

Reduplication without segments

Verb doubling as prosodic repair

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In phonology, **reduplication** often occurs as a **prosodic repair**

- To meet minimal word requirements, provide syllable onsets, etc. (McCarthy and Prince, 1993, Yu, 2005, Saba Kirchner, 2010, a.o.)

A **parallel** in syntax: verb doubling for the purposes of providing an otherwise unsupported clitic with a host.

- **Ingush** (Peterson, 2001) preverbal enclitic *ʔa* requires a vP-internal host. If none is available, the verb doubles.
- **Breton** (Jouitteau, 2010, 2012) finite verb follows *rannig* finiteness element in V2 position. If nothing else precedes the *rannig*, verb doubles (or DO-support)—but element before the *rannig* can be in any of several positions.

(2) and (4) →

- Not affixal reduplication → no reduplicative morpheme.
- Not multiple copy realization → trigger for doubling is prosody, not independently motivated syntactic movement (Nunes, 2004; Kandybowicz, 2008; Aboh and Dyakonova, 2009)
- Not **syntactic** repair—satisfying a **linear** wellformedness requirement.

(cf. Conathan and Good 2000)

Proposal: Prosodic verb doubling is indeed reduplication, but *prior* to vocabulary insertion

non-segmental reduplication.

- Syntax produces a **non-linear** representation: $\sqrt{roots} + [F]$
- Linearization is *prior* to Vocabulary Insertion—but at this stage **phrasal prosody** must be satisfied.
- Elements can be doubled to provide clitics with hosts
- Motivated by similar constraint interactions to prototypical reduplicative repairs.

Syntax → **Linearization** → **VI** → **Segmental Phonology**

- Multiple “levels” of phonology, but different levels operate over different units:
 - linearization over syntactic atoms + hierarchy
 - segmental phonology over segments + strings.
 (contrast Stratal OT, Kiparsky, 2000, 2007)
- Like Minimal reduplication (Saba Kirchner, 2010), but unlike “syntactic reduplication”: not the result of morphosyntactic movement.
 - Different profiles for reduplication arise from differences in the stage of the derivation at which it applies.
 - In all cases, reduplication is an optimal resolution of conflicting requirements.

Constraints:

- **PROSODIC SUPPORT:** An enclitic requires a prosodic word to its right. (Franks, 2000)
- **CLITIC-V:** Family of constraints governing position of clitic and V.
- **INTEGRITY:** No element of S_1 has multiple correspondents in S_2 . (Saba Kirchner 2010:190)

Ranking:

PROSODIC SUPPORT, CLITIC-V ≫ *DOUBLING

Linearization is constraint-based, and it causes some verb doubling as a prosodic repair, before vocabulary insertion.



Take a picture to download the poster and references.

