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English Compensatory Lengthening¹

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1 The CiV Environment

In (1) below, there is a list of forms exhibiting a vowel length alternation in the underlined vowel.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| 1) | manager
prof <u>essor</u> | manag <u>er</u> ial
prof <u>essor</u> ial |
|----|------------------------------|--|

¹ I would like to thank John McCarthy, Lisa Selkirk, Roger Higgins and Francois Dell for a great deal of helpful input on an earlier version of this paper. I also discussed that earlier version with a number of fellow students. All errors are my own.

censor	censorial
labor	laborious
arab	Arabian
Iran	Iranian
Eton	Etonian
Malthus	Malthusian
Mendel	Mendelian

The forms in the first column have short, lax vowels in their final syllables. The forms in the second column have the corresponding vowel as long and tense, as the result of an affixation. This lengthening has been analyzed as a rule of lengthening, with roughly the following environment, where "C" and "V" stand for Consonant and Vowel.

$$2) \quad _ C i V \\ \quad \quad \quad [-stress]$$

This rule has gone by various names, including Managerial Lengthening/Tensing,² The Jordanian Rule, and CiV Lengthening. I will refer to it as simply "CiV". It has been analyzed in Chomsky and Halle (1968), Rubach (1984), Myers (1985, 1987), Yip (1987) and Hayes (1989) among others. These analyses have differed in formalism and interaction with other processes, but have continued to use essentially the same environment, the one in (2) above. Hayes (1989) is an exception to this; that analysis of CiV, as a historical process, views the rule in a slightly different light and in some ways the present analysis follows that analysis.

Viewing CiV as a rule with the structural description given in (2) has two main problems, given below.

3a) Locality

The environment contains material three segments away from the environment bar. The environment spans two syllables, or three, if we count the vowel that is lengthened.

² Because tenseness has been used to capture length distinctions in some works, such as Chomsky and Halle (1968) and Rubach (1984), some of the works cited here refer to the rule as a tensing. I will analyze the rule as a lengthening and refer to it only as such.

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3b) Connection

The phonological change is a lengthening, which deals with phonological elements of length. The environment is segmental and includes a consonant; consonants do not always count for length. Neither is it clear how these particular vowels should influence length.

These are major problems. Locality has been a major goal of phonology. Theories of locality have led to great simplifications. Most rules acknowledge a connection between the phonological change and the environment almost as a matter of course. The environment in (2) might just as well belong to a shortening. The failure of CiV to meet Locality and Connection is very disturbing because it radically increases the range of expected phonological rules and undermines attempts to narrow that range.

My approach to CiV is that it is not a single rule. Instead, there are several interacting processes that give rise to the lengthening. Each of these ~~independent processes is, in and of itself, local and connected.~~ Further, each can be independently motivated for English. Under this view, the complexity of CiV is the result of the interaction of a variety of simple processes.

The essence of this approach is that CiV is a compensatory lengthening, just as in Hayes (1989). I differ from Hayes in offering a synchronic analysis which is consistent with the present underlying representations of English. Hayes himself points out the basic inconsistency between his approach and the underlying representations of Modern English argued for in Hayes (1982, 1984).

The compensatory lengthening in my approach is the result of the loss of a consonant from the syllable where the lengthening occurs. This consonant, the "C" of CiV, is syllabified as the onset of the following syllable, the "i" of CiV. This "i" is underlyingly non-vocalic, but is vocalized by an independent process, which requires an unstressed vowel, the "V" of CiV. In this fashion, we see that every segment of the environment of CiV is necessary for some part of the chain of events. Consequently, the whole string appears to be a unified CiV environment.

Section 2 of this paper is devoted to the parts of English phonology which are necessary for CiV. Section 3 is a demonstration of CiV itself. Section 4 takes up the question of whether a single, unified environment is possible for CiV with respect to other processes in English Phonology

2 English Phonology

This section is devoted to English Phonology. Here I will lay out the independent facts of phonology that contribute to CiV. Some elements of this approach are not uncontroversial. In the main, however, the relevant elements are necessary in most approaches to phonology.

2.1 Syllabification

My approach is moraic in nature (McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1988, Hayes 1989, among others). I am adopting a templatic view of syllabification, following Ito (1986, 1989). Under this view, there is a syllable template which is provided by the grammar at the beginning of each cycle of the phonology. I give the syllable template for English below.

$$4) \quad \begin{array}{c} \sigma \\ \mu (\mu) \end{array}$$

That the template is bi-moraic is established by Borowsky (1986). The fact is somewhat subtle, because English also exhibits consonant extraprosodicity (Hayes 1982, 1984), which gives rise to apparent violations of the template at word edges. Further, the template does not govern word level phonology, giving rise to other apparent violations.

