

1. Main Points

- I examine reduplication patterns in isiZulu (Cook 2018) and Kerewe (Odden 1996).
- In certain environments, mismatches arise between the reduplicant and its base. I argue that, for this data:
 - The reduplicant copies material that it c-commands.
 - General phonological processes apply after morphemes are assigned phonological content.
 - Merge may be triggered by phonological material.

2. Background

Zulu Phonology

- Reduplication involves copying a bisyllabic foot, to mean ‘do a bad job of...’

u-sébenz-a → *u-sébe-sébenz-a*
‘you work’

- /ae/ sequences are typically resolved by deleting the first vowel
- Palatalization processes suggest that root-initial segment resist modification

šumayela → *iya-šun̩elel-w-a*
‘preach!’ → ‘it is being preached’

But:

bala → *iya-bal-w-a*
‘write!’ → ‘it is being written’

Kerewe Phonology

- Reduplication can be full or partial, to mean “doing X here and there”
- Perfective suffix triggers spirantization

ku-ful-a → *a-fuz-ilé*
inf-clean-fv 3sg-clean-perf

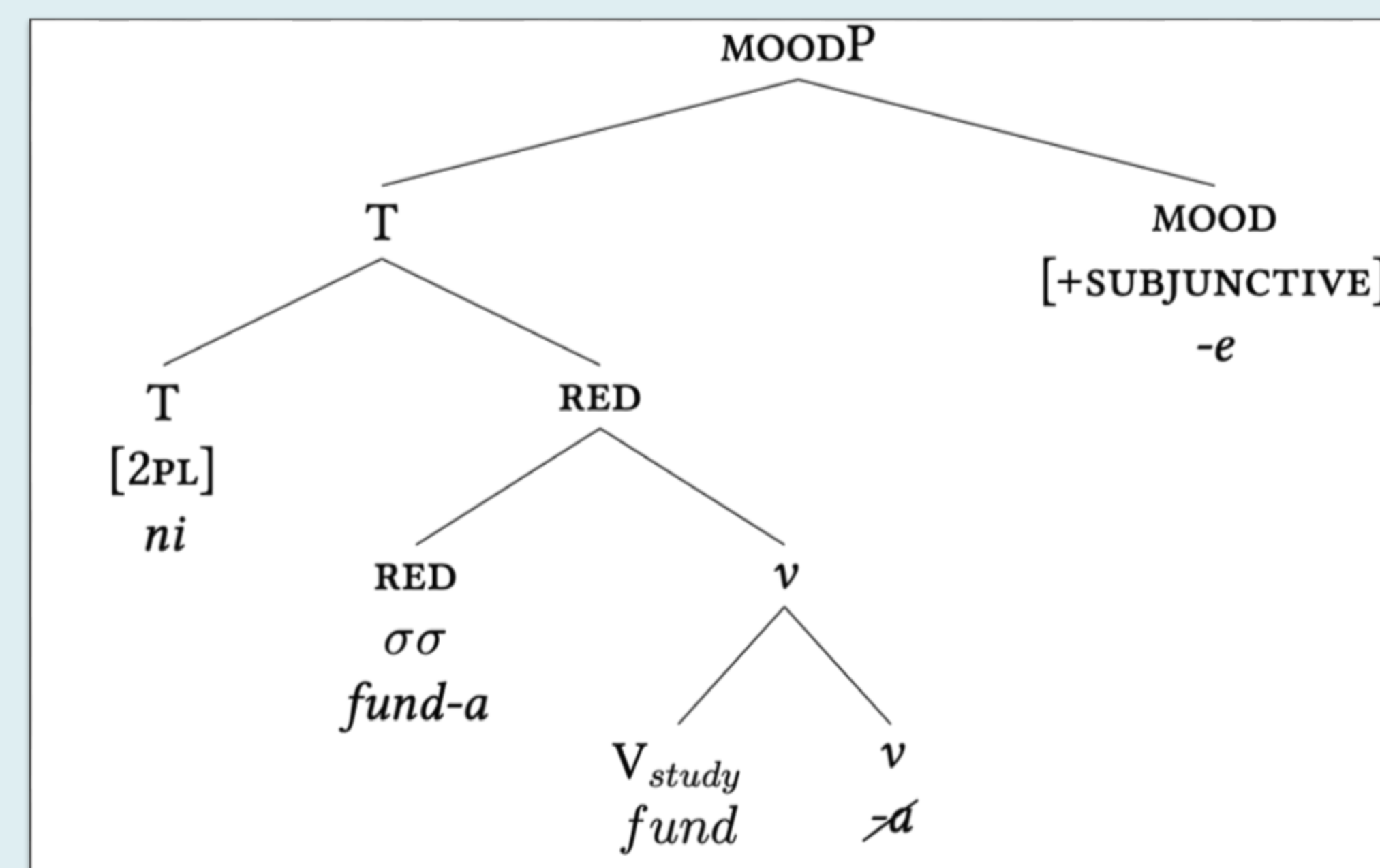
ku-lol-a → *n-doz-ilé*
inf-see-fv 1sg-see-perf

