

Class 3: Case study of Italian

As with Dutch last time, we'll start with assertions about how p-words are formed, then see the evidence.

Data and analysis are a composite of Nespor & Vogel (1986¹—"N&V", as before), van Oostendorp 1999,² and Peperkamp 1997,³ and others mentioned below.

I. P-wd formation

(1) Compounds

generally form two p-wds (but see below)

/buono _N +benzina _N / 'gas coupon'	ALIGN(Stem,L,PWd,L)	NORECURSION
☞ a. (buono)-(benzina)		
b. (buono-benzina)	*!	
c. (buono-(benzina))		*!
d. ((buono)- benzina)	*!	*

(2) Suffixes

join the stem's p-word

/famos _A +issimo/ 'very famous'	ONSET	MINI- MALITY	ALIGN (PWd,L,Stem,L)	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION	ALIGN (Stem,R,PWd,R)
a. (fa.mos).-(is.si.mo)	*(!)		*(!)			
b. (fa.mo).(s-is.si.mo)			*!			
☞ c. (fa.mo.sis.si.mo)						*
d. ((fa.mos)-is.si.mo)					*!	

even if they don't need to to avoid onsetlessness or subminimality

/solita _A +mente/ 'usually'	ONSET	ALIGN (PWd,L,Stem,L)	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION	ALIGN (Stem,R,PWd,R)
a. (so.li.ta).-(men.te)		*!			
☞ b. (so.li.ta.men.te)					*
c. ((so.li.ta.)-men.te)				*!	

(3) Prefixes (along the lines of van Oostendorp)

form their own p-word if they can (though some think words like this are really compounds)

/extra+coniugale _A / 'extra-marital'	ONSET	MINI- MALITY	ALIGN (PWd,L,Stem,L)	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION
☞ a. (extra)-(coniugale)					
b. (extra-coniugale)				*!	
c. (extra-(coniugale))					*!

¹ Marina Nespor & Irene Vogel (1986). *Prosodic Phonology*. Dordrecht: Foris.

² Marc van Oostendorp (1999). Italian s-voicing and the structure of the phonological word. In S.J. Hannahs & Mike Davenport (eds.) *Issues in Phonological Structure*. Bejamins. Pp. 197-214.

³ Sharon Peperkamp (1997). *Prosodic Words*. Den Haag: Holland Academic Graphics.

adjoin if they're too small

/ri+salare _v / 're-salt'	ONSET	MINI-MALITY	ALIGN (PWd,L,Stem,L)	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION
a. (ri).-(sa.la.re)		*!			
b. (ri.sa.la.re)				*!	
c. (ri).-(sa.la.re)					*

unless onsetlessness would result--then they join the stem's p-word

/dis+uguale _A / 'unequal'	ONSET	MINI-MALITY	ALIGN (PWd,L,Stem,L)	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION
a. (dis).-(u.gua.le)	*(!)	*(!)			
b. (di).(s-u.gual.e)		*(!)	*(!)		
c. (di.su.gua.le)				*	
d. (di).(s-u.gua.le)			*!	*	*
e. (dis).-(u.gua.le)	*!				

(but see different proposal from Peperkamp, below)

I haven't seen data bearing on whether disyllabic, consonant-final prefixes behave this way.

(4) Postlexical resyllabification (Peperkamp)

Recall Booij's proposal that in Dutch, there is postlexical resyllabification, just across the word-clitic boundary: *hond aan* > *hon.[t] aan* 'dog on'.

In Italian, the domain of postlexical resyllabification is at least the p-phrase, maybe bigger (there aren't too many instances, though, because most Italian content words are vowel-final).

(bar) (a.per.to) > (ba)(r a.per.to) 'open bar'

A similar pattern is found in other Romance languages, Korean, Turkish. Peperkamp speculates that postlexical resyllabification correlates, typologically, with restricted syllable structure.