The second mora of the template is optional and will delete if it cannot be associated to melody. This is the templatic equivalent to Weight by Position (Zec 1988, Hayes 1989). A long vowel in the lexicon is indicated with an attached mora, while a short vowel lacks such a mora (McCarthy and Prince 1988, cf. Hayes 1989). When a long vowel is associated to the template, its mora and the obligatory mora are maintained. The optional mora is lost. When a short vowel is associated to the template, it is associated to the obligatory mora of the template. The optional mora is free to associate to a consonant, provided that a consonant is in the right position for that association.

I follow Steriade (1982, 1984) in assuming the /y/ is not specified for vocalic status³ and can be either a consonant or a vowel, depending on context and that, because of this fact, parsing must proceed from right to left. If it proceeded from left to right, then every /y/ would be vocalized as a

³The glide /w/ must be specified as non-vocalic in English, because it is involved with no alternations with /u/.

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potential nucleus. When proceeding from right to left, pre-vocalic /y/'s will be incorporated as onsets and not be permitted to occur as nuclei.

Below, I provide an example of syllabification. The underlying form is a string, as in (5).

5) k a m p l E k s

A copy of the template is provided and associated as in (6). Recall that the final consonant is extraprosodic, indicated here with parentheses. The first mora is associated to the first potential syllable nucleus. The second mora will associate tiwh a consonant.



Both morae can be associated here. As many segments as possible will be associated to the syllable node as an onset, as below.



If necessary, as in this case, a second token of the template is provided. This template respects the existing structure from the first template. Otherwise, the syllabification is exactly as in the previous examples. This is shown below.



Syllabification is complete. As stated above, some aspects of the syllabification as outlined here are controversial. For instance, Steriade (1982) argues against templates and in favor of rules. Zec (1988) uses a rule of moraification sensitive only to segmental material. Hayes (1989) awards a

mora to a consonant after the syllable parse is complete. What is most important to our approach is that the post-vocalic consonant gets a mora and that syllables get onsets, two elements that are part of most theories.

2.2 The Status of Glides

In this approach, the glide /y/ has two roles. First, /y/ can undergo syllabification, resulting in what was formerly the closing consonant of a syllable to become the onset of a new syllable. Second, as a consonant it forces the closing of the preceding syllable, as in Hayes (1982, 1984). These two attributes are discussed in this section.

2.2.1 Underlying /y/ in Ternary Feet

Hayes (1982) notes that there are a small class of ternary feet in English, a language which does not ordinarily allow ternary feet. These all include the vowel [i] in a weak position of the foot. Hayes analyzes these feet as cases where the [i] is underlyingly non-vocalic. The foot structure of the word is established and the glide /y/ subsequently vocalizes to the surface [i]. Part of the reason for this analysis is taken up in the next section.

2.2.2 *Cy Onsets

One of the reasons for the underlying representation of [i] as non-vocalic, as discussed above, is the simple existence of ternary feet. There is another piece of evidence from stress assignment. This has to do with the /Cy/, where "C" is a consonant. The sequence /Cy/ is not admissible as an onset in English, as Hayes mentions.

There are no /Cy/ onsets in English, with a narrow range of exceptions with the vowel /u/, like "pure", which I will not discuss.⁴ The fact that /Cy/ is not admissible as an onset makes a stress prediction. A sequence like /VCyV/ will be syllabified as /VC.yV/, with a closed and therefore heavy first syllable. Hayes proposes that certain suffixes which require that stress immediately precede them are /y/ initial, which forces the preceding syllable to be closed and heavy, thus attracting stress.

⁴ For more detail on phenomena stemming from this prohibition, see Borowsky (1986).

2.2.3 Summary of /y/

The glide /y/ in underlying representation, has two phonological attributes that are relevant to CiV. First, it is non-vocalic, but subsequently vocalizes in the relevant forms. Second, no onset of the form /Cy/ is admissible, so a consonant preceding a /y/ must be part of the preceding syllable. The fact that the /y/ initial suffixes cause a preceding syllable to be both closed and heavy is important to the present approach. In the present approach, the vowel lengthening is the prosodic residue of a heavy syllable losing its final segment. That the underlying form of the [i] in the CiV environment is a non-vocalic /y/ is important in that only that non-vocalic segment can be vocalized and require reanalysis of the consonant as an onset.

