



Non-adjacent Reduplicant Infixation:

-- Suspecting or sustaining a subsequential analysis?

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Backgrounds:

- ▶ Adjacent reduplication is Strictly-local (SL) (Chandlee & Heinz 2012, Chandlee 2014).
 - ▶ non-adjacent reduplication = nonlocal reduplication (Chandlee);
 - ▶ nonlocal suffixation \approx opposite-edge reduplication (Inkelas & Zoll 2005)
 \approx wrong-side reduplication (Kusmer & Hauser 2016);
- ▶ Two major subtypes of nonadjacent reduplication frequently discussed:
 - ▶ Suffixal: $-C_1VC_2$ in Koryak (2014) and Chukchee (2003);
 - ▶ **Infixal**: in **Koasati** and **Creek** (both are Muskogean languages).
- ▶ Suffixal non-adjacent reduplication is bounded by right-edge and is shown as subsequential;
- ▶ Non-adjacent infixal reduplication is predicated to be unattested. However, it exists in both Koasati and Creek, as presented here.

-Co- reduplication in Koasati (Kimball 1988, 1991)

- Koasati verb punctual reduplication (Kimball 1988, 1991):

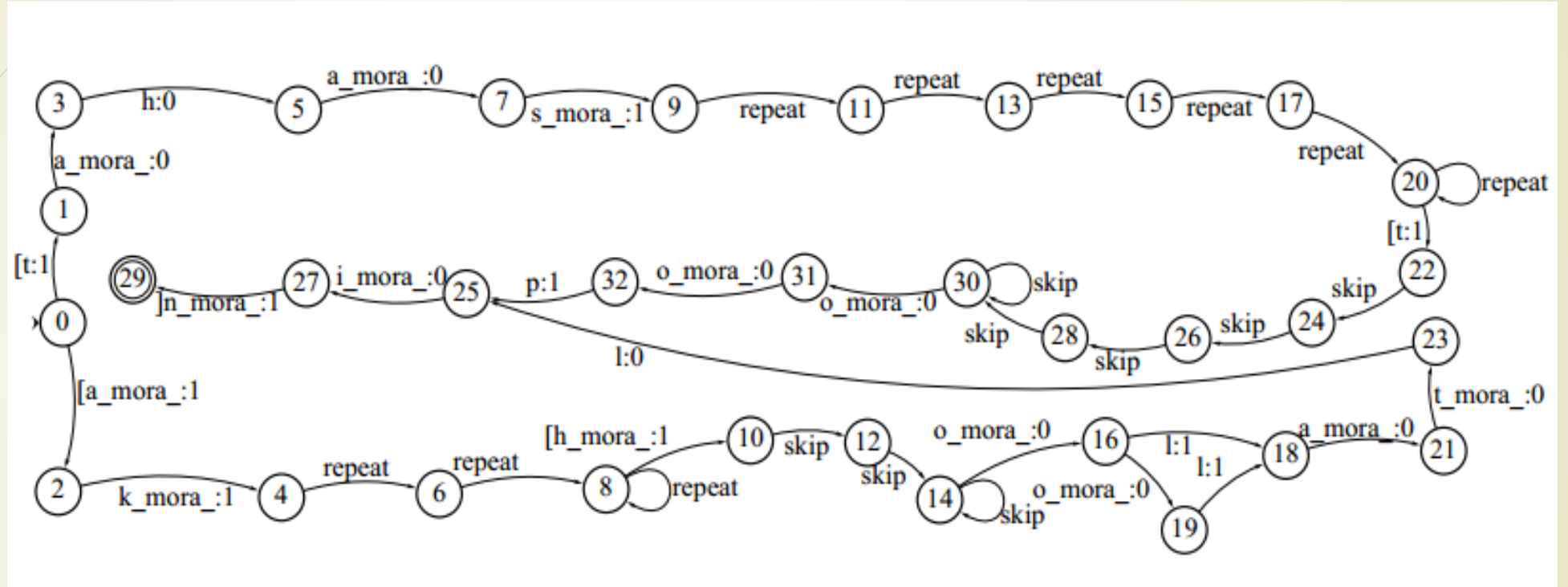
copóksin *copok**có**:sin* 'to be a hill'

cóffin *cof**có**:lin* 'to jump'

- Pattern: word-initial CV of verb is reduplicated, V is replaced by vowel o, and inserted between final and penult syllables of the root (1991: 351).
- Syllable canons: final syllable only CV; penultimate CVC or CV.
- Verbal morphology: final *-n* is the infinitival suffix with null agreement.
- This reduplication applies only to bi- and tri-syllabic roots ending CVC.CV.
- Alternative punctual reduplication pattern (*-ho* infixation after first syllable):

<i>okcáyyan</i>	<i>okhocáyyan</i>	'to be alive'	-- first syllable has no C onset
<i>stokhátkan</i>	<i>stokhohátkan</i>	'to be gray'	-- CC onset cluster

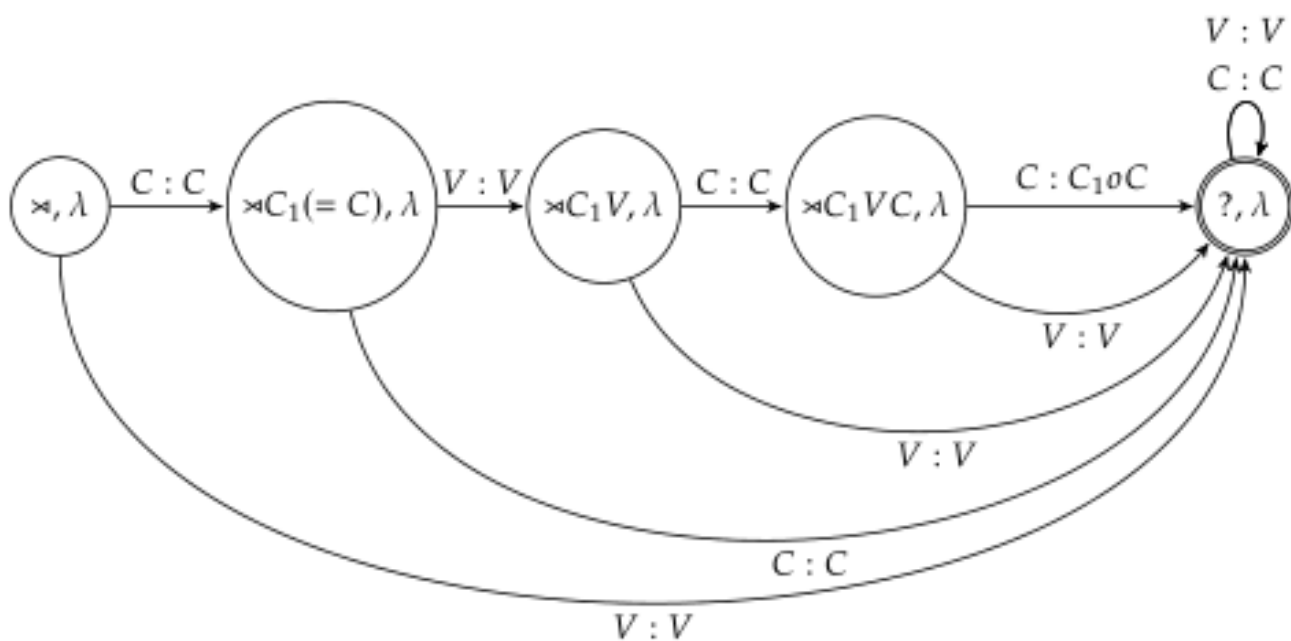
FSA with syllable structure (Walther 2000):



- Reduplications for *tahasto:pin* and infixation for *akholatlin*;
- Could be schematized using nowadays' subsequential approach.

Non-adjacent is still local!

- Because this reduplication is limited to verbal stem of CVC.CV or CV.CVC.CV, the infixing position of the reduplicant is bounded distance (2 segments for bisyllabic root and 4 for trisyllabic) away from the base.
- Thus, this non-adjacent infixation reduplication is still local!**



FSA for bi-syllabic reduplication on the left:

$C_1 V C \mathbf{C}_{\text{RED}} \circ C$

Example:

cóffin *cof***có**:lin 'to jump'

Suffixal analysis?

- Kusmer & Hauser (2016) assumes the final CV is a tense suffix (occurring before *-n*).
- However, Kimball (1991) explicitly states that tense suffixes are *-sa*, *-ti*, *-to*, *-ki*; and that the final CV in verbs is part of the root.
- Moreover, in another Muskogean language, Creek (Martin 2011), verb-final consonants (even clusters) are parts of the stem as well.
- **Thus, this plural/punctual reduplication is INFIXAL in both languages (not suffixal).**

Right-edge-bounded instead?

