



supports the hypothesis of a former left-inserted [CV] unit preventing the given lenition in Old Norse. Second, we notice a lenition of final stops (5a). This change supports the hypothesis of a former right-inserted stress' [CV] preventing the given lenition in Old Norse.

(4) a.	<b>Old Norse</b>	<b>Norwegian</b>	b.	<b>Old Norse</b>	<b>Norwegian</b>
	# <b>p</b> > <b>d</b>	<i>þat that</i>		t# > Ø	<i>þat that</i>
	# <b>h</b> > Ø	<i>hinn the</i>		k# > Ø	<i>mik me</i>
		<i>dæ(t)</i>			<i>mæ(j)</i>
		<i>æ (Jutlandic)</i>			

4. Both the changes occurring in initial and final contexts could be exponents of stress. But only a left-inserted stress' [CV] can account for Williams (1907): voicing of post-stressed fricatives is generalized because no preventing [CV] unit stands after the stressed nuclei (5b).

(5)a.	#	[str]	b.	# U [str]
	[C V] C V C V	[C V] C V C V		[C V] C V C V C V
	b r a	θ ē r		b r ó θ i r
	PGrm. *brap̥ēr	<i>brother</i>		Old Norse bróðir
				<i>brother</i>

Thus it is reasonable to ask whether the fall of final stops is directly linked to the loss of a right-inserted stress' [CV]. This phenomenon occurs only in Continental Scandinavian (compare in 6a). But the lenition of initial consonants is pan-Germanic (6b), and active in synchrony (e.g. *hinn lilla hundr / hundrinn : the [little] dog*).

(6)	<b>PIE</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Low German</b>	<b>Norwegian</b>
a.	* <b>tod-</b>	>	<i>that</i> (< O.E. ðæt)	<i>dat</i>
b.	* <b>tū</b>	>	<i>thou</i> (< O.E. ðu)	<i>du</i>
				<i>dæ(t)</i> (< O.N. þat)

5. As a conclusion, Old Norse stress is left-inserted as in English. But unlike Modern English, Old Norse has a fixed initial stress. It follows that the inserted [CV] has the properties of both stress and left edge (5b). Actually, the fixed initial stress occurring in the ingvaeonic languages can be explained by a reanalysis of left edge as the underlying representation of stress. Consequently, the definition of stress and left edge as separate phonological primes is dubious.

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