Vafsi oblique pronouns at the syntax-prosody interface

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in cooperation with

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This talk ....

.... is about Vafsi and its oblique clitics

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My general interest:

$\rightarrow$ Behaviour of clitics at the interfaces between modules

$\rightarrow$ Conclusions for the general grammar architecture

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Vafsi:

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My general interest:

$\rightarrow$ Behaviour of clitics at the interfaces between modules

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Vafsi:

- Northwestern Iranian language, spoken by ca. 20.000 people (in two dialects)
- Unwritten, data comes from oral descriptions (Recording of Folk tales by L.P. Elwell-Sutton)
- Transcribed, translated, and supplemented with field study material by Donald L. Stilo, from whom most of the examples come from (Stilo 2004b,a, 2010)
- Saeed Yousefi is a native speaker, currently a PhD student of linguistics at the Shahid Beheshti University in Teheran

Vafsi

- Information on Vafsi grammar is sparse
- Non-rigid verb-final language (postverbal positions determined by information structure mostly, recipients)
- Three realizations of pronouns:
    1. independent pronouns
    2. pronoun bases (with clitics attached to indicate person)
    3. clitics

Independent pronouns and pronoun bases

- Two sets of independent pronouns
- → direct and oblique

Independent pronouns and pronoun bases

- Two sets of independent pronouns
- → direct and oblique

- Two oblique pronoun bases: *hazun* and *verewn*
- → no semantic content
- → can occur postverbally
- → person obligatorily indicated by oblique pronoun clitic

    (2) xu   dæsd-mozd   æ-d-om   **hazún=i**
        good wage   DUR-give-$1SG_1$ OBLPR=$2SG_2$
        'I'll give you a good wage.'

Pronominal clitics and their 'affixal' variation

	direct *(set 1)*		**oblique** *(set 2)*	
	enclitics (copulas)	*affixes*	*enclitics/ proclitics*	*affixes*
1SG	=im(e)	-om(e)	=om	-im-
2SG	=i	-i	=i	-i-
3SG	=e/=oæ[1]	-e / ∅[2]	=es	-is-
1PL	=am(e)	-am(e)	=owan	-iwan-
2PL	=a	-a	=ian	-ian-
3PL	=end(e)	-end(e)	=esan	-isan-

Table: Oblique and direct pronouns in Vafsi (Stilo 2010)

---

[1] masc/fem

[2] -e after consonants

Pronominal clitics and their 'affixal' variation

	direct *(set 1)*		**oblique** *(set 2)*	
	enclitics *affixes*		*enclitics/* *affixes*	
	(copulas)		*proclitics*	
1SG	=im(e)	-om(e)	=om	-im-
2SG	=i	-i	=i	-i-
3SG	=e/=oæ[1]	-e / ∅[2]	=es	-is-
1PL	=am(e)	-am(e)	=owan	-iwan-
2PL	=a	-a	=ian	-ian-
3PL	=end(e)	-end(e)	=esan	-isan-

Table: Oblique and direct pronouns in Vafsi (Stilo 2010)

- Stilo claims that oblique clitics occur as affixes under specific circumstances

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	direct *(set 1)*		**oblique** *(set 2)*	
	enclitics *(copulas)*	*affixes*	*enclitics/* *proclitics*	*affixes*
1SG	=im(e)	-om(e)	=om	-im-
2SG	=i	-i	=i	-i-
3SG	=e/=oæ[1]	-e / $\varnothing$[2]	=es	-is-
1PL	=am(e)	-am(e)	=owan	-iwan-
2PL	=a	-a	=ian	-ian-
3PL	=end(e)	-end(e)	=esan	-isan-

Table: Oblique and direct pronouns in Vafsi (Stilo 2010)

- Stilo claims that oblique clitics occur as affixes under specific circumstances
- This talk will show that
  - a) oblique affixes do not exist and
  - b) that the oblique 'affixes' are in fact clitics-under-stress

