1. Reduplicant Shape

- In partial reduplication, there is variation in reduplicant shape, both within languages and across languages.

- **Question**: Is this variation arbitrary, or are there systematic restrictions / correlations between reduplicant shape and other independent properties?

- **Observation**: In at least a subset of languages, independently motivated aspects of the *stress pattern* restrict this variability in principled ways.

  - Languages with the properties in (1) systematically lack monosyllabic / monomorphic reduplication in certain positions:

    1. Stress properties in restrictive languages
       - i. Prohibition on stress clash (*CLASH*)
       - ii. Cyclic stress (*Base-Derivative stress faithfulness*)
       - ii. A fixed stress relative to an edge

    - E.g., Diyari (Austin, 1981) has cyclic L→R alternating stress and a prefinal disyllabic reduplication pattern.

    - A survey revealed 10 other Australian languages with this stress pattern and prefinal partial reduplication.

    - All of those patterns are disyllabic, none are monosyllabic.

    - In other words, there are many languages like Diyari, but none like *Diyari*, *Diyari*; or *Diyari*.

2. S » R Meta-Ranking

- The unattested systems can be ruled out if we impose a meta-ranking on two kinds of constraints:

  1. **Constraint Types**
     - i. Stress Requirements (*S*): unviolated stress constraints
     - ii. Reduplicant Size (*R*): constraints enacting size preferences for the reduplicant

  2. **Stress-Reduplication Meta-ranking**
     - **StressReq** ∗ RedSize (*S** ∗ **R*)

- *S** ∗ **R** predicts that a language will only have reduplication patterns that conform to their stress pattern.

- This meta-ranking generates the Diyari pattern, as well as the distribution of reduplicant shapes in Hawaiian & Ponapean.

3. Hawaiian Reduplication

- Hawaiian (as described by Alderete & MacMillan [A&M], 2014) has the following stress properties:

  i. Fixed primary stress on the penultimate mora
  ii. No mora clashes
  iii. Base-Derivative stress faithfulness
  iv. Variable secondary stress

- Hawaiian has partial reduplication, which can appear initially, medially, and finally.

  - The distribution of shapes is restricted in final position:

    1. **Reduplication patterns in Hawaiian (A&M:1)**

        - The *StressReq* conspire to make ιµ reduplication at the right-edge impossible, just like ισ in Diyari at the left-edge.

    2. **Hawaiian suffixal reduplication is bimoraic**

        - RED = µ must be dominated by all of the *StressReq*, as demanded by *S** ∗ **R*.

        - *S** ∗ **R** predicts that this is the only possible pattern for a language with this stress system.

        - This remains to be empirically verified.

        - *S** ∗ **R** does not limit the relationship between RedSize constraints and violated stress constraints, so it allows the variability seen in non-final position in Hawaiian.

4. Ponapean Reduplication

- Ponapean (McCarty & Prince, 1986; Kennedy, 2002) has prosodically-variable, yet predictable, prefixal reduplication.

  - After accounting for significant phonotactic interference, the distribution can be explained by the stress pattern.

  - Ponapean has *strictly alternating* moraic R→L stress (i.e. unviolated *LAPSE* and *CLASH*).

  - Odd parity words stress the initial, even parity words do not.

  - Its reduplicant must bear a stress.

5. Conclusion

- *S** ∗ **R** helps explain typological gaps in reduplication pattern observed in various sorts of alternating stress systems.

  - It restricts reduplicant size at the location of a fixed stress, but permits variation / preference to surface elsewhere:

    - **Further questions:**
      - Does this relationship hold for more varied types of systems?
      - What is the nature of “RedSize” constraints? Can we eliminate / reduce them independently necessary considerations?

- **References**: