The Prosody of the Extended VP

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Two major questions in work on the extended VP: ($\approx$ *voice*P/*v*P phase)

1. **What is the hierarchical organization of constituents in the postverbal space?**

2. **What are the mechanisms that position the verb and its arguments there?**

Three longstanding desiderata:

- Constituency tests that provide evidence for functional projections (Larson 1988)

    (1) a. They sent [$_{applP}$ books to Mary].

      b. *It was [$_{applP}$ books to Mary] that they sent.

- Diagnostics to resolve constituency paradoxes, where tests conflict (Pesetsky 1995)

    (2) a. John said he gave candy [$_{FP}$ to none of the kids [$_{GP}$ in any library]].

      b. But [$_{FP}$ give candy to the kids] he surely did t_{FP} [$_{GP}$ in this library here].

- Tests for the derivation of certain orders (Otsuka 2006, Polinsky & Potsdam 2021)

    (3) a. VOS: LEFTWARD SCRAMBLING: [$_{voiceP}$ V [$_{FP}$ O [$_{vP}$ S [$_{VP}$ _ _]]]]

      b. VOS: RIGHTWARD SCRAMBLING: [$_{FP}$ [$_{voiceP}$ V [$_{vP}$ _ [$_{VP}$ _ O]]] S]

The first goal of this talk: address questions $1-2$ in Mandar (Austronesian; Indonesia).

- Identify the fine internal constituency of clauses with the order VSO.

- Pin down the constituency and the derivational pathway to the order VOS.

The second goal: lay the foundations to investigate VP-level syntax through prosody.

- Surface strings are parsed into hierarchical constituent structures in the phonology, which provides domains for phrasal phonology (Selkirk 1986; Nespor & Vogel 1986)

- When planning factors do not interfere: this structure roughly mirrors the syntax: **under the right conditions, every XP $\rightarrow$ phonological phrase** (Selkirk 2009)

- Today's methodology: to leverage introspective judgments on Mandar phonology to document patterns of prosodic constituency, then work backward to the syntax

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Roadmap:

1. Background/prosodic constituency tests

2. VSO: the prosody of the functional spine

3. VOS: the prosody of scrambling and adjunction

1   Language Background

Mandar is a language of the South Sulawesi Subfamily   (Pelenkahu et al. 1983)

- Predicate-initial word order in all clause types (finite/nonfinite, matrix/embedded)

- Stable preverbal word order: COMPLEMENTIZER > NEGATION > AUXILIARIES > V

The shape of a Mandar clause:

(4)

NEG	AUX	V	ADJUNCT	SUBJECT	C	PRED	SUBJECT
Ndammi	rua	pole	dini	iKaco'	tappana	karambo	boyanna.
not.3ABS	have	come	here	NAME	since.3GEN	far	house.3GEN

'Kacho' hasn't come here since his house became far away.'   Sikki et al. 1987

Mandar clauses always allow the order VSO(X).   (S = SUBJ, O = OBJ, X = ADJUNCT)

- This is possible when the V is *transitive* (ERG agreement; definite O; *Patient Voice*)

(5)   Na-baca   i   [$_s$ iMaria]   [$_o$ itim buku]   [$_x$ dionging].
      3ERG-read 3ABS   NAME   that book   yesterday

      'Maria read that book yesterday.'   (VSOX; TRANSITIVE)

VSO(X) order remains possible when verbal voice and O-definiteness change.

- VSO(x) can occur in other "Austronesian voices," like the *antipassive*. (*Agent Voice*)

- Antipassive verbs: prefix *maŋ*-;   indefinite O

(6)   Mam-baca   i   [$_s$ iMaria]   [$_o$ buku]   [$_x$ dio].
      ANTIP-read 3ABS   NAME   book   there

      'Maria is reading a book there.'   (VSOX; ANTIPASSIVE)

Puzzle: free and pragmatically unmarked alternations between VSO and VOS.

- All transitive and antipassive clauses allow alternations between these two orders.