---

[1]masc/fem

[2]-e after consonants

Two sets of clitics

Most likely: Tense-based split ergative system:

Set 1: direct case

- present: subject
- past: subject of intransitive verbs

- **Position:** Suffixed to the verb

Set 2: oblique case (ergative)

- past tense subject of transitives

- **Position**:
    - clitic appears before the verbal complex, attaches mostly to the direct object
    - → It can NEVER appear after the verb

Examples of 'regular' Set2 clitic placement

(3) ya qærri**=es**   [bǽ-košdé]$_{vc}$
    or witch=3SG$_2$ PUNCT-killed
    '... or he killed the witch.'

(4) soan-e=ra   bez-e   šax**=es**   [tíz=a   kærdæ̀]$_{vc}$
    file-F.OBL=with goat-F.OBL horn=3SG$_2$ sharp=ATTR did
    'He sharpened the goat's horns with a file'

(5) bǽlke hævi-án**=es**   [komǽk ær-kæ̀rdæ]$_{vc}$
    but   all-PL.OBL=3SG$_2$ help   DUR-did
    '... but he helped everybody'

(6) tani   hæzíri**=m**   [bǽ-diæ]$_{vc}$
    he.OBL yesterday=1SG$_2$ PUNCT-saw
    'I saw him yesterday'

Another function of Set2 clitics

Oblique set2 clitics can also indicate a possessive construction

(7) æhl=e   ewdan**=ian**
    inhabitant=EZ village=2PL_2
    'the people of your village'

- Clitic directly follows the possessed item (wherever it appears)

Another function of Set2 clitics

Oblique set2 clitics can also indicate a possessive construction

(9) æhl=e   ewdan**=ian**
    inhabitant=EZ village=2PL$_2$
    'the people of your village'

- Clitic directly follows the possessed item (wherever it appears)
- This common use of the clitic as a possessive or a subject can lead to ambiguities
  - (10) a. kænizan**=es** báwattæ   '*Her* servant girls said (so)'   → as possessive
          b. kænizan**=es** báwattæ   '*She* told the servant girls'   → as subject

Another function of Set2 clitics

Oblique set2 clitics can also indicate a possessive construction

(11) æhl=e   ewdan**=ian**
     inhabitant=EZ village=2PL₂
     'the people of your village'

- Clitic directly follows the possessed item (wherever it appears)
- This common use of the clitic as a possessive or a subject can lead to ambiguities
  - (12) a. kænizan**=es** báwattæ   '*Her* servant girls said (so)' → as possessive
  -     b. kænizan**=es** báwattæ   '*She* told the servant girls' → as subject
- **Important**: An item marked by a possesive set2 clitic cannot host another set2 pronoun clitic!

Relevant elements in the verbal complex

1. The durative marker *ær*
2. The punctual marker *bǽ*
3. The negation marker *nǽ*
4. The preverbs *dǽ(r)-*, *ó(r)-*, *há(r)-*

Tense-aspect markers _æt-_ and _bæ-_

- The durative marker **ær-**:
    - → Unstressed, Form depends on phonological environment

    (13) an=om   <u>æ</u>r-góæ
         that=1SG$_2$ DUR-want
         'I want that'

Tense-aspect markers æt- and bæ-

- The durative marker **ær-**:
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  (15) an=om <u>æ</u>r-góæ
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      'I want that'

- The punctual marker **bǽ-**:
  - → Stressed, Form depends on phonological environment

  (16) an=om <u>bǽ</u>-diæ
      that=1SG$_2$ PUNCT-saw
      'I saw that'

  - ⇒ If the following item starts with a vowel, the æ-vowel is dropped and stress shifts to the following vowel:

    báwe "s/he came" ← *bǽ-* + *-av* ('come') + *-e* (3SG)

  - → Suppressed by negation (*bǽ-ssim* 'I went', but *nǽ-ssim* 'I didn't go'), but also by preverbs and complex predicates

