

ATB-shifts and ATB-blockage in vocalic plateaus
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I analyze phenomena that look like vowel harmony, but which I argue are triggered by the preference to preserve an input identity relation (a *plateau*) between vowels in adjacent syllables. Here is a schematic illustration: a sequence of adjacent syllables with /a/ nuclei occurs in an underlying form, e.g. /aba/. A general rule causes word-final /a/ to raise to [i], e.g. *abi*. To preserve the underlying plateau, non-final /a/'s raise to [i] as well: /aba/ → [ibi]. The result is an across-the-board shift in all aC(aC)a# strings. Input sequences of different heights (e.g. /abi/) remain unchanged. This suggests that non-final /a/'s change their height not because they assimilate to /i/ but only in order to preserve the identity relation of the input [a]-plateaux.

ATB-shifts of this sort are found in Romanian, Javanese, Yakan, Rotuman, possibly elsewhere. Comparable ATB tonal shifts are frequent (Odden 1986), requiring constraints that protect tonal plateaus (and contours, in an extension of this project) within and across sequences of syllables.

Plateaux can also be preserved by blocking otherwise expected local perturbations. In one such case, pretonic /a/ raises, e.g. /a...CV/ → [e...CV], but raising is blocked in /aC(aC)á/-plateaux, where one /a/ is stressed. Here, faithfulness to the stressed /á/ combines with faithfulness to the identity of the input /aCa/ sequence to block pretonic raising, with the result that all /aC(aC)á/ strings surface intact. Comparable ATB-blockage cases occur in the tonal domain: the expected lowering of a final H, /VCV/ → [VCV̄], is blocked in Tangale whenever the final H belongs to a H plateau, /VCV/ → [VCV̄] (Kenstowicz 1987).

I argue that the analysis of all these phenomena must invoke correspondence constraints that preserve input identity relations. I show that alternative autosegmental analyses which attribute the ATB behaviors to spreading or to multiply linked vocalic or tonal autosegments (i.e. OT translations of the analyses in Odden 1986, Kenstowicz and Kidda 1985, Kenstowicz 1987, McCarthy 1986) fail to generate the data.

- Kenstowicz, Michael and Kidda, Mairo 1985 "The OCP in Tangale Phonology," I. Dihoff et al. (eds.) *Current Approaches to African Linguistics*, Walter de Gruyter
Kenstowicz, Michael 1987 Multiple Linking in Javanese. *NELS 16*
Odden, David 1986 On the role of the obligatory contour principle in phonological theory. *Language* 62.353-83.