

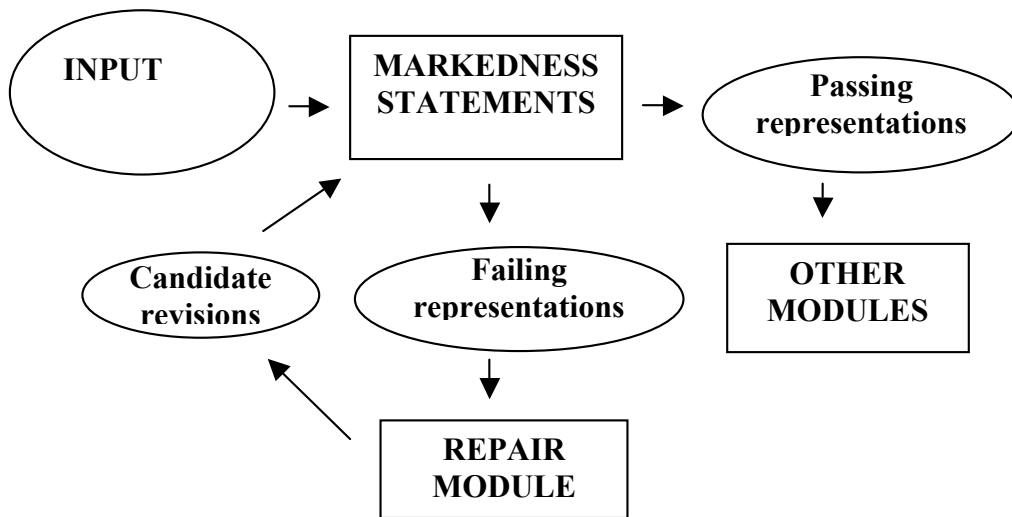
METATHESIS IN ROTUMAN AS A SPECIAL CASE OF COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING<sup>i</sup>

Charles E. Cairns

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(1) Structure of the Markedness Module, within the phonological component (adapted from Calabrese 2005, forthcoming)



Calabrese's model also allows for language particular rules; they are not required for the Middle English or Rotuman cases discussed here.

(2) /talɔ/ → [ta:l] (from Hayes 1989, page 267) Penult vowel lengthened just in case final schwa was dropped.

(3) Lexical storage of /talɔ/: (Arrow notation as in Raimy 2000.)

% → X → X → X → X → # henceforth simply % → t → a → l → ɔ → #  
           |      |      |      |  
           t      a      l      ɔ

Metrical, syllable structure supplied on line in the lexicon: Line 0       \*

This is input to the MS Module

(Metrical structure as in Halle and Idsarde 1995 et seq.)

% → t → a → l → ɔ → #  
                   |      |  
                   σ      σ

(4) Constraint: EVM (Every Vowel must be Metrified) is Active in Middle English

(5) REPAIR set unique to EVM

(i) Delete all precedence relations to right of the last metrified vowel, yielding:

Line 0       \*  
           % → t → a {l, ɔ, #}

Line 0       \*  
           % → t → a {l, ɔ, #}

{a, b} means "a" and "b" have unspecified precedence relations

(ii) If the preceding REPAIR operation (after the optimization procedure sketched below) does not produce a licit representation, then the next REPAIR operation is invoked; this is simply deletion of the unmetrified vowel.

(6) Optimization algorithm that applies in the REPAIR module on the output of (4i) (all constraints are inviolable and unranked, and they cannot change metrical structure; syllable structure is reassigned by optimization processes not depicted here for expository reasons):

INPUT: Line 0 * t → a { l, ∂, # } σ	EVM	# must be final
a. Line 0 * t → a → ∂ → l → # σ	OK	OK
b. Any where # is not final	OK	*!
c. Line 0 * t → a → l → ∂ → # σ σ	*!	OK

(6a) goes back to the MS module in (1).

(7) MAX2R Maximum two elements in the Rime; inactive in Middle English.

(8) \*VMMW No Vowel Melody in Metrically Weak positions. The REPAIR associated with this constraint is the deletion of vowel melody above the root node.

(9) Middle English CL is accounted for by marking EVM and \*VMMW “active” and by marking MAX2R “inactive.”

