

Replicative Processes: Morphology

Master: 04-046-2011 (Morphologie: Flexion)
IGRA: 07, Topics in Morphology (seminar)

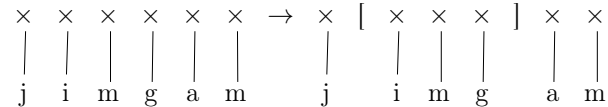
Tuesdays, 17:00–18:30, S102, NSG
SoSe 2015, Universität Leipzig

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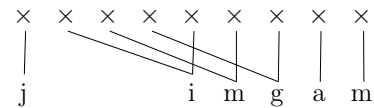
Reduplication: Frampton (2009, Kap. 1-2)

(1) *Distributed Reduplication* (example from Mangarayi)

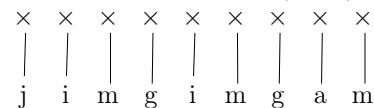
a. Juncture Insertion (morphology):



b. Transcription (phonology):



c. No Crossing Constraint (NCC) Repair (phonology):



Note:

Rules may intervene between Juncture Insertion and Transcription (adjusting the prosodic shape of the reduplicant), or between Transcription and NCC Repair (yielding BR-identity, overgeneration/undergeneration effects), or after NCC Repair (transparent application of phonological rules).

(2) *Overapplication in Malay nasal harmony:*

- hamõ → h[ã]mõ-hãmõ
- wajĩ → [wã]ŋĩ-wãŋĩ
- aŋãñ → [ã]ŋãñ-ãŋãñ
- aŋẽñ → [ã]ŋẽñ-ãŋẽñ

Recall:

(i) If nasalization precedes reduplication (copying), reduplication is wrongly expected to counter-feed nasalization: Only two of the four vowels in (2-a) should be nasalized.

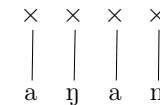
(ii) If reduplication (copying) precedes nasalization, only three of the four vowels in (2-a) should be nasalized.

(iii) The OT solution: BR identity.

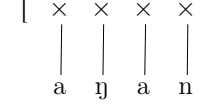
(iv) Frampton's solution: After transcription, but before NCC repair, all four vowels actually follow some nasal consonant according to association lines on the timing tier.

(3) *Malay nasal harmony:*

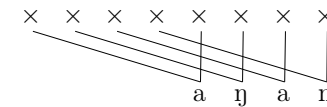
a. Underlying representation:



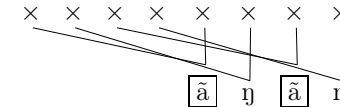
b. Juncture Insertion:



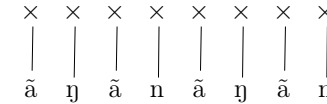
c. Transcription:



d. Nasalization:



e. Nasalization:



⇒ This approach to reduplication makes it necessary to view the NCC as a constraint on ultimate outputs; it can *not* be a derivational constraint.

⇒ Geminate inalterability!

Note:

Unlike the McCarthy&Prince approach, Frampton's analysis permits asymmetries between base and reduplicant to be possible with nasalization in Malay.

- (4) Kiparsky's Malay data:
- harum → harum-h̄arum
 - harum → *h̄arum-h̄arum
 - harum → *harum-harum

Analysis: *r* is assumed to act as an intervener in (4-b) and block nasalization by locality. (How exactly does this follow?)

Question: Why then no massive underapplication, as in (4-c)?

Answer: "Presumably, the observed nasalization in (4-a) occurs after NCC repair."

(5) *Korean Consecutive Reduplication*

- hi.lak → hi-hi-naŋ-nak
- yu.lak → yu-yunaŋ-nak
- u.lyaŋ → u-u-nyaŋ-nyaŋ
- lwe.lak → nwe-rwe-naŋ-nak

(6) Phonological rules:

- Onset *l* → *n* following a noncoronal consonant coda.
- Word initially, *l* deletes before a high vowel, else *l* → *n*.
- Onset *l* → *r* following an open syllable.
- k* → *ŋ* before a nasal (regressive nasal assimilation)

Question: Why is the output form *hi-hi-naŋ-nak* and not **hi-hi-raŋ-nak*?

Required rule order:

(i) Transcription: Now a timing slot of *l* follows a timing slot of *k*. Assuming no geminate inalterability, this feeds (6-a).

(ii) (6-a) applies: *l* → *n*.

(iii) NCC Repair: *nak-nak*. This feeds subsequent ("after NCC repair") (6-d) (regressive nasal assimilation).

(iv) (6-d) applies: *naŋnak*.

(7) *Retraction Condition* (RC; Frampton's version of the NCC):

The set of timing slots that are associated with a segment is connected.

(8) *Segment*:

A segment is an element on a phonemic tier.

(9) *Connection*:

A set S of timing slots is called *connected* if there is no $\times \notin S$ such that $\times_1 < \times < \times_2$, with \times_1 and \times_2 in S.