



Pseudoclefts and Pied Piping with Inversion in Mandar

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West Sulawesi

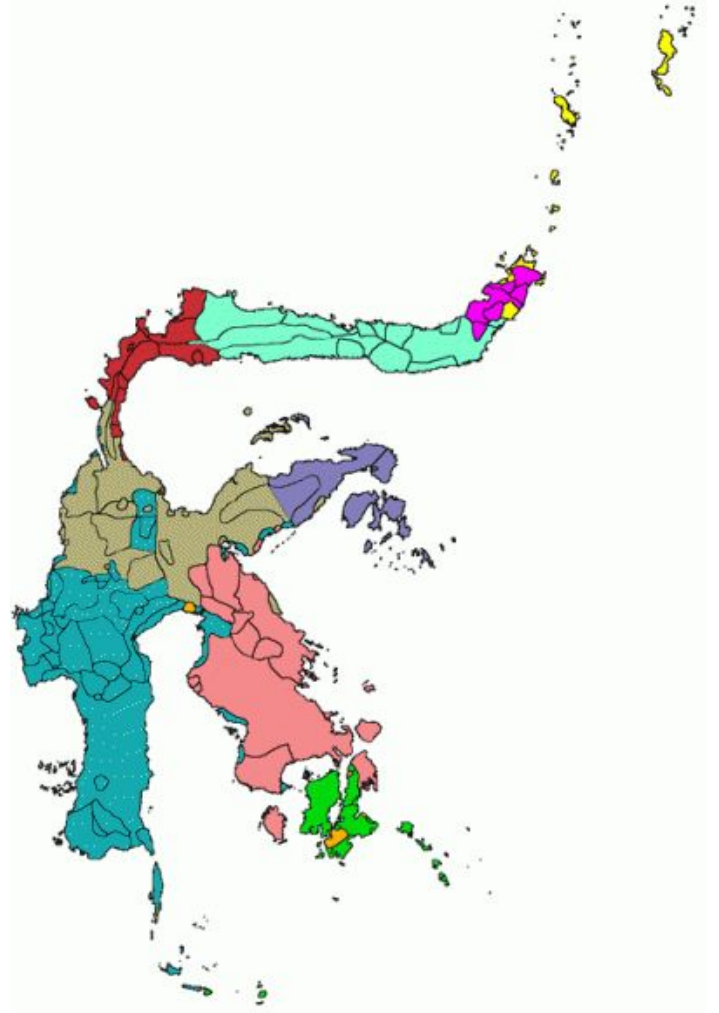
Sulawesi

Austronesia

Eleven subgroups

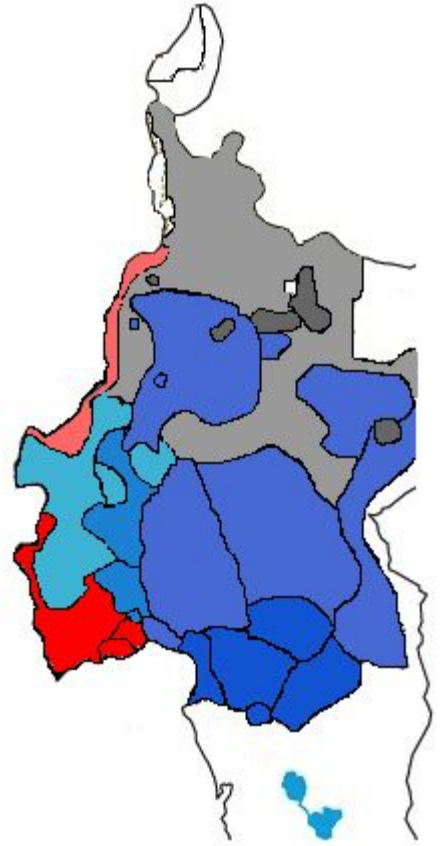
Blue: SSul Subfamily

- 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?'

(Incorporated)

(2) **Apa** mu-peang?
what 2.ERG-fish

'What are you fishing for?'

(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?'

(Movement)

(4) **Innai** [Ø [na=mu-pile]]?

who [REL [FUT=2.ERG-choose]]

'Who is the one that you will choose?'

(Pseudocleft)



Analyses in Austronesian

- Both patterns attested in Western MP
 - Argument Questions are pseudoclefts in:
 - Malagasy (Pearson 2006), Tagalog (Richards 1998), Ilocano (Rafal 2009), Malay (Aman et al. 2010), Tsou (Chang 2000), Seediq (Aldridge 2002), Palauan (Georgopoulos 1991), Marshallese (Willson–Sturman 2014)
 - 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).



