

# Why do we need a prosodic clitic?

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## Insights from Pukur

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Why do we  
need a prosodic  
clitic?

# What are clitics?

## *Common definition*

N. Rochant

= Prosodically deficient unit

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# What are clitics?

## *Common definition*

N. Rochant

= Prosodically deficient unit

- “clitics are defective in their phonological representation and therefore have to prosodically combine with an adjacent non-clitic word.” (LONOVA 2019: 22)
- “Clitics are ‘small words’ of functional, non-lexical categories [...] that ‘lean on’ [...] a preceding or following host word, and cannot appear as phonological words by themselves.” (BOOIJ 2012: 290)

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# What are clitics?

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= Prosodically deficient grammatical element / function word

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- “[clitics:] **grammatical elements** which themselves bear no stress and which make up a phonological word with a host item (that bears stress)” (DIXON 2007: 574)”
- “Clitics are **function words** that lack independent stress.” (PESCARINI 2021: 1)
- Cf. also ZWICKY (1985), HALPERN (1998), DIXON & AIKHENVALD (2002), and BONET (2019), i.a.

# What are clitics?

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- (1) a. I gave [ðem] the book.  
b. I gave [ðəm] the book.

(2) 'Who did you give it to?'

- a. '[ðem]'  
b. \*'[ðəm]'

(BONET 2019: 2)

# What are clitics?

*HASPELMATH's (2023) criticism of the phonological criterion*

N. Rochant

## 1. The phonological criterion is insufficient:

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# What are clitics?

*HASPELMATH's (2023) criticism of the phonological criterion*

N. Rochant

## 1. **The phonological criterion is insufficient:**

- To be relevant, the prosodic deficiency feature must be associated with evidence of non-affixness
- But it does not distinguish clitics from affixes (ANDERSON 2011: 4; HASPELMATH 2023: 31)

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→ *Morphosyntactic evidence of non-affixness is necessary to accompany any prosodic deficiency criterion*

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→ ***Morphosyntactic evidence of non-affixness is necessary to accompany any prosodic deficiency criterion***

- ## 2. But provided morphosyntactic evidence of non-affixness and non-wordhood, the set of items typically identified as clitics is already defined. → **No need to apply an additional phonological criterion.**

# What are clitics?

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## 1. **The phonological criterion is insufficient:**

- To be relevant, the prosodic deficiency feature must be associated with evidence of non-affixness
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## 2. But provided morphosyntactic evidence of non-affixness and non-wordhood, the set of items typically identified as clitics is already defined. → **No need to apply an additional phonological criterion.**

→ *Morphosyntactic evidence is necessary AND primary*

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# What are clitics?

*HASPELMATH's (2023) definition*

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= Bound morph that is neither an affix nor a root

Phonological deficiency = non-necessary correlate of clitic hood

# What are clitics?

*HASPELMATH's (2023) criticism of the phonological criterion*

Before Haspelmath, other definitions allowed for some types of clitics to be recognized as such strictly based on syntactic criteria (e.g., ZWICKY 1985; 1994; ANDERSON 2005; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014).

However, no proposal including a type of clitic defined as such strictly *phonologically*.

# A prosodic mirror to HASPELMATH's definition

N. Rochant

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→ 2 types of clitics:

- **Morphosyntactic / Grammatical** (defined by [HASPELMATH 2023](#))  
vs.
- **Phonological / Prosodic** (author's proposal)

Which are **non-necessarily overlapping**

## A prosodic mirror to HASPELMATH's definition

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Framework of prosodic phonology ( SELKIRK (1980; 1978; 1986) and NESPOR & VOGEL (1982; 1986), i.a.): syntactic constituents have prosodic counterparts, which are:

- the domains within which phonological rules apply
- not necessarily isomorphic to them, despite a mapping existing between the two

→ Prosodic constituents are defined independently from their syntactic counterparts

→ Well accepted for words (prosodic word vs. grammatical word) and phrases, even stems and roots (e.g., INKELAS 1990; DOWNING 2006)