Negation and preverbs

- The negative marker **ná**- (behaves like *bǽ*-)
  - Stressed
  - In case of a vowel following, *æ* is dropped and stress shifts to the following vowel

Negation and preverbs

- The negative marker **nǽ-** (behaves like *bǽ-*)
    - Stressed
    - In case of a vowel following, æ is dropped and stress shifts to the following vowel
- The preverbs **dǽ(r)-**, **ó(r)-**, **há(r)-**
    - Stressed
    - Originally directional particles
    - Create lexical extensions, finer nuances, or total meaning changes of the verb

Vafsi	English
girætt	grab, catch
ó(r)-girætt	pick up, lift
há(r)-girætt	take, get, bury
dǽ(r)-girætt	gather up

- Suppressed by negation
  → Meanings of the different preverbs fall together
- Some verbs do not have any preverbs, some occur only with a subset, and some only occur with preverbs

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics

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- There are many cases where the clitic <u>precedes the complex predicate</u>

    (19) bǽlke hævi-án**=es**   [komǽk ær-kàerdæ]$_{vc}$
          but   all-PL.OBL$=3$SG$_2$ help   DUR-did
          '... but he helped everybody'

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics

- There are many cases where the clitic precedes the complex predicate

  (21) bǽlke hævi-án=**es**   [komǽk ær-kæ̀rdæ]$_{vc}$
       but   all-PL.OBL=3SG$_2$ help   DUR-did
       '... but he helped everybody'

- But the clitic can also occur within the complex predicate, where it attaches to the first element

  (22) æ-cu   ešden bǽ-vær-i   ya [komǽk=**i** kær-òm]$_{vc}$
       DUR-an SELF PUNCT-take-2SG$_1$ or help=2SG$_2$ do-1SG$_1$
       'Can you carry it yourself or should I help you?'

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics II

- The clitic can occur preceding the unstressed duration marker in its clitic form (a.) or <u>verb-initially</u> in its 'affixal' form (b.):

  (23) a. an=**om**   ær-góæ   b. **ìm**-ær-góæ
          that=1SG$_2$ DUR-want   1SG$_2$-DUR-want
          'I want that'   'I want'

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics II

- The clitic can occur preceding the unstressed duration marker in its clitic form (a.) or <u>verb-initially</u> in its 'affixal' form (b.):

  (25) a. an=**om**   ær-góæ   b. **ìm**-ær-góæ
          that=$1SG_2$ DUR-want $1SG_2$-DUR-want
          'I want that'   'I want'

$\rightarrow$ The affixal form is not restricted to sentence-initial positions:

  (26) bá-waz   ya **ì**-r-koš-ome
        PUNCT-tell or $2SG_2$-DUR-kill-$1SG_1$
        'Tell (me) or I will kill you'

$\rightarrow$ Because of examples like these, Stilo assumes affixal status

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics III

- The clitic can occur verb-medially following either the punctual marker or the negative marker (in its 'affixal' form), or a preverb (as a clitic):

  (27) an=**om**   bǽ-diæ   b.   b-**ím**-diæ
       that=1SG$_2$ PUNCT-saw   PUNCT-1SG$_2$-saw
       'I saw that'   'I saw'

Some odd occurrences of the Set2 clitics III

- The clitic can occur verb-medially following either the punctual marker or the negative marker (in its 'affixal' form), or a preverb (as a clitic):

  (29) an=**om**   bǽ-diæ   b.   b-**ím**-diæ
       that=1SG$_2$ PUNCT-saw   PUNCT-1SG$_2$-saw
       'I saw that'   'I saw'

$\rightarrow$ This is (again) not restricted to sentence-initial positions:
   (here following a preverb, in this case *not* in its 'affixal' form)

  (30) tinan   vǽxdi=ke nahar=esan   hár**=es**=da ...
       they.OBL when=SUB lunch=3PL$_{2(poss)}$ PVB=3SG$_2$=gave
       'When she (=es) gave them (*tinan*) their (=esan) lunch'

