Grohmann and Nevins 2004: On the syntactic expression of pejorative mood
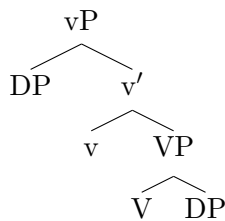
Marie-Luise Schwarzer

Replicative Processes

2. Juni 2015

1 Claim

(1) A basic tree:

```
           vP
         /    \
       DP      v′
             /    \
            v      VP
                 /    \
                V     DP
```

- syntactic account of English *shm*-reduplication
- base and reduplicant form a chain in two left-peripheral positions
- distinctness-requirement for PF rules out identical elements in the same domain ⇒ chain formation fails
- Copy Spell Out repairs the structure by changing the lower copy phonetically, making it distinct from the higher one so that it can be spelled out

2 Introduction

2.1 characteristics of *shm*-reduplication

(2) Money, shmoney, that's all John ever thinks about.

(3) "Breakfast?! *Breakfast shmreakfast, look at the score for God's sake.* It's only the second period and I'm winning twelve to two. Breakfasts come and go, Rene, but Hartford, the Whale, they only beat Vancouver maybe once or twice in a lifetime." (from the movie *Mallrats*, 1995)

- targets the topic under discussion (the discourse topic): In (3), the topic of breakfast is brought up and dismissed as much less important than a hockey game.

- meaning: the speaker expresses a dismissive or pejorative attitude toward the *shm*-reduplicated element

- cannot appear in or originate from an argument position

    (4) *John is always thinking about money, shmoney.

    (5) *Money, shmoney is all that John ever thinks about.

- the two copies have to be adjacent

    (6)   Money, (*yesterday) shmoney, nobody needs that stuff.

- the two elements receive the intonational pattern of a phrase, not a compound.

    (7)   a.   wálkman, cóokie cutter
           b.   *wálk mán (on the relevant reading), *cóokie cútter

    (8)   a.   *móney-shmoney, *fáncy-shmancy
           b.   móney-shmóney, fáncy-shmáncy

- the intonational pattern of the first element is identical to that of conventional topics: H* !H-

- The discourse context is not out-of-the-blue.

    (9)   A: What happened?
           B: *_Touchdown, shmouchdown_, the Redskins just scored!

- The order cannot be reversed. The first element is a well-formed phrase, the second one is a phonologically modified nonsense-word.

    (10)   *_Shmoney, money_, who needs it?

2.2   Concepts employed in the analysis

- Copy Theory of Movement

- Split COMP (Rizzi 1997): CP is split up into several projections: ForceP (specifies clause type), TopP (hosts topics), FocP (hosts foci, wh-phrases), (TopP), FinP (marks finiteness)

- Prolific Domains (Grohmann 2003): subdomains in a derivation:

    – up to vP: Theta-Domain - creation of thematic relations
    – up to TP: Agreement- or Φ-Domain - licensing of agreement, case, ϕ-features
    – up to CP: Discourse- or Ω-Domain - establishing discourse information

- Anti-Locality (Grohmann 2003): _Too local_ movement is illicit. Movement is too local, if it doesn't cross over into another prolific domain.

3   Topicality in _Shm_-reduplication

Shm-reduplication is not obligatory for the expression of pejorative or dismissive mood. (2) could occur without the _shm_-reduplicant. "..." indicates a special intonation, gestures and facial expressions.

(11)   Breakfast! ... Look at the score for God's sake.

This way of expressing pejoration has similarities to topicalization.

Related operations
    topicalization: a sentence-internal expression is moved to the left periphery

(12)   This paper, all linguistics students should read __ at some point.

hanging topic left dislocation: the moved expression is resumed in its base position

(13)   *This paper*, all linguistics students should read *it* at some point.

→left dislocation seems to be "topicalization plus something" (like resumption)
The pejorated element ("breakfast") can be analyzed as a topic, **base-generated in the left periphery, in SpecTopP**.

