

No host, no problem: Romanian clitics can form independent Prosodic Words

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1 Pronominal clitics: pre-verbal and post-verbal

- Pronominals *before* a finite verb
- Pronominals *after* a nonfinite verb

(1) Ana **îmi** arată.
Ana me.DAT shows
'Ana is showing me.'

(2) Ana, arată **-mi**!
Ana show me.DAT
'Ana, show me!'

How do pronominal clitics get prosodized in these two environments?

I argue that the different surface forms suggest two strategies:

- *free words* (Pro)_{PWd} (Vb)_{PWd}
- *internal enclitics* (Vb Pro)_{PWd}

Moreover, independent PWd pronominals can act as hosts to other clitics, e.g. auxiliaries:

- *(Aux as) affixal enclitics* ((Pro)_{PWd} Aux)_{PWd}

2 Pre-verbal pronominals form an independent PWd

Hiatus - suggests pronominals do not share a PWd with verbs

- Hiatus is generally resolved inside Prosodic Words in Romanian (**NoHiatus-PWd**)

(3) *feminine desinence* Λ *deletes before the definite article*

/fat/ + / Λ / + /a/ > [fata], *[fat Λ a]
girl FEM DEF > 'the girl'

- Hiatus is allowed between pre-verbal pronominals & verbs

(4) /m Λ / + /a ζ ut Λ / > [m Λ a ζ ut Λ]
me.ACC helps > '(It) helps me.' (Pro)_{PWd} (Vb)_{PWd}

High vowel reduction - suggests a PWd boundary between pronominals and verbs

- Word-final high vowels are generally reduced in Romanian (***V[+high]**)_{PWd})

(5) *plural marker* /i/ *surfaces as a secondary palatalization gesture*

/lup/ + /i/ > [lup^j], *[lupi]
wolf PL > 'wolves'

- Pronominals ending in /i/ reduce before a verb

(6) /mi/ + /arat Λ / > [**im**^j arat Λ]
me shows > '(She) shows me.' (Pro)_{PWd} (Vb)_{PWd}

Support vowel - suggests pronominals are independent PWds before verbs

- [i] is inserted where final /i/ is reduced (6) so pronominals can meet the prosodic minimality condition (**PWd** $\geq 1\sigma$), which allows them to become independent PWds

Analysis - MWORD = PWORD: *interface constraint*

For any MWord, there exists some PWord, such that the left edge of MWord is aligned with the left edge of PWord, and the right edge of MWord is aligned with the right edge of PWord. (Zec 2005)

Input: /mΛ aʒutΛ/	NoHiatus-PWD	MWORD = PWORD	MAX
a. mΛ(aʒutΛ)		*!*	
b. (mΛaʒutΛ)	*!	**	
c. (maʒutΛ)		*!*	*
d.  (mΛ) (aʒutΛ)			

Input: /mi aratΛ/	*V[+HIGH]) _{PWD}	PWord ≥ 1σ	MWORD = PWORD	MAX	DEP
a. (miaratΛ)			*!*		
b. (mi)(aratΛ)	*!				
c. (m ^j)(aratΛ)		*!		*	
d.  (im ^j) (aratΛ)				*	*

3 Post-verbal pronominals form a PWd with the verb

- Hiatus is resolved between verbs and post-verbal pronominals
 (7) /aʒutΛ/ + /o/ > [aʒuto], *[aʒutΛo]
 help her.ACC > ‘Help her!’ (Vb Pro)_{PWd}
- Final /i/ on verbs is retained before post-verbal pronominals
 (8) /datsi/ + /mi/ > [datsim^j], *[datsim^j]
 give me.DAT > ‘Give me!’ (Vb Pro)_{PWd}
- Pronominals reduce final /i/ as in (6), but do not add a support vowel (cf. 8, *[datsim^jim^j])

Analysis - pronominals lexically subcategorize for a verb as a phonological host: (Vb __)_{PWd}

- PROSODICAFFIX: *prosodic faithfulness*
 Any prosodic prespecification in the input must have a correspondent in the output. (Zec 2005)
- PROSODICAFFIX ≫ MWORD = PWORD

/ (aʒutΛ o) /	NoHiatus-PWD	PROSODICAFFIX	MWd = PWd	MAX
a. (aʒutΛo)	*!		**	
b.  (aʒuto)			**	*
c. (aʒutΛ)(o)		*!		

