Second Position in Mandar: Issues and Analysis
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1 Background: Second Position in Mandar

1.1 Second Position

- Definition: *2P clitics* are *special clitics* which follow the first 'word' in the 'clause' (Wackernagel 1898).

- The proper analysis of their linear position & prosodic status raises several theoretical questions:

    - The definition of the 'host':
        * Often surface only loosely in 'second position'; frequent flexibility in linear position   Taylor 1990
        * Halpern's (1992) split: 'first word' vs 'first daughter' systems; some languages permit two patterns.

    - The nature of the linearization operation:
        1. One view: 2P order fundamentally syntactic; 2P clitics are like v2 verbs.   Terzi 1999
        2. Another view: clitics move to c; PF figures out the rest.   Halpern 1996, Bošković 2001
        3. Yet another: linear order determined by the phonology; clitics positioned outside the narrow syntax.
            * The STRONGSTART analysis: Anderson 1998
                · ALIGN constraints push clitics to the left; STRONGSTART bans clitic at the absolute edge.
                · **Result**: 2P the compromise position; clitics 'as left-aligned as they can be.'
            * The SUBCATEGORIZATION approach   Chung 2003
                · Clitics subcategorize to surface in second position within a prosodic unit.
                · Disconnected from STRONGSTART; second position inherently the goal.

    - The internal structure of the clitic cluster:
        * Syntax: does the cluster form a complex x^0 or not?   Bošković 2001
        * Prosody: does the cluster form a prosodic constituent independent of the host?

1.2 Mandar Background

- South Sulawesi (Austronesian); roughly 500,000 speakers; some work on related languages (Kaufman 2008).

- Word order: verb-initial; fairly free order of arguments postverbally; **clitic cluster appears in 2p**.

(1) *Verb-initial word order; clitics in 2P*

    a. Mappamula=**i** bunga i=Murni.
       plant=3   flower NAME
       'Murni is planting flowers.'
       Pelenkahu et al. 1983; 195

    b. Pura=**i**   nala   bainena diqo bau.
       already=3 she.took his.wife that fish
       'His wife had already taken that fish.'
       Pelenkahu et al. 1985; 155

1.3 The Clitic Cluster

- The Mandar 2P inventory: roughly 40 forms.

    - Agreement markers and Aspect   T
    - Force heads: question particles, optative marker (let it be that…)   C
    - Demonstratives, pronouns, floated quantifiers   D
    - vp-adverbs (very, exactly), tp-adverbs (now, later), cp adverbs (maybe, honestly).   ADV

- <u>Underlined</u> clitics alternate with independent forms possible outside of 2P.

ADV$_{\sigma\sigma}$		ADV$_{\sigma}$		ASP$_{\sigma}$		AGR$_{\sigma}$		ÁDV$_{\sigma\sigma}$		PRON$_{\sigma\sigma}$	
nasang	ALL	*to*	ALSO	*mo*	PFV	*aq*	1.ABS	*tía*	EMPH	*yáu*	1.SG
sannal	VERY	*bo*	AGAIN	*pa*	IPFV	*o*	2.ABS	*túqu*	EMPH	*íqo*	2.FAM
leqbaq	EXACTLY	*da*	JUST			*i*	3.ABS	*píssang*	ONCE	*ía*	3.SG
bega	EXCESSIVELY							*póleq*	AGAIN	*ítaq*	1.IN/2.HON
tenda	SUCH							*kápang*	MAYBE	*táuq*	1.IN/2.HON
dua	STILL							*palákang*	TURNS.OUT	*míeq*	2.PL
tongang	TRULY							*tódiq*	POOR.THING	*íting*	THAT
tappaq	ONLY							*dióloq*	NOW	*díqe*	THIS
memang	INDEED							*digénaq*	EARLIER	*díqo*	THAT
banda	Q							*mánini*	LATER		
bappa	LET.IT.BE.SO										

- The clitics form a cluster.

  - The entire string of clitics surfaces after the first potential host: NEG > ASP > AUX > V.
  - The cluster cannot split up or distribute across the clause.   **cf.** appendix.

(2) a. Malai=**bo**=**m**=**i**=**tia**.
         return=again=PFV=3.ABS=EMPH
         'He really came back again.'

     b. Indap=**pa**=**i**=**tia**   malai.
         NEG=IPFV=3.ABS=EMPH return
         'He really hasn't come back yet.'

- Part of the cluster forms a domain for irregular phonology.

  - **Portmanteaux**: ASPECT clitics show vowel deletion/coalescence with adjacent agreement.
  - **Harmony**: two clitics which precede ASPECT show long-distance harmony with agreement.

