

EDIZIO-EREDUAREN ADIBIDEAK

Ondoren irakurriko dituzun testu-zati guztiak Mouton-de Gruyterek argitaratutako *Linguistic Review* aldizkaritik ateratakoak dira eta, beraz, gure idazlanerako eman dizkizuedan edizio-irizpideen arabera daude apailduta.

2. Headings

The topology of infixation and reduplication¹

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1. Introduction

The present work is an attempt to formalize and constrain the mechanism which gives rise to reduplication and affixation, taking as a starting point the idea that infixation, reduplication, and so-called ‘non-concatenative’ morphology are not substantively different from prefixation or suffixation (see, e.g.,

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2. A typology of anchor points

One of the ways in which infixation and reduplication pattern together is that both processes seem to target the same set of attachment points (also called ‘anchors’ or ‘pivots’ by Yu 2003, 2007 and ‘t-junctures’ by Frampton 2009).

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2.1. *Controversial anchor points*

This section is meant to reduce the chaos of (5) to a single list of anchors that are unambiguously attested, to the extent that it is possible to do so. In pursuit

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2.1.2. *First syllable.* Infixation after the first syllable is expected by [Ulltan \(1975\)](#); [Moravcsik \(2000\)](#), and [Yu \(2007\)](#), but empirical data supporting this prediction is famously difficult to find. This observation is paralleled for

3. Quotations

prominence pivots entirely. It is true that the data arguing in favor of stressed elements as pivots are subtle and rare. [Yu \(2007: 118\)](#) notes that

[l]ogically, there are six possible edges [of stressed elements] an infix can target: the left edges of a stressed foot, a stressed syllable, or a stressed vowel, and the right edges of those respective units. However, clear examples that can substantiate this six-way typology are hard to locate ... [T]he edges of the different stressed pivots often coincide.

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at the least time-stable end of the spectrum. The intuition that the temporal perspective seriously matters for the interpretation of verbs is echoed in [Ramchand \(2008, my emphasis\)](#): “VP is the heart of the dynamic predicate, since *it represents change through time*, and it is present in every dynamic verb”.

In a similar vein, [Acquaviva \(2009: 2\)](#) notes that because “verbal meaning is based on event structure (cf. especially [Ramchand 2008](#)), it has a temporal dimension built in. Nominal meaning, by contrast, does not have a temporal dimension built in.” If we replace ‘meaning’ by ‘perspective’ here, we can claim

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4. Citations

phonological patterns reflect sub-phonemic properties of speech sounds (see in particular Flemming 2003 and Hayes et al. 2004). The restrictions in Quechua further show that phonological restrictions may target non-contrastive information. I leave open the question of whether some formal distinction between

option assumes that linear order occurs first at the PF interface as the result of a linearization procedure (see Chomsky 1995: 334; Kremers 2009). The former stance takes both dominance and precedence relations to be primitive, whereas the latter stance derives precedence relations from dominance.

Depending on the brand of Minimalism one chooses to employ, the approach with respect to these two possibilities varies. Since crash-proof approaches (e.g., Frampton and Gutmann 1999, 2002; Hinzen 2006; Stroik 2009; Putnam and Stroik 2010) send the result of Merge to the PF interface immediately after each occurrence of Merge, they are more in line with the first option, i.e., with the view that Merge itself is establishing the linear order of sister constituents. More traditional accounts however, i.e., those that are closer to Chomsky's (1995) original understanding of Merge (e.g., Bošković 2002; Chomsky 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008; Ott 2010; Boeckx 2008, 2010), are likely to follow the second option, i.e., to assume that linear order is derived from dominance relations by a linearization procedure at the PF interface.

[h] (2b). Examples again are from Ajacopa et al. (2007).

