

# 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)
- *sletila je **na** nj*  
land.SG.F be.3.SG on=it  
“It landed on the house.”
- *došli su **po** me*  
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

<b>full pronoun</b>	<b>reduced enclitic pronoun</b>
<i>mene</i>	<i>me</i>
<i>tebe</i>	<i>te</i>
<i>njega</i>	<i>nj</i>
<i>sebe</i>	<i>se</i>
<i>njih</i>	<i>nj</i>
...	...

# Preposition

<b>basic form (proclitic)</b>	<b>enclitic hosting form</b>
<i>po</i>	<i>poʔ</i>
<i>za</i>	<i>zaʔ</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>naʔ</i>
<i>uz</i>	<i>uza</i>
<i>pod</i>	<i>pada</i>
...	...

# Prepositions

- If the preposition is a monosyllabic proclitic form without coda,
- the nucleus seems to be lengthened, when followed by a reduced pronominal complement

po te → poː te → [σ poː ] [σ te ]



# Prepositions

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

pod te → poda te → [σ po ] [σ da ] [σ 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)

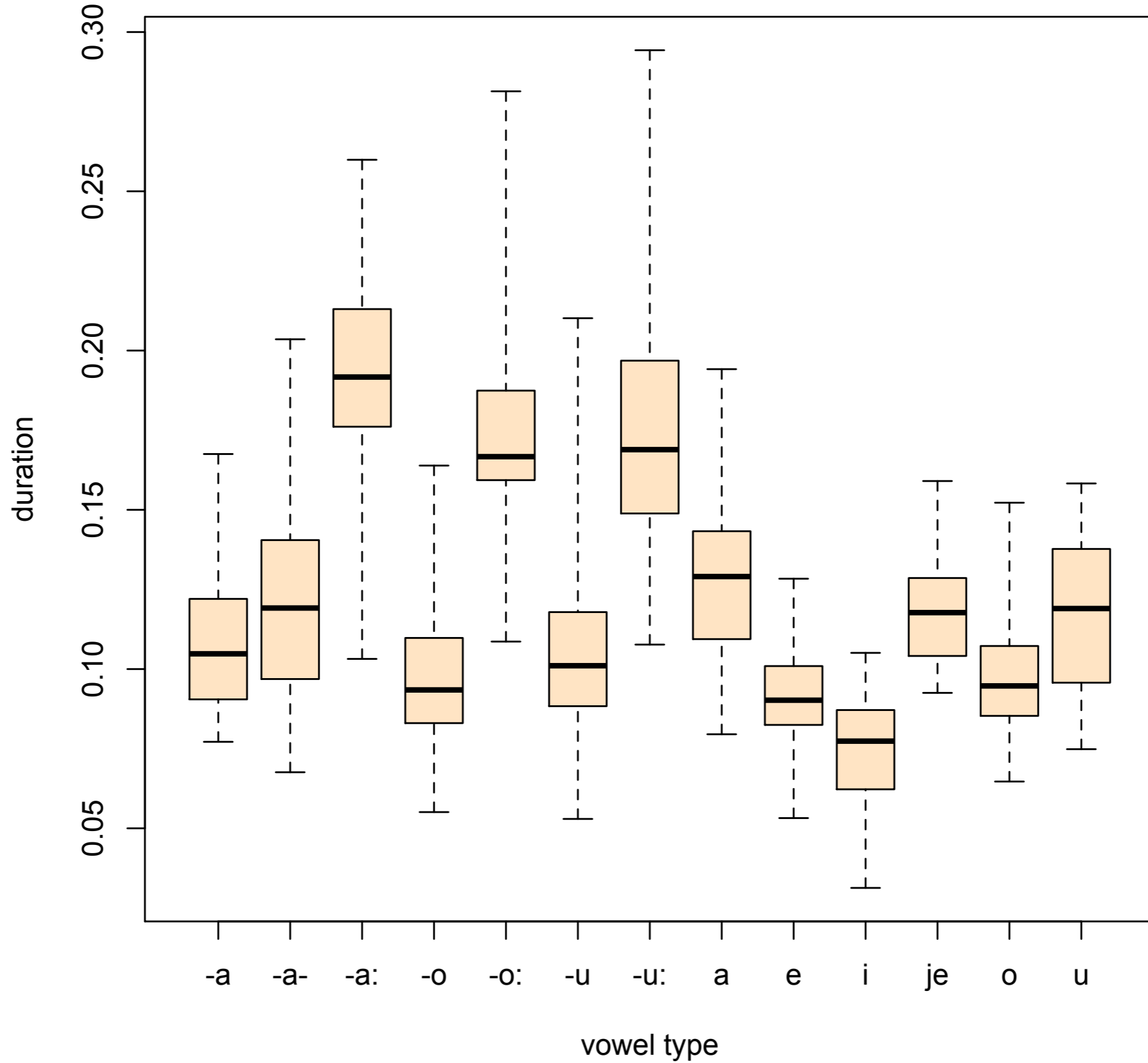
# Pilot Sample

- *Gleda u me* (“she looks at me”)  
(click to play)

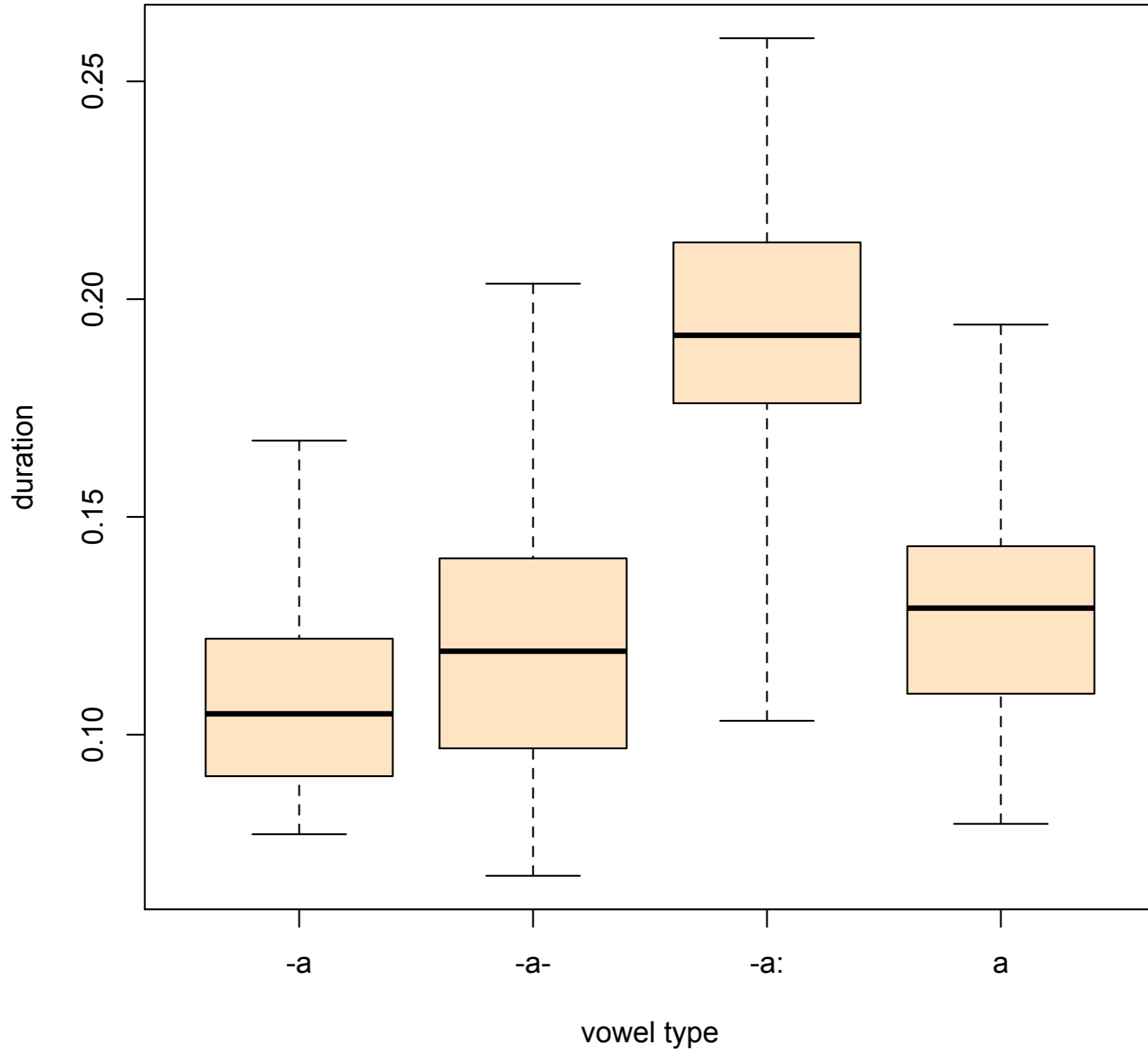
# Pilot Sample

- *Gleda u mene* (“she looks at me”)  
(click to play)

