

The Department of Linguistics  
is pleased to present

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speaking on

## Idiosyncrasy and contextual variability in the prosody of functional morphemes

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1:30 PM

Location: HUM 1 - Room 202

### Abstract:

Dependent morphemes (affixes, clitics) may idiosyncratically select for prosodic properties of their hosts (Inkelas 1990, Zec 2005, etc.). For example, the English comparative suffix *-er* does not attach to stems greater than two syllables in size (*smart-er* vs. *\*intelligent-er*). Violation of a prosodic subcategorization frame may lead to simple ungrammaticality (e.g. *\*pretentious-er*). In other cases, subcategorization requirements are met by restructuring the prosody of a morpheme's host. In this talk we consider several case studies in which functional morphemes idiosyncratically impose a particular prosodic structure on their hosts, sometimes with dramatic results.

In Macedonian, preverbal object clitics are typically unstressable (<go V|de> '(s)he saw him', *\*<GO vide>*). But in the presence of *wh*-words or sentential negation, such clitics are parsed into the same prosodic word as the verb and may bear stress (<koj GO vide> 'Who saw him?'). In Kaqchikel, a variety of diagnostics indicate that absolutive agreement markers have a different prosodic parse depending on the presence or absence of outer aspect marking (e.g. [x-*in-b'e*] 'I went' vs. [*in=jwi*] 'I am intelligent'). The puzzle here is understanding why the prosody of "inner" morphemes (e.g. object clitics) depends on the occurrence of a specific "outer" morpheme (e.g. *wh*-words).

We propose that these patterns arise from prosodic subcategorization: the "outer" morphemes in question have subcategorization requirements which force re-parsing of their hosts, including any dependent morphemes present in the same structure. We account for this behavior in a novel theory of subcategorization which makes extensive use of prosodic recursion, and which emphasizes the prosodic *result* of combining a dependent morpheme with its host. We then consider possible extensions of this framework to Chamorro and English, and conclude with the theoretical and methodological implications of our proposal.