

Re-syllabification and Stress assignment in Seediq loanwords

The main goal of this study is to argue that Tgdaya Seediq (Formosan, Austronesian) is a nucleus weight language in which a coda carries no weight, within the framework of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 2004). Two phases of Japanese loanword adaptation will be examined in this paper: re-syllabification and stress assignment.

I will start with re-syllabification when a Japanese loanword is adopted into Seediq. Since two adjacent vowels are avoided, CVV is altered into CVG. Two constraints are involved in this process: *VV (no adjacent vowels) and MAX-IO (no segmental change). It also follows that the modified segment no longer holds a mora, given that a syllable comprises at most one mora. This results from two other constraints: *? ?? (no more than a mora in a syllable) and MAX-IO[u] (no mora deletion). The present study suggests that these constraints are ranked in a order of *VV >> MAX-IO >> *? ?? >> MAX-IO[u]. A tableau (1) lists possible candidates for the input /ka.i.mo.no/ 'shopping'. As a result, candidate 'a' is selected as the optimal output due to the least amount of violation.

(1)

Input:/ka.i.mo.no/ 'shopping'

|||

? ? ? ?

*VV MAX-IO *? ?? MAX-IO[u]

a. [kaj.mo.no]

|||

u u u *

b. [kaj.mo.no]

\ ||

u u u u *!

c. [ka.mo.no]

|||

u u u *! *

d. [ka.i.mo.no]

|||

u u u u *!

The other argument for the nucleus weight hypothesis is that the stress pattern is always maintained in loanwords, assuring that in Seediq a stress constantly falls on the penultimate syllable (Yang 1976). As an illustration, the syllable structure of candidate 'a' is presented below. If a rhyme consists of more than a mora, a stress is attracted to the heavy syllable, resulting in a wrong form as in candidate 'b'.

Candidate 'a' in (1)

? ? ?

|||

? ? ?

\ ||

k a j m o n o

Candidate 'b' in (1)

* ?' ? ?

\ | |

? ? ? ?

| | | |

k a j m o n o (An accent on a sigma indicates a stress.)

As a whole, the current study demonstrates that both re-syllabification and stress assignment conclude that Tgdaya Seediq is a nucleus weight language.

Keywords

Seediq, Optimality Theory, Re-syllabification, Stress assignment

References

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