AGR	PFV	IPFV	JUST	SUCH (+ PFV)	Q (+ PFV)
1/2/3	*mo*	*pa*	*da*	*tenda*	*banda*
aq	*maq*	*paq*	*daq*	*tenda=maq*	*banda=maq*
o	*moqo*	*pao*	*doqo*	*tendo=moqo*	*bando=moqo*
i	*mi*	*pai*	*di*	*tendi=mi*	*bandi=mi*

(3) *Portmanteaux*

     a. Massikola=**da**=mi anattaq?
         school=just=PFV.3 your.kid
         'Is your child in school yet?'
         Friberg & Jerniati 2000: 105

     b. Na=mebawa minna=**doqo**?
         FUT=bring.us where=JUST.2
         'Where are you bringing us?'
         Pelenkahu et al. 1983: 90

     c. Baraq mesa=**di**   bainena.
         i.hope one=JUST.3 his.wife
         'I hope he only has one wife.'
         Pelenkahu et al. 1983: C98

(4) *Harmony*

     a. Apa=band**a**=mo=tia?
         what=Q=PFV=EVEN
         'What could it even be?'

     b. Mangapa=band**oqo**?
         do.what=Q.2
         'What are you doing?'

     c. Maqellong=band**o**=**moqo**?
         sing=Q=PFV.2
         'Did you already sing?'

- Three factors govern cluster-internal order:

  1. **Weight**: disyllabic clitics strictly precede monosyllabic clitics.

2. **Scope**: structurally 'higher' clitics surface farther to the right.
3. **X-factor**: disyllabic clitics form two classes; pronouns surface at the right edge.

- **Schema**: DISYLLABIC ADVERBS > MONOSYLLABIC ADVERBS > AGREEMENT > OTHER ADVERBS > PRONOUNS

(5) *Syllable Count Matters*

a. Maqua=**nasang**=**bo**=**mi**.
   say=all=again=PFV.3

   'They all said it again.'

b. Masae=**dua**=**di**=**tau** dini?
   long=still=JUST.3=you here

   'Will you be here for long?'

   Friberg & Jerniati 2000

c. *Masae=**di**=**dua**=**tau** dini?

d. *Masae=**di**=**tau**=**dua** dini?

e. *Masae=**da**=**tau**=**dua**=**i** dini?

(6) *Height Matters*

a. Marumbo=**sannal**=**dua**=**bandi**?
   chubby=very=still=Q.3

   'Is he really still pretty fat?

b. Matindo=**i**=**poleq**=**kapang**=**dioloq**.
   sleep=3=again=maybe=now

   'Now maybe he's sleeping again.'

(7) *Linear Order mirrors Syntactic Height*

a. *sannal* > *leqbaq* > *bega*   > *dua* > *memang* > *banda* = *bappa*
   very   exactly   excessively   still   indeed   Q   let.it.be.that

b. *bo*   > *mo*   = *pa*
   again   already   yet

c. *pissang* = *poleq* > *kapang* = *palakang* = *todiq*   > *dioloq* = *manini*
   once   again   maybe   seems   poor.thing   now   later

1.4   Interim Summary 1

- The Mandar clitic cluster:
  1. forms some type of phonological unit (for portmanteau formation, harmony…)
  2. shows linear order sensitive to both structural height and phonological weight.
- But probably does not form a complex x^0.
  - * The cluster splits up when the left periphery gets complex.   Appendix.
  - * RESULT: requires excorporation (Roberts, Bošković) if a single x^0.
  - * Moreover: postsyntactic reordering within the x^0 based on phonological weight?

2   Clitic Placement is Postsyntactic

2.1   Family Precedent

- Syntactic approaches to 2P: difficult in this neighborhood.
  - Slavic languages: Progovac 1996, Terzi 1999,
    - * Story: 2P clitics like V2 verbs; move to C & something fronts above them.
    - * Independent properties make this seem reasonable: free word order + rampant subextraction.
    - * **Result**: basically any word order can be syntactified.
  - Philippine-type languages + Chamorro: much more difficult.
    - * Less flexible word order; drastically reduced possibilities for subextraction.
    - * Kaufman 2010 (on syntactic approaches to 2P): "A similar [syntactic] account for Austronesian languages seems **thoroughly hopeless**, as there exists a massive gap between the types of elements which can serve as clitic hosts and those which can be extracted in the normal syntax." (p52)
- **Result**: postsyntactic approaches to 2P   Anderson 1998, Chung 2003; cf. Finer 1999

2.2   Non-Syntactic Placement

1. The cluster surfaces consistently in 2P regardless of the host.

   - Typically: follows the highest AUX within the middle field.
   - Also: follows fronted locative adjuncts, temporal adjuncts, certain adverbs.
   - **Point**: the class of things which hosts the clitic does not form a natural syntactic class.

