Pseudoclefts and Pied Piping with Inversion in Mandar

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Sulawesi

Austronesia

Eleven subgroups

Blue: SSul Subfamily

- Three branches:
  - Makassar
  - Bugis
  - Northern Group
Northern South Sulawesi

- “Inland” Branch
  - Massenrempulu
  - Toraja-Mamasa
  - Pitu Ulunna Salu
  - Ulumanda’

- “Coastal” Branch
  - Mamuju
  - Mandar
Today’s Topic: What’s a Wh-Question?

- Two types of wh-question in Mandarin

(1) Mam-[p]eang=apa=o?
   AV.DISTR-fish=what=2.ABS
   ’What are you fishing for?’

(2) Apa mu-peang?
    what 2.ERG-fish
    ’What are you fishing for?’

(Incorporated)  (Clause-Initial)
Today's Topic: What's a Wh-Question?

- **What's the underlying structure here?**

  (3) **Innai** na=mu-pile innai?
      who FUT-2.ERG-choose
      'Who will you choose?'

  (4) **Innai** [Ø [na=mu-pile]]?
      who [REL [FUT=2.ERG-choose]]
      'Who is the one that you will choose?'
Analyses in Austronesian

Both patterns attested in Western MP

- Argument Questions are pseudoclefts in:

- Argument Questions involve movement in:
  - Chamorro (Chung 2006), Rapa Nui (Potsdam & Polinsky 2011)

- Adjunct questions involve movement in most languages above.
- Malagasy: adjunct questions are pseudoclefts (Potsdam 2009).
A pseudocleft analysis looks plausible.
- Mandar has null relativizers and permits HRCs as arguments.
- These factors conspire to make analysis 4 look plausible.

Pied-Piping patterns raise a problem.
- Pseudoclefts resist pied-piping of prepositions (den Dikken 2006)
- Mandar permits pied-piping of prepositions in wh-questions.

Some wh-questions aren’t pseudoclefts.
Today's Roadmap

Relativization and Pseudoclefts

Pied-Piping with Inversion

Copular Clauses and Clitics
Quick Facts

What you need to know about Mandar
Quick Sociolinguistic Facts

- **West Sulawesi: “Mandar Country”**
  - 475,000 speakers; EGIDS Level 5
  - This presentation: ‘new’ orthography.
  - **The PPWI pattern here is regional**
    - Ulumanda’, Pitu Ulunna Salu, Mamasa
    - NOT in: closest relative, Mamuju.
Map of Tanah Mandar

- Old Confederacy: “Seven riverheads, Seven river deltas.”
- Centered at Balanipa

(Map from Horst Liebner; p.c.)
Mandar shows four voices:
- **AV and PV (Agent / Patient Voice)** plus an agent-demoting passive and a reciprocal.

Marking AV and PV:
- **AV:** -um- infix and derivatives
- **PV:** Ø voice marking; ergative proclitics (as in Malay ‘yang ku-makan’).
Ergative–Absolutive Morphology

- PV Agent: Ergative proclitics
- AV Agent, PV patient: Absolutive enclitics

(5) Mam-[p]eang=a’.
    AV.DISTR-fish=ABS
    'I’m fishing.’

(6) U-peang=mo=i    di’e bau penja=e.
    1.ERG-fish=PFV=3.ABS this fish guppy=DEF
    'I fished up these guppies.’
Voice and Person-Marking

- Absolutive clitics: one per matrix clause.
  - Clitic Doubling, not Agreement
  - 3.abs clitic sensitive to definiteness of pivot.

(7) Ma-sande=purung=nasang=Ø to=Amerika
    ADJ-sharp=nose=all           PERSON=America
    'Americans are all long-nosed.'  (Indefinite Subject)

(8) Ma-sande=purung=nasang=i to=Amerika
    ADJ-sharp=nose=all=3.ABS      PERSON=America
    'The Americans are all long-nosed.'  (Definite Subject)
• **Unmarked order VOS; also VSO, SVO**
  - All types of predicate occur clause-initially.

(9) To=pole Sulbar=nasang=i indi mahasiswa=e. 
    PERSON=from West.Sulawesi=all=3.ABS this college.student=DEF 
    ’These students are all people from West Sulawesi.’ 