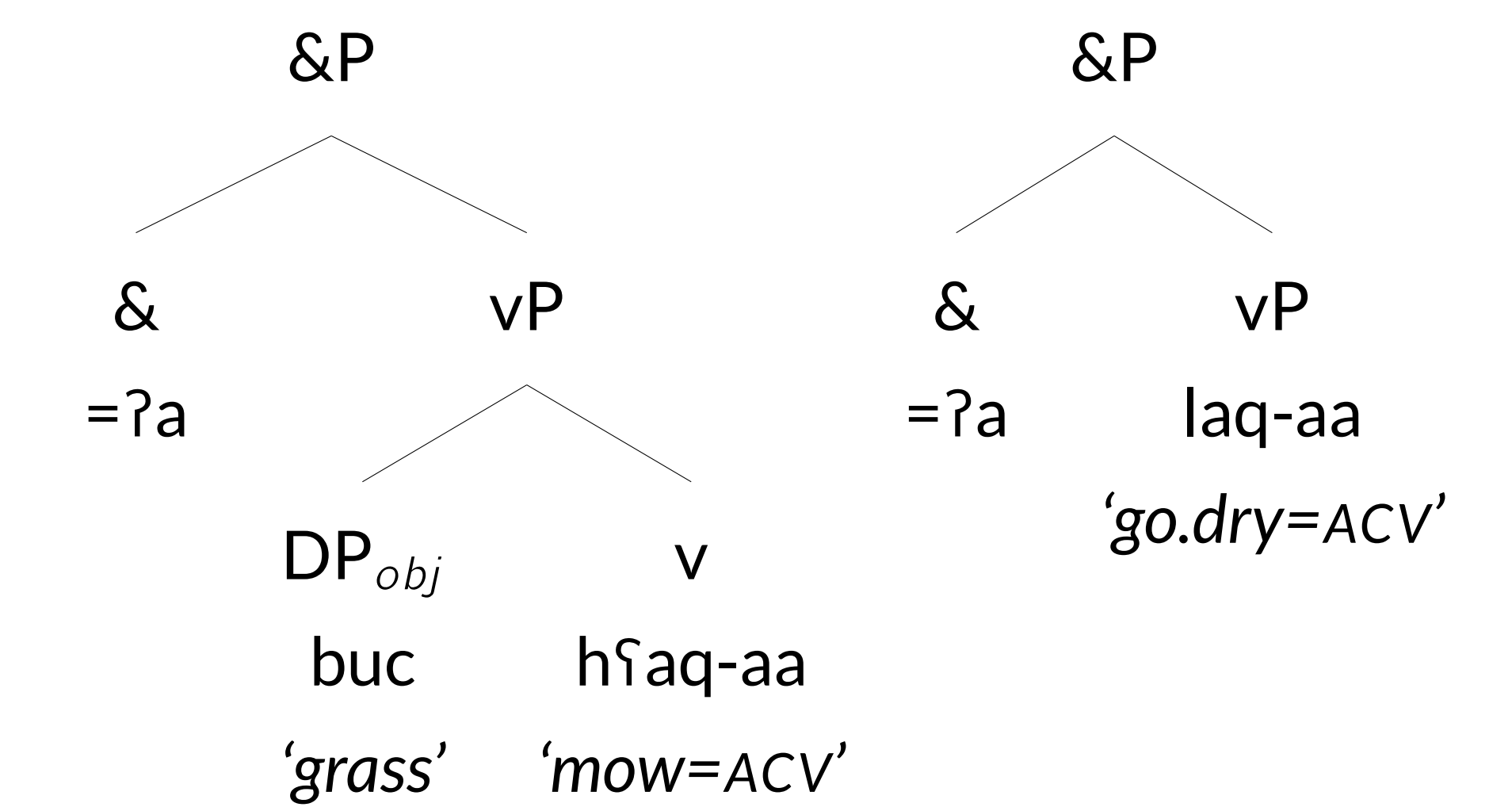
DATA

Ingush: Clitic $=ʔa$ is second-position within vP.

- (1) muusaa [buc $=ʔa$ hʃaq-aa] či=v-ie-r.
Musa [grass=& mow-ACV] in=AGR-go-PAST
“Musa cut the grass and went home.”

- Verb doubles when no other vP-internal host available.

- (2) jett [laq $=ʔa$ laq-aa] b-el-ar.
cow [go.dry=& go.dry-ACV] AGR-die-PAST
“The cow stopped giving milk and died.”

