

Utterance Finality, SOV, and Kashmiri word order

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Workshop on Prosody in South Asian Languages

Some basic issues

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- Correlation of utterance-finality and prosodic and segmental reduction

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- Tendency of verbs to be prosodically weaker than nouns within their domain
- Combination of utterance-finality and verb-finality as a factor in linguistic change

The Roadmap

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1. Introduction: Utterance-finality effects

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2. Utterance-finality and verb finality

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3. Verb-Finality effects

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3. Verb-Finality effects with major focus on South Asian languages

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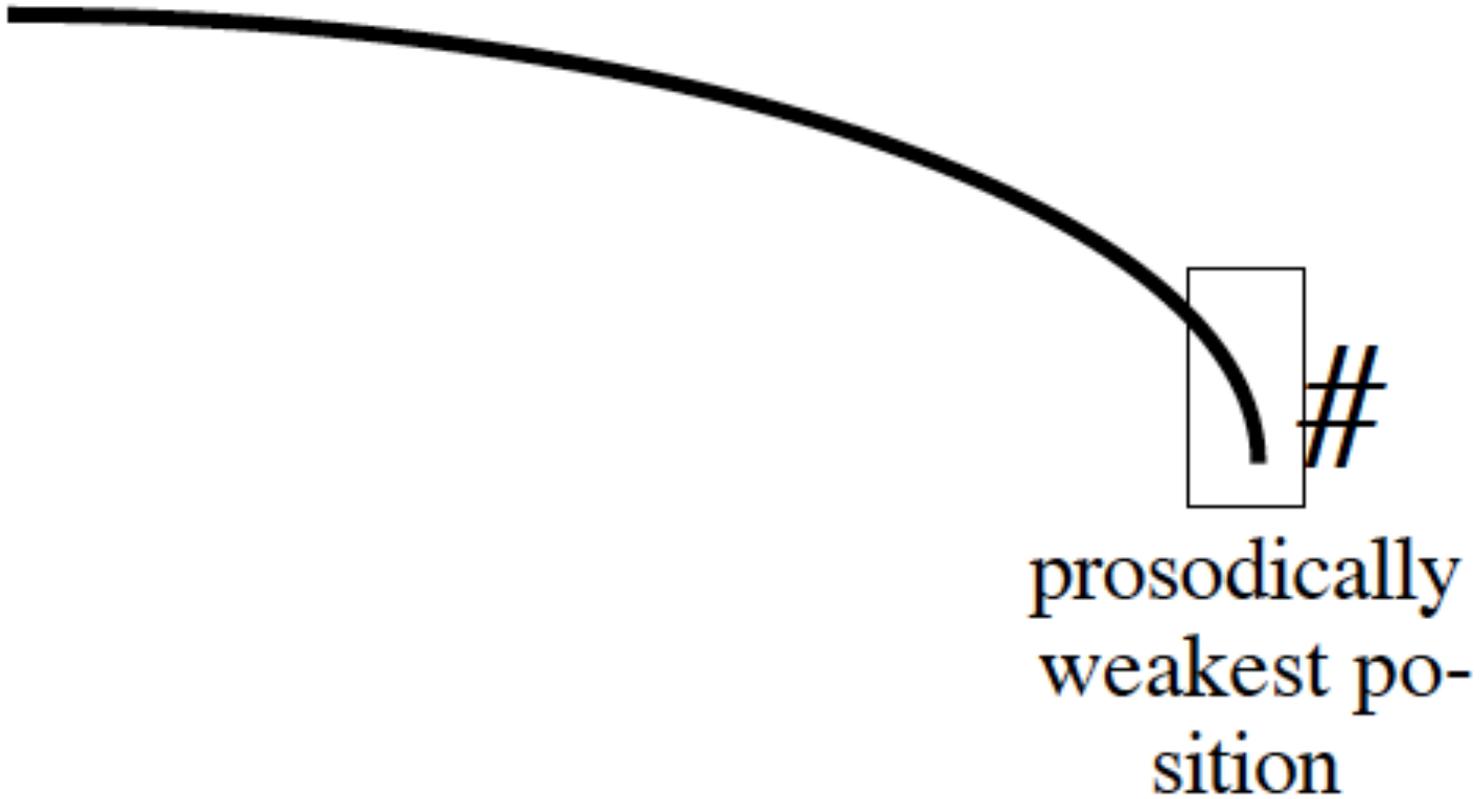
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1. Introduction: Utterance-finality effects
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4. Conclusions and implications for general linguistics

1. Introduction

Utterance-Finality



In principle: Utterance-final
≠ Word-final

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Pāṇini (400 B.C. ± 100 years):

a. *jhalām jaśo [a]nte* (8.2.39)

b. *vā - avasāne* (8.4.56)

But –

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- Hence possibility of reinterpreting utterance-finality of words as word-finality

Some well-known effects of Finality

Bloomfield (1917)

In Tagalog, “... an accent on the last syllable of a sentence often entirely loses its pitch-rise.”

Cheng & Kisseberth (1979: 34-35)

Rule of “Phrase-Final Lowering” in Makua, justified as “an expected accentual phenomenon— lowering of pitch at the end of an utterance.”

