

Phonological Displacement in Mandar

Dan Brodtkin

Sharing Research Results - Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya

8/10/22

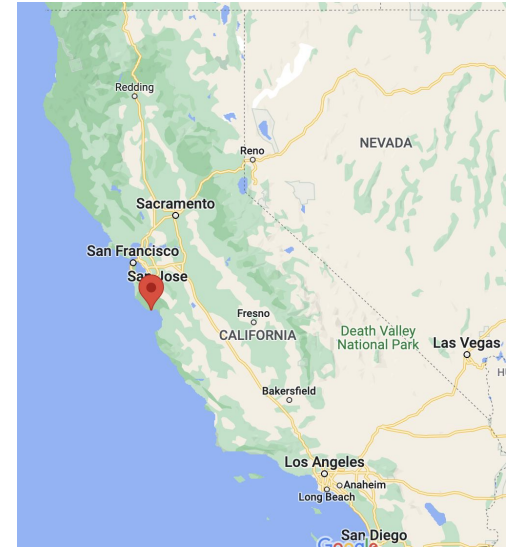
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Section 1

Introduction



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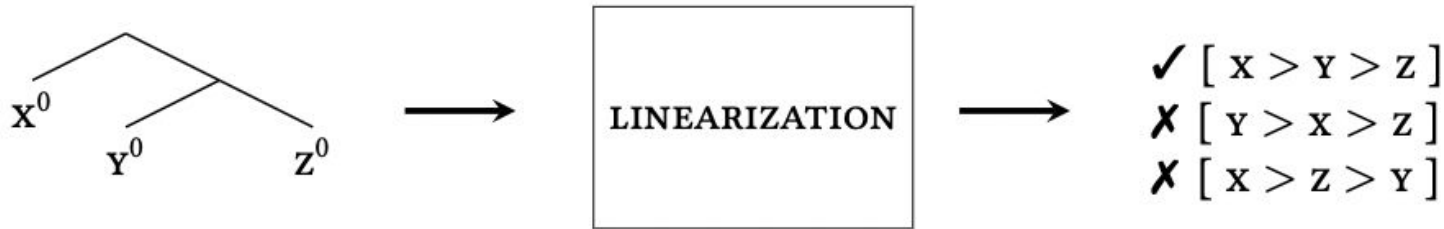
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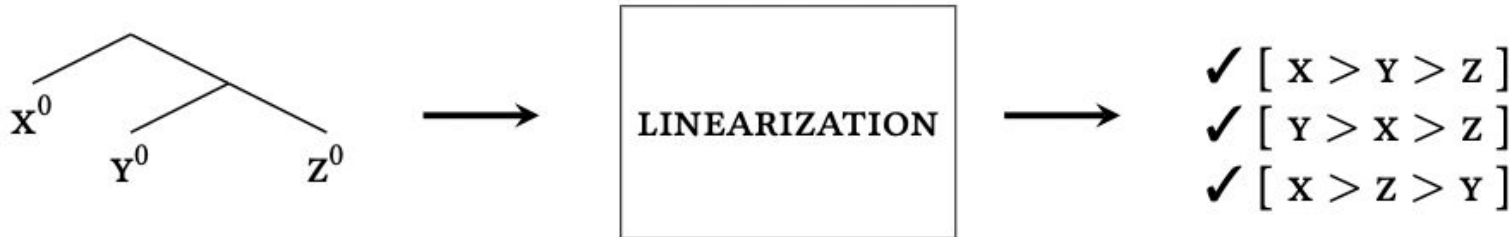
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- Halpern 1995, Embick & Noyer 2001, Kim 2010, Bennett et al. 2016, Potsdam 2021...

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3. How does it fit into the architecture of the theory of syntax?

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1. There is a class of elements that undergo **displacement in the phonology**,
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3. This movement is driven by **prosodic constraints on phonologically minimal words**.

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Data come from two sources: descriptive literature and ongoing work (2018-) with Jupri Talib,

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this ... here

b. **di'o** ... **o**
that ... there

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- (2) Apa sangan-na [_{DP} **di'e** kampung **e**]?
what name-3GEN this village here
'What's the name of this village here?'

