínez Paricio & Torres-Tamarit, 2019) to account for the various patterns of hypocoristic data. I argue that such approaches are either incomplete or tacitly admit the necessity of derivation in OT.

Consequently, then, for a stratal approach, each process in (1) can be accommodated within a single phonological grammar but is localised to distinct strata. I argue, therefore, that rightmost elision (or apocope) is a stem-level process of HF in Chilean Spanish. During the computation, the optimal stem-level candidate is aligned with the leftmost segment of the input, and contains a disyllabic foot which constitutes the hypocoristic. Any remaining input material is discarded, while the segmental processes described above, e.g., palatalisation, also apply. The tableau for the stem-level computation of HF is shown in (2). The constraints active at this level either freely apply to the entire stratum, e.g., CONTIGUITY(IO) and MAX(IO), or are indexed to hypocoristics: *CJ_{HC} militates against obstruent-glide sequences in unstressed syllables while #_S_{HC} does so against hypocoristic-final [s]'s. $TROCH_{HC}$ ensures that the template for a hypocoristic is disyllabic.

Matthew King University of Edinburgh
mking34@exseed.ed.ac.uk

2)

edward-o	*CJ$_{HC[-STRESS]}$	*#_S$_{HC}$	ANCHOR-L	TROCH$_{HC}$	CONT(IO)	MAX(IO)
a. (wár.do)			*!			**
b. (é.dwa)	*!					***
c. → (é.du)						****
d. (é.da)					*!	****
e. (wá.do)			*!		*	***

In (2), the input to GEN at the stem-level is a string of segments including gender desinences, from which a series of candidates are outputted: these include prosodification up to the level of the foot. Candidates (a) and (e) are both misaligned, as the leftmost segment in the foot is not the leftmost segment in the input, and as such they incur fatal violations of ANCHOR-L. Candidate (b) has an obstruent-glide sequence in an unstressed syllable, incurring a fatal violation of superordinate *CJ$_{HC}$, while candidate (d) violates CONTIGUITY for the medial deletion of the glide /w/. Therefore, candidate (c) is found optimal.

I further show that leftmost elision (or aphaeresis) is best considered a word-level process of HF. Here the full proper noun is syllabified and prosodified at the stem level, and so the input to GEN at the word level already contains foot structure and has undergone primary stress assignment. The computation at the word level can then reference this prosodic structure. The word-level grammar therefore requires that a well-formed output has its left edge aligned with the left foot boundary present in the input, resulting in a disyllabic hypocoristic, in addition to the segmental repairs specified for the stem-level.

3)

ig(ná.sjo)	*CJ$_{HC[-STRESS]}$	*#_S$_{HC}$	ANCHOR-Σ	TROCH$_{HC}$	CONT(IO)	MAX(IO)
a. (íg.na)			*!			**
b. (ná.sjo)	*!					**
c. (nás)				*!		****
d. (ná.so)					*!	***
e. → (ná.t͡ʃo)						**

In (3), the input has therefore been prosodified up to the foot level. The ANCHORING constraint active at the word-level aligns the feet in the candidates with the left foot boundary in the input. Accordingly, candidate (a) is eliminated for failing to undergo this alignment. Candidate (b) is a fully-faithful candidate, but violates the markedness constraint *CJ$_{HC}$ as it contains an obstruent-glide in its unstressed syllable. Candidate (c) violates the trochaic foot template and so incurs a violation of TROCH$_{HC}$; and finally, candidate (d) shows medial deletion, thus violating CONTIGUITY. This leaves candidate (e), which repairs the obstruent-glide sequence through palatalisation, as the optimal candidate.

In summary, this analysis unifies two distinct patterns of HF in one phonological grammar through the inclusion of the derivation in a constraint-based architecture.

Selected References

Kiparsky, Paul. 2000. Opacity and cyclicity. *Linguistic Review* 17: 351–365.

Bermúdez–Otero, Ricardo. 2011. Cyclicity in M. van Oostendorp, C. Ewen, E. Hume, Elizabeth & K. Rice (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Phonology*, 2019–2048. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Ramsammy Michael. 2017. The phonology-phonetics interface in constraint-based grammar. In S. J. Hannahs & A. R. P. Bosch (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Phonological Theory*, 68–99. Abington: Routledge

Martínez-Paricio, V., & Torres-Tamarit, F. 2019. Trisyllabic hypocoristics in Spanish and layered feet. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, *37*(2), 659-691.