

Vowel raising in Lhasa Tibetan

or raising raising to the next level

Floris van Vugt

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Vowel raising: the data

- High V raise preceding V (Regressive)
- High V raise following V (Progressive)
- But [aa] is unaffected by progression



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Compounding /me/ 'fire' + /šij/ 'wood' = [mišii]
/to/ 'stone' + /puu/ 'pile' = [tupuu]

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/ tee / + / qi / = [tiiqi] 'will get'
/ nɛɛ / + / pa / = [nɛɛ pə] 'did sleep'
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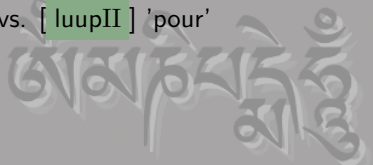
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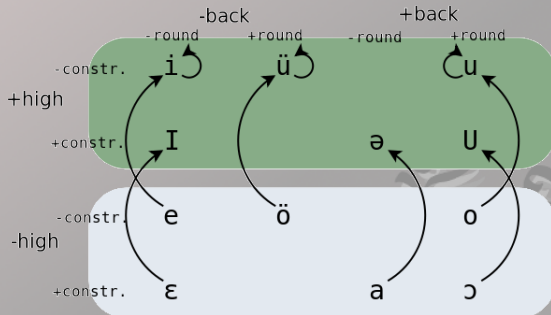
■ But [aa] is unaffected by progression

Compounding [pi - kaa] 'relative' vs. [məə - mi]
[ri - paa] 'wild boar'

Vowel raising in Lhasa Tibetan

Observations

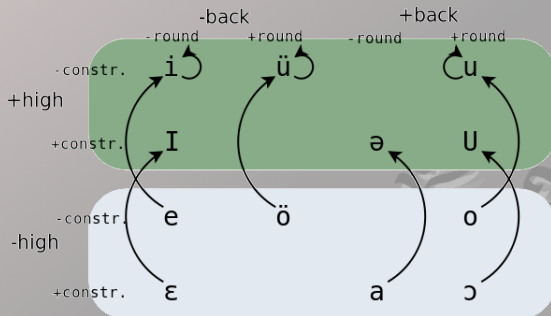
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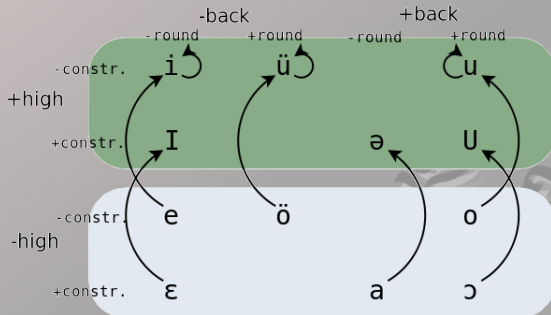
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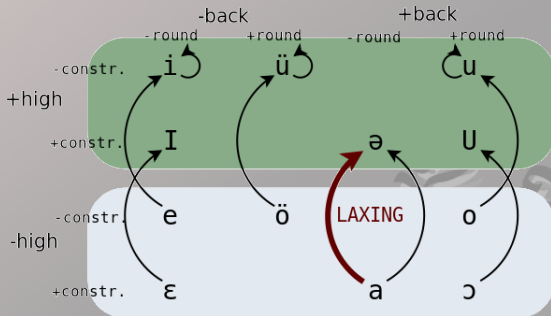
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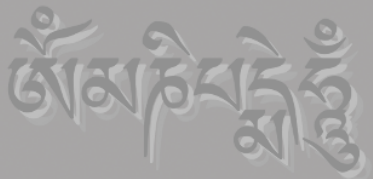


Two laxing rules but only one feeds raising

ŋōm̥ɪm̥ɪŋō

Two laxing rules but only one feeds raising

- (P-LAX) $[-\text{long}]^{\text{a}} \rightarrow \text{ə} / \text{---} \text{p}+$

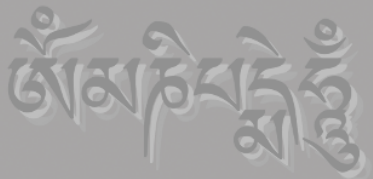


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Feeds raising,

e.g. /ma + lap + pa/ $\xrightarrow{P-lax}$ [ma ləp pa] $\xrightarrow{\text{Raising}}$ [mələpə]



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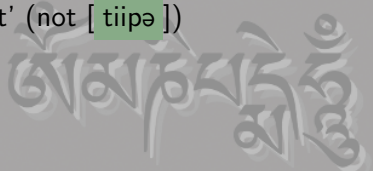
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Counterfeeds raising,

e.g. /tee/ + /pa/ = [tee pə] 'did get' (not [tiipə])



Rules account for harmony, they just look weird

- (REGR) $V \rightarrow [+high] / \text{---} C_0 \overset{V}{[+high]}$



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■ (REGR) $V \rightarrow [+high] / \text{---} C_0 \overset{V}{[+high]}$

■ (PROGR) $\left[\left[\begin{array}{c} \overset{V}{-long} \\ -constricted \\ +round \\ -back \end{array} \right] \right] \rightarrow [+high] / \left[\overset{V}{+high} \right] C_0 \text{---}$



