

Stress in Fijian

Due Fri., Feb. 10

Based on data from Schütz and analysis by Hayes.
This one's a little easier/shorter than usual.

Instructions

1. Develop an OT analysis of Fijian stress—which is predictable, not phonemic—using unbracketed grids (i.e., no feet). Include an analysis of the difference among the 4 dialects.
2. Discuss whether there are any places where the analysis would have been easier with feet.

Tips and notes

3. You'll probably want to have a grid mark on the bottom layer for every mora rather than every syllable.
4. We didn't do tableaux with grids in class, but you can assume constraints like...
 - NOCLASH * $\begin{array}{cc} x & x \\ x & x \end{array}$ (no two tier-adjacent gridmarks should also have gridmarks on the layer above)
 - NOLAPSE * $\begin{array}{cc} & x \\ x & x \end{array}$ (no two tier-adjacent gridmarks should lack gridmarks on the layer above)
 - You'll also need to invent something to account for which stress is primary vs. secondary.
 - You can assume a constraint *Aí: a high vowel shouldn't be more prominent than (i.e., shouldn't have a higher grid column than) a preceding low vowel
 - Assume there's no underlying grid, so all grids are equally faithful.

Data

(Mostly loan words are shown below because, as in English, they're the best source of long, monomorphemic words.)

Single words

láko	'go'
tálo	'pour'
βináka	'good'
atómi	'atom'
ⁿ dikonési	'deaconess'
prèsité ⁿ di	'president'
^m bàsikètepólo	'basketball'
seŋáj	'no'
^m basá:	'bazaar'
ⁿ dòketá:	'doctor'
palàsità:	'plaster'
mìnisìtirí:	'ministry'

terènisìsitá:	‘transistor’
ⁿ dàirèkitá:	‘director’
ⁿ rè: ⁿ ré:	‘difficult’
^m bè:léti	‘belt’
taràusése	‘trousers’
^m bèle ^m bò:tómu	‘bellbottoms’
mì:siniṅáni	‘machine gun’

Alternations

^m bú:	‘grandmother’	^m bú-ṅgu	‘my grandmother’
tá:	‘chop’	tá-ja	‘chop-transitive-3 sg. obj.’
ⁿ ré:	‘pull’	ⁿ ré-ta	‘pull-trans.’
ḍaḍá:	‘lots of bad things’	ḍaḍá-ṅgu	‘my bad things’ ¹
sì:βí-ta	‘exceed-trans.’	síβi	‘exceed’

Additional alternation: Dialect A

rái	‘see’	rǎi-ḍa	‘see it’
láv	‘wug’ ²	rǎu-ḍa	‘wug it’

The curved diacritic over the vowel indicates that the vowel is short. You may assume that [ǎi] shares a single mora, and so does [ǎu].

Additional alternation: Dialect B

ráj	‘see’	ré-ḍa	‘see it’
láv	‘wug’	ló-ḍa	‘wug it’

Additional alternation: Dialect C

ráj	‘see’	ra.í.-ḍa	‘see it’
láv	‘wug’	la.ú.-ḍa	‘wug it’

Additional alternation: Dialect D

ráj	‘see’	rá-ḍa	‘see it’
láv	‘wug’	lá-ḍa	‘wug it’

¹ Made-up form.

² Made-up form.