Grimes (1959)

In Huichol, utterance-final constituents lose their underlying tones and exhibit only the pitch properties of the sentence intonation (accents mark tone; numerals, final pitch contour)

- (1) a. *yaawi+kámá+maa³na¹#*
‘Look! There’s a coyote’
b. *hutăa+ríeka+tá mána+pairéiku+tua³ni¹!*
‘She hauled him back there a second time’
- (2) a. *yaa⁴wi¹*
‘A coyote!’ (uttered with surprise)
b. *yaawi+kámá+maa³na¹#*
‘Look! There’s a coyote’

Canger (1990)

Nahuatl

a. $-V > -V / ______ \#$

b. $-V\acute{V} > -\acute{V} / ______ \#$

Becker (1977, 1979)

Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian (BCMS) accent
retraction, starting as utterance-final retraction from final mora

BCMS accent retraction (Becker 1977, 1979)

a. Čakavian 1 *krãlʲ* = [kra^álʲ] ‘king’

BCMS accent retraction (Becker 1977, 1979)

- a. Čakavian 1 $krãl̃^p = [kraá^y]$ ‘king’
 - b. Čakavian 2 $krâ^p = [kráa^y] / \underline{\quad} \#\#$
- vs. $krãl̃^p = [kraá^y]$ elsewhere

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- | | | |
|---------------|-----|---|
| a. Čakavian 1 | | $kr\tilde{a}l^y = [kra\acute{a}l^y]$ ‘king’ |
| b. Čakavian 2 | | $kr\hat{a}l^y = [kr\acute{a}al^y] / \underline{\quad} \#\#$ |
| | vs. | $kr\tilde{a}l^y = [kra\acute{a}l^y]$ elsewhere |
| c. Štokavian | | $kr\hat{a}l^y = [kr\acute{a}al^y]$ everywhere |
| d. Štokavian | | $lop\grave{a}ta > l\grave{o}pata$ ‘shovel’ |

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- c. Štokavian *krâlʹ* = [kráa^y] **everywhere**
- d. Štokavian *lopàta* > *lòpata* ‘shovel’
- e. Štokavian *vodá* > *vòda* ‘water’ (sg. N)
- vs. *vódu* > *vòdu* ‘water’ (sg. A)

- i. As shown by the change from (3b) to (3c), originally utterance-final changes can be extended to ALL word-final contexts.

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- ii. Accent retraction can be further extended to non-final syllables, leading to a generalized process of retraction (3d)
- iii. Accent retraction may lead to new tonal phenomena on syllables that receive the accent (3e).

2. Utterance Finality and Verb Finality

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- Verbs in verb-final languages may be subject to special segmental and/or prosodic reductions

Countervailing tendency

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 - ... unless Verb-Finality effects of transitives and intransitives with adverbials are extended to bare intransitives
 - ... historical evidence of Verb-Finality effects for ALL verbs, whether transitive or (bare) intransitive, suggests that such extensions have happened

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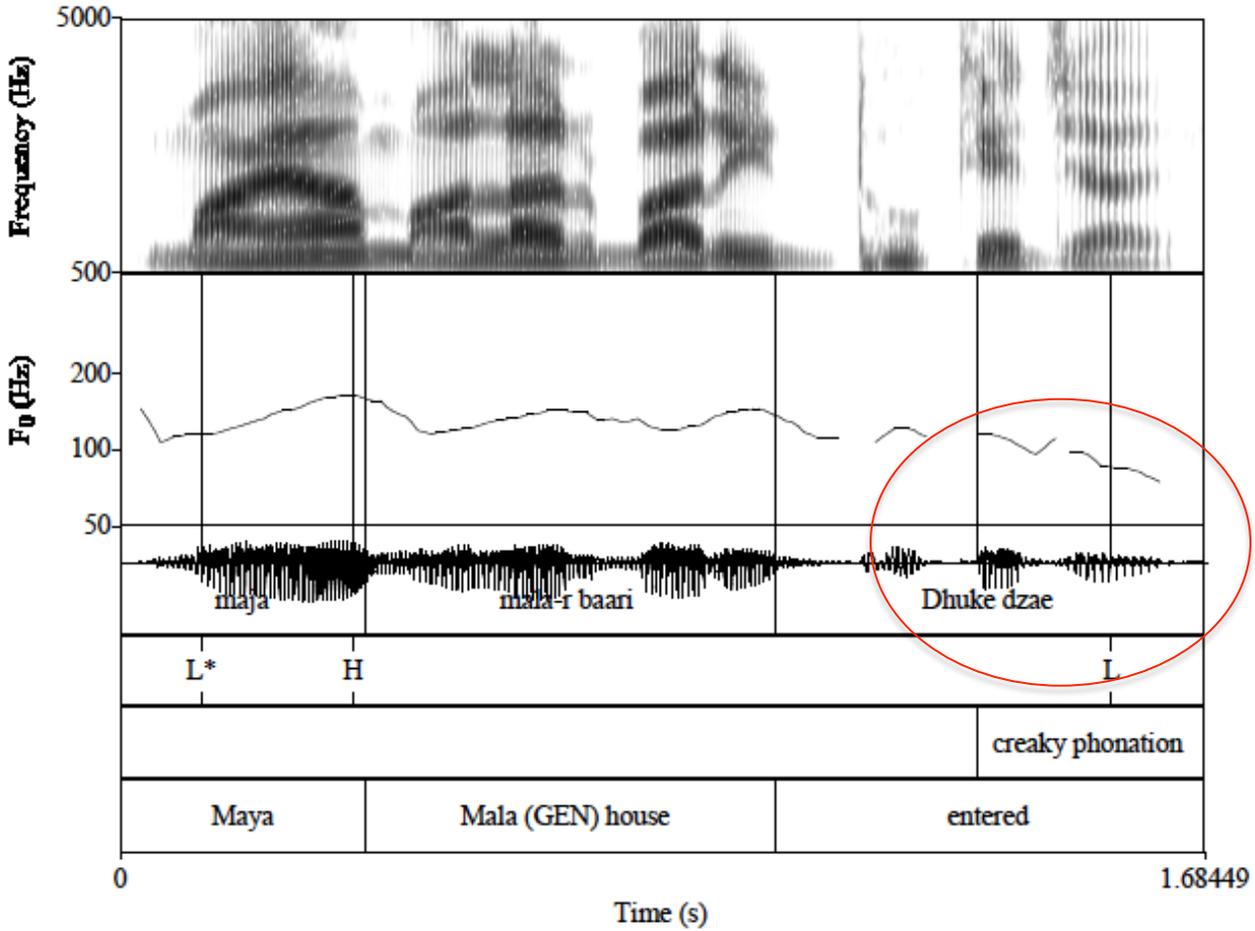
Exception: Bangla, based on Hayes & Lahiri 1991

