LOCALITY REQUIREMENTS IN REDUPLICATION: SYLLABLE-PROXIMITY-BR

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OVERVIEW

**Observation:** some patterns of reduplication are order-disrupting
- Input order of elements not faithfully preserved in the reduplicated form

**Proposal:** These patterns are driven by syllable-based locality

**Prediction:** all order-disrupting reduplication is local

DATA

**Language:** Saisiyat (Austronesian: Taiwan)

**Morpheme:** Progressive (occurs with Actor Focus (AF) Infix)

Root-initial consonant is reduplicated
- One correspondent is word-initial
- One correspondent is in *coda* of initial syllable

PROPOSAL

**Proposal:** order-disrupting reduplication results from a locality constraint on the elements in correspondence
- Specifically, correspondents must be in the same syllable

**SYLLABLE-PROXIMITY-BR:** Assign a violation mark for any element in the Reduplicant that is not dominated by the same syllable node as its correspondent in the Base

Captures both position and size of Reduplicant

Order-disruption: SYLL-PROX-BR dominates order-preserving constraint

ANALYSIS

**Account for Saisiyat:** SYLL-PROX-BR >> O-CONTIGUITY

**O-CONTIGUITY:** Each output morpheme must form a contiguous string

Winner violates O-CONTIGUITY twice: once for splitting the root, once for splitting the infix
- Challengers can only violate O-CONTIGUITY less by moving correspondents into different syllables
- This violates SYLL-PROX-BR

**Syllabification of Challengers**

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & o & m & k & a & t & o & m & a & t \\
\end{array}
\]

**RED, om, kaat/**

**SYLL-PROX-BR**

**O-CONTIGUITY**

- \([k-o-k-m-a.at] \)  
- \([k-o.k-o.m-a.at] \)
- \([k-o.k-o.m-.a.at] \)
- \([k-o-k-.m-.a.at] \)
- \([k-o-.m-.a.at] \)

To prevent phonotactic violation: "COMPLEX >> SYLL-PROX-BR"
- \([p-o-.m-.b-at], [k-a-.b-at], [p-o-.m-.b-at], [p-o-.m-.b-at] \)

CONCLUSION

**SYLL-PROX-BR** accounts for order-disrupting reduplication
- Captures both minimality and position of the Reduplicant
- SYLL-PROX-BR makes strong prediction: all order-disruption is local

****TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS****

**Alternative account:** string-based locality and syllable economy (e.g., Riggle 2006)
- Locality (e.g., Steriade 1995, Nelson 2003) demands no non-corresponding material intervene between correspondents
- Syllable economy (e.g., Zoll 1994, Spaletti 1997) forces order-disruption to keep Reduplicants from adding syllables

The Locality+economy account predicts different *typology* of order-disrupting reduplication from the SYLL-PROX-BR account
- Locality+economy predicts variable source of copy and long-distance copying to satisfy other constraints
- SYLL-PROX-BR only predicts local copying (within same syllable)

Illustrated below with Positional Markedness constraint SON-CODA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inputs</th>
<th>Syll-PROX-BR</th>
<th>Locality+Economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[n-a-adigus], [b-a-badigun], [b-a-badigus] (no order disruption)</td>
<td>Predicted</td>
<td>Predicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n-a.n-digus], [b-a-badigun], [b-a-badigus] (order disruption except when marked)</td>
<td>Predicted</td>
<td>Predicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n-a.n-digus], [b-a-b-digun], [b-a-b digus] (order disruption throughout)</td>
<td>Not Predicted</td>
<td><strong>Predicted</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n-a.n-digus], [n-a.n.digun], [b-a-b digus] (order disruption: variable source of copy, long-distance copying)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also predicted: different typologies of misaligned reduplication (Reduplicant not aligned with proper edge)
- Locality+economy predicts variable source, long-distance
- SYLL-PROX-BR only predicts local copy