- Partial non-adjacent reduplication in Creek (a more complicated version?):

- Monosyllabic roots:

$C_1V_1C \mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}} C$ *hátk-i:* *hat**hak**-i:* ‘white’

$C_1V_1:C \mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}} C$ *tó:sk-i:* *to:**stok**-i:* ‘mangy’

- Bisyllabic roots:

$C_1V_1 CVC \mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}} C$ *likácw-i:* *likac**liw**-i:* ‘dirty’

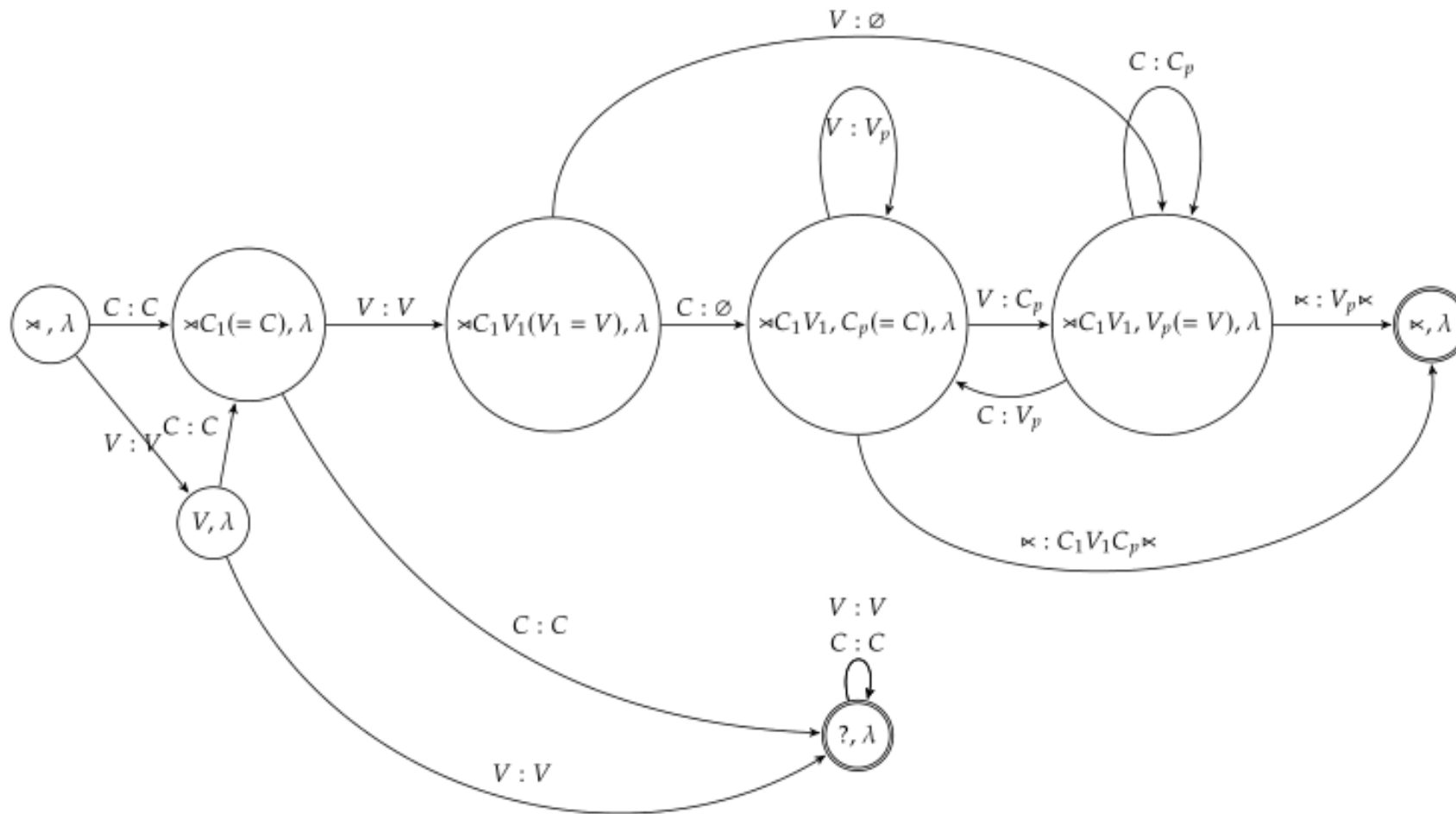
$C_1V_1 CV: \mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}} C$ *lowá:k-i:* *lowa:**lok**-i:* ‘limber, flexible’

$V C_1V_1: \mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}} C$ *acá:k-i:* *aca:**ca**k-i:* ‘precious’

- In Creek, it seems like that $\mathbf{C_{RED}V_{RED}}$ is of arbitrary distance away from C_1V_1 .
- However, reduplicant is always 1-segment to the left of the right-edge.
Would an alternative right-edge-bounded analysis still be subsequential?
Let’s try!

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Trying: a possible FSA for right-edge-bounded analysis?



Examples in Creek:

hátk-i: 'white'

→ *hathak-i:*

likácw-i: 'dirty'

→ *likacliw-i:*

acá:k-i: 'precious'

→ *aca:cak-i:*

➤ If such an analysis works, Creek is as simple/complex as Koasati, both being subsequential.

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