Distribution oblique pronouns

|	Position	Form
1.	preceding the verbal complex (non-initial position)	clitic
2.	between the members of a complex predicate and after the preverbs	clitic
3.	preceding the duration marker	'affix'
4.	following the punctual or the negation marker	'affix'

$\left.\begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \end{array}\right\}$ Only if there is no host to the left

áwæ**=s**　　bǽ-paša　　jaru**=s**　　kærd=o dǽr**=es**=rua　　qæšeng=o
water=3SG₂ PUNCT-sprinkled broom=3SG₂ did=and PVB=3SG₂=swept beautiful=and
'He sprinkled water, swept and swept nicely...'

qeylán**=es**　　b**=ís**=keša=vo　　　　jens-a　suræt**=es**　　ú-girættæ=o
water.pipe=3SG₂(poss) PUNCT=3SG₂=smoked=and good-PL inventory=3SG₂ PVB-took=and
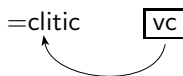'... and he smoked his waterpipe and took inventory of the goods ....'

Underlying mechanism: .... Fronting?

- Stilo assumes that the clitic/affix originates within the verbal complex/the verb and is 'fronted' if an adequate host is available
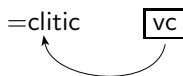
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$$=\text{clitic} \qquad \boxed{\text{VC}}$$

- **But**: no unified reason why clitic would be fronted in some constructions but not in others
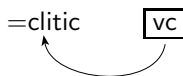
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$$=\text{clitic} \quad \boxed{\text{vc}}$$

- **But**: no unified reason why clitic would be fronted in some constructions but not in others
- **Question**: Is there a different explanation?

These examples can be explained with respect to prosody!

Claim:

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- The oblique clitics are syntactically placed just before the verbal complex: XP* CL_2 VC

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- Set2 clitics are *en*clitics: they need a preceeding host

These examples can be explained with respect to prosody!

Claim:

- The oblique clitics are syntactically placed just before the verbal complex: XP* CL_2 VC
- Set2 clitics are *en*clitics: they need a preceeding host
- If stranded in the initial position of a prosodic phrase or if left without an adequate host, the clitic is 'moved' into an adequate position
- $\rightarrow$ via *prosodic inversion* (Halpern 1995)

$$=\text{clitic} \quad \boxed{\text{vc}}$$

What we know about Vafsi prosody?

(Based on Stilo (2004a,b)) larger prosodic boundaries (ι, φ) can be found:

- at the beginning of a clause
- in subordinate clauses, stress usually falls on the subordinate conjunction, but not on *ke* (which thus cannot act as a host for a clitic)
- *sustained intonation* (pitch level remains high, with a long syllable duration, followed by a short pause $\rightarrow \varphi$ boundary)
  - after coordinating conjunctions -o ('and') and ya ('or'),
  - often after the subject of a sentence in Vafsi (also Persian ....)
- $\Rightarrow$ This explains all instances where the clitic appears following
  - the preverbs
  - the first element of a complex predicate

This explains .... constructions with preverbs

- clitics following the stressed preverbs

  (31) [hár=**om**-da]$_{VC}$ yey kelj-i   <   ($_\iota$ =om [há ...
      PVB=1S.OBL=gave one girl-OF
      'I gave (it) to some girl.'

$\rightarrow$ clitic would be stranded in initial position of a prosodic phrase

This explains .... constructions with preverbs

- clitics following the stressed preverbs

  (33) [hár=**om**-da]$_{VC}$ yey kelj-i $<$ ($_\iota$ =om [há ...
       PVB=1S.OBL=gave one girl-OF
       'I gave (it) to some girl.'

$\rightarrow$ clitic would be stranded in initial position of a prosodic phrase

$\rightarrow$ vs. constructions where the clitic finds an adequate host

  (34) tæmen ketab=**es**   [há-baxǎa]$_{VC}$
       1S.OBL book=3S.OBL PVB-gave.away
       'He gave a book away to me.'