In Spanish, we can tell the difference between lexical and postlexical syllabification (Peperkamp, citing Harris)—postlexical syllabification eliminates onsetlessness, but doesn't maximize onsets:

ha.blo 'I speak'
 clu.b o.rren.do 'terrible club'
 club. lin.do 'smart club' (*clu.b lin.do)

Similar data from N&V p. 69 (<h>s are silent; [ɲ] = "alveopalatal nasal"):

re.nue.vo	'(I) renew'	[re.nwe.βo]	nasal assimilates in place to following <u>heterosyllabic glide</u>
un. hue.vo	'an egg'	[uɲ.we.βo]	
qui.nien.tos	'500'	[ki.ɲjen.tos]	
un. hie.lo	'an ice'	[uɲ.je.lo]	

II. Evidence for the p-wd**(5) Vowel raising (N&V, Peperkamp)**

Assume that the p-word is the domain of primary-stress assignment.

[ɛ], [ɔ] are allowed only in primary-stressed syllables—otherwise, they neutralize with /o/, /e/.

(stem)	(t[ɔ̃]sta)	‘toast’
	(s[ɔ̃]lito)	‘usual’
(stem+suffix)	(t[ɔ̃]sta-tóre)	‘toaster’
	(s[ɔ̃]lita-ménte)	‘usually’
(stem) (stem)	(s[ɔ̃]lita) (ménte)	‘usual mind’
	(t[ɔ̃]sta)-(páne)	‘bread toaster’ (toast bread)
(stem)+(stem)	(t[ɛ̃]rra)-(c[ɔ̃]tta)	‘terra cotta’
	(p[ɔ̃]rta)-(ombr[ɛ̃]lli)	‘umbrella-stand’
	(par[ɔ̃]la) (mod[ɛ̃]llo)	‘model word’
(prefix)+(stem)	([ɛ̃]kstra)-(coniugále)	‘extramarital’

Tricky case: ([ɛ̃]x)-(presidénte) ‘ex-president’

cf. *il suo ex* ‘his/her ex’—Peperkamp takes this as evidence that *ex-presidente* is a compound.

(6) Vowel lengthening (N&V, Peperkamp)

Vowels in primary-stressed, open, nonfinal syllables lengthen. (Again, assume that the p-wd is the domain of primary-stress assignment.)

(stem+suffix)	(abbai[á:]va)	‘(it) was barking’	
(prefix)+(stem)	(p[á:]ra)-(milit[á:]re)	‘paramilitary’	
	(s[ú:]per)-(vel[ó:]ce)	‘superfast’	
(fossilized.prefix+stem)	(p[à]ramétrico)	‘parametric’	See discussion of Baroni, below!
(stem)+(stem)	(c[á:]po)-(p[ó:]polo)	‘chief’	

(7) Raddoppiamento sintattico (Central and Southern)

Lengthen a consonant after a p-word-final stressed vowel.

This is weaker, but at least it shows us that *tre Greci* and *pre-greci* don’t have the same prosody.

(stem) (stem)	(metá) ([l:]íbro)	‘half a book’
	(caffé)-([l:]átte)	‘white coffee’
	(tré) ([g:]réci)	‘three Greeks’
((word) clitic)	((dá) [m:]i)	‘give me’
(prefix (words))	(pre ([g:]réci))	‘pre-Greek-pl’

(8) Northern Italian intervocalic s-voicing (N&V, Peperkamp, Baroni 2001)

[s] and [z] both correspond to letter <s>. Letter <z> represents an affricate.

	(cá[z]a)	‘house’
(stem)	(a[z]ílo)	‘asylum’
	([s]ánto)	‘saint’
	(bu[s])	‘bus’
	(ca[z]-ína)	‘house- <i>dim</i> ’
(stem+suffix)	(cau[z]-áva)	‘caused’
	(famo[z]-íssimo)	‘very famous’
	(va[z]-áio)	‘potter’
(prefix+(stem))	(a-([s]ociále))	‘asocial’
	(ri-([s]aláre))	‘re-salt’
	(di[z]-uguale)	‘unequal’
(prefix+stem)	(di[z]-armo)	‘disarmament’
	(di[z]-innescare)	‘defuse’
	(ci[z]-alpino)	‘located on this side of the Alps’
	(bi[z]-avo)	‘great-grandfather’
(?)+(stem)	(fílo)([s]oviético)	‘pro-soviet’
(stem)+(stem)	(pórta)-([s]igaréte)	‘cigarette holder’
	(tocca)-([s]ana)	‘cure-all’
(stem) (stem)	(bella) ([s]era)	‘beautiful evening’
(clitic (stem))	(la ([s]iréna))	‘the siren’
	(lo ([s]apévo))	‘I knew it’
((stem) clitic)	((telefonáti) [s]i)	‘having phoned each other’
((stem) clitic clitic)	((andando) ci [s]i insieme)	‘(our) going there together’

Some nice examples of prosodic constituents’ mismatching morphological constituents:

ri-[s]uddivi[z]-ione	‘resubdivision’	ri-[s]ocial-izzare	‘to resocialize’
(ri(suddivisione))		(ri(socializzare))	
[[ri[suddivis] _V ione] _N		[ri[[socia] _A izzare] _V] _V	

(9) Intervocalic s-voicing complications, part 1

What about s-final free stems? There aren’t many, and the data are unclear.

Kenstowicz 1996⁴ reports that they don’t voice (*bu[s]-íno* ‘bus-*dim*’), supporting a base-to-derived correspondence analysis.

Peperkamp’s consultants disagree, producing occasional [s] but much more often [z] or [s:]:

(lapi[z~s:]-áccio)	‘pencil- <i>aug</i> ’
(lapi[z~s:]-íno)	‘pencil- <i>dim</i> ’

⁴ Michael Kenstowicz (1996). Base-identity and uniform exponence: alternatives to cyclicity. In Jacques Durand & Bernard Laks (eds.) *Current Trends in Phonology: Models and Methods. Volume One*. Salford: ESRI, 363-393.

Peperkamp notes that other C-final free stems can (variably) geminate before suffixes too:

autosto[p:]*-ísta* ‘hitchhiker’
vermou[t:]*-íno* ‘vermout-*dim*’

Assuming that the geminate fricative is exempt from voicing (*[z:]), this could explain why *s*-voicing is only optional in these cases.

(10) Intervocalic s-voicing complications, part 2

Peperkamp proposes that monosyllabic prefixes are all adjoined, not incorporated (dis-(armo)).

S-voicing is driven by a constraint *VsV at the lexical level, that’s insensitive to prosodic constituency, but is outranked by a *_ω(z constraint:

Lexical level (p. 81):

	* _ω (z	*VsV
a. (di[s](onesto))		*!
☞ b. (di[z](onesto))		
☞ c. (a([s]ociale))		*
d. (a([z]ociale))	*!	

The prefix-final C is then postlexically resyllabified, which forces it to join the inner p-word: (di(.sar.mo)).

I’m not sure that Peperkamp has a specific argument against the Oostendorpian view (ONSET forces the prefix to join the stem’s p-wd). She seems to be saying that since we need *_ω(z and postlexical resyllabification anyway, there’s no need to rank ONSET high at the lexical level.

(11) S-assimilation (Peperkamp 1997)

(stem)	([sk]arpa)	‘shoe’
	([zg]onfio)	‘deflated’
(prefix+(stem))	(bi[z]-(lungo))	‘oblong’
(stem)+(stem)	(bi[s]) (lungo)	‘long encore’
	(e[ks]) (marito)	‘ex-husband’

supports compound analysis

Peperkamp proposes that *s*-assimilation applies at the lexical level without regard for prosodic domain, but is blocked by *z)_ω

	*z) _ω	*s[+voice]
a. (bi[s]-(lungo))		*!
☞ b. (bi[z]-(lungo))		
☞ c. (bi[s]) (lungo)		*
d. (bi[z]) (lungo)	*!	

(12) Puzzle: total nasal assimilation

A nasal assimilates to a following sonorant in certain prefixed words (N&V pp. 132-133):

in+regolare	>	irregolare	‘irregular’
in+raggiungibile	>	irraggiungibile	‘unreachable’
con+rispondere	>	corrispondere	‘correspond’
in+matturo	>	immatturo	‘immature’
in+morale	>	immorale	‘immoral’
con+laterale	>	collaterale	‘collateral’
con+legare	>	collegare	‘put together’
in+legale	>	illegale	‘illegal’

Exception to *n{l,r,m} as phonotactic: some proper names, like *Enrico*

cf.	<u>(stem)+(stem)</u>	(man)-(rovescio)	‘slap’
		(in (rime))	‘in rhyme’
	(clitic (stem))	(con (molti))	‘with many’
		(con (loro))	‘with them’

- For N&V, the p-wd-formation rule simply states that consonant-final prefixes join their stem’s p-wd. This takes care of *s*-voicing in *dis-onesto*, too.
- Peperkamp analyses *n*-assimilation as a lexical phenomenon that makes no reference to prosodic domain, and that applies only with these two prefixes. Cf.:
 - non-lavabile ‘non-washable’
 - non-raddoppiabile ‘non-doublable’
 - non-memorizzabile ‘non-memorizable’
 - pan-romanzo ‘pan-Romance’
 - circon-locuzione ‘circumlocution’
- For van Oostendorp, it’s a bit problematic. He proposes that the need to assimilate drives the single-p-wd prosodification. That means that *n{l,r,m} must be insensitive to prosodic structure, but that assimilating requires single-word prosody. Let’s say that assimilation within a p-wd violates NOSPREAD, but assimilation across a p-wd boundary also violates NOSPREADACROSSBOUNDARY:

/in+legale _A / ‘illegal’	NOSPREAD ACROSSBOUND	*n{l,r,m}	ALIGN (Stem,L,PWd,L)	NO RECURSION	NOSPREAD
a. (in).-(le.ga.le)		*!			
b. (il).-(le.ga.le) \ / [+lat]	*!				*
c. (in.-(le.ga.le))		*!		*	
d. (il.-(le.ga.le)) \ / [+lat]	*!			*	*
e. (in.-le.ga.le)		*!	*		
f. (il.-le.ga.le) \ / [+lat]			*		*

We still need to prevent assimilation across clitic+stem boundaries—maybe demote *n{r,l,m} at postlexical level, as Peperkamp does. I don't know what van Oostendorp's take on *non-*, etc. would be.

(13) Gapping

N&V interpret post-gappable as independent p-wds:

i (pro)-__ e gli (anti)-(fascisti) 'pro-(fascists) and antifascists'

- Any way to reconcile this with the (prefix+(stem)) view above? Any other phenomena we've seen above that bear on whether *pro* and *anti* are independent p-wds?

Some impossible gappings, from N&V:

*in-__ e a-morale 'im(moral) and amoral'

*dis-__ e super-integrato 'un(integrated) and superintegrated'

For N&V, this is because C-final prefixes always join their stems' p-wds: (*im-morale*), (*dis-integrato*).

Cf. van Oostendorp's prediction that C-final prefixes are integrated only when phonologically necessary, say to avoid onsetlessness or accomplish *n*-assimilation.

- What does each analysis predict about the following (grammatical or no?):

? in- o ri-disciplinato 'un(disciplined) or re-disciplined'

? dis- e ri-boscare 'de(forest) and re-forest'

? a- e anti-sociale 'a(social) or antisocial'

Some data from Montermini 2003:⁵

dolore pre- e post-operativo 'pre-(operative) and post-operative pain'

*dis- e rifare 'un(make) and remake'

multi- e unilaterale 'multi(lateral) and unilateral'

post- e preoperatori 'post(operator) and preoperatory'

micro- e macro-criminalità 'micro(criminality) and macrocriminality'

I also found, well attested on the web:

super- e iper-mercati 'super(markets) and hypermarkets'

iper- e super-mercati 'hyper(markets) and supermarkets'

- Your thoughts?

⁵ Fabio Montermini (2003). Rencontres vocaliques entre bases et affixes en italien. *Cahiers de grammaire* 28 : 113-134.

