

Reduplication in Arrernte

Reduplication patterns in Arrernte are theoretically interesting because of the claim made by Breen and Pensalfini (1999) that they provide evidence that the syllable cannon in this language consists only of VC(C) syllables, thus nullifying the claim that CV syllabification is language universal. All of the repeated regions of the base in the reduplication patterns in (1-3) are VC(C) in shape when prespecified material is excluded (Breen and Pensalfini 1999).

(1) Frequentative Reduplication

eN-em	'is standing'	eN-ep- <i>eN</i> -em	'keeps standing'
unt-em	'is running'	unt-ep- <i>unt</i> -em	'keeps running'
ater-em	'is laughing'	ater-ep- <i>er</i> -em	'keeps laughing'
emp ^w ar-em	'is making'	emp ^w ar-ep- <i>ar</i> -em	'keeps making'

(2) Habitative Reduplication

alk ^w	'eat'	alk ^w -en- <i>alk^w</i> -en	'food'
at ^w er	'fight'	at ^w er-en- <i>er</i> -en	'weapon'
ater	'laugh'	ater-en- <i>er</i> -en	'laughter'
et	'poke (in the eye)'	et-en- <i>et</i> -en	'instrument for poking'

(3) Attenuative Reduplication

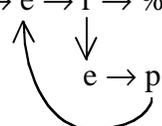
ar-em	'looking'	<i>ar</i> -elp-ar-em	'starting to look'
eN-em	'standing'	<i>eN</i> -elp-eN-em	'slouching, leaning'
emp ^w ar-em	'making'	<i>emp^w</i> -elp-emp ^w ar-em	'starting to make'
itir-em	'thinking'	<i>it</i> -elp-itir-em	'half-thinking'

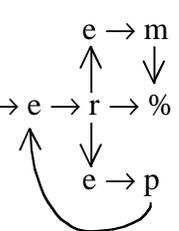
This paper will present a reanalysis of the Arrernte data based on proposals in Raimy (2000). Raimy argues that reduplication results from underlying precedence structures that contain 'loops' in them. Loops cause the repetition of phonological material that we recognize as reduplication as a result of a linearization process that ensures phonological representations are asymmetrical.

Where the loop occurs in an underlying representation and what phonological material is included in a loop determines the surface pattern of reduplication. Loops are added to phonological representations in the morphology component as a readjustment triggered by particular morpho-syntactic features. The phonological content of a loop consists of *anchor points* (defined as *begin* and *end*) that indicate where the loop is to be formed on a previously spelled-out phonological representation. Prespecified segmental material may also be part of a 'loop'. This approach to reduplication leads to the analysis of the Frequentative reduplication pattern in (1) as in (4) below. Note that the suffix /em/ is concatenated to the base after the Frequentative morpheme has been spelled-out, thus /em/ is not included in the loop.

(4)a. <i>begin</i> → e → p → <i>end</i>	<i>begin</i> :	last segment
	<i>end</i> :	last vowel

b. # → a → t → e → r → %

c. # → a → t → e → r → %


d. # → a → t → e → r → %


e. ater-ep-er-em

(4a) presents the phonological specification of the Frequentative morpheme, (4b) shows the root/base, (4c) shows the concatenation of the Frequentative morpheme with the base, (4d) the additional suffixation of /em/, and finally (4e) shows the linearized form. Both the Habitative and Attenuative reduplication patterns receive similar analyses with only modification of the phonological content of the reduplicative morpheme and the morphological scope relations between any suffix and the reduplicative morpheme.

The Raimy based analysis insightfully accounts for all reduplication patterns in Arrernte without recourse to VC(C) syllabification which refutes Breen and Pensalfini's main arguments about syllabification in Arrernte. This attribute is achieved since the settings for the *anchor points* required to account for the reduplication patterns in question are also found either in similar reduplication patterns in languages known to have onsets (e.g. -VC reduplication in Lushootseed, Urbanczyk 1996) or in patterns of infixation (e.g. Sundanese, Raimy 2000). The connection to infixation patterns is particularly important because it provides a possible explanation for the VC(C) pattern of prespecified material in the Frequentative and Attenuative patterns of reduplication. The connection between infixation and reduplication is unattainable in all other models of reduplication and Breen and Pensalfini (1999) argue that all other models of reduplication (McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1995 among others) have difficulties in accounting for Arrernte without resorting to VC(C) syllabification. Because of this latter point, Breen and Pensalfini indicate that a theory of reduplication that can account for Arrernte without requiring VC(C) syllabification should be preferred over other models because this model would retain CV syllabification as a language universal. Consequently, Arrernte provides additional evidence in favor of the Raimy (2000) model of reduplication.

References

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