   (8)   *Locative Adjuncts; Manner Adverbs*
   a. Andiang=**i** pura   meloq lamba sumombal i=Kacoq.
      NEG=3   already want go   sail   NAME
      'Kacoq never wanted to go sail.' (Ba'dulu 1990)

   b. Ceh, kaqdo=**aq** mupipal   e!   c. Pirang=**pai**=**tau**   sung?
      PRF, hard=1   you.slapped PRT   when=IPFV.3=you.HON go.out
      'Hey, you hit me HARD!'   'When are you leaving?'

2. The clitics surface in configurations which syntactic movement cannot create.

   - No Subextraction: complex DPs and NP predicates generally cannot split.
   - Nevertheless: agreement freely splits up the same constituents (though other clitics can't).

   (9)   *The Clitic Cluster splits up complex NP, PP Predicates*

   a. Guru-nna   i=Majiq i=Dan.   b. Guru-nna=**o**   i=Majiq a?
      teacher-his NAME   NAME   teacher-his=AGR NAME   PRT
      Dan is Majid's teacher.'   'Are you Majid's teacher?

3. The clitics split up coordinate structures.

   - Mandar has a pseudo-incorporation construction; NP objects group prosodically with V.
   - The clitics strictly follow the object in these configurations; we'll see more of this later.
   - **Pattern**: clitics can split up coordinated sequences of PNI object.

(10)   *Clitics follow incorporated objects; split coordinate objects.*

   a. Maqitai **baine**=dua=pao a?   b. Maqalli doqayu   ato manuq=**o**=iqo?
      look.for wife=still=IPFV.2 Q   sell   vegetable or chicken=2=you
                                               'Are you selling vegetables or chicken?

                                            c. Maqalli doqayu=**o** ato manuq?
   'You're still looking for a wife, huh?'

- **Claim**: the clitics get linearized by non-syntactic operations.

  - Clitics follow a heterogenous class of elements: verbs, auxiliaries, adverbs, adjuncts.
  - Clitics split syntactic constituents in ways which syntactic operations cannot.

- Reasonable proposal: the clitics stay largely in-situ in the syntax; move only later on.

- Two questions:

  - What makes the clitics move?
  - What's the resultant structure of the host + clitics?

3   The Prosody of Second Position

3.1   Prosodic Categories in Mandar

- **Background**: Prosodic Hierarchy Theory   Nespor & Vogel 1986
    - Prosodic structure: built from strictly layered but recursive prosodic categories   Itô & Mester 2009
    - Three fundamental units: word ω, phonological phrase ϕ, intonational phrase

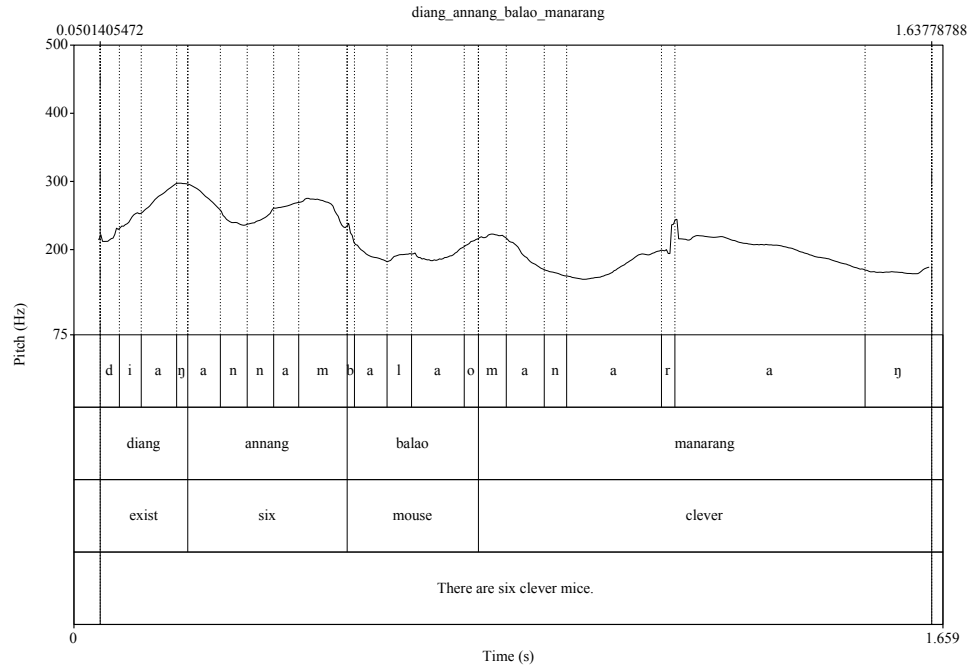- **Goal**: identify prosodic categories and phonetic correlates in Mandar.

