

Object reduplication in Maltese

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Introduction

Object reduplication (OR):

“A syntactic phenomenon where the lexical object co-occurs with a co-referential pronominal clitic.”

[1]	@grimcris	azi	l'am_i	vazut	pe	fanul_i	tau	Grim
	to.NAME	today	CL.ACC=have.1SG	see=PART	ACC	fan=DET	your	NAME

“@grimcris, I saw your fan today :)”

http://twitter.com/Sixx_/status/10823172549, retrieved on December 23rd, 2010.

≈ Clitic doubling

Clitics:

{-ni, -k, -h/-u, -ha, -na, -kom, -hom}

{-li, -lek, -lu, -lha, -lna, -lkom, -lhom}

Introduction

Object reduplication

Balkan Sprachbund: Miklosich 1869

Romance languages outside of Balkans: Jaeggli 1982

Berber: Guerrsel 1995

Arabic: Aoun 1999

Maltese:

-Sutcliffe 1939 (“The direct suffixes are often used redundantly, but effectively.”)

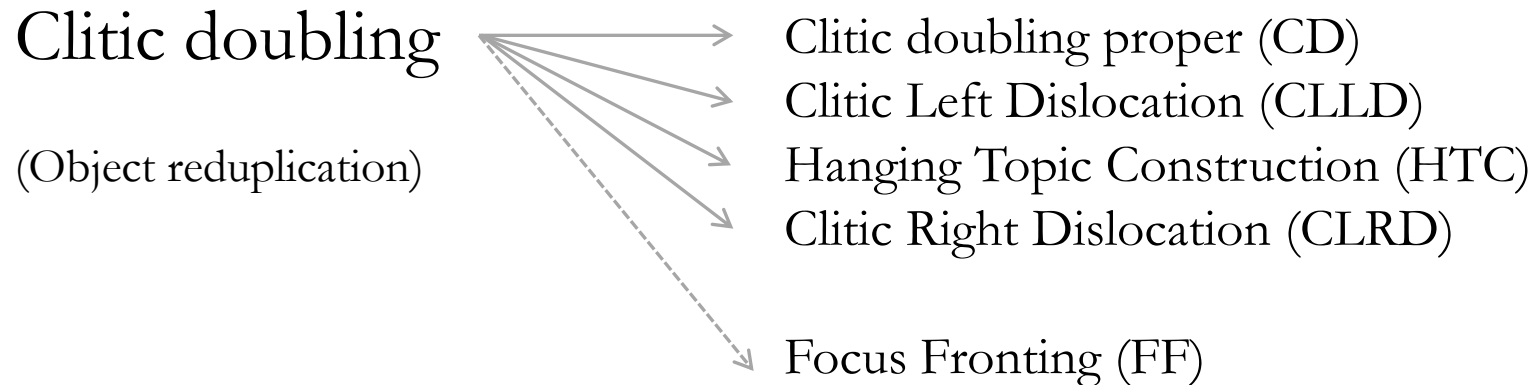
-Fabri 1993

-Fabri & Borg 2002, Borg & Alexander-Azzopardi 2009

Object reduplication

Traditional view: One unitary phenomenon

Recent reanalysis (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Vulchanov 2008; Krapova and Cinque 2008; Tsakali and Anagnostopoulou 2008):



Clitic Doubling proper (CD) and the rest

Common features of all OR phenomena:

- Co-occurrence of lexical object with clitic
- Scope (specificity/definiteness)
- Pragmatics (in languages where some types of OR are not obligatory)

Differences:

- Position within sentence

Clitic Doubling proper (CD) vs. the rest

“True” clitic doubling (CD) applies to the cases when the full NP occurs in its argument position inside the clause.”

(Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Vulchanov 2008:107)

In Maltese:

- Argument position: **SVO**
- Inside the clause vs. clause periphery

Clitic Doubling proper (CD) vs. the rest

Inside the clause [1] vs. clause periphery [2]

[1]	fejn	iridu	jafu	juzawha	l bibja
	where	3.IMPF=want=3PL	3.IMPF=know=3PL	3.IMPF=use=3PL=CL.ACC.3SG.F	DEF Bible
	‘‘They know how to use the Bible				

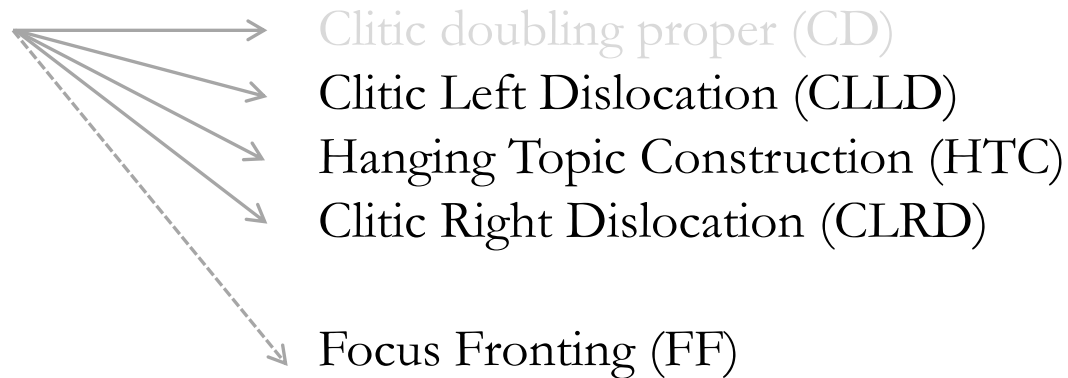
biex	jiggustifikaw	id dhul	tal	klandestini
to	.IMPF=justify=3PL	DEF entry	GEN=DEF	illegal=PL
to justify the entry of illegals wherever they want.”				

<http://www.vivamalta.org/forum/archive/index.php/t-3812.html>

[2]	Il-vettura	raha	ukoll	il-kunsillier	Francis Callus...
	DEF=car	see.3PF=CL.ACC.3SG.F	too	DEF=councilor	NAME
	“Councilor Francis Callus also saw the vehicle...”				

Object reduplication

Object
reduplication



Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Direct object:

- [1] **Il-vettura** **raha** **ukoll** **il-kunsillier** **Francis Callus...**
DEF=car see.3PF=CL.ACC.3SG.F too DEF=councilor NAME
“Councilor Francis Callus also saw the vehicle...”

Indirect object:

- [2] **Lit-tfal** **trid** **tixtrilhom** **rigal**
DAT=DEF-children 2SG.IMPF=want 2SG.IMPF=buy=CL.DAT.3PL gift
“You might want to buy a gift for the kids.”
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Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander (2009:75): left dislocation / topicalization of indirect objects and is incompatible with the IO marker, but see [2].

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Traditionally defined scope of CLLD in Maltese:

1. Definite NPs (incl. inherently definite NPs like names and pronouns)

“... in fact, pronominal clitics can only be co-referential with definite NPs.”
(Fabri & Borg 2002:360)

Actual scope:

1. Definite NPs (incl. inherently definite NPs like names and pronouns)

2. Some quantified NPs (kull, xi)

3. Bare nouns

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Quantified NPs - direct objects

[3]	Kull	sold	investejnieh	fihom...
	every	coin	invest=1SG.PL.PERF=ACC.CL.3SG.M	in=3SG.PL
	“We invested in them every penny...”			

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[4]	Lil	xi	whud	minnhom	Pablo	kien
	DO	some	ones	from=3PL	name	AUX.PERF.3SG.M
	“Some of them, Pablo					

jafhom	tajjeb...
3SG.IMPF=know=ACC.CL.3PL	well
knew them well ...	

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Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Quantified NPs - indirect objects

[4] **Lil kull sindku fl-Amerika baghtitilhom tazza żghira ...**

DAT every mayor in=DEF-America send=1SG.PERF=DAT.CL.3SG glass small=F

“To every mayor in America, I sent them a small glass...”

Niċċa tipika hija wahda ta' San Nikola li kien hemm fi Triq is-Santwarju f'Haz-Żabbar u li ma nafx x'sar minnha!

[5] **Lil xi niċeċ ohra insterqulhom**

DAT some statue.PL other.PL 3.IMPF=PASS=steal=3PL=DAT.CL.3PL

“For some statues, they stole

il-fanali li kellhom quddiemhom ...

DEF=lantern=PL REL have.PERF=3PL in front of=3PL

the lanterns they had in front of them ...”

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Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Bare nouns – direct objects

- [5] **Ħaxix** **bħal** **bell peppers,** **zucchini** **u karrotti** **tista**
vegetables such as bell peppers zucchini and carrots 2SG.IMPF=can
“Vegetables such as bell peppers, zucchini and carrots, you can

tġhallih **jekk** **thobb** **l-ikel** **msajjar** **sew.**
2SG.IMPF=boil=ACC.CL.3SG.M if 2SG.IMPF=like DEF-food cooked thus
boil them if you like food prepared that way.”

maltarightnow-48-12231.html-cleaned.txt

Bare nouns – indirect objects

Fil-Kenja hija haga normali li bniedem jiekol gurnata iva u gurnata le.

- [6] **Bniedem** **toffrilu** **l-ikel** **u jghidlek,**
person 2SG.IMPF=offer=DAT.CL.3SG.M DEF=food and 3.IMPF=say=DAT.CL.2SG.M
“A person, you offer him food and he tells you

Imma **jien** **il-bierah** **kilt!**
but I yesterday eat=PERF.1SG

“But I ate yesterday!”

lorizzont-20720.html-cleaned.txt

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

Bare nouns

Indefiniteness vs. topichood?

De Cat 2010:

- 1.Existential indefinite (“a specific item from the set of all X”)
- 2.Generic indefinite (“a typical X embodying all properties of X / representing all X”)

“If a specific reading is forced (by using a past tense), this sentence is no longer acceptable ...”

(De Cat 2010:21)

=> quantified NPs with *kull*

Hanginɡ Topic Construction

Primary contrast to CLLD:

Level of connectivity with the rest of the clause

“...topicalised expressions are in a looser relationship with the rest of the sentence...”

(Borg and Azzopardi 2009:75-76)

Sutcliffe 1935: nominativus pendens

Clitic Left Dislocation vs. Hanging Topic

	Feature	CLLD	HTC
1.	Category neutral	any	NP only
2.	Iterative	+	-
3.	Non-root contexts	+	-
4.	Free ordering of dislocates	+	-
5.	Obligatory resumptive	clitic only	any
6.	Ordering with respect to wh-	C-CLLD-wh	C-HTC-wh
7.	Connectedness	+	-
8.	Intonational break	weak	strong

Adapted from Villalba 2000:81

Clitic Left Dislocation vs. Hanging Topic

	Feature	CLLD	HTC
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5.	Obligatory resumptive	clitic only	any
6.	Ordering with respect to wh-	C-CLLD-wh	C-HC-wh
7.	Connectedness	+	-
8.	Intonational break	weak	strong

Clitic Left Dislocation vs. Hanging Topic

	CLLD	HTC
Iterative	+	-

HTC: one per sentence

CLLD: several possible

- [1] **Jien il-golf ma nafx x'jarawlu...**
- I DEF-golf NEG 1SG.IMPF=know=NEG what=3.IMPF=see=PL=DAT.CL.3SG.M

“I don’t know what they see in golf...”

Clitic Left Dislocation vs. Hanging Topic

	CLLD	HTC
Non-root contexts	+	-

“HTLD (=HTC) can be found only in root contexts ... CLLD appears in both root and non-root contexts”

(Krapova and Cinque 2005:259)

[2]	... jien	nahseb	li	finalment	din ir-responsabblià	trid
	I	1SG.IMPF=think	that	in the end	this.F DEF-responsibility	3SG.F.IMPF=want

“... I think that in the end, the leadership of the Nationalist Party

iggorrha	wkoll	it-tmexxija	tal-Partit	Nazzjonalista.
3SG.IMPF=carry=ACC.CL.3SG.F	also	DEF-leadership	POSS=DEF-party	nationalist=F
will want to shoulder this responsibility as well.”				

Clitic Left Dislocation vs. Hanging Topic

	CLLD	HTC
Connectedness	+	-

Case connectivity:

DO / animacy marker “lil” and IO marker “li” are optional in topicalized / left-dislocated NPs

(Borg and Azzopardi 1997:124, Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 2009:73-74)

[3] **Jien** **lili** **qatt** **ma** **tarani** **fuq** **il-palk.**
 I ACC=I never NEG 2SG.IMPF=see=ACC.CL.1SG on DEF-stage
 “I, me, you never will see me on the stage.”

Jien	qatt	ma	tarani	noħrog —
I	never	NEG	2SG.IMPF=see=ACC.CL.1SG	1.IMPF=exit
“I, you never will see me exit —”				

illum-2009-06-14_interview.html.txt

CLLD vs. HTC in Maltese

	Feature	CLLD	HTC
1.	Category neutral	any	NP only
2.	Iterative	+	-
3.	Non-root contexts	+	-
4.	Free ordering of dislocates	+	-
5.	Obligatory resumptive	clitic only	any
6.	Ordering with respect to wh-	C-CLLD-wh	C-HC-wh
7.	Connectedness	+	-
8.	Intonational break	weak	strong

Focus fronting or topicalization?

Object reduplication is obligatory with left-dislocated topicalized object
(Borg and Azzopardi 1997:124, 126)

Darba sibti ruhi fin-nofs. Kienet gejjja l-lezzjoni ta' l-1992. Konferenza Stampa tal-Prim Ministru Fenech Adami, l-aħħar waħda fis-sensiela. Kont qed naraha d-dar ma' marti. Min deher għall-Orizzont jew għat-Torċa staqsa waħda dwar id-djar daqsxejn below the belt. It-twegiba kienet qawwija: "Hawn xi ħadd f'dan il-pajjiż li jiddubita mill-onestà ta' Joe Cassar?" L-ghada shabi qaluli:

- [1] “Lilek biss iddefenda.”
ACC=2SG. only 3SG.IMPF=defend
“He’s only defending you.”

illum-2008-02-24_t14.html.txt

Rajtu kemm hi tajba Marlene tagħna.

