

Foot-binarity. Iambic Feet in Italian (oxytones as *città*, *virtù*) and their link with RS (Raddoppiamento Sintattico). A French parsing ?

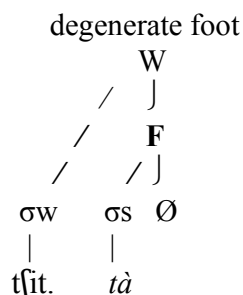
Nespor (1993) proposes that in order to account for ultimate and penultimate stress patterns, Italian must allow for degenerate monosyllabic feet and binary feet (bi-syllabic trochee), each of which has the stress on the leftmost syllable of the foot.

Examples of the foot parsing follow:

(1)

(a) (tʃit.) (tà) 'town' degenerate foot

(b) (mén.te) 'mind' bi-syllabic trochee



Words as (tʃit.)(tà) have a metrical structure that is not congruous with the metrical pattern of the Italian language for which it is generally assumed that we have a binary foot left-headed.

Marotta (1999 ; 2000) offers a different view of Italian foot structure: in her analysis of ultimate and penultimate words, Italian feet can be trochaic or iambic: (vir.tù) 'virtute' is a iamb, therefore Italian oxytone forms do not violate the constraint of Foot Binarity (Ft-Bin) according to which Feet are maximally binary. The following constraints are also pertinent for Italian :

the right edge of every foot must be aligned with the right edge of the prosodic word (All-Ft-R);

the left edge of every foot must be aligned with the left edge of the prosodic word (All-Ft-L).

Finally, we don't have any final foot in a prosodic word. Since the bi-syllabic trochee surfaces more often, All-Ft-R dominate All-Ft-L (see Halicki 2008).

The rhythmical pattern of oxytones interacts systematically with *Raddoppiamento Sintattico*. RS is a phonological process that occurs at word boundaries and triggers the gemination of the consonantal onset of Word₂ after a final stressed vowel and after some morphemes (Word₁). In other words, in a sequence of W₁W₂ the initial consonant of W₂ becomes geminated if W₁ ends in a stressed vowel. RS in synchrony is generally considered a product of the *Strong Rhyme Condition* (= SRC, Chierchia 1986), which requires that stressed syllables have branching rhymes. According to this convention, a slot is inserted cyclically prior to the application of post-cyclic rules or conventions.

Main stress in Italian occurs generally on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. Therefore, any main stress other than penultimate is considered to be marked.

Secondary stress precedes or follows main stress with an interval of one syllable between them. Most words begin with secondary stress : (mà.te).(màtica).(ménte) with a word internal dactyl (Vogel & Scalise 1982). The fact that prominence falls on the leftmost syllable of a foot, suggests also that the syllabic trochee is the most common foot type (Halicki 2008).

If we consider iambic stress pattern the exception lexically marked rather than the rule, we will say, in OT terms, that that stress is subject to a faithfulness constraint, MAX-IO-σ (Halicki ib.).

There are arguments to assume that Italian borrowed the oxytone pattern of words like *virtù* (< lat. VIRTŪTE), *bontà*, *città* (< lat. CIVITĀTE) from Gallo-Romance (cf. Fanciullo 1994 and 1997). These types of words derive from Latin accusatif -TĀTE(M) and -TŪTE(M) which still remains in old Italian -tate/-tade → it. *tà* - *bontà* and -tute/-tude → it. *tù* - *gioventù*. The result was regular in old Italian where we find *bonitate*, *gioventute*, while the northern forms show *bonitade* / *gioventude*.

In gallo-italian the loss of *-d-* is than normal as in Gallo-Romance.

Nevertheless, in Italian the rarest iambic context becomes the most productive trigger of RS. Why does it happen ? Why is this template form borrowed in Italian from Gallo-Romance prosody ? What do French prosody and Italian prosodic truncated forms share?

It is well known that French is considered a iambic language, even though Tranel (1987) suggested that French foot can be interpreted as a left-headed trochee to explain the schwa / 0 alternation. French is not a language with a lexical accent, but rather with an accent group. Within the accent group there are two potential locations for prominence (initial and final accents). The iambic view doesn't take into consideration this prosodic structure (prominence and phrasing).

Old Italian (Tuscan) shares the same accentual structure as French (accent group / prosodic phrases). This explains why we have the linguistic westernisation that leads to oxytony in Italian.

We will give in this talk a metrical interpretation of truncated oxytones in old and modern Italian, taking into consideration the similarity between French foot structure and the Italian template (*città*): do we have a binary foot (iambic or trochaic) or a unary = degenerate foot ?

Consequently, we will also give a new account of the prosodically constrained RS and of the relationship between these truncated forms and the word initial gemination in Italian.

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