Dutta & Hock 2006

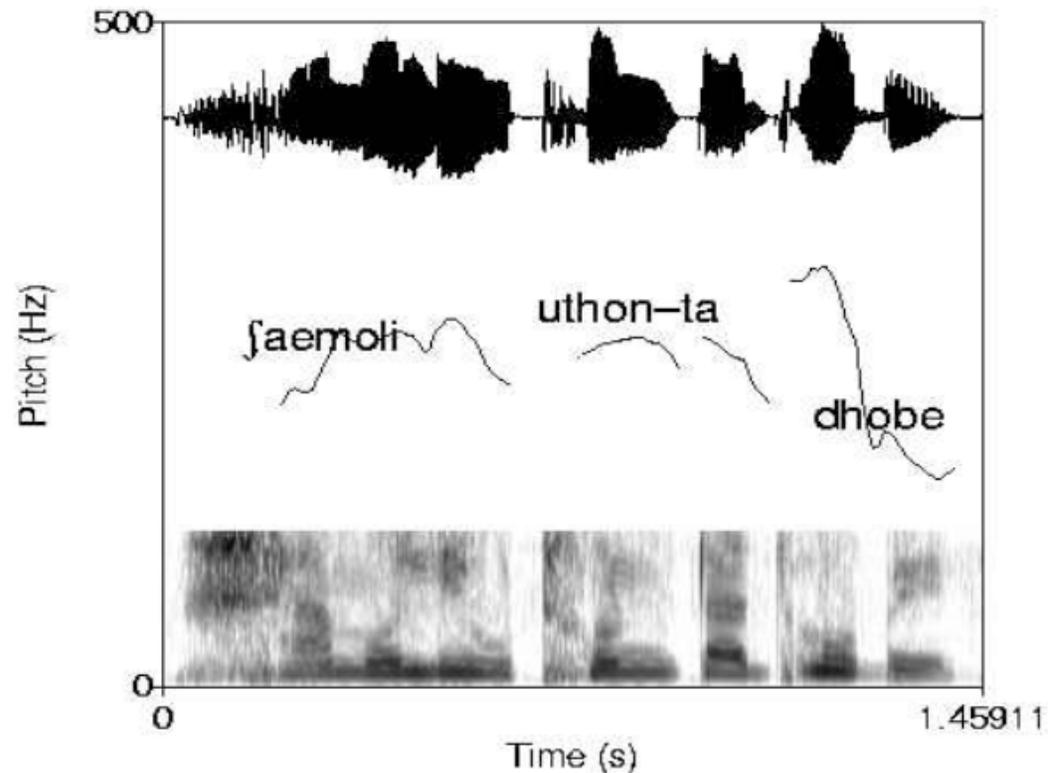
Dutta & Hock 2006

Bangla does conform to the crosslinguistic tendency.