→ **Why not for clitics?**

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→ **Why not for clitics?**

- Relative independance of the morphosyntactic and prosodic levels as regards clitics:  
Evidence that a clitic can have distinct morphosyntactic and prosodic hosts (KLAVANS 1985; ANDERSON 2005)

# A prosodic mirror to HASPELMATH's definition

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→ Looking for ~~Phonological evidence of clitichood~~  
evidence of phonological clitichood



# A prosodic mirror to HASPELMATH's definition

## *Advantages of a prosodic counterpart to Haspelmathian clitics*

1. According to Prosodic Phonology, phonological rules do not apply directly to morphosyntactic constituents, but to their prosodic counterparts (e.g., [NESPOR & VOGEL 1986](#))  
→ morphosyntactic constituents must have prosodic counterparts (and prosodic counterpart of morphosyntactic clitic ≠ prosodic word / prosodic affix),
2. More systematic descriptions of the phonology of grammatical clitics: are they also clitics at the phonological level? Or are they prosodized as affixes? As free words?
3. Be able to describe as clitics units that we feel *should be* due to their phonology but cannot be defined as such under HASPELMATH's ([2023](#)) definition

## A prosodic mirror to HASPELMATH's definition

*Advantages to a split definition of clitics (As opposed to a mixed-level definition)*

- Accommodate elements that are grammatical clitics without being prosodic clitics, and vice versa (cliticness within one level, non-isomorphic phonological and morphosyntactic structures)
- Just 2 (mirror) definitions of clitics instead of several, disparate kinds of items under an umbrella term (cf. ZWICKY (1994: xiii))
- Instead of a continuum between free word and affix (DIXON & AIKHENVALD 2002: 42-78; HOPPER & TRAUOGOTT 2003: 7, 142), which also yields a multitude of disparate kinds of 'clitics' (VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014; ZWICKY 1994)

# Framework

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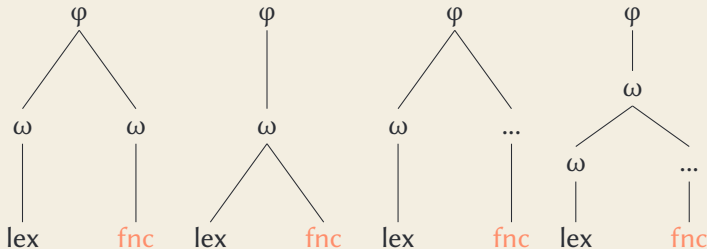
References

SELKIRK's (2004) theory of the prosodization of 'function words' provides a very fertile framework (adopted, e.g., by ANDERSON 2005)

## Overview of Selkirk's framework

*The four possible prosodizations of function words*  
(SELKIRK 1996; 2004)

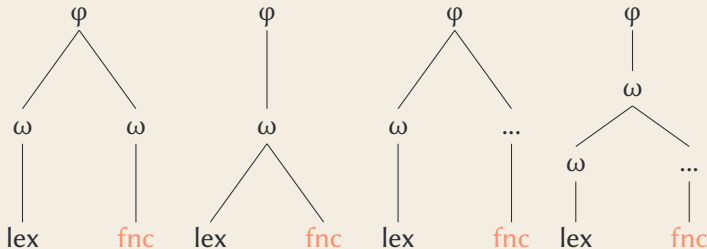
(a) Prosodic word    (b) Internal clitic    (c) Free clitic    (d) Affixal clitic



# Overview of Selkirk's framework

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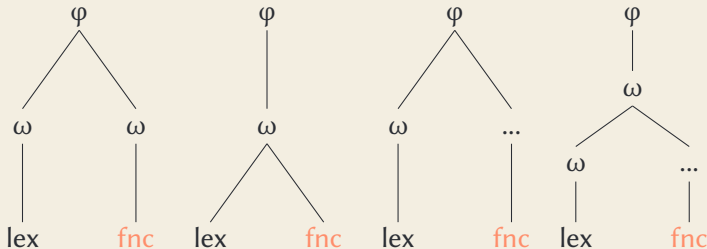
(a) Prosodic word    (b) Internal clitic    (c) Free clitic    (d) Affixal clitic



