Clitics, Prosody, and 2P in West Sulawesi

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Phlunch, November 22
West Sulawesi
Sulawesi Facts

- Austronesia
- Eleven subgroups
- **Blue: SSul Subfamily**
  - Three branches:
    - Makassar
    - Bugis
    - **Northern Group**
West Sulawesi

- ‘Northern South Sulawesi’
  - Inland Branch (Blue)
  - Coastal Branch (Red)
    - Mamuju
    - Mandar

- Today’s facts:
  - Data comes from Mandar
  - Patterns identical in Mamuju
  - Slight variation, same general picture in (some) inland langs
The roadmap

2p Clitics
An outline of approaches

Mandar Clitics
The basic inventory

It's Prosody
A non-syntactic analysis
1. Second Position Clitics

Approaches in the Literature
Cross-linguistic 2P

“Special Clitics”
- Clitics that don’t appear in the same positions as their associates (Zwicky 1977)
- Verb-adjacent Clitics
  - Romance, Bulgarian

- Second-Position Clitics
  - South Slavic, Mandar

Approaches to 2P Clisis
- “It’s entirely syntactic”
  - Anderson 1993
- “It’s mostly syntactic”
  - Halpern 1992
- “It’s not syntactic”
  - Schütze 1996
Syntactic Approaches

Approach 1: 2P Clisis works like V2
- Clitics to C; something else to Spec,CP

Approach 2: 2P Clisis with Prosodic Inversion
- Clitics move to C; invert with following material at PF.

- Boskovic ‘04 argues that PF-inversion is unnecessary in BCS, since you can always derive DP-splitting patterns in the syntax.
  - If you can do left-branch extraction, no need for PI.
2. The Mandar Inventory

What encliticizes where
The Big Picture

Four Classes of 2P Clitic

- Abs, Asp, Adv, + Other
- Strict order: Adv > Asp > Abs > Other
- Placement patterns cannot be derived in the syntax.
- → Need a prosodic model!

The Placement Pattern:

- Adv, Asp, Abs: strict 2P.
- The catch: only some things ‘count’ for prosodic 2P.
  - Verbs, Aspectual heads, Negation, fronted Foci
  - Complementizers, high adverbs: don’t count
- A mystery: intervention.
A Quick Syntactic Sketch

▷ Verb-initial language
  ○ Before V:
    ■ Complementizers, temporal adverbs, negation
  ○ After V:
    ■ Agents, Themes, Indirect Objects, PPs, etc

(1) Ma’ua=mo=a’ ua diang=bandi masala-mu,
    say=EMPH=1 COMP there.is=really problem-2

    apa’ tarrus=tappa=da=o mi’o-mi’oro mangino fortnite di=patindoang-mu.
    because continue=only=LIM=2 RED-sit play fortnite PREP=bed-2.

    ‘I’m saying you really do have a problem, since you just sit around playing fortnite in bed.’
Subject Marking

▷ “Pivots” indexed with 2P clitics
  ○ Transitive S marked with verb-adjacent proclitics.
  ○ Intransitive S, transitive O marked w/ 2P enclitics.

(2) a. Andang=macoa=o ma’elong a?
    NEG=well=2 sing PRT
    'You don’t sing very well, huh?’

b. Da=a’ mu-dacing da=a’ mu-kiloharangi: tania=a’ boka’.
   DON’T=1 2-scale DON’T=1 2-kilogram NEG=1 copra
   'Don’t weigh me, don’t count me in kilograms: I’m not an agricultural product!'
   (M&S ’91: Kalindaqdaq Poetry 405)
Subject Marking

▷ Absolutive Clitics co-occur w/ associates.

(3)  

a. Monge-monge’=p'a=a' iyau anna tonaande-gayang...
   RED-sick=IPFV=1 1.sg CONJ stabbed.person
   'I’m more hurt than someone who’s been stabbed (because you ignore me)'
   (M& S ’91: Kalindaqdaq Poetry 21)

b. Ma-kikkir=sannal=i di’o to=sugi’=o
   ADJ-stingy=very=3 that person=rich=DEF
   'That rich guy’s really stingy'
   (S.’87: Mandar Functional Words 711)
The 2P position is also populated by:
- Disyllabic adverbial clitics
- Monosyllabic adverbial clitics
- Monosyllabic aspectual clitics
- Disyllabic ‘optional’ clitics.