Pitch declination and creaky voice on utterance-final verb



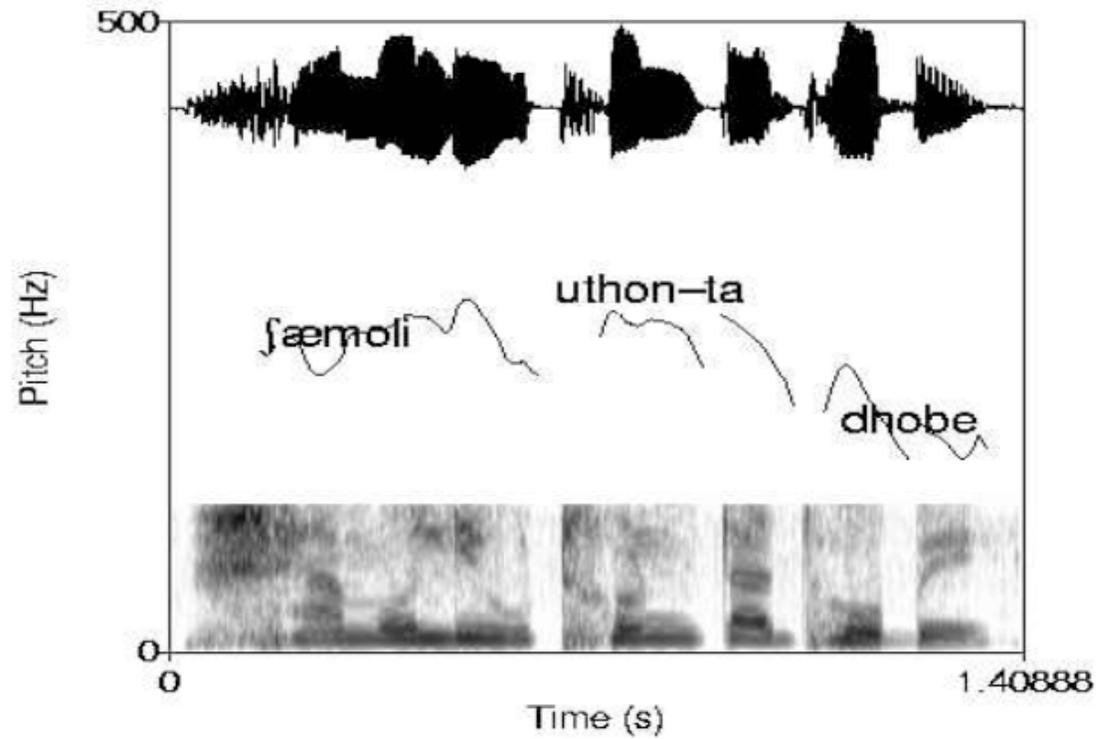
Hayes & Lahiri-conforming utterance



Shyamoli courtyard-CLAS clean

‘Shyamoli cleaned the courtyard’
(Speaker C, first take)

Self-correction on Take 2



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Conjecture –

The final prominence in Hayes & Lahiri's data may be an artifact of the experiment, in which every phonological phrase was placed under focus, leading to highly marked intonational patterns

Potential Problem II

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In German sentences such as (5), the final participle *gesehen* carries prominence (5a)

- (5) *Er hat den Mann gesehen*
 he has the man seen
a. *Er hat den Mann geséhen* (Krifka)

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In German sentences such as (5), the final participle *gesehen* carries prominence (5a), in contrast to Hock's prominence on the preceding object *den Mann* (5b).

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- vs. b. *Er hat den Mánn gesehen* (Hock)
- c. *Er hat einen Mánn gesehen* (Krifka and Hock)