III. Elaborations and points of interest

(14) Intervocalic *s*-voicing complications, part 3

N&V pp. 124-134—invisible prefixes:

- (re[z]istenza) ‘resistance’
 (pre[z]entire) ‘to have a presentiment’
 cf. (pre)([s]entire) ‘to hear in advance’

Why do some prefixed words behave as though they’re not? Are they represented the same way as monomorphemic words? Baroni investigated...

(15) An experiment on *s*-voicing: Baroni 2001⁶

12 (usable) speakers of Standard Northern Italian read 102 target sentences 5 times—plus 10 controls where only one option should be possible, e.g. monomorphemic words—and then rated the semantic transparency of all the items.

3 (usable) speakers judged whether the same words, plus 40 additional controls, were acceptable with [s] only, with [z] only, or with either.

E.g. *Il giallo è un colore che risalta ovunque* ‘Yellow is a colour that stands out everywhere’

(16) Results: productivity

The phenomenon is productive (good news! otherwise it’s unclear that there’s any point in discussing it), despite the potential for interference from other dialects.

- In another study with 58 participants (Baroni 1996⁷), subjects read nonsense words in the expected way: [s]amo, pa[z]a.
- Loans are adapted in the expected way: [s]arland < German [z]aarland, me[z]a < Spanish or English *me[s]a*.
- 10 Italian speakers were asked to form *ri-X-izzare* (‘re-X-ize’) for various proper names *X* and behaved as expected: ri-[s]andr-izzare ‘re-Sandro-ize’, but di[z]-Ald-izzare ‘de-Aldo-ize’.

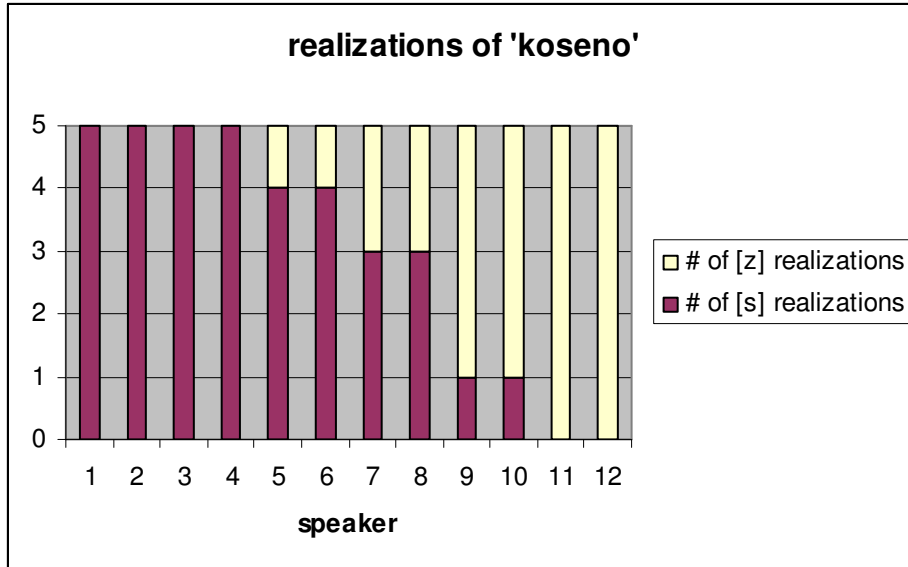
(17) Results: variation

Variation is both between and within items

- To a large extent, subjects agree: the three judges’ ratings were highly correlated, as is the composite judges’ score with the number of [s] realizations (for the 10 highly-correlated readers).
- But for some items, there’s rampant variation: *koseno* ‘cosine’:

⁶ Marco Baroni (2001). The representation of prefixed forms in the Italian lexicon: Evidence from the distribution of intervocalic [s] and [z] in northern Italian. In Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1999*, Dordrecht: Springer. 121-152.

⁷ Marco Baroni (1996). The allophonic distinctions between [s] and [z] in Northern Italian, and what speakers know about it. Manuscript, UCLA.



