

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

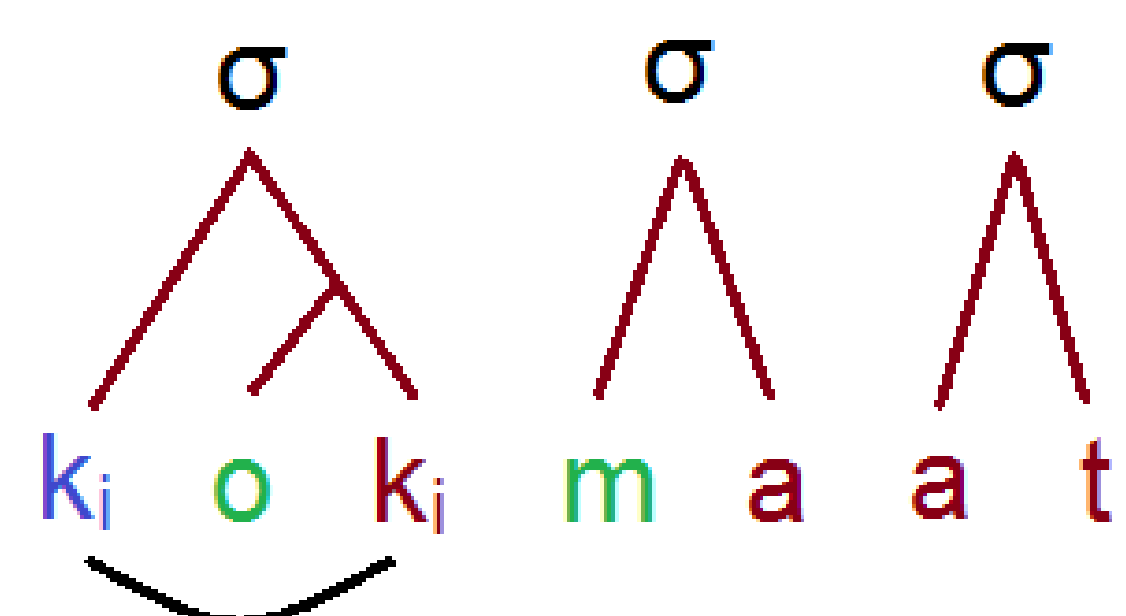
Root	Non-Reduplicated	Reduplicated
/kaat/ "write"	[k-o.m-a.at] "write-AF"	[k-o-k-.m-a.at] "be writing-AF"
/siʔæɪ/ "eat"	[s-o.m-i.ʔæɪ] "eat-AF"	[s-o-s-.m-i.ʔæɪ] "be eating-AF"

Order-disruption: root /ka:at/ and AF infix /om/ both get **split**

- Why not challengers [k-om-.ka.at] or [ko-k-o.m-a.at]?

Both correspondents are dominated by the same syllable

Syllabification of Progressive Reduplication



Exception: Phonotactic constraints against complex margins can prevent both correspondents from occurring in same syllable

- Effect:** either CV- reduplication or suppletion

Root	Non-Reduplicated	Reduplicated/Suppletive
/ʃβæt/ "hit"	[ʃ-om-.βæt] "hit-AF"	[ʃo-ʃ-om-βæt] "be hitting-AF" [ka-ʃ.βæt] "be hitting-AF"

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

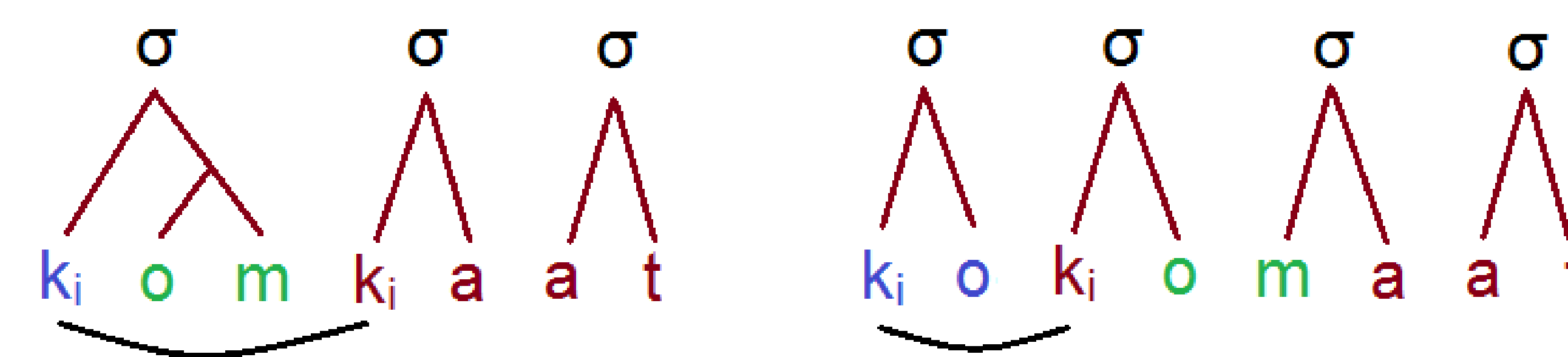
Account for Saisiyat: SYLL-PROX-BR >> O-CONTIGUITY

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



/RED, om, kaat/	SYLL-PROX-BR	O-CONTIGUITY
→ [k-o-k-.m-a.at]		**
[k-om-.ka.at]	*!	
[ko-k-o.m-a.at]	*!	*

To prevent phonotactic violation: *COMPLEX >> SYLL-PROX-BR

- [ʃo-ʃ-om-βæt], [ka-ʃ.βæt] > [ʃ-o-ʃ-m-βæt], [ʃ-om-ʃ.βæt]

TYOLOGICAL 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, Spaelti 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

Inputs: /nadigus/, /badigun/, /badigus/	Syll-Prox-BR	Locality+Economy
[n _i a-n _i adigus], [b _i a-b _i adigun], [b _i a-b _i adigus] (no order-disruption)	Predicted	Predicted
[n _i a-n _i -digus], [b _i a-b _i adigun], [b _i a-b _i adigus] (order disruption except when marked)	Predicted	Predicted
[n _i a-n _i -digus], [b _i a-b _i -digun], [b _i a-b _i -digus] (order disruption throughout)	Predicted	Predicted
[n _i a-n _i -digus], [ba-n _i -digun], [b _i a-b _i -digus] (order disruption: variable source of copy, long-distance copying)	Not Predicted	!!! Predicted

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**

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**

- Locality+Economy predicts variable source, long-distance copy