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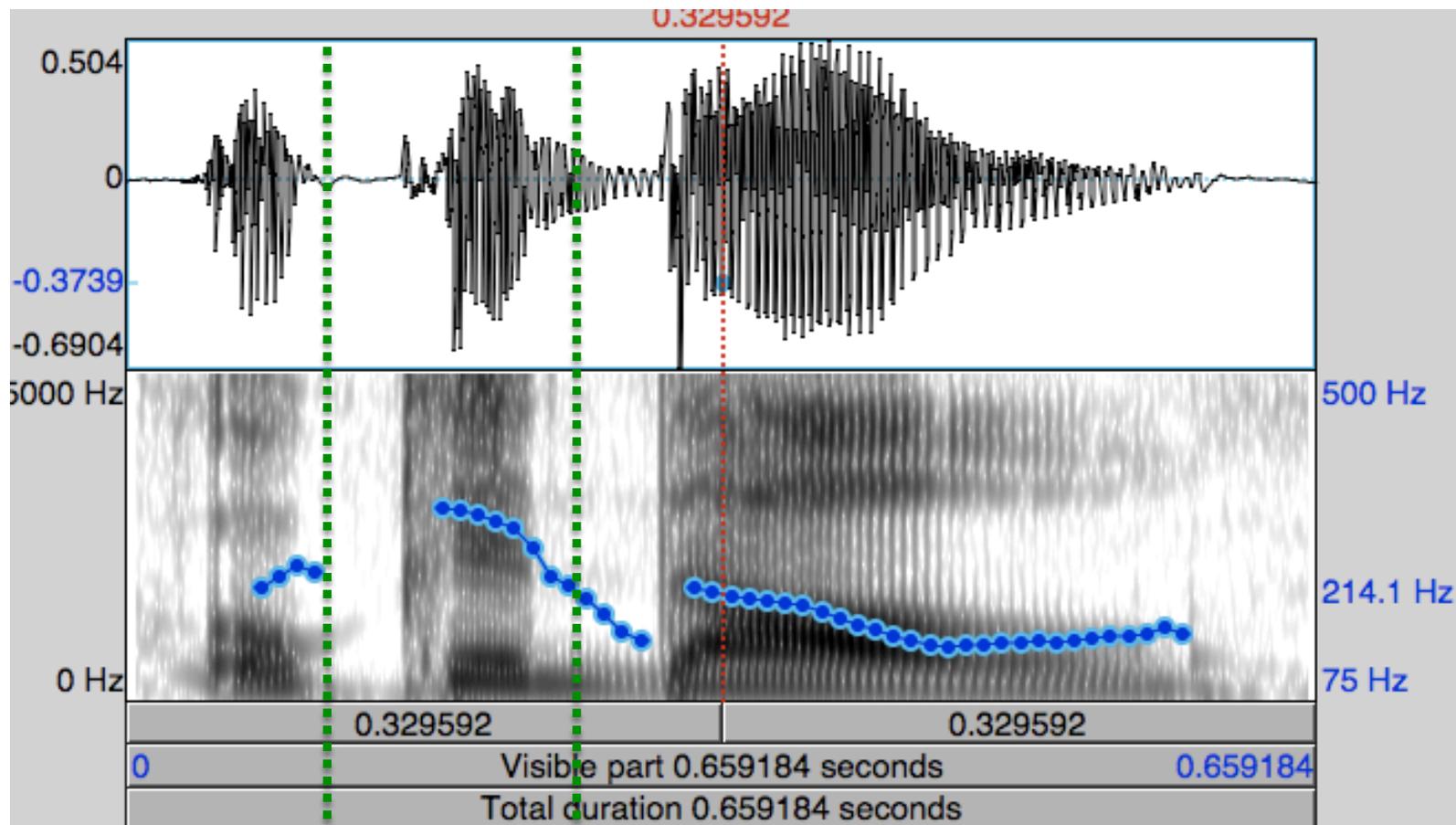
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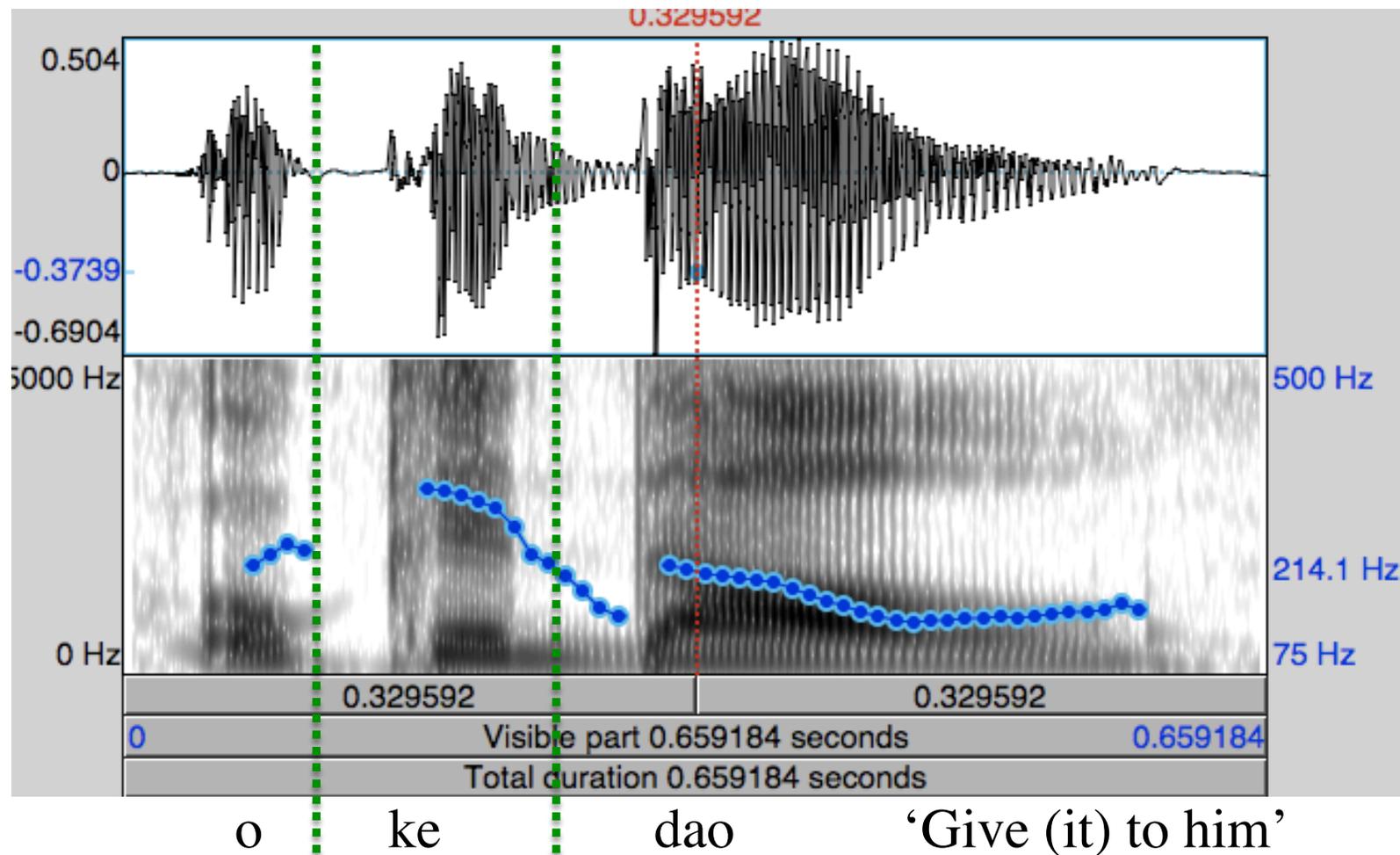
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 - ➔ *Er hat den Mánn !gesèhen*

That is, different, discourse-related interpretations ...

