

Interactions between resolutions to vowel hiatus in Paiwan

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Based on firsthand data, this study aims to examine both (i) the phonetic realization of hiatus involving more than three vowels and (ii) the interaction between available resolutions to hiatus, including the original repair strategies—glide formation and coalescence for identical vowels—as well as additional ones, vowel breaking and coalescence for non-identical vowels in Tjuvetsekadan Paiwan, an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. With four phonemic vowels /i, u, a, ə/, hiatus (except schwa /ə/) is found across morpheme boundaries (e.g., /qa-quma-in/ 'field') and non-identical VV sequences within morphemes (e.g., /qau/ 'bamboo'). Non-identical hiatus is modified by glide formation, which changes the less sonorous vowel into a surface glide (e.g., /Cai/ > [Caj] or /Cua/ > [Cwa]) (Chen 2009, Yeh 2011). Identical vowel hiatus is repaired by coalescence, combining two segments into one (e.g., /Ca-a/ > [Ca]).

The Tjuvetsekadan village dialect is divergent because it has lost two consonants, /l/ and /ʁ/ (Cheng 2016, Ang 2019), which are still preserved in most Paiwan dialects. The loss of these consonants results in consecutive vowels, including /ə/, and hiatus with up to six vowels emerges via reduplication and affixation, as shown in (1). Sequences of vowels violate the requirements of size and/or structure of a syllable; therefore, new resolutions (vowel breaking and coalescence for non-identical vowels) emerge as an extension of the basic strategies (glide formation and coalescence). The process of resyllabification displays the interaction between these resolutions, centered on three ideas: more sonorous vowels constitute syllable peaks, identical vowels combine, and high vowels become glides or break into heterosyllabic glides. These changes distort the surface representations when compared with other dialects.

(1) Sequence of vowels in Tjuvetsekadan Paiwan (boldface /l/ lost in Tjuvetsekadan)

<u>Other dialects</u>	<u>Tjuvetsekadan</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Hiatus</u>
/pa-ula-in/	/pa-ua-in/ [paw.wájŋ]	'wasteful'	auai
/pa-zəliu- liu /	/pa-zəiu- iu / [pa.zəj.ju.jí.juʔ]	'(someone) is giving wage'	əiuiu
/ki-la-lai- lai /	/ki-a-ai- ai / [ki.jaj.jájŋ]	'be taking care of'	iaaiai
/pa-la-laut/	/pa-a-aut/ [pa.áwt]	'always'	aaau

Although schwa emerges in hiatus due to the loss of consonants in Tjuvetsekadan, its instability complicates the pattern. Schwa easily assimilates to a preceding full vowel (e.g., /dalək/ > [daak] 'dew'), but remains intact in some words (e.g., /ma-suləm/ > [masuəm] 'darkness falls'), or shows variations of both forms (e.g., /ma-tsuləq/ > [matsuuq] or [matsuaq] 'deaf'). Nevertheless, the guidelines still hold for resolving hiatus. The significance of this study lies in presenting the realization of vowel string combinations, including /ə/, and exploring how various resolutions work in tandem to satisfy syllabic requirements.

References

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