A non-clitic host requirement in SJA-Mam

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1 Background: clitics and ordering restrictions

- We know that clitics show restrictions in their placement.
    - **Host requirements**: the host of the clitic must be of a particular size or category, or in a particular position in the sentence, e.g.- possessive /'s/ in English attaches to a phonological phrase.
    - **Clitic requirements**: the clitic must be ordered with respect to other clitics, or cannot appear with certain other clitics, e.g.- Person Case Constraint (PCC).
- Most approaches to clitic ordering restrictions focus on pronominal clitics.
    - A. *Syntactic*: PCC- 1) the nature of Agree and probe types (Preminger 2011, Bejar & Rezac 2003)
    - B. *Phonological*: P-phrasing in Slavic (Halpern 1995)
    - C. *Morphological*: S-Structure filters (Perlmutter 1971); M-Merger operations (Embick & Noyer 2001); Readjustment rules (Noyer 2001); OT (Grimshaw 1997, 2001); Templates (Bonet 1994)
        - Templates cannot always exhaustively determine clitic order and lack a formal status in DM.

2 My claim

- The placement of the polar question clitic in SJA-Mam poses an implementation problem for current morphological theories, e.g. Distributed Morphology (DM).
    - =m appears in clausal second position, attaching as an enclitic to the first morphological word (MWd), **unless** that MWd ends in a clitic.
- This pattern could be analyzed as reflecting a morphological template where /=m/ appears "first." However, it is not clear what the status of such a template is in DM.

> **Proposal:** Clitics can place a requirement on their hosts that they not be clitics. The polar clitic =m in SJA-Mam operates according to this requirement. **This suggests we need something like a clitic diacritic in the entry for some morphemes.**

3 Second position polar clitic placement

- Data come from a dialect of Mam spoken in San Juan Atitan, Guatemala. Data was collected with a speaker in Berkeley, CA.
- Like many Mayan languages, word order in SJA-Mam is:

    (T) (Asp) V S O

    - In addition to the basic VSO order, many phrases can be fronted before T such as foci, quantifiers, and relative clauses.

Basic pattern: =m attaches to the first morphological word

- This means in basic cases, =m attaches to tense, like in (1). In fronted cases, =m attaches to the first morphological word.   Attaches to:

(1) ma   =m   t-il   Xuan   a   Liy?   tense
     rec.pst =pol 3sg.Erg-see Xuan   det Liy
     'Did Xuan see Liy?'

(2) a   =m   qini o   t-il   jun   ch'it?   determiner
     def   =pol 1.sg pst 3sg.Erg-see indef bird
     'Did I see a bird?'

(3) mix   =m   jun ma   kub' sch'in-t a   u'j?   negation
     neg   =pol indef rec.pst asp read-af def book
     'Did nobody read the book?'

(4) t-aj   =m   q'a   jun   lo'b'j?   verb
     3sg.Erg-want =pol 3sg.m.teen indef banana
     'Does he want a banana?'

4 =m placement is Local Dislocation

> **Placement:** =m undergoes Local Dislocation to the immediately adjacent Morphological Word.

- **Types of morphological mergers (Embick & Noyer 2001):**
    - ⊙ **Lowering:** Operates on syntactic structures, applies before vocabulary insertion
    - ⊙ **Local Dislocation:** Operates on linear adjacency, applies to vocabulary items
- When an element is focused and thus appears pre-verbally, =m attaches inside of the focused phrase.

(5) [t-e   =m   t-txu   ] o   txi t-q'on   Noah txian?
     [2/3sg.Erg-rn =pol 3sg.Erg-mother   ] pst asp 3sg.Erg-give Noah dog
     'Did Noah give a dog TO HIS MOTHER?'

- Lowering predicts =m to attach to the head of its complement, in this case Foc⁰.

- =m does not attach to the linearly adjacent terminal node, which would result in /tme/.

- =m attaches to the linearly adjacent maximal X⁰ (Embick & Noyer call this the Morphological Word (MWd)).

5 Beyond the basic pattern

Case 1: Metathesis
- Relative clauses appear pre-verbally with /aj/.

(6) [a =j   xuj   o   b'aj sch'in-t u'j] o   tz'ok b'iyon-t a Eric.
     [def =rel woman pst asp read-af book] pst asp hit-af def Eric
     'The woman who read the book hit Eric.'

- In polar questions, =m does not attach to /aj/ as an enclitic. Instead, =m attaches between /a/ and /=j/:

(7) [a =m =j   xuj   o   b'aj sch'in-t u'j] o   tz'ok b'iyon-t a Eric?
     [def =pol =rel woman pst asp read-af book] pst asp hit-af   def Eric
     'Did the woman who read the book hit Eric?'

- Proposed derivation of (7): =m undergoes LD to /a=j/, creating the illicit form /a=j=m/, which metathesizes to /a=m=j/.

- SJA-Mam phonotactics do not rule out /ajm…/; [aj=m] is attested in polar questions when /aj/ means 'when' and in (4) with the verb –*aj* 'want.'

Case 2: Metathesis and *tzu*- insertion
- Imperfective aspect is expressed with the proclitic n= and no tense morpheme.

(8) n=   kxun Lev a   i'x.
     imp= chew Lev def corn
     'Lev is chewing corn.'

- In polar questions, =m does not attach as to n= nor as a enclitic to the verb. Instead, /tzu/ is inserted to host =m.

(9) tzu =m n=   kxun Lev a   i'x?
     tzu =pol imp= chew Lev def corn
     'Is Lev chewing corn?'

