

Paper Title : Nonexhaustive Syllabification in Temiar
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Nonexhaustive Syllabification in Temiar

Introduction: In this paper, I present evidence for the claim that syllabification can be nonexhaustive with a reanalysis of Temiar. I will argue that participation or nonparticipation of disyllabic forms in morphological processes provides insightful evidence for nonexhaustive syllabification in Temiar. I conclude that superficial inspection of syllable shapes of a language can provide misleading cues about its syllabic organization.

Background: In Temiar, consonant clusters are not found. Words in Temiar have either CV and CVC syllables. Hence, previous analyses have assumed that syllabification is exhaustive in Temiar. For example, to account for [ɛ]/[ə] alternation observed in the surface forms of words in (1) that are derived from the root /slɔg/, Itô (1986, 1989) argues for template matching and directional syllabification and claims that vowel epenthesis is parameterized while stray erasure is a universal principle available at the end of each phonological cycle. These repair rules work in tandem with extraprosodicity that applies only at well-defined edges to ensure exhaustive syllabification in Temiar.

- (1) slɔg [sə.lɔg] ‘to sleep’
 srlɔg [sɛr.lɔg] ‘to cause someone to sleep’
 srglɔg [sə.rɛg.lɔg] ‘causative, continuative’
 (Benjamin, 1976; Means, 1998)

Other analyses of Temiar have concentrated on reduplication found in the continuative paradigm with CVC and C-CVC roots and have ignored disyllabic roots (e.g., Shaw, 1994; Gafos, 1998; Raimy, 1999). These accounts sought to explain only the reduplication process observed with these roots and have missed the generalization on allomorphy patterns in Temiar. I will argue that bisyllabic words are not exceptions to but an essential part of the verbal paradigm. An understanding of how the morphology treats bisyllabic words provides the missing piece to the puzzle of syllabic organization in Temiar.

Allomorphy in Temiar: Allomorphy facts of the language show a three-way split. The examples in (2) and (3) show that causative verbs and continuative verbs select different allomorphs depending on the syllable counts of the root.

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|-----|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (2) | Perfective Root | Causative Verb | Allomorph |
| | σ kɔ:w | trkɔ:w [tɛrkɔ:w] | prefix tr- |
| | $C_1 + \sigma$ slɔg | srlɔg [sɛrlɔg] | infix -r- |
| | elsewhere halab | halab | zero affixation |
| | | | |
| (3) | Root | Continuative | Allomorph |
| | σ kɔ:w | kw.kɔ:w [kɛwkɔ:w] | onset and coda copy |
| | $C_1 + \sigma$ slɔg | sg.lɔg [sɛglɔg] | coda copy |
| | elsewhere halab | ba-halab | periphrastic ba-clitic |

The continuative paradigm illustrates an important fact about syllabification in Temiar. Continuative forms can also be derived from causative stems as shown in (4). This word selects a coda copy and not the *ba*-clitic. Derivation of the continuative verb from the causative form suggests that extraneous consonants in the stem must remain unsyllabified during morphological derivation to trigger correct allomorph selection.

(4)	Stem	Continuative	Allomorph
$C_1 + \sigma$	trkɔ:w [tɛrkɔ:w]	trw.kɔ:w [tɔɾɛwkɔ:w]	coda copy only
		*ba-trkɔ:w	

Additional evidence to support the analysis argued in this paper will be provided from other Mon-Khmer languages in Malaysia like Jahai (Burenhult, 2002) and Semelai (Kruspe, 2004).

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