CHAPTER 5

LENGTHENING IN PLAYFUL-WORDS

5.0 Introduction

Pharies (1986) uses the term 'playful vocabulary' to refer to lexical items whose meaning entails an attitude of levity or lightness applied to derogatory (1a) or positive concepts (1b) in order to express burlesque humor, lightheartedness, merriment or gaiety, among other connotations.¹

(1) a. Normal    Playful
    fool          nincompoop
    gibberish     mumbojumbo
    homosexual    queer
    police        pig

    b. Normal    Playful
    candy        yummies
    many          jillions
    quickly       lickety-split
    small         teeny-weeny

Playful words are a lexical field where he finds that meaning and form tend to converge. In his book dedicated to the Spanish Playful Lexicon, Pharies presents an extensive corpus of data that he organizes in terms of 'templates'. A template comprises of a group of playful words sharing prosodic and segmental properties, which yield a canonical form. Here, I study a template characterized by a dactyl that sits at the right periphery of the PWd (e.g. \[ \ldots (\sigma'\sigma)\sigma_{\text{PWD}} \]. The examples in (2) are representative.

¹ Examples from Pharies (1986).
I propose to account for this change in prosodic structure through the prosodic constraint NONFINALITY, which outranks the correspondence constraint DEP forcing the insertion of an epenthetic syllable.

1. **Suffixation vs. epenthesis**

   Playful Words (PW) that obey the dactylic template feature an epenthetic syllable at their right margin. The segments used to flesh out this new syllable are a liquid consonant, \( l \) or \( r \), and a vowel that is a copy of the rightmost vowel in SF.\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF</th>
<th>PW</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \theta^a )</td>
<td>( \theta^a . \theta^a . \lambda )</td>
<td>'swing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tí.pi</td>
<td>tí.pi.li</td>
<td>'sound of a bouncing falling object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kim.bám.bas</td>
<td>kim.bám.ba.ras</td>
<td>'a very distant place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trín.kis</td>
<td>trín.ki.li.s</td>
<td>'a shot of wine or liquor'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Pharies (1986) analyzes these data as an instance of suffixation. To derive these forms, the suffix \(-LV_\lambda\) is added to the stem through rule (4). \( L = \) liquid, \( V = \) vowel.

---

\(^2\) One major difficulty in the study of Spanish PW's is that it is not always possible to trace back their SF's. Frequently, Pharies can only speculate on forms that appear to be the input, but it is not certain that they are the actual forms that gave rise to the attested PW's. The trait that all PW's from this template have in common is that they always contain a sequence of a liquid consonant and a vowel appearing at the right margin of the word. Since the presence of this sequence can be confirmed in the output but not in the
But if \textit{-LVj} were truly a suffix, it would be unlike any other Spanish morpheme. It is not an inflectional morpheme since it does not realize any grammatical function. It may not be a derivational morpheme either, because it does not effect any change of meaning or syntactic category in the source form. In actuality, \textit{-LVj} is totally deprived of meaning and segmentally, it is only partially specified. If \textit{-LVj} were posited as a morpheme, it would have at least ten allomorphs (e.g. la, le, li, lo, lu, ra, re, ri, ro, ru).

The most revealing fact about the nature of \textit{-LVj} is its distribution. It acts like a suffix whenever the corresponding SF ends in a vowel (\textit{θán.θa} < \textit{θín.θa} 'swing'), but when SF ends in a consonant, it acts like an infix, instead (e.g. \textit{trín.θís} < \textit{trín.θis} 'a shot of wine'). Most interesting of all, the addition of \textit{-LVj} always results in the formation of a dactyl where there was a simple trochee in SF (e.g. \ldots (\text{σ}'\text{σ})\text{σ}_{pwd} < \ldots (\text{σ}'\text{σ})\text{σ}_{pwd}).

These facts suggest that rather than a morphemic unit, \textit{-LVj} is an entity of a different sort.

The following rime from the region of Burgos, Spain leaves no doubt that \textit{-LVj} is not a morpheme but an epenthetic syllable deprived of meaning.