(11)   *Sentence-Level Prosody: Some Examples*

    a. Indang=aq mala mande lameayu.   b. Diang   annang balao   manarang.
        NEG=1   can   eat   cassava   there.is six   mouse clever
        'I can't eat cassava.'   'There are six clever mice.'

    c. *Pitch Track for (16a): indang 'NEG'*

Indanga_mala_maqande_lameayu
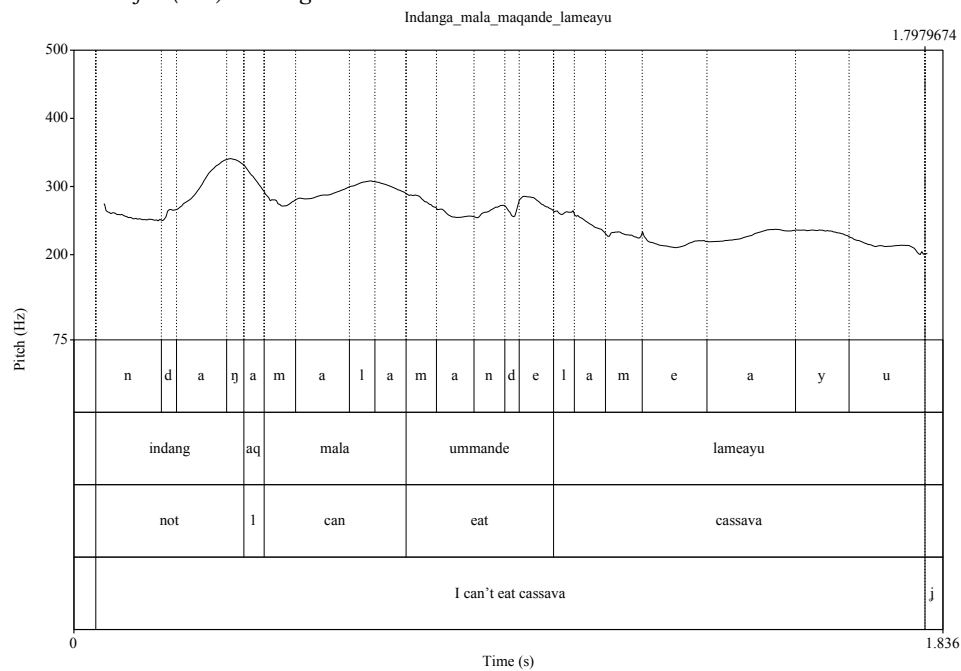
    d. *Pitch Track for (??): annang 'SIX'*

- Some prosodic observations:

  – Most independent things bear a consistent ʟ*ʜ- contour.

  – The entire string ends in final lengthening and a fall.

- Spoiler: some plausible conclusions:

3.1.1 The Word

- One type of prosodic unit shows three properties which pattern together:

  1. Stress: lengthening on the penultimate syllable.

  2. Pitch contour: ʟ* on penult; ʜ- at the right edge.

  3. Segmental phonology: domain for obligatory application of certain rules.

- **Proposal**: this thing looks like the prosodic word ω.

1. Word-level stress

   - South Sulawesi languages generally show word-level stress   Mills 1975; *pace* Himmelmann 2018

   - Consistent lengthening on the penultimate syllable; secondary stress generally not detectable.

   - **Proposal**: single right-aligned trochee/word (12c).

   (12)   *Regular Penultimate Stress*

      a.   *mán.dar* 'Mandar'   b.   *to.map.po.lé.i* 'visitors'   c. $\sigma.\sigma.\sigma.(\acute{\sigma}.\sigma)$

2. Two Segmental Processes

   - The voiced stops /*b d*/ lenite to [*w r*] within what looks like the word.

   - Nasals denasalize and assimilate completely to following *p t k s r l* within the word.

   - These rules apply absolutely here; show variation at higher levels.

