Templatic versus apparently non-templatic truncation in Sardinian
Teresa Cabré¹, Francesc Torres-Tamarit² and Maria del Mar Vanrell³
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona¹, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam², Freie Universität Berlin³
teresa.cabre@uab.cat, f.j.torrestamarit@vu.nl, vanrell@zedat.fu-berlin.de

Templatic truncation is a process that maps a base onto a metrical template. This is the case of Sardinian hypocoristic truncation, which deletes initial unstressed syllable(s), and as a result yields nouns conforming to the canonical foot of the language, the syllabic trochee (1) (Molinu 2012). Another process of truncation in Sardinian occurs in vocatives. However, truncated vocatives preserve the left side of the word until the stressed vowel (2). Therefore, they do not adhere to any sort of prosodic template.

The main difference between hypocoristics and truncated vocatives lies in their syntactic behavior: hypocoristics belong to the theta-grid of predicates in main clauses, whereas the second type of truncation can only be used for vocative speech acts (Moro 2004, Espinal 2011).

It is well-known that languages use specific intonational contours for vocatives (Zwicky 1974). The intonational pattern for truncated vocatives in Sardinian shows a rising tonal event aligned with the first syllable of the base (L+H*) and a low pitch accent (L*) aligned with the stressed syllable of the name. The melody for insistent or second calls tend to be the chanted tune, i.e., a rising pitch accent aligned with the stressed syllable of the name and a sustained boundary tone (L+H* !H%). The chanted tune can only be produced on a non-truncated base (Vanrell et al., forthcoming).

D’Alessandro and van Oostendorp (2013) assume that vocatives are syntactic heads containing an edge feature. Edge features have their own cyclic spell out, which interfaces with intonational/prosodic phonology. This idea finds support in that edge features correlate with discourse semantics instead of propositional semantics in the Logical Form. Therefore, edge features must necessarily be materialized by means of prosody, and cannot access the segmental phonology. We follow D’Alessandro and van Oostendorp (2013) in assuming that the exponent of vocatives corresponds to prosodic material, because vocatives contain an edge feature. We propose that for Sardinian, this prosodic material is a complex L+H* L* tonal configuration, containing a left-edge rising pitch accent and a final low one. This tonal configuration is in fact the true template for truncated vocatives, as opposed to the metrical template used for hypocoristics, a foot. In this proposal, we will develop an OT analysis that accounts for how both the metrical and the intonational template map onto the segmental structure using ANCHOR constraints. To illustrate, consider truncated vocatives: a constraint demands to anchor the head syllabic nucleus of the base with the right edge of the truncated vocative, which triggers deletion of all segments following the stressed vowel. Then, the need for aligning the left-edge rising pitch accent L+H*, together with faithfulness, accounts for preserving all material to the left of the stressed vowel. The results of a prosodic analysis of an annotated corpus of 194 vocatives and 93 hypocoristics in Sardinian will be presented along with the formal OT analysis in order to empirically support our claim that truncated vocatives are also the result of an intonational, templatic process.
(1) Servatore > Tore, Batore, Totore  Zusepa > Pepa
Margherita > Ghita  Franziscu > Chiccu
Robertu > Bertu  Eleonora > Nora
Luigu > Giu  Catallia > Lia
Mariantonia > Tonna, Mantona, Totona  Madalena > Lena, Malena
Antonina > Nina  Filumenia > Mena

(2) Bèrtulu > Be’  Tziu > Tzi’
Mariànzela > Marià  Maria > Mari’
Innàtziu > Inna’  Fortunadu > Fortuna’
Gòsamu > Go’  Iperàntzia > Ipera’
Babbu > Ba’  Andriha > Andri’
Bonaventura > Bonaventu’  Benedetto > Benede’

References: