

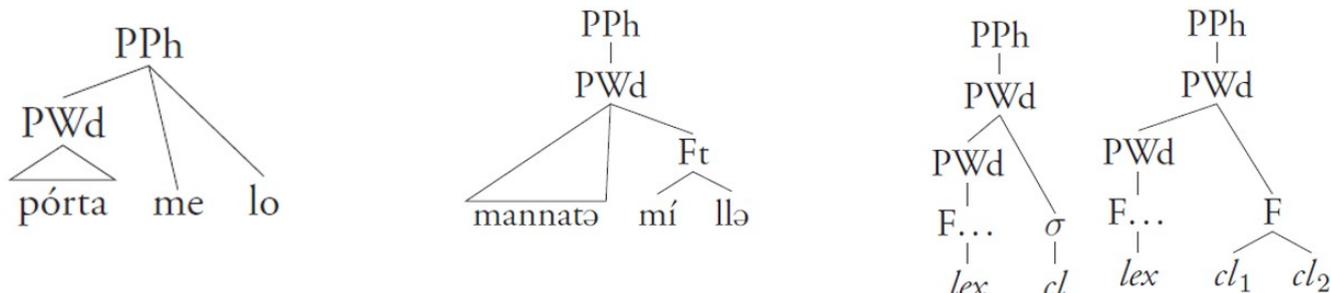
*Simple clitics in Italo-Romance: dialectal variation and
phrasal phonology*

Data that Peperkamp (1997) presents from three Italian dialects – Standard Italian, Lucanian, and Neapolitan, see (1) – have been used to argue for multiple, dialect-specific phonological clitic representations.

(1)	Standard Italian:	<i>Pórta</i> 'bring'	<i>Pórtami</i> 'bring me'	<i>Pórtamelo</i> 'bring me it'
	Lucanian:	<i>Vínnə</i> 'sell'	<i>Vənníllə</i> 'sell it'	<i>Vənnəmillə</i> 'sell me it'
	Neapolitan:	<i>fá</i> 'do'	<i>fállə</i> 'do it'	<i>fattíllə</i> 'do you it'
		<i>Cónta</i> 'tell'	<i>Cóntalə</i> 'tell it'	<i>Cóntatíllə</i> 'tell it to yourself'

The prosodic representations assumed by Peperkamp are shown below in (2–4). These exemplify, respectively, adjunction of stray material to the phonological phrase, incorporation of stray material into the P-word, and the creation of a recursive P-word.

- (2) Standard Italian (3) Lucanian (4) Neapolitan
Adjunction Incorporation Recursion of P-words



There are two traditions of analysis in computing these representations in OT: one assumes an interface theory between morphosyntax and phonology, while the other argues that computation is purely phonological. These are the positions that Peperkamp, building on Selkirk (1995), and Anderson (2011) take, respectively. My analysis also takes the latter view: i.e. that the computation of these representations is phonological; but crucially, this requires the adoption of a stratal grammatical architecture (Kiparsky 2010, 2015; Bermúdez-Otero 2017). This contrasts to the previously mentioned analyses, both of which assume single-level, parallel derivation in OT. I argue this is untenable for the Italian dialectal data.

We see in the data in (1) that the primary stress in Standard Italian is fixed on the base, while in Lucanian and for monosyllabic bases in Neapolitan, the primary stress shifts to the penult. For disyllabic bases in Neapolitan, an additional case of primary stress is created on the clitics: e.g. in *cóntatíllə*.

OT analysis of prosodic structures typically adheres, to some extent, to constraints that Selkirk (1995) first introduced. These can be defined as follows (own formulation):

- (5) Prosodic constraints based on Selkirk (1995)

- **LAYEREDNESS:** No lower unit in the prosodic hierarchy may dominate a higher one.
- **HEADEDNESS:** Each unit must immediately dominate at least one element that comes directly below it in the prosodic hierarchy.
- **NON-RECURSIVITY:** No unit may repeat. E.g., No p-word can dominate another p-word.
- **EXHAUSTIVITY:** Every unit must exhaustively dominate the unit it immediately dominates.

These constraints are motivated from previous research into prosodic phonology, notably in connection to the Strict Layering Hypothesis (Nespor & Vogel, 1986). *LAYEREDNESS* and *HEADEDNESS* are generally considered to be undominated in all OT tableaux.

Anderson argues for a single-levelled (i.e. parallel) analysis of the data. He assumes that the lexical P-word is present underlyingly, including its primary stress, and that only the stray material is computed. He posits **CLASH* to prohibit adjacent occurrences of primary stress, and *PROSFAITH* and **STRUCT* as additional faithfulness constraints, the latter presumably undominated, and lists the constraint rankings for each dialect. However, tableaux are not provided to illustrate the derivations. Furthermore, **STRUCT* is not logically independent from *NON-RECURSIVITY*, in fact it subsumes it. It also cannot be undominated across the board because Anderson assumes a recursive structure in Neapolitan.

By contrast, Selkirk's alignment theory, applied to this data by Peperkamp, does make the correct predictions for some of the data; but unfortunately, the analysis is incomplete. It does not address the complex prosodic behaviour of clitics in Neapolitan, depending on the syllable count of the base. Additionally, the representation of Neapolitan with recursive structure does not account for Peperkamp's position that P-words have only one case of primary stress. This analysis also fails to account for the fact that monosyllabic bases in Neapolitan show identical prosodic behaviour to the Lucanian data.

In my analysis, I seek to remedy these problems by introducing new constraints, namely *PWDSTR*, *IDENT(S)* and *DEP(P-WORD)*. These formalise the requirements that P-words must have one case of primary stress, there can be no modification of the structures present in the input, and no new P-words can be created in the output. The tableau in (6) exemplifies the derivation of *cóntatíllə* in Neapolitan. Here the winner is candidate (d), in which an independent P-word is formed over the enclitic sequence. Consequently, I dispute that claim that Neapolitan has recursive structure. My approach incurs no violation of the stipulation that P-words should have only one incidence of primary stress. Moreover, the stratal derivation I assume depends neither on underlying prosodic structure nor underlying stress.

(6) Sample tableau (phrase-level) for generation of Neapolitan *cóntatíllə*

[Cón _{pwd} tə] tələ	*CLASH	EXH _{pph}	PWDSTR	IDENT(S)	NONREC	DEP(P-WORD)	*GEM
a. [[Cón _{pwd} tə]=lələ _{pph}]		! **					
b. [[[Cón _{pwd} tí]=lləl _{pwd}] _{pph}]			! *		*		*
c. [[Cùn _{nta} =tí]=lləl _{pwd}] _{pph}]				! **			*
d. [[Cón _{pwd}][tí]=lləl _{pwd}] _{pph}] _{pph}						*	*