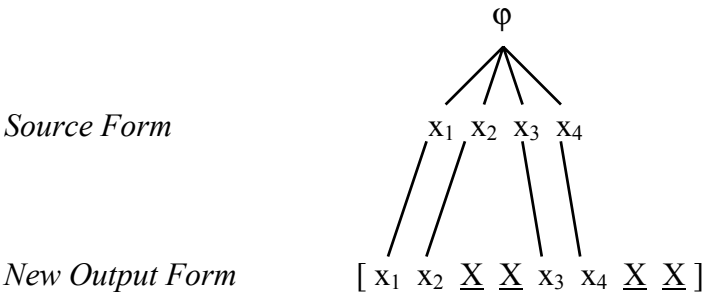
CHAPTER 6

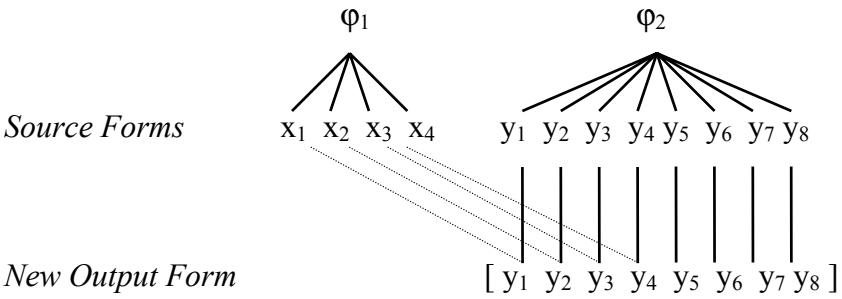
CONCLUSIONS

Four alternative word-formation processes of Spanish have been explored in this dissertation. Jerigonza, blends, hypocoristics and playful words are processes related to one another through the fact that they are governed by prosodic constraints that condition the way in which morphemes are realized in the output. Three different alternatives to concatenative morphology have been revealed by this study.

(1) Discontinuous morphemes:

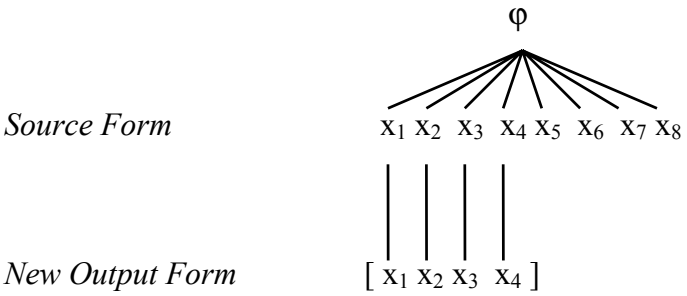


(2) Overlapping morphemes:

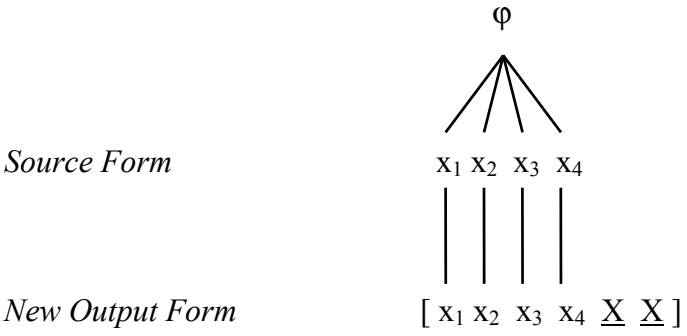


(3) Template-molded morphemes:

A. Template-driven shortening



B. Template-driven lengthening



Discontinuous morphemes and template-driven lengthening are instances of what Bagemihl (1988) refers to as empty morphology. Empty morphemes are structural units that participate in the generation of words but do not have any meaning. The analyses of Jerigonza and playful-words developed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 respectively, reveal that empty morphemes are actually not morphemes but semantically void 'fillers' that appear in the new output form only to help meet a prosodic configuration. Form this standpoint, empty morphemes are not morphological entities per se but rather, morpho-phonological ones.

The study of blends in Chapter 3 found in this process additional evidence in support of Correspondence Theory. Specifically, a type of many-to-one correspondence

relationship that allows two morphemes to occur simultaneously rather than sequentially, and which represents the most evident break from concatenative morphology. Additionally, it was found that many-to-one correspondence relationships may hold even when the multiple correspondents in the input are not identical to the single correspondent in the output. Although this type of correspondence is not as transparent as when the correspondents are identical, it contributes to maximize the input form and to satisfy alignment constraints.