(10) Bassa=memang=i tuqu pendapaq-na to=Amerika muaq jaminan.kesehatan. 
     like=indeed=3.ABS that opinion-3.GEN PERSON=America if HEALTHCARE 
     ’American people’s opinions are like that when it comes to healthcare.’
Quick Syntactic Facts

- **Verb-initiality (VOS) via Pred-raising**
  - Predicates can be coordinated

(11) [Ma’-jama=i  PR] anna [mam-baca=i] buku di’e mahasiswa=e.
     AV.DISTR-work=3.ABS HW CONJ AV.DISTR-read=3.ABS book this student=DEF
     ’This student worked on his homework and read a book.’

(12) [Sa’bar=i] anna [ma-lappu=tongan=i] ana’-mu.
     patient=3.ABS CONJ ADJ-honest=true=3.ABS child-2.GEN
     ’Your child is patient and truly honest.’
Relativization and Pseudoclefts

Developing a Pseudocleft Analysis
A Pseudocleft Analysis

• Mandar has null relativizers.
  ○ Regular relative clauses led by null C

• (Headless) RCs can be arguments.
  ○ RCs can be preceded by overt heads like *to* ‘person’ and *di’o* ‘that’ or by *nothing*

• Bare wh-questions could be pseudoclefts!
● Relativizers can be overt or null.
  ○ Overt relativizer *anu* homophonous with an independent noun meaning ‘thing’

(13) Damo=o s-um-angi’ mua’ i’da=i mu-olo’i [kado [Ø u-be-ngan=o]].
    DON’T=2.ABS AV-cry if NEG=3.ABS 2.ERG-like gift REL 1.ERG-give-BEN=2.ABS
    ‘Don’t cry if you don’t like the gift I’m giving you!’
    (Null Relativizer)

(14) Yap, inna=di [anu’u [anu u-pi-pasang-ang]]?
    PRT which=LIM THING-1.GEN REL 1.ERG-VBLZ-order-BEN
    ‘So which is my thing that I ordered for myself?’ (Anu; Pelenkahu et al. 1983, Appdx B)
RCs in argument position

- **Argument RCs**: usually overt heads or C

(15) Secco-secco=pa=i to=[me’-guru basa Mandar]
RED-a.bit=IPFV=3.ABS PERSON=AV.MED-learn language Mandar
'The people studying Mandar are still few.'  
(Argument RC with to=)

(16) Ma-raras=i [di’o na-ande to=Mandar=o]
ADJ-spicy=3.ABS that 3.ERG-eat PERSON=MANDAR=DEF
'That stuff Mandar people eat is spicy.'  
(Argument RC with Demonstrative)

(17) Mammis=i [anu na-balu’ dini]
sweet=3.ABS REL 3.ERG-sell here
'What’s sold here is sweet.'  
(Argument HRC with Overt C)
Bare argument HRCs

- Headless, Null-C RCs can be arguments.
  - Question: are these subjects?

(18) Ma-i’di=mo=i [Ø [pole di=Mamuju]]
    ADJ-many=PFV=3.ABS REL come GP=CITY
    ’The people moving into Mamuju are already a lot.’
    (AV Agent HRC)

(19) Na=andiang mu-irrang-i [Ø [ma’-basa Indonesia]].
    FUT=NEG 2.ERG-hear-LOC REL AV.MED-language Indonesia
    ’You won’t hear anyone speaking Indonesian.’
    (PV Patient HRC)
Are RCs subjects?

- Testing for Subjecthood
  - The Universal Quantifier = \textit{nasang} ‘all’:
    - Must modify subjects.
    - Impossible w/ expletive, singular S.
    - Can occur with RC arguments.

- Conclusion: (H)RCs can really be subjects!
RCs are subjects

- *Nasang* always associates with subjects
  - Forced to be read with AV Agent, PV Patient

(20) Mat-ta’e=**nasang**=i bunga ma-mea dambu.  
    AV.DISTR-hold=all=3.ABS flower ADJ-red rose.apple  
    ’They’re all holding pink flowers.’