3 CiV as Compensatory Lengthening

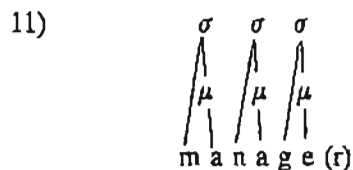
This section will take us through a CiV derivation, based on the assumptions of the previous section. Essentially, we are concerned with the interactions of /y/ and its subsequently vocalized form, /i/, and the syllabification processes of English that follow after that vocalization.

3.1 CiV

Below, we begin with an underlying form, which I present in orthography. I am assuming that there is a cycle and that the first cycle begins with the base as an unsyllabified string from the lexicon.

10) /m a n a g e r/

This form is syllabified by the template of the language, as described in 2.1. The final /r/ is extraprosodic, shown here, again, with parentheses.



Nothing else relevant to use happens on that first cycle. The suffix /yaI/ is added beginning a new cycle. As discussed in 2.2.2, this suffix begins with a glide, or, rather, a melody unspecified for vocality. There are two effects of this suffixation. First, the word is resubmitted to the syllabification processes. The addition of a syllable template is shown in (12) below.

12)



Second, the formerly peripheral /r/ is no longer extrasyllabic and must be incorporated into syllabic structure. This incorporation of /r/ into syllabic structure cannot be done by associating it to the final syllable as an onset, which would violate the prohibition against /Cy/ onsets. Instead, /r/ must be incorporated into the third syllable, as in (13), below.

13)



When we move to the phonology of the cycle, there is a relevant rule, mentioned above, which vocalizes the /y/ to /i/ in certain environments, including before the unstressed vowel. This involves giving the /y/ a syllable node and a mora, as below.

14)



Along the lines of Myers (1985, 1987) I am considering syllabification to be persistent. That is, whenever syllable structure is interrupted somehow, the syllabification processes apply to make the form again conform to the syllabification principles of the language. Among these principles is the desire to have an onset. The final syllable will not be able to get an onset, but the new syllable, which has /y/ as its nucleus, may. That syllable can take /r/ as an onset, as below.

15)



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Syllabification disturbs structure in minimal fashion. That is, while /r/ is re-affiliated, existent structure will remain if at all possible. Here I follow Paradis (1988) in assuming that repairs are minimal. The recruiting of /r/ for an onset is the minimal repair for the onsetless syllable. Deleting the mora of /r/ would not be minimal, nor would it be a repair. In line with these assumptions, the only place that the mora can go for content is to the vowel of the syllable as below.



The result is CiV lengthening. This lengthening will not happen with truly vowel initial suffixes. When they are attached they will take the consonant as their onset, but this consonant will be the formerly extraprosodic consonant, which was not previously incorporated into syllabic structure and was never moraic. In examples like "managerial", the /r/ was moraic.

3.2 The CiV Environment

From this combination of processes, we can see how every element of the CiV environment is necessary. First of all, only a single consonant can function as both moraic and as an onset. Falling sonority clusters, like /nt/ or /lp/, or equal sonority clusters, like /kt/, would have only their second member used as an onset. Clusters beginning with /s/ are usually syllabified as heterosyllabic (see Hayes 1982, 1984, note also a lack of long vowels before s-clusters, suggesting that /s/ clusters always close syllables; there are some exceptions, like rooster, toaster, and postern, with a syllabic sonorant as the second syllable). Clusters of rising sonority do not block the rule, as noted in Chomsky and Halle (1968).

Next, the necessity of "i" in the environment is clear. It is the janus-like status of the front glide, as a consonant, then a vowel, that gives rise to CiV. By the same token, the unstressed vowel is now understandable. That vowel is necessary for the vocalization of /y/ and a necessary precondition for the CiV lengthening that follows.

Finally, this analysis answers the two flaws of a rule based analysis of CiV. This analysis is local in the sense that every element of it is local. This analysis is connected in that the different elements in the CiV environment do give rise to a change on the moraic tier, hence those segmental elements have

an effect that is relevant to vowel length.

3.3 Other matters

There are two quirks to the CiV process that should be noted. One is the fact that the vowel /I/ does not lengthen to the corresponding long vowel. For this, I have no explanation, but see Yip (1987) for an explanation of this from the point of view of Underspecification.