- **N.b.** VOS ≠ right topicalization or HNPS (no comma intonation / weight constraints)

(7)   a.   Na-baca   i   [$_o$ itim buku]   [$_s$ iMaria].
           3ERG-read 3ABS   that book   NAME

           'Maria read that book.'   (VOS; TRANSITIVE)

      b.   Mam-baca   i   [$_o$ buku]   [$_s$ iMaria].
           ANTIP-read 3ABS   book   NAME

           'Maria is reading a book.'   (VOS; ANTIPASSIVE)

2 The Prosodic Targets

Vision: leverage the prosodic organization of these strings to probe the syntax of vso/vos.
- TARGET: the optimal prosody of prosodically-integrated clauses (intonational phrases)
- METHOD: solicit introspective judgments on restrictions under broad-focus prosody
  - The following generalizations: established over three years with Jupri Talib

The relevant constituents will be built on two lower levels of prosodic structure:
- PROSODIC WORDS (ωs):
  - Lexical heads in Mandar (v^0, n^0, adj^0, adv^0) will always form their own ωs
  - Diagnostic for the ω: penultimate stress (low tone, phonological lengthening)
- PHONOLOGICAL PHRASES (ϕs):
  - The verb will always form a ϕ; each argument will also form its own ϕ
  - Diagnostic for the ϕ: final high tone (H), plus restrictions on the final FOOT

(8) máne málli^H i   pustakáwam makáppaʔ^H búŋa malólo^H
     mane m-alli   i   pustakawaŋ makappaʔ   buŋa malolo
     just ANTIP-buy 3ABS librarian   handsome   flower beautiful
     'The handsome librarian just bought beautiful flowers.'   (vso; ANTIP.)

Constituency Tests: restrictions on four processes diagnose a larger constituent:

	PROCESS	TARGET		RESULT	CONTEXT	**EXCEPT AT**
(9)	COALESCENCE	*ai ae, ao au*	$\rightarrow$	*e, o*		RIGHT EDGE of $\phi_{[MAX]}$
	GLIDING	*i, u*	$\rightarrow$	*j, w*	__V	RIGHT EDGE of $\phi_{[MAX]}$
	GLOTTAL CODA DELETION	*ʔ, ŋ*	$\rightarrow$	$\emptyset$, $\emptyset^N$	V__.V	RIGHT EDGE of $\phi_{[MAX]}$
	VOICED STOP LENITION	*b, d, d͡ʒ, g*	$\rightarrow$	*w, ɹ, j, ɣ*	V__V	LEFT EDGE of $\phi_{[MAX]}$

Asymmetry: these processes apply between v + s, but not between s + x.

(10) a. napáp**ja**^{H} i   imar**ía**^{H} di lamasar**ía**ŋ^H
   na-pap**ia**   i   imar**ia**   di lamasar**ia**ŋ
          3ERG-make   3ABS   NAME   in PLACE
          'Maria made it in Lamasariang.'

      b. nalíkk**e**^{H} i   irip**áʔi**^{H} di rewat**áʔa**^{H}
          na-likk**aʔi**   i   irip**aʔi**   di rebat**aʔa**
          3ERG-wed   3ABS   NAME   in PLACE
          'Ripa'i married her in Riwata'a.'

      c. nét**e**^{H} i   ɹo   táu^H **d**o   állo^H ó^H
          na-it**ai**   i   **d**o   tau   **d**o   allo o
          3ERG-look for   3ABS   that person   that day   there
          'That person went looking for it that day.'

3   The Rough Constituency of VSO

Strategy: use restrictions on these processes to detect the edges of the *maximal* ϕ

- DEFINITION: $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]} = \phi$ that is not dominated by other ϕs   (Itô & Mester 2013)

(11)   **The Prosody of VSX**
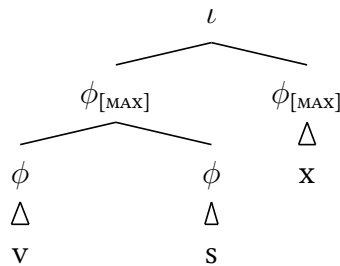
These diagnostics show that the VSO string $\rightarrow \phi_{\textbf{MAX}}$.