(2)	a.	ʔantʰij	‘to moan’	✓ʔ-T ^h
		ʔaq ^h a	‘fermented corn drink’	
		harkʰaj	‘to protect’	✓h-Tʰ
		haytʰa	‘kick’	
	b.	*ʔantʰij		*ʔ-Tʰ
		*hark ^h aj		*h-T ^h

While glottal stop is restricted to initial position, [h] occurs in medial position in a handful of roots. MacEachern gives two roots with initial glottal stop and medial [h] from Hornberger and Hornberger (1983), showing that the two glottal consonants may cooccur: [ʔahoja] ‘wild duck’ and [ʔuhu] ‘cough’. Of

5. Cross-references

article is organized as follows. In Section 2, I present the assumed pronominal clitic analysis of *suo* in Chinese. I then discuss the clitic climbing phenomenon in Romance in Section 3 and the facts of climbing of *suo* in Chinese in Section 4. Adopting the monoclausal approach to the CC phenomenon in Romance in Section 5.1, I conclude that the climbing of *suo* involves a biclausal structure

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In the rest of this section I present the articulatory and acoustic properties of laryngeally marked consonants that support the featural distinctions in Table 2, first by showing representative examples of laryngeally marked segments in Section 3.1 and then with an acoustic study of ejectives and aspirates in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 discusses Ohala's (1981, 1993) account of laryngeal dissimilation in light of the Quechua data.

6. Typeface, emphasis, and punctuation

One of the predictions of the *Nominal Mapping Parameter* (Chierchia 1998) for Romance languages is that, under a widely assumed syntax-semantics ho-

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We will follow Espinal and McNally's (2007, in press) hypothesis that BNs in Catalan and Spanish can only be found in unergative-like argument structures, as bare objects of verbs that denote a HAVE-relationship in some possible world relevant to context, a hypothesis that accounts for the distribution of BNs with *tenir/tenir* 'have', *buscar/buscar* 'look for', and the existential *haver-hil/haber* 'there be', among other verbs. See the well-formed Catalan examples in (4), in contrast to (3).

- (4) Catalan
- a. *Té cotxe.*
has car
'(S)he has a car.'
 - b. *Busquem dependent.*
look.for.1PL shop-assistant
'We are looking for a shop-assistant.'
 - c. *Hi ha piscina.*
there has swimming pool
'There is a swimming pool.'

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Leaving aside for the moment the unclarity surrounding the notion 'particle' – a matter to which we will return in more detail in following sections – and simply accepting the validity of elements' classification as *particles*, it would appear that particles may serve a wide range of syntactic functions. Thus descriptive grammars may i.a. refer to tense, aspect and mood (TAM) particles, locative, directional and other relational particles, valency-related particles, negation particles, interrogative particles, evidential particles and, more generally, discourse-related particles of various kinds, including topic, focus and specificity particles. Viewed from a generative perspective, it would therefore seem that particles can be associated with different clausal and non-clausal domains. More specifically, thinking in terms of the kind of "clausal tripartition" that emerges if we take Chomsky's (2000) Core Functional Categories (C, T, *v*) as a point of departure, it seems possible to identify *v*- (valency- and aspect-related particles), T- (tense and mood) and C (interrogative, evidential and other discourse-related) particles. Consider the examples in (1–3) in this connection:²

7. Linguistic examples

Illustrated below are the “tense-merge” and auxiliary switch phenomenon usually attributed to restructuring. When the clitic is placed on the matrix verb, the matrix verb and embedded verb cannot be modified by different temporal adverbs as in (10) (Napoli 1981). Similarly, a modal verb such as *volere* ‘want’, which is associated with auxiliary *avere* ‘have’ and not with *essere* ‘be’, must inherit the auxiliary of an embedded unaccusative verb when CC has applied, as shown in (11).