(5) \textbf{Rime in normal Spanish:}

\begin{verbatim}
En las montañas / de Cataluña, / en las murallas / frente al Ferrol,  
hay un convento / de religiosas / que son facciosas / y yo no soy/  
Yo tengo un duro / y un medio duro / y una peseta / para gastar. /  
También un coche / con siete mulas ... 
\end{verbatim}
In the mountains of Catalonia, within the city walls next to Ferrol there is a convent of religious women, that are factious and I am not I have five pesetas / and two and a half pesetas / an one peseta / to spend I also have a car / with seven mules . . .

Rime in Playful Spanish:

En las montáñaras de Catalúνara, / en las murállaras / junto al Ferrol, /
hay un convéntoro / de religiósaras / que son facciósaras / y yo no soy /
Yo tengo un dúroo / y un medio dúroo / y una pesétara / para gastar
También un cóchere / con siete múlaras . . .

Playful words have exactly the same meaning as their source forms. The obvious difference between SF and PW is the musicality added by a change in metrical structure (e.g. [. . . (σ′ σ)]_PWd < [. . . (σ′ σ)]_PWd). When -LV_j is added, the trochaic rhythm of SF becomes dactylic (e.g. montáñaras < montañas 'mountains'). In this regard, it should be pointed out that the source forms of this template are always penultimately-stressed words (e.g. [. . . (σ′ σ)]_PWd). The fact that ultimately and antepenultimately-stressed words do not undergo this transformation indicates that the template has a specific target. Clearly, the aim of this process is to change paroxytone words into proparoxytones.

Here, I propose to analyze -LV_j as an epenthetic syllable arising from the need to meet a particular prosodic configuration. The addition of -LV_j serves the purpose of keeping the main-stressed foot from being word-final. To put it in a different way, -LV_j avoids that the right edge of the main-stressed foot matches the right edge of the PWd. Note from the representations in (6) below that the syllable projected by -LV_j remains unparsed from a foot and it is directly linked to the PWd.
(6) Change in prosodic structure from SF to PW:

This particular prosodic effect is captured by the constraint NONFINALITY proposed by Prince and Smolensky (1993) and redefined as misalignment below.

(7) NONFINALITY:  Misalign(F, R, PWd, R)

The right edge of the main-stressed foot may not match the right edge of the PWd.

NONFINALITY must dominate the correspondence constraint that militates against syllable epenthesis. That is, Dep(SF-PW, σ). This ranking means that adding an epenthetic syllable is an affordable cost to avoid a word-final foot in PW (8b). Epenthesis of more than one syllable (8c,d), however, would give rise to unjustified violations of the faithfulness constraint Dep(SF-PW, σ).

(8) NONFINALITY >> Dep(SF-PW, σ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>NONFINALITY</th>
<th>Dep(SF-PW, σ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...(σ′σ)</td>
<td>* !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>...(σ′σ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>...(σ′σ)σ</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>...(σ′σ)σσ</td>
<td>** !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>...σ′σσσ</td>
<td>** ! *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Furthermore, given that forming a monosyllabic foot (e.g. $[(\sigma')\sigma]_{\text{PWd}}$) is not an alternative to avoid finality, the constraint \textsc{Ft-Bin} must outrank \textsc{NonFinality}. On the other hand, \textsc{NonFinality} must dominate \textsc{ParseSyll} because finality is prevented at the cost of leaving the epenthetic syllable unparsed. The effect of this ranking is illustrated in tableau (9) below. Candidate (9b) is ruled out by \textsc{NonFinality} because the right edge of its main-stressed foot matches the right edge of the PWd. Candidate (9a) tries to avoid a violation of \textsc{NonFinality} by shrinking the foot to a monosyllabic form. But this move is sanctioned both by \textsc{Parse-Syll} and top-ranking \textsc{Ft-Bin}. In order to comply with \textsc{Ft-Bin} and \textsc{NonFinality}, the optimal PW must incur a violation of \textsc{ParseSyll} (9c), which results in the characteristic dactylic rhythm of these PW's.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{SF:} & \textbf{[\((\sigma')\sigma\)]_{\text{PWd}}} & \textbf{Ft-Bin} & \textbf{NonFinality} & \textbf{ParseSyll} \\
\hline
\textbf{a.} & \textbf{[\((\sigma')\sigma\)]_{\text{PWd}}} & \ast & \ast & \ast \\
\hline
\textbf{b.} & \textbf{[\((\sigma')\sigma\)]_{\text{PWd}}} & \ast & \ast & \ast \\
\hline
\textbf{c.} & \textbf{[\((\sigma')\sigma\)]_{\text{PWd}}} & \ast & \ast & \ast \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