Second, the nominalizing suffix /yðn/ does not give rise to CiV, although it is parallel in form to /yan/, /yal/, and the other suffixes that do give rise to CiV. The suffix /yðn/, however, does not undergo vocalization and must not undergo it in any system. We may, then mark /y/ in /yðn/ as consonant, on a par with the analysis of all cases of /w/, which does not vocalize. The fact that no CiV lengthening takes place before /yðn/ makes sense in this analysis. The lack of lengthening follows from the failure of /yðn/'s initial segment to vocalize.

3.4 Conclusions

In this section, I have presented an analysis of CiV which is both local and connected. The analyses works by breaking down the CiV phenomena into several simple, established, independent processes, each of which meets those two conditions. The individual processes are also independently motivated, with the exception of spreading the vowel melody to the mora, which does not happen elsewhere in English, but is motivated in analyses of compensatory lengthening in other languages (see Hayes 1989 for a survey.)

4 Other Aspects of English Phonology

The current approach to CiV does not have a single rule for that lengthening. Instead, there is a rule of vocalization, for which we have evidence, as discussed in section 2.2, and a variety of effects that follow from that vocalization. Any evidence that CiV is a single rule, therefore, is at odds with this approach.

I will discuss two possible arguments for the existence of CiV as a rule. First, there is the matter of vowel shortening in English. I contend that the vowel shortenings of English take place before the vocalization of /y/ and the attendant CiV lengthening. This is necessary to explain why the lengthened vowel does not shorten. There is an argument for the reverse

ordering, with CiV first, then the relevant shortenings. The vowel is kept from shortening by the fact that CiV is a rule in this approach and that it has an environment that is more specific than a shortening rule, and therefore, the application of the later rule is blocked by the Elsewhere Condition. I argue that this is not necessary because the shortenings can precede glide vocalization and the subsequent lengthening.

The second case I will discuss is an approach to CiV taken by Yip (1987). This approach uses a rule and, furthermore, the rule includes both the non-vocalic /y/ and its vocalic counterpart, /i/. Such an approach is clearly at odds with the present one, since the present approach makes critical use of the vocalization of /y/ to /i/. I argue that the grounds for inclusion of both /y/ and /i/ in the rule are shaky and that to do so also carries a cost in being able to describe how the nominalizing suffix /yðn/ fails to give rise to lengthening.

4.1 Interaction with Vowel Shortening

English also exhibits vowel shortening in a variety of contexts, including the vowel shortening that we will be concerned with here, tri-syllabic shortening. The original formulation of Tri-syllabic shortening, as offered in Chomsky and Halle (1968), is not local, nor connected in the sense outlined in (3) above. Myers' (1985, 1987) study of shortening subsumes tri-syllabic shortening and pre-cluster shortening under one rule. This rule is a closed syllable shortening, formalized as in (17). Myers study preceded much of the recent work in moraic theory, but the relationship of (17) to a bi-moraic syllable template is clear.

17)

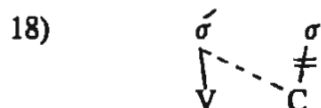
$$\begin{array}{ccc} \sigma & & \sigma \\ \swarrow \downarrow \searrow & \rightarrow & \swarrow \downarrow \searrow \\ V & V & C \end{array}$$

This rule derives the generalization that there are no super-heavy syllables in English, unless they involve extraprosodicity, as discussed in Borowsky (1986) and summarized in section 2.

Tri-syllabic Shortening follows from (17), with the introduction of the rule of Resyllabification⁵ (Hoard 1971). Hoard uses Resyllabification to derive allophonic effects of English (flapping, aspiration, light dark l, etc).

⁵ For ease of exposition, I will use the term "Resyllabification" to refer only to this rule. Resyllabification does not refer to the process of vocalization and the attendant changes in syllable structure.

The rule would move a consonant from the onset of an unstressed syllable into the coda of a stressed one, as shown below.



In the event that the first syllable above has a long vowel, it must undergo the shortening found in (17). The shortening of Tri-syllabic Shortening is now a very general process, which results from another process, Resyllabification, which is in turn subject to certain constraints. In particular, the fact that a syllable must be antepenultimate will follow from the analysis of resyllabification as a foot based phenomenon (see Myers, especially 1985 for discussion).

