

## Word-level prosody of Sāmoan

This paper presents new data, from two native speakers, on Sāmoan word-level prosody, which previous literature has treated as fairly trivial. In Sāmoan, stress plays an important role for both the intonational system, which aligns pitch accents to stresses, and the treatment of diphthongs and vowel hiatus. Sāmoan displays a previously unattested variation on trochaic shortening. Besides their phonological interest, stress-diphthong interactions point to morphological distinctions among affixes. We argue that the core prosodic domain is the stem plus monomoraic suffixes and monomoraic reduplicants, whereas prefixes, bimoraic reduplicants, and bimoraic suffixes stand outside this basic domain.

Sāmoan primary stress is final if the last vowel is long, and otherwise penultimate (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992). We describe this with a right-aligned moraic trochee: *ʔa(fá:)* ‘cyclone’ vs. *(sám i)* ‘sea’ (consonants after stressed, short vowels are lengthened). Certain aspects of Sāmoan prosody suggest trochaic shortening, as in Fijian (Schütz 1985, Dixon 1988, Hayes 1994). Where previous sources describe a long vowel in the penult, our consultants have a short vowel: *(nám u)* ‘smell’, given as *nāmu* (macron indicates length) in Milner 1993. When a monomoraic suffix is added, the penult becomes antepenultimate, and thus exempt from shortening. Some such vowels remain short (*(fús i)* ‘hug’, *fu(sí-a)* ‘hug-A’), and others lengthen (*(tʰús i)* ‘write’, *(tʰù:)(sí-a)* ‘write-A’), suggesting an underlying contrast in length (*/fusi/* vs. */tʰu:si/*) that is neutralized in the unsuffixed form. Monomoraic suffixes also make the final vowel penultimate, and thus ineligible to be long. While few roots end in long vowels, those we have elicited do alternate under suffixation. Some shorten, as in *(mà:)(lò:)(ló:)* ‘rest<sub>V</sub>’, *(mà:)(lò:)(ló-a)* ‘rest<sub>V-A</sub>’, *(mà:)(lò:)(ló-ŋa)* ‘rest<sub>N</sub>’, and others undergo breaking, as in *(pó:)* ‘slap’, *po(ó-a)* ‘slap-A’. We speculate that longer stems can shorten, but monosyllabic stems undergo breaking to preserve the root’s bimoraicity. In contrast to Fijian, which compresses, breaks, coalesces, or loses the second member of a penultimate diphthong, Sāmoan simply tolerates a diphthongal heavy penult, in violation of right alignment. In words of the form ...V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>CV, where V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> is *ai*, *au*, *ei*, or *ou*, stress is on the antepenultimate vowel, with no apparent compression of the diphthong: *(mái)le* ‘dog’, cf. *ma(él a)* ‘hollow’.

The interaction of stress and morphology shows that affixes differ in their integration with the stem. In monomorphemes, final *aia* and *aua* receive stress on the antepenultimate vowel, as expected (*(ʔáu)a* ‘don’t’) (as do *aea* and *aoa* (*(máe)a* ‘rope’, cf. *ma(él a)* ‘hollow’)—we analyse this with a phonological constraint on sonority minima. The verbal *-a* suffix behaves the same as a tautomorphemic *a* (*(máu)-a* ‘get-A’). However, a suffix *-a* that forms denominal adjectives pulls stress to the penultimate vowel (*va(i-a)* ‘watery’). Because of the syntactic implausibility of attaching adjective-forming *-a* later than verbal *-a* in a serial analysis, we posit instead a morpheme-specific constraint on footing.

In comparison to both *-a* suffixes, the verbal suffix *-ina* is less phonologically integrated with the stem. First, a final *a* does not form a diphthong with the *i* of *-ina*: *(lòka)-(ín a)* ‘arrest-INA’. Second, a final *i* remains distinct from the *i* of *-ina*, rather than forming a single long vowel: *(kiki)-(ín a)* ‘kick-INA’. By contrast, the verbal suffix *-a* does coalesce with a preceding *a*: *(lòka)* ‘arrest’ *lo(ká:)* ‘arrest-A’. Prefixes also behave as though external to the main stress domain, failing to form diphthongs: *tʰa-(ís i)* ‘hit’, not *\*(tʰá-i)si*. Similarly, diphthongization does not occur across a compound boundary or the boundary between a bimoraic reduplicant and its base: *<(ùla)>(úl a)* ‘smoke’. Thus, the prosody gives evidence for differing degrees of phonological integration between affixes and stems.

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