When \textit{SF} contains more than two syllables, \textsc{NonFinality} could be satisfied through the same strategy of shifting the foot back one syllable, but without incurring epenthesis. This, however, does not ever occur, seemingly because the main-stressed foot of PW would not be identical to the main-stressed foot of SF. In other words, the segments parsed under the main-stressed foot of PW must be the correspondents of those segments parsed under the main-stressed foot of SF (e.g. \texttt{[gwa.(sán.ga).ra]} < \texttt{[gwa.(sán.ga)]} 'fuss'). This suggests that identity between the prosodic heads of SF and
PW is highly enforced. I interpret this as a type of head-to-head dependence that may be captured through the prosodic constraint H-HDep.

(10) H-HDep:  

Head-to-head Dependence

Every segment contained in the main-stressed foot of S₂ must have a correspondent in the main-stressed foot of S₁.

When H-HDep dominates NONFINALITY, matching of the right edge of the main-stressed foot and the right edge of the PWd may not be avoided by altering the main-stressed foot (11b). However, because NONFINALITY dominates DEP(SF-PW, σ), finality may still be prevented through the addition of an epenthetic syllable that serves as cushion between the right edge of the main-stressed foot and the right edge of the PWd (11c).

(11) H-HDep >> NONFINALITY >> DEP(SF-PW, σ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>[gwa.(sán.ga)]_PWd</th>
<th>H-HDep</th>
<th>NONFINALITY</th>
<th>DEP(SF-PW, σ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>[gwa.(sán.ga)]_PWd</td>
<td></td>
<td>* !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>[(gwá.san).ga]PWd</td>
<td>g ! wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>[gwa.(sán.ga).LV ]_PWd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples where SF ends in a consonant reveal that ANCHOR(SF-PW)R is enforced (e.g. kimbámbaras < kimbambas 'distant place'). That is, the segment sitting at the right periphery of SF must have a correspondent at the right periphery of PW. The following data illustrate this point.
(12) **Right-ANCHORing:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>ANCHOR(SF-PW)R</th>
<th>O-CONTIGUITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[(tríŋ.kiš)]_{PWD}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(tríŋ.kiš].lis]_{PWD}</td>
<td>'a shot of wine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kim.(bám.bas)]_{PWD}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).ras]_{PWD}</td>
<td>'a distant place'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kár.θel]_{PWD}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(kár.θel).re]_{PWD}</td>
<td>'jail'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(fá.θi])_{PWD}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(fá.θi).ri]_{PWD}</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mu.(rá.jas)]_{PWD}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mu.rá.ja].ras]_{PWD}</td>
<td>'city walls'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given that right-ANCHORing is achieved at the expense of separating the rightmost segment in SF from its neighboring segments, it must be that ANCHOR(SF-PW)R dominates O-CONTIGUITY, the correspondence constraint that militates against intrusive elements. This leads to the conclusion that the need to satisfy ANCHOR(SF-PW)R is what causes -LV to behave like an infix (see 13b and 13b').

(13) **ANCHOR(SF-PW)R >> O-CONTIGUITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>ANCHOR(SF-PW)R</th>
<th>O-CONTIGUITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ☐</td>
<td>[(tríŋ.kiš).LV]_{PWD}</td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ☐</td>
<td>[(tríŋ.kiš).LV]_{PWD}</td>
<td>* !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’. ☐</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.bas).LV]_{PWD}</td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b’. ☐</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.bas).LV]_{PWD}</td>
<td>* !</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It turns out then that -LV is not always -LV. When SF ends in a vowel, the sequence of new segments in SF must have the order -VL rather than -LV, so that the rightmost segment in SF has its TF-correspondent at the rightmost point of TF (e.g. [kon.(bén.tY).Lo] < [kom.(bén.to)] 'convent'). According to this, the epenthetic syllable is always an infix. When SF ends in a consonant, this fact is more evident, but given that all dactylic PW's are subject to the same constraint ranking, the correspondent of the
rightmost segment in \( SF \) must always sit at the rightmost point of \( TF \) regardless if \( SF \) ends in a vowel (14a) or a consonant (14a'). Only so may the undominated constraint \( \text{ANCHOR}(SF-PW)R \) be satisfied.

