



Clitics, Prosody, and 2P in West Sulawesi

Dan Brodtkin

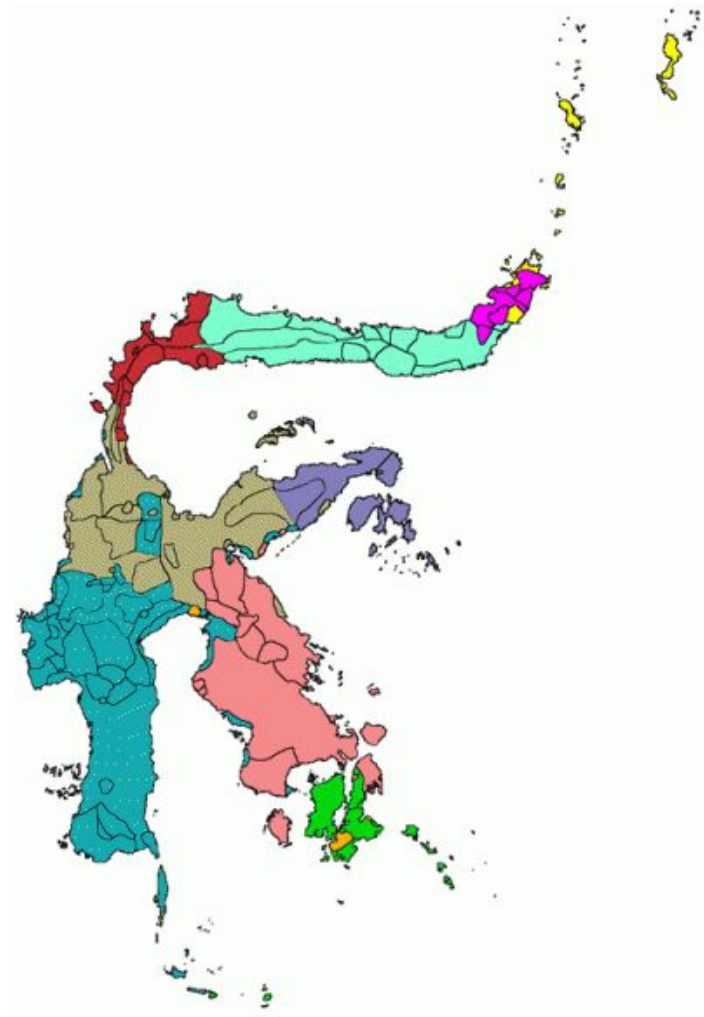
Phlunch, November 22

West Sulawesi



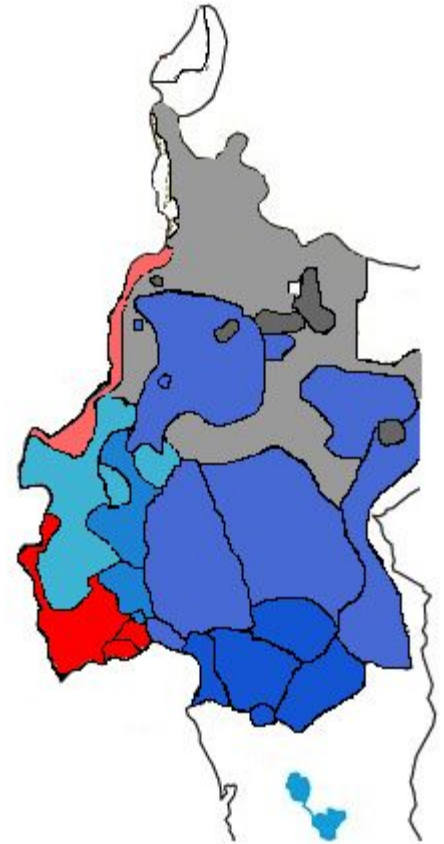
Sulawesi Facts

- 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
- Franks 2000, Progovac 2000, Boskovic 1995, Boskovic 2004

Approach 2: 2P Clisis with Prosodic Inversion

- Clitics move to C; invert with following material at PF.
- Halpern 1992, 1995, Schütze 1996
- 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

- ▷ Absolute Clitics co-occur w/ associates.