This explains .... constructions with complex predicates

- clitics following the first member of a complex predicate

  (35) æ-cu   ešden bǽ-vær-i   ya [komǽk=i kær-òm]$_{vc}$ < ...ya)$_\varphi$(=i...
       DUR-an SELF PUNCT-take-2SG$_1$ or help=2SG$_2$ do-1SG$_1$
       'Can you carry it yourself or should I help you?'

$\rightarrow$ *ya* is followed by sustained intonation = a prosodic phrase boundary

This explains .... constructions with complex predicates

- clitics following the first member of a complex predicate

  (37) æ-cu   ešden bǽ-vær-i   ya [komǽk**=i** kær-òm]$_{vc}$ < ...ya)$_\varphi$(=i...
       DUR-an SELF PUNCT-take-2SG$_1$ or help=2SG$_2$ do-1SG$_1$
       'Can you carry it yourself or should I help you?'

$\rightarrow$ *ya* is followed by sustained intonation = a prosodic phrase boundary
$\rightarrow$ vs. constructions where the clitic finds an adequate host

  (38) bǽlke hævi-án**=es**   [komǽk ær-kàerdæ]$_{vc}$
       but   all-PL.OBL=3SG$_2$ help   DUR-did
       '... but he helped everybody'

And with the other markers?

- prosodic inversion is impossible after the unstressed durative marker
- $\rightarrow$ marker is not an adequate host
- $\rightarrow$ clitic also can't be positioned after the verb

And with the other markers?

- prosodic inversion is impossible after the unstressed durative marker
- $\rightarrow$ marker is not an adequate host
- $\rightarrow$ clitic also can't be positioned after the verb
- $\Rightarrow$ the clitic remains **in situ**
- $\Rightarrow$ Takes on a clitic-under-stress-form (the former 'affixal form') to account for the phrase-initial position

with an adequate host: *clitic-under-stress:*

(40) a. an=**om**   ær-góæ
       that=$1SG_2$ DUR-want
       'I want that'

    b. **ìm**-ær-góæ   ***=om**-ær ...
      $1SG_2$-DUR-want
      'I want'

Similarly with the negation and punctual marker næ-/bæ-

- Both, negation and punctual marker are stressed
- $\rightarrow$ are adequate hosts, prosodic inversion can be applied (if needed)

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- Both, negation and punctual marker are stressed
- → are adequate hosts, prosodic inversion can be applied (if needed)

But: if these markers are followed by a vowel, they drop their vowel (æ-), and stress is shifted to the following vowel

→ The clitic is again 'under stress'

    with an adequate host: *clitic-under-stress:*

(42) a. an**=om** bǽ-diæ   b. b**=ím**-diæ
      that=1SG PU-saw   PU-1SG-saw
      'I saw that.'   'I saw.'

- Derivation of 'I saw'

1.	*input*	**=om** bǽ-diæ
2.	*prosodic inversion*	bǽ**=om**-diæ
3.	*vowel deletion, stress shift*	b**=óm**-diæ
4.	*clitic under stress*	b**=ím**-diæ

A cumulation of examples

áwæ=**s**   bǽ-paša || jaru=**s**   kærd=o || dǽr=**es**=rua   qæšeng=o ||
water=3SG₂ PUNCT-sprinkled || broom=3SG₂ did=and || PVB=3SG₂=swept beautiful=and ||
'He sprinkled water, swept and swept nicely...'

qeylán=**es**   b=**ís**=keša=vo || jens-a   suræt=**es**   ú-giræ ttæ=o ||
water.pipe=3SG₂(*poss*) PUNCT=3SG₂ =smoked=and || good-PL inventory=3SG₂ PVB-took=and ||
'... and he smoked his waterpipe and took inventory of the goods ....'

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- **Question**: How can we represent this in Lexical-Functional Grammar?

