

1. The Emergence of the Unmarked... Tone? Examples from Cantonese Attenuative Reduplication
2. Morphology and phonology
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This paper examines Cantonese attenuative reduplication construction with a morphosyntactic form [Base + RED + *tei2*], which yields a complementary phenomenon of either a tonal identity between the Base and Reduplicant (RED), or a mismatch of tone between the segmentally identical Base and RED. These two scenarios are exemplified in (1):

- (1) *1a* /fu2/ ‘bitter’ [fu2 fu2 *tei2*] ‘slightly bitter’
1b /sɔ4/ ‘foolish’ [sɔ4 sɔ2 *tei2*] ‘slightly foolish’
 where /*tei2*/ is an adverbial marker of manner.

Chan (2006) argued that Cantonese attenuative reduplication poses a problem to phonological copying sanctioned by the Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince, 1995) as it exhibits total reduplication without tonal repetition. Predicting tonal alternations between the base and RED becomes problematic. This paper addresses this in an optimality theoretic (OT) approach of constraint interaction among faithfulness and markedness constraints, particularly IDENT-Tone and Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). Here, they are defined as:

IDENT-Tone: Input tones and output tones must be identical.

OCP: At the melodic level, adjacent identical elements (i.e. tones) are prohibited.

IDENT-Tone crucially ranks above OCP to achieve tonal identity in Cantonese attenuative reduplication. Paradoxically, OCP must also outrank IDENT-Tone to account for tonal mismatch between the base and RED in forms like [*tim4 tim2 tei2*] ‘slightly sweet’. This conflicting result indicates that the schematic rankings of IDENT-Tone >> OCP and OCP >> IDENT-Tone are problematic and that IDENT-Tone and OCP constraints cannot be ranked crucially above each other for every Cantonese attenuative reduplication construction under the OT schema.

(2)

Reduplication construction that features tonal identity between base and RED	Reduplication construction that features tonal mismatch between base and RED
a. <u>sik1</u> sik1 <i>tei2</i> ‘kind of know’	* <u>sik1</u> sik2 <i>tei2</i> ‘kind of know’
b. <u>pɛu2</u> pɛu2 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly full’	<u>pɛu2</u> pɛu2 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly full’
c. <u>duŋ3</u> duŋ3 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly cold’	<u>duŋ3</u> duŋ2 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly cold’
d. <u>sɔ4</u> sɔ4 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly foolish’	sɔ4 sɔ2 <i>tei2</i> ‘slightly foolish’
e. <u>man6</u> man6 <i>tei2</i> ‘slowly’	<u>man6</u> man2 <i>tei2</i> ‘slowly’

Data in (2) further exemplifies that tonal alternation appears to be optional rather than obligatory. The altered tone, however, is predictable. RED will uniformly acquire the mid-rising tone, i.e. tone 2. The question zooms in to what motivates tone 2 to be the default when there is tonal alternation, as exemplified in 2*b*, 2*c*, 2*d* and 2*e*, but not in 2*a*. Would McCarthy and Prince (1994) characterize tone 2 as an effect of The Emergence of The Unmarked (TETU)? Arguably, Cantonese attenuative reduplication exhibits an interesting phenomenon of tonal morphology in the domain of prosodic morphology (Downing, 2006).

References

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