- (3) a. Monge-monge'=pa=**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)

Adverbial Clitics

- ▷ The 2P position is also populated by:
 - Disyllabic adverbial clitics
 - Monosyllabic adverbial clitics
 - Monosyllabic aspectual clitics
 - Disyllabic ‘optional’ clitics.

ADV _(σσ)		ADV _(σ)		ABS		OTHER	
<i>nasang</i>	ALL	<i>mo</i>	PFV	<i>a'</i>	1.ABS	<i>digena</i>	EARLIER
<i>pissang</i>	ONCE	<i>pa</i>	IPFV	<i>tau</i>	1.IN.ABS	<i>nenna</i>	LATER
<i>banda</i>	REALLY	<i>bo</i>	AGAIN	<i>o'o</i>	2.ABS	<i>di'e</i>	THIS/NOW
<i>tenda</i>	TOO.MUCH	<i>to</i>	ALSO	<i>i</i>	3.ABS	<i>di'o</i>	THAT/THEN
<i>sannal</i>	VERY	<i>da</i>	LIM			<i>tu'u</i>	'THAT'
<i>le'ba'</i>	EXACTLY	<i>a</i>	MAYBE				
<i>tappa'</i>	ONLY						

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
 - Prosodic, not syntactic, restriction here.

ADV _(σσ)		ADV _(σ)		ABS		OTHER	
<i>nasang</i>	ALL	<i>mo</i>	PFV	<i>a'</i>	1.ABS	<i>digena</i>	EARLIER
<i>pissang</i>	ONCE	<i>pa</i>	IPFV	<i>tau</i>	1.IN.ABS	<i>nenna</i>	LATER
<i>banda</i>	REALLY	<i>bo</i>	AGAIN	<i>o'o</i>	2.ABS	<i>di'e</i>	THIS/NOW
<i>tenda</i>	TOO.MUCH	<i>to</i>	ALSO	<i>i</i>	3.ABS	<i>di'o</i>	THAT/THEN
<i>sannal</i>	VERY	<i>da</i>	LIM			<i>tu'u</i>	'THAT'
<i>le'ba'</i>	EXACTLY	<i>a</i>	MAYBE				
<i>tappa'</i>	ONLY						

Adverbial Clitics

- (4) a. Andi**ang=**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, coordinations, 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

ADV _(σσ)		ADV _(σ)		ABS		OTHER	
<i>nasang</i>	ALL	<i>mo</i>	PFV	<i>a'</i>	1.ABS	<i>digena</i>	EARLIER
<i>pissang</i>	ONCE	<i>pa</i>	IPFV	<i>tau</i>	1.IN.ABS	<i>nenna</i>	LATER
<i>banda</i>	REALLY	<i>bo</i>	AGAIN	<i>o'o</i>	2.ABS	<i>di'e</i>	THIS/NOW
<i>tenda</i>	TOO.MUCH	<i>to</i>	ALSO	<i>i</i>	3.ABS	<i>di'o</i>	THAT/THEN
<i>sannal</i>	VERY	<i>da</i>	LIM			<i>tu'u</i>	'THAT'
<i>le'ba'</i>	EXACTLY	<i>a</i>	MAYBE				
<i>tappa'</i>	ONLY						

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. [Pannaliti=**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)
- b. [Lima=**to=pa** juta] na-baluangani oto-na.
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.

- (11) a. ***Pitu=mo** u-ua tau ma'akke' lamari-na.
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**' [∅ 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.

