

## Affix Suspension in Echo-Reduplication

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Just like coordination and other parallel structures, echo-reduplication creates a potential environment for affix suspension. If you can echo-reduplicate a unit which includes affixes, these affixes may be added both in the original and in the echo (i), or they may be suspended in one of them – presumably in the original, regularly coming first in this kind of construction (ii).

- (i) STEM-AFFIX    <sup>echo</sup>STEM-AFFIX
- (ii) STEM            <sup>echo</sup>STEM-AFFIX

For examples from real life consider Bengali (Indo-Aryan, Indo-European), where the echoing unit – a stem, word, or phrase, with this pattern thus circumscribed prosodically rather than morphologically (Fitzpatrick-Cole 1994, 1996) – has a retroflex plosive as its onset:

- (1) i.    <sup>ʔ</sup>bari-r        ʈari-r  
         house-GEN house-GEN
- ii.    bari    ʈari-r  
         house house-GEN  
         ‘of houses and such’
  
- (2) i.    mer-e-č<sup>h</sup>-i        ʈer-e-č<sup>h</sup>-i  
         beat-PERF-PRES-1PL beat-PERF-PRES-1PL
- ii.    mer-e        ʈer-e-č<sup>h</sup>-i  
         beat-PERF beat-PERF-PRES-1PL  
         ‘we have beat (someone) and such’

In the case of case-inflected nouns (1), suspension seems the preferred option, while with tense- and agreement-inflected verbs (2), what follows after the perfective suffix, itself forming part of the stem, can equally well be spelled out or suspended.

Hindi (Indo-Aryan, Indo-European; Keane 2005), on the other hand, appears to categorically resist affix suspension in echo-reduplication (with /v/ as the echoing onset), both of inflectional and of derivational affixes:

- (3) i. laṛk-e vaṛk-e  
           boy-PL boy-PL  
       ii. \*laṛk vaṛk-e  
           boy boy-PL  
           ‘boys and such’
- (4) i. laṛak-pan vaṛak-pan  
           boy-HOOD boy-HOOD  
       ii. \*laṛak vaṛak-pan  
           boy boy-HOOD  
           ‘boyhood and such’

Stems, however, permit suspension:

- (5) i. duud<sup>h</sup>-vaalaa vuud<sup>h</sup>-vaalaa  
           milk-man milk-man  
       ii. duud<sup>h</sup> vuud<sup>h</sup>-vaalaa  
           milk milk-man  
           ‘milkmen and such’

In the same linguistic area, Kannada (Dravidian; Keane 2007) licenses the suspension of inflectional affixes (6), as well as of derivational ones and of stems in compounds; the fixed segments in echo-reduplication here include both the onset consonant and the vowel, /gi(:)/:

- (6) i. baagil-annu giigil-annu  
           door-ACC door-ACC  
       ii. baagil giigil-annu  
           door door-ACC

‘doors and such’

Tamil (Dravidian; Keane 2007) is more reluctant to suspend in echo-reduplications (echo beginning in /ki/), with infinitive suffix even more averse to suspension than case suffixes:

- (7) i. cennai-kku kinnai-kku  
Chennai-DAT Chennai-DAT  
ii. ?cennai kinnai-kku  
Chennai Chennai-DAT  
‘to Chennai and the like’
- (8) i. paṭi-kka kiṭi-kka  
study-INF study-INF  
ii. \*paṭi kiṭi-kka  
study study-INF  
‘to study and such’

Questions for us:

(a) Do we also get such suspension in echo-reduplication where this pattern is not phonologically, but morphologically circumscribed? Turkish is a relevant language: it echo-reduplicates morphological units (morph. words only), not phonological stems/words/phrases. That is, do we get both, (i) and (ii), or only (ii), with no tampering of morphological words once they have been echo-reduplicated?

- (i) tabak-dan mabak-dan  
plate-ABL plate-ABL  
(ii) tabak mabak-dan  
plate plate-ABL  
‘from plates and such’

(b) How does suspension in echo-reduplication correlate with suspension in coordinative and perhaps other constructions in the languages concerned? Presumably, echo-reduplicating constructions are tighter, more compound-like, than e.g. coordinations. Does this favour or disfavour suspension?

## References

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