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Adverbial Clitics

- Ordered by syllable count: heavy-first.
  - Opposite Tagalog (Kaufman 2009)
  - Monosyllabic clitics freely co-occur (fixed order)
  - Disyllabic clitics: max one per clause

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Prosodic, not syntactic, restriction here.
Adverbial Clitics

(4) a. Andiang=bappa=i=tia matamba’=sannal urang.
   NEG=hopefully=3=3sg heavy=very rain
   ’Hopefully the rain’s not too heavy.’
   (F & J.’00: Mandar Conversations 256)

   b. Melo’=banda=mo=i disanga manarang, anna cangngo=da=i.
      want=really=EMPH=3 be.considered smart but stupid=LIM=3
      ’He wants to be considered smart, but he’s just stupid.’
      (S.’87: Mandar Functional Words 1141)

(5) a. Pirang=pa=itau mala mammula?
    when=IPFV=1.pl can start
    ’When can we start?’
    (F & J.’00: Mandar Conversations 11)

   b. Na-paressaq=nasang=bo=mo=i di’o bau=o anna lao=to=mo=i=tia
      3-cook-all=again=PFV=3 that fish=DEF and go=also=PFV=3=3.sg
      ’She had already cooked all the fish again and had also already gone off.’
      (P.’82: Mandar Structure 158)
Optional Clitics

▷ Other elements optionally ‘tag along’ to 2P
  ○ Demonstratives, freely-positioned adverbs

(6) a. ...Na-ala=o=manini ranja ringe-ringe-’u.
   3-take=2=later magic.charm RED-tooth-1
   ’(lest) the magic charm of my teeth enrapture you later.’
   (M&S.’91: Kalindaqdaq Poetry 20)

b. Pusa’ akal=da=mo=a’=di’e, pa’da=mo=i pikkirang-u; i’o=mo=tu’u.
   confused mind=LIM=EMPH=1=this vanish=EMPH=3 thought-1 2=EMPH=that
   ’My mind’s confused now, my thoughts have vanished; it’s only you.’
   (M&S.’91: Kalindaqdaq Poetry 102)
Where Clitics Go

▷ Clitics strictly 2P in the Middle Field
▷ Obligatorily follow highest element:

(7)  

a. Yau andiang pura mala umm-ande.  
   1.SG NEG already can AV.EAT  
   'I am not already able to eat.'

b. Umm-ande=bando=to=o=digena’?  
   AV-eat=REALLY=ALSO=2.ABS=EARLIER  
   'Did you really also eat earlier?'
Where Clitics Go

▷ Clitics strictly 2P in the Middle Field
▷ Obligatorily follow highest element:

c. Mala=bando=to=o=digena’ umm-ande?
   ’Could you really also eat earlier?’

d. Pura=bando=to=o=digena’ mala umm-ande?
   ’Were you really also already able to eat earlier?’

e. Andiang=bando=to=o=digena’ pura mala umm-ande?
   ’Were you really not also already able to eat earlier?’
Clitics don’t raise past NEG.

▷ Complementizers, coordinators, and high temporal adverbs: ‘invisible’ to 2P

(8)  a. Da’a=itau manating a,  *apa’*  semata u-chat=itau!  
  DON’T=1.in angry  PRT because always  1-chat=1.in  
  ’Don’t get mad because I’m always chatting you, ok?’

b. Anna manini tarrus=o  naung di=Mamuju  
  and later continue=2 down  PREP=CITY  
  ’And only later continue down to Mamuju!’

(S.’87: Mandar Functional Words 395)
Interim Summary:

- Mandar has lots of 2P Clitics
- Middle field heads all visible for 2P
- C, Conj, Temporal Adverbs: not visible

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3. A Prosodic Analysis

Some prosodic-looking stuff
Three weird patterns

▷ Clitics can split up complex DPs.
  ○ (which can’t be split via subextraction)

▷ Raising blocked only by ‘overt’ barriers.
  ○ Temporal adverbs, overt heads of RCs

▷ An incorporation pattern
  ○ These languages probably have a postverbal focus position with a distinct prosodic signature
  ○ Clitic placement patterns make it visible
Clitics split complex DPs

- Clitics can split up complex DPs.
  - Mandar looks like Chamorro (Chung 2003)

(9)  a. [Sicco=bo=mo=diolo roti] ande!
     a.bit=again=EMPH=first bread eat!
     ’Eat a bit more bread first!’

   b. [Panneliti=tendi=toi pole di=Amerika] marroko’ siola=itau le’!
     researcher=should=also from PREP=America smoke with=1.in PRT
     ’Of course researchers from America should be smoking with us!’
Clitics split complex DPs

- Clitics can split up complex DPs.
  - Mandar looks like Chamorro (Chung 2003)

(10) a. [Pitu=pa tau] ma’akke’ di’o lamari nappa mala tiakke.
    seven=IPFV person pick.up that dresser then can be.lifted
    ‘Seven more people will help pick up that dresser and just then it will be lifted.’
    (S.’87: Mandar Functional Words 834)

    Five=also=IPFV million 3-sell.for car-3.
    ‘He also sold his car for five million (rupiah).’
    (S.’87, Mandar Functional Words: 625)
Clitics split complex DPs

▷ Crucially, subextraction is not possible
  ○ Mandar is not Serbo-Croatian
▷ N.B: they’re not DP predicates either.

