

Creek reduplication*

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The Muskogean language Creek has a somewhat unusual pattern of reduplication where, in the basic case, a copy of the first syllable is infixes before the final consonant of the verb root¹ (*lowatʃk-i:*, ‘soft’ / *lowatʃlok-i:* ‘soft (of two or more)’; *tʃamp-i:*, ‘sweet’ / *tʃamtʃap-i:* ‘sweet (of two or more)’), all data from Martin (in press)). Riggle 2004 gives an analysis of this basic pattern, using it to argue that non-local reduplication exists, contra assumptions/proposals in, for example, McCarthy & Prince 1996 and Nelson 2004. I follow up on this point, additionally showing that it cannot be analyzed as “accidental” non-local reduplication caused by the high ranking AnchorIO-Left (or Align-Root-Left) and ContiguityIO which would then force a left-anchored reduplicant to the right edge, which is the only way such a pattern could exist according to Nelson 1998 and Bye & de Lacy 2000. Rather, it *requires* a constraint aligning the reduplicant to the right edge of the prosodic word. I show that considering the reduplication pattern of Proto-Muskogean gives further insight into the behavior of modern Creek. There are additional complications to the reduplication pattern not considered in Riggle 2004, such as the existence of a fixed-segment plural (prevalent with single-C final verbal roots), the skipping of a vowel-initial syllable (*akhothok-i:*, ‘closed (of two or more)’), odd “geminate” behavior (*tʃitakk-i:* ‘torn up’, *tʃitaktʃik-i:* ‘torn up (of two or more)’), and potential for metathesis of the consonants surrounding the reduplicant (*tʃafikn-i:* ‘healthy’, *tʃafintʃak-i:* ‘healthy (of two or more)’). The metathesis is of particular interest because it provides a challenge to the OT formalism in that it requires two fairly distinct (i.e. not united by a common target) criteria to be met in order to occur. Reduplication in Creek both bolsters the claim that the right edge must be given certain status and provides a testing ground for the ability of OT to handle bi-conditional changes.

References

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- Martin, Jack B. in press. *A grammar of Creek (Muskogee)*. University of Nebraska Press. With the assistance of Margaret McKane Mauldin and Juanita McGirt.
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¹Many of the roots that allow reduplication are stative verbs, translating as adjectives.

Riggle, Jason. 2004. Nonlocal reduplication. In *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 34. Amherst, Mass.: GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.