Phonological Displacement in Mandar

Dan Brodkin
Sharing Research Results - Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya

8/10/22
Background
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Section 1

Introduction
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```
X^0
/   \\  /
Y^0  Z^0
```

\[
\text{LINEARIZATION} \quad \rightarrow \quad \checkmark \ [\ x > y > z ]
\]
\[
\times \ [\ y > x > z ]
\]
\[
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![Diagram](image_url)
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1. There is a class of elements that undergo displacement in the phonology,
2. They move to a particular position within the prosodic structure of the clause, and
3. This movement is driven by prosodic constraints on phonologically minimal words.
Section 2

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Data come from two sources: descriptive literature and ongoing work (2018-) with Jupri Talib,
The Construction
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(1) a. di’e ... e
    this ... here

    b. di’o ... o
    that ... there
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   this ... here

The demonstrative and reinforcer typically bracket the associated DP:

(2) **Apa sangan-na [DP di’e kappung e] ?**
   what name-3GEN this village here
   ‘What’s the name of this village here?’

Friberg & Jerniati 2000:
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(1)  

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But under some circumstances, the reinforcer surfaces quite far away:

(3) [\text{DP } \text{Di’e muane-na } ] \text { ma-kikkir sanna’ e.}
    This \text{man-3GEN} \text{STAT-miserly very here}
    ‘This husband of hers was truly a pinchpenny. 

Pelenkahu et al. 1983;
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**The Puzzle**: How can we capture the dependency **and** the position of the reinforcers?
The Roadmap

1. The Basic Syntax
The Roadmap

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2. The Prosodic Generalization
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2. The Prosodic Generalization
3. The Phonological Solution
Section 3
The Basic Syntax
The Reinforcers

This construction recruits a pair of locative adverbs that typically adjoin to the vp.
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(4) a. $[_{vp} \text{ Buali=a'} \text{ mating e }]$ !
   $lv.\text{open=1ABS for.me here}$
   “Open up for me here!”

b. $\text{Apa=digena'} [_{vt} \text{ di-uwa o }]$?
   $\text{what=just PASS-say there}$
   “What was just said there?”

Pelenkahu et al. 1983

Friberg & Jerniati 2000;
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
    “This book.”
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The reinforcers are only obligatory with certain demonstratives.

(6) **Iting** buku.
That book
“That book.”
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The reinforcers are only obligatory with certain demonstratives.

The reinforcers have to “match” the demonstratives that appear.

(7)  *Di’e buku  □.
     This book  there
     “This book.”
Lexical Selection
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Proposal: this syntactic dependency involves Lexical Selection  (Merchant 2019)
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(8) Demonstratives select Reinforcers

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{DEMP} \\
\text{DEM}^0 \\
\text{ADV}^0 \\
edi'e/di'o \\
ed\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{D'} \\
\text{D}^0 \\
\phi \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{NOUN} \\
\text{ADV} \\
e/o
\end{array}
\]
Dealing with Separation
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Puzzle: the reinforcer invariably appears at the right edge of the clause.
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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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2. **LEFTWARD MOVEMENT** of everything else:
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- They include matrix and embedded clauses, both finite and non-finite:
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  (10) \[ \text{Mau tanda}=i \quad \text{di’e paket } \quad \text{e } \quad \text{ndappa}=i \quad \text{u-buai}. \]
  
  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) \[ \text{DP} \quad \text{Di'o wattu} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{, na=mamba=i s-um-obal.} \]

  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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- And fragment answers.

(12) \([_{DP\quad Di’o\; kopi\quad o}\;].\)

that coffee there

‘That coffee.’
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(13) Na-alli=i [\(_{\text{DP}}\) di’e tau] [\(_{\text{DP}}\) 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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(14) Bemme=i $[\text{DP} \quad \text{di’o tau}]$ $[\text{PP} \quad \text{non di’e passauang}]$ e !

fall=3ABS that person down this well here

‘That person fell down this well!’

JT; 3.5, 169
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**Result:** the correct analysis...

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., $\text{SPEC}$, $\text{TP}$),
3. And cannot treat the reinforcers as a type of (Locality-Sensitive) Agreement (e.g., in $c^0$).
Section 4

The Prosodic Generalization
Prosodic Domains
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1. Grounded in, but distinct from, syntax (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Selkirk & Elordieta 2011)

2. Made up of prosodic categories with distinct phonological properties (tones, lengthening... )
Prosodic Domains

The key to understanding the distribution of the reinforcers lies in **prosodic organization**.