Since Tri-syllabic shortening deals with vowel length, just as CiV does, we need to ask how this rule relates to CiV. I would like to order glide vocalization (and the attendant compensatory lengthening) after the assorted shortenings of English, including the Tri-syllabic Shortening triggered by resyllabification. There is, though, a potential argument that CiV lengthening must precede Resyllabification and its attendant shortening (Myers 1985, and also Rubach 1984, as discussed below). This argument depends on the rule of S-voicing, as given below, adapted from Chomsky and Halle (1968).

19) Rule of S-voicing

$$s \rightarrow z / VV _ V$$

Chomsky and Halle offer the following examples (p. 228): music, rosary, miser, gymnasium, Cartesian, Asia, usual.

The following examples from Rubach (1984) are cases where CiV lengthening and S-voicing both occur.

20) caucasus/caucasian
Malthus/malthusian
gymnastic/gymnasium

Because the /s/ is voicing to either [z] or [ʒ], the lengthening must have taken place before CiV happens. Otherwise, there is no long vowel to satisfy (19). Therefore, CiV precedes S-voicing.

By deleting a vowel slot, any shortening has the potential to destroy the

environment of S-voicing. To pin down the ordering of instances of shortening and the rule of S-voicing, we may appeal the following examples involving latinate prefixes.

- 21) Latinate prefix examples⁶: (Myers 29)
 solution/resolution
 sonic/resonate
 insurrection/resurrection

The examples in (21), above, exhibit S-voicing, although the now voiced /z/ in question follows a short vowel. In other words, it appears that S-voicing has taken place before Tri-syllabic Shortening and that the rule of S-voicing must precede CiV, meaning that Tri-syllabic Shortening must precede CiV. As discussed in the introduction to this section, such a move would require that Tri-syllabic Shortening be blocked in examples which have just been lengthened and Myers does this by using the Elsewhere Condition. This necessitates that CiV have a structural description, which is at odds with the current approach.

The relevance of the examples in (21) rests on an analysis of English where /re-/ has a long vowel underlyingly, which is subsequently shortened (Halle 1977, Rubach 1984, Halle & Mohanan 1985). Before shortening, this long vowel completes the environment for S-voicing.

The earlier analysis of this case of S-voicing, found in Chomsky and Halle (1968), is that this instance of voicing was morphologically triggered. This morphological voicing and the phonological one are collapsed into one rule with a disjunctive environment, therefore ordered at the same point in the cycle with respect to the other rules. This ordering at the same point in the derivation is not a necessary element of the analysis and is not explicitly argued for. If there are two separate rules of S-voicing, the link between the examples in (20) and (21) is severed and no ordering for CiV and Tri-syllabic Shortening is established.

This is not to say that a paradox does not exist, at least a possible one. There are two conflicting forces at work. First, the desire of syllable to have onsets. It is this tendency, however, it is enforced, that removes the \underline{C} of the CiV lengthening. Second, there is Resyllabification, which takes a consonant

⁶ Myers includes two other examples: concise/concision and precise/precision. These are not cases of Tri-syllabic Shortening for my analysis, which takes the nominalizing "-ion" to have the underlying form /-yon/, making the two mentioned examples cases of pre-cluster shortening.

from a following syllable, often leaving it onsetless. When, then, is the prohibition against onset-less syllables enforced? We would like to think that it would be enforced early in the derivation, before Resyllabification messes things up. However, the CiV lengthening, after Resyllabification, depends on the prohibition against onsetless syllables to make the C of the CiV environment into an onset.

These interactions are perhaps is not paradoxical if we ask not when the prohibition is enforced, but rather, by what. If we follow Ito in assuming that well-formedness of syllabic structure is enforced by the template, the prohibition can be enforced on most syllables when they are first syllabified at the beginning of the derivation. For vocalization /y/, it will have the syllabic template enforced when it obtains a syllable node. Other processes, such as Resyllabification, are then free to come along and give rise to configurations that violate the conditions on well-formed onsets.

In light of these considerations, closed syllable shortening brought about by Resyllabification does not constitute an argument against the approach worked out in section 3. On the other hand, under the current approach, CiV more closely mirrors Tri-syllabic Shortening and other closed syllable shortenings.

4.2 Mammalian

Although I continue to use "CiV" as a cover term for vocalization, syllabification, and the attendant compensatory lengthening, CiV is not a rule under this approach. It does not have a structural description. Evidence that a structural description for CiV exists--beyond that of vocalization--constitutes a counter-argument to this approach. In her discussion of CiV, Yip (1987) includes both the high front vocoids in her formulation of the rule of CiV. If this is necessary, then vocalization could not be the triggering factor in CiV lengthening, since the rule is triggered by both vocalized and unvocalized high front vocoids. In this section, that approach is examined.