(21) Na-ta’e=**nasang**=i bunga ma-mea dambu.  
    3.ERG-hold=all=3.ABS flower ADJ-red rose.apple  
    ’He’s holding all the pink flowers.’
RCs are subjects

- Expletive, Singular subjects: no *nasang*

(22) *U rang=*nasang*=mo=i
    rain=all=PFV=3.ABS
    Intended: 'It’s all raining'

(23) *Ma-loppa=*nasang*=i matallo-na.
    ADJ=hot=all=3.ABS  sun-3.GEN
    Intended: 'The sun’s all hot'
RCs are subjects

- Argument RCs can occur with *nasang*.
  - This means the subject's not an expletive.

(24) Donat=nasang=i [anu na-ande].
    donut=all=3.ABS REL 3.ERG-eat
    'The things they ate were all donuts.'

(25) Donat=i [anu na-ande].
    PRED=3.ABS SUBJ
    'The things they ate were donuts.'

(HRC must be subject)

(Clause Structure of Psuedoclefts)
Interim Summary

- Mandar looks like a language where **wh-questions could be pseudoclefts**.
- Can we replicate this with **wh-words**?
Some questions look like pseudoclefts.

- Overt heads precede the remainder

(26) **Innai** [to=[ma’-balu’ barras]]?
    who  PERSON=AV.MED-sell raw.rice
    'Who’s the person selling rice?'

(27) **Apa** [di’e [na-alli-ang=o=digena’]=e]?
    what this 3.ERG-buy-BEN=2.ABS=earlier=DEF
    'What’s this thing he bought for you just now?'
This extends to HRCs with overt C’s.

- *anu* can follow any initial *wh*-word

(28) **Apa** [anu di-jama allo-allo]? 
what REL PASS-work RED-day
’What’s the thing that gets done every day?’
Pseudocleft Wh-Questions

- Typical analysis: \textit{wh-word} = \textit{predicate}.

- Can we apply this directly to Mandar?

(29) \textbf{Apa [anu na-ande]?
PRED SUBJ
'What she ate was WHAT?'

(Typical Pseudocleft Analysis)
Can this extend to HRCs with null Cs?
  - Could all wh-questions be pseudoclefts?

(4) **Innai** [Ø [na=mu-pile]]?
    who [REL [FUT=2.ERG-choose]]

'Who is the one that you will choose?'  
(Pseudocleft)

(30) **Innai** [Ø [na=mu-pile]]?
    PRED SUBJ

'Who is the one that you’ll choose?'  
(Pseudocleft Analysis of Bare WhQ)
Prepositions and Pied Piping

A Problem for Pseudoclefts
Mandar has prepositional pied-piping.
  - Necessarily occurs with inversion.

PPWI only available for prepositional complements of PV motion verbs.

PPWI structures are argument questions that cannot be pseudoclefts.
Pseudoclefts and Pied Piping

- **Displacement vs pseudoclefts:** Pied-Piping impossible with the latter.
  

(31) [About what] do they worry about what?

(32) It is [about their income] that they worry.

(33) *[About their income] is what they worry.
Mandar Prepositions

● Three classes of prepositions:
  ○ Non-locatives:  *bassa*  ‘like’
  ○ Locatives:  *lalang*  ‘in’
  ○ Directionals:  *tama*  ‘into’

● These things are really prepositions!
  ○ Cannot reduplicate, unlike N, V, Adj, Adv
  ○ License thematic roles, adjust telicity
## Table 2: Mandarin Prepositions

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<td>OVERSEAS.OF</td>
<td>lai’</td>
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Mandar PP Structure

- PP-Internal Structure: DIR > di= > LOC

(34) Umm-ondong=mo=i di’o to=gila=0  
AV-jump=PFV=3.ABS that PERSON=crazy=DEF up  
GP=top table  
’That crazy person just jumped up on top of the table!’

(35) Ye’, mel-lossor=da=a’  
				tama mesa meter di=lalang gua.  
PRT AV.MOT-crawl=LIM=1.ABS into one meter GP=inside cave  
’Well, I only crawled in a meter inside the cave.’
Mandar PP Structure

- **Svenonius (2007):** Path, Place, AxPart
  - Directionals are **Path**
  - di= is **Place**
  - Locatives are **AxPart**

(36) *Pole di=olo(-na) boyang-na*  
from GP=front(-3.GEN) house-3.GEN  
'From in front of the house'
Identifying Prepositions

● **Strict ordering with complements**
  ○ Must precede postverbal complements
  ○ Prepositions cannot move independently

(37) Di-wawa=mo=i di=wuttu (*daiq) i=Nabilah.
    PASS-bring=PFV=3.ABS GP=mountain up PRS=NAME
    Intended: Nabilah got carried up the mountain.’