Phonological strings have their own constituent structure (Selkirk 1984; Nespor & Vogel 1986)

1. Grounded in, but distinct from, syntax  (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Selkirk & Elordieta 2011)
2. Made up of prosodic categories with distinct phonological properties (tones, lengthening...)
3. Assumed inventory: word, phrase, intonational phrase  \((\omega, \phi, \iota)\)  (Itô & Mester 2009)
Prosodic Domains

The key to understanding the distribution of the reinforcers lies in **prosodic organization**.

Phonological strings have their own constituent structure (Selkirk 1984; Nespor & Vogel 1986)
Prosodic Domains

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**Illustration**: Prosodic Organization
Prosodic Domains

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Phonological strings have their own constituent structure (Selkirk 1984; Nespor & Vogel 1986)

**Illustration:** Prosodic Organization

(15) Mane mi’-oro=i di olo boyan-na.
    just AV-sit=3ABS in front house-3GEN

‘They just sat in front of his house.’

JT: 6.30, 1
Prosodic Domains

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**Illustration:** Prosodic Organization

(15) Mane mi’-oro=i di olo boyan-na. (16) *Prosodic Structure*

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JT: 6.30, 1
Prosodic Domains

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JT: 6.30, 1
Prosodic Domains

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(16) Prosodic Structure

Prosodic Structure
Prosodic Domains

(15) Mane mi’-oro=i di olo boyan-na.
just AV-sit=3ABS in front house-3GEN
‘They just sat in front of his house.’
JT: 6.30, 1

(16) Prosodic Structure

(17) Pitch Track: Example (15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mane</th>
<th>mi’oro’</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ri</th>
<th>olo</th>
<th>wo</th>
<th>yan</th>
<th>na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boyanna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They just sat down in front of his house
The Intonational Phrase
The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the intonational phrase.
The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the intonational phrase.

- The largest constituent in the prosodic hierarchy.
The Intonational Phrase

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The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the *intonational phrase*.

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**Prosodic Generalization**: the reinforcers always surface at the right edge of an $\ni P$. 
The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the intonational phrase.

- The largest constituent in the prosodic hierarchy.
- Prosodic Diagnostic: final lengthening at the right edge.

**Prosodic Generalization**: the reinforcers always surface at the right edge of an vP.

(18) Reinforcer Placement: \{i ... (ϕ [ω DEM ] __ [ω DP ] ) ... [ADV] \}
The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the intonational phrase.

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**Prosodic Generalization:** the reinforcers always surface at the right edge of an vP.

(18) Reinforcer Placement: \( \{ \_ \_ \_ (\phi [\omega \text{ DEM }] \_ [\omega \text{ DP }] ) \_ \text{ ADV} \} \)

This captures their surface distribution:
The Intonational Phrase

The crucial unit here: the intonational phrase.

- The largest constituent in the prosodic hierarchy.
- Prosodic Diagnostic: final lengthening at the right edge.

Prosodic Generalization: the reinforcers always surface at the right edge of an \( \nu \text{P} \).

(18) Reinforcer Placement: \( \{ \nu \ldots (\phi \ [\omega \ \text{DEM} \ ] \ \_ \ [\omega \ \text{DP} \ ] \ ) \ldots \ [\text{ADV}] \} \)

This captures their surface distribution:

- Fragments \( \rightarrow \nu \)
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The crucial unit here: the *intonational phrase*.

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(18) **Reinforcer Placement:** \( \{ \iota \ldots (\phi [\omega \text{ DEM }] \ldots [\omega \text{ DP }]) \ldots \text{ADV} \} \)

This captures their surface distribution:

- Fragments \( \rightarrow \iota \)
- Clause-initial topics \( \rightarrow \iota \)
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\[(18) \quad \text{Reinforcer Placement: } \{ \nu \ldots (\phi [\omega \text{ DEM }] \_ [\omega \text{ DP }] ) \ldots \text{ADV} \}\]

This captures their surface distribution:

- Fragments \( \rightarrow \nu \)
- Clause-initial topics \( \rightarrow \nu \)
- Matrix clauses, preposed embedded clauses \( \rightarrow \nu \)
Another Pitch Track
Another Pitch Track

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

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

(19) Mane u-saka=i di’o manu’ di boyang o.
    Just pv.1ERG-catch=3ABS that bird in house there
    ‘I just caught that bird in the house.’

