

Indonesian has parallel patterns of truncation for short forms of terms of address and personal names. For both, the truncated form typically consists of a single syllable (see 1). If the final syllable of the base is closed, this serves as the truncated form (1a&b). If the final syllable is open, the truncated form usually consists of the initial CVC sequence (1c&d), although there is a second pattern for terms of address consisting of the final CV syllable with an epenthetic glottal stop (1e). What is striking is that among these forms, open syllables are systematically excluded, while no such restriction holds in longer words. This appears to be a word minimality effect and shows that a closed monosyllable is heavier than an open one.

As independent words, truncated forms are hypothesized to respect prosodic requirements concerning well-formed minimal words. Yet in Indonesian, what constitutes the minimal word for truncated forms (CVC) is not the same as a well-formed metrical foot ( $\sigma$   $\sigma$ ). The basic stress foot in Indonesian is a syllabic trochee ( $\sigma$   $\sigma$ ). Independent of syllable structure, primary stress falls on the penult (2). Since Indonesian stress is quantity insensitive, the minimal word is predicted to be two syllables. In fact, there are almost no monosyllabic content words in Indonesian and those that occur are clearly borrowings, supporting the conclusion that the minimum word equals a well-formed metrical foot. However, there are two areas where systematic exceptions are seen to this generalization: the monosyllabic truncated forms and disyllabic words with schwa in the first syllable (3). The latter are exceptional, in that normally schwa is invisible to stress assignment and thus a syllable with schwa does not usually count toward the metrical computation (4).

An analysis of these two classes of subminimal words is provided, highlighting the fact that word minimality is a violable process, which can be captured through constraint interaction within Optimality Theory. In the case of truncation, the morphological process itself requires that the form be monosyllabic, in direct conflict with FOOT-BINARITY-SYLLABLE. The imperative of the monosyllabic shape of the truncated form outranks otherwise high ranking FOOT-BINARITY-SYLLABLE and effects of lower ranking FOOT-BINARITY-MORA are seen. The class of subminimal words with schwa highlights the distinction between footability and stressability, where under duress a schwa syllable can serve as the weak member of a ( $\sigma$   $\sigma$ ) foot, thereby still meeting the requirement of FOOT-BINARITY-SYLLABLE. Words with only one full vowel and one or more schwas are still prosodically interpretable, but at the cost of violating NON-FOOT( $\emptyset$ ). In such cases, only NON-HEAD( $\emptyset$ ), but not NON-FOOT( $\emptyset$ ), is respected in order to meet the requirement of high ranking FOOT-BINARITY-SYLLABLE. The two patterns of subminimality seen here are not exceptions to the prosodic system of Indonesian. Rather, these subclasses of data highlight the subtler results of constraint interaction at the limits of the prosodic system.

Indonesian poses a challenge to the formal analyses of truncation. McCarthy and Prince (1986) suggest that similar patterns of truncation (e.g. partial reduplication in Madurese) involve a stressed syllable from the base. Yet the final syllable in Indonesian is clearly not stressed. It is also not the case that the truncated forms in Indonesian can be understood as ALIGNMENT (ANCHOR) with the emergence of the unmarked foot (following proposals by Benua 1995 and others), since the truncated forms are subminimal. Indonesian truncation can be accounted for through the high ranking of ANCHORRIGHT with the resulting truncated form emerging through constraint interaction, rather than emergence of the unmarked. These facts highlight the symmetrical instantiation of the family of ANCHOR constraints in truncation, contra recent claims by Nelson (2001) that apparent cases of ANCHORRIGHT can be reanalysed as ANCHORSTRESSED SYLLABLE.

1.	closed final syllable		open final syllable			
	base	truncation	initial CVC		final CV + ?	
			base	truncation	base	truncation
terms of address	a. <u>anak</u> bapak	nak pak	c. <u>nona</u> papi	non pap	e. <u>ibu</u> bibi	bu [bu?] bi [bi?]
personal names (bisyllabic)	b. <u>Agus</u> <u>Lilik</u> <u>Erlin</u>	Gus Lik Lin	d. <u>Budi</u> <u>Murni</u>	Bud Mur		

2. Word stress in Indonesian (Cohn 1989)

a. bisyllabic words

**cá**ri 'search for'  
**bá**gus 'good'  
**bá**ntu 'help'  
**bá**ntal 'pillow'

b. trisyllabic words

**bi**cára 'speak'  
 mand**í**ri 'stand alone'  
 kar**á**mba 'basket for fish'  
 kal**í**mat 'sentence'

3. Words of the shape (C)əCV(C) (Cohn and McCarthy 1998)

kə**r**á 'monkey'  
 kə**rj**á 'work'  
 ə**nám** 'six'

4. Examples of stress assignment with schwa (Cohn 1989)

**gá**məlan 'Indonesian orchestra' \* gaməlan  
 ap**á**rtəmen 'apartment' \* apərtəmen  
 cə**rít**ərə 'story' \* cəritərə

**References**

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