# Overview of Selkirk's framework Reinterpreted

*The four possible prosodizations of function words*  
(SELKIRK 1996; 2004)

- (a) Prosodic word    (b) Prosodic affix    (c) Free clitic    (d) Affixal clitic



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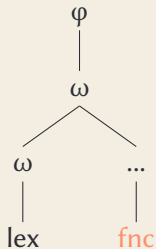
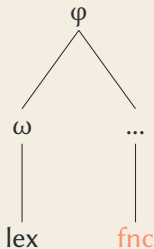
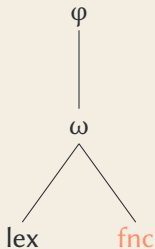
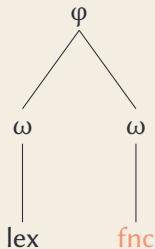
References

# Overview of Selkirk's framework **Reinterpreted**

*The four possible prosodizations of function words*

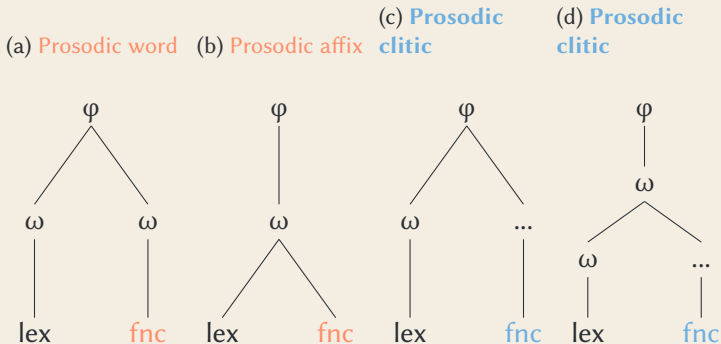
(SELKIRK 1996; 2004)

(a) **Prosodic word**   (b) **Prosodic affix**   (c) **Free clitic**   (d) **Affixal clitic**



# Overview of Selkirk's framework **Reinterpreted**

*The four possible prosodizations of function words*  
(SELKIRK 1996; 2004)

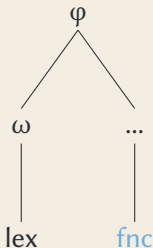




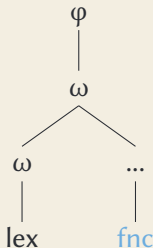
# Overview of Selkirk's framework **Reinterpreted**

## *2 prosodic clitic structures*

(a) **prosodic clitic**



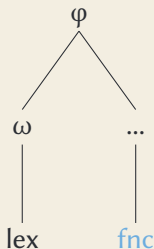
(b) **prosodic clitic**



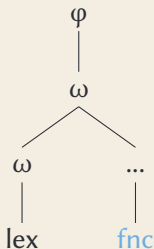
# Overview of Selkirk's framework **Reinterpreted**

## *2 prosodic clitic structures*

(a) **Extralexical  
prosodic clitic**



(b) **Intralexical  
prosodic clitic**



# Overview of Selkirk's framework **Reinterpreted**

## 2 prosodic clitic structures

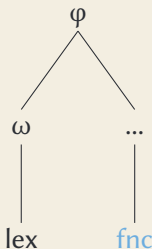
Why do we need a prosodic clitic?