(38) *Tama mil-lamba=i pesio-na mara’dia di=uma.
    into AV.MOT-walk=3.ABS servant-3.GEN king GP=garden
    Intended: ‘The king’s servant went into the garden.’

(Path precedes PP)

(Path cannot front alone)
Identifying Prepositions

- Path prepositions tied to thematic roles
- Can take bare complements

(39) Mak-kiring=i sure’ guru-u *(lao) di=passikola.
AV.DISTR-send=3.ABS letter teacher-1.GEN toward GP=student
’My teacher sends letters to the students.’
(Goal requires lao)

(40) Sallang-ngu lao Puang kost-ta’.
Greeting-1.GEN toward lord boarding.house-1.IN.GEN
’My greetings to your host father.’
(Paths can take bare complements)
Identifying Prepositions

- Prepositions can affect telicity
  
  *(shoot the bear vs. shoot at the bear)*

(41) Mal-laccar-ri=i buku di’o nanaeke=o **di=guru-na.**
    AV.DISTR-throw-LOC=3.ABS book that child=DEF GP=teacher-3.GEN
    'The students are pelting their teacher with books.'
    (No Path; Telic)

(42) Mal-laccar-ri=i buku di’o nanaeke=o lao **di=guru-na.**
    AV.DISTR-throw-LOC=3.ABS book that child=DEF toward GP=teacher-3.GEN
    'The students are throwing books at their teacher.'
    (With Path; Atelic)
Identifying Prepositions

- Morphologically distinct from N, Adv
  - Reduplication: N, V, Adj, Adv, but not P

(43) Inna na-bayam-bayang sambayang tongat-tongan?
Which 3.ERG-RED-imagine prayer RED-true
’What is imagined to be true prayer?’ (V, A reduplicate; Muthalib and Sangi 1991 D53)

(44) Mil-lamba=nasang=i nana’eke (*sung)-sung di=(*pondo’)-pondo’ boyang-na.
AV.MOT-walk=all=3.ABS children RED-outward GP=RED-behind house-3.GEN
Intended: ’The kids are walking out to behind their house.’ (No RED with Path, AxPart)
Pied Piping with Inversion

- The pattern: fronted PathP’s invert.

(45) Inna dai’ mu-ola dai’-inna?
    which up 2.ERG-go
    ’WHAT did you go up?’

- Unique to ‘objects’ of motion verbs.
- Multiple prepositions linearly reverse.
- Similar patterns in Mayan, Zapotec
  (Broadwell 2006)
The PPWI Pattern

• Identical patterns available with focus.
  ○ All wh-data can be replicated with foci.

(45) **Inna dai’** mu-ola  dai’-inna?
    which up  2.ERG-go
    ’WHAT did you go up?’

(46) **Buttu dai’** u-ola  dai’-buttu!
    mountain up  1.ERG-go
    ’I went up A MOUNTAIN!’

(PPWI with Wh)

(PPWI with Focus)
The PPWI Pattern

- Axial Parts show inversion as well.
- Complex PPs linearly reverse!

(47) **Inna aya** mu-oró’-i?
    which above 2.ERG-sit-LOC
    ’What are you sitting on top of?’

(48) **Inna lalang tama** na-ola  kandi’mu  tama-lalang-inna?
    which inside into 3.ERG-go little.sibling-2.GEN
    ’What did your little brother go inside?’

(PPWI with AxParts)

(Linear inversion of Complex PP)
What undergoes PPWI?

- The PPWI arguments are not adjuncts.
  - ‘Intransitive’ motion verbs are the only predicates which permit PP raising /PPWI.
    - PPWI blocked with regular adjuncts
    - Extraction facts make this clear.
What undergoes PPWI?

- AV verbs: adjuncts, not objects, extract.

(49) $Di=boyang=a'$ $ma'$-elong $di=boyang.$
GP=house=1.ABS AV.MED-sing
'I sing in THE HOUSE'

(50) $*Apa=o$ $ma'$-elong $apa?$
what=2.ABS AV.DISTR-sing
Intended: 'What are you singing?'

