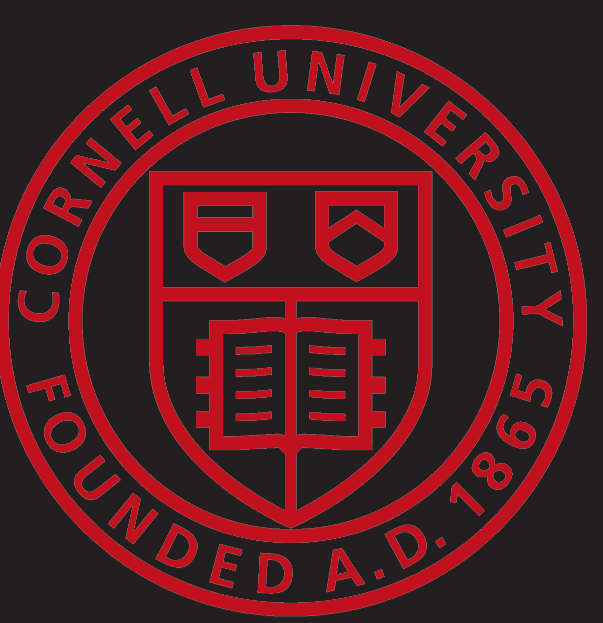


No host, no problem: Romanian clitics can form independent Prosodic Words

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Pronominal clitics: pre-verbal and post-verbal

► Pronominals *before* a finite verb

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

► Pronominals *after* a nonfinite verb

- (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}

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] (PRO)_{PWD} (Vb)_{PWD}
me.ACC helps > '(It) helps me.'

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] (PRO)_{PWD} (Vb)_{PWD}
me shows > '(She) shows me.'

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 σ**), which allows them to become independent PWDs

Analysis - MWORD = PWORD: interface constraint (Zec 2005)

Input: /m Λ a ζ ut Λ /	NO-HIATUS	MWD = PWD	MAX
a. m Λ (a ζ ut Λ)		*!*	
b. (m Λ a ζ ut Λ)	*!	**	
c. (ma ζ ut Λ)		*!*	*
d. ^{ES} (m Λ) (a ζ ut Λ)			

Input: /mi arat Λ /	*V[+HIGH]	PWD \geq 1 σ	MWD = PWD	MAX	DEP
a. (miarat Λ)			*!*		
b. (mi)(arat Λ)	*!				
c. (m ^j)(arat Λ)		*!		*	
d. ^{ES} (im ^j) (arat Λ)				*	*

Post-verbal pronominals form a PWD with the verb

► Hiatus is resolved between verbs and post-verbal pronominals

- (7) /a ζ ut Λ / + /o/ > [a ζ uto], *[a ζ ut Λ o] (Vb PRO)_{PWD}
help her.ACC > 'Help her!'

► Final /i/ on verbs is retained before post-verbal pronominals

- (8) /datsi/ + /mi/ > [datsim^j], *[dats^jim^j] (Vb PRO)_{PWD}
give me.DAT > 'Give me!'

► Pronominals reduce final /i/ as in (6), but do not add a support vowel (cf. 8, *[dats^jim^j])

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

- PROSODICAFFIX: *prosodic faithfulness* (retain any prosodic prespecification)
- PROSODICAFFIX \gg MWORD = PWORD

/ (a ζ ut Λ o) /	NO-HIAT.	PROSAFFIX	MWD = PWD	MAX	/ (datsi mi) /	*i,u) _{PWD}	PWD \geq 1 σ	PROSAFFIX	MWD = PWD	MAX	DEP
a. (a ζ ut Λ o)	*!		**		a. (datsi mi)	*!			**		
b. ^{ES} (a ζ uto)			**	*	b. ^{ES} (datsi m ^j)				**	*	
c. (a ζ ut Λ)(o)		*!			c. (dats ^j)(im ^j)			*!		*	*

Independent PWD pronominals can host clitics

► Hiatus is resolved between pronominals and auxiliaries (9) \Rightarrow Pro & Aux share a PWD

► However, /i/ is reduced and a support vowel is inserted (10) \Rightarrow Pro forms its own PWD!

- (9) /m Λ / + /a/ + /a ζ utat/ > [ma a ζ utat] (10) /mi/ + /va/ + /da/ > [**im**^j va da]
me PERF helped > '(It) helped me.' me FUT give > '(He) will give me.'

Analysis - prosodic prespecification for Auxes involves a recursive PWD: ((Pro)_{PWD})_{PWD}

Conclusion

► 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).

► Multiple mechanisms for cliticization and host preferences can be captured as lexical subcategorization for particular prosodic configurations.

► If hosts are not available, the clitics become independent PWDs.

References

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