Supplement to:
Prosodic subcategorization interacts with MATCH WORD
(LSA 2018 poster)
Matthew Tyler, Yale University

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2 Function words which cliticize rightwards

I assume these syntax→prosody mappings (following Selkirk 1996; Ito and Mester 2009a,b):

(1) a. DP ⇒ ω
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   D^0 & N^0 \\
   \text{the} & \text{apple} \\
   \end{array} \]
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   \sigma & \omega \\
   \text{the} & \text{apple} \\
   \end{array} \]

b. AuxP ⇒ ω
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   Aux^0 & vP \\
   \text{had} & \text{left} \\
   \end{array} \]
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   \sigma & \omega \\
   \text{had} & \text{left} \\
   \end{array} \]

c. PP ⇒ ω
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   P^0 & DP \\
   \text{to} & Andy \\
   \end{array} \]
   \[ \begin{array}{cc}
   \sigma & \omega \\
   \text{to} & Andy \\
   \end{array} \]

Evidence: #1: P-stranding and ‘Aux-stranding’

- Prepositions and auxiliaries without following material may not cliticize leftwards:

(2) a. Who did you talk \text{[tu/*tə]}? 
   b. What were you thinking \text{[nə/*ə]}?
(3)  a. I’m wondering who can help you. Mary [kæn/*kɔn], I think.
b. I’m sure someone would help you. John [wɔd/*ɔd], I think.

- Interestingly, this doesn’t work for all auxiliaries, some of which may have both left- and right-cliticizing (or underspecified) SubCat frames:

(4) I didn’t apologize, but I [fɔdɔv] (= should have)

Evidence #2: intrusive /r/

- Ito and Mester (2009b, following McCarthy 1993): in non-rhotic English, intrusive /r/ is epenthesized in the onset of a maximal ω:

![Diagram]

(5)

- No /r/ inserted between Prep/Det/Aux and following material:

(6)  a. I talked to (*[i]Annie.
b. I ate the (*[i]apple.
c. I’m gonna (*[i]answer.

→ Not what we expect if these function words cliticize leftwards!

- Ito and Mester’s solution: these function words cliticize rightward into ω:

![Diagram]

See Ito and Mester (2009a) for extensive discussion of these and other arguments for right-cliticization.

3 English function words cliticize into adjacent ω (not φ)

I proposed this mapping:
Ito and Mester (2009a) spend some time arguing for this. Some brief empirical evidence from intrusive /r/:

- In non-rhotic English, intrusive /r/ is epenthesized in the onset of a maximal ω, but not in the onset of a non-maximal ω (see above).

- Test results: intrusive /r/ is not found when a P⁰/Aux⁰ takes a multi-ω complement.

\[(8)\] a. t[ɔ] Andy’s house  
   b. *t[ɔ] [i]Andy’s house

\[(9)\] a. gonn[ɔ] eat cake  
   b. *gonn[o] [i]eat cake

- This generalization is compatible only with ‘ω-adjoining’ structure (7a).

4 **Function words which form independent ωs**

Determiner that, along with via and other fancy prepositions, form full ωs (compare with gonna, which doesn’t):

\[(10)\] PP \(\Rightarrow\) ϕ

Evidence for ω-hood of via: intrusive /r/

- Intrusive /r/ is epenthesized after via, meaning that the complement of via must be a maximal ω:
This leaves these possible structures:

(12) a. \[ \Phi \]
    \[ \text{via} \]
    \[ \omega_{\text{max}} \]
    \[ [\text{\textipa{i}]} \text{Andy's} \]

b. \[ \Phi \]
    \[ \text{via} \]
    \[ [\text{\textipa{i}]} \text{Andy's} \]
    \[ \omega \]

Here the data underdetermines the analysis: I go with (12b) because there is no reason to think that \textit{via} would not occupy a \omega (which seems like the less marked option), but I haven’t properly ruled out the alternative.

N.B. Ito and Mester (2009a) argue that disyllabic prepositions and auxiliaries (e.g. \textit{under}, \textit{gonna}) are ‘bare’ feet that adjoin at the \omega level, e.g. \((\omega (F \text{ gonna}) (\omega \text{ eat}))\). However, \textit{via} does not fall into this class, because \textit{gonna} does not trigger linking-/\textipa{r}/ in its complement (*\textit{gonna} [\textipa{i}]{\text{eat}}), while \textit{via} does.

Evidence for \omega-hood of determiner \textit{that}:

- Cannot undergo vowel reduction (compare with complementizer \textit{that}).
  - This follows from requirement that a \omega dominate at least one Foot, which must contain at least one stressable syllable.
  - Brown-Schmidt et al. (2005): the vowel in (phrase-level-)unstressed determiner \textit{that} is on average 88ms longer than the vowel in unstressed \textit{it}.

References


