

Phonological Movement in Ukrainian

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Linguistics

Introduction

Ukrainian scrambles only prosodic objects, it ignores syntactic principles, and it respects phonological ones.

Prosodic constituents scramble in a prosodic tree after syntactic structure is converted to prosodic structure. (*Phonological Movement*)

Data I: Scrambling Insensitive to Syntax

Scrambling is category-blind and blind to the head/phrase distinction. It moves strings that do not form syntactic constituents.

vona_a zavdamnja_b ja vpevnena, ščo [t_a [vykonaje t_b]]
she-NOM task-ACC I am.sure that perform-FUT
'I'm sure that she will perform the task.'

Scrambling ignores robust syntactic islands.

The Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967):

mašynu_a maje [t_a i kvartyrū]
car-ACC has and apartment-ACC
'has a car and an apartment'

The Left Branch Condition (Ross 1967):

taku_a vona spivala [t_a [garnu pishū]]
such-ACC she sang beautiful-ACC song-ACC
'She sang such a beautiful song.'

Adjunct Islands (Huang 1982)

v riznyx_a meškajut' t_a mistah
in different.PREP.PL they.live.3PL cities.PREP.PL
'They live in different cities.'

Freezing Islands (Wexler and Culicover 1980)

vidsotkiv_b [na dvadc'at' t_b]_a zris t_a riven'
percent.GN.PL on twenty increased.3 level.M.NOM
'The level increased by twenty percent'

Anti-Locality (Grohmann 2002)

duže v t_a tisnyh stosunkah
very in close.PREP.PL relationship.PREP.PL
'in very close relationship'

Scrambling is LF-blind, and insensitive to binding:

[sebe]_i ja_i pro ce vesi čas pytaju t
self-ACC I about this-ACC all time ask
'I ask myself about this all the time.'

It can move all, part, or none of a focus or topic (Fanselow and Laner-tova 2012: Czech, German), and it splits names and compounds:

Olena_a ja s'ogodni zustriv [t_a Verbyc'ku]
Olena-ACC I today met Verbyc'ka-ACC
'Today I met Olena Verbyc'ka.'

v_a školib_b vin navčavsja [t_a [t_b internati]]
in school-PREP he studied boarding-PREP
'He studied in a boarding-school.'

Data II: Scrambling Sensitive to Phonology

Scrambled strings form (recursive) prosodic words and phonological phrases even when they are not (contiguous) X⁰s or XPs.

((vona) (zavdamnja))ja vpevnena, ščo — vykonaje —
she-NOM task-ACC I am.sure that perform-FUT
'I'm sure that she will perform the task.'

Polysyllabic prepositions can scramble, but not monosyllabic ones:

(Provagom) vony zustričalysj — lita
during they met summer-GEN
'They were seeing each other during the summer.'

Scrambling is blocked if it brings together homophonous function words, but allowed in otherwise identical contexts (OCP/*ECHO):

*Tomu (tomu čolovikovi) vona ne mogla dovirjaty —
that's.why that-GEN man-GEN she not could trust-INF
'That's why she couldn't trust that man.'

Tomu (tij žinci) vona ne mogla dovirjaty —
that's.why that-GEN woman-GEN she not could trust-INF
'That's why she couldn't trust that woman.'

Scrambling is immune to syntactic constraints because it applies to Pwd and PPh in the Phonological Component.

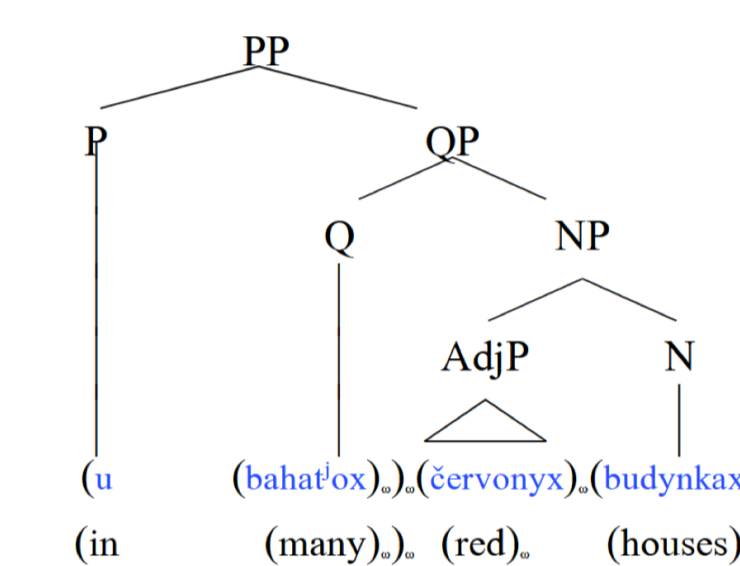
Analysis

Three-part serial model:

Syntax [v_P[v_{VIDISLALA}], [N_P lYSTA]]
Interface ((v_{VIDISLALA})_ω) (lYSTA_ω)_φ
Phonology ((lYSTA_ω)_φ (v_{VIDISLALA})_ω)_φ

Constraints determining word order in XPs (Selkirk 1995)

ALIGNR(X⁰, ω):
The right edge of every lexical X⁰ is aligned with that of a ω.
ALIGNR(ω, X⁰):
The right edge of every ω is aligned with that of a lexical X⁰.
ALIGNR(XP, φ):
The right edge of every lexical XP is aligned with that of a φ.

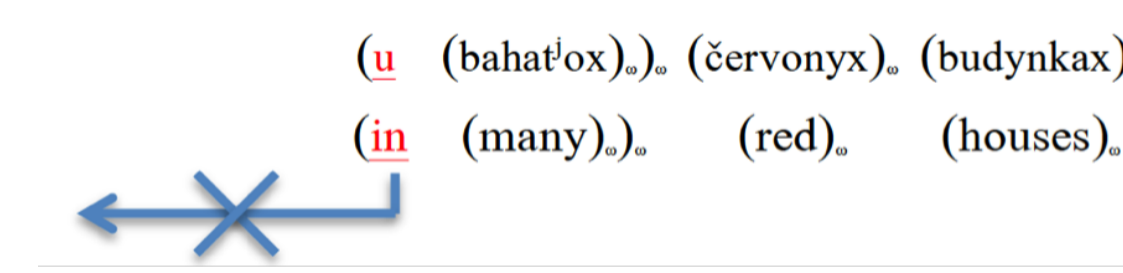


Constraint against movement

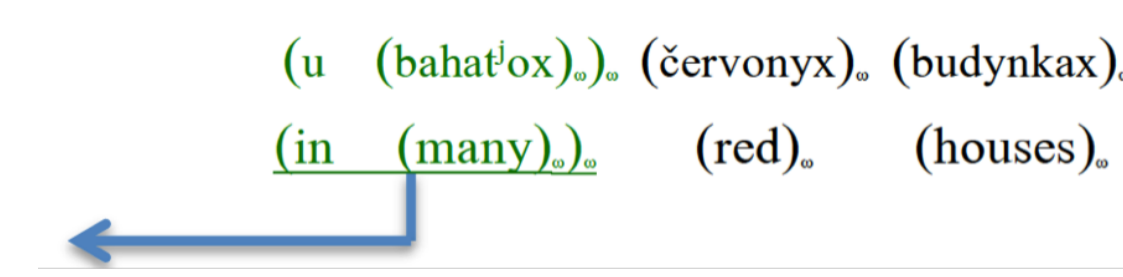
STAY_ω: No daughter of ω moves.

Outranks constraints requiring movement

PROML: Prominent material occurs to the left of its interface position.
tPROM: Maximally prominent material is initial in t.



* u červonyx vin žyv — bahat'ox — budynekax
in red he lived many houses
'He lived in many red houses.' (cf. Fery et al. 2007:24)



u bahat'ox vin žyv — — červonyx budynekax
in many he lived red houses
'He lived in many red houses.'

Conclusions

- Phonology plays a direct role in how scrambling works in Ukrainian.
- So-called Split-scrambling (Sekerina 1997) is movement of a prosodic word.
- XP-scrambling is movement of a phonological phrase.
- Scrambling is completely phonological and makes no reference to anything syntactic.
- Prosodic constituents are scrambled within a purely prosodic tree after all syntactic structure has been converted into prosodic structure, following recent work on phonological movement (Agbayani and Golston 2010 (Classical Greek); Agbayani et al. 2015 (Japanese); Agbayani and Golston to appear (Latin); Bennett et al. to appear (Irish)).
- Eliminates the need for a pragmatic component that can permute word order after syntax (cf. Kallestinova 2007).

Future Research

- The application of phonological scrambling results in reassignment of prosodic structure. Thus, phonological movement is not structure-preserving in the Phonological Component (Teliga 2011), unlike its syntactic counterpart (cf. Emonds 1976). This is a largely unstudied distinction between syntax and phonology.
- So-called 'Prosodic Recontouring' – in which material remains in situ but with altered prosodic structure – can apparently alternate with scrambling, yielding the same pragmatic effects (Mykhaylyk 2010). Potentially this is optionality within the Phonological Component between two operations that affect prosodic structure.

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