(14) $[_{TopP}$ Breakfast Top^0 $[_{FinP}$ look-Fin^0 $[_{TP}$ T^0 $[_{VP}$ at the score for God's sake]]]]

→maybe *shm*-reduplication is also "topicalization plus something"
Then a possible structure for (2) could be (15):

(15) $[_{TopP}$ Breakfast Top^0 $[_{XP}$ *shmreakfast* X^0 $[_{FinP}$ look-Fin^0 $[_{TP}$ T^0 $[_{VP}$ at the score for God's sake]]]]]

Evidence for a designated position XP occupied by the *shm*-element:

- phonological pattern of an XP, not X$_0$ (standard assumption: two distinct prosodic words occupy distinct syntactic projections)

- a full clause can be shm-reduplicated:

(16)   *John wants a laptop, John wants a shmaptop*, who cares what the brat wants?

Proposal: The two copies each inhabit their own functional projection, the *shm*-reduplicated element sits in the specifier of **PejP**.
Evidence for PejP being a very high projection: expressive content scopes above modal verbs

(17)   John said (about his friend Bill) that *the idiot* is his best friend.

The idiot is scoping above the verb *say*, since the matrix utterer's opinion of Bill as an idiot does not reflect the reported author's opinion. →it LF-moves to a dedicated clausal position for speaker-oriented evaluative phrases, PejP
The order of the two projections has to be reversed: PejP is higher than TopP.

4   Analysis

main idea: movement analysis within the left periphery: a high base-generated topic moves within a split CP to a pejorative projection, SpecPejP. Such movement is too local and violates a distinctness requirement for PF so that the elements can't be mapped onto linear order. A repair strategy for PF-violations, Copy Spell Out, changes the phonetic form of the lower copy, making it possible to spell out both copies.

4.1   Why are both copies pronounced, and why are they pronounced differently?

- The dependency relation between TopP and PejP is one of syntactic movement. Such movement is too local, as it never crosses more than one prolific domain (it happens in the Discourse-Domain).

- Grohmann (2003) suggests a condition to rule out too local or anti-local movement:

  (18)   *Condition on Domain Exclusivity* (Grohmann 2003:78)
           For a given Prolific Domain $\Pi\Delta$, an object O in the phrase-marker must receive an exclusive interpretation at the interfaces, unless duplicity of O yields a drastic effect on the output of that $\Pi\Delta$.

- The condition can be bypassed through the operation *Copy Spell Out.* Copy Spell Out makes the lower copy within one domain phonologically distinct (the 'unless'-clause, thus "yield[ing] a drastic effect on the [PF-]output")

- example: German contrastive left dislocation:

  (19)   a.   [Seinen$_i$ Vater]$_{ii}$, den$_{ii}$ mag [jeder Junge]$_i$.
           b.   [$_{CP}$ seinen Vater C^0 [$_{TopP}$ ~~seinen Vater~~ ► den mag-Top^0 [$_{TP}$ jeder Junge T^0 [$_{AgrOP}$ ~~seinen Vater~~ AgrO^0 [$_{vP}$ jeder Junge v$_0$ [$_{VP}$ ~~seinen Vater~~ V]]]]]]

- derivation: *seinen Vater* moves from clause internal position to SpecTopP, crossing a domain boundary. From there it moves again to the leftmost position, SpecForceP. This movement is too local, since it doesn't cross a domain boundary. This is a PF-legibility violation: PF identifies two identical copies of the same element and cannot deal with them. Copy Spell Out tries to save the structure by changing the phonetic shape of the lower copy. This provides the "drastic effect" required by the exclusivity condition. ► = phonetic change

- shm-analysis is parallel: the element moves in the Discourse Domain from SpecTopP to SpecPejP. This too-local movement can be rescued by Copy Spell Out by inserting the pejorative marker *shm* in the PF-matrix of the expression.

4.1.1 Why aren't the lower copies deleted?

standard mechanism for non-pronunciation of lower copies = Lower Copy Deletion
LCD and CSO don't apply in the same contexts: a more specific instance of a rule will block the application of an "elsewhere," or less specific, rule.

