

Contents

	<i>Acknowledgments</i>	page xi
	<i>Table of languages</i>	xiii
	<i>Abbreviations used in morpheme glosses</i>	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

viii *Contents*

2.3.3	Beyond synonyms	61
2.3.4	Wrapup	65
2.4	Comparison of MDT with OO correspondence	65
2.5	Conclusion	66
3	Morphologically conditioned phonology in reduplication: the daughters	67
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
4	Morphologically conditioned phonology in reduplication: the mother node	98
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	∃-Faith	118
4.4.1	Predictions of ∃-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	135
5.1	Daughter-based opacity: overapplication and underapplication in Javanese	136
5.1.1	/a/-raising: underapplication by truncation	137
5.1.2	Suffix-triggered ablaut: overapplication by truncation	138
5.1.3	Opacity in suffixation and reduplication: wrapup	143
5.1.4	Active prefix	144
5.1.5	/h/-deletion: overapplication	145
5.1.6	Laxing: underapplication	147
5.1.7	Summary	150
5.2	Mother-based opacity: infixation	151
5.2.1	Chamorro	151
5.2.2	Eastern Kadazan	152
5.2.3	Infixation in MDT	155
5.3	Morphological opacity outside of reduplication	156
5.3.1	Opacity by truncation	156
5.3.2	Opacity by infixation	157
5.4	MDT vs. Coerced Identity theories	158
5.4.1	Opacity does not always increase identity	161
5.4.2	Distribution of opacity	161
5.5	Case study: Fox	165
5.5.1	Stem-internal alternations: opaque overapplication by truncation	168
5.5.2	Junctural alternations: normal application	169
5.5.3	Summary of Fox	172
5.6	Conclusion: morphology underlies opacity	173
5.7	The question of backcopying	174
5.7.1	Lack of evidence for backcopying in morphological reduplication	175
5.7.2	Backcopying as phonological assimilation	177
5.7.3	Implications	180
6	Case studies	181
6.1	Tagalog	181
6.1.1	Alternatives to backcopying	182
6.1.2	Prefixation vs. infixation	183
6.2	Chumash	185
6.2.1	Alternatives to backcopying	187
6.2.2	Chumash verb morphology	189
6.2.3	Which prefixes can contribute an overcopying final C?	190
6.2.4	Inner (Level 2) prefixes in the reduplication domain	190
6.2.5	A split among Inner prefixes in Ineseño	191

x	<i>Contents</i>	
	6.2.6 Implications of the split among Inner prefixes	193
	6.2.7 Summary	195
7	Final issues	197
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
	<i>Notes</i>	213
	<i>References</i>	225
	<i>Index of languages</i>	245
	<i>Index of names</i>	247
	<i>Index of subjects</i>	251