- [2] **Lilha** **ħa** **mieghu** **l-President.**
ACC=3SG.F take.PERF.3SG.M with=3SG.M DEF=president
“The president took her with him.”

illum-2009-08-30_t14.html.txt

Focus fronting or topicalization?

Fabri & Borg 2002:360

OVS/OSV without cliticization = focus on object (focus fronting)

Darba sibt ruhi fin-nofs. Kienet ġeġja l-elezzjoni ta' l-1992. Konferenza Stampa tal-Prim Ministru Fenech Adami, l-aħħar waħda fis-sensjela. Kont qed naraha d-dar ma' marti. Min deher għall-Orizzont jew għat-Torċa staqsa waħda dwar id-djar daqsxejn below the belt. It-twegiba kienet qawwija: "Hawn xi hadd f'dan il-pajjiż li jiddubita mill-onestà ta' Joe Cassar?" .L-ghada shabi qaluli:

[1] **“Lilek biss iddefenda.”**

FOCUS = new information introduced

Rajtu kemm hi tajba Marlene tagħna.

[2] **Lilha ha miegħu l-President.**

TOPIC = tying the utterance to the rest of the discourse

Focus fronting or topicalization?

Qed issir hafna hidma tajba minn **nies**_i li jibqghu fid-dell, u jahdmu minghajr ma jidhru. **Lilhom**_i irridu naghtu**hom**_i kull gieh.

VS

Niftakar li kien kellimni l-president Michael Buttigieg u offrieli li nibda nitharreg b'xejn fuq l-isnuker **tal-kazin**_i (*Il-Kazin Laburista tal-Mellieha*). **Lilhom**_i irrid ngħid# grazzi kbira.

Lilkom il-mexxejja u għalliema tal-Kulleġġ **irrid ngħidilkom** grazzi.

...huma l-ħin kollu qegħdin jahdmu fil-komunitajiet jirrapprezentaw lill-partit. **Irrid ngħidilhom** grazzi tax-xogħol importanti...

Clitic Right Doubling / HTC / Afterthought?

- [1] **On** **ne** **les_i** **invite** **pas,** **les** **malotrus_i.**
 one NEG them invites not the louts
 ‘We don’t invite louts.’
 De Cat 2010:99

1. Right dislocation of NPs with/without Case Connectivity

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------|---------------|
| [2] | Jien | nieklok | lilek. |
| | I | 1.IMPf=eat=CL.ACC.2SG | ACC=2SG |
| | “I will eat you.” | | |
| | maltarightnow-39-99819261.html-cleaned.txt | | |

- [3] **Hekk** **grali** **jien.**
 thus happen.PERF.3SG=CL.DAT.2SG.M you
 “This is what happened to me.”
 lorizzont-17259.html-cleaned.txt

Tinstema' simplici u hekk hi, jidhirli, jien.

Il-qarrejja tat-TORĊA saru jagħrfuha mill-ewwel u jwaqqfuha biex jifirhul**ha_i** **hi_i** u għaddejja fit-triq.

Clitic Right Doubling / HTC / Afterthought?

2. Information structure

[5] **U** **mort** **ghand** **il-Kumissarju** **u** **ha** **nghid**
and go=PERF1SG to DEF=commissioner and FUT 1SG.IMPF=say
And I went to the Commissioner and I will tell you

x'ghidtlu	lill-Kummissarju	u	jikkonfermah	hu.
what=say=1SG.PERF=CL.DAT.3SG.M	DAT=DEF-commissioner	and	3.IMPF=confirm=CL.ACC.3SG.M	he
what I told him, the Commissioner, and he confirms it himself.				

<http://archive.maltatoday.com.mt/2009/03/08/sbalzan.html>

Dislocated element provides additional information => afterthought

3. International break

[6]	Min	jaghtihomlha,	wara	kollox,	dawn	ic-cifri	lill-Unjoni Ewropea?
	who	3.IMPF=give=CL.ACC.3P L=CL.DAT.3SG.F	after	all	these	DEF=number =PL	DAT=DEF-EU

“Who gives them to them, after all, these numbers, to the EU?”

www.torca.com.mt/news2.asp?artid=5474

Conclusion

- More study of both OR and the syntax of the sentence periphery is required.
- For Balkan linguistics: both CLLD and CD proper possible with bare nouns.
- For Arabic dialectology: both CLLD and CD possible in Maltese as opposed to most varieties of Arabic with CLLD only.

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