(20)   Predicate-Based Version of the Elsewhere-Condition (Nevins 2004, orig. Kiparsky 1973) Given rules R1 and R2, R1 is disjunctively ordered before R2 if
         a.   the set of conjoined Boolean predicates that form the structural description of R2 are a subset of the set of conjoined Boolean predicates that form the structural description of R1 and
         b.   the structural changes of the two rules are either identical or incompatible.

(21)   Copy Spell Out and Lower-Copy Deletion as an Elsewhere-Relation
         a.   Copy Spell-Out (PF-driven: Condition on Domain Exclusivity): Structural Description: Given Copies C1 and C2, where C1 LCA precedes C2, and C1 and C2 are in the same Prolific Domain.
               Structural Change: Spellout-as-Modified C2
         b.   Lower Copy Deletion (PF-driven viz. the LCA): Structural Description: Given Copies C1 and C2, where C1 LCA precedes C2.
               Structural Change: Delete C2

$\Rightarrow$ Copy Spell Out only applies in the restricted contexts in which movement is very local and not domain-crossing. Result: phonological modification of the lower copy (echo

reduplication or resumption, actual repairs seem to be language-specific)
⇒ Lower Copy Deletion covers the more general case of movement across domain borders.

4.2 Deriving restrictions

- *shm*-reduplication cannot appear in argument position: hint, that the topic is base-generated high in the left periphery, in TopP

- the two copies are strictly adjacent: assuming that linear order is isomomorphic with asymmetric c-command, this means that no phonologically realized syntactic head may c-command the lower expression but not the higher one

- *shm*-pejoration cannot occur out-of-the-blue: this follows from an analysis where it is the topic that undergoes *shm*-reduplication. The answer to a wh-question represents new information (usually connected to focus) and as such cannot be related to TopP (syntactically realizing discourseold information).

- in no language can the order be reversed: "*Phonologists have never been able to derive this property in an interesting way*" (Grohmann and Nevins 2004:160). It follows from a syntactic analysis. It is the lower copy that deletes, because it has a less complete set of checked features (Grohmann 2003). The element has to move to get features checked, so the lower copy has more unchecked features, which makes it deficient. For the same reason, it is the one that is subject to *shm*-modification.

5 A continued modification of the analysis

5.1 Pejoration isn't topicalization

- while both topicalization and *shm*-reduplication can be external to the clause they attach to (a. examples), and can relate the to clause by resumption (b. exampeles), *shm*-reduplication can never involve movement from an argument position, unlike topicalization (c. examples)

  (22) a. *Breakfast, shmreakfast*, look at the score for God's sake!
        b. *Money, shmoney*, who needs *it/the sh*t* (anyway)?
        c. **Money, shmoney*, I don't need __ (anyway).

  (23) a. *Breakfast*, look at the score for God's sake!
        b. *Money*, who needs it/the sh*t (anyway)?
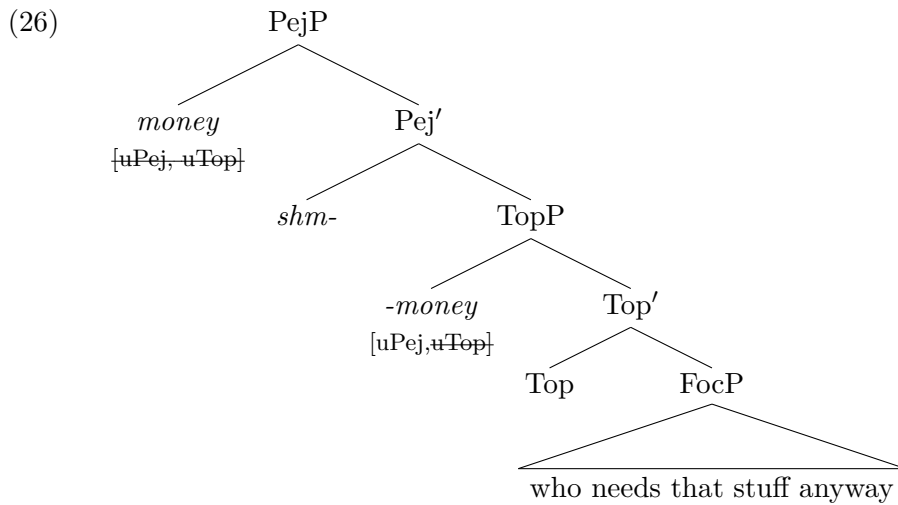   c. *Money*, I don't need __ (anyway).