    Seven=EMPH 1-say person lift dresser-3
    Intended: ”I said SEVEN people would lift the dresser.”

b. *Pole di=Amerika ni-sanga tau melo’ mandundu ballo’ anna marokko’.
    from PREP=America we-know person want drink alcohol CONJ smoke
    Intended: ’But we know people FROM AMERICA prefer drinking to smoking.’
Intervention Effects

▷ Left-peripheral foci attract clitics.
▷ When temporal adverbs surface overtly, clitic attraction becomes impossible.

(12) a. **Hairul semata** mangino PubG, tapi yau makkassei fortnite.
    NAME always play GAME, but 1.SG like fortnite.
    'HAIRUL’s always playing PubG, but I like fortnite.’

b. **Kotta’-u=banda=mo** mangino PubG a?
    boyfriend-1-really=EMPH play PubG PRT
    'Is my boyfriend really playing PubG?'

c. ***Kotta’-u=banda=mo semata** mangino PubG.
    boyfriend-1=really=EMPH always play PubG.
    Intended: 'My boyfriend really always plays PubG.’
Intervention Effects

▷ Another example: raising out of HRCs
  ○ Subject HRCs allow absolutive clitics to raise out
  ○ When the RC has a head, raising is impossible!

(13)  a. Ma’idi=a’ [Ø namappolei]
      many=1    REL will.come.visit
      ’Many people will come visit me.’

  b. Ma’idi [to=namappolei=a’]
      many [person=will.come.visit=1]
      ’Many people will come visit me.’

  c. *Mai’di=a’ [to=namappolei].
Postverbal incorporation

- Postverbal objects can incorporate into V.
  - Forms prosodic constituent w/ (P) stress on O.
  - Non-fronted wh-words must occur in this pos’n.
  - Clitics cannot split these units.

(14)  a. Maitai=baine=o a?
      Look.for=wife=2  PRT
      'Looking for a wife, huh?'

   b. Maitai=apa=i?
      Look.for=what=3
      'What is he looking for?’

   c. *Maitai=i apa?
      Look.for=3 what
      Intended: ”What is he looking for?’
Section Conclusions

- These clitics look prosodically placed.
  - Ignore syntactic constituency (split complex DPs)
  - Respect prosodic constituency (do not split ‘incorporation’ structures)
  - Sensitive to certain types of intervention.
4.
Some Prosodic Data
Three patterns

▷ Some relevant initial unit ends in a fall.

▷ Clitics always follow the first fall.

▷ There’s NEVER a fall between verbs and incorporated material/inner clitics.

▷ One humble conclusion: Verbs form a prosodic unit with ‘IAV’ stuff.
Clitics follow falls

my uncle bought fish
Clitics follow falls

mang-alli=i   lameayu   ama’-u
av-buy=3.abs  tuber     my mom

my mom bought sweet potato
Steady rise over incorporated stuff

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<td>indeed=3abs</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>my mom</td>
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my mom really did buy yams
Steady rise over incorporated stuff

uwawa naungi  lameayu  ri woyan na  ama’-u
1.erg-bring down=3.abs  sweet potato  in house-3.gen  mom-1.gen

i brought the sweet potatos down to my mom’s house
Same rise over postverbal Wh-words

where is your husband singing?
Same rise over postverbal Wh-words
Same pattern when non-initial
Real Prosodic Conclusions:

▷ Clitics follow the first prosodic constituent X

▷ Verbs and ‘postverbal’ things form a single prosodic constituent in this regard

▷ This prosodic contour likely has to do with the ‘focus’ interpretation on immediately postverbal material (e.g. wh-words)
5. Conclusions
2P Hijinks in West Sulawesi

▷ Mandar (+Mamuju, SSul) has a complex clitic system.
▷ Four classes of clitic wind up in prosodically-defined 2P.
▷ These clitics cannot be syntactically placed.
▷ Analog: Weak Pronouns in Chamorro (Chung ‘03, Bibbs forthcoming)
Open Questions

▷ How do these clitics actually get there?
  ○ What puts all the clitics in that one position?
  ○ Why are they ordered as they are?
  ○ The fall seems to fall on the absolutive-- why?

▷ What’s the relevant prosodic unit for 2P?
  ○ DP-splitting examples make it look like the word
  ○ The pseudo-incorporation stuff... might not.

▷ Why do certain adverbs resist hosting clitics- and, moreover, block their raising onto foci?

▷ Syntax?
Thanks for listening!

Selected Refs: