OMG the Word-Final Alveopalatals are Cray-Cray Prev:
A Morphophonological Account of *Totes* Constructions in English

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This paper examines the formation and morphophonology of *totes* truncation, a previously undescribed morphophonological process, with the aim of describing the construction and discussing its implications for phonological theory. These constructions are generally used by young adults in speech and electronically. This work is based on two data sets comprised of tokens pulled from text messages and a variety of social media sites, with the understanding that the informal electronic tokens are reflective of spoken ones.

Totes constructions are formed by combining *totes*, a shortened form of the English adverb *totally*, and an optionally truncated stem. For example, *totes atrosh*, pronounced [tʰoʊts ə.ˈtɹoʊʃ], is the *totes* truncated form of *totally atrocious*. Formation proceeds step by step, beginning with the identification of the syllable carrying the target word's primary stress. Next, the stressed syllable's coda is maximized via prosodic template matching (McCarthy & Prince 1986, Weeda 1992), and the extratemplatic material deleted (EM). Finally, truncated forms optionally take an affective suffix (AS). An example of coda maximization is presented in Figure 1, and truncation formation is outlined step by step in the Table 2.
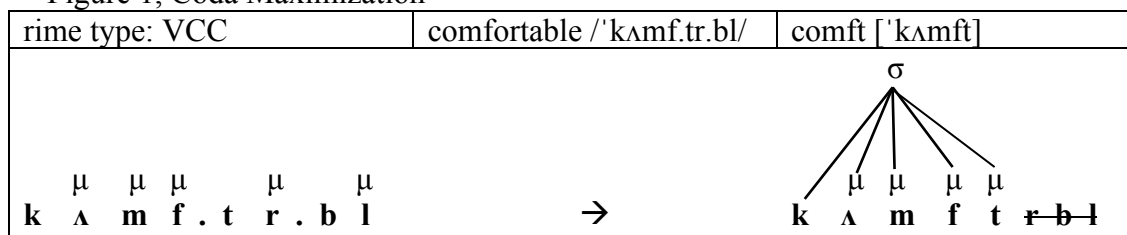
Figure 1, Coda Maximization

rime type: VCC	comfortable /ˈkʌmf.tr.bl/	comft [ˈkʌmft]

Table 2, Truncation Formation

base word	near /nijɹ/	interesting /ɪnt͡ʃɹɛstɪŋ/	promiscuous /pɹəmɪskjuwəs/	abbreviation /əbɹijvijeɪʃən/
locate primary stress	ˈnijɹ	ˈɪn.t͡ʃɹɛst.ɪŋ	pɹə.ˈmɪs.kjuw.əs	ə.ˈbɹij.vij.ˌeɪ.ʃən
maximize coda	-	ˈɪn.t͡ʃɹɛst.ɪŋ	pɹə.ˈmɪsk.juw.əs	ə.ˈbɹijv.ij.ˌeɪ.ʃən
Delete EM	-	ˈɪnt͡ʃ	pɹə.ˈmɪsk	ə.ˈbɹijv
surface TT form	ˈnijɹ	ˈɪnt͡ʃ	pɹə.ˈmɪsk	ə.ˈbɹijv
AS (Optional)	-	-	-	ə.ˈbɹijvz

While *totes* constructions vary in which affective suffixes they can take, speakers' treatment of the source material converges on an "ideal" form, which is the result of post-lexical prosodic template mapping and maximization (Kiparsky 1982, Mohanan 1982).

Unattested tautosyllabic sequences that are the result of *totes* truncation come in two varieties: CC codas and VC(C) rimes that are monomorphemic and previously unattested, but with well-formed sonority contours, and those classified as exceptional forms. The well-formed but unattested sequences are [mb], [nf], [lg], [ldʒ], [ɹgd], [ug], [ɛð], [ɛsp], [ijts], [eɪʃ], [oʊʃ], [ɛʒ], [æʒ], [juwʒ], [juwʧ], and [ijdʒ]. The three exceptional forms are *presumpsh* (< presumptuous), *scrumpsh* (< scrumptious), and *pumpk* (< pumpkin), and are analyzed as the analogous expansion of a phonotactic constraint to include consonantal morphemes. Additionally relevant is the post-lexical nature of the truncation process;

truncated forms exhibit coarticulatory effects (cf. [ɪnʧ] < *interesting*, [æfɹədijʒ] < aphrodisiac) and consonantal reassociation across morpheme and word boundaries in addition to syllable boundaries (cf. [ˈbʊlʃ] < *bullshit*, [ˈtijʃ] < *t-shirt*).

Traditional theories of English phonotactics unjustifiably conflate the notions of unattestedness and illicitness. *Totes* truncation poses problems for these theories in that many of the truncated forms end in unattested consonant clusters. The previously unattested clusters are considered illicit and ill-formed within these theories, but are strongly preferred by users of this construction. Additionally, *totes* truncated forms exhibit co-occurrence restrictions not present in un-totesed English. This work provides valuable data for linguistic theories of English phonotactics, which have traditionally drawn their evidence from synchronic sources like grammaticality judgments and written corpora.

The most unexpected pattern present in the truncated forms is the disproportionate presence of word-final alveopalatal consonants. Of the 618 tokens in the data sets, 180 (29.1%) end in a final alveopalatal consonant. There are two reasons for this: phonological conditioning and expressive palatalization. For example, the final alveopalatal consonants in [gɹoʊʃ] (< grocery) and [mjuʧ] (< mutual) are the result of deleting extratemplatic material post-lexically. Affective palatalization is common cross-linguistically, and is often employed to signal diminutivization (Kochetov & Alderete 2010, Chen 1973, Bhat 1978, Ohala 1994, Nichols 1971) but has so far been unattested in English. Aside from the huge proportion of word-final alveopalatals generally present, there are at least six clear examples of affective palatalization in the data: *awesh* (< *awes* < awesome), *deesh* (< *deece* < decent), *(im)posh* (< *im/poss* < im/possible), *impresh* (< *impress* < impressive), and *maybsh* (< *mayb* < maybe). There are no phonological triggers of palatalization in these examples. Five of the six shift from word-final [s] to [ʃ], but do so following a reduced, central vowel, which is not a conditioning environment for phonological palatalization. *Maybsh* is the outlier and is truly exceptional; it has an exclusively affectively motivated [ʃ] just tacked on to the end.

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