- Topicalization may apply successive-cyclically across clause boundaries, pejoration may not.

  (24) a. *Money*, everyone knows (that) John thinks (that) I don't need __ anyway.
        b. **Money, shmoney*, John's asking who needs *it/that stuff*.

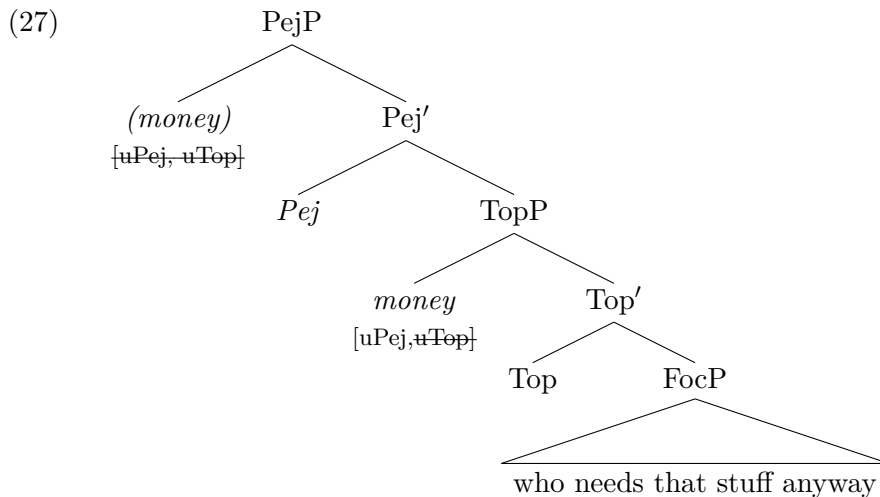- *shm*-pejoration cannot be "topicalization plus something": in *shm*-less pejoration in (10) topicalization is coupled with a specific intonation, allowing a pejorative interpretation. What licenses that interpretation in the syntax, is PejP.
  ⇒ *shm* is the modification that allows the second copy to be distinct from the first, because *shm* is the overt head of PejP and requires movement to its specifier.

(25)   PejP only requires overt movement when its head is overt.

- *shm*-reduplication: head of PejP is morpheme /shm/

(26)

```
                    PejP
                  /      \
            money          Pej′
        [uPej, uTop]      /    \
                     shm-        TopP
                              /      \
                        -money        Top′
                      [uPej,uTop]     /    \
                                   Top      FocP
                                           /    \
                                    who needs that stuff anyway
```

- This overt movement is too local, triggering Copy Spell Out. The mechanism that renders the lower copy distinct from the higher one is **word formation** between *shm-* and the lower copy.

- *shm*-less pejoration: head of PejP is "filled" with relevant prosodic or gestural instructions; the pejorative expression checks its [uPej]-feature covertly (indicated by (...))

(27)

```
                    PejP
                  /      \
          (money)          Pej′
      [uPej, uTop]        /    \
                      Pej        TopP
                              /      \
                         money        Top′
                      [uPej,uTop]     /    \
                                   Top      FocP
                                           /    \
                                    who needs that stuff anyway
```

5.2   Why is echo reduplication never the exponent of Case- or *wh*-movement?

- traditional view of morphological reduplication: a morpheme causes insertion of an abstract marker RED, inducing reduplication as the exponent of a feature-checking relation with a head H

It is not obvious, why, under this view, this head can't be T or C and reduplication the exponent of NOM or wh-movement.

(28)   *Huge Typological Gap*
    a.   No language uses echo reduplication for nominative or accusative case:

       (i)   *John-Rohn saw Mary.*   ("John-NOM saw Mary.")

       (ii)   *John saw Mary-Tary.*   ("John saw Mary-ACC.")

   b.   No language uses echo reduplication to realize simple or complex wh-phrases:

       (i)   *You bought something-womething?*   ('What did you buy?')

       (ii)   *You bought books-wooks?*   ('Which books did you buy?')

This gap falls out automatically within the view of **echo reduplication as too-local movement**:

- NOM would never be realized as echo reduplication because it spans the Agreement- and Theta-Domains (John moves from its base position SpecvP in $\Theta\Delta$ to SpecTP in $\Phi\Delta$). Copy Spell Out doesn't apply and hence PF-modification of the lower copy doesn't occur.

- Wh-movement (covert or not) involves relations between positions in the Discourse-Domain and the Agreement-Domain, spanning two domains. The environment for Copy Spell Out isn't given, there is no PF-modification.

In Hindi and Kannada echo reduplication can occur in an argument position or on the verb.

(29)   *Mãi paan-vaan nahiin khaataa hũũN.*
      I   paan-ECHO NEG eat-IMPF AUX.1.PRES
      'I don't eat paan or other such things.' [Hindi]

(30)   *ooda-giida beeDa*
      run-ECHO   PROHIB
      'Don't run or do related activities!' [Kannada]

interpretation of reduplicated elements = Generalized Plurality "X and so on"

- the reduplicant in Hindi occurs inside of Case-markers: *paan-ko-vaan, *paan-vaan-ko* (ko = ACC) $\Rightarrow$ evidence that it is within the Theta Domain

- both the First-Merge position of the object and the functional projection GenPlur (or whatever licenses generalized plurality) are within the Theta-Domain:

  (31)   [Tense ... [$_v$ GEN-PLUR ... V Object]]

- movement of *paan* from the complement of V to the GenPlur projection is too local $\Rightarrow$ Copy Spell Out modifies the lower copy, yielding *paan-vaan*

5.3 Final considerations

- Rizzi 1997, Haegeman 1992: A' movement in the left periphery is driven by Affect Criteria (wh, focus, topic, relative etc.), Rizzi (2003): "a phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place", topicalization is criterion-driven $\Rightarrow$ the phrase to be *shm*-reduplicated cannot first move to SpecTopP to satisfy the Topic-Criterion and then move to SpecPejP (criterion-driven or not)

- suggestion: weakening of the Topic-Criterion: All of Rizzi's examples banning movement from a topic position involve the complement clause of the verb wonder. The possibility remains that it is not movement from topic positions that is banned, but rather, movement from the complement clause of wonder.

- Is the relation between the two copies one of subject and predicate in a Small Clause (SC)

(32)   [$_{SC}$ [money] [shmoney]], who needs that stuff anyway?

- arguments against this view:

    – it would be an odd requirement of predication that subject and predicate be virtually identical, in both meaning and sound

    – predicates in non-verbal predication can usually be modified, *shm*-predicates can't

    (33)   [$_{SC}$ [money] [(*bad / *terrible / *stinking / ?f**king) shmoney]]

    (34)   a.   [$_{SC}$ [my house] [(very) red]]
            b.   [$_{SC}$ [the book] [(right) on the table]]
            c.   [$_{SC}$ [John] [(really) an idiot]]

    – why would the predicate that comes with *shm*- occur in a fixed clause-peripheral position?

    (35)   a.   [$_{SC}$ [going to the beach] [*shmoing* to the shmeach]], . . .
            b.   [$_{SC}$ [going to the beach] [going to the *shmeach*]], . . .
            c. *[$_{SC}$ [going to the beach] [going *shmo* the beach]], . . .

    – a predication-approach cannot capture the fact that *shm*-reduplication targets exactly one of two sites

6   Summary

- syntactic analysis of *shm*-reduplication in terms of cyclic Spell Out strategies, that ties in with general observations on the form and meaning of echo reduplication, and proposes the grammaticalization of pejorative evaluation.

- a topic is merged in SpecTopP, the overtly realized *shm*-head of PejP attracts the topic to its specifier

- identity of two elements in the same domain is to be avoided

- Copy Spell Out repairs the structure by modifying the phonetic form of the lower copy, making it sufficiently distinct to be spelled out

References
Grohmann, K. and A. Nevins. 2004. *On the syntactic expression of pejorative mood.* Linguistic Variation Yearbook 4. 143-179.
And references cited therein.