

The interaction between structure and melody

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In this paper I submit that in Kabyle the interpretation of the melody is constrained by the structure.

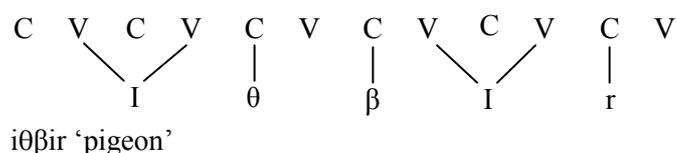
The Kabyle plural presents some vowels which are not present in the singular form, e.g. iddəw ‘monkey’ → iddaw-n ‘monkeys’, iʃʃər ‘nail’ → aʃʃar-n ‘nails’, iʃʃəw ‘horn’ → aʃʃiw-n, ittəw ‘big eye’ → attiw-n ‘big eyes’ (-n is the suffix of plural). As they cannot be predicted, these vowels should belong to the root and they are absent in the singular form because of the templatic restriction.

| (1) | Singular | Plural | Gloss |
|-----|----------|---------|--------|
| a | iθβir | iθβir-n | pigeon |
| b | iðmər | iðmar-n | chest |
| c | izəm | izmaw-n | lion |

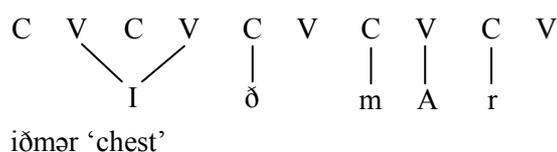
In (1), the plural shows that (a, b and c) have the same cluster and the same quantity of melodic items; but in the singular they surface differently.

My proposal is that (b and c) are constrained by the size of the structure, and (c) is also constrained by the fact that /w/ drops in the word-final. Adopting the hypothesis that Kabyle Berber vowels are underlyingly long and melodic material associated to a single position appears as schwa. The representation in (2) illustrates the phenomenon given in (1):

(2) Sg. VCCVC: 6CV template



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