- Transitive verb $\rightarrow$ VSO $= \{_{\phi[\text{MAX}]}$ V S O $\}$

(12) $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ } $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$

         nét**e**ᴴ   i   iríp**e**ᴴ   ɹe wúkuᴴ   díniᴴ   éᴴ

         na-itai   i   iripaʔi   de buku   dini   e

         3ERG-look for   3ABS NAME   this book   here   here

   'Ripa'i is looking for this book here.'

- Antipassive verb $\rightarrow$ VSO $= \{_{\phi[\text{MAX}]}$ V S O $\}$ (caveat: Page 7)

(13) $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$

         mándeᴴ   i   **j**óŋaᴴ   **j**ólenᴴ   díoᴴ

         maŋ-ande   i   d͡ʒoŋa   d͡ʒoleŋ   dio

         ANTIP-eat   3ABS deer   guava   there

   'The deer are eating guavas there.'

> **Claim**: the VSO string always forms a constituent in the syntax.

SYNTACTIC EVIDENCE: this exact pattern of constituency is also revealed by VP-ellipsis:

- When VP-ellipsis targets a V (= *voice*P), it must also suppress the following S and O.

(14)   a.   Usanga ndangi rua nawaluang iKaco' bulawang gamallo.
             'I used to think that Kacho' had never sold false gold.'
       b.   Mane uissang   [_CP mua' [_AUXP rua i...
             now   I know   that   has 3ABS

             [_voiceP ~~na-waluang~~ (*do asu) (*do roppong)]   di ruambongi]].
                   3ERG-sold   that dog   that grass   in the past
             'Now I know that (*the jerk) has ~~sold~~ (*the junk) in the past.'

4 Interim Results

These results lay the groundwork for a finer investigation of the Mandar VP.

- The stable parse of VSOX strings (+ facts of ellipsis) → VSO strings are always XPS.
- PROPOSAL: VSO order arises via x^0-movement of V + non-movement of S and O.

(15) *The Syntax of VSO*
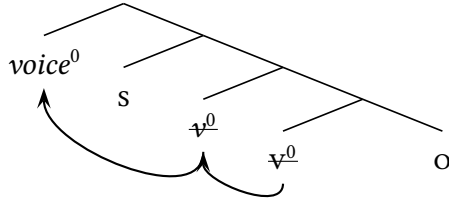
Interim Footwork: the V must be forced to form a ϕ by constraints in the phonology.

- Null hypothesis: the complex x^0 created by x^0-movement → ω (Selkirk 2009)
- Question: why should the verbal complex be mapped to a ϕ?

Connection: "promotion effects" with *external clitics*:   (Selkirk 1996)

(16) *Coordinator → ϕ when initial in the ι*

a. $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$

wíta[H]	i	ɹóttor[H]	**na**	ɣúru[H]	di ɣénaʔ[H]
u-ita	i	dottor	na	guru	di genaʔ
1ERG-see	3ABS	doctor	and	teacher	in earlier

'I saw the doctor' **n'**/[??]an' the teacher earlier.'

b. $\{_\iota$ $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\iota$ $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\}$

wita[H]	i	ɹóttor[H]	di ɣénaʔ[H],	**ánna**[H]	ɣúru[H]
u-ita	i	dottor	di genaʔ	na	guru
1ERG-see	3ABS	doctor	in earlier	and	teacher

'I saw the doctor earlier, **an'**/*n' the teacher.'

Mapping claim: the Mandar V raises as an x^0 but maps to a ϕ due to a constraint ranking of EURYTHMICITY (initial x^0 in the ι → ϕ) over FAITH (x^0s $\nrightarrow$ ϕs).   (Kubozono 1989…)

(17) *Deriving the Parse of v^0*

a. STRONGSTART: Assign one violation (AOV) for every intonational phrase (ι) in which the leftmost ω is not left- & right-aligned with a ϕ.

b. DEP-ϕ: AOV for every output ϕ that does not correspond to an input XP.

