

*Prosodic structure between the prosodic word and the phonological phrase:  
recursive nodes or an independent domain?*

Marina Vigário

(Universidade de Lisboa – Laboratório de Fonética, FLUL/CLUL)

marina.vigario@mail.telepac.pt

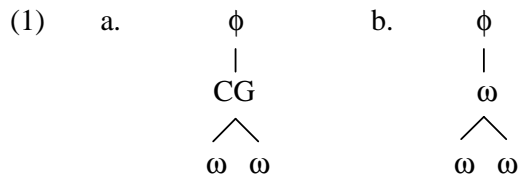
This work addresses the precise configuration of prosodic structure between the prosodic word ( $\omega$ ) and the phonological phrase ( $\phi$ ), a topic also recently revisited by Ito and Mester (2006) and Kabak and Revithiadou (2006). Two alternative views are evaluated: one whereby an autonomous constituent exists between  $\omega$  and  $\phi$ , and the other assuming that no such constituent exists, which resorts to recursive and adjunction structures (Selkirk 1996, Booij 1996, Peperkamp 1997, Hall 1999, Vigário 2003). Whereas we defend that clitics do not in general support the existence of an autonomous constituent, we will show that several compound-like expressions provide solid arguments in favour of an independent domain.

The identification of many problems related to the clitic group (CG – Hayes 1989, Nespor and Vogel 1986) has justified the ban of such a domain of the prosodic hierarchy (Booij 1996, Peperkamp 1997, Vigário 2003). However, the critical aspects of the CG always involve the prosodization of clitics. Nevertheless, the CG has also been proposed to be relevant for the prosodization of compounds (Vogel 1990, Hannahs 1995, Kabak and Vogel 2001).

We note that economy does not favour one analysis over the other: although the elimination of the CG results more economical in terms of number of domains, this is gained at the expense of enlarging the types of phonological configurations allowed, and of the weakening of the distinction between syntactic and phonological structures (see 1a vs. 1b for the two ways of representing compounds). On the empirical side, we will show that compound-like expressions display the kind of specific phenomena that has justified all the other phonological domains, by exhibiting a regular phonological behaviour distinct from both  $\omega$ s and  $\phi$ s in a large number of languages – data will be provided from English and Dutch (Booij 1995), European Portuguese (Vigário 2003), Baule (Leben and Ahoua 1997), Hungarian (Vogel 1990), French (Hannahs 1995), Korean and Japanese (Venditti, Jun and Beckman 1996), Bengali (Hayes and Lahiri 1991), Turkish (Kabak and Vogel 2001), Swedish (Bruce and Hermans 1999), Shanghai Chinese (Selkirk and Shen 1991), Arrernt (Henderson 2000), Icelandic (Árnason 1999) – see selected examples in (2).

We further explore the different predictions made by the two approaches. The autonomous domain approach predicts that prominence assignment at the level of  $\omega$  may differ from that of the constituent above, whereas the analysis resorting to recursive structures predicts that it may not. The autonomous domain approach is the only one compatible with the facts, as several languages exist where the stress patterns of prosodic words and compounds do not coincide – e.g. English, Dutch, Swedish, and Turkish (Van der Hulst, Hendriks and Van de Weijer 1999, Bruce and Hermans, 1999, Kabak and Vogel 2001, respectively) – see the example in (3) from Turkish, where word-stress is final, whereas the compound-stress is initial.

Crucially, the constituent needed is not motivated by the prosodization of clitics. We will thus propose the *prosodic word group* as the prosodic constituent between  $\omega$  and  $\phi$ .



(2) SEQUENCES OF WORDS WITHIN PHRASES  
 grande Área  
 'big area'

??[j]/0

COMPOUND-LIKE EXPRESSIONS  
 grAnde Área [j]/\*0  
 'penalty area'  
 (European Portuguese – Vigario, 2003)

[ \_  $\bar{\quad}$  ] [ \_  $\bar{\quad}$  ]

bólí mángún  
 'goat's friend'  
 two domains for tonal upstepping

[ \_ —  $\bar{\quad}$  ]

bílí nónnón  
 'goat milk'  
 one domain for tonal upstepping  
 (Baule – Leben and Ahoua, 1997)

(3) (kará) $\omega$  'black  
 (deníz) $\omega$  'sea'  
 ((kará) $\omega$  (deniz) $\omega$ ) 'Black Sea'

(Turkish – Kabak and Vogel 2001)