

Underapplication & Overapplication bei Inkelas und Zoll (2005)

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Stress Reduction in Indonesian Compounds

tùkaḡ cáṭ ‘artisan+print = printer’

anèka rágam ‘various+way = varied’

ìkut sèrtá ‘go along+part of = included’

→ Hauptakzent des 1. Worts wird Sekundärakzent

No Stress Reduction in Indonesian Reduplication

hák-hák ‘rights’

búku-búku ‘books’

minúman-minúman ‘drinks’

→ Identität wird aufrechterhalten

Analyse bei Cohn & McCarthy (1998)

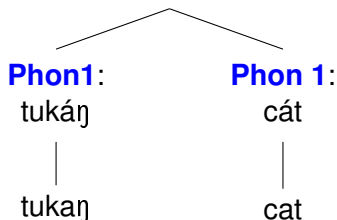
| Input: [RED-buku] | BR-METRICAL-FAITH | CULMINATIVITY |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| ☞ a. búku-búku | | * |
| a. bùku-búku | *! | |

Analyse bei Inkelas & Zoll (2005)

Komposition:

Phon 1:

tùkaŋ-cát



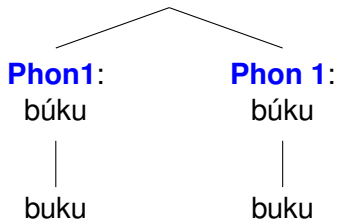
Phon 1: CULMINATIVITY

Phon 2: IO-METRICAL-FAITH

Reduplikation:

Phon 2:

búku-búku



» IO-METRICAL-FAITH

» CULMINATIVITY

g~ŋ- Allophonie in Japanisch

| Wortanfang | | Sonst | |
|------------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| geta | “Pantoffeln” | kaŋi | “Schlüssel” |
| giri | “Pflicht” | oyuŋu | “schwimmen” |
| gai-koku | “fremdes Land” | koku-ŋai | “im Ausland” |

Regel: g → ŋ / X _____

Underapplication von g~ŋ-Allophonie in Reduplikation

gara-**g**ara “Geklapper” *gara-**ŋ**ara

geji-**g**oji “Hundertfüssler” *geji-**ŋ**oji

gera-**g**era “Lachen” *gera-**ŋ**era

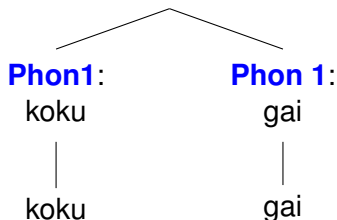
Analyse bei McCarthy & Prince

| Input: gara-gara | IDENT-BR | *[ŋ] | *g | IDENT-IO |
|------------------|----------|------|----|----------|
| ☞ a. gara-gara | | | ** | |
| b. ŋara-ŋara | | *! | | * |
| b. gara-ŋara | *! | | * | * |

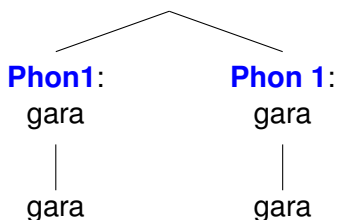
Analyse á la Inkelas & Zoll (2005)

Komposition:**Phon 1:**

koku-ŋai

**Reduplikation:****Phon 2:**

gara-gara



Phon 1: * $[\eta]$ \gg * g \gg IDENT-IO
Phon 2: IDENT-IO \gg * $[\eta]$ \gg * g

w ~ ŋ^w in Southern Paiute

| #w | V ŋ ^w V |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| wa'ani 'to shout' | ti-ŋ ^w a'ani |
| waixa 'to have a council' | nia-ŋ ^w aixapi |

Regel: w → ŋ^w V ____ V

OT-Analyse: *[ŋ^w] ≫ *VwV

Backcopying Underapplication in Southern Paiute

wiyi- 'vulva'

wi-**w**iyiA- 'vulvas (obj.)'

wayi- 'several enter'

wa-**w**a'xipiγ 'all entered'

***w**i-**η**^{**w**}iγiA-

***w**a-**η**^{**w**}a'xipiγ

Southern Paiute bei McCarthy & Prince

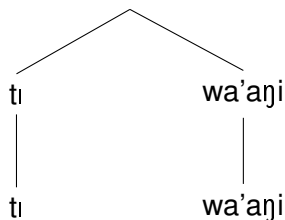
| Input: RED+w y A- | IDENT-BR | *[ŋ] ^W | *VwV | IDENT-IO |
|---|----------|-------------------|------|----------|
| ☞ a. w w y A- | | | * | |
| b. ŋ ^W ŋ ^W y A- | | *! | | |
| c. w ŋ ^W y A- | *! | | | |