$[_{voiceP}$ v^0 $[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ S $]$ $[_{VP}$ _ $]]]$	STRONG START	DEP-ϕ
a. $\{_\iota$ $\{_\phi$ V $\{_\phi$ S $\}$ $\}$ $\}$	*!	
☞ b. $\{_\iota$ $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ V $\}$ $\{_\phi$ S $\}$ $\}$ $\}$		*

c. appears to the left of the tableau rows.

5 Testing for Finer Constituents

Question: what is the internal structure of the VSO XP?

- No syntactic evidence for constituency of internal XPs (e.g. vP in $[_{voiceP} \text{ V } [_{vP} \text{ SO }]]$)
- STRATEGY: suss out prosodic evidence for these XPs with disruptions to **weight**

The smallest ϕ that contains V can host other ωs: ω-sized affixes, specific x^0-adjuncts.

Phrasing changes in specific ways when we add ωs to the ϕ_v in Vsx clauses:

- $\phi_v = $ TWO ωs $\quad + \phi_s = $ ONE ω: $\quad$ VS $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$
- $\phi_v = $ THREE ωs $+ \phi_s = $ ONE ω: $\quad$ VS $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX-V}]} \; \phi_{[\text{MAX-S}]}$

(18) a. $\{_\phi \; \{_\phi$ $\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \}$ $\qquad \{_\phi$ $\qquad\quad \} \, \} \; \{_\phi$ $\quad \} \, \{_\phi \quad \}$

     máne natúme$^{\text{H}}$ i   **ɹo** ripáʔi$^{\text{H}}$ dío$^{\text{H}}$ ó$^{\text{H}}$

     mane na-tumae   i   do ripaʔi   dio   o

     just   3ERG-propose   3ABS   that NAME   there   there

    'That Ripa'i just proposed to her there.'

   b. $\{_\phi$ $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad \}$ $\qquad \{_\phi$ $\qquad\quad \}$ $\quad \{_\phi \quad \} \, \{_\phi \quad \}$

     máne nátu-natumáe$^{\text{H}}$ i   **do** ripáʔi$^{\text{H}}$ dío$^{\text{H}}$ ó$^{\text{H}}$

     mane $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$-na-tumae   i   do ripaʔi   dio   o

     just   RED-3ERG-propose   3ABS   that NAME   there   there

    'That Ripa'i just tried to propose to her there.'

Descriptive Generalizations:

- TERNARITY: the ϕ_{MAX} can contain three ωs in Mandar, but it cannot contain four
- EXPOSURE: when a ϕ cannot be parsed into its usual ϕ_{MAX}, it becomes a ϕ_{MAX} itself
- FAITH: when a ϕ_{MAX} is split up, the prosody stays as close to the syntax as it can.

(19) The Default Parse   (20) The Exposure Effect   (21) Impossible: Reparsing

(22) ✗$\{_\phi$ $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \}$ $\qquad \{_\phi \; \{_\phi$ $\qquad\quad \} \, \{_\phi$ $\quad \} \, \} \; \{_\phi \quad \}$
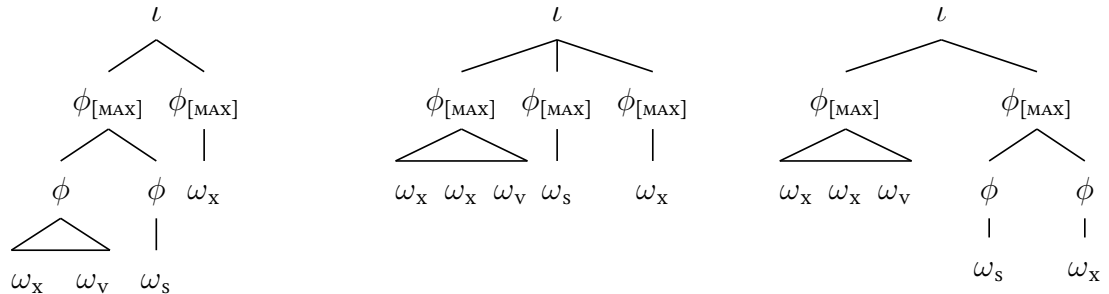
     máne nátu-natumáe$^{\text{H}}$ i   **do** rípe$^{\text{H}}$ ɹío$^{\text{H}}$ ó$^{\text{H}}$

     mane $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$-na-tumae   i   do ripaʔi   dio   o

     just   RED-3ERG-propose   3ABS   that NAME   there   there

    'That Ripa'i just tried to propose to her there.'