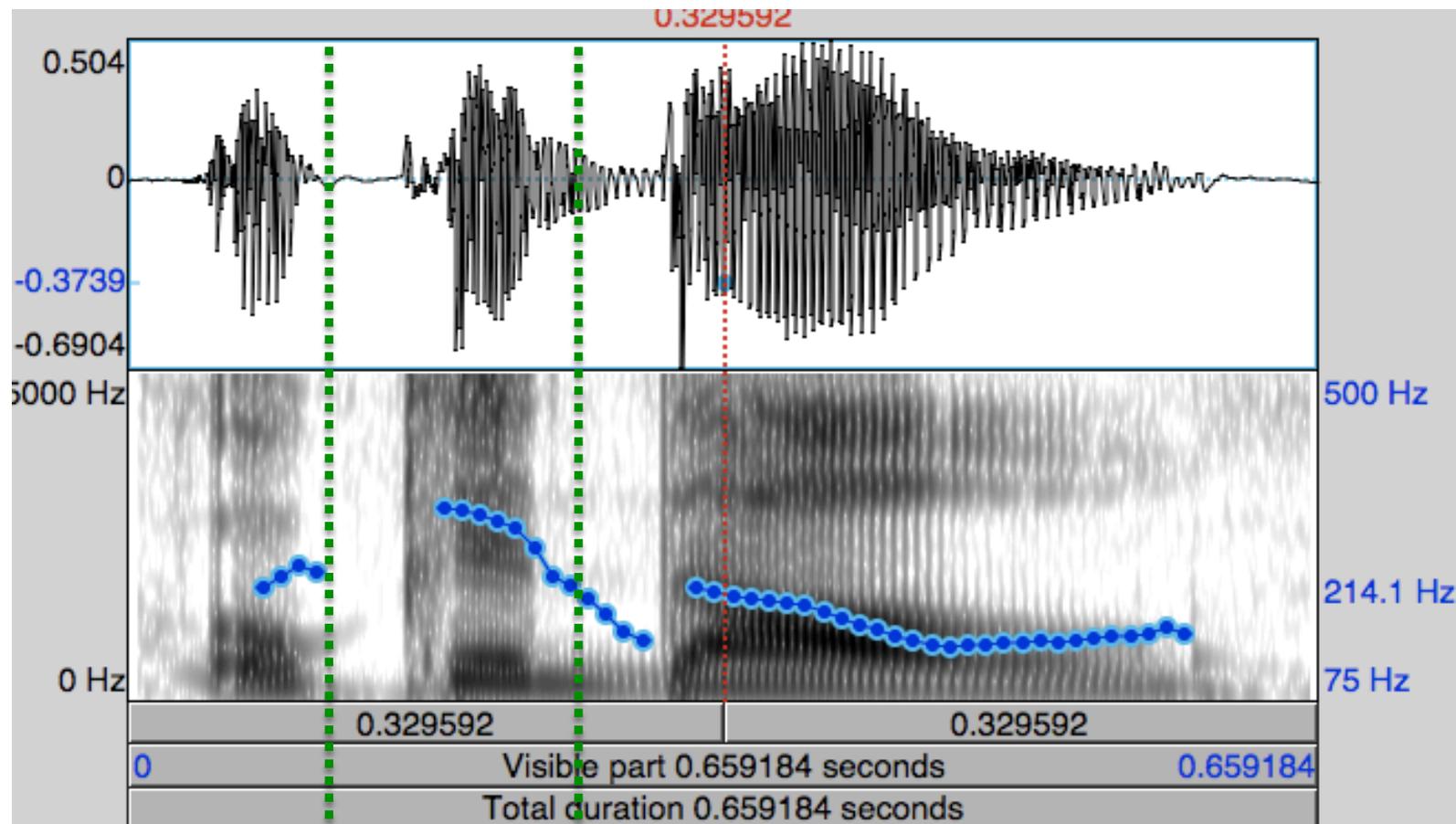
A possibly similar case in Bangla



o ke dao 'Give (it) to him'