The analysis of truncated forms presented in Chapter 4 confirmed that templates are defined in terms of prosodic units and that they originate from constraint interaction rather than from a single templatic constraint. Additional evidence in support of correspondence constraints that target prosodic heads was found in Type-B truncated forms, Jerigonza and dactylic playful words. In these processes, the head of a prosodic constituent acts as the domain of prosodic-head correspondence constraints. These type of constraints may require that a prosodic head in the input be maximized in the output or that a prosodic head in the output be dependent on a prosodic head in the input. Jerigonza also shows that the head of the foot, a stressed syllable, is used in infixing ludlings to make the correspondent of a syllable in the source form more salient than the 'filling' syllable that is added to complete a disyllabic foot.

The data from all four processes indicate that the new output form is generated from a derived output form as opposed to an abstract input form. Although very little evidence was found that the new output form retains derived allophonic properties of the source form, the high dependence on the prosodic structure of the source form constitutes robust evidence for output-to-output correspondence. Jerigonza and Type-A

hypocoristics are sensitive to the syllable structure of the source form. Type-B hypocoristics and playful-words are dependent on the main-stressed foot of the source form, and blends are bound to the domain defined by the edges of the prosodic word of the longer source form.

Additional support for the claim that nasal and lateral segments are placeless when they assimilate to a following consonant was found in the formation of hypocoristics where these segments are precisely the only ones in the language that can pass undetected by a CODACONDITION that bars place features from the right syllable margin. This is related to the general tendency in both types of truncation processes to simplify marked structure in favor of prosodic as well as segmental unmarkedness. Prosodically, the target is a minimal word consisting of a single binary foot that is erected on two unmarked CV-syllables. Segmentally, the aim is to select units that are more harmonic with the syllabic roles they play. According to this, segments of low sonority are the preferred syllable margins, whereas segments of high sonority are more harmonic syllable peaks. This results in a sharper sonority contrast between the syllable peak and the left syllable margin that decreases the sonority dispersion within the initial demisyllable.

Another type of prosodic unmarkedness was found in Jerigonza, where perfect compliance with the prosodic hierarchy enforced by the constraints PARSESYLLABLES, FOOTBINARITY and ALL-FEET- (Right) yields a prosodic structure where all syllables are footed, all feet are binary and each foot is as close to being final as possible.

A general preference for the syllabic trochee was found across all four non-concatenative processes, confirming that the unmarked Spanish foot is left-headed and

disyllabic rather than right-headed or bimoraic. JER-2 constitutes the only case in Spanish where iambic footing is uncontroversial. However, even this case of right-headedness within the foot is derivable from constraint interaction rather than as the result of a specific constraint requiring iambic footing, such as FOOT-FORM(Iambic).

From a segmental viewpoint, Jerigonza also confirms that Spanish CsC clusters are syllabified as Cs.C rather than C.sC. In JER-1 and JER-3, where alignment of the left edge of the syllable with the left edge of a foot is required, words with CsC clusters are turned into Jerigonza words by placing the epenthetic syllable after the Cs sequence which splits the cluster as Cs.PV.C in JER-1 and as C.PVs.C in JER-3, so that alignment may be satisfied.

The selection of the optimal onset segment for the epenthetic syllables in Jerigonza was found to be dependent on universal sonority considerations according to which the least sonorous segments make the best syllable onsets. The natural class of voiceless stops is at the bottom of the syllable-margin hierarchy, which makes it less costly to parse them as syllable onsets.

On the other hand, the selection of the optimal onset segment for the epenthetic syllable of playful-words does not seem to obey any principle enforcing the parsing of low-sonority segments as syllable margins. Instead, it seems that the selection of a high-sonority segment as the optimal syllable margin is governed by the entire prosodic context where the epenthetic syllable appears. In this case, the fact that liquids are the consonants with the highest sonority makes their parsing more harmonic because they contrast minimally with the high sonority of the vowel that sits at the peak of the syllable. This dull sonority contrast within the syllable correlates with the less prominent role that

the epenthetic syllable plays in the prosodic prominence downgrade that characterizes the dactyl.

Finally, this study reveals that the morpho-phonological component of Spanish has two different levels. Traditional studies on Spanish word-formation have focused on level 1, which corresponds to the regular input-to-output derivations. With the incorporation of Optimality Theory, no intermediate stages are needed within level 1. However, a second level of derivation must be posited given that the source forms for processes like Jerigonza, blends, truncated forms and playful-words are derived output forms, which are the output of level 1. A marked difference between the two levels is a higher tolerance of non-concatenative operations in level 2, due to the higher rank of phonological and interface constraints.