

Squibs

The 'name game' and onset simplification*

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Steriade (1988) proposes a model of reduplication and templatic systems that includes a process of onset simplification. For example, in Tagalog, the first syllable of a root can undergo prefixal reduplication with onset simplification: *ta-trabaho*, *bo-bloout*. Steriade cites a number of cases of onset simplification cooccurring with syllable-based templatic systems, but provides no examples of it with foot-based systems. Here we provide an example of onset simplification applying to a foot-based templatic system. This demonstration is important for two reasons. First, it shows that the onset simplification phenomenon is more general, applying to syllables and feet. Second, these facts are of relevance to the theory of prosodic morphology (McCarthy & Prince, 1987, 1988, forthcoming). As it stands, that theory allows for the phenomenon of onset simplification only with light syllables ('core syllables'). If the analysis below is correct, onset simplification must be countenanced with feet as well.¹

There is a language game of English based on a popular song from the sixties called 'The Name Game'. The game is now played by children who have never heard the song. The game is played by inserting a proper name into the rhyme in (1) and systematically substituting different consonants for the initial consonant or cluster of the inserted name. In (1), we show how this would apply to a name like Jack:

- (1) Jack, Jack bo back, —, — bo b—,
 [jæk jæk bo bæk]
 banana fana fo fack, banana fana fo f—,
 [bənænə fænə fo fæk]
 me my mo mack, me my mo m—,
 [mi may mo mæk]
 Ja-ack. —,
 [jæ-æk]

Not all names can be inserted in the rhyme, however. Basically, permissible names must be one, two or three syllables long with stress only on the first syllable. Names like the following are permissible: *Jáck*, *Tóny*,

plification. This process can simplify the onset of a syllable within any constituent. Crucially, nothing in the model prevents it from applying to feet.

The third component of her model is overwriting. If a truncation form or reduplicated affix contains some constant melodic material, that material associates to the template overwriting previously associated material.

This three-part system allows for a direct description of the facts of dialect 1:

- (4) a. Match names to the following template: $[\sigma \sigma](\sigma)$.
- b. Simplify the word-initial onset.
- c. Overwrite from left to right with *b*, *f* and *m*.

Under the theory proposed by McCarthy & Prince, these data cannot be analysed as easily. The problem is that McCarthy & Prince exclude the equivalent of (4b) when the base is a foot or minimal word.

These data thus suggest that the principle of onset simplification must be incorporated into the theory of prosody.

NOTES

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[1] Carmean (1988) notes that these data constitute a problem for the theory of Prosodic Phonology because the first onset is manipulated and the base is the 'word'. Here it is argued that the base is the foot.

[2] For some speakers, these names are possible if they can be altered to fit the pattern. This can happen by deleting syllables (e.g. *Annette* → *Nette*) or deleting stresses (e.g. *Mirabel* → *Mirabél*). Such dialects constitute an additional argument for the analysis below.

An anonymous reviewer points out that in his/her dialect, disyllabic names with secondary stress on the second syllable work as well, e.g. *Carkeek* and *Toenail*. For me, these are only possible if the stress on the second syllable is suppressed. This is very clear in examples where stress-conditioned allophony shows the loss of stress. For example, a word like *chickadee* with final secondary stress can undergo the rule if the final stress is lost, as can be seen by the possibility of flapping of the [d]. Likewise a hypothetical name like *Carteek* with final secondary stress can undergo the rule only if the second syllable loses its stress, surfacing as [k^barrɪk], rather than [k^bartⁿɪk]. These examples thus provide even more evidence in favour of the analysis offered.

[3] As is well-known, English stress is sensitive to syllable weight. The description in the text cannot be maintained if the foot in English is the moraic trochee [$\mu \mu$] of McCarthy & Prince (1987, 1988, forthcoming). This is because of names like *Gwendolyn* which can undergo the game. The problem is that *Gwendolyn* cannot be exhaustively scanned as a moraic trochee and an extrametrical syllable because the first syllable is heavy/bimoraic.

[4] The chart only shows the /b/-substitution pattern because the different substitutions behave alike.

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C-command or edge

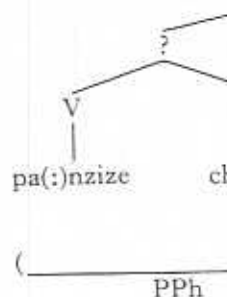
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Kaisse (1985) presents a theory where a rule may require one element to c-command another element. This theory, hereafter referred to as c-command theory, which is defined as follows:

- (1) In the structure [X
Then α c-command

Selkirk (1986) advances a theory based on the left edge of a phrase, whereby structures are constructed by parsing from right to left. In this theory, the right edge of some phrase is defined as the right edge of some phonological phrase as follows:

- (2)



Although the c-command theory and the left edge theory (maximal projection theory) make different predictions about the syntactic rules that apply to the right edge of a phrase, the end-based theory makes different predictions about the syntactic rules that apply to the left edge of a phrase.

The tonal alternation in the right edge of possessive pronouns ('m