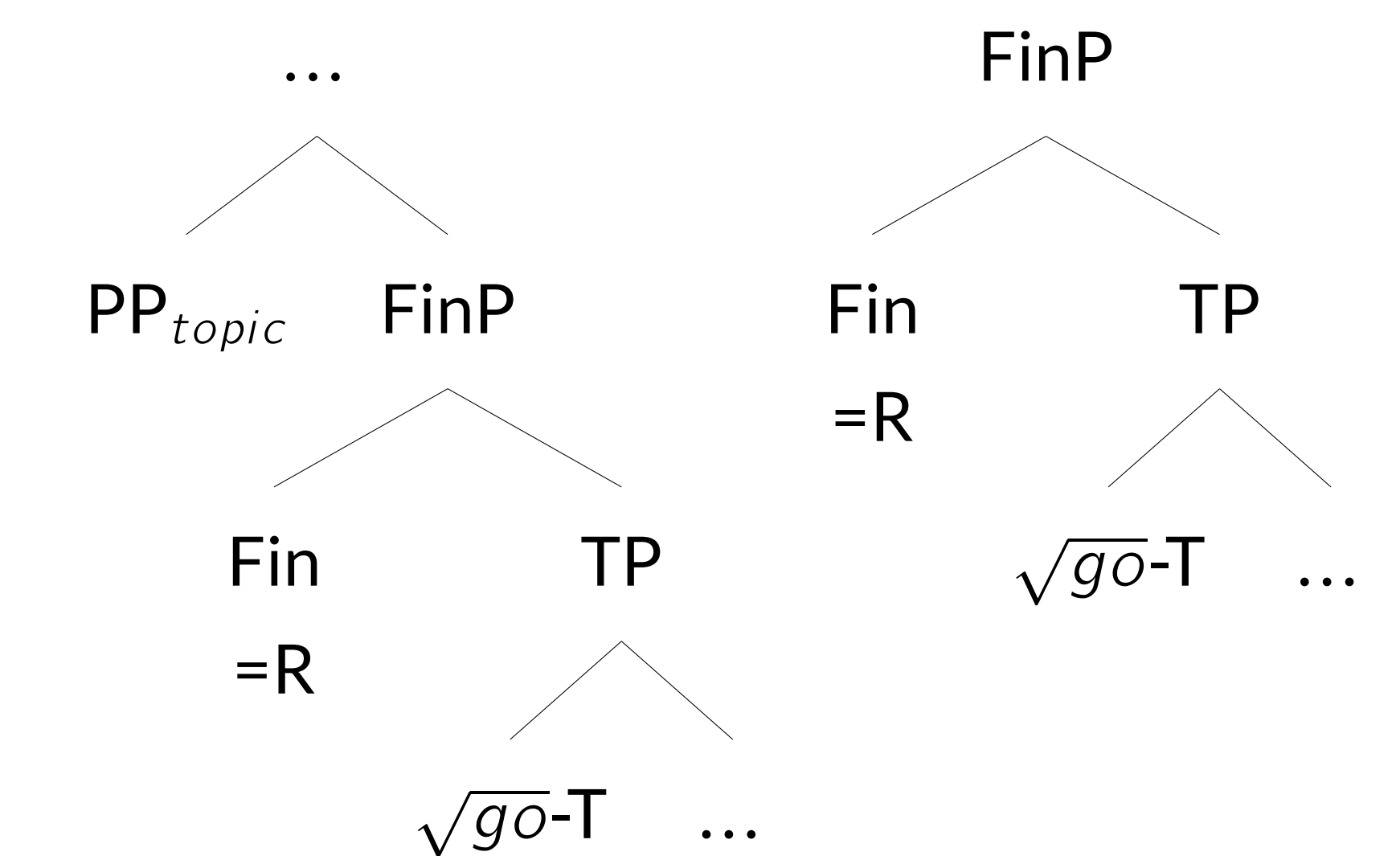


Breton: *Rannig* is second-position within CP.

- (3) [D' ar jardin] $=ez$ an.
[P DET garden] =R go.1SG.
“I am going into the garden.”

- Verb doubles when no other host available.

- (4) **Mont** $=a$ yan d' ar jardin.
go =R go.1SG P DET garden
“I am going into the garden.”



TABLEAUS

PP [$FinP =R [\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots] = (3)$]	PROS. SUPP.	CLITIC-V	INTEGRITY
a. PP=R + $\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots$			
b. PP + $\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T}=R \dots$		*!	
c. PP + $\sqrt{g\bar{o}}=R + \sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots$			*!

[$FinP =R [\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots] = (4)$]	PROS. SUPP.	CLITIC-V	INTEGRITY
a. =R + $\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots$	*!		
b. $\sqrt{g\bar{o}-T}=R \dots$		*!	
c. $\sqrt{g\bar{o}}=R + \sqrt{g\bar{o}-T} \dots$			*