(14) \text{ANCHOR}(SF-PW)R \gg \text{O-CONTIGUITY}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>[(kon.(bén.to)]_{PWd}</th>
<th>\text{ANCHOR}(SF-PW)R</th>
<th>\text{O-CONTIGUITY}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ( \varnothing )</td>
<td>[(kon.(bén.tV).L_o]_{PWd}</td>
<td></td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>[(kon.(bén.to).LV]_{PWd}</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF:</td>
<td>[re.li.(xjó.sas)]_{PWd}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'. ( \varnothing )</td>
<td>[re.li.(xjó.sa).LVs)]_{PWd}</td>
<td></td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'.</td>
<td>[re.li.(xjó.sas).LV ]_{PWd}</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that the epenthetic syllable conforms to the unmarked CV-type suggests that the well-formedness constraints \( \text{ONSET} \) and \( \text{NUCLEUS} \) are active. To satisfy \( \text{ONSET} \) and \( \text{NUCLEUS} \), the new syllable node must parse at least one consonant and one vowel. My account of these facts relies on the following correspondence constraints.

(15) \text{V-INTEGRITY:} 'No vowel-breaking'

No vowel of \( SF \) has multiple correspondents in \( TF \).
For \( x \in SF \) and \( w, z \in SF \) if \( x \mathrel{\Re} w \) and \( x \mathrel{\Re} z \), then \( w=z \)

(16) \text{C-INTEGRITY:} 'No consonant-breaking'

No consonant of \( SF \) has multiple correspondents in \( TF \).
For \( x \in SF \) and \( w, z \in SF \) if \( x \mathrel{\Re} w \) and \( x \mathrel{\Re} z \), then \( w=z \)

(17) \text{DEP(SF-PW, seg): Segmental dependence on the source form.}

Every segment in \( PW \) has a correspondent in \( SF \).
Given that the onset of the epenthetic syllable is inserted, rather than copied, \( \text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW, seg}) \) must be dominated by \text{ONSET} and \text{C-INTEGRITY}. On the other hand, the fact that the peak of the epenthetic syllable is a copy of the preceding vowel indicates that \( \text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW, seg}) \) outranks \text{NUCLEUS} and \text{V-INTEGRITY}.

(18) \text{ONSET, C-INTEGRITY} \gg \text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW, seg}) \gg \text{NUCLEUS} \gg \text{V-NTEG}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF:</th>
<th>\text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW})</th>
<th>\text{NUCLEUS}</th>
<th>\text{V-NTEG}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).as]_{PWd}</td>
<td>* !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).bas]_{PWd}</td>
<td>* !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).Les]_{PWd}</td>
<td>* * !</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).Las]_{PWd}</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>[kim.(bám.ba).L_ s]_{PWd}</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Candidate (18a) runs afoul of top-ranking \text{ONSET} because it fails to provide an onset for the epenthetic syllable. Candidate (18b) supplies an onset for the epenthetic syllable by copying the onset of the preceding syllable. This, however, represents a fatal violation of high-ranking \text{C-INTEGRITY}. Candidate (18c) receives two marks from \( \text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW, seg}) \) because it inserts both the onset and the nucleus of the epenthetic syllable. Candidates (18e) ties with (18d) by inserting a single segment. However, the strategy (18e) pursues, results in an ill-formed syllable, whereas candidate (18d) satisfies the well-formedness constraints while minimizing the number of violations of \( \text{DEP}(\text{SF-PW, seg}) \).

One of the most interesting facts about the dactylic template concerns the segment that fills the onset of the epenthetic syllable. Unlike Jerigonza, where the epenthetic consonant is always a voiceless stop, the onset of the epenthetic syllable of dactylic \text{PW's}
is not the most harmonic syllable margin at all. In the case of Jerigonza, the syllable-
margin hierarchy applies perfectly because the epenthetic segment belongs to the natural
class that occupies the lowest section of the hierarchy: the voiceless stops /p, t, k, ≠/.