# Vowel length for the main vowel types

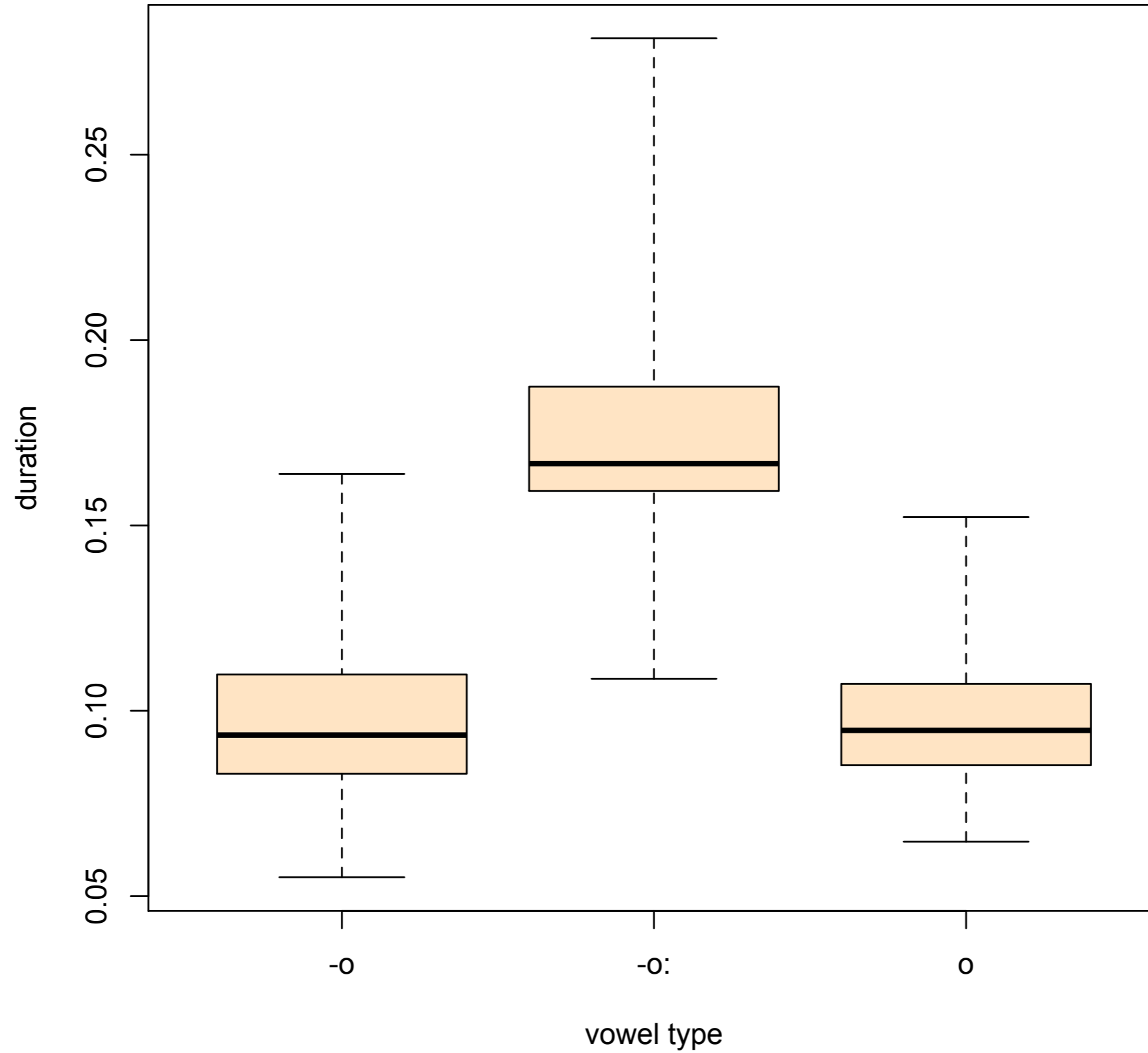


# Vowel length for variants of a

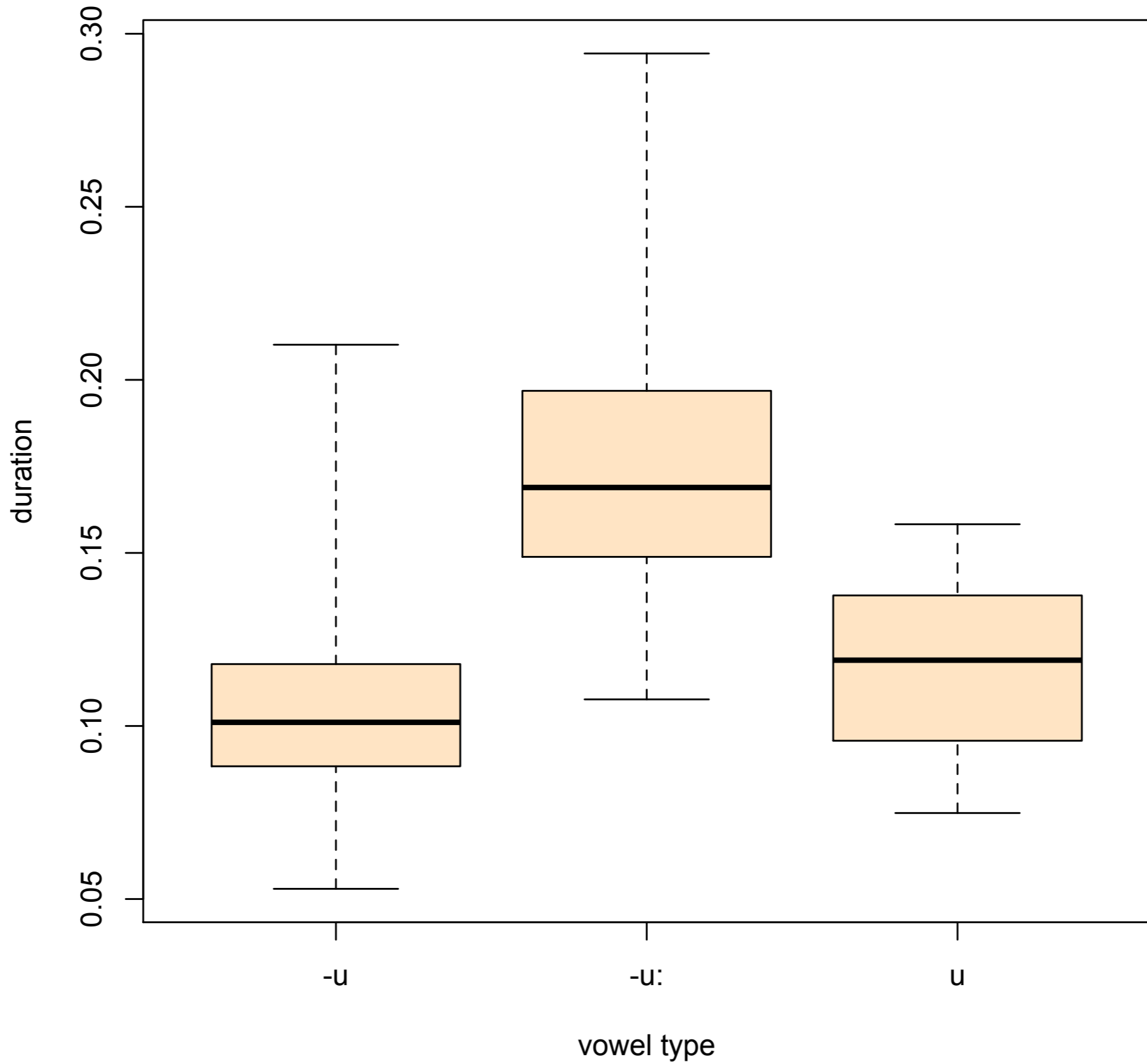




# Vowel length for variants of o



# Vowel length for variants of u



# 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

<b>full form</b>	<b>clitic form</b>
<i>mene</i>	<i>me</i>
<i>tebe</i>	<i>te</i>
<i>njega</i>	<i>ga</i>
...	...

# Pronominal and Auxiliary Clitics

*Vidim njega.*  
see.I.SG him

*Vidim ga.*  
see.I.SG him  
“I see him.”

*Njega vidim.*

\**Ga 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