

Hayes 1989—How do some counteranalyses stack up?

Let's start with the metrical stuff, since we'll get back to the segmental with Peperkamp

(1) Evidence cited from Kiparsky that CG is different from p-word

sing it is metrified differently from *singing, signal, single*

Kiparsky 1975 p. 592: "in iambic verse, the first syllable of a trochaic foot must be a word" (except after an "intonation break", as in the first foot of the example below).

In most of Kiparsky's examples, the clitic arguably groups with the following word, so it's not like the *sing it* case:

This is OK:

(x .) (. x) (. x) (x .) (. x)

Better becomes the gray **checks of** the east (Son. 132, on Kiparsky's p. 592)

w s w s w s w s w s

But this wouldn't be:

(x .) (. x) (. x) (x .) (. x)

*Better becomes the frail **singers** of yore

w s w s w s w s w s

I think the pair we want is something like this:

(x .) (. x) (. .) (x .) (. x)

Better to wait or to **sing it** to John

w s w s w s w s w s

vs.

(x .) (. x) (. .) (x .) (. x)

*Better to wait or be **singing** to John

w s w s w s w s w s

(I know, I'm not much of a poet)

If that holds up, does it mean CG is distinct from p-word? What if *sing it* has the structure $((sing)_{PWd}it)_{PWd}$?

(2) Hiawatha: first try

In *Hiawatha*, Hayes argues that every prosodic constituent must be well-formed in isolation, in that any peak is either aligned to a *s* position or compensated by an adjacent peak.

What if the units of evaluation of two sizes only: syntactic content words (including compounds and their subparts), and whole line?

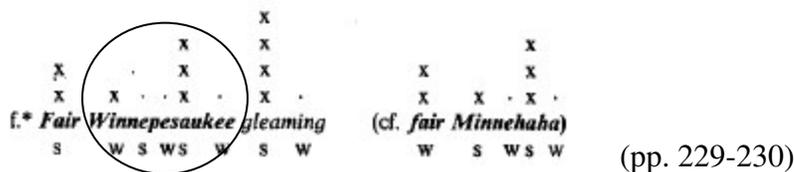
The attested lines in (44) are all OK at both levels—all WEAK peaks are compensated:

- ... theory
- a. *From the land of the White Rabbit* (2.7; 72 examples)
 . . . X . . . X X .
 S W S W S W S W
- b. *Like the tree-tops of the forest* (1.37; 67 examples)
 . . . X X . . . X .
 S W S W S W S W
- c. *An attendant and pipe-bearer* (16.130; 28 examples)
 . . . X . . . X X .
 S W S W S W S W
- d. *Music as of birds afar off* (12.164; 7 examples)
 X . . . X . X X
 S W S W S W S W
- e. *And the crags fell and beneath them* (17.331; 26 examples)
 . . . X X . . . X .
 S W S W S W S W
- f. *From the ground fair Minnehaha* (10.147; 41 examples)
 . . . X X X X .
 S W S W S W S W

(pp. 227-228)

The unattested lines in (47) are mostly ruled out at the syntactic-word level:

- ... theory
- a.* *At the White Rabbit he aimed it* (cf. *the White Rabbit*)
 . . . X X X . . . X .
 S W S W S W S W
- b.* *The tree-tops of ancient forests* (cf. *the tree-tops*)
 . . . X X . . . X .
 S W S W S W S W
- c.* *Pipe-bearers and an attendant* (cf. *pipe-bearer*)
 X X X .
 S W S W S W S W
- d.* *Sounds from afar off of music* (cf. *afar off*)
 X . . . X X . X .
 S W S W S W S W
- e.* *The crags fell and far beneath them* (cf. *the crags fell*)
 . . . X X . . . X .
 S W S W S W S W



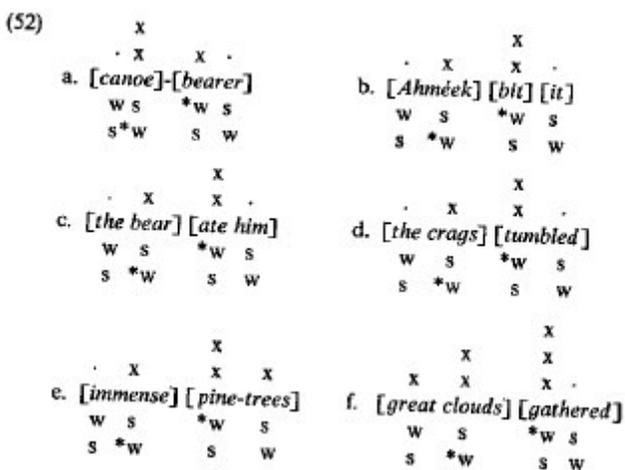
The exception is (e) *crags* is fine on its own; it becomes a peak only when combined with *The*.

