

## Apocope and word minimality in Colloquial Helsinki Finnish

Daniel Karvonen

UiT The Arctic University of Norway

In Standard Finnish (SF), content words either end in a vowel or a single coronal consonant:

(1)	maa	‘earth, land’	manner	‘continent’
	kala	‘fish’	kyynel	‘tear’
	yö	‘night’	nainen	‘woman’

The phonotactics of Colloquial Helsinki Finnish (CHF) differ from those of Standard Finnish in that apocope of final *-i* and *-a* may result in word-final complex consonant clusters that are unattested in the standard language, although the restriction on coronal place still holds:

(2)	päiväst (SF: <i>päivästä</i> )	‘day-ELAT’	mieheks (SF: <i>mieheksi</i> )	‘man-TRANSL’
	katolt (SF: <i>katolta</i> )	‘roof-ABLAT’	kaks (SF: <i>kaksi</i> )	‘two’

This process of apocope interacts in an interesting way with word minimality restrictions in Finnish. In Standard Finnish, prosodic words must be minimally bimoraic (Hanson & Kiparsky 1996, Harrikari 2000), so that only CVV and CVCV words are possible. CV and CVC words are prohibited, as illustrated in (3):

(3)	maa	‘land’ (*ma)	kala	‘fish’ (*kal)
	suo	‘marsh’ (*su)	utu	‘mist’ (*ut)
	yö	‘night’ (*y)	lumi	‘snow’ (*lum)

In Colloquial Helsinki Finnish, CVCC words such as *kaks* ‘two’ are also possible as a result of apocope, although CVC and CV words are prohibited as they are in Standard Finnish. The fact that CVCC words surface in CHF suggests that they are bimoraic, while CVC words are monomoraic as they are in SF. This can be explained by analyzing word-final consonants as extrametrical in Finnish. Evidence for this analysis comes from the patterning of secondary stress in the language. Finnish is a trochaic language with initial stress, while secondary stress is sensitive to syllable weight, with a three-way-distinction in syllable weight: CVV > CVC > CV. Outside of the domain of the initial foot, heavy CVV syllables always attract secondary stress, while CVC syllables only attract stress when no CVV syllables are present via the notion of *context-dependent weight* (Kager 1989, Hayes 1994, 1995, Alber 1997, Rosenthal and van der Hulst 1999, and Morén 1999, 2000), thereby surfacing as moraic in such contexts. This can be analyzed by ranking the Weight-to-Stress Principle (WSP) over the constraint Weight-by-Position (Hayes 1989, Morén 1999), which requires codas to be moraic. Final consonant extrametricality in turn results from an undominated constraint prohibiting word-final moraic consonants in the language (Karvonen 2010).

Problematic for this analysis is a certain group of CVC words that surface in CHF as a result of apocope, such as *mul* ‘1p-sing-ADESS’ and *täs* ‘this-INESS’ violating the generalization against CVC words. The non-apocoped forms of these words contain geminates, i.e., *mulla* and *tässä*. Since geminates are presumably underlying in Finnish, apocope would result in highly marked word-final geminates, which are otherwise prohibited in all varieties of the language. Interestingly, when the apocoped forms of such words are followed by vowel-initial words, the geminates surface faithfully:

- (4) *mul* + *on* → *mullon*      ‘I have’  
*täs* + *on* → *tässön*      ‘here is’

I propose that such apocopated forms as *mul* and *täs* contain underlying geminate codas that surface as moraic in the apocopated CVC forms, although they are not phonetically expressed as such. Such CVC words with final geminates thus contrast with other potential (but crucially unattested) CVC words lacking underlying geminates. This allows us to maintain the requirement that words must be minimally bimoraic in Finnish and that final consonants are extrametrical, and provides a principled explanation for why CVC words in general are prohibited in Finnish while at the same time allowing for apocopated CVC words that derive from underlying geminate sequences to surface as CVC in the language.