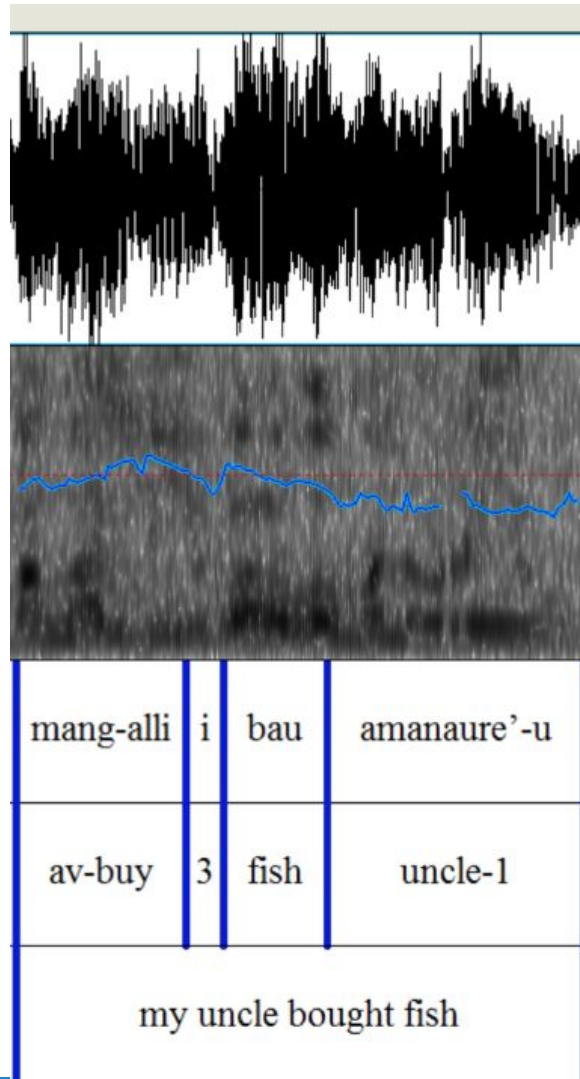
4.

