**Pronominal clitics: pre-verbal and post-verbal**

- Pronominals before a finite verb
  1. Ana ımi arată.  (Vb)
     Ana me.DAT shows
     ‘Ana is showing me.’
  2. Ana, arată- mı! (Pro)
     Ana show me.DAT
     ‘Ana, show me!’

**Hiatus** suggests pronominals do not share a PWd with verbs
- Pronominals after a nonfinite verb
  1. Ana me.DAT shows
     ‘Ana is showing me.’

**Analysis**
- 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 is generally resolved inside Prosodic Words in Romanian (NoHiatus-PWd)
  1. feminine desinence α deletes before the definite article
  2. plural marker /i/ surfaces as a secondary palatalization gesture
  3. /aat/ + /i/ > [aata], *[aataa]  (Pro) PWd (Vb) PWd
     girl FEM DEF > ‘the girl’

- Hiatus is allowed between pre-verbal pronominals & verbs
  1. /mə/ + /aata/ > [ma aəta]  (Pro) PWd (Vb) PWd
     me.ACC helps > ‘(It) helps me’

- High vowel reduction - suggests a PWd boundary between pronominals and verbs
  1. /[lup]/ + /i/ > [lupi], *[lupii]  (Pro) PWd (Vb) PWd
     wolf PL > ‘wolves’

- Pronominals ending in /i/ reduce before a verb
  1. /mə/ + /arata/ > [imə arata]  (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), which allows them to become independent PWds

**Analysis** - MWd = PWd: interface constraint (Zec 2005)

**Post-verbal pronominals form a PWd with the verb**

- Hiatus is resolved between verbs and post-verbal pronominals
  1. /aat̚a/ + /i/ > [aat̚a], *[aat̚a]  (Vb Pro) PWd
     help her.ACC > ‘Help her’

- Final /i/ on verbs is retained before post-verbal pronominals
  1. /dat̚a/ + /i/ > [dat̚a], *[dat̚a]  (Vb Pro) PWd
     give me.DAT > ‘Give me’

- Pronominals reduce final /i/ as in (6), but do not add a support vowel (cf. 8, *[dat̚a im])

**Analysis**
- Pronominals lexically subcategorize for a verb as a phonological host: (Vb __) PWd

**Strong prosodic affinity**
- PROSODICAFFIX: prosodic faithfulness (retain any prosodic prespecification)
- PROSODICAFFIX ⇒ MWd = PWd

**Independent PWd pronominals can host clitics**

- Hiatus is resolved between pronominals and auxiliaries (9) ⇒ Pro & Aux share a PWd
  1. /mə/ + /i/ > [mə]  (Pro) PWd (Vb) PWd
     help her.ACC > ‘Help me’

- However, /i/ is reduced and a support vowel is inserted (10) ⇒ Pro forms its own PWd!
  1. /mə/ + /i/ > [imə]  (Pro) PWd (Vb) PWd
     help me PERF > ‘(It) helped 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**