

CONTRASTIVE FOCUS REDUPLICATION IN ENGLISH

(THE SALAD-SALAD PAPER)

Ghomeshi et al. (2004)

1 General idea

- (1) The phenomenon *Contrastive Reduplication* (CR) involves the copying of words and phrases: *It's tuna salad, not SALAD-salad* or *Do you LIKE-HIM-like him?*
- (2) Lexicon plays primary role and CR is analysed as a lexical item which licenses syntactic and semantic contents and reduplicative phonology.
- (3) The copying of words is analysed as an attachment of morphological affixes to the X^0
- (4) The copying of phrases is analysed as an attachment of syntactic modifiers to the XP^{min}

2 Nature of CR

What elements could be copied?

- (5) Nouns
I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the SALAD-salad.
- (6) Verbs (and optionally pronominal material to their right)
LIKE-'EM-like-'em? Or, I'd-like-to-get-store-credit-for-thatamount like-'em?
- (7) Adjectives
Is he French or FRENCH-French?
- (8) Verb particles
I'm up, I'm just not UP-up.
- (9) Proper names
That's not AUCKLAND-Auckland, is it?
- (10) Pronouns
My car isn't MINE-mine; it's my parents'.
- (11) Lexicalized expressions
Oh, we're not LIVING-TOGETHER-living-together.

What is the semantic effect of the CR?

- (12) Background: Crosslinguistically, reduplication phenomena are used to express such factors as plurality, distributivity (each X), perfective aspect, continuous/progressive/habitual aspect (keeps Ving, is Ving, Vs habitually), diminutives (little X), augmentatives (big X), intensification (really X), variety and similarity (all different kinds of X, X and such), 'out of control', and various other kinds of derivational meaning.
- (13) CR is used to specify a **prototypical denotation** of the lexical item **in contrast** to a potentially looser or more specialized reading.
- (14) Because CR restricts the meaning of an item to its central or prototypical meaning, CR does not occur with functional items.

- (15) *Are you sick, or ARE-are you sick?

CR in other languages

- (16) Spanish (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*) (Horn 1993):
No es una CASA-casa.
'This isn't a real [sic] house.'
- (17) Russian (Pereltsvaig):
On zheltyj-zheltyj, a ne limonno-zheltyj.
he yellow-yellow, and not lemon-yellow

'It's YELLOW-yellow, not lemon-yellow.'
- (18) Japanese (Poser 1991): the semantics of CR can also be expressed morphologically
by prefix *ma-*
mae 'front' *maNmae* 'right in front'

3 The Scope of CR

The copied constituent can be smaller than a phonological word (reduplicates without inflection): ...and here are the GLOVE-gloves.

- (19) Inflectional affixes could be copied and uncopied
There's a guy who collects fans, these are not sports fans but FANS-fans.
- (20) The choice between these two strategies can not be motivated phonotactically, rather it refers to morphological constituency
TALK-talked: avoids a difficult consonant cluster
GUY-guys: ?
**AC-act*
- (21) Irregular inflectional morphology always has to copy
GEESE-geese vs. **GOOSE-geese*
- (22) Derivational morphology also necessarily copies in CR
RELATIONSHIP-relationship vs. **RELATION-relationship*
- (23) It is impossible to copy only part of a lexicalized compound
BOYFRIEND-boyfriend vs. **BOY-boyfriend* vs. **boy-FRIEND-friend*

The copied constituent can be bigger than a phonological word (idioms):

OUT-OF-HER-MIND-out-of-her-mind

*OUT-out of her mind/*out of her MIND-mind

⇒ The different behaviour of lexicalized and non-lexicalized elements refers to the primary role of the lexicon.

The copied constituent can be bigger than a phonological word (verb plus its clitics to the right): I don't LIKE-HIM-like-him.

- (24) Object pronouns can be copied along with a head (verb or adjective)
- (25) PP containing object pronoun can be copied along with a head (verb or adjective)
I didn't SLEEP-WITH-HER-sleep-with-her.

- (26) Object pronoun followed by PP containing another object pronoun can be copied along with a head (verb or adjective)
Well, he didn't GIVE-IT-TO-ME-give-it-to-me (he only lent it to me)
**He didn't GIVE-IT-TO-give-it-to me.*
He didn't GIVE-IT-give-it to me.
- (27) All these clitics undergo CR regardless to the fact whether their are phonologically reduced or not.
Does he LIKE-THEM-like-them?
Does he LIKE-'EM-like-'em?
- (28) This optionality has no phonological reasons because CR is sensitive to the nature of clitics.
- (29) (!) These clitics must be unstressed.
- (30) Unstressed object pronouns, unstressed prepositions and inflectional affixes belong to the non-contrastive closed-class items, which refers to a parallelism between them.

GENERALIZATIONS:

I. The scope of CR is either X^0 or XP^{min}

GLOVE-[_N glove]-s

OVER-THE-HILL-[over the hill]

*MY-GOOSE-IS-COOKED-my-goose-is-cooked

(?) Does reduplication look like morphology or like syntax?