6   The Prosody of the Extended VP

MATCH THEORY: there should be a pressure for VP-internal functional XPs to form ϕs.

- There are MANY reasons why we might not see these ϕs.

- The weight manipulations open up a new path to detect these ϕs:

> Split the v from the s ϕ o to expose lower levels of prosodic constituency in the VP.

VSO clauses: try introducing another ω to the ϕ_v.

- Example: the *antipassive* prefix forms an independent ω before C-initial verbal roots.

- VSO clauses that contain *mǎŋ$_\omega$*, or any other ω in the ϕ_v: $v \rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$

(23)   {$_\phi$ }   {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ } {$_\phi$ } } {$_\phi$ }

mándúndu$^\text{H}$	i	**b**álo$^\text{H}$	**w**állo$^\text{H}$	dío$^\text{H}$
maŋ-dundu	i	balao	ballo	dio
ANTIP-drink	3ABS	mouse	palm wine	there

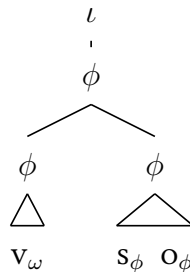'The mouse is drinking palm wine over there.'

Observation: when the v $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$, we can see that the s and o $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$ too.

- HYPOTHESIS: weight effects do not drive the creation of non-XP ϕs (but: Page 11)

- RESULT: There must be a constituent in the syntax that corresponds to the ϕ_{SO}.
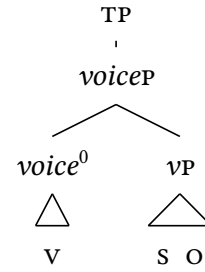
(24)   The Exposure Effect   (25)   Plausible Target   (26)   Syntax
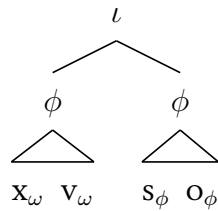
Deriving the Exposure Effect: Ternarity = the Emergence of the Unmarked (TETU)

- MATCH-XP: AOV for every input XP that does not correspond to an output ϕ

- MINIMAL BINARITY: AOV for every $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$ that contains < 2 ωs

- MAXIMAL BINARITY: AOV for every $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$ that contains > 2 ωs

(27)

$[_{voiceP}$ maŋ-v $[_{vP} [_{DP}$ s $] [_{vP} [_{NP}$ o $]]]]$	MATCH-XP	MIN-BIN	MAX-BIN
a. {$_\phi$ *máŋ*-v {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ s} {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ o} } } }			*!
☞ b. {$_\phi$ *máŋ*-v } {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ s} {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ o} } }	*		
c. {$_\phi$ *máŋ*-v } {$_\phi$ s} {$_\phi$ {$_\phi$ o} }	**!		*

7   The Prosody of VOS

Final Question: what's the syntax beneath the alternation VSO-VOS?

- OBSERVATION: there's a prosodic asymmetry between strings of these orders.

- UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES: the final s in the VOS string $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$

(28) $\{_\phi$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$

	néte$^{\text{H}}$	i	waláo$^{\text{H}}$	**gúru**$^{\text{H}}$
	na-itai	i	balao	guru
	3ERG-look for	3ABS	mouse	teacher

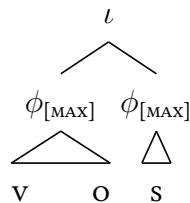'The teacher is looking for the mouse.' (VOS; transitive)

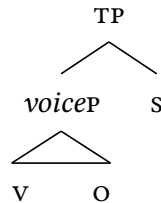INTERIM RESULT: the prosody disambiguates the interpretation of V-NP-NP strings

(29)   a. $\{_{\phi[\text{MAX}]}$ V NP NP $\}$ $\rightarrow$ ONLY VSO

b. $\{_{\phi[\text{MAX}]}$ V NP $\}$ $\{_{\phi[\text{MAX}]}$ NP $\}$ $\rightarrow$ VOS

Intuition: the final s = outside the constituent that corresponds to the VSO $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$.