Friberg & Jerniati 2000;

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‘This husband of hers was truly a pinchpenny.

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The Puzzle: How can we capture the dependency **and** the position of the reinforcers?

The Roadmap

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Section 3

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- (4) a. [_{VP} Buai=a' mating e]!
LV.open=1ABS for.me here

“Open up for me here!”

Pelenkahu et al. 1983.

- b. Apa=digena' [_{VP} di-uwa o]?
what=just PASS-say there

“What was just said there?”

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The Reinforcers

This construction recruits a pair of locative adverbs that typically adjoin to the VP.

The reinforcers are obligatory in the presence of these two demonstratives.

- (5) ***Di'e** buku .
This book
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The reinforcers have to “match” the demonstratives that appear.

- (7) ***Di'e** buku o.
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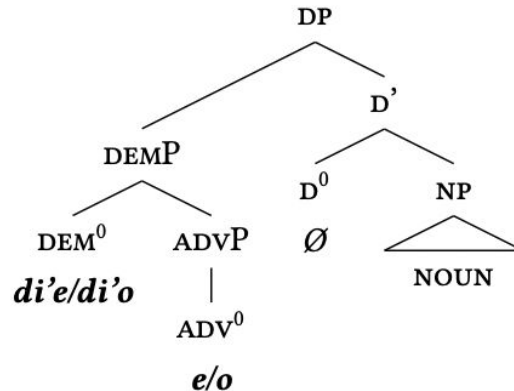
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(8) *Demonstratives select Reinforcers*



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- (9) Map-pesta=i toAmerika [_{DP} **di'o** allo] map-pake baraccung **o**.
AV-celebrate=3ABS Americans that day AV-shoot fireworks there
- “Americans celebrate on that day by shooting fireworks.”
- JT: 9.13, 19

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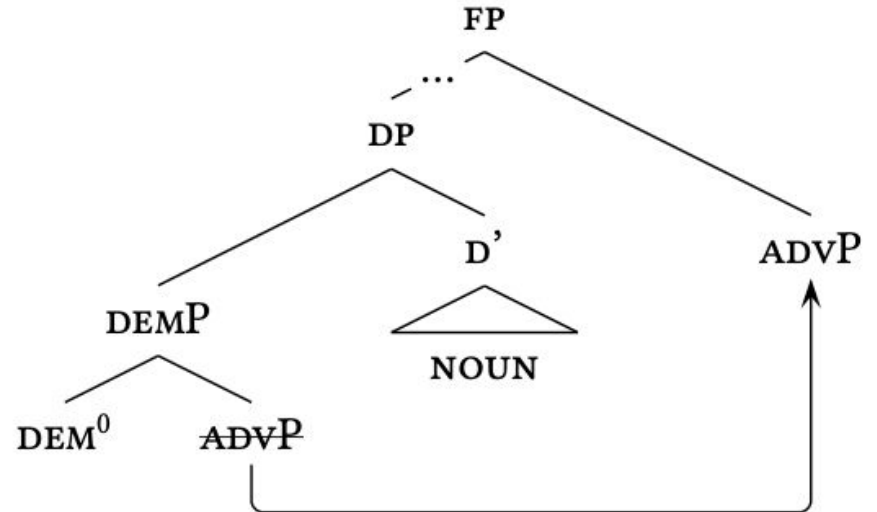
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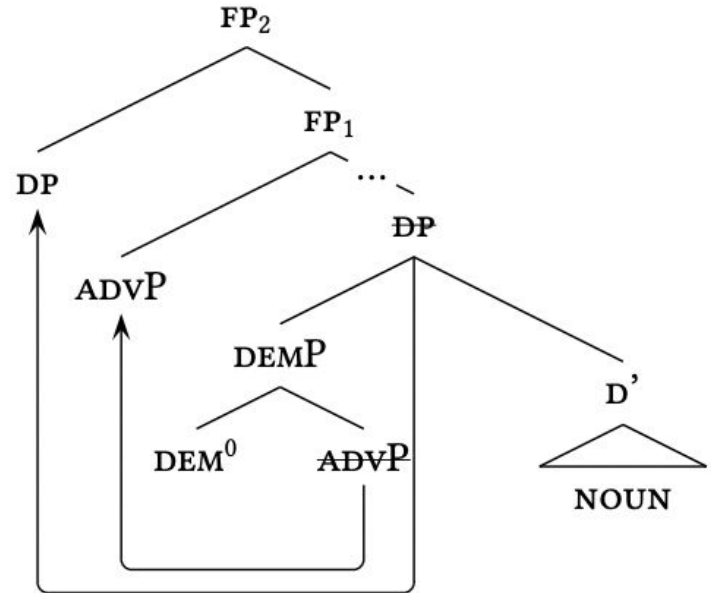
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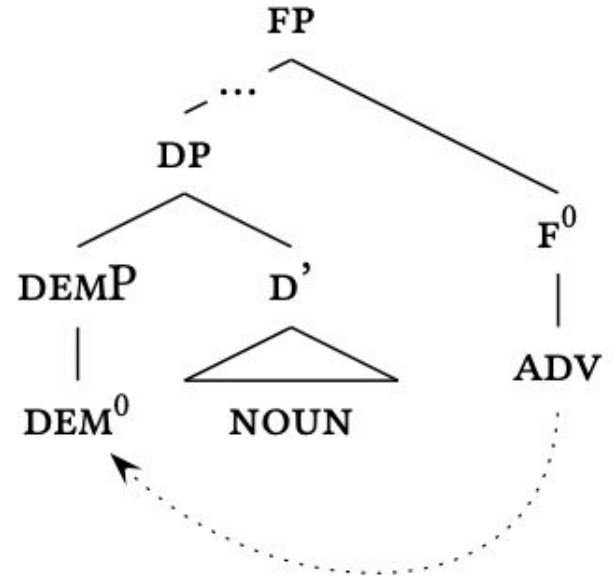
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(10) [_{CP} Mau tanda=i **di'e** paket **e**], ndappa=i u-buai.
 though arrived=3ABS this package here not.yet=3ABS PV.1ERG-open
 ‘Though this package came, I haven’t opened it yet.’ JT; 11.12; 29.