/ (datsi mi) /	*V[+high]) _{PWd}	PWd ≥ 1σ	PROSODICAFFIX	MWd = PWd	MAX	DEP
a. (datsi mi)	*!			**		
b.  (datsi m ^j)				**	*	
c. (dats ^j)(im ^j)			*!		*	*

4 Independent PWd pronominals can host clitics

- Hiatus is resolved between pronominals and auxiliaries ⇒ Pro & Aux share a PWd
 (9) /mΛ/ + /a/ + /aʒutat/ > [ma aʒutat], *[mΛa aʒutat]
 me PERF helped > ‘(It) helped me.’ *preliminary: (Pro Aux)_{PWd} (Vb)_{PWd}*

- However, /i/ is reduced and a support vowel is inserted $\Rightarrow$ Pro forms its own PWd!
- (10) /mi/ + /va/ + /da/ > [im^j va da], *[mi va da] preliminary: (Pro)_{PWd} (Aux)_{PWd} (Vb)_{PWd}
 me FUT give > ‘(He) will give me.’

Analysis - prosodic prespecification for auxiliaries involves a **recursive PWd**: ((Pro)_{PWd} --)_{PWd}

- PROSODICAFFIX $\gg$ NON-RECURSIVITY: ensures that recursive PWds are retained
- NOHIATUS-PWD $\gg$ PROSODICAFFIX $\gg$ *V[+HIGH]_{PWd}: prosodic structure can be manipulated to resolve hiatus (9), but not word-final high vowels (10).

/((m Λ)a) a ζ utat/	NOHIATUS-PWd	PWord $\geq$ 1 σ	PROSODICAFFIX	NON-RECURSIVITY	MWD = PWD
a. ((m Λ)a) (a ζ utat)	*!			*	*
b. ((m)a) (a ζ utat)		*!		*	*
c. ((ma)) (a ζ utat)			*	*	**!
d. [ma] (ma) (a ζ utat)			*		**
e. (m Λ) (a) (a ζ utat)			**!		

/((mi)va) da/	PWord $\geq$ 1 σ	PROSODICAFFIX	*V[+HIGH] _{PWd}	NON-RECURSIVITY	MWD = PWD
a. ((mi)va) (da)			*!	*	*
b. ((m ^j)va) (da)	*!			*	*
c. [imj] ((im ^j)va) (da)				*	*
d. ((miva)) (da)		*!		*	
e. (miva) (da)		*!			

5 Conclusion

- Final constraint ranking:

NOHIATUS-PWd, PWord $\geq$ 1 σ $\gg$ PROSODICAFFIX $\gg$ *V[+HIGH]_{PWd} $\gg$ NON-RECURSIVITY, MWORD = PWORD $\gg$ DEP(V), MAX

- Romanian clitics (pronominals, auxiliaries) look for hosts of a certain morphosyntactic type.
- Romanian clitics may attach to their hosts in different ways: as internal clitics (e.g. pronominals on verbs) or as affixal clitics (e.g. auxiliaries on pronominals). (cf. Selkirk 1996 for prosodic typology of function words)
 - Multiple mechanisms for cliticization and host preferences can be captured as lexical subcategorization for particular prosodic configurations. (Inkelas 1990)
- If hosts are not available, clitics become independent PWds.

6 References

- Inkelas, Sharon. 1990. *Prosodic constituency in the lexicon*. Garland, New York.
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