

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the perspective of rule-based phonology, pre- a_1 tone change needs two steps of derivation and rule-ordering, viz. regular tone sandhi and then extra tone change. Classic OT implements parallelism, thereby eradicating the derivational process of the pre- a_1 tone change. Alternatively, HS assumes the serial derivation and exploits harmonic improvement to examine the serial tone change of the pre- a_1 syllable. This thesis attempts to explicate the pre- a_1 and $-a_2$ suffix tone changes in Taiwan Southern Min in terms of the parallelism and serialism of classic OT. Furthermore, this study also intends to shed light on what the nature of the pre- a_1 's extra tone change is in HS. Specifically, register spreading and terminal toneme spreading contribute to the extra tone change. $-a_2$ suffix tone change, on the other hand, can also be accounted for entertaining the operation on the register and toneme level. In addition, the two tonal variants of the pre- a_1 and $-a_2$ syllables can be explained through constraint re-ranking, which is theoretically motivated in Cophonology.

In classic OT, the respective constraint rankings of the pre- a_1 and hypocoristic $-a_2$ tonal changes are tabulated below.

(1) Ranking Permutation in Parallelism

<i>Parallelism</i>	<i>Cophonologies</i>	<i>Constraint Rankings</i>
Pre- a_1 Tone Change	No Toneme Spreading	IDENT-T-R >> *T >> SHARE (r) >> NO LONG (r), HiLEVEL, NO LONG (t) >> SHARE (t)
	Toneme Spreading	IDENT-T-R >> *T >> SHARE (r) >> NO LONG (r), HiLEVEL, SHARE (t) >> NO LONG (t)
- a_2 Suffix Tone Change	Tone Spreading	SPECIFY >> SHARE >> NO LONG, TONAL MARKEDNESS
	Default Low Insertion	SPECIFY >> TONAL MARKEDNESS, NO LONG >> SHARE

In pre- a_1 tone change, the two tonal variants are observed through constraint re-ranking. When NO LONG (t) outranks SHARE (t), no toneme spreading occurs, and vice versa. In - a_2 suffix tone change, two variants are accounted for via the re-ranking of SHARE and NO LONG and TONAL MARKEDNESS. Tone spreading is possible when SHARE ranks over NO LONG. Default L insertion, on the other hand, is predicted when SHARE is ranked at the bottom.

Alternatively, another analytical framework is employed to examine the pre- a_1 and hypocoristic - a_2 tonal changes in Taiwan Southern Min. Both the pre- a_1 and - a_2 suffix tone changes involve serial derivations in terms of HS mechanism. The respective constraint rankings are summarized below.

(2) Ranking Permutation in Serialism

<i>Serialism</i>	<i>Cophonologies</i>	<i>Constraint Rankings</i>
Pre- a_1 Tone Change	No Toneme Spreading	IDENT-T-R >> *T >> SHARE (r) >> NO LONG (r), HiLEVEL, NO LONG (t) >> SHARE (t)
	Toneme Spreading	IDENT-T-R >> *T >> SHARE (r) >> NO LONG (r), HiLEVEL, SHARE (t) >> NO LONG (t)
- a_2 Suffix Tone Change	Tone Spreading	HAVE-T >> DEP (t), HAVE-RF, HAVE-TF, DEP (r), SHARE (r) >> NO LONG (r), SHARE (t) >> NO LONG (t) >> REGISTER MARKEDNESS, TONAL MARKEDNESS
	Default Low Insertion	HAVE-T >> DEP (t), HAVE-RF, HAVE-TF, NO LONG (r) >> DEP (r), SHARE (r), REGISTER MARKEDNESS, TONAL MARKEDNESS >> NO LONG (t) >> SHARE (t)

In pre- a_1 tone change, three phonological steps are required. Regular tone sandhi takes precedence over register spreading. Terminal toneme spreading applies in the final step. In addition, tonal variants are accounted for through constraint re-ranking under the framework of cophonology. Specifically, when NO LONG (t) outranks SHARE (t), toneme spreading is not allowed. On the other hand, toneme spreading occurs when NO LONG (t) is ranked at the lowest position.

- a_2 's tonal values are determined by either tone spreading or epenthesis of a default L. In terms of the HS architecture, the derivation of - a_2 's surface forms proceeds with three steps. Tone spreading obtains through featureless tone insertion, register spreading and then terminal toneme spreading. Default low insertion, on the

other hand, calls for featureless tone insertion, register feature [Lr] epenthesis, and then tone feature [l] insertion. In terms of Cophonological theory, tone spreading is predicted when NOLONG (r) and NOLONG (t) are dominated by SHARE (r) and SHARE (t), respectively. Furthermore, REGISTER MARKEDNESS and TONAL MARKEDNESS are ranked at the bottom. In contrast, low tone insertion is implicated when REGISTER MARKEDNESS and TONAL MARKEDNESS are elevated over NOLONG (t). Moreover, NOLONG (r) and NOLONG (t) are also raised above SHARE (r) and SHARE (t), respectively.