Some Prosodic Data

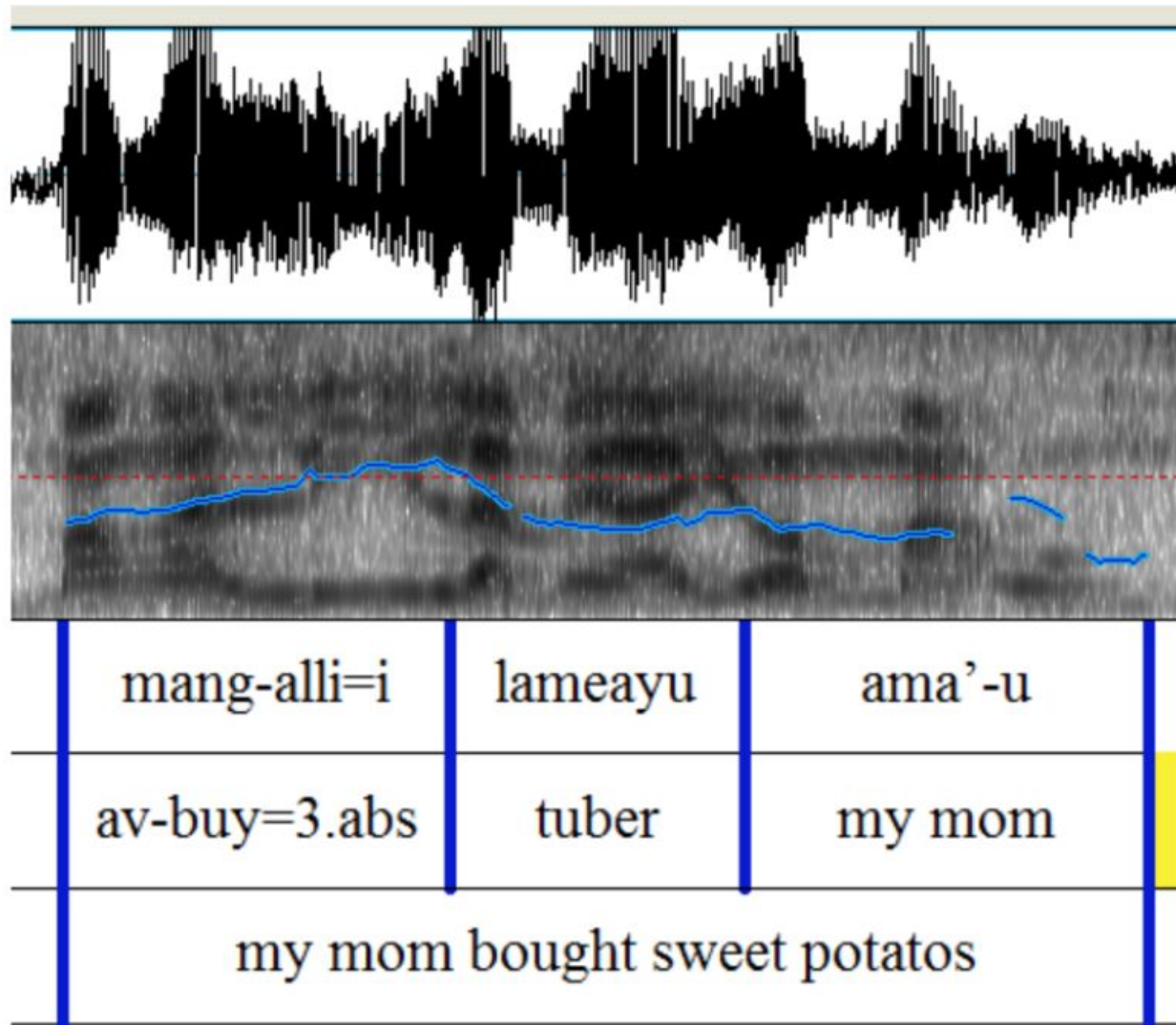
Three patterns

- ▷ 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.