3. Zulu Analysis

Monosyllabic CVC Root

→ Reduplicant copies the final vowel associated with V, later deleted after copying has applied

u-fúnd-e 2sg-study-sbj ‘you study’
u-fúnda-fund-e 2sg-RED-study-sbj



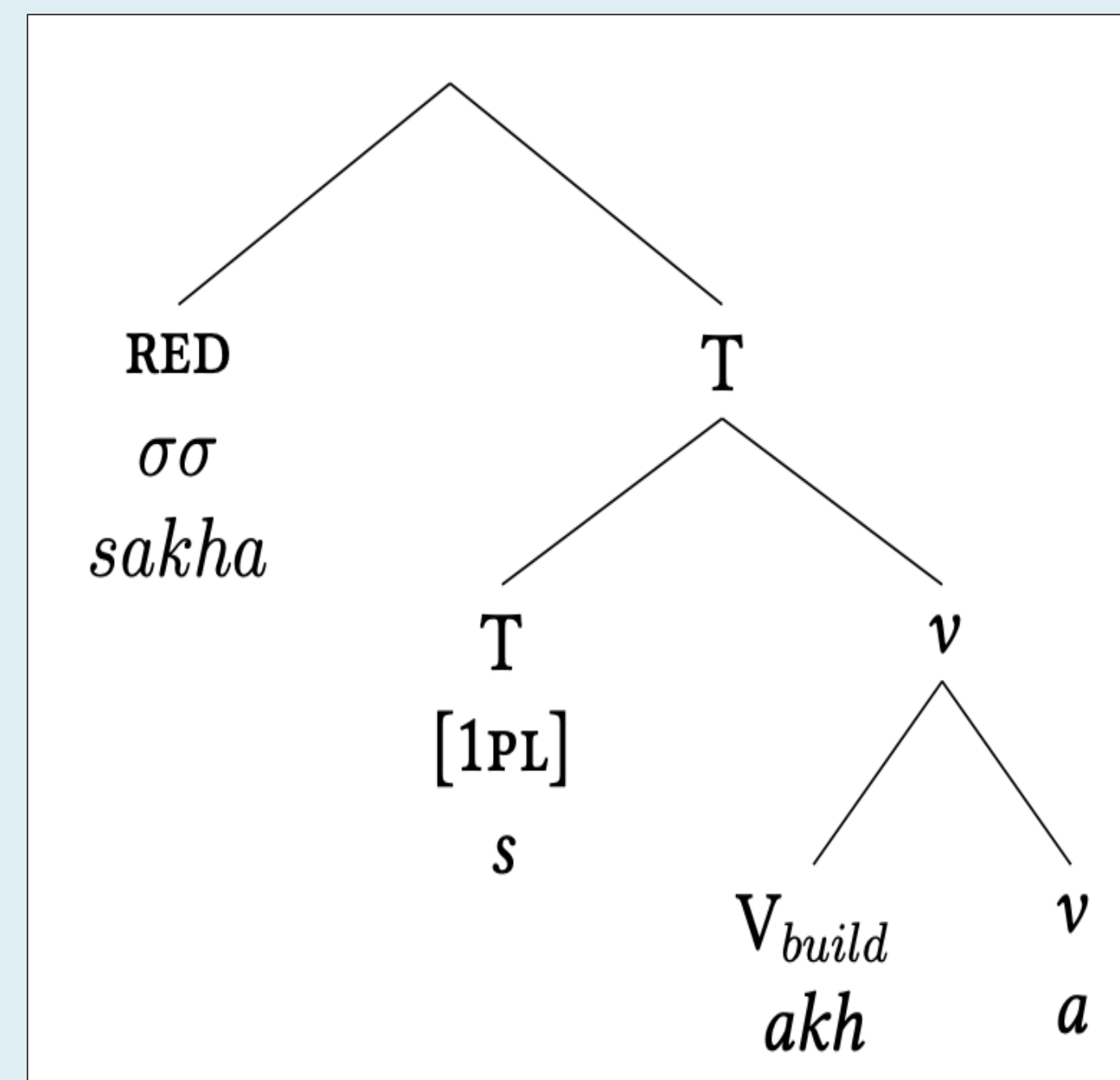
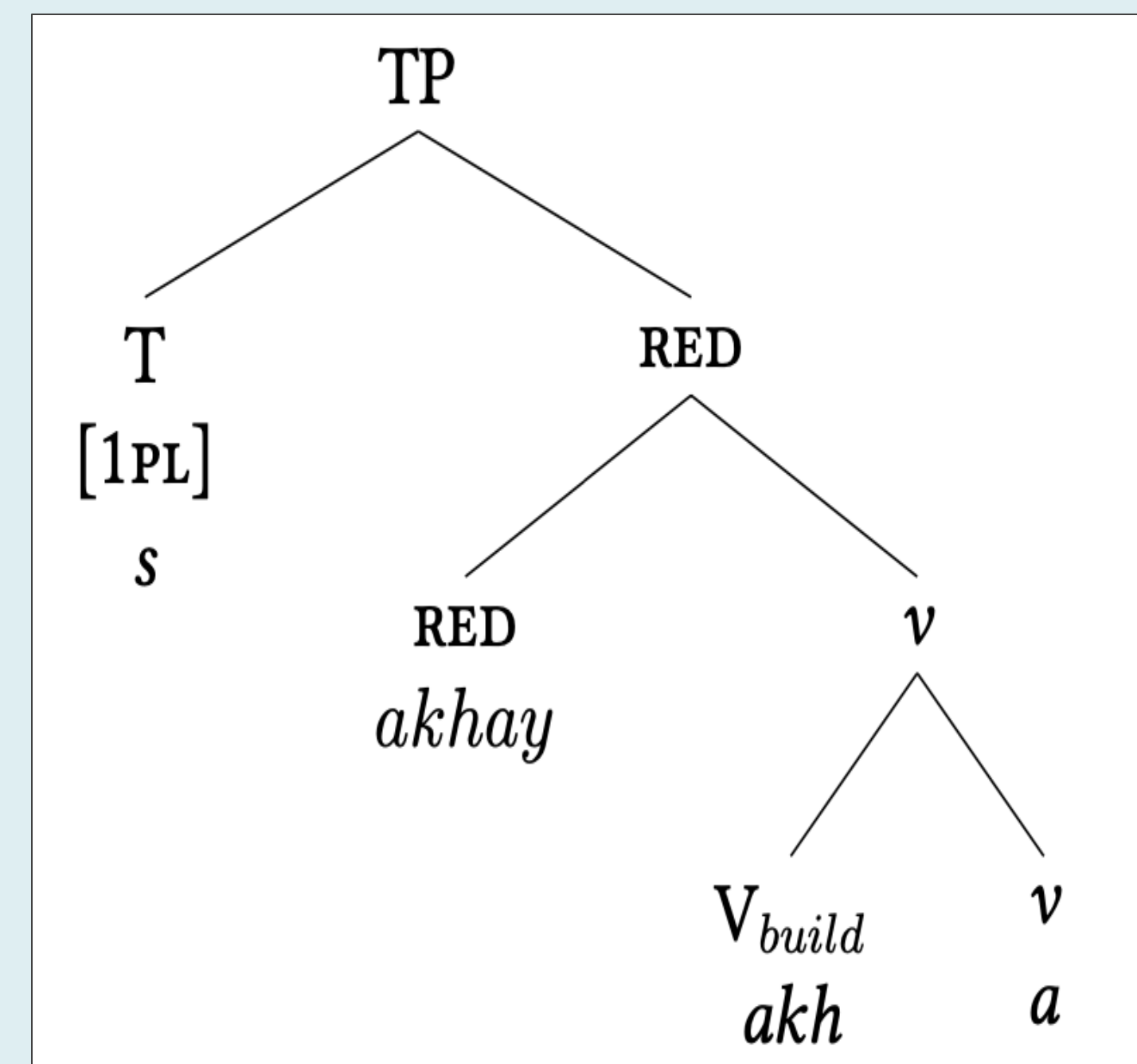
Monosyllabic VC Root

→ Copying VC stem results in a VV sequence that cannot be resolved by general phonological processes
→ “Atypical” reduplication processes must apply

s-akh-a 1pl-build-fv → **s-akha-akha*
‘we build’

s-akha-y+akh-a 1pl-RED-build-fv

sakha+s-akh-a RED-1pl-build-fv



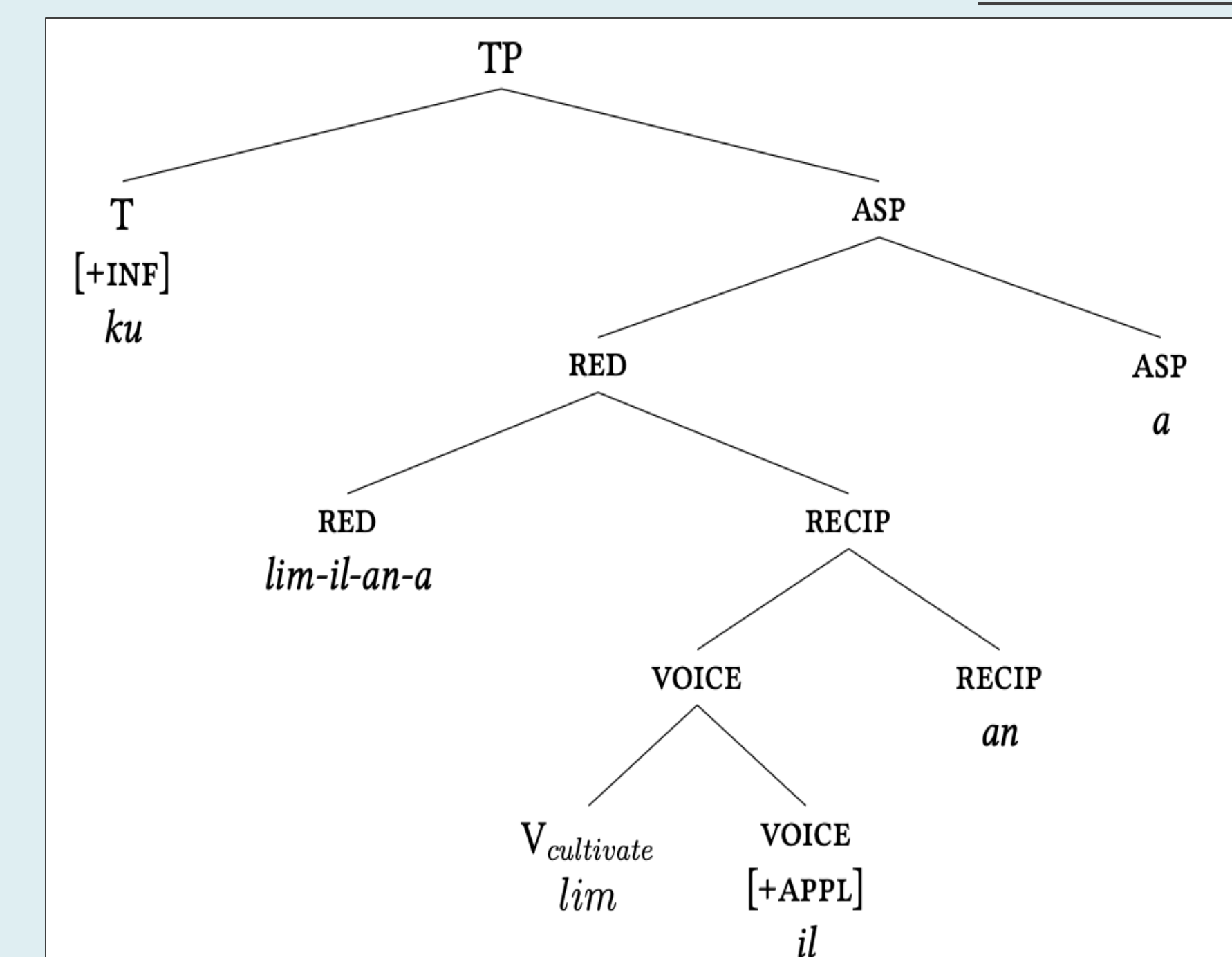
4. Kerewe Analysis

Partial Reduplication

→ Partial reduplication shows that reduplicant copies morphemes that it c-commands
→ Predicts ungrammatical forms

ku-lim-il-an-a
inf-cultivate-appl-Recip-fv
‘to cultivate for each other’

ku-lim-il-an-a-lim-il-an-a
ku-lim-il-an-a-lim-il-an-a
ku-lim-il-an-a-lim-il-an-a
**ku-lim-il-an-a-lim-il-an-a*