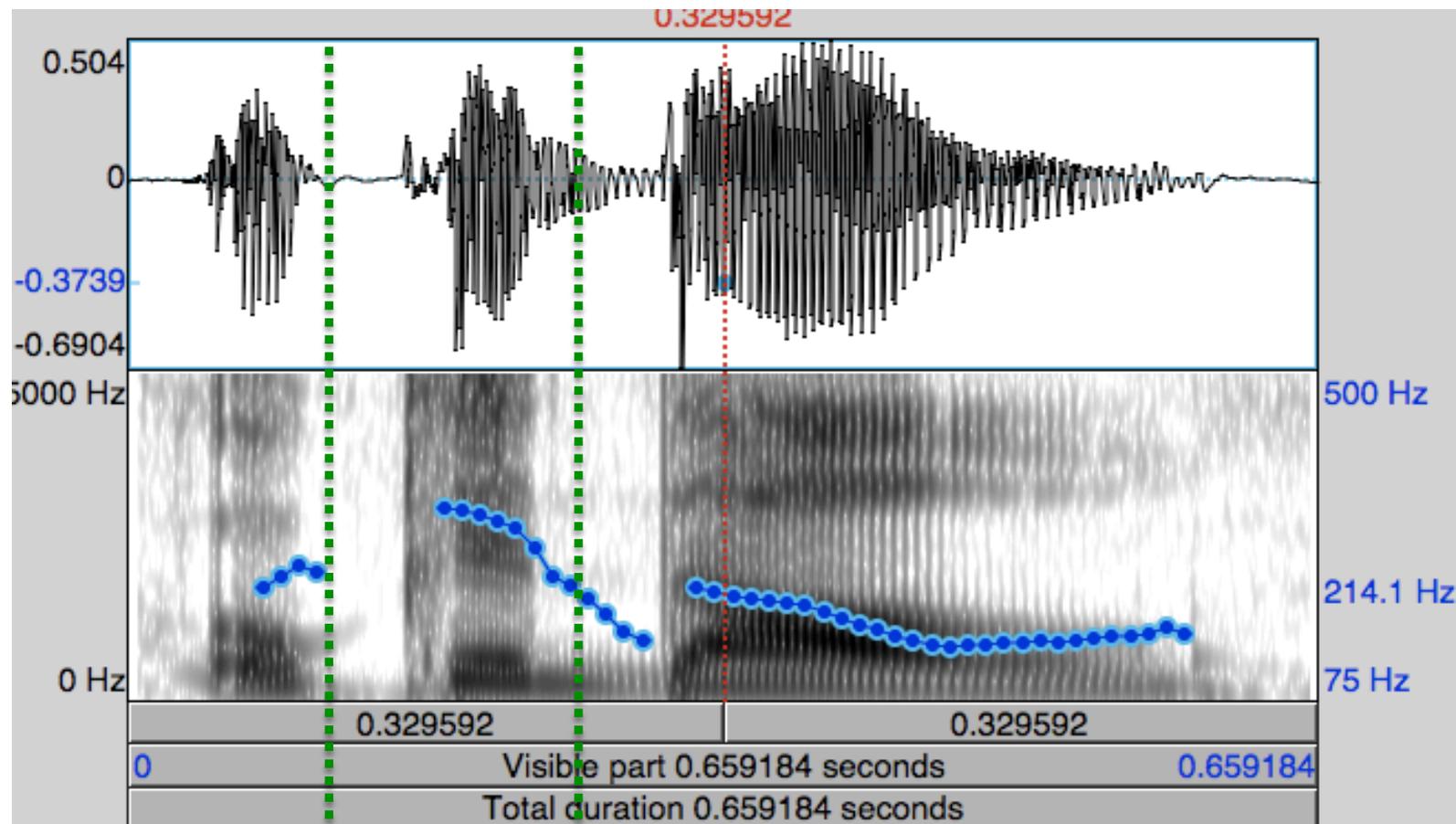


- Pronoun + case marker *ke* more prominent than verb *dao*



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- But *dao* not entirely low-prominence (Downstep-characteristics)
- Pronoun is definite, hence construable as Known Information ...

Conclusion

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With some minor, discourse-perspective, exceptions the Utterance-Finality effect for final verbs (“Verb Finality”) does seem to hold crosslinguistically for SOV languages.

3. Some specific consequences of Verb Finality

Harms (1964, 1990)

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Apocope of *-e* in Finnish finite verbs, but not in other categories, can be attributed to the fact that the original Finnish word order was SOV

Hock (2006, 2007)

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- b. **weniti* > *uenit* ‘comes’
 **esti* > *est*∅ ‘is’
 **eyti* > *it*∅ ‘goes’

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- Finite verbs of PREPOSED dependent clauses do not retract the accent (7e)

e. [*piš az in ke bè-rav-ád*]_{DC} [*be màn telefón kon*]_{MC}

‘Before you go, call me.’

- Finite verbs of POSTPOSED dependent clauses do retract the accent (7f)

f. [*hàqq-aš ín ast*]_{MC} [*ke púl nà-dār-am*]_{DC}
‘The truth of it is that I do not have money.’

- Finite verbs of POSTPOSED dependent clauses do retract the accent (7f)
- ... and so do finite verbs in preceding main clauses

(GRAMMATICALIZATION)

f. [*hàqq-aš in ast*]_{MC} [*ke púl nà-dār-am*]_{DC}
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Verb-Finality effects in South Asian languages

3.1 Hindi 'be' deletion and Utterance Finality

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- b. *(?) *vah kitāb acchī nahīm ∅*

(11) a. *yah* *mujhe* ***bilkul*** *nahīm* *pasand* *hai*
this to me certainly not liked is
'I really don't like this.'