JT: 6.30, 2
Another Pitch Track

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

(19) Mane u-saka=ι di’o manu’ di boyang o.  
    Just pv.1ERG-catch=3ABS that bird in house there  
    ‘I just caught that bird in the house.’  
    JT: 6.30, 2

(20) \{_{ι} \text{ Mane usakai } \text{(φ)} di’o manu’ \text{(φ)} di boyang \text{(φ)} \}
Another Pitch Track
Another Pitch Track

(20) \{ \text{\textphi\ Mane usakai\textphi\ di'o manu'\textphi\ di boyang} \}
Another Pitch Track

(20) \{ l (\phi \text{ Mane usakai}) (\phi \text{ di’o manu’}) (\phi \text{ di boyang}) \}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma</th>
<th>ne</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>sa</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ri?</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ma</th>
<th>nu?</th>
<th>ri</th>
<th>wo</th>
<th>ya</th>
<th>ŋo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mane</td>
<td>usaka</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>di’o</td>
<td>manu’</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>boyang</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just</td>
<td>PV.1.catch</td>
<td>abs</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I just caught that bird in the house.'
Section 5
The Phonological Account
Post-Syntactic Displacement
Post-Syntactic Displacement

Proposal: the reinforcers are positioned at the right edge of the intonational phrase.
Post-Syntactic Displacement

Proposal: the reinforcers are positioned at the right edge of the intonational phrase.

(21) Reinforcer Postposing: \{u \ldots (\phi [\omega \text{DEM}] \text{ } \ldots [\omega \text{DP}] ) \ldots \text{ADV}\}
Post-Syntactic Displacement

Proposal: the reinforcers are positioned at the right edge of the intonational phrase.

\[ (21) \quad \text{Reinforcer Postposing:} \quad \{ \underbrace{\ldots (\phi [\omega \text{ DEM } ] \ldots [\omega \text{ DP } ] ) \ldots \text{ ADV} \}} \]

This step must occur in a component of the grammar where prosodic information is available. This information is \textit{not} available in the syntax, on standard assumptions (Zwicky & Pullum 1986)
Post-Syntactic Displacement

Proposal: the reinforceers are positioned at the right edge of the intonational phrase.

(21) Reinforcer Postposing: \( \{ \_ \_ \_ (\_ (\_ [\_ [\_ \_ DEM ] \_ [\_ [\_ \_ DP ] ] \_ ... \_ ADV ) ) \_ \} \)

This step must occur in a component of the grammar where prosodic information is available.
This information is not available in the syntax, on standard assumptions (Zwicky & Pullum 1986)

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

Starting Formalization: Prosodic Subcategorization (Inkelas 1990)
Phonological Displacement: Why?

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- Lexical items can be prespecified for the way in which they interact with prosodic structure.
Phonological Displacement: Why?

Starting Formalization: Prosodic Subcategorization (Inkelas 1990)

- Lexical items can be prespecified for the way in which they interact with prosodic structure.

(22)  

a. $\sqrt{\text{NUH-UH}} \rightarrow \{\_ \_ \_ \} \text{ HLH}$

b. "The lexical item nuh-uh has to be an $\iota$ that bears the contour Rise-Fall-Rise."
Phonological Displacement: Why?

Starting Formalization: Prosodic Subcategorization (Inkelas 1990)

- Lexical items can be prespecified for the way in which they interact with prosodic structure.

\[(22) \quad a. \quad \sqrt{\text{NUH-UH}} \rightarrow \{\nu \quad \}_\text{HLH} \]

b. “The lexical item *nuh-uh* has to be an *\nu* that bears the contour Rise-Fall-Rise.”

- Formalism: the reinforcers are lexically specified to surface at the right edge of the *\nu*: 
Phonological Displacement: Why?