- For other items, there's variation but with a strong trend (a & c):

(17)			N of [s] realizations
a.	resuscitare	'to resurrect'	55/60
	risolvere	'to solve'	53/60
	riservato	'reserved'	52/60
b.	coseno	'cosine'	36/60
	residuato	'(war) surplus'	31/60
	bisettrice	'bisecting (line)'	28/60
c.	risalto	'prominence'	16/60
	risarcire	'to refund'	12/60
	desinenza	'(morphological) ending'	2/60

(p. 22 of ms. version)

(18) Results: representation of opaque forms

Total semantic transparency is not required for a prefixed parse

- *ri-[s]iede* 'resides', *ri-[s]olutive* 'resolutive', and *ri-[s]aputo* 'well known' were consistently produced with [s], despite the lack of iterative meaning (the productive meaning of *ri-*).

(19) Results: factors that influence a word's behavior

Baroni looked at...

- length of word, stem, prefix, and root (i.e., stem minus suffixes), in segments and in syllables
- type and token frequencies of word, prefix, and root
- ratio of prefix frequency to pseudo-prefix frequency (i.e., how many words begin with the prefix string, but don't actually contain that prefix, plus other criteria that would make it possible to parse out the prefix)
- root frequency for productively related forms only
- ratio of root frequency to pseudo-root frequency
- semantic transparency of prefix and stem, as rated by subjects

- stem autonomy (does it occur unprefixd?)—relevant for theories of paradigm uniformity
- frequency of the stem when autonomous
- ratio of autonomous stem frequency to word frequency (cf. Hay 2003⁸)
- whether the root occurs word-initial
- frequency of root when word-initial
- stress position

phew!

The strong predictors turn out to be **stem transparency** and **prefix length** (in syllables).

Baroni points out that the predictive factors account for about 42% of the variation in # of [s] realizations. This is a lot, but means there's still more to the story.

Prefix length is an interesting one. Baroni points out that (from the learner's point of view) a longer string is less likely to have occurred by accident, and thus more likely to be a true prefix.

Nice example: *parasanghe* 'parasangs (ancient Persian measurement unit)' was produced with [s] 37 out of 50 times, even though there's no semantic reason to think it's prefixed.

At the same time, prefix length in syllables could be phonologically significant. If the minimal word in Italian is disyllabic (unclear if it really is—there are few, but then how many do we expect?), then only disyllabic prefixes are able to stand on their own as p-wds.

(20) Interpretation

Baroni's proposal is that speakers maintain two production representations for potentially complex words: a unitary representation (*coseno*) and a decomposed representation (*co+seno*).

The activation threshold of each depends on "the degree of confidence that the speaker has in the fact that the form is complex, plus some degree of (random?) transient fluctuation." (p. 25 of ms.) These fluctuations will be less significant—resulting in uniform productions—to the extent that the activation threshold is extreme (high or low).

(21) Prosodic structure?

Baroni is careful to say that he's looking only at prefixed words here, which is where we see two variants. What about the places where variation is not allowed?

- For semantics and distributional facts alone to account for all the *s*-voicing facts, what would have to be true of *s*-final prefixes? suffixes? compounds? clitics?

⁸ Jennifer Hay (2003). *Causes and Consequences of Word Structure*. New York & London: Routledge.

Switching gears...**(22) Clitics (N&V, Peperkamp, Nespors 1999⁹)**

((teléfono)-me-lo)	‘call me about it’	pre-antepenultimate stress
((senténdo)-se-lo)	‘feeling it’	(illegal in simple p-wd)
((péttina)-ti -ci)	‘comb yourself with it’	
<hr/>		
((vénder)-lo)	‘to sell it’	antepenultimate stress despite
((nascónder)-lo)	‘to hide it’	heavy penult (illegal in simple
((cómpra)-[λ:i])	‘buy for him!’	p-wd)
((véndi)-[λ:i])	‘sell for him!’	

In order for the complex structure to account for the anomalous stress, we must consider the domain of stress assignment to be the innermost p-word—see Monachesi 1996.¹⁰

Peperkamp 1997, by contrast, proposes ((word)_ω clitic)_φ to distinguish the stress behavior from Neapolitan and Lucanian.

