

Stress in Fijian

Based on data from Schütz, Scott, Capell, Dixon, and analysis by Hayes.

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**, and why or why not.
3. You are not allowed to use the word *diphthong* or any of its derivatives—this is because this term can mean many different things!
 - If you think two vowels share a mora, or share a syllable nucleus, or in some other way are different from other sequences of vowels, say so explicitly. Contrasting diagrams may be helpful.
 - If it's crucial for your analysis that a certain pair of vowels is in the same syllable, keep in mind that it is the grammar's responsibility to ensure this! Give a tableau showing why this syllabification is optimal.

Tips and notes

4. You'll probably want to have a grid mark on the bottom layer for every mora rather than every syllable.
5. You don't have to draw full grids for every single candidate, but draw some representative grids so that it's clear what grid you have in mind for a each candidate.
6. 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 = * $\begin{array}{cc} & \\ x & x \end{array}$ (no two tier-adjacent gridmarks should lack gridmarks on the layer above)
 - NONFINALITY: the final mora should not be more prominent than the mora before it
 - 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’
tiále	‘gardenia species’
βináka	‘good’
siáwa	‘faded’
atómi	‘atom’
tuáka	‘older brother’
ⁿ dìkonési	‘deaconess’
kìakáβo	‘warclub’
perèsité ⁿ di	‘president’
^m bàsikètepólo	‘basketball’
seŋái	‘no’
^m basá:	‘bazaar’
ⁿ dòketá:	‘doctor’
palàsítá:	‘plaster’
mìnìsìtirí:	‘ministry’
terènisìsitá:	‘transistor’
ⁿ dàirèkitá:	‘director’
ⁿ rè: ⁿ ré:	‘difficult’
^m bè:léti	‘belt’
taràusése	‘trousers’
^m bèle ^m bò:tómu	‘bellbottoms’
mì:sìni ⁿ gáni	‘machine gun’

Alternations

^m bú:	‘grandmother’	^m bú- ⁿ gu	‘my grandmother’
tá:	‘chop’	tá-ja	‘chop-transitive-3 sg. obj.’
ⁿ ré:	‘pull’	ⁿ ré-ta	‘pull-trans.’
ðá:	‘bad’	ðá-ta	‘consider bad’
ðaðá:	‘lots of bad things’	ðaðá- ⁿ gu	‘my bad things’ ¹
ʔolí:	‘dog’	ʔolí- ⁿ gu	‘my dog’ ²
sì:βí-ta	‘exceed-trans.’	síβi	‘exceed’
siβí-ta	‘carve-trans.’	síβi	‘carve’
ⁿ dʔà:βú-ja	‘rub with ashes-trans.’	ⁿ dʔáβu	‘rub with ashes’
ponó-ʔa	‘catch-trans.’	póno	‘catch’

¹ Made-up suffixed form, but should be correct according to references.

² Made-up suffixed form, but should be correct according to references.

Additional alternation: Dialect A

rái	‘see’	rái-đă	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’ ³	láu-đă	‘wug it’

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

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

Additional alternation: Dialect B

rái	‘see’	ré-đă	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’	ló-đă	‘wug it’

Additional alternation: Dialect C

rái	‘see’	raí-đă	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’	laú-đă	‘wug it’

Additional alternation: Dialect D

rái	‘see’	rá-đă	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’	lá-đă	‘wug it’

³ Made-up word, but should be representative according to references.