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\[
\begin{align*}
(22) \quad & \quad \sqrt{\text{NUH-UH}} \rightarrow \{\_ \quad \_ \_ \_ \_ \} \quad \text{HLH} \\
& \quad \text{b. “The lexical item } nuh-uh \text{ has to be an } \_ \text{ that bears the contour Rise-Fall-Rise.”}
\end{align*}
\]

- Formalism: the reinforcers are lexically specified to surface at the right edge of the \( \_ \):

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) \quad & \quad \sqrt{\text{HERE}} \rightarrow \{\_ \quad \_ \_ \_ \_ \}\ \\
& \quad \sqrt{\text{THERE}} \rightarrow \{\_ \quad \_ \_ \_ \_ \}
\end{align*}
\]
The Subcategorization Account
The Subcategorization Account

The Subcategorization Account


- CONSTRAINT SET:
The Subcategorization Account


- Constraint Set:

  1. SubCat: assign one violation (AOV) for every input \( x^0 \) that does not satisfy its prosodic subcategorization frame in surface prosodic structure cf. RESPECT: Bonet 2006
The Subcategorization Account

**Schematic Analysis: Optimality-Theoretic Formalization** (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004)

- **Constraint Set:**

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     cf. **RESPECT:** Bonet 2006

  2. **Linearity:** aov for every relationship of precedence in the phonology that does not correspond to a relationship of dominance in the syntax.  
     Grimshaw 1999
The Subcategorization Account

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- Initial Tableau:
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- **Initial Tableau:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$[\text{cp} \ldots \text{di’e e buku} \ldots]$</th>
<th><strong>SubCat</strong></th>
<th><strong>Linearity</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\frac{\text{a. }}{{t \ldots [\omega (\text{di’e})] [\omega (buku)] \ldots [\omega (\text{e})] }}$</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\frac{\text{b. }}{{t \ldots [\omega (\text{di’e})] \text{ e } [\omega (buku)] \ldots }}$</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Deeper Analysis
A Deeper Analysis

Proposal: Reinforcer postposing is deeper than static idiosyncracy: it is phonology.
A Deeper Analysis

Proposal: Reinforcer postponing is deeper than static idiosyncracy: it is phonology.

The basic motivation lies in word minimality

McCarthy & Prince 1993
A Deeper Analysis

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- Mandarin imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word (\( \omega \)): it must be disyllabic.

McCarthy & Prince 1993
A Deeper Analysis

Proposal: Reinforcer postposing is deeper than static idiosyncracy: it is phonology.

The basic motivation lies in word minimality

- Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic.
- This can be seen clearly in the system of functional elements:
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  - Functional heads do not form independent $\omega$s before complements. (Selkirk 1995)
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The basic motivation lies in word minimality. McCarthy & Prince 1993

- Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word (ω): it must be disyllabic.
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  - In that context: many functional elements in Mandar are monosyllabic.
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  - Functional heads do not form independent ωs before complements. (Selkirk 1995)
  - In that context: many functional elements in Mandar are monosyllabic.
  - When those functional heads surface in isolation, they become disyllabic.
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The basic motivation lies in word *minimality* 

- Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word (\(\omega\)): it must be disyllabic.
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  McCarthy & Prince 1993
A Deeper Analysis

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- This can be seen clearly in the system of functional elements:

(24) a. \[ _{\omega} \textbf{Sun} \text{di}=('bo.yang) \]
    out=of=house
    ‘Out of the house.’
A Deeper Analysis

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\[
\begin{align*}
(24) & \quad a. \quad [\omega \text{Sun}]=\text{di}=('\text{bo.yang}). \\
& \quad \quad \text{out=of=house} \\
& \quad \quad \text{‘Out of the house.’} \\
& \quad b. \quad \text{Pole}=\text{mi} \quad [\omega ('\text{su.’ung})]. \\
& \quad \quad \text{come=PFV.3ABS out} \\
& \quad \quad \text{‘He came out.’} \\
& \quad \text{JT: 8.15, 28-29}
\end{align*}
\]
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\[(24)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\omega [\text{Su} &= \text{di} = (\text{bo.yang})], \\
\text{out} &= \text{of} = \text{house} \\
\text{‘Out of the house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\omega [\text{su.’ung}] , \\
\text{come} &= \text{PFV.3ABS} \\
\text{out} \\
\text{‘He came out.’}
\end{align*}
\]

 JT: 8.15, 28-29

\[(25)\] Short-Long Alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD</th>
<th>SHORT</th>
<th>LONG</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P⁰</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>lao</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>so</td>
<td>sau</td>
<td>over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nong</td>
<td>naung</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ⁰</td>
<td>sung</td>
<td>su’ung</td>
<td>out of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da’a</td>
<td>don’t!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndang</td>
<td>andiang</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Right Edge is Special
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Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic.
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic. **Key Pattern**: this constraint is lifted at the right edge of the $\iota$. 
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic.  

Key Pattern: this constraint is lifted at the right edge of the $\iota$.
- The right edge of the $\iota$ can optionally host a special type of focal accent
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic.