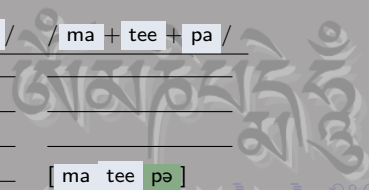
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	/ saa + pa /	/ saa + qi /	/ kap + pɛɛ /
P-LAX	_____	_____	[kəp pɛɛ]
REGR	_____	[səəqi]	_____
PROGR	_____	_____	[kəp pII]
LAXING	[saa pə]	_____	_____

	/ ma + lap + pa /	/ pi + kaa /	/ ma + tee + pa /
P-LAX	[ma ləp pa]	_____	_____
REGR	[mələp pa]	_____	_____
PROGR	[mələpɛpə]	_____	_____
LAXING	[mələpɛpə]	_____	[ma tee pə]



OT accounts for harmony and its exception...

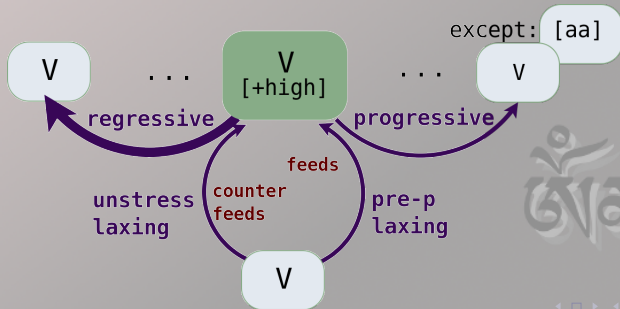
/[qhaa+ri]/		UNDOM	ALHIL	ID(-HIGH)/A/	ALHIR	ID(-HIGH)
1a.	[qhaari]		*!			
1b.	ꠘꠞꠟ [qhæəri]			*		*
1c.	[qhaare]	*!				*
/[ri+paa]/						
2a.	[ripəə]			*!		
2b.	ꠘꠞꠟ [ripaa]				*	
2c.	[repa]	*!				*

... but OT doesn't get counterfeeding.

/saa+pa/		A				
		[-STRESS] ALHIE	ID(-HIGH)/A/	ALHIR	ID(-HIGH)	
a.	saapa	*!				
b.	☹ saapə		*!			*
c.	* səəpə			*		**
d.	səəpa	*!		*	*	*

Conclusion

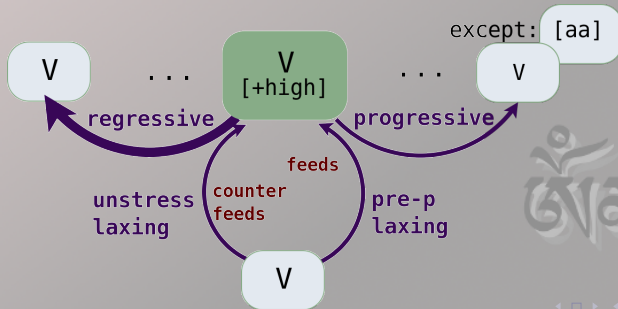
Lhasa Tibetan counterfeeding remains problematic



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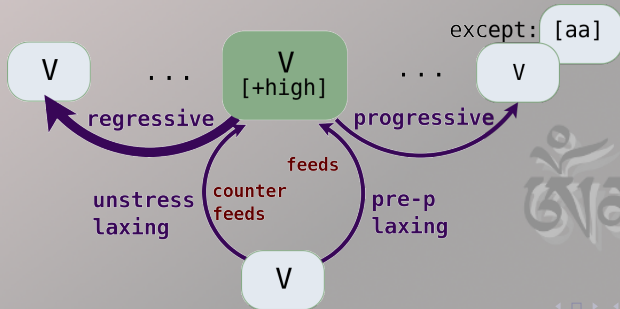
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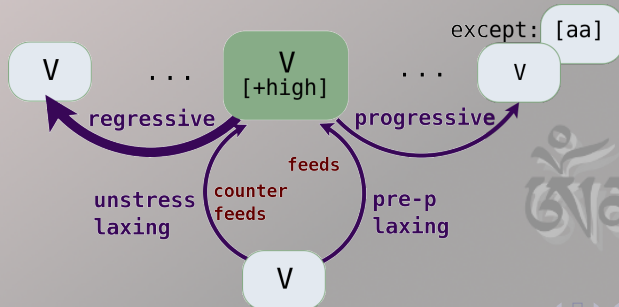
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Conclusion

Lhasa Tibetan counterfeeding remains problematic

- Regressive raising is stronger than progressive.
- The exception ([aa]) can be captured in rules, but perhaps more naturally in OT.
- Counterfeeding cannot be accounted for straight-forwardly in classic OT.



The anticipated questions

Lexical phonology / Stratal OT — a sketch

Level I Affixing All constraints (except!)	$/ \text{ma} + \text{lap} + \text{pa} /$ $/ \text{tee} + \text{pa} /$ $[\text{m}\bar{\text{a}} + \text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{p} + \text{p}\bar{\text{a}}]$ _____
Level II Undominated ^a [-stress]	_____ $[\text{tee} + \text{p}\bar{\text{a}}]$