In her formulation a rule of CiV lengthening, Yip gives the following.

$$22) \quad V \quad \rightarrow \quad VV / _ C X V$$

$$|$$

$$I$$

This formulation has all the same problems with locality discussed above. It is of interest because of the status of the high front vocoid in (22) above, the vocalic status of /y/ is not specified, That is, this environment

includes both [__CiV] and [__CyV]. If this were the case, the approach in section 3, which involves vocalization of a non-vocalic element, is not a possible analysis for the environment in (2).

One problem with the rule in (22) stems from the failure of the nominalizing /yðn/ to lead to CiV. The current analysis is able to capture this fact by positing that the glide of that suffix is specified as consonantal. As such, it is unable to vocalize and the lack of vocalization means that no lengthening will follow. The rule in (22) must not apply in forms with that suffix for some other reason.

The motivation for (22) is the fact that some speakers always have the following pronunciation for "mammalian".

23) mðmeylyan

That is, they have forms lacking vocalization and requiring CiV lengthening. Yip bases this claim on Hayes (1982). Hayes notes that in the environment VVl__, there is a sharp division with respect to the behavior of [y/i]. In some cases, [i] is required in others, [i] and [y] alternate. Hayes notes that there is a great deal of variation from speaker to speaker and relies on Kenyon and Knott's pronunciation dictionary of English.

24) (=Hayes 1982, 99)
Invariant [i]: memorabilia, hemophilia, Castalia, oleoresin, -ium words

Alternations: Camellia, mammalian, portfolio, regalia, heliotype

Hayes' approach posits both /i/ and /y/ in underlying representation. The vocalic /i/ would surface unchanged. The non-vocalic /y/ would optionally vocalize. In the approach in (22), those speakers who have a required surface [y] have an underlying glide that never vocalizes. That is, they lack that part of the glide vocalization rule that affects the glide in "mammalian".

In an attempt to ferret out more information on this, I have done a computer search of a machine readable dictionary for words of the following form.

25) V C {i,y}
 [tense]⁷

⁷ The dictionary encoded length through tenseness.

The search turned up over ten pages of forms with the surface [i]. Some of these examples were not, of course, relevant. 59 had a stressed vowel in the following syllable, a condition that blocks vocalization. This leaves over 400 words of this form.

The search turned up over a page of forms with [y], the non-vocalic form. Ten of these were proper names (the pronunciation of which differs from mine), seven were clearly foreign, twelve contained the glide that is clearly derived from [u] as above. Some morphemes were repeated. This leaves 11 examples.

- 53a) colonial, chameleon, genial
- b) failure, peculiar, genius, union,
senior, communion, junior
- c) clothier

The forms in (53a) vary for me between vocalic and non-vocalic [y]. Those in (53b) must have the non-vocalic variety. The one in (53c) must have /i/.

Of the words turned up in the VCI search (short vowel, followed by /i/), I find a number of acceptable with a glide, but all acceptable with a vowel.

It seems that the vowel is greatly preferred in these cases and that the non-vocalic cases are exceptional and marginal. One clear possibility is that all of the glides in the forms above vocalize and that some subsequently devocalize. Since this process refers critically to one segment and is optional in some dialects, we might expect it to be a post-lexical rule.

The examples in (53b) are also counter-examples to Myers' shortening; they contain the following sequence: ...VVC.CV. They might be cases where the vowel shortens and subsequently lengthens or they might be marked exceptions to both rules.⁸

An account which makes use of (22) must also provide an account for the failure of these vowels to shorten.

⁸ Conceivably, because the C of the CiV environment is always coronal in these examples, they might be linked structures and thus principled exceptions to both Myers-shortening and vocalization.

5.0 Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed CiV lengthening as a compensatory lengthening. The front glide, /y/, forces the preceding syllable to be closed and therefore heavy. When the glide vocalizes, it takes the preceding consonant as an onset. The weight of the preceding syllable is maintained by compensatory lengthening and manifests itself as a long vowel.

This analysis has the advantage over earlier approaches of providing a principled account of the seemingly arbitrary environment in which CiV lengthening takes place and how it gives rise into a change in prosody. The present analysis, by separating CiV into its components, provides a local account for this change, where previous approaches defied theories of locality.

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