

# snippets

---

Issue 26

December 2012

---

## Contents

1. Luka Crnic. *Projection of supplements in alternatives.*
2. Michael Erlewine. *Structurally distant haplology.*
3. Natalia Fitzgibbons. *Pied-pipe your preposition and strand it too.*
4. Michael Frazier and Masaya Yoshida. *Remarks on gapping in ASL.*
5. Sumiyo Nishiguchi. *Shifty operators in Dhaasanac.*
6. Jacopo Romoli. *Strong NPIs and Neg-raising desire predicates.*
7. Philippe Schlenker. *Informativity-based maximality conditions.*



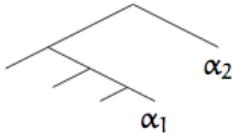
**Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine** – *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
*Structurally distant haplology*

[mitcho@mitcho.com](mailto:mitcho@mitcho.com)

doi: 10.7358/snip-2012-026-erle

Previous works on “distinctness” or “syntactic haplology” have described bans against the same abstract features (Hiraiwa 2010, Richards 2010) or sequential homophonous items (Neeleman and van de Koot 2006) *within* a particular syntactic domain, e.g. Spellout domains. Here I present similar restrictions that target words that are linearly adjacent but structurally far apart. (1) represents this configuration:  $\alpha_1$  and  $\alpha_2$  are distinct syntactic nodes with the same phonological realization, but only one  $\alpha$  can be pronounced.

(1)



Mandarin Chinese has a sentence-final ‘only’ word, *éryǐ*. Unlike most sentence-final particles, it is allowed in embedded clauses as well as matrix clauses, yielding the ambiguities in (2). A version of (2) with two *éryǐ*s is ungrammatical. Both *éryǐ*s can be pronounced by right extraposing the embedded clause (3).

- (2) wǒ zuótiān gàosùle yīge háizi tā kěyǐ chī yīge dàngāo éryǐ (\*éryǐ)  
 I yesterday told one child he can eat one cake **ONLY**  
 ‘Yesterday I told one child that he can eat **only** [one cake]<sub>F</sub>.’  
 ‘Yesterday I told **only** [one child]<sub>F</sub> that he can eat one cake.’  
 ? ‘Yesterday I told **only** [one child]<sub>F</sub> that he can eat **only** [one cake]<sub>F</sub>.’

- (3) wǒ zuótiān gàosùle yīge háizi éryǐ, tā kěyǐ chī yīge dàngāo éryǐ  
 I yesterday told one child **ONLY** he can eat one cake **ONLY**  
 ‘Yesterday I told **only** [one child]<sub>F</sub> that he can eat **only** [one cake]<sub>F</sub>.’

A similar restriction has also been documented for final negators in a variety of languages (Bell 2004, Biberauer 2008, Hagemeyer 2009).

Yucatec Maya has deictic markers which cliticize to the end of DPs. When a postnominal relative clause is used, the deictic clitic is positioned after the relative clause. Consider a relative clause which itself ends with a deictic marker on a DP (5), based on (4). Only one deictic marker is produced. (Data: Norcliffe 2009.)

- (4) le chàan xibpàal=**o**’ k-u=ts’éent-ik le mono=**o**’  
 the little boy=**DEICTIC** feeding the monkey=**DEICTIC**  
 ‘The little boy is feeding the monkey.’

- (5) [le chàan xibpàal ts'éént-ik le mono=**o'** (\*=**o'**)] yàan-u ya'ax p'ok  
 [the little boy feeding the monkey=**DEICTIC**] exist green hat  
 '[The little boy who is feeding the monkey] has a green hat.'

The same can be seen with Haitian Creole postnominal determiners. Possessors are linearized between the head noun and determiner. With a plural noun with a plural possessor, only one plural determiner *yo* can be pronounced (6). (Data: Michel DeGraff, p.c.)

- (6) fil yoyo **yo** (\*yo)  
 thread yoyos **DEF-pl**  
 'the threads of the yoyos'

Unlike previously described haplogologies that occur *within* syntactic domains, the haplogologies presented here (as well as Afrikaans negation) occur *across* different Spellout domains. This structural insensitivity may point to a PF-oriented analysis—perhaps related to the linearization process itself—but it is not merely a phonological redundancy filter, as evidenced by the multiple grammatical *yos* in (6).

Interestingly, all of the haplogologies here occur on the right edge. However, it is unclear whether this tendency is a crucial property of this type of phenomenon.

### References

- Bell, A.J. (2004) *Bipartite negation and the fine structure of the negative phrase*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Biberauer, T. (2008) "Doubling and omission: insights from Afrikaans negation," in *Microvariations in Syntactic Doubling*, ed. S. Barbiers, M. van der Ham, O. Koenenman and M. Lekakou. Bingley: Emerald, 103–140.
- Hagemeijer, T. (2009) "Aspects of discontinuous negation in Santome," in *Negation Patterns in West African Languages and Beyond*, ed. N. Cyffer, E. Ebermann and G. Ziegelmeier. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 139–166.
- Hiraiwa, K. (2010) "The syntactic OCP," in *Proceedings of the 11th Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*.
- Neeleman, A., and H. van de Koot. (2006) "Syntactic haplology," in *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, volume 4. London: Blackwell.
- Norcliffe, E. (2009) "Revisiting agent focus in Yucatec," in *New Perspectives on Mayan Linguistics*. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL (MIT).
- Richards, N.W. (2010) *Uttering Trees*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.