Codas in Amis Reduplication

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This paper is mainly concerned with the codas in reduplication in the central dialect of Amis, distributed over the eastern coast of Taiwan, and illustrates a variety of intriguing patterns which are here studied in the framework of Optimality Theory (abbreviated as OT), based on Prosodic Morphology. One important discovery is that Amis final codas play a role in discriminating full reduplication vs. reduplication in Amis. In the literature on Formosan reduplication, it is noted that final codas impede full reduplication. In Amis, CVCV reduplication in *tǝlo-tǝlo* 'the state of breaking' derived from *tǝlo* 'to break' is complete reduplication, while the CVCV reduplication in *wiɬa-wiɬaŋ* 'many friends' derived from *wiɬaŋ* 'friend' is partial reduplication. It seems that there is an implicational law: the existence of a final coda in the base implies partial reduplication. This verifies the schema ranking: prosody dominates morphology (P ≫ M) claimed by McCarthy and Prince (1993). In addition, the No-Coda constraint dominates the Final Coda constraint. However, if we take *kincoʔ-co* 'extremely tight', derived from *kincoʔ* 'tight', into consideration, the Final coda constraint should dominate the No-coda constraint. A conflict in the ranking of the No-Coda constraint and the Final Coda constraint emerges in Amis reduplication. Such a conflict in ranking presents a difficulty for OT, since the parallelism of OT is confined to being monostratal, with fixed constraint ranking. Another finding is the relationship between penultimate codas and Amis reduplication patterns. The natural classes of the penultimate codas in Amis, not the morphological functions, are crucial for determining reduplication patterns. There is a one-to-one relationship for Amis liquids, fricatives, stops and lateral fricatives, while a one-to-many relationship for the Amis glides and nasals. For instance, the only reduplication pattern for the penultimate fricative codas is CǝCV- reduplication pattern, such as *af(ǝ)saʔ* 'light(taste)' ➔ *af(ǝ)saf(ǝ)saʔ* 'very light (taste)'. The number of reduplication patterns for glides is two; for nasals it is five. To sum

up, the influence of the Amis codas on reduplication is unique among
Austronesian languages.

REFERENCES

McCarthy, John, and Alan Prince. 1993. *Prosodic morphology I: Constraint
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