(3) Hiawatha: second try

What if we again stick with Hayes’s basic story, but make the units of evaluation syntactic words, syntactic words combined with all adjacent unstressed words (this entails overlap of units), and the whole line.

Now (47e) is ruled out (*the crags*).

Also, much of (52) is ruled out:



(p. 233)

The one not ruled out is (52f).

But we also, incorrectly, rule out...

(44a): *the White* (but this one is tricky for Hayes too—see below)

(44e): *fell and*

(4) Hiawatha: third try

Units of evaluation are syntactic words, XPs, and the whole line.

(47e) is still ruled out (*the crags*)

(44a): OK now, because *the White* is not an XP; *the White Rabbit* is, but it’s OK

(44e): OK now, because *fell and* is not an XP; *the crags fell* is, but it’s OK

(52f): Now out—depending on what surrounding contexts might be—because *great clouds* is an XP, and its required alignment is incompatible with *gathered’s*

So why not go with (4)? It’s not like Hayes didn’t think of this—this leads us to...

(5) Hayes’s 3.4: three different degrees of clitic attachment (or, propensity to attach)

Syntactic and prosodic bracketing conflict in items like *the great lakes*, *in great flocks*, and *that old feuds*. Which wins?

My interpretation of Hayes’s evidence is that it depends on the syntax.

- For DPs, the prosodic bracketing is more likely to win: (*the great*) *lakes*—*great* usually must be STRONG
- For PPs, it's a toss-up: (*in great*) (*flocks*), (*in (great flocks)*)—either *great* or *flocks* can be STRONG
- For CPs, the syntactic bracketing is more likely to win: (*that (old feuds)*)—*feuds* must be strong

Hayes's explanation is that clitic adjunction is less likely the more syntactic boundaries separate the clitic from its potential host.

Hayes assumes something like (S for CP, really)):

[_{NP} the [_{N'} [_{AP} tall]_{AP} [_{N'} [_N trees]_N]_{N'}]_{NP}
 [_{PP} [_{PP'} in [_{NP} [_{N'} [_{AP} tall]_{AP} [_{N'} [_N trees]_N]_{N'}]_{NP}]_{PP'}]_{PP}
 [_{CP} [_{CP'} that [_{IP}[_{NP}[_{N'} [_{AP} tall]_{AP} [_{N'} [_N trees]_N]_{N'}]_{NP} ...]_{IP}]_{CP'}]_{CP}

- In the DP, the only multi-word XP is the whole thing: *the great lakes*. That gives the wrong result by (4)—it should be fine for *great* to be WEAK, because it's compensated. We predict that either *great* or *lakes* can be STRONG.
- In the PP, *great flocks* forms an XP, so *flocks* should have to be STRONG by (4).
- In the CP, *old feuds* forms an XP, so *feuds* should have to be STRONG by (4).

Note a weird prediction on p. 242: *would* should behave differently in *would_obey it* than in *would_obey it on all cause* (assuming *on all cause* is an adjunct), because fewer boundaries intervene (draw tree).

(6) *Hiawatha*: fourth try

How about (2) plus an additional requirement: let a *valley* be a beat that is not adjacent to any column that's at least as low as it. Require valleys to be WEAK.

All the valleys in (40) and (44) are associated to WEAK positions. (47e) can now be ruled out.

Not sure about (52), though: it depends on the contexts. So if those cadences really are ruled out no matter what the cadence, this isn't a good solution.

(7) Word-internal p-words

Hayes rejects the idea that a p-word can be smaller than a syntactic word, preferring to attribute word-internal juncture phenomena to level-ordering of affixes.

I look through the data in the paper to see if there are any complex words that we might think have an internal p-word (besides compounds). Didn't find any.

Predictions? Hayes would predict that only the whole word needs to be well-formed, but we might expect that the stem on its own has to be well-formed, too.

The only case I can think of where we could see this is if a prefix had a rising stress pattern . x and the stem had a falling stress pattern x . Then the stem in isolation has to be *s_w*, but if we were looking at the word as a whole it could be either *w_sw_s* or *s_ws_w*, because the peaks compensate each other. Does English have any such prefixes??

Segmental stuff—or I can just hold my tongue till we get to Peperkamp**(8) English palatalization**

applies		doesn't apply
<i>his shadow</i>	vs.	<i>Laura's shadow</i>
<i>is Sheila</i>		<i>Mrs. Shaftow</i>
<i>as shallow</i>		<i>fellas shafter</i>
<i>as Sheila</i>		

In all the examples, the rule target is in the (proclitic) function word.

To get the reverse, the enclitic would have to be *she*, which, in all the examples I can think of, ought to group with the following, not preceding, content word:

(the coats) (she wore)

So maybe this is just a rule that applies to (reduced?) function words.

What's the effect of a following prosodic break?

