Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Table of languages xiii
Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses xxi

1 Introduction 1
1.1 Two approaches to duplication 2
1.2 Morphological Doubling Theory 6
1.2.1 The morphology of reduplication 7
1.2.2 Constructions in morphology 11
1.2.3 Constructional semantics 13
1.2.4 Constructional phonology 16
1.2.5 The phonology of reduplication 18
1.3 Phonological copying 20
1.4 Distinguishing the two types of duplication 22
1.5 Wrapup and outline of book 23

2 Evidence for morphological doubling 25
2.1 Morphological targets: affix reduplication 27
2.1.1 Preverb reduplication: Hungarian 28
2.1.2 Reduplication within the derivational stem 28
2.1.3 Further implications 30
2.2 Morphotactic asymmetries: empty morphs 31
2.2.1 Empty morphs in morphology 31
2.2.2 Phonologically beneficial empty morphs 33
2.2.3 Empty morphs in reduplication 36
2.2.4 Simple melodic overwriting 41
2.2.5 Double melodic overwriting 43
2.2.6 Tier replacement 45
2.3 Synonym and antonym constructions 47
2.3.1 Root allomorphy 47
2.3.2 Synonym constructions 59
### Table of Contents

#### Chapter 2

- **2.3.3 Beyond synonyms** 61
- **2.3.4 Wrapup** 65

#### Chapter 3

- **3.1 Cophonologies** 70
  - **3.1.1 Cophonologies vs. indexed constraints** 74
  - **3.1.2 Cophonologies in reduplication** 75
- **3.2 Typical daughter modifications** 77
- **3.3 Divergent modification** 82
  - **3.3.1 Hua** 82
  - **3.3.2 Hausa tonal modification** 83
  - **3.3.3 Tarok: divergent TETU** 84
  - **3.3.4 Parallel modification** 86
  - **3.3.5 Double modification outside of reduplication** 91
- **3.4 Daughter independence vs. base dependence** 92
  - **3.4.1 Reduplicant shape** 92
- **3.5 Conclusion** 97

#### Chapter 4

- **4.1 General approach to junctural phonology** 99
- **4.2 Reduplication-specific alternations** 100
- **4.3 Reduplication-specific non-alternation** 103
  - **4.3.1 BR-Faith is insufficient** 104
  - **4.3.2 Underapplication all over** 105
  - **4.3.3 Non-identity-enhancing underapplication in reduplication** 106
  - **4.3.4 Layering and underapplication** 108
  - **4.3.5 Klamath** 113
- **4.4 Ǝ-Faith** 118
  - **4.4.1 Predictions of Ǝ-Faith** 121
  - **4.4.2 Overapplication of reduplication-specific phonology** 122
  - **4.4.3 Construction-specific insertion** 124
  - **4.4.4 Reduplication-internal variation** 125
  - **4.4.5 Parallels between reduplicative and nonreduplicative phonology** 128
- **4.4.6 Wrapup** 133
- **4.5 Conclusion** 134
5 Morphologically driven opacity in reduplication

5.1 Daughter-based opacity: overapplication and underapplication in Javanese
   5.1.1 /a/-raising: underapplication by truncation
   5.1.2 Suffix-triggered ablaut: overapplication by truncation
   5.1.3 Opacity in suffixation and reduplication: wrapup
   5.1.4 Active prefix
   5.1.5 /h/-deletion: overapplication
   5.1.6 Laxing: underapplication
   5.1.7 Summary

5.2 Mother-based opacity: infixation
   5.2.1 Chamorro
   5.2.2 Eastern Kadazan
   5.2.3 Infixation in MDT

5.3 Morphological opacity outside of reduplication
   5.3.1 Opacity by truncation
   5.3.2 Opacity by infixation

5.4 MDT vs. Coerced Identity theories
   5.4.1 Opacity does not always increase identity
   5.4.2 Distribution of opacity

5.5 Case study: Fox
   5.5.1 Stem-internal alternations: opaque overapplication by truncation
   5.5.2 Junctural alternations: normal application
   5.5.3 Summary of Fox

5.6 Conclusion: morphology underlies opacity

5.7 The question of backcopying
   5.7.1 Lack of evidence for backcopying in morphological reduplication
   5.7.2 Backcopying as phonological assimilation
   5.7.3 Implications

6 Case studies

6.1 Tagalog
   6.1.1 Alternatives to backcopying
   6.1.2 Prefixation vs. infixation

6.2 Chumash
   6.2.1 Alternatives to backcopying
   6.2.2 Chumash verb morphology
   6.2.3 Which prefixes can contribute an overcopying final C?
   6.2.4 Inner (Level 2) prefixes in the reduplication domain
   6.2.5 A split among Inner prefixes in Ineseño
7 Final issues

7.1 Criteria distinguishing phonological copying from morphological reduplication 197
7.2 The purpose and nature of phonological copying 197
7.3 The morphological purpose of reduplication 199
7.4 CV reduplication 201
7.5 The question of rhyme 203
7.6 The question of anti-identity 210
7.7 Beyond reduplication 212

Notes 213
References 225
Index of languages 245
Index of names 247
Index of subjects 251