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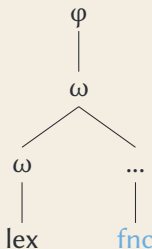
(a) **Extralexical prosodic clitic**

(b) **Intralexical prosodic clitic**

English non phrase-final function words  
(e.g. *can, or, to*)  
(SELKIRK 2004)



English OBJ pronouns  
(SELKIRK 2004: 35)



### Prosodic clitic:

Phonological sequence that is neither integrated into a (single) prosodic word (= prosodic affix) nor a free prosodic word itself

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# Pukur (Atlantic < Niger-Congo)

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# Pukur (Atlantic)

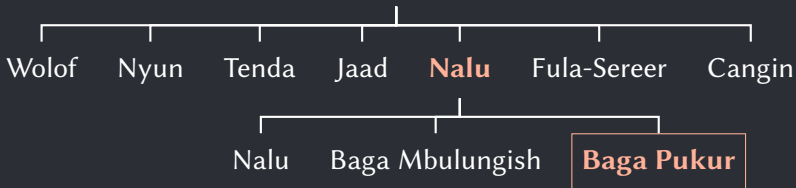
(*POZDNIIAKOV & SEGERER 2017*)

**Niger-Congo**

... **Atlantic-Congo**

... **Atlantic**

Bak **North**



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# Pukur (Atlantic)

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- A few hundred speakers in coastal Guinea

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# Pukur (Atlantic)

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- Critically endangered, not passed on to younger generations for 30 years, shifting to Soso (Mande)
- Undescribed until ROCHANT (2023),



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- Critically endangered, not passed on to younger generations for 30 years, shifting to Soso (Mande)
- Undescribed until ROCHANT (2023),
- Author's field data collected over 8,5 months of fieldwork

## Particles

N. Rochant

= Morphosyntactic enclitics

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- (3) [ *sūrīāw*                      *tàŋ*                      *púnōrǝŋ*,                      [...] ] .  
          *surí=á-w*                      *tán*                      *pəŋ-ŋó=tǝŋ*  
          TOPN=DEM-PROX    ADVERS    1 PL.SBJ-sit=**on**  
          at this place Suri    though    that we sit **on**

‘This [island called] Suri, where we are sitting [lit. ‘on’]  
[now], [...]’

## Particles

N. Rochant

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)

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(3) [ *sūrīāw*                      *tàŋ*                      *púnōrǒŋ*,                      [...] ] .  
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(3) (

$p\acute{u}n\bar{o}$	<del>(<math>\omega</math></del>	$r\check{o}\eta$
$p\grave{a}\eta\text{-}n\acute{o}$	=	$t\check{o}\eta$
1 PL.SBJ-sit	=	on

) $\varphi$

## Particles

N. Rochant

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)

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(3) (

	$p\acute{u}\eta\bar{o}$	<del><math>\omega</math></del>	$r\grave{o}\eta$
?	$p\grave{a}\eta\text{-}\eta\acute{o}$	=	$t\grave{o}\eta$
	1 PL.SBJ-sit	=	on

) $\omega$

) $\varphi$

## Particles

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- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur between 2  $\omega$* )

(4) [ *éfúmóōβōηndòη* ↓*de.* ]  
í-f-m-a=á-pοη=**t**òη ↓*de*  
2SG.SBJ-PF-PROH-PRSREL=DIR-pour=**on** DISCINTS  
you must not pour on

‘You must not add anything.’

## Particles

N. Rochant

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur between 2  $\omega$  NOR within  $\omega$* )

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(5)  $\neq$   $\omega$ -internal nasal assimilation

[ *āŋá****ndīndīŋ*** ]

a'-ŋam+tíŋtiŋ

NMZ-speak+true

'truth.'



## Particles

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur either within  $\omega$  or between 2  $\omega$* )

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(6)

(

έφύμóōβōη

| $\omega$  ndòη

í-f-m-a=á-pοη

= tòη

you must not pour on

)φ

## Particles

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur either within  $\omega$  or between 2  $\omega$* )

(6)

(

é́fú́móōβṓŋ

í-f-m-a=a-á-pōŋ

you must not pour on

~~ω~~ ndōŋ

= tōŋ

)φ

## Particles

N. Rochant

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
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(6)

(

έφύμóōβōη )<sub>ω</sub> ndòη

í-f-m-a=á-pοη = tòη

you must not pour on

)<sub>φ</sub>

## Particles

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur either within  $\omega$  or between 2  $\omega$* )

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(6)

(

( *é*fú*m*ó*ō*β*ō*η )<sub>ω</sub> *nd*òη

í-f-m-a=á-pouη = *t*òη

you must not pour on

)<sub>φ</sub>

## Particles

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur either within  $\omega$  or between 2  $\omega$* )

### (6) Extralexical prosodic clitic

(  
    ( *é*fú*m*ó*ō*β*ō*η )<sub>ω</sub> *nd*òη  
    í-f-m-a=á-pouη = t*ō*η  
    you must not pour on  
)<sub>φ</sub>

## Particles

- Lenis initial (*never occurs at  $\omega$  initial*)
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation by insertion of homorganic nasal (*does not occur either within  $\omega$  or between 2  $\omega$* )

### (6) Intralexical prosodic clitic

( ( *éfúmóōβōŋ* ) $\omega$  *ndòŋ* ) $\omega$   
í-f-m-a=á-poŋ = t $\phi$ ŋ  
you must not pour on  
) $\phi$

# Particles

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= Morphosyntactic clitics + prosodic clitics

→ Congruence between morphosyntactic and prosodic  
clitichood

## Inflected verb forms

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- (7) [ *imbuxósúŋ* *ésē*  
*iŋ-p-Ø-k-a=suŋ* *á-se*  
*3PL.SBJ-EPTH-IMMED-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL=insert* *LOC-here*  
they insert it here  
[...]



## Inflected verb forms

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*Phenomena associated with a  $\omega$  boundary:*

- (8) [ *ĩmbĕkáχ...* *σέβòη.* ]  
*ĩη-p-k-á-<sup>1</sup>k* *σεκοη*  
*3PL.SBJ-EPH-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL-RELREF* rub  
then they it rub  
‘Then they... rub it.’

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## Inflected verb forms

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*Phenomena associated with a  $\omega$  boundary:*

- Possibility to make a pause or interrupt speech
- Hiatus resolved by insertion of glottal stop

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(9) [ *ēfēmá(?)àlò* ]  
i-f-m-á=á-lɔ  
2SG.SBJ-PF-PROH-PRSREL=DIR-eat

‘Do not eat [that].’

## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena associated with a  $\omega$  boundary:*

- Possibility to make a pause or interrupt speech
- Hiatus resolved by insertion of glottal stop
- Downstepping of H-tone

(9) [ *ēfōmá(?)àlò* ]  
i-f-m-á=á-lɔ  
2SG.SBJ-PF-PROH-PRSREL=DIR-eat

‘Do not eat [that].’

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## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena associated with a  $\omega$  boundary:*

- Possibility to make a pause or interrupt speech
- Hiatus resolved by insertion of glottal stop
- Downstepping of H-tone

(9)  $\bar{e}f\bar{a}m\acute{a}$   $|\omega$   $\grave{a}l\grave{o}$   
i-f-m-á = á-l̥o  
2SG.SBJ-PF-PROH-PRSREL = DIR-eat

‘Do not eat [that].’

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## Inflected verb forms

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*Phenomena associated with a  $\omega$  boundary:*

- Possibility to make a pause or interrupt speech
- Hiatus resolved by insertion of glottal stop
- Downstepping of H-tone

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(10) *p̄ōmf̄ōxó* | $\omega$  *rùl*  
*pəŋ-f-k-á* = *tul*  
1 PL.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL = cook

‘We cooked it.’

## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena affecting the whole inflected verb form altogether that normally take the prosodic word as their domain:*

- Inflection complex affected by stem vowel by anticipatory assimilation

(10) *p̄ōmf̄ōxó* |<sub>ω</sub> *rùl*  
*pəŋ-f-k-á* = *tul*  
1 PL.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL = cook

‘We cooked it.’

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## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena affecting the whole inflected verb form altogether that normally take the prosodic word as their domain:*

- Inflection complex affected by stem vowel by anticipatory assimilation

$$(10) \quad \left( \begin{array}{l} p\bar{o}mf\bar{u}x\acute{o} \\ p\eta\eta-f-k-\acute{a} \\ 1\text{PL.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL} \end{array} \right)_{\omega} \begin{array}{l} r\grave{u}l \\ = \text{tul} \\ = \text{cook} \end{array} \right)_{\omega}$$

‘We cooked it.’