II. The scope of CR must include a full lexical item, to whose meaning the semantic effect of CR is applied.

III. In addition to a single contentful lexical item, the scope of CR may include only noncontrastive functional/grammatical morphemes.

TALKED-talked

OFF-THE-WALL-off-the-wall

TALK-ABOUT-IT-talk-about-it

*TALK-ABOUT-MATH-talk-about-math

*PROUD-OF-DAVE-proud-of-Dave

*A-LINGUIST-a-linguist

Prosody: CR marks contrastive focus

4 Parallel Architecture Framework

What does this theory have to presuppose?

- (31) Lexicon determines everything what happens in the grammar
- (32) No differences between morphosyntax and phrasal syntax
- (33) Syntax is an intermediate structure between phonology and meaning

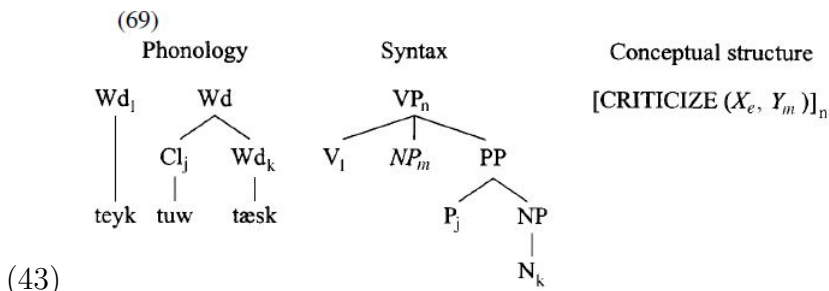
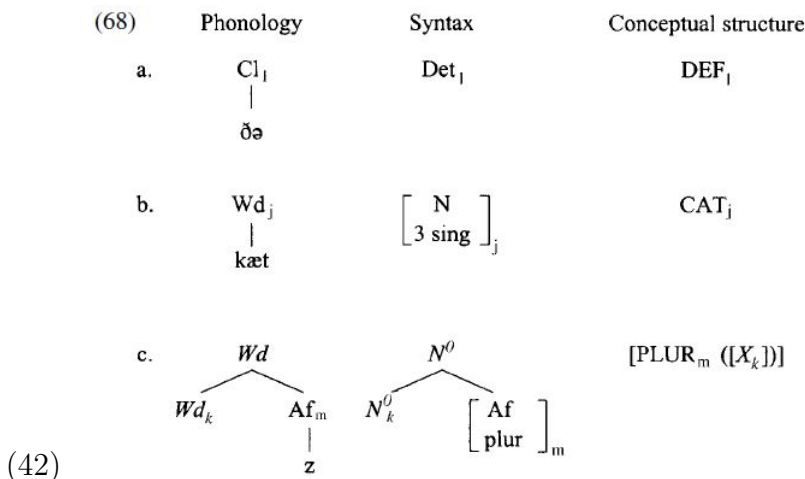
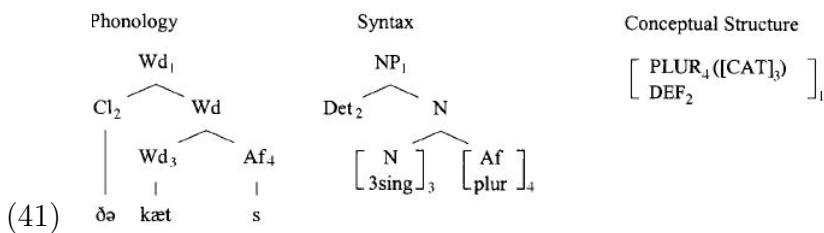
Basics of the Parallel Architecture

- (34) Three structures: phonological, syntactic and semantic, which consist of a set of combinatorial primitives (features) combined by the principles of combination

- (35) These structures are connected by the corresponding rules
- (36) PHONO-SYN: linear order of units in phonology corresponds to the linear order of the corresponding units in syntax
- (37) SYN-SEM: syntactic head corresponds to a semantic function (adjunct - sem. modifiers)
- (38) PHONO-SEM: connection between prosody and information structure

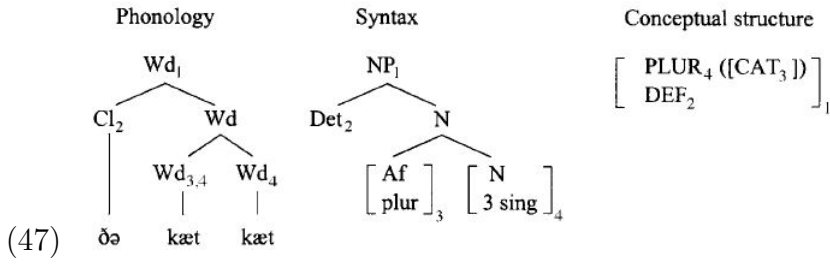
CRUCIAL POINT: Lexical item is not inserted in the tree (Merge in MP), rather tells the grammar that its three sets of features can be placed in correspondence in the three independent linguistic components. LEX.ITEM → FEATURES

- (39) That's why there is no reason to confine the syntactic structure of lex. items to X⁰ size because lexicon licenses every structure in the grammar.
- (40) No differences between morphosyntax and phrasal syntax: morphology is reflected by different sorts of compositional principles



Reduplication

- (44) Reduplication is analysed as an affixation in terms of “metaphonological” content COPY X
- (45) Affixation: affix is specified for the base to which it attaches
- (46) Reduplication: works like affixation, but the affix is phonologically empty



5 CR in the Parallel Architecture

What about variable size of CR?