(30)   VOS: Prosody   (31)   VOS: Syntax

SUPPORTING ARGUMENT ONE: the final s must also follow right adjuncts to the VP:

(32)   a.   Na-alli   i   [$_\text{s}$ iKaco'] [$_\text{o}$ iLouis] **dio**.
              3ERG-buy 3ABS   NAME   NAME   there
              'Kacho' bought Louis (who is a cat) there.'   (Before an X: V-NP-NP $\rightarrow$ VSO)

b.   Na-alli   i   _____   [$_\text{o}$ iLouis] **dio** [$_\text{s}$ iKaco'] .
              3ERG-buy 3ABS   NAME   there   NAME
              'Kacho' bought Louis (who is a cat) there.'   (VOS: $\rightarrow$ s must follow all Xs)

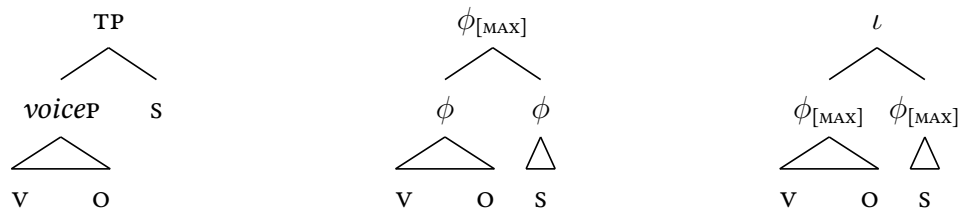SUPPORTING ARGUMENT TWO: the final s can survive VP-ellipsis:

(33)   a.   Usanga di ruambongi ndangi rua maccoro iKaco'.
              'I used to think that Kacho' had never stolen anything.'

b.   Mane   u-issang   [$_\text{CP}$ mua' [$_\text{PERFP}$ rua   i...
              just now 1ERG-know   that   have 3ABS

              [$_\text{voiceP}$ ~~mac-coro~~   __] di duambongi **do asu**]] o.
                        ANTIP-steal   in the past   that dog   there
              'Now I know that the jerk has ~~stolen~~ in the past.'

8   Scrambling and Adjunction

Question: how can the disjunctive parse (final s $\rightarrow \phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$) be derived in MATCH THEORY?
   - NOTE: there can't be a rigid correspondence between specific XPs and maximal ϕs.

   - EVEN IF the s is outside the *voice*P: there are still higher XPs that should form ϕs.

(34)   VOS: S above VP   (35)   Prediction: XP $\rightarrow \phi$ (36)   Target: Disjunction

```
         TP                          φ[MAX]                          ι
        /  \                        /    \                        /    \
   voiceP    S                    φ       φ                  φ[MAX]   φ[MAX]
    /  \                        /  \     /\                  /  \      /\
   V __ O                      V __ O    S                  V __ O     S
```

Connection: scrambled arguments are parsed in the same way as phrasal adjuncts.
   - MANDAR: VP-level adjuncts always form $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$es; ignoring eurhythmic constraints.

   - PROPOSAL: adjunction structures are distinguished at the syntax-prosody interface.

     – Selkirk 2011: "the higher node produced as a consequence of an adjunction operation… is not visible to syntactic-prosodic correspondence constraints."
     – BUT: VP-adjunction sites are dominated by other nodes that should form ϕs.

(37)   Parsing Adjuncts:

   a. REPEL: AOV for every input adjunction structure $[_{\text{XP}} [_{\text{XP}} \text{XP}] \text{YP}]$, YP an adjunct, for which the output correspondents of XP and YP are contained in a single ϕ.

