

## Antepenultimate rhyme as a window to metrically weak positions in Spanish and Greek

Mirella De Sisto, Violeta Martínez-Paricio & Nina Topintzi

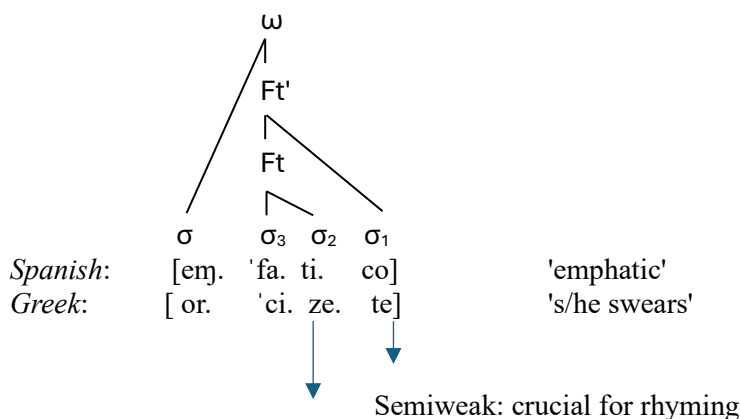
Tilburg University, Universitat de Valencia & Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Meter and rhyme can be used as evidence for phonological structure and its properties (Halle & Keyser 1971; Kiparsky 1973; 1977; Hayes 1989; Golston & Riad 1999; Fabb 2010, among others). The goal of this paper is to demonstrate how rhyming patterns that involve words with antepenultimate stress in Spanish (1) and Greek (2) shed light on the Internally Layered Ternary (ILT) structure of the foot (3) composing these words. An ILT foot is formed by minimal adjunction of an unstressed syllable to a binary foot, which leads to a structure having a foot stacked on top of another foot (Davis and Cho 2003; van der Hulst 2010; Bennett 2012, 2013; Kager 2012; Martínez-Paricio 2012, 2013; Martínez-Paricio and Kager 2015; 2021 among others).

- (1) Tenéis toda la región  
 Del hígado, por la cólera, A  
 Lesa, que con la pituita  
 Quemándola se incorpóra. A  
 Ahora bien, señora mía,  
 Vuesiría se dispónga A  
 Tirso de Molina, El amor médico, Act II, vv. 1689-1692 (1635)
- (2) Του αδύναμου το δίκιο μήτε λέει ποτέ [poté] A  
 βγαίνει τη νύχτα μέρα και τ' ορκίζεται [orcízete] A  
 Όπου μεγάλη πόρτα πίσω της αυτός [aftós] B  
 κάνει να την ανοίξις γίνεται άφαντος. [áfandos] B  
 Odysseas Elytis, O ilios o iliatoras, lines 61-64 (1971)

Rhyme involving antepenultimate-stress words in Spanish and Greek constitute evidence for this nested structure. Besides highlighting the ternary foot structure of words with antepenultimate stress, these rhyming patterns also highlight the layering of these feet. They do so by exhibiting an asymmetry in the behaviour of their unstressed syllables: whereas word-final unstressed syllables in words with antepenultimate stress are crucial in rhyme ( $\sigma_1$  in (3)), post-tonic medial syllables are often ignored for rhyming purposes ( $\sigma_2$  in (3)).

- (3) ILT feet in Spanish and Greek words with APU stress: example with a 4-syllables word



Weak: often ignored for rhyming

In our contribution we show that, in Spanish poetry, when involved in a rhyming pattern, most words with antepenultimate stress rhyme with words with penultimate stress (e.g. *cólera* rhyming with *incorpóra* in (1)). In this antepenultimate-penultimate stress pattern, rhyme is formed between the stressed syllables and the final unstressed syllables of the two words, while the post-tonic medial syllable of the word with antepenultimate stress is ignored for rhyming purposes. This highlights the asymmetrical behaviour of the two post-tonic syllables of the antepenultimately-stressed word and in particular reveals the weakness of the medial syllable.

In Greek, a word with antepenultimate stress, e.g. *orcízete*, can rhyme with one with final stress, such as *poté*: the final unstressed syllable of the former is restructured as a foot head bearing secondary stress, and now can rhyme with the original finally-stressed word. The inability of the post-tonic medial syllable to become the head of the foot, underscores its difference to the final syllable.

We argue that words with antepenultimate stress in Spanish and Greek contain an ILT foot aligned to the right edge of the prosodic word. In this representation, the post-tonic medial syllable has a double foot-dependent status which causes its weaker nature; the final unstressed syllable, instead, is dominated only by one projection, which makes it stronger. Furthermore, we will show that there is independent linguistic evidence for ILT feet in the two languages and demonstrate that alternative analyses with traditional maximally disyllabic feet cannot provide such a unified account of all the (linguistic and rhyming) facts. This contribution adds to the body of research on foot-conditioned phenomena, providing further empirical evidence for ILT feet from an area previously unexplored, namely poetry and rhyme patterns.

**Selected references.** Bennett, R. 2012. *Foot-conditioned phonotaxis and prosodic constituency*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz. ■ Davis, S. & M.-H. Cho. 2003. The distribution of aspirated stops and /h/ in American English and Korean: an alignment approach with typological implications. *Linguistics* 41, 607–52. ■ Fabb, N. 2010. Is literary language a development of ordinary language? *Lingua* 120:1219–1232. ■ Golston, C., and T. Riad. 1999. The phonology of Classical Greek meter. *Linguistics* 38:99–167. ■ Halle, M., and S. J. Keyser. 1971. *English stress. Its form, its growth, and its role in verse*. New York: Harper and Row Publisher Inc. ■ Hayes, B. 1989. The prosodic hierarchy in meter. In P. Kiparsky and G. Youmans (ed.), *Rhythm and meter*, 201–260. Orlando: Academic Press. ■ Hulst, H. van der. 2010. A note in recursion in phonology. In H. van der Hulst (ed.), *Recursion and human language*, vol. 104. Walter de Gruyter. ■ Kager, R. 2012. Stress in windows: Language typology and factorial typology. *Lingua* 122, 1454–93. ■ Kiparsky, P. 1973. The role of Linguistics in a Theory of Poetry. *Daedalus*, 102(3), 231–244. ■ Kiparsky P. 1977. The rhythmic structure of English verse. *Linguist. Inq.* 8:189–247. ■ Martínez-Paricio, V. 2012. Superfeet as recursion. In N. Arnett & R. Bennett (eds.), *Proceedings of the 30th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL 30)*, 259–69. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Proceedings Project. ■ Martínez-Paricio, V. 2013. “The Intricate Connection between Diphthongs and Stress in Spanish.” *Nordlyd* 40 (1): 166–95. ■ Martínez-Paricio, V. 2021. Stress in morphologically simple and complex Spanish words. In A. Fábregas, V. Acedo-Matellán, G. Armstrong, M. C. Cuervo and I. Pujol (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Spanish Morphology* (cap.26). New York, NY: Routledge ■ Martínez-Paricio, V., and R. Kager. 2015. “The Binary-to-Ternary Rhythmic Continuum in Stress Typology: Layered Feet and Non-Intervention Constraints.” *Phonology* 32 (3): 459–504.