

Paiwan and Amis are endangered Austronesian languages spoken in the southern mountainous area and the eastern coastal area of Taiwan respectively. This paper aims to account for the suffixal reduplication in Paiwan and Amis based on their syllable structure within the Optimality-Theoretic framework (McCarthy & Prince 1986, Prince & Somlensky 1993), by slightly modifying the constraint which restricts the size of the reduplicant in Generalized Template Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1994a, 1994b).

The problem of a suffixal analysis lies in the uncopied root-final consonant and the CCV reduplicant (Lee 2005). It can be attributed to the moraic difference between root-final consonant and word-internal coda, accompanying the severe bimoraic requirement for the reduplicant size. In this paper, firstly we show the reduplicative pattern in Paiwan and provide a plausible analysis. Secondly, we present the Amis reduplication which copies from different edges in two dialects, showing the advantages of our analysis.

The suffixal reduplication in Paiwan copies two moras from the right-edge except the root-final consonant, as shown in (1). The shape of the reduplicant differs depending on the syllable structure of the base. The uncopied final consonant in (a.ii) and (b.ii) and the copied internal coda in (b.i&ii) can be appealed to the difference between the non-moraic root-final C and moraic word-internal coda. Evidence comes from the stress pattern and vowel lengthening in monosyllabic word.

(1) Suffixal reduplication in Paiwan

a.i	tsa.li.ŋa	‘ear’	tsa.li.ŋa.- <u>li.ŋa</u>	‘ear-shaped candy’
a.ii	vu.laj	‘good’	vu.la.- <u>vu.la</u> -j	‘very good’
b.i	ʔi.laŋ.da	‘listen’	ʔi.laŋ.da- <u>ŋ.da</u>	‘is listening’
b.ii	vaŋ.t̪sul	‘odor’	vaŋ.t̪su- <u>ŋ.t̪su</u> -l	‘somewhat stinky’

An analysis employing the RED=PRWD constraint should be modified to account for the mismatching edges in (1b), enduring the unpleasant CCV reduplicant to satisfy the bimoraic requirement for the reduplicant. An alternative analysis with the constraint SYLLABLEROLE (Broselow 2003) can regard the reduplicant as  $v_1a_2ŋ_3$ .- $t̪s_4u_5ŋ_3$ .- $t̪s_4u_5l_6$  in (b.ii), strongly maintaining the correspondence of syllabic position. This alternative however fails to predict the accurate candidate in Paiwan, and the prefixal reduplication in Northern Amis.

The reduplication in Amis has similar pattern as in Paiwan. Interestingly, the central dialect copies from the right-edge while the northern dialect from the left-edge of the root. Both of them have the same form in words like *rəŋu-rəŋus-an* ‘grass’, but Central Amis presents the reduplication *tam.t̪a-m.t̪a-w* while Northern Amis shows *tam.t̪a-w* of the same root *tam.t̪aw* ‘person’.

In sum, the proposed analysis successfully accounts for the Paiwan reduplication based on the moraicity of segment, without stipulating new rules. It also covers the reduplication from the opposite direction in Northern Amis, predicting two types of reduplication.

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Title: Suffixal reduplication in Paiwan and Amis

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