	$[_{\text{TP}} [_{voiceP} [_{voiceP} \text{V} …] [_{\text{YP}} \text{HERE}]]]$	REPEL	MATCH-XP
b.	a. $\{_{\phi\text{TP}} \{_{\phi voiceP} \{_{\phi voiceP} \text{V}_\omega \} \{_{\phi\text{YP}} \text{HERE}_\omega \} \} \}$	*!	
	☞ b. $\{_{\phi\text{TP}} \{_{\phi voiceP} \{_{\phi voiceP} \text{V}_\omega \} \} \} \{_{\phi\text{YP}} \text{HERE}_\omega \}$		*(*)

Proposal: the same constraint forces scrambled arguments to form independent $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$es.
   - There's a rightward scrambling operation that shifts XPs out of the *voice*P

   - Syntactic tests: this process can't involve leftward movement (cf. Mahajan 1997)

   - Prosodic disjunction: this process must place its targets in adjunct positions

(38)   a. SYNTAX: $[_{voice}$ V   _   O   ]   S
        b. PROSODY: $\{_\phi$ V   O $\}$ $\{_\phi$ S $\}$

Implications: this result opens up a new line of evidence for two classical positions.
   - LANDING SITE: (Ā)-scrambling places targets in adjunct positions (Chomsky 1993)

   - MOTIVATION: scrambling cannot be driven by higher heads, (Chomsky et al. 2018) as EPP features are selectional $\rightarrow$ cannot place attracted XPs in adjunct positions

9   Conclusion

Foundational claims about Mandar in this talk:

1. Phonological restrictions mark the edges of a large prosodic constituent: the $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$
2. The introspectively optimal distribution of $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$es → vso strings always form xps
3. Forcing the v to form a $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$ reveals a ϕ that contains so → reveals a headless vP
4. Vos order involves rightward (ā-)scrambling, with a stable prosodic effect: → $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$
5. Scrambled xps → $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$es because they're in adjunct positions; xp-adjuncts → $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$es

Within the syntax: these results...

- Provide novel evidence for the existence and constituency of headless vP-shells;
- Demonstrate that there must be movement to positions linearized to the right;
- Stake out a new test for the argument-adjunct distinction in derived positions;
- Lay the foundations for a new approach to research on the extended vP.

Within the prosody: these results...

- Provide further evidence that functional xps can be mapped to prosodic constituents;
- Suggest a new perspective on prosodic responses to weight-based disruption;
- Refine the theory of the prosody of adjunction (Cinque 1993, Truckenbrodt 1999);
- Suggest that syntactic relationships like adjunction—such as selection and projection— may also be preserved at the interface / phonologized in subtle but consistent ways.

The Road Ahead: the next step here will be to understand the prosody of selection.

- There's a common syntax-prosody mismatch in the vp that has the following shape:

  - When the v is too light to form a $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$ on its own (when the $\phi_v < 2\ \omega$s),
  - ...and when the vp contains too many arguments to build a single $\phi_{[\text{MAX}]}$,
  - ...the v is parsed into a ϕ with the linearly closest argument alone.

- Kalivoda 2018 notes this phrasing in 12 languages; it's present in English + Mandar.

  (39) a. English ditransitive Sx: $[_{vP}$ v $[_{fp1}$ DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ $[_{vP}$ DP$_{\text{ACC}}$ $]$ $]$ $]$ Larson 1988

        b. English ditransitive Pr: $\{_\phi$ v DP$_{\text{DAT}}$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ DP$_{\text{ACC}}$ $\}$ Hayes 1989; Elfner 2014

- Possible correlate: disjunctive phrasing in Mandar when dps are not selected by v

  (40) $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$ $\{_\phi$ $\}$
        maliŋ**gáo**ᴴ i   **d**o táuᴴ   óᴴ
        maliŋgao   i   do tau   o
        tall   3ᴀʙs   that person   there
        'That person there is tall.'

Rᴇғᴇʀᴇɴᴄᴇs: see the online version of this handout at: **http://tinyurl.com/brodkinLSA**

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