Reduplication in Tawala isn't Base-Dependent (but...)

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1. Morphological Doubling Theory and Base-Dependence

Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT; Inkelas & Zoll 2005 [IZ]) was proposed as a **more restrictive** alternative to Base-Reduplicant Correspondence Theory (BRCT; McCarthy & Prince 1995).

Base-Dependence in MDT

- One of the ways in which it was claimed to be more restrictive was that it (correctly, in their view) predicted the **absence** of "**base-dependence**" in reduplication:

(1) **BASE-DEPENDENCE** (IZ:92):
"The output form of one copy depends on the output form of the other."

- A **reduplicant-shape alternation** would be **base-dependent** if the shape of the reduplicant crucially depends on information present only in the *surface* reduplicant+base string.

- Haugen & Hicks Kennard (2011) [HHK] argue that Tawala (Austronesian; Ezard 1997) exhibits exactly this sort of alternation (Ezard 1980, Hicks Kennard 2004 [HK], Zukoff 2021).

⋆ **My claim:** *Contra* HHK, there ***is*** a convergent MDT analysis of Tawala reduplication.
  - However, it requires multiple powerful technologies — unmotivated morpho-prosodic structure, a sort of look-ahead, and *ad hoc* complexity and opacity, which are all allowed by / employed in IZ.

⋆ **Take-away:** Whether or not MDT can analyze Tawala, MDT is **less restrictive** than IZ claimed.

2. Reduplication in Tawala

Tawala has four distinct, predictable reduplicant shapes:

- $C_1V_1.V_2$-initial bases copy C_1V_2- (**Type A**)
- CVCV-initial bases copy CVCV- (**Type B**)
- VC-initial bases copy VC- (**Type C**)
- Bases that begin in a repeated CV sequence locally double the first root vowel (**Type D**)

(2)

	Base	Reduplicated
Type A:	*bé.i.ha*	→ *bì.bé.i.ha*
Type B:	*hu.né.ya*	→ *hù.ne.hu.né.ya*
Type C:	*a.tú.na*	→ *à.ta.tú.na*
Type D:	*gu.gú.ya*	→ *gù.u.gú.ya*

3. Why Tawala looks base-dependent

- Following HK, HHK (also Zukoff 2021) analyze Type D as ***infixation*** of a -V- reduplicant after the base-initial consonant: /RED, guguya/ → [g-ù-.u.gú.ya]
- **Motivation:** avoid repeated identical syllables, instantiated by the constraint *REPEAT (see HK).
  - Properly-anchored prefixation increases number of repetitions: *[gu-gu.gu.ya] or *[gu.gu-gu.gu.ya]
  - On the other hand, infixation can repair the underlying repetition inside the base.

⋆ **This is base-dependence:** the size/shape of the reduplicant can only be determined by knowing the way that the reduplicant will (subsequently) interact with the base.

4. Structure of MDT analysis (see IZ)

- A single root/stem is fed in as the input to two parallel, independent daughter nodes:
  - The "reduplicant" cophonology **[D1]** and the "base" cophonology **[D2]**
- Their outputs are combined by the reduplicated word cophonology **[M]** (the "mother node").

⋆ **First complication of MDT analysis:** we need a (semantically vacuous) node [**D1′**] between D1 and M, in order to correctly delete V_1 in the reduplicant in Type A (*[bè.{bé.i.ha}], *[bè.i.{bé.i.ha}]).

5. Analysis Overview

- The MDT derivations are given in (3). [See companion handout for the constraint-based analysis.]

Main components of analysis

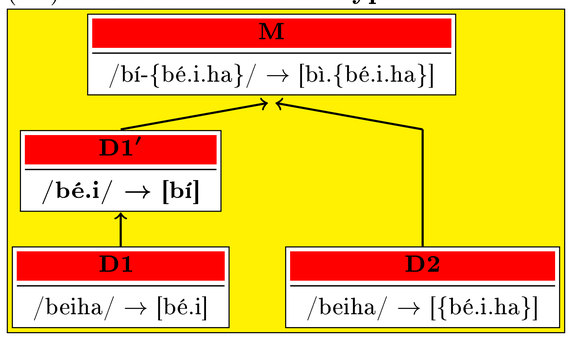
D1: Truncation to 2σ by default (Type A,B,C), **but to 1σ for Type D driven by *REPEAT.**