That's not his, Sheila! (ip)—but notice that this *his* isn't reduced
Let's steal his, shall we? (ip) “ “
 ((*he gives us*)_{p-phrase} (*shellfish*)_{p-phrase})_{ip}

What about CG boundaries within a p-phrase? I can't construct an example in which an *s*-final clitic would group with a preceding content word instead of a following one, all within the same p-phrase...

Putting aside the issue of whether the target is always a function word, how do we know the domain isn't the p-phrase instead of the CG? Is palatalization less likely here:

*(On Tuesdays,)*_{p-phrase} *((he gives)*_{CG} *(Sharon)*_{CG}*)*_{p-phrase} *(dishes)*_{p-phrase}

(9) CG vs. p-word

How do we know the domain of palatalization isn't the p-word, with the proclitics above joining the following word's p-word?

Relatedly, Hayes argues that *visited* and *visit it* are different prosodically because of the allophones of /t/ possible (p. 207), but that could also be a difference between lexical and postlexical syllabification, rather than p-wd-level vs. CG-level syllabification.

(10) English v-deletion

- Can apply to function words (*have, of*) even when following word is V-initial, though maybe less freely:

a piece o_ orange
John would ha_ asked

The clitics here feel more like enclitics on the preceding word than proclitics on the following (whether following word begins with V or C)

- Applies to limited set of content words: *leave, give*; even *save* seems restricted

sa_ me a seat
 ?*sa_ them a seat*

This all feels very Bybee. *give me* > *gimme* seems much more natural than *give them* > *gi' them* (I'm sure I do it, but not nearly as freely as *gimme*). Same for *leave me* vs. *leave them*.

So maybe it's better to regard this as lexicalized fusion for a limited set of V+object combinations

(11) Nati in Vedic Sanskrit (from Selkirk)

CG? p-phrase?

$$n \rightarrow \eta / \left(\dots \{ \varsigma, r, \bar{r}, \bar{r} \} [-\text{cor}]_0 \text{ __ } \{ V, n, m, y, v \} \dots \right)$$

	karman+ā	>	karmanā
(stem suffix) _ω	dūṣ+anam	>	dūṣanā
	br̥ṃh+anam	>	br̥ṃhanā
	muṣ+nā+ti	>	muṣnāti
(stem) _ω (stem) _ω	brahman - yah	>	brahmanyah
	kṣip - nuḥ	>	kṣipnuḥ
preverb verb	pra-nak	>	pra-nak
	nir-hanyat	>	nir-hanyat
word			asthūrī nau
pronoun/particle			indra enam

(I may have mixed Vedic and Classical data here, but this is supposed to be the Vedic *pattern*, anyway.)

Different domain from the p-word rules we saw for Sanskrit (which don't cross stem boundaries in a compound). But what's the evidence that it's not just a p-phrase rule? (Since Selkirk isn't using the constituent 'clitic group', she actually does describe *nati* as a p-phrase rule, and thus there's no "true" p-phrase rule to contrast it with.)

(12) Other cases cited

- Cairene Arabic stress. Don't have source handy (Broselow dissertation).
- Pasiego Spanish vowel harmony. Didn't read Penny, but from McCarthy's paper, I don't see specific evidence that clitic+word is different from, say, a p-word. We might even be able to dispense with prosodic domains altogether if we say that (certain) function words are underspecified (or, equivalently, that faithfulness to their specifications is lower ranked) for some features:

(McCarthy p. 299)

(10)

$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{high} \\ + \text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$ <i>Phrases</i>		$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{high} \\ + \text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$ <i>Phrases</i>		$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{high} \\ - \text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$ <i>Phrases</i>	
		el kwéru	'the leather (mass)'	Il kUrdírU	'the lamb'
		el pélu	'the hair (mass)'	Il mIntÍrÚsU	'the liar'
		el mál	'evil'	Il mAdírU	'the log'
		el ganáu	'the cattle'	kUn Il mAyÍstrU	'with the teacher'
		kon nó:s	'with us'	Un UbÍkU	'a ball of yarn'
un ubílo	'a ball of yarn'	po la káke	'down the street' 'over there'	pU l kAmínU	'along the path'
				pU l ArrÚyU	'along the arroyo'
				pU l prÁU	'through the field'
pa mí	'for me'	pa ké	'for what?'	pA l sUbrínU	'for the nephew'
		pa nó:s	'for us'		
		ne yó	'nor I'	nI l ÚnU nI l Útru	'neither the one nor the other'
		ne la cása	'nor the house'		
		en kwénta	'because of'	In Il kAlÍxU	'in the lane'
mi díxu	'and he said to me'	me lo kompró	'he bought it for me'	Il mI kÚdU	'my elbow'
				Il sU tÍyU	'his uncle'
				Il mI ermÁnU	'my brother'
				Il tU kUmpañÍrU	'your companion'

- Don't know anything about Serbo-Croatian folk epics or bridges in Ancient Greek meters.