

Stress in Fijian

Due Fri., Mar. 6

Based on data from Schütz and analysis by Hayes.

This one might be a little easier/shorter than usual, so don't panic if so (it's not a trick problem set).

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 (un)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'
prèsit ⁿ di	'president'
^m bàsikètepólo	'basketball'
seŋáj	'no'
^m basá:	'bazaar'
ⁿ dòketá:	'doctor'
palàsità:	'plaster'

m̀inis̀tirí:	‘ministry’
ter̀enis̀sitá:	‘transistor’
ˢ̀d̀air̀ekítá:	‘director’
ˢ̀r̀é:ˢ̀r̀é:	‘difficult’
ᵐ̀b̀è:léti	‘belt’
tar̀aus̀ése	‘trousers’
ᵐ̀b̀èleᵐ̀b̀ò:tómu	‘bellbottoms’
m̀i:s̀iniṅgáni	‘machine gun’

Alternations

ᵐ̀b̀ú:	‘grandmother’	ᵐ̀b̀ú-ṅgu	‘my grandmother’
tá:	‘chop’	tá-ja	‘chop-transitive-3 sg. obj.’
ˢ̀r̀é:	‘pull’	ˢ̀r̀é-ta	‘pull-trans.’
ḏaḏá:	‘lots of bad things’	ḏaḏá-ṅgu	‘my bad things’ ¹
s̀i:β́i-ta	‘exceed-trans.’	s̀i:β́i	‘exceed’

Additional alternation: Dialect A

rái	‘see’	rái-ḏa	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’ ²	láu-ḏa	‘wug it’

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

Here are the same items from other dialects. You can assume that their grammars are the same as Dialect A’s except in how they treat words like this.

Additional alternation: Dialect B

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

Additional alternation: Dialect C

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

Additional alternation: Dialect D

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

¹ Made-up form.

² Made-up form.