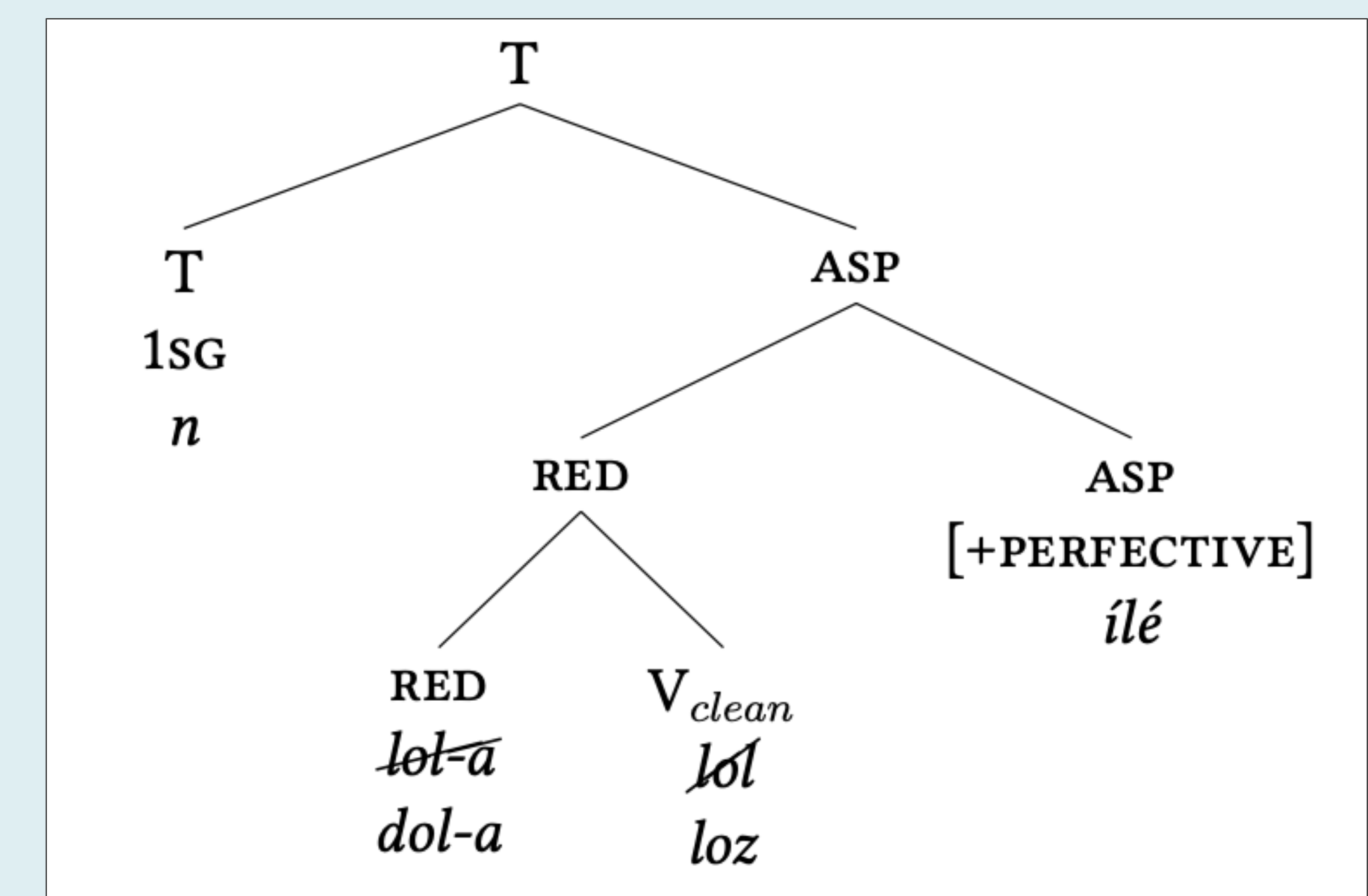


Perfective and & Spirantization of lol ‘to see’

→ Phonological processes triggered by perfective suffix apply *after* copying

n-doz-ilé
1sg-see-perf
‘I saw’

n-dol-a-loz-ilé
1sg-RED-see-perf
‘I saw here and there’



5. Discussion

Syntactic Positioning Without Readjustment

- Phonological** information may **influence structural placement** during word formation.
- It **avoids post-syntactic operations** such as Local Dislocation and Readjustment Rules, which have been criticized as overgenerating (Haugen & Siddiqi 2016).
- This account emphasizes **clear division of labor** between the syntactic and phonological components.

Ordering of Operations

- Prosodic morphology applies cyclically after each instance of Vocabulary Insertion
- This finding is **consistent with previous work on infixation and suppletive allomorphy** (Kalin, 2022).

Point of Comparison: Xhosa

- Preliminary data suggest that Xhosa reduplication copies material **after** phonological processes have applied.
- This indicates that the **ordering of operations may vary cross-linguistically** and be a point of micro-variation.

boph-a tie-FV → *bosh-w-a* ‘tie-pass-fv’ → *ku-boshwa-bosh-w-a* 15-RED-tie-pass-fv
‘to tie’ ‘it is tied here and there’

Selected References

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