Southern Paiute bei Inkelas & Zoll (2005)

Affigierung:

Phon 1:

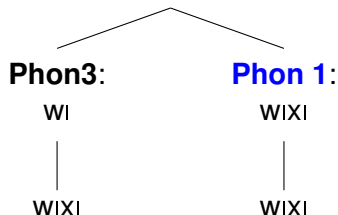
ti-ŋ^Wa'ŋji



Reduplikation:

Phon 2:

WI-WIXI



Phon 1: * [ŋ^W >> *VwV >> IDENT-IO

Phon 2: IDENT-IO >> * [ŋ^W >> *VwV

Gegenevidenz von McCarthy & Prince

wini 'to stand'

ya- η^w - η^w inixa'- 'while standing and holding'

Inkelas & Zoll : falsche morphologische Analyse:


ya η^w - η^w inixa = carry+stand

Javanesische h-Löschung

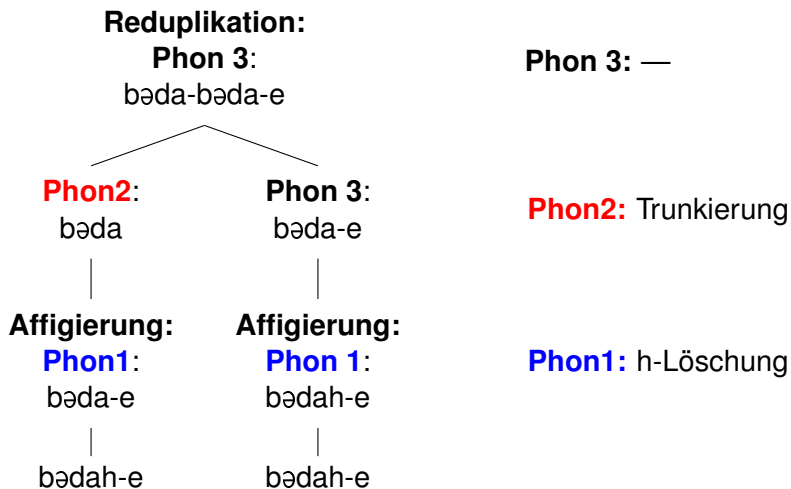
| | Stamm | X+C | X+V | Erwartet | |
|----|-------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| a. | anɛh | anɛh-ku | anɛ-e | | “seltsam” |
| b. | bədah | bədah -bədah | bəda -bəda-e | * bədah -bəda-e | “gebrochen” |
| c. | dajɔh | dajɔh -dajɔh | dajɔ -dajɔ-e | * dajɔh -dajɔ-e | “Gast” |

- h wird intervokalisch gelöscht
- überträgt sich auch auf (nicht intervokalisches) h im Reduplikanten

Javanesisch bei McCarthy & Prince

| Input: RED-dajɔh-e | DEP_{BR} | * V h V | MAX_{IO} | MAX_{BR} |
|--|------------|---------|------------|------------|
|  a. dajɔ-dajɔ-e | | | * | |
| b. dajɔh-dajɔh-e | | *! | | |
| c. dajɔh-dajɔ-e | *! | | * | |

Javanesisch bei Inkelas & Zoll (2005)



Unmögliche Overapplication (Malay)

| | Stamm | Redupliziert | |
|----|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| a. | hamǎ | hǎmǎ-hǎmǎ | 'germs' |
| b. | waŋĩ | wǎŋĩ-wǎŋĩ | 'fragrant' |
| c. | aŋĕn | ǎŋĕn-ǎŋĕn | 'unconfirmed news' |

Malay bei McCarthy & Prince

| Input: RED+waŋi | IDENT _{BR} | *NV _{ORAL} | *V _{nasal} | IDENT _{IO} |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| ☞ a. wãŋĩ -wãŋĩ | | | ***** | ** |
| b. waŋĩ -waŋĩ | | *!* | ** | |
| c. waŋĩ -wãŋĩ | *!* | | **** | ** |

Inkelas und Zoll über unmögliche Overapplication

“There are two reported examples . . . One, in Chaha, is reanalyzed as phonological agreement . . . Malay This dramatic example of overapplication has attracted much attention in the literature. To our knowledge Onn 1976 is the only source of this data, which has not been replicated in any other publication.” (p. 221,fn.18)

Frampton: Mehr Fälle von unmöglicher Overapplication