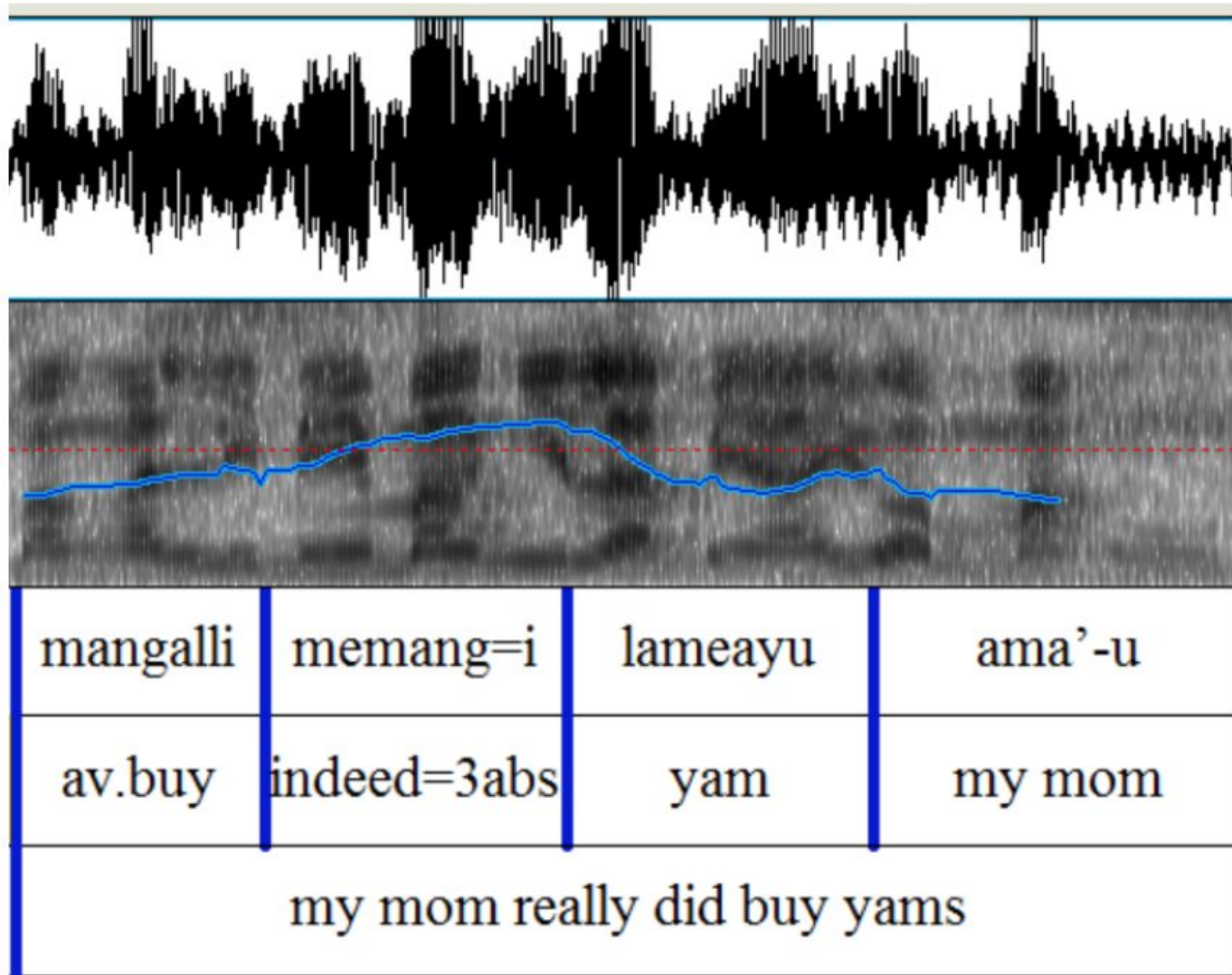
Clitics follow falls



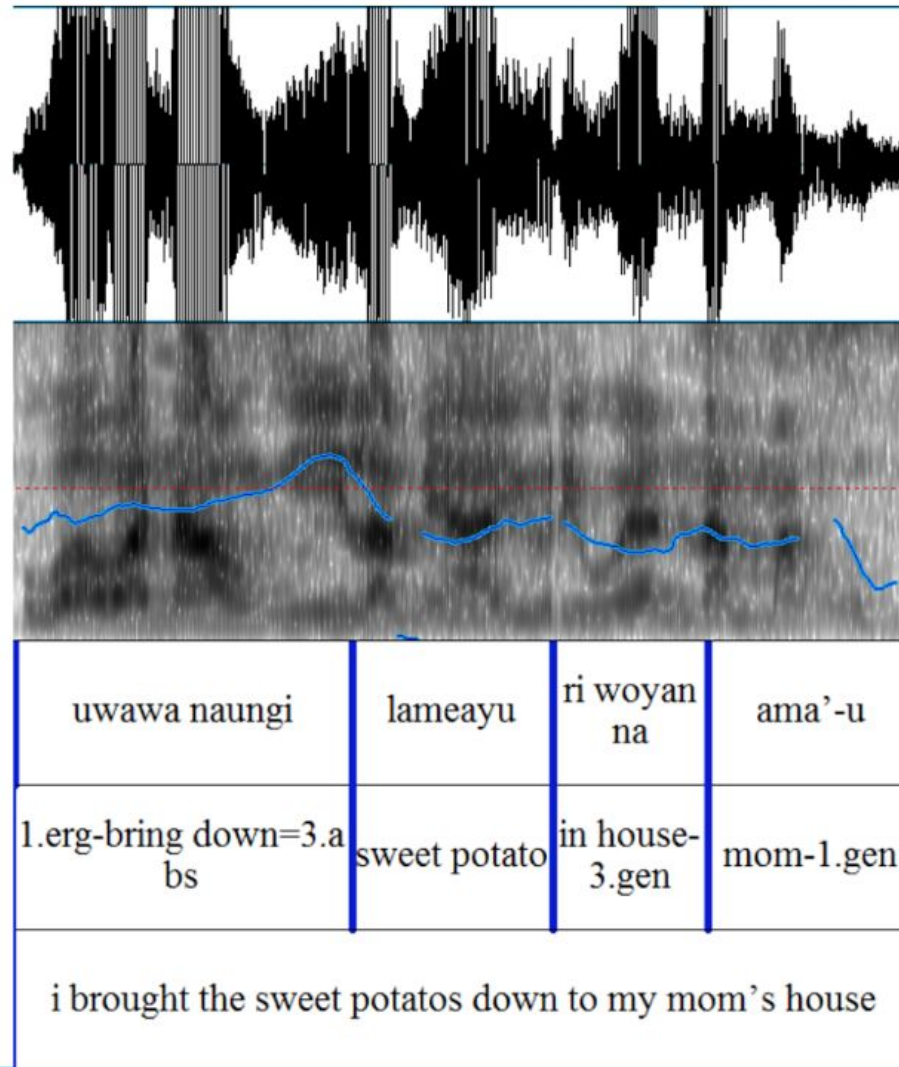
Clitics follow falls



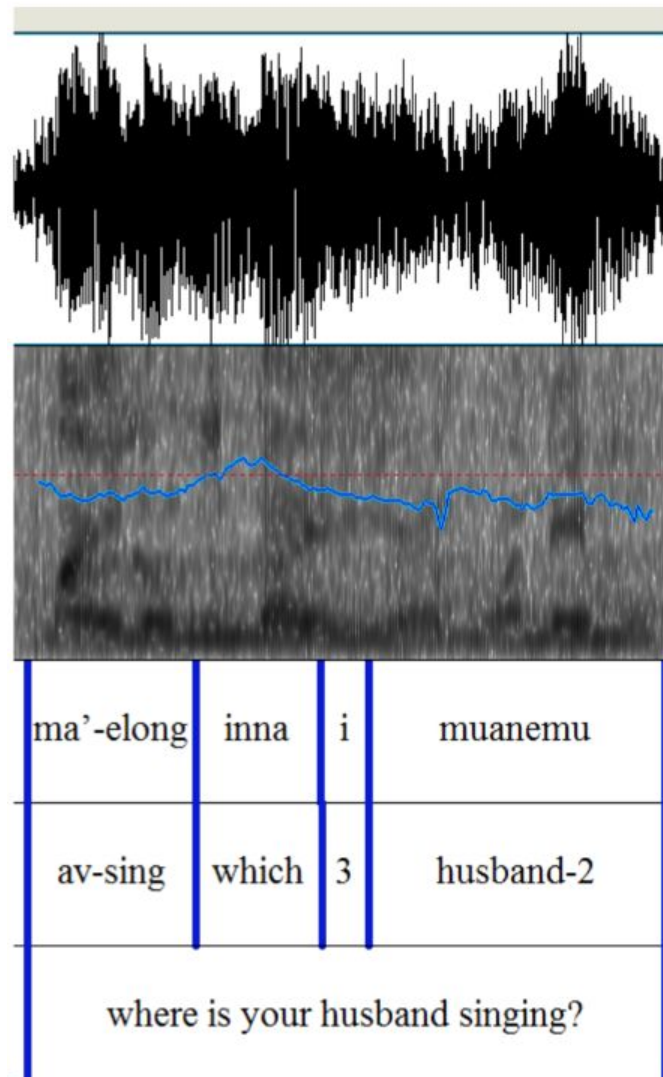
Steady rise over incorporated stuff



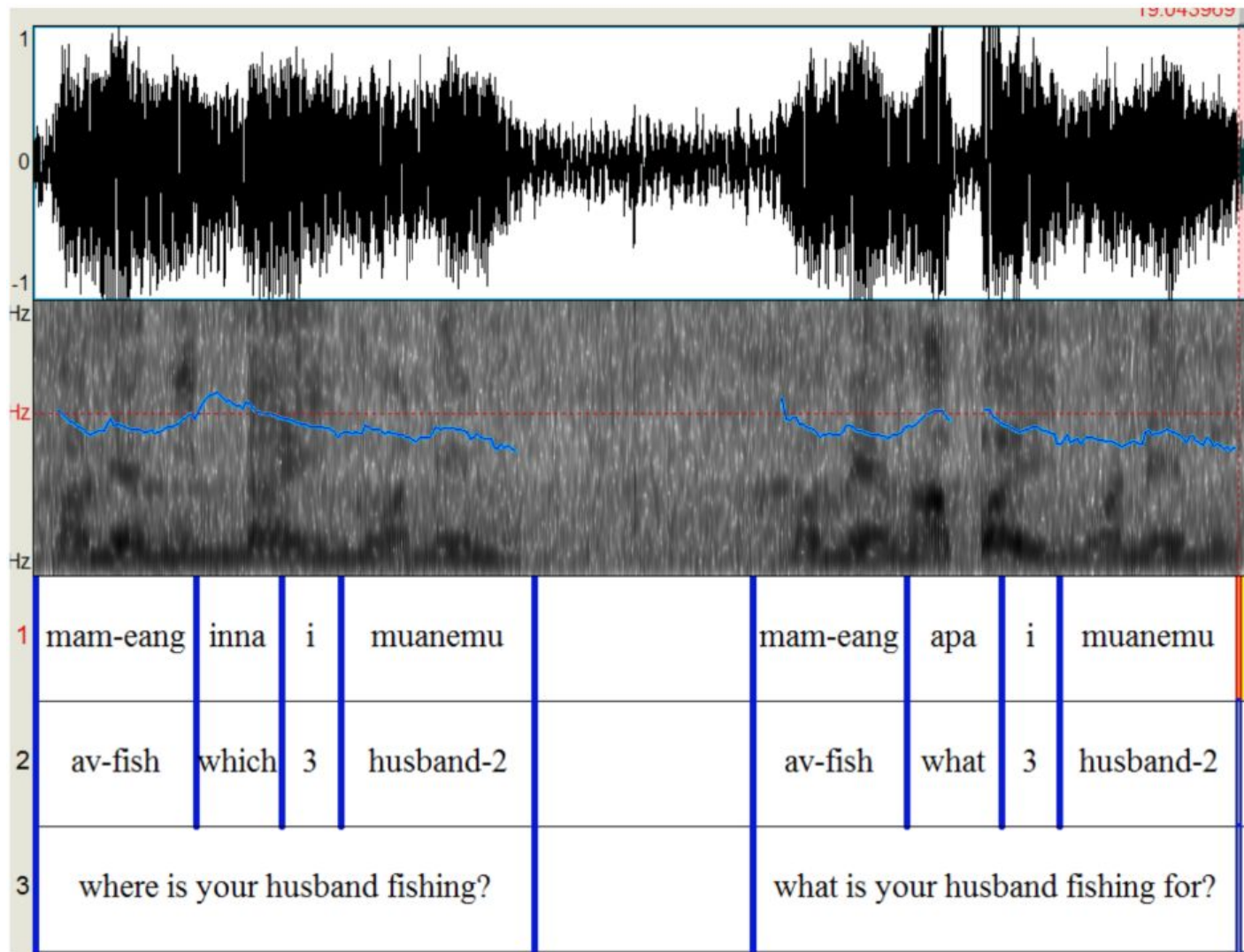
Steady rise over incorporated stuff



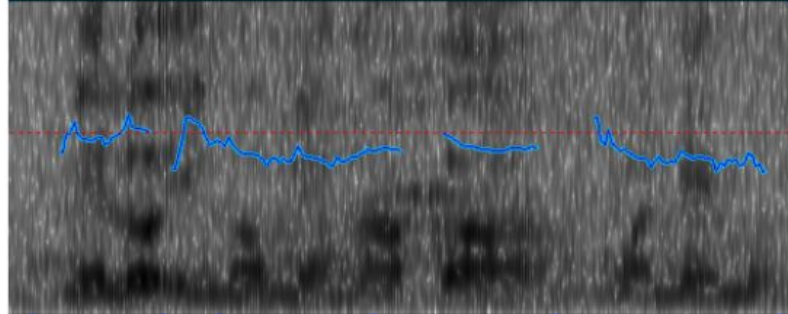
Same rise over postverbal Wh-words



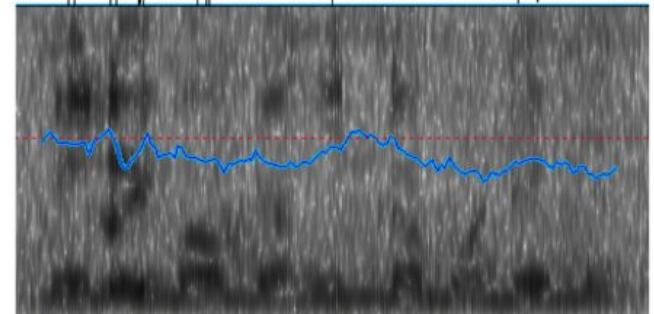
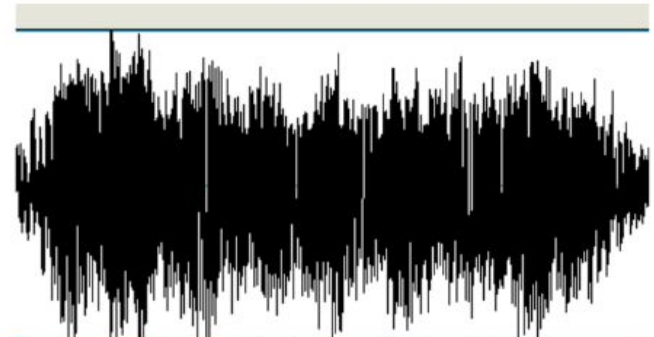
Same rise over postverbal Wh-words