(AV Adjuncts can occur clause-initially)

(AV Objects cannot occur clause-initially)
The PPWI Pattern

• AV Motion Verb Paths, IOs: NO PPWI

(51) *Uma tama mil-lamba=i pesio-na mara’dia?
garden into AV.MOT-walk=3.ABS servant-3.GEN king
Intended: 'The king’s slaves walked INTO THE GARDEN.' (AV: No Path PPWI)

(52) *Bos-mu lao mak-kiring=o di’o laporan-mu a?
boss-2.GEN toward AV.DISTR-send=2.ABS that report-2.GEN PRT
Intended: 'You sent that report of yours TO YOUR BOSS, right?' (AV: No IO PPWI)
The PPWI Pattern

- Passive and PV non-motion verbs: do not permit adjuncts to undergo PPWI.

(53) *Inna dai di-wawa=i i=Nabilah?
which up PASS-carry=3.ABS PRS=NAME
Intended: 'What did Nabilah get carried up?'

(PASS: No Adjunct PPWI)

(54) *Inna dai na-wawa=i i=Nabilah?
which up 3.ERG-carry=3.ABS PRS=NAME
Intended: 'What did he carry Nabilah up?'

(PV: No Adjunct PPWI)
The PPWI Pattern

- PPWI occurs exclusively with locative objects of PV verbs denoting motion.

(47) **Inna aya** mu-oro’-i?
which above 2.ERG-sit-LOC
'What are you sitting on top of?’

(48) **Inna lalang tama** na-ola kandi’mu tama-lalang-inna?
which inside into 3.ERG-go little.sibling-2.GEN
'What did your little brother go inside?’

(PPWI with AxParts)

(Linear inversion of Complex PP)
Interim Observations

- Locative PP complements to motion verbs show PPWI when questioned.
- PPWI is available to pivots alone.
- Could these clauses be pseudoclefts?
PPWI Structures are not Pseudoclefts

• Ban on relativizers → Not pseudoclefts!
  ○ (But separate pseudocleft pattern available)

(55) Inna dai’ (*anu) mu-ola?
    which up REL 2.ERG-go
    Intended: ’What are you going up?’

(56) Inna [di’o [mu-ola dai’]=o]?
    which that 2.ERG-go up=DEF
    ’What’s the thing you’re going up?’

(No Overt C can be inserted)

(Dummy head possible without PPWI)
● PPWI doesn’t look like pseudoclefting.
  ○ Two sets of preposition show PPWI.
  ○ Only PP complements of motion verbs.
  ○ PPWI clauses cannot take relativizers.
  ○ These are argument questions that cannot be pseudoclefts.

● Open question: what about normal questions?
Returning to our original question

Copular Clauses and Nominal Predication
Absolutives and Questions

- PPWI: some agmt q’s not pseudoclefts.
- Let’s revisit bare argument questions.
  - Are these really pseudoclefts?

(3) **Innai** na=mu-pile innai?
    who  FUT-2.ERG-choose
    ’Who will you choose?’

(4) **Innai** [Ø [na=mu-pile]]?
    who  [REL [FUT=2.ERG-choose]]
    ’Who is the one that you will choose?’

(Movement)

(Pseudocleft)
Absolutives and Questions

- ‘Pseudoclefted’ argument questions and real pseudoclefts split on one point:
  - Wh-Questions ban absoututive clitics.

(25) \textit{Donat=ī [anu na-ande].}
\hspace{1cm} \text{PRED=3.ABS SUBJ}
\hspace{1cm} ’The things they ate were donuts.’

(29) \textit{Apa [anu na-ande]?
\hspace{1cm} \text{PRED SUBJ}
\hspace{1cm} ’What she ate was WHAT?’

(Clauses Structure of Pseudoclefts)

(Typical Pseudocleft Analysis)
Absolutives and Questions

- Both ‘bare’ and pseudoclefted wh-q’s cannot take absolutive clitics.

(57) Apa(*=i) mu-print?
     what=3.ABS 2.ERG-print
     Intended: ’What are you printing?’ (No ABS Clitics in Bare Wh-Question)

(58) Innai=(*=i) [di’o [Ø ma’-ita-i=rua=a’]=o]?
     who=3.ABS that REL AV.DIST-see-LOC=still=1.ABS=DEF
     Intended: ’Who is that (person) still looking for me?’ (No ABS Clitics in ’Pseudocleft’)
Absolutives and Questions

- The problem is not that nominal predicates cannot bear absolutes.

