Ranking

Prosodic Support, Clitic-V  “Doubling

In phonology, reduplication often occurs as a prosodic repair
To meet minimal word requirements, provide syllable onsets, etc. (McCarthy and Prince, 1993, Yu, 2005, Saba Kirchner, 2010, a.o.)

A parallel in syntax: verb doubling for the purposes of providing an otherwise unsupported clitic with a host.
Ingush (Peterson, 2001) preverbal enclitic ʔ requires a vP-internal host. If none is available, the verb doubles.

Breton (Joulitteau, 2010, 2012) finite verb follows rannig finiteness element in V2 position. If nothing else precedes the rannig, verb doubles (or DO-support)—but element before the rannig can be in any of several positions.
(2) and (4) →

• Not affix reduplication → no reduplicative morpheme.
• Not multiple copy realization → trigger for doubling is prosody, not independently motivated syntactic movement
(Pires, 2004; Kandybowska, 2009; Alsh and Dyakonova, 2009)
• Not syntactic repair—satisfying a linear wellformedness requirement.
(cf. Conathan and Good 2000)

Proposal: Prosodic verb doubling is indeed reduplication, but prior to vocabulary insertion

non-segmental reduplication.
• Syntax produces a non-linear representation: √PSIDES + [F]
• Linearization is prior to Vocabulary Insertion—but at this stage phrasal prosody must be satisfied.
• Elements can be doubled to provide clitics with hosts
• Motivated by similar constraint interactions to prototypical reduplicative repairs.

Syntax → Linearization → VI → Segmental Phonology
• Multiple “levels” of phonology, but different levels operate over different units:
  → linearization over syntactic atoms + hierarchy
  → segmental phonology over segment strings.
(contrast Stratol OT, Kiparsky, 2000, 2007)

Like Minimal reduplication (Saba Kirchner, 2010), but unlike “syntactic reduplication”: not the result of morphosyntactic movement.
• Different profiles for reduplication arise from differences in the stage of the derivation at which it applies.
  → In all cases, reduplication is an optimal resolution of conflicting requirements.

Constraints:
• PROSODIC SUPPORT: An enclitic requires a prosodic word to its right.
  (Franks, 2000)
• CLITIC-V: Family of constraints governing position of clitic and V.
• INTEGRITY: No element of S, has multiple correspondents in S...
  (Saba Kirchner 2010:190)

Linearization is constraint-based, and it causes some verb doubling as a prosodic repair, before vocabulary insertion.

DATA
Ingush: Clitic [ʔa] is second-position within vP.
(1) muusaa | buc [ʔa] h’iaq-aa | c’i-v-ie-r.
  Musa [grass & mow-ACV] → AGR-GO-PAST
  “Musa cut the grass and went home.”
• Verb doubles when no other vP-internal host available.

(2) jett [laq -ʔa laq-aa ] b-el-ar.
  cow [go.dry= & go.dry-ACV ] AGR-die-PAST
  “The cow stopped giving milk and died.”

Breton: Rannig is second-position within CP.
(3) [ D’ar jardín ] [jett].
  [ P DET garden ] ←R go.1sg.
  “I am going into the garden.”
• Verb doubles when no other host available.

(4) Mont [fi yan] d’ar jardín,
  go =R go.1sg P DET garden
  “I am going into the garden.”

TABLEAUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP</th>
<th>FinP</th>
<th>Fin</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>Fin</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Download the poster and references.