

Loanwords as Pseudo-compounds in Malagasy

Nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Malagasy can all undergo a reduplication process that weakens the meaning of the base word—/X + RED/ typically means ‘Xing intermittently’, ‘something resembling X’, or ‘somewhat X’. Although the reduplicant is usually anchored to the main stressed syllable, there are two types of words in the language that place the reduplicant elsewhere: finally-stressed loanwords (mainly from French), and native compounds. I will argue that this is not a coincidence—loanwords behave like compounds in reduplication because they are in fact analyzed by speakers as compounds.

Reduplication in Malagasy is tied to stress, which in native Malagasy monoroot words falls on the penultimate vowel (*modulo* final epenthetic vowels, which are not counted). Assuming that moraic trochees are constructed from the right edge of the word, reduplication copies the foot bearing main stress. Because stress is penultimate, the reduplicant is thus always bimoraic (see (1)).

This generalization is violated, however, in loanwords, which can bear main stress on the final mora (e.g., [sòkolá] from French *chocolat*). In these cases, rather than copy the main stress, the reduplicant shifts to the preceding secondary stress (e.g., [sòkosòkolá], not *[sòkolàlá]; see (2)). This is presumably due to minimal size requirements on the reduplicant—[lá], being monomoraic, is simply too small to copy.

Several Bantu languages have similar restrictions on reduplicant size (Mutaka and Hyman 1990, Kiyomi and Davis 1992, Park 1997, Downing 2000); in these languages, however, the problem of subminimal bases is solved by either epenthetic expansion of the base (e.g., Siswati), copying non-stem material (e.g., Swahili), or making multiple copies of the base (e.g., Kinande). The Malagasy case is unique in that the locus of copying is moved elsewhere in the word in order to obtain enough material to fill the bimoraic minimum.

Why did the first Malagasy speakers to encounter French words choose this repair strategy, rather than one of the other possibilities exemplified in Bantu languages? I propose that finally-stressed loanwords were treated as compounds, which in Malagasy share two properties with loanwords: they may be stressed on the final mora, and they may anchor the reduplicant to secondary stress rather than primary stress.

Each root in a Malagasy compound must receive stress; thus, if the final root consists of a single light syllable, culminativity forces stress onto the final mora (as in (3)). When compounds reduplicate, it is always the first root (i.e., the head) that is copied, irregardless of the size of other roots (see (4)). This morphological condition on reduplication has the effect of creating an accidental generalization in the native vocabulary: in all words that are stressed on the final mora, reduplication targets the secondary stress. It is plausible that this generalization influences the way Malagasy speakers reduplicate loanwords which also have a final stressed light syllable, like [sòkolá].

I argue that such loanwords are *pseudo-compounds* (Prince 1980, Hayes 1995, Riggle and Munro to appear); they are analyzed as consisting of multiple prosodic words and thus behave like compounds phonologically, even while they are semantically and morphologically simple. Thus, French /ʃokola/ is adopted as Malagasy /soko+la/ (cf. English *gobbledy-gook*, which native speakers feel has two parts because of its phonological characteristics, even though neither part has any independent meaning (Hayes 1995)). This explains the behavior of loanwords in reduplication, without requiring special faithfulness constraints that permit loanwords to violate native phonotactics.

(1) Reduplication in native words

	<i>simple</i>	<i>reduplicated</i>	
(a)	mànadála	mànad <u>àl</u> adála	‘to fool’
(b)	alík ^j a	<u>alík</u> ^j alík ^j a	‘dog’
(c)	námana	<u>nàman</u> ána(a)	‘friend’
(d)	mamáí	mam <u>à</u> ífái	‘to play’

(reduplicants are **underlined**; epenthetic vowels are parenthesized)

(2) Reduplication in finally-stressed loanwords

	<i>simple</i>	<i>reduplicated</i>		
(a)	sòkolá	<u>sòkos</u> òkolá	‘chocolate’	(from Fr. <i>chocolat</i>)
(b)	zàvuká	<u>zàvuz</u> àvuká	‘avocado’	(from Fr. <i>les avocats</i>)
(c)	làkiré	<u>làkil</u> àkiré	‘chalk’	(from Fr. <i>la craie</i>)
(d)	sàribó	<u>sàris</u> àribó	‘coal’	(from Fr. <i>charbon</i>)

(3) Compounds with stress on final mora

(a)	vàva-fú	‘solar plexus’	(b)	takèla-bí	‘sheet metal’
	mouth-heart			sheet-metal	

(4) Compound reduplication

	<i>simple</i>	<i>reduplicated</i>	
(a)	maìra-tsáina	maì <u>ra</u> ira-tsáina	‘intelligent’
	lighted-mind	(*maìra- <u>tsàina</u> sáina)	
(b)	takèla-bí	tak <u>èl</u> akèla-bí	‘sheet metal’
		(*takèla- <u>bì</u> bí)	

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