

## Coda Preservation in Head Feet: Fusion and Other Segmental Processes

The variegated data relating to fusion (or ‘nasal substitution’) in Malay have long escaped a unified analysis, the crucial conditioning environment for the process frequently assumed to be expressible in morphological terms. Most existing analyses, however, suffer from incomplete coverage of the relevant data, numerous relevant instances at best set aside as ‘exceptions’. I shall show that, and how, prosody drives fusion in Standard Malaysia Malay, and that hitherto exceptional data patterns readily once prosodic information is considered.

I first assume that the Malay prosodic word comprises prefix(es) and root, suffixes each projecting their own prosodic word domain. This differs from Cohn’s (1989) claims about prosodic words in Indonesian, whereby roots and suffixes together project a prosodic word. The novel prosodic structure I propose can be independently motivated with reference to stress facts and various segmental processes besides fusion. Next, I claim that fusion is triggered by a general constraint against coda consonants (one that also affects non-nasal sonorants and thus goes beyond the fusion facts). Thus, fusion is not, as is commonly assumed, restricted to the prefix-root junction (cf. Ai-ii vs. Aiii-iv). I show next that fusion is confined to the domain of the prosodic word, and thus does not apply at the root-suffix (cf. Bi) or suffix-suffix (cf. Bii) junctures. However, it is blocked by a foot level constraint that prevents a mismatch between syllable weight and prosodic weight, as would occur if a light syllable occurred in head position with a closed syllable in dependent position (cf. Biii and Biv), regardless of morpheme boundaries. Fusion can also be blocked by epenthesis in response to a prosodic anti-clash constraint (cf. Bv). Finally, and this is the only morphological factor, fusion is blocked within roots (cf. Bvi and Bvii). In sum, my analysis reveals the overwhelming prosodic conditioning of fusion, while accounting for the fullest set of data discussed to date, and has implications for learnability. Learning how to fuse in Malay must mean ‘pay(ing) attention to heads’, as suggested by Rizzi (1989) for syntax, and by Dresher and van der Hulst (1995), for acquisition of all levels of grammar.

### A-B: Full range of data relating to fusion: '[ ]' = prosodic word; '( )' = foot; x = fusion result

#### A. Fusion

- |      |                               |                          |                   |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| i.   | məN + <u>pukol</u>            | [(mə)(mu.kol)]           | ‘hit’, v.t.       |
| ii.  | məN + <u>pəreksa</u> •        | [(mə.mə)(re..)]          | ‘examine’, v.t.   |
| iii. | pəN + pər + <u>alat</u> + an• | [[pə.mə](ra.lat)](tan).. | ‘utilization’, n. |
| iv.  | məN + kə + <u>bumi</u> + kan• | [[mə.ŋə](bu.mi)](kan)]   | ‘bury’, v.t.      |

#### B. No fusion

- |       |                                 |  |                             |
|-------|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| i.    | <u>tanam</u> + kan              | [[ta.nam)](kan)], *[[ta.na)](ŋan)]             | ‘plant’, v.t.               |
| ii.   | kan + kah•                      | ..](kan)](kah)], *..](ka)](ŋah)]               | trans/ interrog. suff.      |
| iii.  | məN + pər + <u>tadzam</u> + kan | [[məm.pər)](ta...., *[[mə.mər)](ta..)]         | ‘sharpen’, v.t.             |
| iv.   | məN + <u>pəlbagaj</u> + kan•    | [[məm.pəl](ba.gaj)]..], *[[mə.məl](ba.gaj)]..] | ‘diversify’, v.t.           |
| v.    | məN + <u>pam</u> •              | [(mə.ŋə)(pam)], *[(mə)(mam)]                   | ‘pump’, v.t.                |
| vi.   | sə + <u>umpama</u> •            | [(sə.ʔum)(pa.ma)], *[(sə.ʔu)(ma.ma)]           | ‘likened to’                |
| vii.  | <u>kamponj</u>                  | [(kam.ponj)], *[(ka.monj)]                     | ‘village’, n.               |
| viii. | məN + <u>proses</u>             | [(məm)(pro.ses)], *[(məm)(ro.ses)]             | ‘process’, v.t. (loanword)  |
| ix.   | məN + <u>pəroses</u>            | [(mə.mə)(ro.ses)], *[(məm.pə)(ro.ses)]         | ‘process’, v.t. (nativized) |

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