

Reduplicative Morphemes and their Non-Reduplicative Allomorphs in Stratal OT: Stem-Level and Word-Level Reduplication in Hul'q'umi'num'

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- Is Hul'q'umi'num' non-concatenative morphology consistent with predictions of the Stratal OT framework?
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- How do predictions from Stratal OT provide a starting point for the study of L2 acquisition in Hul'q'umi'num' language revitalization?

Stratal OT and Predictions

- Stratal Phonology (Bermúdez-Otero, 2012):
 - Stem-level morphology**: stored nonanalytical stems with a grammar of generalizations that holds over stems
 - Word-level morphology**: purely analytical
- Predictions for **stem-level** and **word-level** non-concatenative allomorphy:
 - More apparent “exceptions” (or exceptional allomorphy) tolerated at a **stem-level**, reflecting stored non-analytical forms.
 - More distinct (phonologically unrelated) allomorphs at a **word-level**, but these will be phonologically regular, reflecting the insertion of different allomorphs at **word-level** with a fully analytical derivation.
- Predictions borne out in Hul'q'umi'num'.

Hul'q'umi'num' (Island Halkomelem, Salish)

- Hul'q'umi'num is a critically endangered language spoken by Indigenous communities in British Columbia, Canada.
- Imperfective (data from Hukari & Peter 1995):
 - Stem-level** (Mellesmoen & Urbanczyk 2020)
 - Each allomorph involves the addition of a mora, but this mora may be filled in ways that are phonologically, morphologically, and lexically conditioned.

	Perfective	Imperfective	Allomorph
cut	líçæt	lííłæçæt	C ₁ V-
holler	té:m̥	tə́tə́:m̥	C ₁ ə-
slurp	lép̥t̥	lép̥t̥	ablaut
break	pq̣ʷát	páq̣ʷt̥	metathesis
sneeze	hésəm	héʔsəm	-ʔ- infix

- Plural (data from Hukari & Peter 1995):
 - Word-level** (Mellesmoen & Urbanczyk 2020)
 - Two allomorphs are phonologically unrelated.

	Singular	Plural	Allomorph
sing	tíləm	təl-tíləm	C ₁ əC ₂ - reduplication
look	lémət	ləm-lémət	
go	ném̥	néləm̥	-l- infix
arrive	téçəl	téləçəl	

Predictions Revisited and Allomorphy

- Range of “exceptional” allomorphy fits first prediction: many allomorphs of (**stem-level**) imperfective with a shared phonological trait because they involve the addition of a mora (Mellesmoen & Urbanczyk 2020).
- Imperfective: stored non-analytical forms combined with grammar of generalizations across non-analytical stems
- For (**word-level**) plural: no phonological similarity across two allomorphs (consistent with second prediction)
- Plural: two separate allomorphs, an allomorph is inserted and then the **word-level** phonological grammar applies
- A distinction between **stem-level** and **word-level** morphology accounts for a greater number of allomorphs.

Implications for Teaching and Learning

- Predictions about learner and heritage speaker errors and variation: without stored imperfective stems, **stem-level** grammar produces phonologically regular forms.
- ... it may be useful for L2 learners of Hul'q'umi'num' to memorize imperfective stems but learn rules to form plurals.

Conclusion

- Stratal OT: good analytical coverage of non-concatenative morphological processes in Hul'q'umi'num'.
- There is little work on acquisition of morphology in these languages, but the next step is experimental work focused on testing acquisition of **stem-level** and **word-level** allomorphy.

Contact Information and Link to References:

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