(13) a. *dundu* 'drink'   (14) a. *bireq* 'hate'   (15)

     b. *dundu-ang* 'a drink'   b. *mam-bireq* 'to.hate'

     c. *mu-rundu* 'you drink'   c. *u-wireq* 'i hate'

$$\omega$$
$$\sigma \qquad ft$$
$$u\text{-} \qquad wireq$$
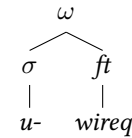
3. The ʟ*ʜ- contour

- The things which bear stress and force lenition often show the same surface contour.
  - The right edge bears a distinct ʜ-.
  - A separate ʟ* falls on the penultimate syllable.
- This same contour tends to appear on things which look like syntactic heads.

(16) *Preverbal Negation bears the* ʜ-:

a. **Indang**ᴴ=aq malaᴴ mandeᴴ lameayuᴴ.
   ɴᴇɢ=I   can   eat   cassava
   'I can't eat cassava.'

b. **Da**ᴴ   mu-andeᴴ itingᴴ kandekande=oᴴ!
   ᴅᴏɴ'ᴛ you-eat that snack=ᴅᴇꜰ
   'Don't eat that snack!'

c. *Pitch Track for (16a): indang 'ɴᴇɢ'*

d. *Pitch Track for (16b): da 'ᴅᴏɴ'ᴛ'*

7

Da_muande_iting_kandekande_o_
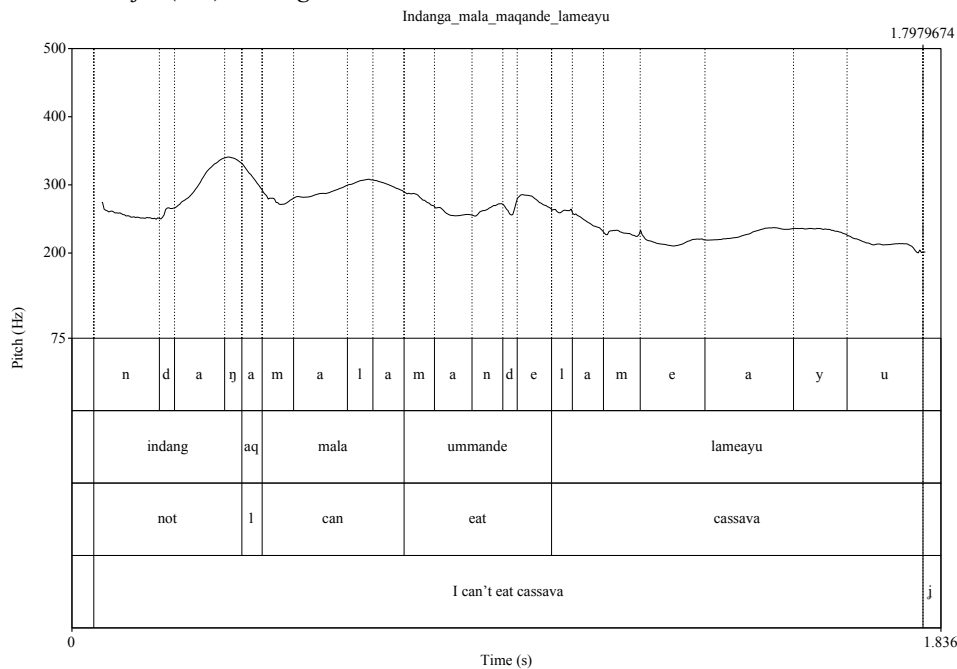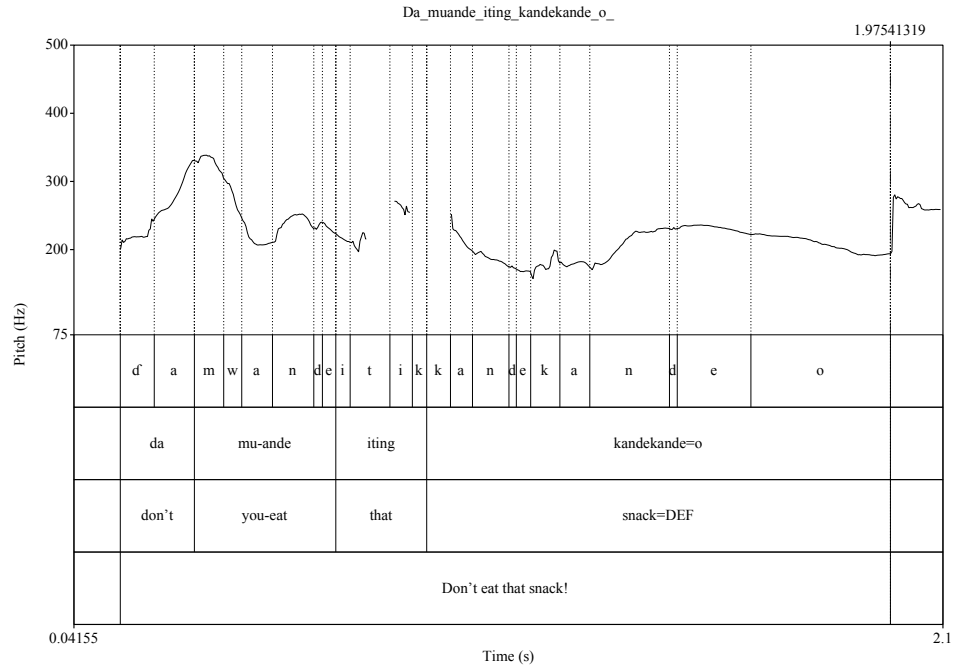
(17)   *Aspectual Auxiliaries bear the* ʜ-:

a. **Pura**ᴴ=i   maqbaluqᴴ bayuᴴ.
   already=he sell   shirt
   'He's finished selling shirts.'

b. Innaiᴴ **biasa**ᴴ maqbaluqᴴ balengaᴴ?
   who   usually sell   rice.cooker
   'Who usually sells rice.cookers?'

c. *Pitch Track for (17a): pura ꞌᴀʟʀᴇᴀᴅʏꞋ*

Pura_i_maqbaluq_bayu_muanena_i_Nina
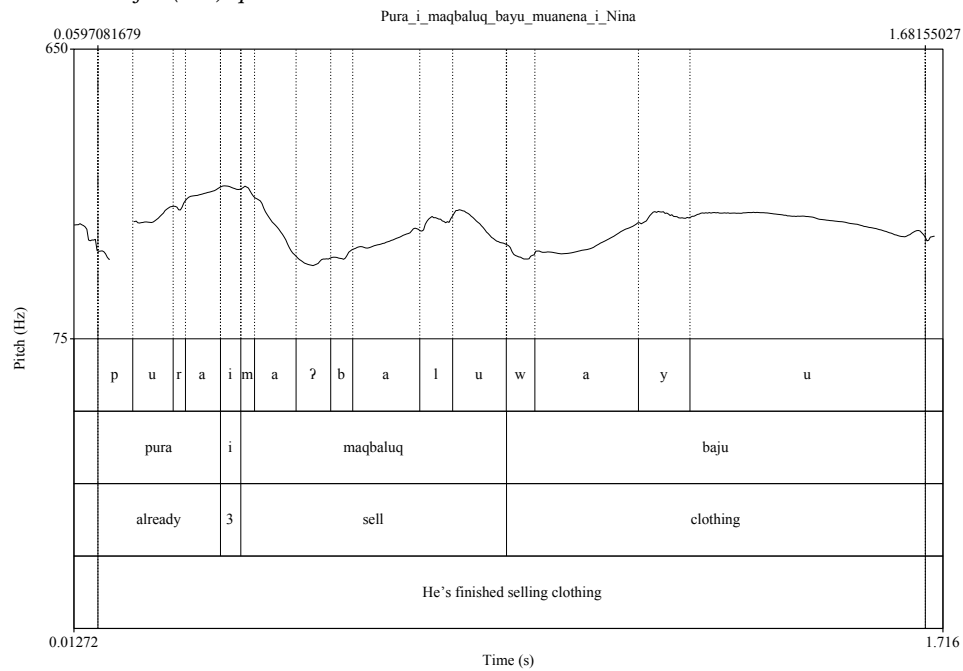
d. *Pitch Track for (17b): biasa ꞌᴜsᴜᴀʟʟʏꞋ*

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innai_biasa_maqbaluq_balenga

