The underlying form of RE1 in Palauan

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The Palauan language features two productive reduplicative processes, both applying to verbs, termed RE1 and RE2 following Flora (1974). Surface forms of RE1 vary widely: the four observed variants are CV, CəC, CəCə, and CCə (Zuraw 2003). Two instances of RE1 can be seen in (1a) from Josephs (1975) and (1b) from Zuraw (2003)–VM stands for verbal marker, a prefix found on most verbs in Palauan (Josephs 1975).

(1)	a.	mə-riŋəl	mə-re-rəŋə-riŋəl
		VM-difficult	VM-RED2-RED1-difficult
	b.	mə-kudəm	mə-kdə-kudəm
		VM-close_together	VM-RED1-close_together

Part of this variation arises from the process of vowel reduction in Palauan, which occurs, among other environments, in RE1 reduplicants (Finer 1987; Zuraw 2003). In general, short vowels reduce to /ə/, long vowels shorten, and tautosyllabic vowel clusters reduce to one of their constituent members (Josephs 1975; Zuraw 2003). However, there are many irregular forms, such as (1b), and minimal pairs where identical vowels or clusters reduce differently, suggesting lexical encoding (Finer 1987; Zuraw 2003).

Previous analyses in Optimality Theory have failed to generate RE1 reduplicants of at least one of the four observed variant shapes. Zuraw (2003) proposes a weight maximum of one mora for the reduplicant, with full vowels (i.e., not /ə/) and coda consonants each bearing one mora. However, this analysis cannot account for why forms like (1a) do not copy an additional coda consonant, given that CəCə is non-moraic in her formulation. Kawamura (2004) claims that each reduplicant must be a foot; each foot must contain two moras; and that full vowels carry two moras and /ə/ and coda consonants each carry one mora. However, forms like (1b) would violate these constraints; the initial C could not become moraic from occupying the coda of the preceding syllable since the reduplicant is required to be a foot. Furthermore, neither approach offers a satisfying account of the lexical idiosyncrasy characteristic of the phenomenon of vowel reduction.

I propose an analysis, grounded in Rule-Based Phonology, of templatic skeletal morphemes. I analyze both segmental (Marantz 1982) and prosodic (McCarthy and Prince 1986) skeletal approaches and posit CVCV and a bimoraic foot, respectively, for the Palauan data. For the prosodic skeleton, I hold that all vowels–full and /ə/–and coda consonants each carry one mora. Both approaches make identical predictions, and both generate RE1 reduplicants for all observed variant shapes, with little irregularity. I claim that vowel reduction is a morphophonological "Readjustment Rule" (a la Halle and Marantz 1982) and that it occurs after the copying of prosodic structure from the base and the linking thereof to the skeleton, which accounts for the surface variation in prosodic structure.

Different assumptions are necessary for each approach to achieve the mentioned predictive success. Under the segmental approach, one must assume that long vowels are underlyingly two segments, rather than one segment attached to two moras. This may not be implausible, as all long vowels in Palauan, including /e/ and /o/, contain glides (Josephs 1975). On the other hand, the prosodic approach must allow parts of the template to be deleted by subsequent rules. This necessitates relaxing the Satisfaction Condition of McCarthy and Prince (1986), which has been shown to trigger compensatory lengthening in other languages, at least at the time of linking.

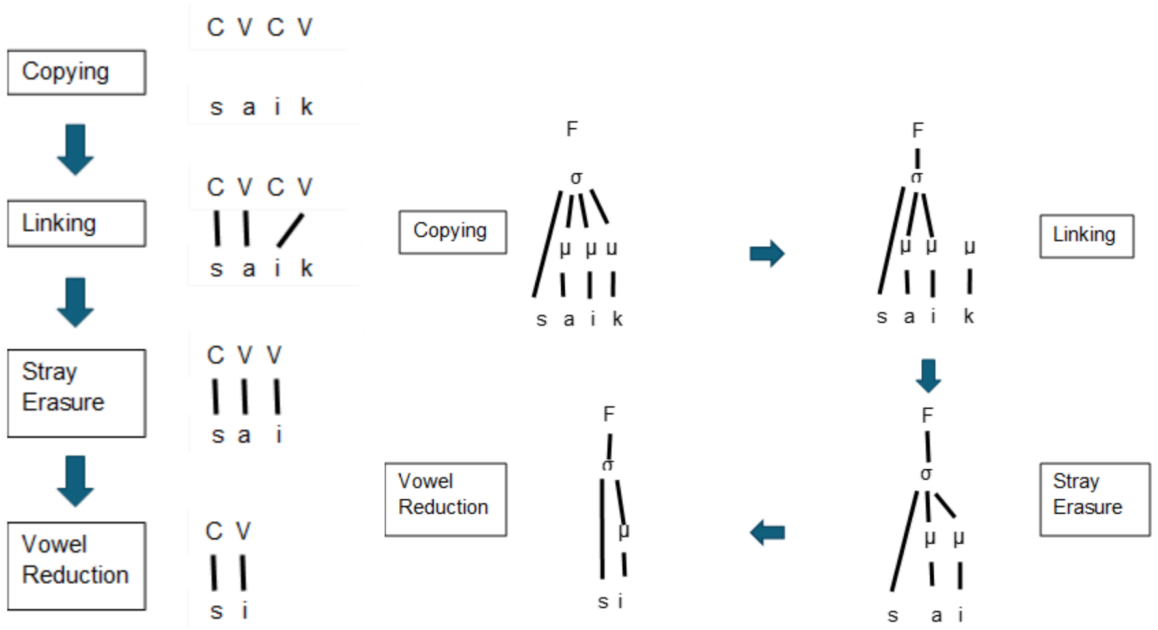

Figure 1. Sample derivations of the form *məsisaik* under segmental (left) and prosodic (right) skeletal approaches. In both, only the reduplicative copy is shown since the prosodic structure of the root remains consistent throughout. Prosodic structure is assumed to copy along with the phonemic melody in prosodic skeletons in line with an adjustment made within McCarthy and Prince (1986) to account for the Transfer Problem.

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