The Mandar Situation

- 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

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Quick Facts

What you need to know about Mandarin



Quick Sociolinguistic Facts

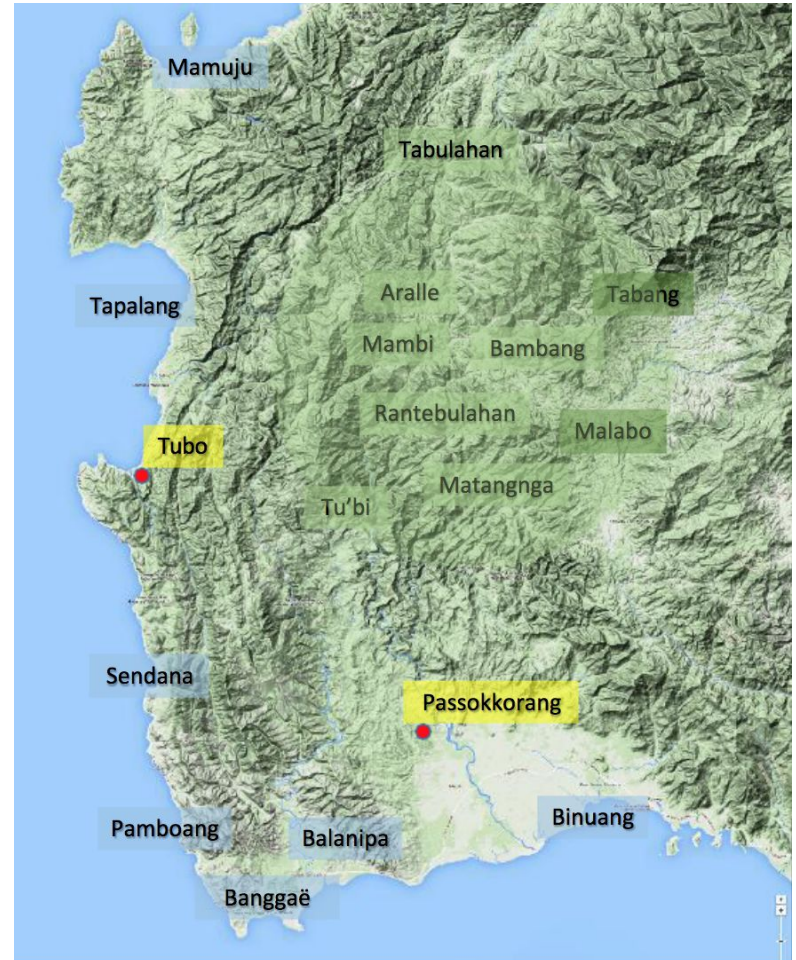
- **West Sulawesi: “Mandar Country”**
 - 475,000 speakers; EGIDS Level 5
 - This presentation: ‘new’ orthography.
 - **The PPWI pattern here is regional**
 - Ulumanda’, Pitu Ulunna Salu, Mamasa
 - NOT in: closest relative, Mamuju.



Map of Tanah Mandar

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

(Map from Horst Liebner; p.c.)





Voice and Person-Marking

- 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’)



Voice and Person-Marking

- 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.' (AV Agent)
- (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.' (PV Patient)



Voice and Person-Marking

- Absolute clitics: one per matrix clause.
 - Clitic Doubling, not Agreement
 - 3.abs clitic sensitive to definiteness of pivot.
- (7) Ma-sande=purung=nasang= \emptyset 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)



Predicate Fronting

- **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.' (NP Predicate)
- (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.' (PP Predicate)



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.' (Coordinated VPs)
- (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.' (Coordinated APs; Sikki et al. 1987 C272)

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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!



Relativization Strategies

- 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 = *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.'

(Read with AV Agent)

(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.'

(Read with PV Patient)



RCs are subjects

- Expletive, Singular subjects: no *nasang*

(22) *Urang=**nasang**=mo=i
rain=all=PFV=3.ABS

Intended: 'It's all raining'

(Expletive Subject)

(23) *Ma-loppa=**nasang**=i matallo-na.
ADJ=hot=all=3.ABS sun-3.GEN

Intended: 'The sun's all hot'

(Singular Subject)



RCs are subjects

- Argument RCs can occur w/ *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.'

(HRC must be subject)

(25) **Donat=i** [**anu na-ande**].

PRED=3.ABS SUBJ

'The things they ate were donuts.'

(Clause Structure of Psuedoclefts)



Interim Summary

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



Pseudocleft Wh-Questions

- 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?'

(Person)

(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?'

(Determiner)



Pseudocleft Wh-Questions

- 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?'

(HRC)



Pseudocleft Wh-Questions

- Typical analysis: **wh-word = predicate.**
 - Malagasy (Paul 2001, 2003), Tagalog (Mercado 2004)
- Can we apply this directly to Mandarin?

(29) **Apa** [anu na-ande]?

PRED SUBJ

'What she ate was WHAT?'

(Typical Pseudocleft Analysis)



Pseudocleft Wh-Questions

- 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)

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Prepositions and Pied Piping

A Problem for Pseudoclefts



Pseudoclefts and Pied Piping

- 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.

