Some Cyclicity and Opacity Effects in the Prosody of Two Different Clitic Classes in New-Štokavian Variants

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Agenda

• Prepositions and their complements
  • Proclitic preposition with full form complements
  • Full form preposition with enclitic complements
    • recordings and measurements
• Enclitic sentential arguments
Clitics in Neo-Shtokavian

- Prepositional proclitics: (with falling accent shift)
  - *sletila je na kuću*
    - land.SG.F be.3.SG on=house
    - “It landed on the house.”
  - *došli su po mene*
    - come.PL be.3.PL for=me
    - “They came to pick me up.”
Clitics in Neo-Shtokavian

• Accented preposition, reduced pronoun: (with raising accent on second mora)

• \textit{sletila je nax nj}
  \text{land.SG.F be.3.SG on=it}
  “It landed on the house.”

• \textit{do\v{s}li su po\v{s} me}
  \text{come.PL be.3.PL for=me}
  “They came to pick me up.”
Background

• Grammars: Historically frozen constructions restricted to exemplars like “na nj” (on him/it)

• Empirical fact:

  • Preposition lengthening or vowel insertion in these constructions is a synchronic and productive process in the West-Herzegovinian variants of Neo-Shtokavian
Prepositional complement pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>full pronoun</th>
<th>reduced enclitic pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mene</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tebe</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njega</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebe</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njih</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Preposition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>basic form (proclitic)</th>
<th>enclitic hosting form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>po</td>
<td>poː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za</td>
<td>zaː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>naː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uz</td>
<td>uza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pod</td>
<td>poda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prepositions

• If the preposition is a monosyllabic proclitic form without coda,

• the nucleus seems to be lengthened, when followed by a reduced pronominal complement

\[
\text{po te } \rightarrow \text{ poː te } \rightarrow [\sigma \text{ poː }] [\sigma \text{ te }]
\]
Prepositions

- If the preposition is a closed syllable
  - a default vowel $a$ is inserted after the preposition, re-syllabification applies:

  $\text{pod te} \rightarrow \text{poda te} \rightarrow [\sigma \text{ po } ] [\sigma \text{ da } ] [\sigma \text{ te } ]$
Recordings

• Speakers from West-Herzegovina: Čapljina, Široki Brijeg...

• Utterances (sentences or phrases)
  • PP with reduced and full pronominal complement
  • PP initial, middle, final in utterance
  • variation over prepositions
  • variation over pronominal complements
Pilot Samples

- Speakers: 3
- Utterances: 378
- Vowel lengths measured: 671
- 351 target vowels (short and long nuclei of monosyllabic prepositions)
Pilot Samples

- Extended data set:
  - 10 more speakers
  - ca. 1100 utterances
- Examples (click to play):
  - *Na nj* (on him)
Pilot Sample

• *Gleda u me* (“she looks at me”)

(click to play)
Pilot Sample

• *Gleda u mene* ("she looks at me")
  (click to play)
Vowel length for the main vowel types
Vowel length for variants of a
Vowel length for variants of o

Sunday, November 13, 11
Vowel length for variants of $u$

- $u$ -
- $-u$ -
- $-u'$ -

Vowel type

Duration

Sunday, November 13, 11
Possible Explanations

• Satisfy a constraint on minimal PhW of a clitic host
• Lengthening
  • e.g. Compensatory Lengthening
• Vowel insertion
  • Optimization of syllable structure
    • Elimination of coda consonants
    • Optimizing sonority hierarchy profile
Possible Explanations

• Conditioned strategies
  • Vowel insertion, if syllable closed
  • Lengthening, if syllable open
Possible Explanations

• Natural assumption: monosyllabic prepositions
  • are lexically proclitic
  • may surface as independent PWd
• Other clitics?
# Pronominal and auxiliary clitics in Neo-Shtokavian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>full form</th>
<th>clitic form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mene</em></td>
<td><em>me</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tebe</em></td>
<td><em>te</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>njega</em></td>
<td><em>ga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pronominal and Auxiliary Clitics

Vidim ngaja.
see.1.SG him

Vidim ga.
see.1.SG him
“I see him.”

Njega vidim.

*Gaja vidim.
Second Position Clitics

- Novi auti su stigli u skladište. new cars be.3pl arrive in storage “New cars arrived at the storage.”
- Novi su auti stigli u skladište. new be.3pl car arrive in storage
- Novi auto su naši susjedi kupili. new car be.3pl our neighbours buy “Our neighbours bought a new car.”
- Novi su auto naši susjedi kupili. new be.3pl car our neighbours buy
Possible Analyses

• Syntactic clitic placement
  • clitics are placed in syntax
  • syntax is aware of their special “prosodic” status
• Second position is syntactic (C-head, some adjoined XP-position)
Possible Analyses

• Phonological clitic placement (e.g. Halpern 1995)
  • clitics are placed in sentence initial position
  • Prosodic inversion with the next phonological word to the right rescues the prosodic requirement of having to have a prosodic host to the left
Common Presuppositions

• 2P-Clitics are lexical clitics and syntax is aware of their specific lexical properties

• There are two lexical entries for both pronoun or auxiliary types
  • full form
  • enclitic form
Logical Issues

- Independent:
  - If clitic forms like *ga* would be underlying lexical forms, we would expect to find them surfacing as
    - *ga*
  - It is more plausible to assume that clitic forms of pronouns are derived surface forms
Possible Analyses

• Speculations: either

• Once *njega* reduced to *ga*, it cannot be undone anymore

• *Njega* cannot be reduced to *ga* since there is no necessary environment that licenses it.
Corpus

• Resulting recordings, transcriptions, annotations
• available online on our home pages