(59) Apa=o?
    what=2.ABS
    'What are you?'

(60) Guru-mu=a’ le’!
    teacher-2.GEN=1.ABS PRT
    'I’m your teacher, duh!'

(ABS clitics available with nominal wh-predicates)

(ABS clitics available with regular nominal predicates)
Absolutives and Questions

- The problem’s not semantic/pragmatic.
  - If ‘subjects’ are HRCs, which contain presupposed information, they ought to be able to be doubled by clitics.

(25) \(\text{Donat} = i \quad \text{[anu na-ande].}\)

\(\text{PRED}=3.\text{ABS SUBJ}\)

’The things they ate were donuts.’

(Clause Structure of Pseudoclefts)
What's a Clitic Ban?

- Where else are ABS clitics banned?
  - Certain types of copular clause
  - Extraction and raising structures.

- Idea: ABS clitic bans → displacement.
What's a Clitic Ban?

- Two types of copular clause:
  - Less definite nominal first, followed by ABS
  - More definite nominal first, ABS impossible.

\[(61)\] To=Amerika=i \textit{kandi’-u.} \\
PERSON=America=3.ABS younger.sibling-1.GEN \\
’My younger sibling is an American.’ \\
(NP \triangleright ABS \triangleright DP)

\[(62)\] Kandi’-u to=Amerika. \\
younger.sibling-1.GEN PERSON=America \\
’My younger sibling is an American.’ \\
(DP \triangleright \emptyset \triangleright NP)
What's a Clitic Ban?

- **DP–DP equation**: ABS clitics always impossible.

(63) \(I'o=\text{rua}=\text{pa}\) to=\(u\)-pang-\(i\)’
\[2.\text{FAM}=\text{still}=\text{IPFV} \ \text{PERSON} - 1.\text{ERG-DISTR-dream}\]
'The person I’m dreaming of is still you.’

(Free Order; Clitic Never Possible)

(64) To=\(u\)-pang-\(i\)’ \(i'o=\text{rua}=\text{pa}\).
\[\text{PERSON} - 1.\text{ERG-DISTR-dream} \ \text{2.FAM}=\text{still}=\text{IPFV}\]
'The person I’m dreaming of is still you.’

(Free Order; Clitic Never Possible)
What's a Clitic Ban?

* Where else are clitics banned? When pivots front.

(65) i=Pani ma-lutta=sanna’=*(i) ma’-basə inggris.
    PRS=NAME ADJ-clever-very AV.MED-language English
    'Pani’s very good at speaking English.' (Fronted Subject cannot be doubled)

(66) Innai(*=i) mu-ita-i?
    who 2.ERG-look-LOC
    'Who are you looking for?' (Fronted Wh-word cannot be doubled?)
What's a Clitic Ban?

- Some interesting questions open up around this.
  - Does a ban on inserting absolutive clitics actually suggest that pivots have displaced?
  - This would mean that *all* wh-initial questions involve displacement of a pivot argument.
  - In other words, this can’t be right!

(29) **apa [anu na-ande]?**
PRED SUBJ
’What she ate was WHAT?’

(Typical Pseudocleft Analysis)
What's a Clitic Ban?

- Why can’t clitics co-occur with fronted pivots?
  - Doubling as a PF phenomenon *(Harizanov 2014)*
    - Suppose all pivots raise to preverbal position.
    - PF constraints ban them from being realized in this position, so copies here are realized as enclitics and lower ones pronounced fully.
    - Pivots that front further to a left-peripheral focus position can be fully realized there → these are impossible to double!
  - This approach has lots of interesting consequences...
Conclusions and Questions

Looking towards the horizon
Some Conclusions:

- Some argument wh-questions are not pseudoclefts in Mandar.
  - PP objects of PV-motion verbs show PPWI with fronted wh’s.
  - Overt elements which signal pseudoclefts cannot be added.

- Open Q: are any bare argument wh-questions ‘just’ pseudoclefts?
  - Clitic placement evidence sets wh-questions apart from both copular clauses and pseudoclefts. So they might not be.

- Future direction:
  - What does the ban on ABS clitics mean?


Bibliography


Thank you!

- Please ask questions!

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