D2: All segments are parsed into an output "Prosodic Root" (IZ:140; Downing 1998a,b), notated {...}. **Initial C deleted just in case it can repair a *REPEAT violation (Type D).**

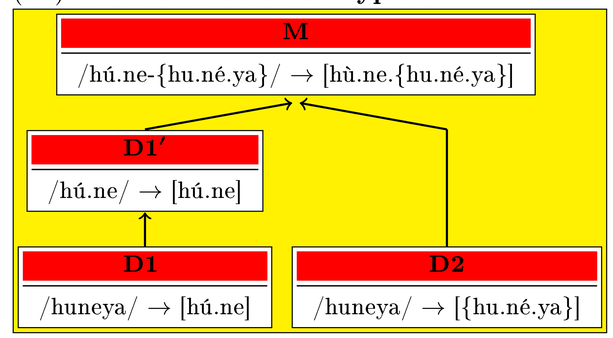
M: Hiatus resolved by V-deletion (Type C); **stressed V's and PRoot V's protected (Type D).**

⋆ **How to avoid base-dependence for Type D:** *REPEAT-driven deletions in both D1 and D2.

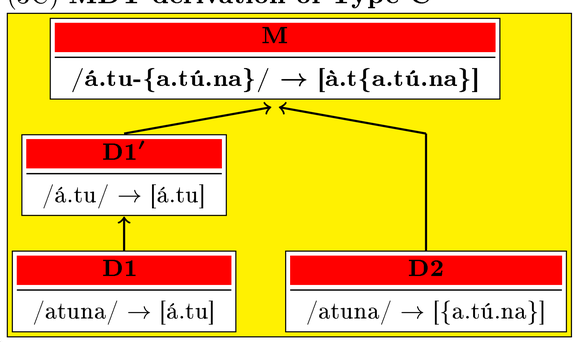
(3A) **MDT derivation of Type A**



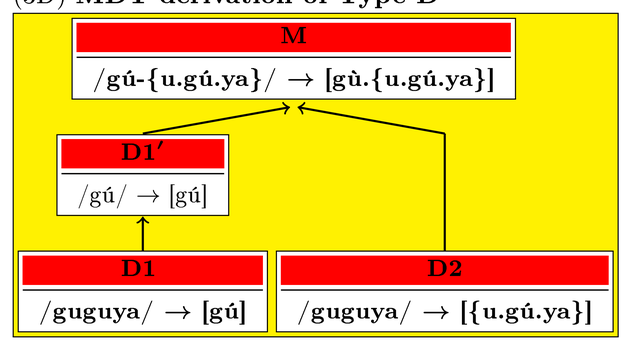
(3B) **MDT derivation of Type B**



(3C) **MDT derivation of Type C**



(3D) **MDT derivation of Type D**



6. Conclusion & Discussion

- The MDT analysis proposed here (building on HHK) succeeds by adding the following components:
  1. Morpho-prosodic structure whose sole purpose is to create a faithfulness asymmetry
  2. Look-ahead *REPEAT-driven deletion in the daughters (yet no *REPEAT effect in M)
  3. A vacuous node to allow us additional opacity
- This averts HHK's claimed undergeneration problem for MDT, but lays bare the undesirable devices it has at its disposal. Thus, MDT can maintain its prediction about base-dependent reduplicant-shape alternations only to the extent to which it allows itself unrestrictive analytical tools.

Selected references: Ezard, Bryan. 1980. Reduplication in Tawala. *Kivung: Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea* 12(2):145–160. https://www.langlxmelanesia.com/llm-archive. • Ezard, Bryan. 1997. *A Grammar of Tawala: An Austronesian Language of the Milne Bay Area, Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. • Inkelas, Sharon & Cheryl Zoll. 2005. *Reduplication: Doubling in Morphology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. • Hicks Kennard, Catherine. 2004. Copy but Don't Repeat: The Conflict of Dissimilation and Reduplication in the Tawala Durative. *Phonology* 21(3):303–323. • Haugen, Jason D. & Cathy Hicks Kennard. 2011. Base-Dependence in Reduplication. *Morphology* 21(1):1–29. Zukoff, Sam. 2021. Contiguity in Tawala Reduplication. Paper Presented at Mfm 28, Manchester, UK. https://www.samzukoff.com/mfm2021handout.