(19) **Spanish Syllable-Margin Hierarchy:**

\[\begin{align*}
&M/a,e,i,o,u >> *M/r >> *M/l >> *M/m,n,\ddot{n} >> *M/f,s,\theta,\ddot{j},x >> *M/b,d,g >> *M/p,t,k,\ne\n\end{align*}\]

Since the only syllable-margin constraints that are dominated by ONSET are
*M/p,t,k,≠/, it follows that no segment of sonority higher than 1 can be the onset of the
epenthetic syllable. This type of approach, however, fails when applied to dactylic PW's.
Claiming that the onset of the epenthetic syllable of PW's must be a liquid consonant
because ONSET dominates the syllable-margin constraints *M/r/ and *M/l/ would entail
not only that /r/ and /l/ may be parsed in that position but also that all other segments of
sonority 6 and lower may be as well. But evidently, this is not the case.

The approach I used to explain the sound substitutions that take place in the
formation of Type-B hypocoristics is unsatisfactory when applied to PW's. In Chapter 4, I
proposed the constraint (N-O)SONDIST to account for a tendency displayed by a group of
segments (e.g. /s, f, x, r/) to decrease their sonority when parsed as syllable onsets. In
order to obtain a more salient sonority contrast between the syllable peak and the left
syllable margin, these segments alter their specifications for the features \{continuant\}
and \{place\}. Through this strategy, they become less sonorous and more harmonic with
the syllabic role they play. But if an optimal sonority profile were being enforced in the
formation of dactylic PW's, liquids would be the wrong segments to choose in order to fill
the onset of the epenthetic syllable because their high sonority value contrasts minimally with that of the syllable peak. \( \text{(N-O)SONDIST} \) actually predicts that liquids would be the worst possible choice for that purpose.

Why is it then that liquids are the segments selected to fill the onset of the epenthetic syllable of dactylic PW's? The answer I offer for this question has to do with the prosodic context where the epenthetic syllable appears. I interpret the dactylic rhythm of PW as three declining levels of prosodic prominence that start with the head of the foot. The prosodic configuration \[ \ldots (\sigma' \sigma) \sigma \] \( \text{PWd} \) translates into a \( \ldots (3 \rightarrow 2) \rightarrow 1 \) downgrade at the right margin of the word. The head of the trochaic foot is the prosodic peak \( (=3) \), the non-head syllable is a step down from it \( (=2) \), and the syllable beyond the right margin of the foot constitutes the bottom end \( (=1) \) of a declining line of prosodic prominence, which is sketched below.

(20) **Dactylic downgrade:**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
3 \\
* \\
* \\
\sigma' \\
(\sigma' \sigma) \sigma \] \( \text{PWd} \\
\end{array}
\]

The point I want to make with this observation is that, in order to understand the relevance of parsing a liquid segment as the onset of the epenthetic syllable, one needs to look beyond syllable structure and take into account the entire prosodic context where the epenthetic syllable appears. My claim is that the segmental units parsed by the prosodic
constituents that participate in the prosodic prominence line in (20) reflect the prominence decline of their parsers.

Pharies (1986: 30), describes the dactylic template as the skeletal string in (21), which I complement with prosodic structure for clarity purposes. He points out that the onset of the final syllable is always a liquid and that the onset of the two previous syllables tends to be a voiceless stop or an affricate.

(20) **Dactylic template:** (Pharies 1986: 30)

\[
\text{PWd} \\
\text{F} \\
\sigma \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \\
\text{C} \quad \text{V} \quad (\text{C}) \quad \text{C} \quad \text{V}_j \quad \text{L} \quad \text{V}_j
\]

voiceless stop/liquid
affricate

According to this characterization of the segmental string of the template, consonants of low sonority are the preferred syllable margin for the footed syllables, whereas consonants of high sonority are the preferred syllable margin for the unfooted syllable. What this reveals in terms of sonority dispersion is a tendency to decrease the sonority distance between the syllable peak and the syllable margin which is directly proportional to the decline in prosodic prominence displayed by the last three syllables of PW. Put differently, the syllable that features the dullest sonority contrast corresponds to the point of lowest prominence of the prosodic prominence line. To illustrate this point,
consider the playful-word tígere < iigre 'tiger', whose prosodic prominence line is sketched in (21). For convenience, I repeat the syllable-margin hierarchy and the sonority values of the different segment classes.