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## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena affecting the whole inflected verb form altogether that normally take the prosodic word as their domain:*

- Inflection complex affected by stem vowel by anticipatory assimilation
- Stem initial consonant realized as lenis

(10)      ( ( *pūmfūxó* )<sub>ω</sub> *rùl* )<sub>ω</sub>  
                    *pəŋ-f-k-á*                      =    *tul*  
                    1 PL.SBJ-PF-3SG.OBJ-PRSREL =    *cook*

‘We cooked it.’

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## Inflected verb forms

*Phenomena that do not occur either word-internally or at the boundary between 2 prosodic words:*

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## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena that do not occur either word-internally or at the boundary between 2 prosodic words:*

- Anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]

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(11) [ [...] *āβāllā*                      *ōḥò.* ]  
          ↓á-pə**n**=la                      á'-ḥo  
          DIR-1 PL.OBJ=give    NMZ-sit

‘[...] to give us dwelling.’





## Inflected verb forms

N. Rochant

*Phenomena that do not occur either word-internally or at the boundary between 2 prosodic words:*

- Anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]
- Same kind of perseveratory nasal assimilation as particles
- Perseveratory nasal assimilation EVEN when the nasal and the consonant are separated by a vowel phoneme

(11) [ *pōŋgúwùnì* || *mfòŋ* ]  
*pəŋ-ŋk=↓∅-wun-i=fɔŋ*  
1 PL.SBJ-NEG=DECONSEQ-2 PL.OBJ-PST=see

‘We had not seen you.’

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# Inflected verb forms

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→ The morphosyntactic stem is a prosodic clitic

→ Non-isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic cliticood

## Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

N. Rochant

*In contrast to inflected verb forms:*

- Perseveratory assimilation of /l/ to [n] instead of anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]

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(12)	[ <sup>m</sup> bé éfómónǵuc	yēmānnǎ,
	<sup>m</sup> pé í-H\ʃ-m-a=kuc	j-á-mn=lá
	if 2SG.SBJ-PF-1SG.OBJ-PRSREL=ask	PL-DEM-DIST=in
	if you have asked me	those in
	[...]	

‘Since you ask me about this, [...]’

## Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

N. Rochant

*In contrast to inflected verb forms:*

- Perseveratory assimilation of /l/ to [n] instead of anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation

(12) [ *ja<sup>m</sup>báŋǎm, mán púmūŋē~~v~~àŋ* ]  
ja<sup>m</sup>paŋ=á-m mán paŋ-H\muŋ-**i=kán**  
Nimba 3SG.EMPH 1PL.SBJ-go-PST=**from:ABL**

‘The Nimba [mask], this is what we had brought.’

## Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

N. Rochant

*In contrast to inflected verb forms:*

- Perseveratory assimilation of /l/ to [n] instead of anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation

→ Their prosodic configuration has to be different from that of inflected verb forms.

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## Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

N. Rochant

*In contrast to inflected verb forms:*

- Perseveratory assimilation of /l/ to [n] instead of anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation

→ Their prosodic configuration has to be different from that of inflected verb forms.

Inflected forms *have* to be bracketed within a  $\omega$  because of vowel assimilations (domain =  $\omega$ ) → the verbal stem *has* to be an intralexical, not an extralexical clitic

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## Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

N. Rochant

*In contrast to inflected verb forms:*

- Perseveratory assimilation of /l/ to [n] instead of anticipatory assimilation of /n/ to [l]
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation

→ Their prosodic configuration has to be different from that of inflected verb forms.