(10) Rotuman “Phases” (N.B. these are **not** “phases” in Chomsky’s sense)

	COM	INC	GLOSS
ALL PHONEMES PRESERVED: METATHESIS AND GLIDE FORMATION			
1	ú.lo	wól	kind of bird
2	pú.re	pwér	to rule
3	fú.pa	fwáp	to distribute
4	kar.pí.so	kar.pyós	kind of plant
5	a.í.re	a.yér	true
6	ka.wí.ka	kaw.yák	shoal
7	fæ.é.ŋa	fæ.yán	to speak
8	hó.ʔa	hwáʔ	to take
ALL PHONEMES PRESERVED: ONLY GLIDE FORMATION (OR, NO CHANGE)			
9	ŋa.rú.e	ŋar.wé	to work
10	ko.ú.a	ko.wá	native oven, cooked feast
11	ke.í.a	ke.yá	impoverished
12	mo.é.a	mo.yá	crop
13	ʔà.ta.kó.a	ʔà.ta.kwá	whole
14	ko.ró.i	ko.róy	kind of bird
15	tu.é.i	tu.éy	cutting edge of grater
16	ʔat.mó.i	ʔat.móy	wise

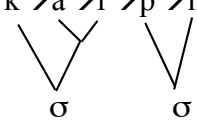
17	ma.mǎe.e	ma.mǎey	to mourn
18	jáo	jáv	spear
19	ti.ó.u	ti.ów	sea spray
20	pe.á.u	pe.áv	wave (not breaking)
21	kàm.pa.né:	kam.pa.né:	company
22	rí:	rí:	house
ONLY SOME FEATURES PRESERVED: UMLAUTING, VOWEL HARMONY			
23	fú.ti	füt	to pull
24	ču.rú.hi	čü.rüh	kind of fish
25	kù.ku.lú.fi	kü.kü.lűf	kind of plant
26	hó.ti	höt	to embark
27	ko.ló.ri	kö.lőr	glory (<Eng. 'glory')
28	mò.to.ló.ri	mò.to.lőr	truck (<Eng. motor lorry)
	Note: Preceding word irregularly does not spread umlaut to the left		
29	fú.hó.li	fü.hól (*fü.hól)	creeper vine
30	af.ró.ʔi	af.rǎéʔ	watch for latecomers
31	pǐ.ka.ló.si	pǐ.ka.lós (*pǐ.kä.lós)	kind of shell fish
32	fa.mó.ri	fa.mőr (*fä.mőr)	human being
33	mó.se	mős	to sleep
34	po.pó.re	pö.pőr	suddenly
35	čp.či	čǎč	to shave
36	a.ló.hi	a.lǎh (*ǎ.lǎh)	kind of fish
	Note: Preceding word irregularly does not spread umlaut to the left		
37	mǔ.ú.ri	mǎ.ür	to be alive
	Note: Preceding word irregularly spreads umlaut to the left		
DELETION OF ENTIRE PHONEME			
38	pí.ri	pír	to curl
39	hó.to	hót	to jump
40	há.ŋa	hán	to feed
41	mé.ŋo	mén	not to cry
42	tí.ʔu	tíʔ	big
43	rú.ku	rúk	wash
44	nó.ku	nók	bulge
45	má.ho	máh	to cool (of tea)
46	vǎ.vǎe.re	vǎ.vǎer	worthless
47	sǎ.kǎe.nǎe.ve	sǎ.kǎe.nǎev	sandal
48	sà.ŋa.vǎe.ne	sà.ŋa.vǎen (*sǎ.ŋǎe.vǎen)	female's brother
49	hà.ke.ké.le	hà.ke.kél	kind of banana



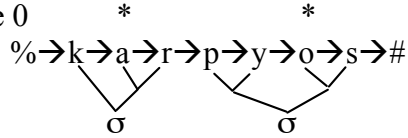
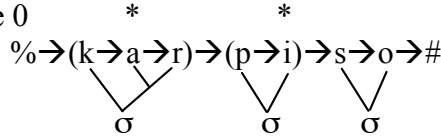
(16) Metrification of /karpiso/ in the INC

Line 0 \* (\*  
 /%→k→a→r→p→i→s <→o> →#/

(17) /karpiso/ after REPAIR (5i) and syllabification:

Line 1 \*  
 Line 0 \* (\*  
 /%→k→a→r→p→i {s, o, #}/  


(18) Tableau for reestablishing precedence relations (syllabification indicated by parentheses)

INPUT (= 17, above)	EVM
Line 0 * (* %→k→a→r→p→y→o→s→# 	This becomes the candidate repair, see (1).
Line 0 * (* %→(k→a→r)→(p→i)→s→o→# 	

(17) Rotuman Metathesis is accounted for by marking EVM and MAX2R “active” in its phonological grammar, and by marking \*VMMW “inactive”.

(18) Neither Rotuman Metathesis nor Middle English CL require any language specific rules or constraints.

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