innai	biasa	maqbaluq	balenga
who	usually	sell	rice.cooker

who usually sells rice cookers?
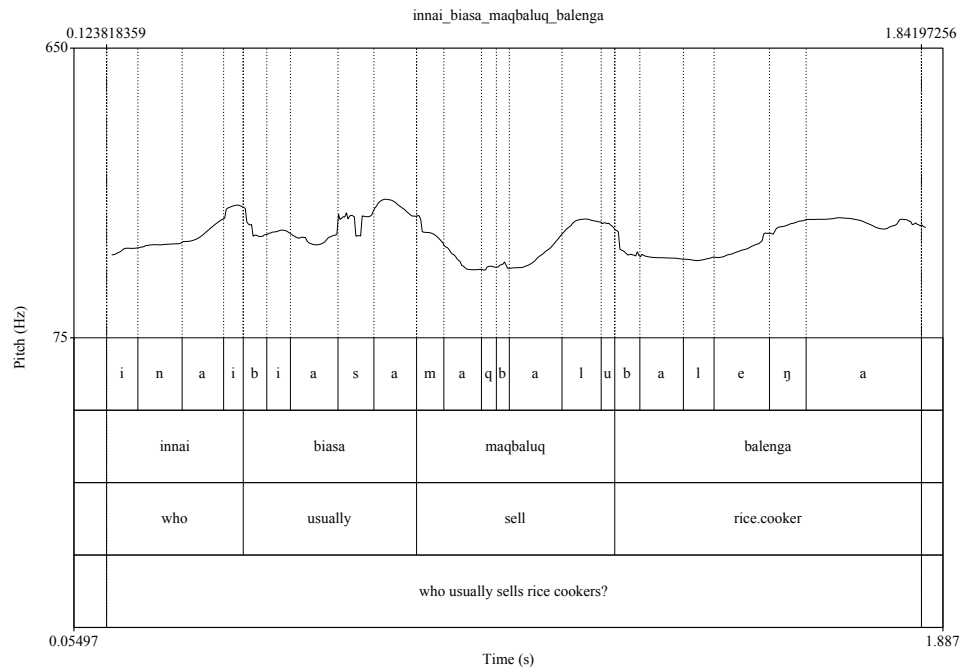
(18)   *Directional Prepositions bear the* ʜ-:

a. Na=**tama**ᴴ=aq di Mandarᴴ
    FUT=INTO=I   in Mandar
    'I'll go up to Mandar country.'

b. U-bemmeanᴴ=i **naung**ᴴ di litaqᴴ.
    I-drop=it   down   in ground
    'I dropped it on the ground.'

c. *Pitch Track for (18a): tama 'ɪɴᴛᴏ'*

na_tama_aq_di_Mandar

na	tama=aq	di	Mandar
FUT	go.upriver=1	in	Mandar

I'm going up to Mandar country
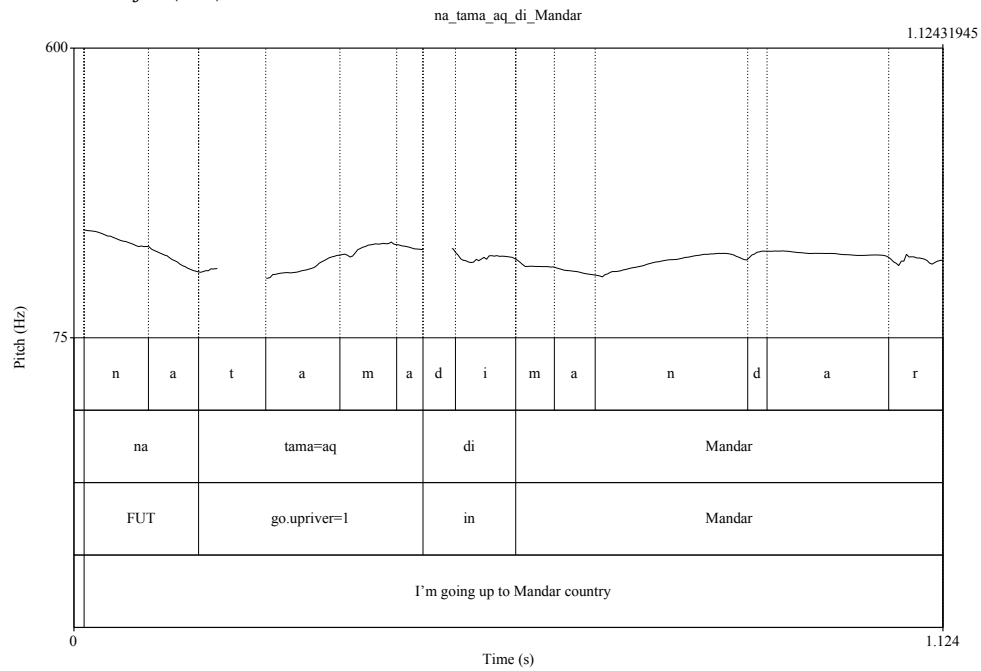
d. *Pitch Track for (18b): naung 'ᴅᴏᴡɴ'*