Inflected forms *have* to be bracketed within a  $\omega$  because of vowel assimilations (domain =  $\omega$ ) → the verbal stem *has* to be an intralexical, not an extralexical clitic

→ By contrast, particles have to be **extralexical clitics**

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# Back to the prosodic configuration of particles

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(12) particles = extralexical prosodic clitics

(  
    ( ηɔ )<sub>ω</sub> r<sub>̣</sub>oη  
    ηɔ = t<sub>̣</sub>oη  
    seat = on  
)<sub>φ</sub>



## Adjectives

N. Rochant

- Downstepping of /H/ alternates with no downstepping

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(13) [ *ŋáβ*      *síāw*                      *cērkòl.* ]  
         *ŋáp*      =*sí=á-w*                      *cět=kól*  
         chicken =*female*=DEM-PROX be(come)\_bad=around

‘This hen is bad.’

## Adjectives

N. Rochant

- Downstepping of /H/ alternates with no downstepping
- Nasal assimilation by insertion of a homorganic nasal

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(13) [ *wun*                    *<sup>m</sup>fólē* [...] ]  
          w-un                    f<sub>ɔ̃</sub><sup>ɔ̃</sup>l<sub>ɛ</sub>  
          sg-person \ sg other  
  
          ‘Another person’

# Adjectives

N. Rochant

- Downstepping of /H/ alternates with no downstepping
- Nasal assimilation by insertion of a homorganic nasal

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(13) Adjectives are prosodic clitics

(  
(? ( *ηάβ* )<sub>ω</sub> *σί* )<sub>ω</sub>?  
*ηάβ* = *σί*  
chicken = female  
)<sub>φ</sub>

## Adjectives

N. Rochant

- Downstepping of /H/ alternates with no downstepping
- Nasal assimilation by insertion of a homorganic nasal
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation (**like particles**)

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(13) [ <sup>1</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>má <sup>2</sup>fɔ<sup>3</sup>lɛ <sup>3</sup>pɑ<sup>4</sup>wɔ<sup>4</sup>βɔnɑ<sup>5</sup>kɔl ]  
lúma =fɔ<sup>↓</sup>lɛ pa-H\wɔp-n-a=kɔl  
shirt =other 3SG.SBJ.DISJ-COVER-APP-MID=around

‘It is another shirt that she wears.’

# Adjectives

N. Rochant

- Downstepping of /H/ alternates with no downstepping
- Nasal assimilation by insertion of a homorganic nasal
- **No** cross-vocalic nasal assimilation (**like particles**)

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(13) Adjectives are **extralexical** prosodic clitics

(  
( ηάβ )<sub>ω</sub> sí  
ηάβ = sí  
chicken = female  
)<sub>φ</sub>

# Adjectives

N. Rochant

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= Morphosyntactic stems, but prosodic clitics

→ Non-isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic  
clitichood

# Adjectives

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= Morphosyntactic stems, but prosodic clitics

→ Non-isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic  
clitichood

Consistent with the fact that they are all **bound roots**

## Adversative particle *tàŋ*

N. Rochant

*All features of a prosodic word:*

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- (14) [ *māál* *íβ̄fǎl*, *páne* *tàŋ*, [...] ].  
maál akófil pán-i *tán*  
rice nursery 1PL-EMPH **ADVERS**

‘Rice [grown in the] breeding nursery, as for us...



## Adversative particle *tàŋ*

N. Rochant

*All features of a prosodic word:*

- Fortis initial

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(14) [ *māál* *ʒɓɔ̄fəl*, *páne* *tàŋ*, [...] ].  
maál akófil pán-i *tán*  
rice nursery 1PL-EMPH **ADVERS**

‘Rice [grown in the] breeding nursery, as for us...

## Adversative particle *tàŋ*

N. Rochant

*All features of a prosodic word:*

- Fortis initial
- Downstepping of H-tone explainable by post-lexical OCP constraint

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(14) [ *māál* *ʒb̄f̄əl*, *páné* *tàŋ*, [...] ].  
maál akófil pán-i *tán*  
rice nursery 1PL-EMPH **ADVERS**

‘Rice [grown in the] breeding nursery, as for us...