Demonstration examples

(43) a. b=**ím**-diæ
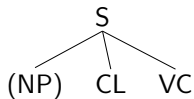   PU-1SG-saw
    'I saw.'

b. an=**om** bǽ-diæ
    that=1SG PU-saw
    'I saw that.'

Demonstration examples

(44) a. b=**ím**-diæ   b. an=**om**   bǽ-diæ
    PU-1SG-saw   that=1SG PU-saw
    'I saw.'   'I saw that.'

- A very initial c-structure (XP* CL VC) ...

```
        S
      / | \
 (NP) CL  VC
```

Demonstration examples

(45) a. b=**ím**-diæ   b. an=**om**   bǽ-diæ
    PU-1SG-saw   that=1SG PU-saw
    'I saw.'   'I saw that.'

- A very initial c-structure (XP* CL VC) ...

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→ C-structure works for b. (which is straightforward), but not for a.!
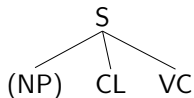
Demonstration examples

(46) a. b=**ím**-diæ   b. an=**om** bǽ-diæ
      PU-1SG-saw   that=1SG PU-saw
      'I saw.'   'I saw that.'

- A very initial c-structure (XP* CL VC) ...

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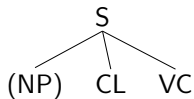
$\rightarrow$ C-structure works for b. (which is straightforward), but not for a.!

$\rightarrow$ Resolved via the syntax-prosody interface (as proposed in Bögel (2015))

The Prosody-Syntax interface (Bögel 2015)

Two perspectives:

(Roughly following models as proposed by, a.o., Levelt (1999) and Jackendoff (2002))

- *Production*: from meaning to form (syntax $\rightarrow$ prosody)
- *Comprehension*: from form to meaning (prosody $\rightarrow$ syntax)
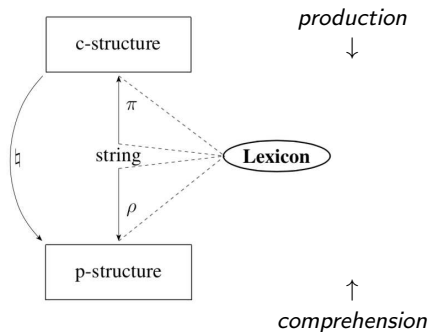
$\natural$: The *Transfer of structure* $\rightarrow$ Information on (larger) syntactic and prosodic phrasing, and on intonation is exchanged

ρ: The *Transfer of vocabulary* $\rightarrow$ Associates morphosyntactic and phonological information on lexical elements and projects them to their respective structures

P-structure – the p-diagram (during production!)

- Linear representation in the p-diagram
- $\rightarrow$ structured syllablewise
- $\Rightarrow$ Each syllable is part of a vector associating the syllable with relevant values:
  $\rightarrow$ *lexical stress*, *segments*, *prosodic phrasing*, ...
- Input to the p-diagram comes from c-structure (*Transfer of structure*) and the lexicon (*Transfer of vocabulary*)

PHRASING	$(_\iota =\sigma$	$(_\omega\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)_\iota$
...	...	...	...	...
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/
V. INDEX	$\mathbf{S_1}$	$\mathbf{S_2}$	$\mathbf{S_3}$	$\mathbf{S_4}$

P-structure – the p-diagram (during production!)