- Proposed derivation of (9): =m undergoes LD to n=, creating the illicit form /n==m/; metathesis creates the illicit form /=mn=/; tzu- is inserted to host =m.
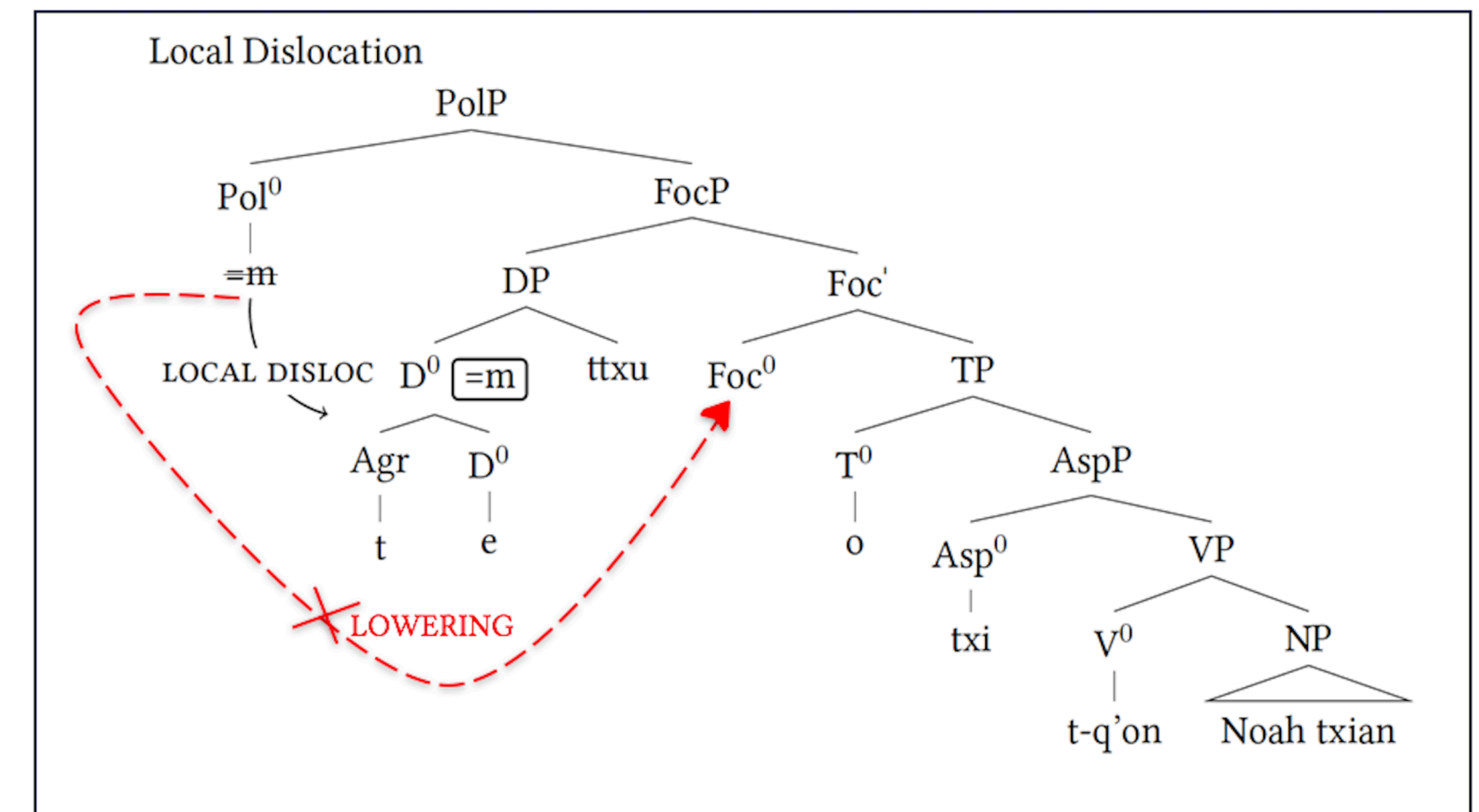
6 Proposal

> **Claim:** /tzu-/ insertion and /a=m=j/ inter-cliticization arise due to a non-clitic host requirement of /=m/.

- To know the placement of a node four things are required:
    1. Whether a node is a syntactic or dissociated node   (E&N 2001)
    2. The means by which it becomes attached to its host   (E&N 2001)
    3. **Whether a node can be its own MWd (strong SWd) or not (weak SWd)**
    4. **Whether the adjacent nodes are strong or weak SWds**
- Requirement 3
    > Harley & Noyer (1999) point out that "clitic" is not a primitive type in DM, but represent a "behavior."
    > Such phonological dependency behavior needs be listed for individual morphemes:
    - /a/- strong SWd; /j/- weak SWd, leans left
    > The result is the same as having a clitic diacritic on /j/ and /m/ and not /a/.

- Requirement 4
    > If clitic instructions are part of the entry of a morpheme, this information can be easily accessed by attachment instructions or restrictions of other morphemes.
    > Example entry for /m/
    - [+pol.ques] ⟷ /m/, cannot be MWd (is a weak SWd), undergoes LD to immediately adjacent MWd, cannot attach to weak SWd

> **Conclusion:** The placement of =m in SJA-Mam prompts an analysis of clitics which references the clitic status of other morphemes. This shows that while "clitic" is not a primitive "type" in DM, a node's clitic status needs to be able to be referenced.

References
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