

Cyclicity and Opacity Effects in the Prosody of Two Different Clitic Classes in New-Shtokavian Variants

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We will discuss prosodic properties of function words in New-Shtokavian variants (spoken for example in Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina). We observe that one set of function words in these variants can be subject to prosodic reduction (*mene* to *me*). The resulting reduced forms of these function words seem to trigger stress shift to proclitic function words in the context, with apparent compensatory lengthening (Hayes, 1989), and measurable phonetic effects on the stressed underlying proclitic (see Lehiste and Ivić, 1963, 1986).

- (1) a. *na mene* (proclitic na)
on me
b. *NA me* (stressed and lengthened NA)
on me
c. **na me* (proclitic na and reduced pronoun)
d. **na ME* (proclitic na and stressed and lengthened reduced pronoun)

The reduced form (1d) cannot be subject to subsequent lengthening or stress assignment anymore.

The other class of clitics seems to be opaque or inactive wrt. such processes. They cannot be further reduced, neither can they be prosodically stressed or lengthened, nor do they trigger compensatory lengthening in their prosodic contexts. Some of the so called second position clitics in these variants belong to this class:

- (2) a. *Vidi ga.* (unstressed clitic pronoun)
see it
b. **Vidi GA* or **GA vidi* (stressed clitic pronoun)

We argue that these New-Shtokavian variants exhibit two different major classes of clitics: a.) lexical clitics that are underlyingly prosodically dependent, as the prepositions in example (1), and b.) derived clitics that are underlyingly prosodically independent, but surface in a prosodically reduced form, as the pronouns in example (2). While partial lexicalization might have occurred in these cases, the derivational synchronic effects are regular. We present the acoustic measurements of the accent shifts and lengthening phenomena, and also discuss the cyclicity effects and opaqueness in context of recent phonological theories. Further, we elaborate on the theoretical consequences of the empirical data for analyses and theories of second position clitic placement in these dialectal variants.

References

- Hayes, B. (1989) Compensatory lengthening in Moraic Phonology. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.2, 253-307.
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Lehiste, I. and P. Ivić (1986) *Word and Sentence Prosody in Serbo-Croatian*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.