## Adversative particle *tàŋ*

N. Rochant

*All features of a prosodic word:*

- Fortis initial
- Downstepping of H-tone explainable by post-lexical OCP constraint
- No consonant or vowel assimilation

(14) [ *māál* *íʔfǎl*, *páné* *tàŋ*, [...] ].  
maál akófil pán-i *tán*  
rice nursery 1PL-EMPH **ADVERS**

‘Rice [grown in the] breeding nursery, as for us...

# Adversative particle ↓*tan*

N. Rochant

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= Morphosyntactic clitic, but free prosodic word

→ Non-isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic clitic-hood

# Take home message

N. Rochant

- There are prosodic structures in Pukur in which an element below the phonological phrase is **neither a prosodic word nor a prosodic affix**.

(a) **Extralexical  
prosodic clitic**



(b) **Intralexical  
prosodic clitic**



## Take home message

N. Rochant

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- There are prosodic structures in Pukur in which an element below the phonological phrase is **neither a prosodic word nor a prosodic affix**.
- These structures echo HASPELMATH's (2023) morphosyntactic definition of clitics (= **neither a root nor an affix**) and are often assumed by morphosyntactic clitics (cf. SELKIRK 2004; ANDERSON 2005; BOOIJ 1996; BÖGEL et al. 2009),  
→ hence my proposal to make it the defining characteristic of the **prosodic clitic**.

# Take home message

N. Rochant

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- There is no necessary isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic clitichood: evidence from Pukur, but also other languages (see, e.g., INKELAS 1990; ZWICKY 1985; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014; ZINGLER 2022)

# Take home message

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- There is no necessary isomorphism between morphosyntactic and prosodic clitichood: evidence from Pukur, but also other languages (see, e.g., INKELAS 1990; ZWICKY 1985; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014; ZINGLER 2022)  
  
→ Argument for postulating prosodic clitic structures as a new, independent concept



Why do we  
need a prosodic  
clitic?

# Significance

N. Rochant

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**At least:** prosodic clitic = adequate comparative concept  
as the prosodic equivalent of the clitic defined  
morphosyntactically

Why do we  
need a prosodic  
clitic?

# Significance

N. Rochant

**At most:**

Prosodic clitic = real **prosodic counterpart** of the morphosyntactic  
clitic

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# Significance

N. Rochant

## At most:

Prosodic clitic = real **prosodic counterpart** of the morphosyntactic clitic

→ In the context of Canonical Typology (CORBETT 2005): requires that a **canonical clitic** satisfies both the morphosyntactic and prosodic definitions of clitichood, similar to morphosyntactic vs. prosodic words (DIXON & AIKHENVALD 2002; SPENCER & LUÍS 2012; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014).

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# Significance

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## At most:

Prosodic clitic = real **prosodic counterpart** of the morphosyntactic clitic

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→ In the context of Canonical Typology (CORBETT 2005): requires that a **canonical clitic** satisfies both the morphosyntactic and prosodic definitions of clitichood, similar to morphosyntactic vs. prosodic words (DIXON & AIKHENVALD 2002; SPENCER & LUÍS 2012; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014).

→ Implies that definition of clitics taken as the 'base' of the canonical typology = **neither a word nor an affix** (contrasting with 'a combination of both' approaches, cf. SPENCER & LUÍS 2012; VAN GIJN & ZÚÑIGA 2014: ).

– Would solve problem evoked by SPENCER & LUÍS (2012): what is the canonical prosodization of clitics?

# Significance

N. Rochant

## At most:

Prosodic clitic = real **prosodic counterpart** of the morphosyntactic clitic

In the context of Prosodic Phonology, this requires a mapping between morphosyntactic and prosodic cliticness.

- Support from SELKIRK (2004): hypothesis that nested  $\omega$  structure for Eng. OBJ pronouns is caused by nested syntactic structure + high-ranking alignment constraint.

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# Wu(m)fárw ndɔŋand!



Yaya 'Trésor' Bangoura



Ibrahima 'Coza' Bangoura

... & the Pukur community

Kiitos

Thank you

Grant-marci



Prosodic clitic

Stem

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