

Rightward Reduplication in Formosan Languages Revisited

Amy P. Lee aplee@essex.ac.uk

University of Essex, United Kingdom

The current treatment of reduplication with affixation approach (e.g. Marantz 1982, McCarthy and Prince 1986 *et seq.*) and Correspondence Theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995) faces two fundamental problems: directionality of a reduplicative pattern and location of the base and the reduplicant. Correspondence Theory assumes a phonological identity between the base and the reduplicant; however, there occurs in some data the difficulty to determine which part is the base and which part is the reduplicant. In affixation approach, directionality of the reduplicative pattern as leftward or rightward is based on the decision of which part being the base, thus there can be two possibilities for the directionality if the two elements are almost phonologically identical. This paradox is highlighted when coming to the analysis of the so-called ‘rightward reduplication’ in some Formosan languages.

Rightward reduplication, first adopted by Chang’s (1998) analysis on Thao, has been followed and claimed to be found in other Formosan languages, such as Siraya (Adelaar 2000), Paiwan (Tseng 2003), Pazeh (Lu 2003), and Yeh (2004). In an example like *mia-qarma-rma-n* < *qarman* ‘be bad (Thao)’ the reduplicant is taken as the underlined part, henceforth rightward reduplication. Li and Tsuchida (2001) question the necessities of classifying this kind of pattern, considering rightward reduplication as a subtype of full reduplication based on their semantic and functional similarities. The main weakness of ‘rightward reduplication’ is that there is always a word-final coda dangling behind the reduplicant, and the whole analysis relies on the assumption of BASE-RED alignment. This paper thus attempts to resolve the question of whether there should be ‘rightward reduplication’ in Formosan languages. By adopting the approach to analyze this reduplication within the model of Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas and Zoll 2000), this paper shows that the paradox of directionality and base-reduplicant locality can be eliminated.

In this model the base and the reduplicant are considered two copies which originate from two morphosyntactically identical inputs. Under this assumption there is no rightward reduplication, nor the base or the reduplicant, but two inputs which each undergoes a specific cophonology to yield the desirable combination. In Thao for example, the output of the first copy always drops the stem-final coda if there is one, and this loss of coda is compensated by reduplicating the first coda of the second input and its following segments. These two cophonologies comply with the motivation of resyllabifying the final output. This generalization also extends to analyzing similar pattern in other Formosan languages. In conclusion, this paper thus calls for a consistent treatment of the reduplicative pattern as a subtype of full reduplication and suggests that there is no need of terming ‘rightward reduplication’ in Formosan languages.

References

- Adelaar, K. A. (2000) Siraya Reduplication. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39: 33-52.
- Chang, Laura M. (1998) Thao reduplication. *Oceanic Linguistics* 37: 277-97.
- Inkelas, S. & Zoll, C. (2000) Reduplication as Morphological Doubling. Manuscript. ROA 412-0800. <http://roa.rutgers.edu/>
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei and Tsuchida, Shigeru (2001) *Pazih Dictionary*. Taipei: Academic Sinica.
- Lu, Shun-chieh (2003) *An Optimality Theory Approach to Reduplication in Formosan Languages*. M.A. Thesis. Taipei: National Cheng-chi University.
- Marantz, Alec (1982) Re Reduplication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13, 483-545.
- McCarthy, J. and Prince, A. (1986/1999) Prosodic morphology 1986. Report no. RuCCS-TR-32. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Science. [Excerpts appear in John Goldsmith, ed., *Essential Readings in Phonology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 102-36.]
- (1995) Faithfulness and reduplicative identity. In Beckman, Walsh Dickey, and Urbanczyk, pp. 249-384.
- Tseng, Meylysa (2003) *Reduplication as Affixation in Paiwan*. M.A. thesis. Chia-yi: National Chung-cheng University.
- Yeh, Shih-chi (2004) *Syllabification and Reduplication in Amis*. M.A. thesis. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University.