- (10) a. *Oggi, vorrei finire domani.*
today (I)-would-want finish.it tomorrow
‘Today, I would like to finish it tomorrow.’
b. ^{??}*Oggi, lo vorrei finire domani.*
today it (I)-would-want finish tomorrow
(Napoli 1981)
- (11) a. *Avrei/?Sarei voluto andarci con Maria.*
(I)-would-have/(I)-would-be want go.there with Maria
‘I would have wanted to go there with Maria.’
b. *Ci sarei/*avrei voluto andare con*
there (I)-would-be/(I)-would-have want go with
Maria.
Maria
(Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004)

8. Tables, figures, and illustrations

Table 1: Quechua consonant inventory

	labial	alveolar	postalveolar	velar	uvular	glottal
plain	p	t	tʃ	k	q	ʔ
aspirate	p ^h	t ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h	q ^h	
ejective	p'	t'	tʃ'	k'	q'	
fricative		s	ʃ			h
nasal	m	n	ɲ			
liquid		l r	ʎ			
glide	w		j			

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Table 2: Featural specifications for laryngeally marked segments in Quechua

	[long VOT]	[cg]	[sg]
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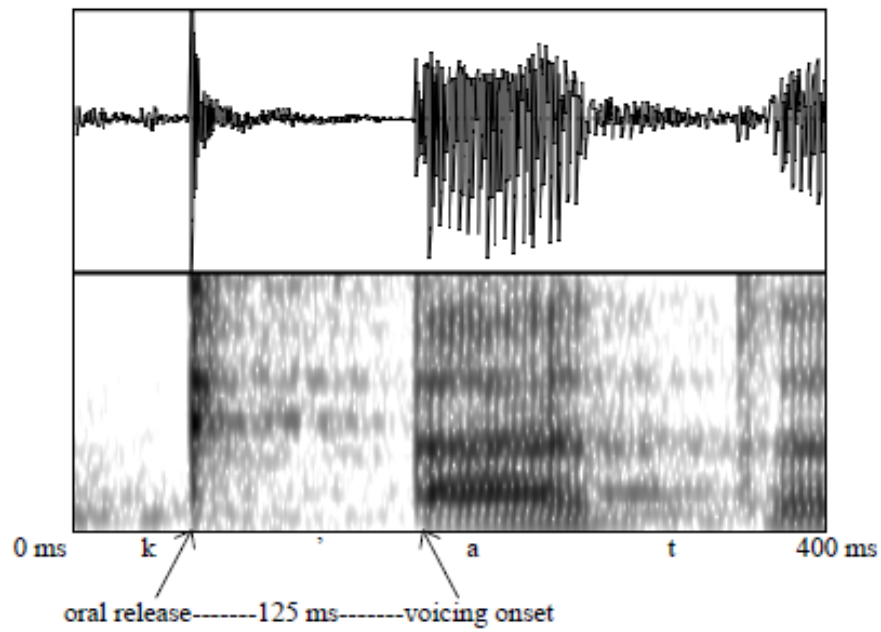


Figure 1: Example of an ejective from [k'ata] 'unique, single'

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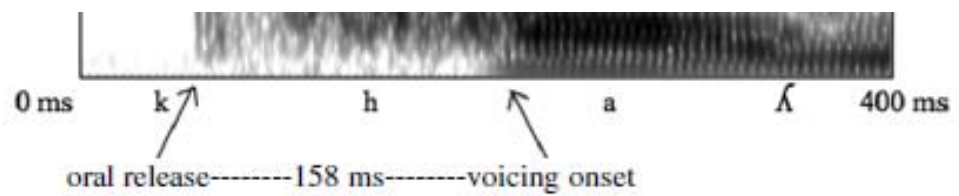


Figure 2: Example of an aspirate from [k^haʔay] 'to cut, slice'

9. Appendices and notes

- Appendices should be placed at the end of the article, before the Notes.
- The Notes (i.e., endnotes) should be placed at the end of the article, before the References.
- Notes should be numbered consecutively throughout the text.
- Note numbers in the running text should be Arabic numbers set superscript and should directly follow punctuation marks (where applicable), with no blank space: e.g., text text text.⁷

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