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(11) [DP $\overset{\text{.....}}{\downarrow}$ **Di'o** wattu **o**], na=mamba=i s-um-obal.
that time there FUT=AV.go=3ABS AV-sail

‘At that time, he was going to sail.’

Pelenkahu et al. 1983;

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(12) $[\text{DP}$ $\overset{\text{.....}}{\underset{\downarrow}{\text{Di'o kopi o}}}$ $]$.
that coffee there
'That coffee.'

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(13) Na-alli=i [DP **di'e** tau] [DP **di'o** buku] **o** .
PV.3ERG-buy=3ABS this person that book there
‘This person bought that book.’

JT; 3.5, 154

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- ... even when the rightmost DP is obviously lower in the syntax.

(14) Bemme=i [DP **di'o** tau] [PP non **di'e** passauang] **e** !
 fall=3ABS that person down this well here

‘That person fell down this well!’

JT; 3.5, 169

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1. Cannot take the reinforcers to sit in a consistent position (e.g., c^0),
2. Cannot take their associates to move to a consistent position (e.g., SPEC,TP),
3. And cannot treat the reinforcers as a type of (Locality-Sensitive) Agreement (e.g., in c^0).

Section 4

The Prosodic Generalization

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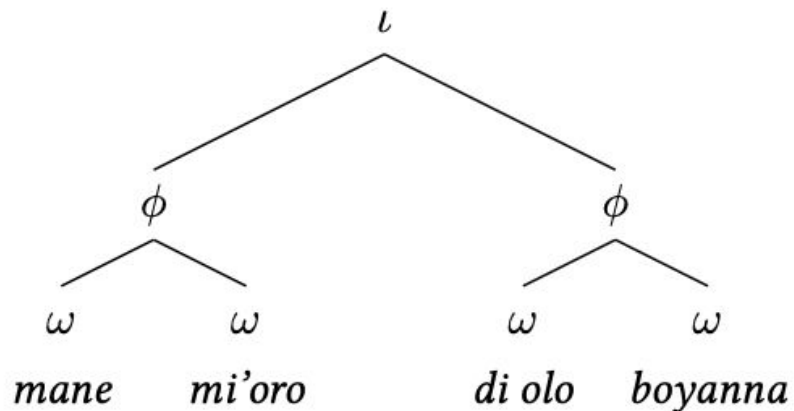
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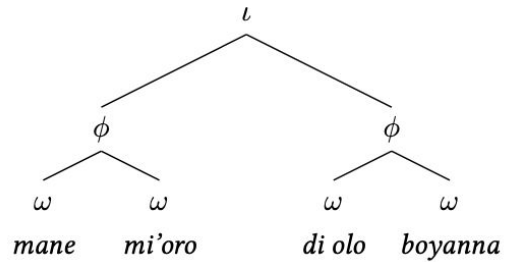
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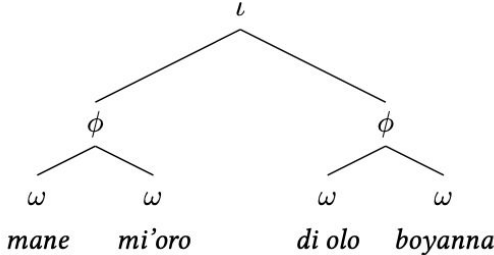
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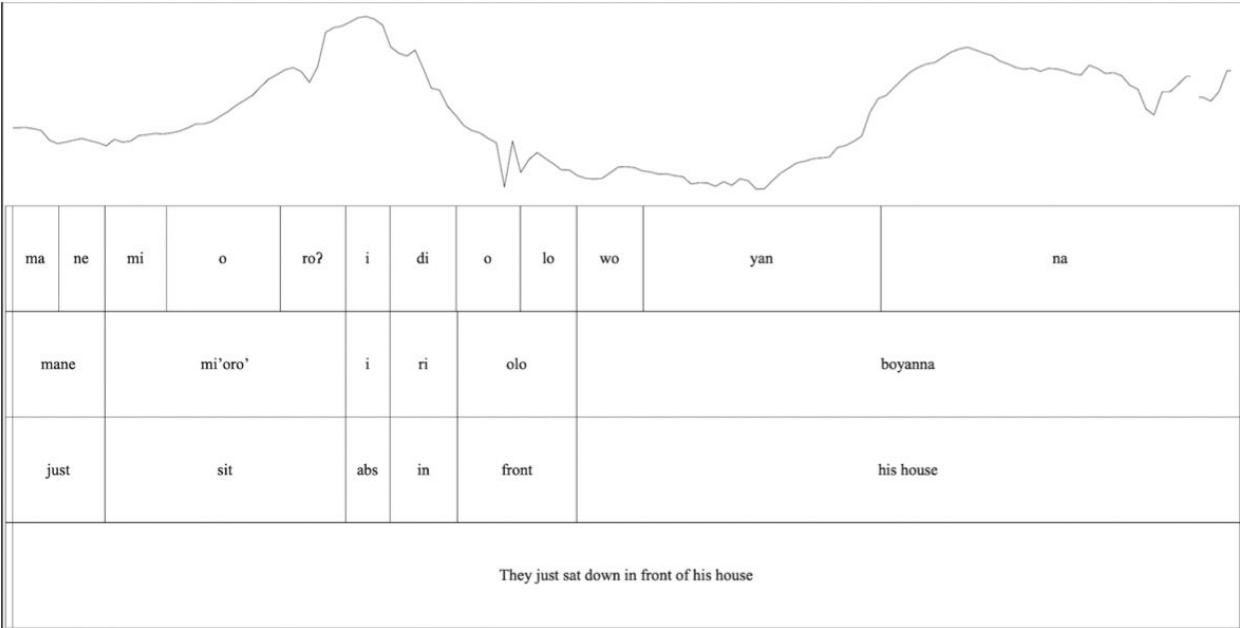
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Illustration: the reinforcers surface in positions where they receive final lengthening.

