Prosodic boundaries and EPP in Swahili

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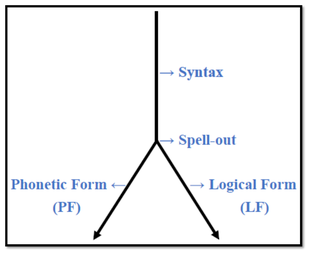
Introduction

- Richards (2010, 2016) proposes a way of identifying affixes by looking into their metrical dependencies initially detected in narrow syntax.
- I adopt **Contiguity Theory** (Richards 2016) and argue that suprasegmental features are visible in narrow syntax.
- Swahili tense affixes require metrical boundaries on ***both*** left and right of their peripheries.
- The metrical boundary on its left is satisfied by an XP targeting [spec,TP] which eventually gives rise to the desired **EPP-effect**.

Contiguity Theory

- Overt movements triggered by uninterpretable features such as [wh] and EPP (Chomsky 1995) are reanalyzed as operations **sensitive to suprasegmental features**.
- The driving cause for syntactic movements are related to prosodic requirements which must be **satisfied *prior* to spell-out**:

(1)



- Richards discusses motivations for movement which are compatible with **Match Theory** (Selkirk 2011).

(2) **Probe-Goal Contiguity**
Given a probe α and a goal β, α and β must be dominated by a single φ, within which β is Contiguity-prominent.

(3) **Affix Support**
If a head is an affix, there must be a metrical boundary in the direction in which it attaches.

- English satisfies ***both*** (2) and (3) via **EPP** (also referred to as **Multitasking**).

Prosodic boundaries and syntactic movement

- According to Richards (2016), there are four ways of categorizing languages depending on their syntactic headedness and prosodic boundedness:

(4)

	C to right of TP	**C to left of TP**
Prosodic boundaries on right of XPs	Basque (Movement required)	Chichewa, **<Swahili>** (Movement not required)
Prosodic boundaries on the left of XPs	Korean / Japanese (Movement not required)	English / Danish (Movement required)

- The combination of 'C to the right of TP + Prosodic boundaries on the left of XPs' and 'C to the left of TP + Prosodic boundaries on the right of XPs' do not require *wh*-movement.
- Here, I argue that Swahili is similar to Chichewa in terms of showing prosodic boundaries on the right edge of XPs.

[1] Swahili *wh*-in-situ

- Bantu languages in general (e.g., Swahili, Chichewa, Kilega, and Kinande) do not undergo obligatory *wh*-movement:

(5) a. huyu m-tu m-refu a-na-penda **nini**
1.this 1-man 1-tall 3rd.sg-PRES-like what
'What does this tall man like?'

b. $[_{CP}$ **C** $_{TP}$[huyu m-tu m-refu a-na-penda $[_{DP}$ **nini**]]] [= (5a)]
→ $[_{\varphi}$ C_{α} … $[_{\omega}$ **nini**$]_{\beta}$ $)_{\text{prosodic active edge}}$] $)_{\text{prosodic active edge}}$

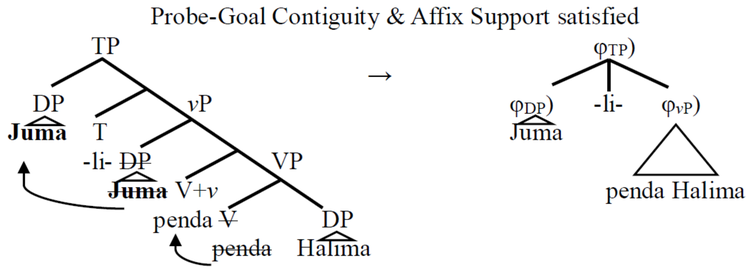
- Both **(1) Probe-Goal Contiguity** and **(2) Affix Support** are satisfied without having to move the *wh*-element to [spec,CP]:

[2] Swahili EPP

- Carstens (2005, 2011) points out that Bantu languages in general display EPP.

(6) Juma a-**li**-penda Halima
Juma 3rd.sg-PST-like Halima ('Juma liked Halima.')

(7)



- Since (2) is satisfied without movement, we rely on (3):
  - The right metrical boundary of T is satisfied by what is internal to *v*P.
  - The **left metrical boundary of T** is satisfied by **an XP targeting [spec,TP]**.

Conclusion

- Swahili is a head-initial language with a prosodic active edge on the right, which is similar to Chichewa.
- Swahili Probe-Goal Contiguity is satisfied without the need for an overt movement.
- I argue that Swahili tense morphemes require metrical boundaries on *both* **left and right**.
- This explains how **Affix Support** gives rise to the desired **EPP-effect** in Swahili.
- No additional mechanisms need to be introduced in deriving well-formedness.

Implications

- A **syntax-prosody driven motivation** for Swahili EPP is introduced.
- Affix Support can apply to affixes in need of one or more prosodic boundaries.
- **Many Bantu languages show similar patterns** as Swahili which add additional support to our claim.
- Close examination on **metrical dependencies and EPP** may shed further light on the status of Ts in Bantu.

Selected references

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Selkirk, Elizabeth. 2011. The syntax-phonology interface. In *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. 435-484. J. Goldsmith, J. Riggle, & A. C. L. Yu (eds.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

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