Neapolitan

((word)_ω clitic)_ω because the clitic(s) and content word can both end up with main stress:
((p[ó]rta)_ω-té-nne)_ω ‘bring you of-them’

Lucanian

(word clitic)_ω because there’s just one main stress, aligned to the right edge of the clitics [except with kinship terms]:
(mannata-mí-lle)_ω ‘send me it’

Italian

((word)_ω clitic)_φ because main stress remains on the content word:
((teléfono)_ω-me-lo)_φ

By the way, Monachesi 1996 proposes that a few inflectional suffixes, such as *-no*, have the same prosodic status as enclitics (they allow preantepenultimate stress, as in *teléfon-a-no* ‘they call’).

(23) Three kinds of compounds (Nespor 1999 plus some N&V and Peperkamp)*(Bound+bound) compounds*

(baró-metro)	‘barometer’
(onní-voro)	‘omnivorous’
(fil-ántropo)	‘philanthropist’
(teó-[z]ofo)	‘theosophist’ note <i>s</i> -voicing (for relevant dialects only)
(cromo-[z]óma)	‘chromosome’
(morf[ó]-logo)	‘morphologist’
cf. (antropo-m[ó]rfo) ‘anthropomorphic’	

⁹ Marina Nespors (1999). Stress domains. In Harry van der Hulst (ed.) *Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

¹⁰ Paolo Monachesi (1996). On the representation of Italian clitics. In U. Kleinhez (ed.) *Interfaces in Phonology*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. Pp. 83-101.

(Bound)+(free) compounds (some would call these prefixed words)

(fílo)-(soviético)	‘pro-Soviet’	
(áuto)-(suggestióne)	‘autosuggestion’	
([é]uro)-(parlamentáre)	‘Europarlamentarian’	
(ps[é]udo)-(concétto)	‘pseudoconcept’	
(pr[ó]to)-(notariáto)	‘protonotaryship’	(I’m assuming the [ó] should also be long, but this datum is from a section of Nespor 1999 that’s not concerned with length)
(c[á:]vol)-(fióre)	‘cauliflower’	

unless familiar—see below:

([è]uro)-([s]ocialísta) ‘Eurosociologist’

Free+free compounds

(vagóne)-(ristoránte)	‘dining-car’	
(p[ó]rta)-(gióie)	‘jewel-case’	
(spácca)-([s]ássi)	‘stone-breaker’	
(blú)-([n:]ótte)	‘dark blue’	note raddoppiamento (for relevant dialects only)
(c[á:]po)-(pópolo)	‘leader of people’	

As far as I can tell, Nespor is proposing that bound+free and free+free compounds are phonologically indistinguishable. (By the way, this three-way distinction is not just for Italian. Nespor argues that other languages, including Dutch, make a similar distinction.)

- Ideas as to how we could derive the two different prosodic structures?

(24) “Familiar” (i.e., frequent) compounds (Peperkamp)

Familiar compounds have contradictory behavior for V-raising and s-voicing, and Peperkamp proposes a (stem+(stem)) prosodic structure:

(c[ò]pri-(létto))	‘bedspread’	cf. c[ó]pri ‘cover’
(r[è]ggi-([s]éno))	‘bra’	cf. r[é]ggi ‘hold’

Drawing on Truckenbrodt 1995’s¹¹ phrasal WRAP constraints, she proposes (pp. 127-128):

WRAP(X_0 ,_{fam}): If X_0 is familiar, then Wrap(X_0 ,PWd): for every $X_0 p$ there is a p-word q such that all terminal elements dominated by p are also dominated by q (using, unlike Truckenbrodt, the vanilla definition of “dominate”).

For familiar $X_0 = copri\textit{letto}$, *(*copri*)(*letto*) is not wrapped (why?), but (*copri*(*letto*)) is.

- Thoughts on how this might relate to Baroni’s work on prefixed words?

¹¹ Hubert Truckenbrodt (1995). *Phonological Phrases: their relation to syntax, focus, and prominence*. MIT dissertation.