**Key Pattern:** this constraint is lifted at the right edge of the $\iota$.

- The right edge of the $\iota$ can optionally host a special type of focal accent
- This accent triggers a change in the $\omega$-level stress of its host: penultimate $\rightarrow$ **final**
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word (\(\omega\)): it must be disyllabic.

**Key Pattern:** this constraint is lifted at the right edge of the \(\iota\).

- The right edge of the \(\iota\) can optionally host a special type of focal accent
- This accent triggers a change in the \(\omega\)-level stress of its host: penultimate \(\rightarrow\) final.

\[
(26) \quad \{\iota \, \text{Melo=a'} \quad [\omega \, \text{mac-co('wa) }] \} \\
\quad \text{AV.want=1ABS} \quad \text{AV-try} \\
\quad \text{‘I want to TRY.’}
\]
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word ($\omega$): it must be disyllabic. Key Pattern: this constraint is lifted at the right edge of the $\iota$.

- The right edge of the $\iota$ can optionally host a special type of focal accent
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- When they receive focal accent, **functional words can remain monosyllabic**:
The Right Edge is Special

Mandar imposes a size constraint on the prosodic word (\(\omega\)): it must be disyllabic.

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- This accent triggers a change in the \(\omega\)-level stress of its host: penultimate \(\rightarrow\) final.

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\[
(27) \quad \{i \,[\omega (\text{Sung})!] \} \\
\text{out} \\
\text{‘Out!’}
\]
The Reinforcers and the Right-Edge Accent
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Key Observation: the reinforcers “suck up” the focal accent at the right edge of the $i$. 
The Reinforcers and the Right-Edge Accent

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- In the presence of a reinforcer, the preceding word cannot receive focal accent.
The Reinforcers and the Right-Edge Accent

Key Observation: the reinforcers “suck up” the focal accent at the right edge of the $i$.

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(28) $\{i \quad *$Basse=i \quad di'o \quad bayu \quad [\omega \quad mani('ni)] \quad o \quad \}$

wet=3ABS that shirt later there

Impossible: “That shirt will get wet LATER.”

JT: 8.24, 376
The Final Analysis
The Final Analysis

These observations set up a deeper analysis of Reinforcer Postposing:
The Final Analysis

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- The pattern targets a set of elements that violate a general constraint on Word Minimality,
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- The pattern targets a set of elements that violate a general constraint on Word Minimality,
- And it places them in a position where other monosyllables can satisfy that constraint.

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

Claim One: monosyllabic words are licensed at the edge of the foot by a constraint on foot structure.
The Final Analysis

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- HEADEDNESS: AOV for every $\omega$ that does not contain a metrical foot. Nespor & Vogel 1986
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Claim One: monosyllabic words are licensed at the edge of the \( \iota \) by a constraint on foot structure.

- **HEADEDNESS**: AOV for every \( \omega \) that does not contain a metrical foot. Nespor & Vogel 1986
- **FOOT.BINARITY_\( \sigma \)**: AOV for every metrical foot that is not disyllabic. Itô & Mester 1993
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- **FOOT.BINARITY$\sigma$**: AOV for every metrical foot that is not disyllabic. Itô & Mester 1993
- **LICENSE($\sigma_{FT}$)$_\iota$**: AOV for every $\sigma_{FT}$ that is not at the right edge of the $\iota$. Kager 1996
The Final Analysis

Claim One: monosyllabic words are licensed at the edge of the i by a constraint on foot structure.
The Final Analysis

Claim One: monosyllabic words are licensed at the edge of the $i$ by a constraint on foot structure.

Claim Two: the reinforcers undergo displacement to this edge in order to form licit words.
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**Final Tableau:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ \text{cp} \ldots \text{di’e e buku} \ldots ]</th>
<th>MATCH</th>
<th>Dep</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>License</th>
<th>FtBin</th>
<th>Linearity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. { \omega (di’e) } \omega (buku) \ldots \omega (e) }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. { \omega (di’e) e \omega (buku) \ldots }</td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. { \omega (di’e) \omega (e’e) \omega (buku) \ldots }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. { \omega (di’e) \omega e \omega (buku) \ldots }</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>*!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Section 6

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- This is ruled out by theories that assume a cyclic model of Phonological Spell-Out, where word-level phonology is worked out before the construction of clause-level prosodic constituency. (e.g., Dobashi 2004, Selkirk & Kratzer 2008, Embick 2010, a.o.)
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