

(correspondence is indicated with coindexation), dominating $M(V \rightarrow i/i)$, the set of constraints that determine that high vowels are least marked in the language. This is shown in the following tableau.

(6) $/j\Lambda t/ \rightarrow [j\Lambda t\Lambda]$ ‘potato’

	$/j\Lambda t/$	IDENT-BE	$M(V \rightarrow i/i)$
a.	$j\Lambda_1 t\Lambda_1$		**
b.	$j\Lambda_1 t\tilde{i}_1$	*W	*L

In turn, the alternation between fully nasal and postoralized stops (3-4) is proposed to result from the domination of *CONTOUR, a constraint that penalizes postoralized nasals, by *NV, which penalizes nasal stops followed by oral vowels.

(7) $/na/ \rightarrow [n^d a]$ ‘rain’

	$/na/$	*NV	*CONTOUR
a.	$n^d a$		*
b.	na	*W	L

I propose that the particular way in which the rankings responsible for copy epenthesis and postoralization interact makes high vowel insertion preferable with stems that end with an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant. Specifically, high vowel epenthesis is made necessary by the domination of *CONTOUR over IDENT-BE, with the previously established rankings remaining the same. The resulting ranking is as follows:

(8) *NV \gg *CONTOUR \gg IDENT-BE \gg $M(V \rightarrow i/i)$

This ranking, as shown in the tableau in (9) with the utterance-final form $[s\Lambda n]$ ‘sweet’, guarantees the emergence of a candidate containing an epenthesized high vowel over any candidate that epenthesizes a copy of the corresponding vowel just in case the stem-final consonant is nasal and preceded by an oral vowel, circumventing the general preference for copy epenthesis.

(9) $/s\Lambda n/ \rightarrow [s\Lambda n]$ ‘sweet’

	$/s\Lambda n/$	*NV	*CONTOUR	IDENT-BE	$M(V \rightarrow i/i)$
a.	$s\Lambda_1 n\tilde{i}_1$			*	*
b.	$s\Lambda_1 n\Lambda_1$	*W		L	**W
c.	$s\Lambda_1 n^d \Lambda_1$		*W	L	**W

Thus, the alternation between copy and high vowel epenthesis in Kĩsêdjê can be regarded as a prime example of TETU: the low ranking of IDENT-BE with respect to the constraints that usually yield postoralization of nasal consonants before oral vowels favors the emergence of maximally unmarked material—the epenthetic high vowels—when it impossible to satisfy IDENT-BE without violating a higher-ranking constraint.

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