

## Stress in Fijian

Due Fri., Dec. 2

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

This one's a little simpler than usual, so if you have an analysis and it feels like it didn't take long enough, don't worry.

### 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. Then, 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 \*  $\begin{matrix} x & x \\ x & x \end{matrix}$  (no two tier-adjacent gridmarks should also have gridmarks on the layer above)
  - NOLAPSE \*  $\begin{matrix} & x & x \\ & & & \end{matrix}$  (no two tier-adjacent gridmarks should lack gridmarks on the layer above)
  - You'll also need to invent a constraint 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, loans are the best source of long, monomorphemic words.)

#### Single words

láko	‘go’
tálo	‘pour’
βináka	‘good’
atómi	‘atom’
<sup>n</sup> dʒìkonési	‘deaconess’
perèsité <sup>n</sup> dʒi	‘president’
<sup>m</sup> bàsikètépólo	‘basketball’
seŋái	‘no’
<sup>m</sup> basá:	‘bazaar’

<sup>n</sup> dòketá:	‘doctor’
palàsítá:	‘plaster’
mìnìsìtǫfírí:	‘ministry’
terènisìsitá:	‘transistor’
<sup>n</sup> dàirèkitá:	‘director’
<sup>n</sup> rè: <sup>n</sup> ré:	‘difficult’
<sup>m</sup> bè:létǫfǫ	‘belt’
taràusése	‘trousers’
<sup>m</sup> bèle <sup>m</sup> bò:tómu	‘bellbottoms’
mì:sìni <sup>ŋ</sup> gáni	‘machine gun’

### Alternations

<sup>m</sup> bú:	‘grandmother’	<sup>m</sup> bú- <sup>ŋ</sup> gu	‘my grandmother’
tá:	‘chop’	tá-ja	‘chop-transitive-3 sg. obj.’
<sup>n</sup> dǫré:	‘pull’	<sup>n</sup> dǫré-ta	‘pull-trans.’
ðaðá:	‘lots of bad things’	ðaðá- <sup>ŋ</sup> gu	‘my bad things’ <sup>1</sup>
síβí-ta	‘carve-transitive’	síβi	‘carve’
sì:βí-ta	‘exceed-trans.’	síβi	‘exceed’
<sup>n</sup> dǫrà:βú-ja	(no gloss, but is suffixed form of item to the right)	<sup>n</sup> dǫráβu	(no gloss)

### Additional alternation: Dialect A

rái	‘see’	rái-ðá	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’ <sup>2</sup>	ráu-ðá	‘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

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

### Additional alternation: Dialect C

rái	‘see’	ra.í.-ðá	‘see it’
láu	‘wug’	la.ú.-ðá	‘wug it’

<sup>1</sup> Made-up form.

<sup>2</sup> Made-up form.

***Additional alternation: Dialect D***

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