- Linear representation in the p-diagram
- $\rightarrow$ structured syllablewise
- $\Rightarrow$ Each syllable is part of a vector associating the syllable with relevant values:
  $\rightarrow$ *lexical stress, segments, prosodic phrasing, ...*
- Input to the p-diagram comes from c-structure (*Transfer of structure*) and the lexicon (*Transfer of vocabulary*)

PHRASING	$(_\iota =\sigma$	$(_\omega\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)_\iota$
...	...	...	...	...
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/
V. INDEX	**S₁**	**S₂**	**S₃**	**S₄**

- Includes language-specific phonological processes ('postlexical phonology')
- But first: transfer processes to p-structure to create this initial p-diagram

The Transfer of Vocabulary

- Associates morphosyntactic and phonological information on lexical elements
- Via the multidimesional lexicon, which projects them to their respective structures

s(yntactic)-form			p(honological)-form	
bǽ-diæ V	($\uparrow$ PRED)	= 'diæ$\langle$SUBJ$\rangle$'	P-FORM	[bǽdiæ]
	($\uparrow$ TENSE)	= past	SEGMENTS	/b æ d i æ/
	($\uparrow$ ASPECT)	= punctual	METR. FRAME	$(\text{'}\sigma\sigma\sigma)_\omega$
	...			
om PRON	($\uparrow$ PRED)	= 'pro'	P-FORM	[om]
	($\uparrow$ PERS)	= 1	SEGMENTS	/o m/
	($\uparrow$ NUM)	= sg	METR. FRAME	$=\sigma$
	($\uparrow$ CL-TYPE)	= set2		
	...			

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	($\uparrow$ ASPECT)	= punctual	METR. FRAME	('$\sigma\sigma\sigma$)$_\omega$
	...			
om PRON	($\uparrow$ PRED)	= 'pro'	P-FORM	[om]
	($\uparrow$ PERS)	= 1	SEGMENTS	/o m/
	($\uparrow$ NUM)	= sg	METR. FRAME	=σ
	($\uparrow$ CL-TYPE)	= set2		
	...			

- Each lexical dimension can only be accessed by the related module
- → Modular: strict separation of module-related information
- → Translation function: Once a dimension is triggered, the related dimensions can be accessed as well.
- ⇒ Associated **p-form is selected and made available to p-structure**.

The Transfer of Vocabulary II

p(honological)-form	
P-FORM	[bǽdiæ]
SEGMENTS	/b æ d i æ/
METR. FRAME	$('\sigma\sigma\sigma)_\omega$
P-FORM	[om]
SEGMENTS	/o m/
METR. FRAME	$=\sigma$

$\downarrow$

PHRASING	$=\sigma$	$(\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega$
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/
V. INDEX	S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4

The Transfer of Vocabulary II

p(honological)-form	
P-FORM	[bǽdiæ]
SEGMENTS	/b æ d i æ/
METR. FRAME	$('\sigma\sigma\sigma)_\omega$
P-FORM	[om]
SEGMENTS	/o m/
METR. FRAME	$=\sigma$

$\downarrow$

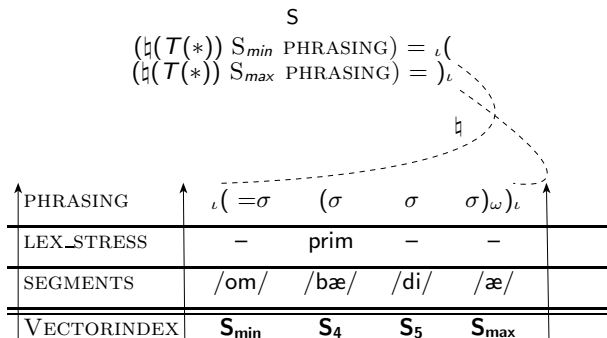|				
PHRASING	$=\sigma$	$(\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega$
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/
V. INDEX	S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4

- Also needed: Information on larger prosodic constituents
- $\rightarrow$ Via the *transfer of structure*