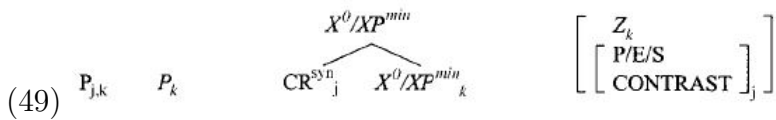
Syntax: X^0 or XP^{min} (GENER. I); PHONO follows from syntax; Notation of reduplicant - P

What about syntactic category to be assigned to CR?

When it applies inside a word \rightarrow affix; when it applies to an $XP^{min} \rightarrow$ CRsyn

How is the semantics of CR (restricting to prototypical meaning and contrasting with less prototypical one) notated?

CONTRAST modifies PROTOTYPICAL/EXTREME/SALIENT (P/E/S); P/E/S is a modifier of the base



What about an appropriate contrast?

similar to the **green ideas* (GENER. II)

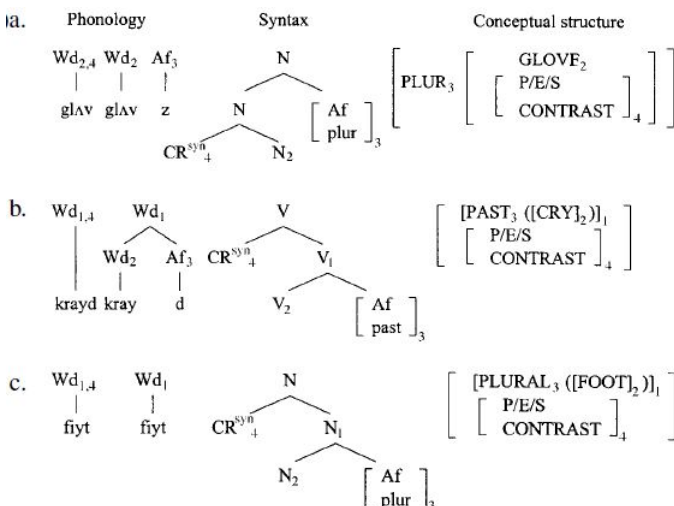
How is a prosodical stress assigned?

The contrasting constituent in semantics is subscripted j; therefore the stress will go on the constituent subscripted j in phonology.

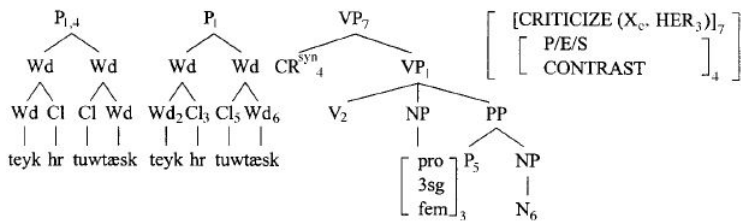
How are the clitics adjoining to the head restricted?

Rephrase of the GENER. III: The base material, subscripted k, must contain exactly one contrastable (or non-functional) lexical item.

ATTACHMENT to the X^0 :



ATTACHMENT to the XP^{min} :

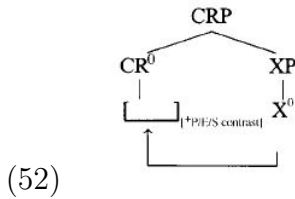


6 Minimalist Program

BASIC IDEA: the reduplication in CR results from the spelling out of both the head and the tail of a chain created by head movement.

Analysis:

- (48) The CR morpheme consists of the features [P/E/S, +contrast], but no phonology.
- (49) Akin to a modifier of category A (adjective or adverb), it heads a CR phrase that can take any lexical phrase (NP, VP, AP, etc.) as its complement.
- (50) The features of the CR morpheme are strong, they must be associated with a syntactic head that is lexically filled.
- (51) These features trigger head-movement of the adjacent X^0



- (81)a. pū ní ka' mÉ pa' ā
throw you FUT-A it throw Q
 Are you going to THROW it? (Koopman 1984, p. 155 (4a))
- b. zālī n' zālī zàmó
reddeN I reddeN sauce
 I really REDDENED the sauce. (1984, p. 157 (11g))

PROBLEMS:

What about inflectional morphology?

→Possible solution: Distributed Morphology

What about reduplicated units that are larger than a word, e.g. idioms?

7 Conclusions

- CR can not be motivated in terms of phonology
- This phenomenon is determined by the lexicon, which licenses an appropriate morphosyntactic and semantic structures, which, in turn, reflect in reduplicative phonology
- There is no need to differentiate between morphosyntax and phrasal syntax
- Many problems, which occur within other theories, can be solved within this framework (e.g. inflectional affixes in Polish or in Russian)
- MP can not account for the reduplicated units that are smaller or larger than a word