(21) Sonority distance in proportion to prosodic prominence:

\[
*M/a,e,i,o,u >> *M/r >> *M/l >> *M/m,n,ñ >> *M/f,s,θ, j,x >> *M/b,d,g >> *M/p,t,k,≠
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
7 & 6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
3 & 2 & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \text{PWD} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
t & i & g & e & r & e 'tiger' \\
\end{array}
\]

Segmental sonority

\[
1 & 7 & 2 & 7 & 6 & 7 \\
\]

Sonority distance

\[
6 & 5 & 1 \\
\]

By parsing a liquid as the onset of the epenthetic syllable, it is assured that the final syllable will have the slightest sonority contrast possible in accordance with its lower prosodic prominence. Note that by parsing obstruents as the onset of the footed syllables, the drop in sonority distance is enhanced, however, regardless the sonority distance between the onset and nucleus of previous syllables, the selection of a liquid as the epenthetic segment guarantees that the word will end with the lightest sonority contrast, just like it ends with the least prominent syllable.
When the onset segments of the syllables that are parsed by the main-stressed foot of SF are not obstruents, the drop in sonority distance is not as sharp. However, even in such cases, the insertion of a liquid assures that the sonority distance of the last syllable of the word will always be lower, or at least the same, as the sonority distance of any previous syllable. Such case is illustrated below with the pw dúroro < duro 'five pesetas'.

(22) **Sonority distance in proportion to prosodic prominence:**

\[
\begin{align*}
&M/a,e,i,o,u >> M/r >> M/l >> M/m,n,\tilde{n} >> M/f,s,\theta, \tilde{j},x >> M/b,d,g >> M/p,t,k,\neq \\
&7 6 5 4 3 2 1
\end{align*}
\]

I conclude that dactylic playful-words are another instance of prosodic morphology in Spanish. According to this account, the source form undergoes lengthening in order to meet a prosodic configuration, rather than as a result of a purely morphological operation. The selection of a liquid segment as the onset of the epenthetic syllable assures that the lightest sonority contrast will correspond to the least prominent
syllable of the template. The following is the constraint hierarchy that accounts for
dactylic playful-words.

(23) **Constraint Hierarchy responsible for dactylic PW's:**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{NONFINALITY} \\
&\text{PARSE-SYLL} \\
&\text{DEP(sf-pw, σ)} \\
&\text{NUCLEUS} \\
&\text{DEP(sf-pw, seg)} \\
&\text{V-INTEGRITY} \\
&\text{O-CONTIGUITY} \\
&\text{ANCHOR(sf-pw)R} \\
&\text{H-HDEP} \\
&\text{FT-BIN}
\end{align*}
\]

5.2 **Summary**

In this chapter, I have focused on a type of Spanish playful-words that features a
dactylic template. Regular penultimately-stressed words are changed into
proparoxytones through the addition of an epenthetic syllable that is needed to comply
with **NONFINALITY**, the prosodic constraint that militates against word-final feet.
Although **DEP(sf-pw)** is dominated, the playful-word (PW) must maintain a high degree
of resemblance with respect to its source form (SF). This is because of the high rank of
**MAX(sf-pw)** and the prosodic-dependence constraint **H-HDEP**. The latter forces **TF** to
project a main-stressed foot that is formed with the correspondents of the segments
parsed under the main-stressed foot of SF. Furthermore, ANCHOR(SF-PW) ensures that those segments that are peripheral SF have peripheral correspondents in TF. The epenthetic syllable node parses a consonant and a vowel in compliance with the well-formedness constraints ONSET and NUCLEUS. The nucleus slot is filled in with a vowel that is a copy of an SF-segment because V-INTEGRITY is outranked by NUCLEUS. However, ONSET dominates DEP(SF-PW, seg) and it is able to force the insertion of a new segment. I interpreted the selection of a liquid consonant as the optimal onset of the epenthetic syllable as an effect of the prosodic context: the least prominent syllable of the dactyl dominates segments with the lightest sonority contrast.