Same pattern when non-initial



melo'	i	mameang	apa	muanemu?
want	3	av-fish	what	husband-2
what does your husband want to fish for?				



melo'	i	mameang	inna	muane-mu
want	3	av-fish	which	husband-2
where does your husband want to fish?				

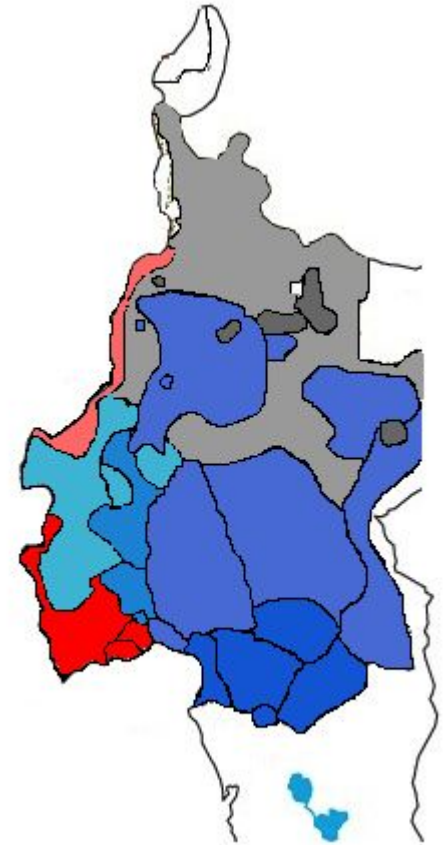
Real Prosodic Conclusions:

- ▷ 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 absolute-- 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:

- ▷ Bošković, Ž. (2000). Second position cliticisation. *Clitic phenomena in European languages*, 30, 71.
- ▷ Bošković, Ž. (2004). Clitic placement in South Slavic. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 37-90.
- ▷ Bošković, Ž. (2004). On the clitic switch in Greek imperatives. *Balkan syntax and semantics*, 269-291.
- ▷ Chung, S. (2003). The syntax and prosody of weak pronouns in Chamorro. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34(4), 547-599.
- ▷ Kaufman, D. (2010). The morphosyntax of tagalog clitics: a typologically driven approach.
- ▷ Kaufman, D. (2010). The grammar of clitics in Maranao. *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan*, 179-204.
- ▷ Franks, S. (1998). *Clitics in slavic*. Na.
- ▷ Halpern, A. (1995). *On the placement and morphology of clitics*. Center for the Study of Language (CSLI).
- ▷ Schütze, C. T. (1996). Serbo-Croatian clitic placement: An argument for prosodic movement.
- ▷ Zwicky, A. M. (1977). *On clitics*. Indiana University Linguistics Club