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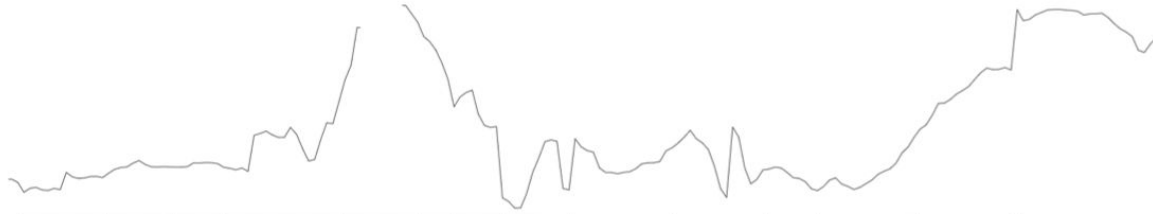
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Section 5

The Phonological Account

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Result: this is a case of post-syntactic displacement that occurs in the phonology.

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	SUBCAT	LINEARITY
$[_{CP} \dots di'e \mathbf{e} buku \dots]$		
 a. $\{ \iota \dots [_{\omega} (di'e)] [_{\omega} (buku)] \dots [_{\omega} (\mathbf{e})] \}$		*
b. $\{ \iota \dots [_{\omega} (di'e)] \mathbf{e} [_{\omega} (buku)] \dots \}$	*!	

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(25) *Short-Long Alternations*

HEAD	SHORT	LONG	GLOSS
P ⁰	lo	lao	to
	so nong	sau naung	over to down to
Σ ⁰	sung da	su'ung da'a	out of don't!
	ndang	andiang	not

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(26) $\{ \iota \text{ Melo=a' } \quad [\omega \text{ mac-co('wa) }] \}$
AV.want=1ABS AV-try
'I want to TRY.'

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(27) $\{ \iota \ [\omega \ \boxed{('Sung)!}] \}$
 out
 ‘Out!’

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(28) { ι *Basse=i di'o bayu [ω mani('ni)] o }
 wet=3ABS that shirt later there

Impossible: “That shirt will get wet LATER.”

JT: 8.24, 376

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This is displacement to resolve the prosodic needs of a reinforcer- a case of **Prosodic Greed**.

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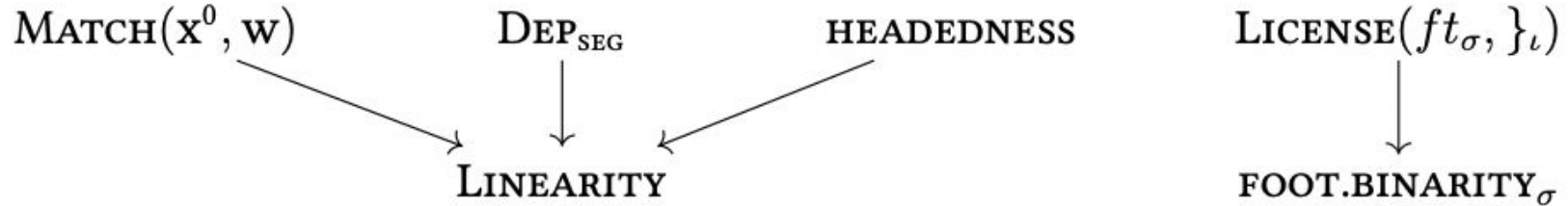
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[_{CP} ... <i>di'e e buku</i> ...]	MATCH	DEP	HEAD	LICENSE	FTBIN	LINEARITY
☞ a. { _ι ... [_ω (<i>di'e</i>)] [_ω (<i>buku</i>)] ... [_ω (<i>e</i>)] }					*	*
b. { _ι ... [_ω (<i>di'e</i>)] e [_ω (<i>buku</i>)] ... }	*!					
c. { _ι ... [_ω (<i>di'e</i>)] [_ω (e'e)] [_ω (<i>buku</i>)] ... }		*!				
d. { _ι ... [_ω (<i>di'e</i>)] [_ω e] [_ω (<i>buku</i>)] ... }			*!			
e. { _ι ... [_ω (<i>di'e</i>)] [_ω (e)] [_ω (<i>buku</i>)] ... }				*!	*	

Section 6

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- But it follows neatly on theories that allow this to occur. Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004