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3.3 Vedic verb accentuation – Finality as explanation

- (12) [*tásmāi* *víśaḥ* *svayám* *evá*
CP.DAT.SG.M people.NOM.PL.F self PCLE
namante]MC
bow.PRES.PL.3
[*yásmin* *brahmá* *púrva*
RP.LOC.SG.M brahmin.NOM.SG.M first.NOM.SG.M
éti]DC
go.PRES.SG.3 (RV 4.50.8)
‘Even the common people bow to him for whom the
brahmin goes first.’

Klein (1992) with reference to Hock 1986/1991.

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Non-accentuation of MC verbs arose in canonical constructions with the MC verb in sentence-final position, and with resolution of the conflict between the high pitch of the verb accent and the low pitch of sentence-final falling intonation through loss of verb accent

Hock (2014)

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Main-clause accent loss results from an earlier stage of accent retraction in canonical utterance-final position

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ii. Original canonical clause order: DC MC

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Compare Persian

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 iii. Hence: [S O V]_{DC} [S O V]_{MC} ##
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 v. Polarization/grammaticalization: DC : MC
 [verb + accent] [verb - accent]

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 ‘Before you go, call me.’
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 ‘The truth of it is that I do not have money.’

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- (16) [yəs kūr tse pasand *cha-y*]_{RC}
 RP girl you.DAT.SG pleasing be.PRS.3SG.F-F
 [sə kūr *cha* me ti pasand]_{MC}
 CP girl be.PRS.3SG.F I.DAT.SG also pleasing
 ‘The girl that you like I like too.’

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- (17) [me **chu** patā]_{MC}
 I.DAT.SG be.PRS.3SG.M known
 [ki/zi təm’ **h’ot** nov kōṭh bāzrī]_{DC}
 that he.AG buy.PST.3SG.M new coat bazaar
 ‘I know that he bought a new coat in the bazaar.’

A possible explanation –

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Compare Persian

- (16) [yəs kūr tse pasand *cha-y*]_{RC}
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- (7) e. [piš az in ke **bè-rav-ád**]_{DC} [be mən telefón **kon**]_{MC}
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[S O V]_{MC} [S O V]_{ki/zi} ##
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- vi. Shift to V2 of [V - acct.] [S O V]_{RC} [S V2 O V]_{MC} ##
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- Utterance Finality helps explain the crosslinguistic tendency for finite verbs to be prosodically weak in SOV languages (Ladd 1996)
- The Utterance-Final “Slope” principle also helps explain issues like Hindi “be”-deletion and the order of NEG and verb in Hindi

- In historical linguistics, Utterance Finality helps explain preferential apocope on finite verbs in SOV languages

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- The fact that the assumption of verbal Utterance-Finality explains these special developments in finite verbs shows that reconstructing PIE as SOV is a productive hypothesis
- Utterance Finality (plus the Persian evidence) also suggests an explanation for V2 vs. V-final in Kashmiri

Remaining Issues

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- Focus on Phrasal Prosody and Prosodic Movement takes seriously the Minimalist idea that there are things traditionally considered syntactic that have no business being accounted for in the syntax but should be taken care of in the interface between Syntax and Phonological Form

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Common acceptance of Halpern’s (1996) combined Syntax-and-Prosody account —

- P2-elements are generated (or moved) to the left of the sentence
- ... and then “flip” after the first accented element of the matrix sentence for prosodic reasons

And yet ...

P2-clitics in BCMS (Radanović-Kocić 1996)

- (17) a. *Ja | tvoja mama | OBEČALA sam ti*
I your Mom promised Aux.SG1.CLIT you.SG.CLIT
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Appositives, which are extra-clausal insertions, establish prosodic boundaries that define hosts for P2-clitics

Syntax or Halpern's "Flip" fails to explain P2 placement in (17a) and should favor (17b) – or possibly (?) (17c)

Vedic P2-elements and poetic prosodic breaks (Hock 1996)

- (18) *apām* *tokásya*
water.GEN.PL.F. offspring.GEN.SG.N.
tánayasya *jeṣá |*
offspring.GEN.SG.N. winning.LOC.SG.M.
índra *sūrín*
Indra.VOC.SG.M. patron.ACC.PL.M.
: *KṚṆUHÍ* **smā** **no** *ardhám*
 make.IMV.2SG PCLE our.CLIT part.ACC.SG.M.

‘In the winning of water for our offspring, Indra, make our patrons (take) part.’ (RV 6.44.18cd)

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Poetic-prosodical boundaries (e.g. caesuras) can establish linguistic-prosodic boundaries that define hosts for P2-elements

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- Those who continue insisting on purely or mainly syntactic solutions do so by ignoring this evidence
- ... or, for the Vedic case, shunting it aside by claiming that poetic prosody can treat certain contexts as clause-initial — which is mere stipulation
- That is, we have to take prosodically-based accounts seriously

- What is lacking, to be sure, is a more COMPREHENSIVE theory of Phrasal Prosody and Prosodic Movement

- Still, I hope that the increasing amount of work on prosodic alternatives to syntactic accounts, including the present one, will eventually produce a sufficiently large amount of results to overcome the resistance of most syntacticians

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