(Heggie 1988, Collins 1991, Den Dikken 2006)

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------|
| (31) | [About what] do they worry about what ? | (Displacement) |
| (32) | It is [about their income] that they worry. | (Cleft) |
| (33) | *[About their income] is what they worry. | (Pseudocleft) |



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



Locative Prepositions

Table 2: Mandar Prepositions

DIRECTIONAL	PREP	LOCATIVE	PREP
TOWARD	<i>lao</i>	FRONT	<i>olo</i>
FROM	<i>pole</i>	BEHIND	<i>pondo'</i>
INTO	<i>tama</i>	INSIDE	<i>lalang</i>
OUT	<i>sung</i>	OUTSIDE	<i>lewa'</i>
ONTO	<i>dai'</i>	ABOVE	<i>aya</i>
DOWN.TO	<i>naung</i>	BELOW	<i>lolo'</i>
OVERSEAS.TO	<i>sau</i>	OVERSEAS.OF	<i>lai'</i>



Mandar PP Structure

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

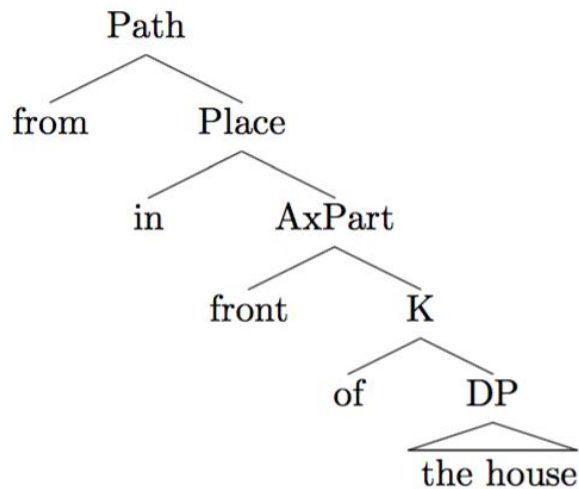
- (34) Umm-ondong=mo=i di'o to=gila=o **dai' di=aya** meja!
AV-jump=PFV=3.ABS that PERSON=crazy=DEF up GP=top table
'That crazy person just jumped up on top of the table!'
- (35) Ye', mel-lossor=da=a' **tama** mesa meter **di=lalang** gua.
PRT AV.MOT-crawl=LIM=1.ABS into one meter GP=inside cave
'Well, 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.' (Path precedes PP)

(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 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?'

(PPWI with Wh)

- 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?'

(PPWI with Wh)

(46) **Buttu dai'** u-ola dai'-buttu!

mountain up 1.ERG-go

'I went up A MOUNTAIN!'

(PPWI with Focus)



The PPWI Pattern

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

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

(AV Adjuncts can occur clause-initially)

(50) ***Apa=o** ma'-elong apa?
what=2.ABS AV.DISTR-sing

Intended: 'What are you singing?'

(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 PPW)



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?'

(PPWI with AxParts)

(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?'

(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?'

(No Overt C can be inserted)

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

(Dummy head possible without PPWI)



Future Prospectus

- 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?

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Copular Clauses and Nominal Predication

Returning to our original question



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?'

(Movement)

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

'Who is the one that you will choose?'

(Pseudocleft)



Absolutives and Questions

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

(25) **Donat=i** [anu na-ande].
PRED=3.ABS SUBJ

’The things they ate were donuts.’

(Clause Structure of Pseudoclefts)

(29) **Apa** [anu na-ande]?
PRED SUBJ

’What she ate was WHAT?’

(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=rúa=a']=o]?
who=3.ABS that REL AV.DISTR-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 absolutives.

(59) **Apa=o?**

what=2.ABS

'What are you?'

(ABS clitics available with nominal wh-predicates)

(60) **Guru-mu=a' le'!**

teacher-2.GEN=1.ABS PRT

'I'm your teacher, duh!'

(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) **Donat=i** [anu na-ande].

PRED=3.ABS SUBJ

'The things they ate were donuts.'

(Clause Structure of Psuedoclefts)



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 **kandi'-u.**
PERSON=America=3.ABS younger.sibling-1.GEN
'My younger sibling is an American.'

(NP } ABS } DP)

(62) **Kandi'-u** to=Amerika.
younger.sibling-1.GEN PERSON=America
'My younger sibling is an American.'

(DP } Ø } NP)



What's a Clitic Ban?

- DP-DP equation: ABS clitics always impossible.

(63) **i'o=rua=pa** to=u-pang-ipi'
2.FAM=still=IPFV PERSON-1.ERG-DISTR-dream
'The person I'm dreaming of is still you.'

(Free Order; Clitic Never Possible)

(64) To=u-pang-ipi' **i'o=rua=pa.**
PERSON-1.ERG-DISTR-dream 2.FAM=still=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'-basa 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 absolute 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...

6

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?



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Thank you!

- Please ask questions!

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