The Transfer of Structure ... from syntax to prosody
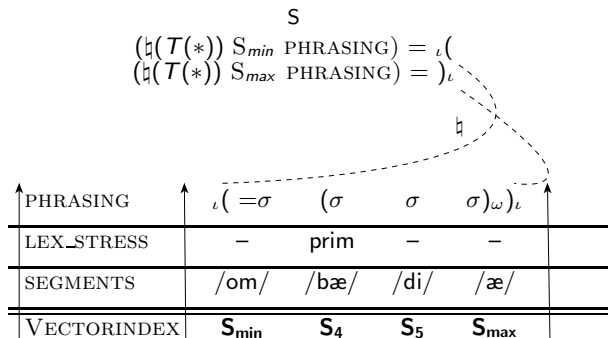
$$S$$
$$(\natural(T(*))\ S_{min}\ \text{PHRASING}) = {}_\iota($$
$$(\natural(T(*))\ S_{max}\ \text{PHRASING}) =){}_\iota$$

$$\natural$$

PHRASING	${}_\iota(=\sigma$	$(\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)_\iota$	
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–	
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/	
VECTORINDEX	S_{min}	S_4	S_5	S_{max}	

- where S_{min} refers to the *first* syllable within the scope of a node
- where S_{max} refers to the *last* syllable within the scope of a node
- $\rightarrow$ Roughly following Selkirk (2011)'s *Match theory*

The Transfer of Structure … from syntax to prosody

$$S$$
$$(\natural(T(*))\ S_{min}\ \text{PHRASING}) =\ _\iota($$
$$(\natural(T(*))\ S_{max}\ \text{PHRASING}) =\ )_\iota$$

$$\natural$$

PHRASING	$_\iota(=\sigma$	$(\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)_\iota$	
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–	
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/	
VECTORINDEX	**S_{min}**	**S_4**	**S_5**	**S_{max}**	

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→ Roughly following Selkirk (2011)'s *Match theory*

● But problem still unresolved → postlexical phonology

Postlexical phonological processes

Input to p-structure:
(via transfer processes)

PHRASING	$(\iota =\sigma$	$(\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)\iota$
LEX_STRESS	–	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	/om/	/bæ/	/di/	/æ/
V. INDEX	**S₁**	**S₂**	**S₃**	**S₄**

$\downarrow$

Postlexical phonology:
(sandhi rules, mismatches etc ...)

input:	=om bǽdiæ
prosodic inversion:	bǽ=om=diæ
stress shift:	bím=diæ

$\downarrow$

Output of p-structure:

PHRASING	$(\iota\ (\sigma$	σ	$\sigma)_\omega)\iota$
LEX_STRESS	prim	–	–
SEGMENTS	[bím]	[di]	[æ]
V. INDEX	**S₁**	**S₂**	**S₃**

Overall framework
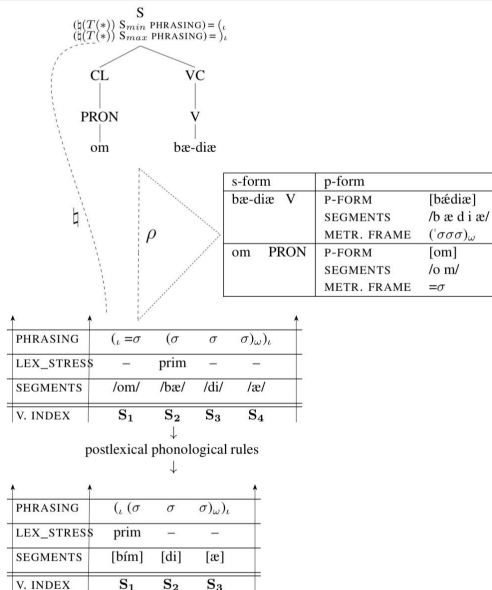
Conclusion

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- $\rightarrow$ The clitics are syntactically placed immediately preceding the verbal complex
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- $\rightarrow$ The difference in form can be accounted for by assuming an unstressed and a stressed version of the clitic

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- $\rightarrow$ If necessary, they are prosodically 'replaced' to account for their need of an host
- $\rightarrow$ The difference in form can be accounted for by assuming an unstressed and a stressed version of the clitic
- The resulting analysis can be straightforwardly implemented at the syntax–prosody interface as proposed in Bögel (2015).

Thank you!

... questions, comments...?

References