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uwemmeangi_naung_hapeu_di_litaq
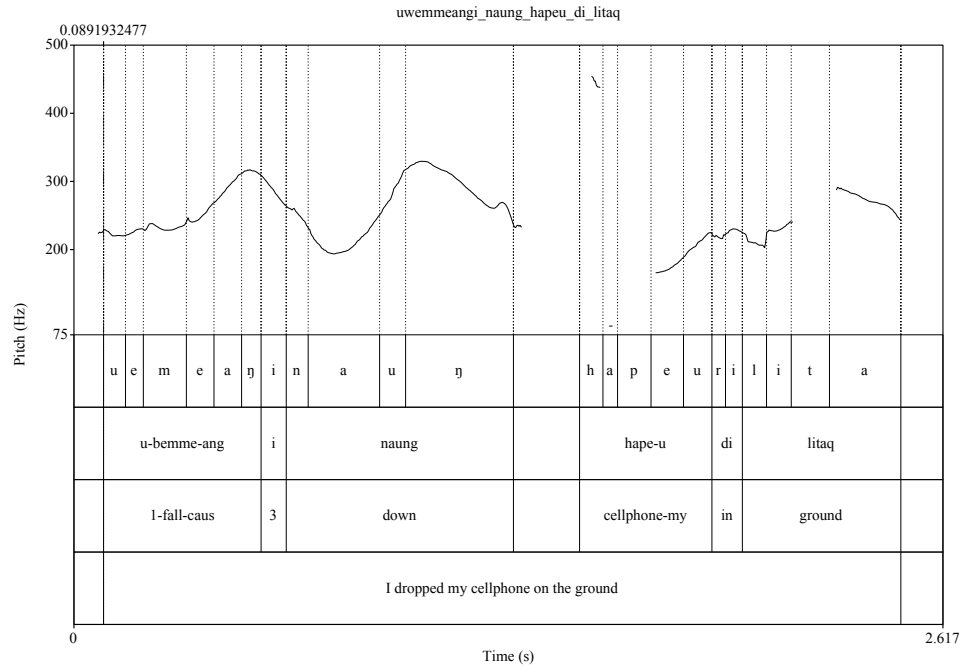
(19)   *Locative Prepositions bear the ʜ-:*

a. Diang^ʜ   bau^ʜ di **lalang**^ʜ di balenga^ʜ.
   there.are fish   in inside   in rice.cooker.
   'There are fish in the rice cooker.'

b. Apa^ʜ **diong**^ʜ   di uwai?
   what down.there in water
   'What's down in the water?'

c. *Pitch Track for (19a): lalang 'ɪɴ.ᴛʜᴇʀᴇ'*

diang_bau_di_lalang_di_balenga
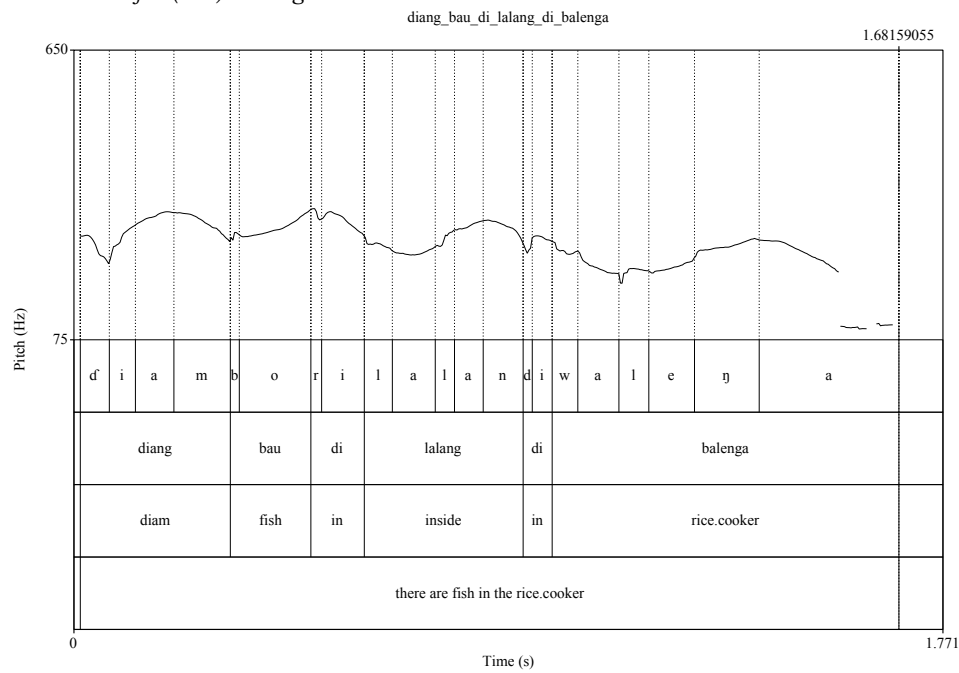
d. *Pitch Track for (19b): diong 'ᴅᴏᴡɴ.ᴛʜᴇʀᴇ'*

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apa_diong_di_uwai
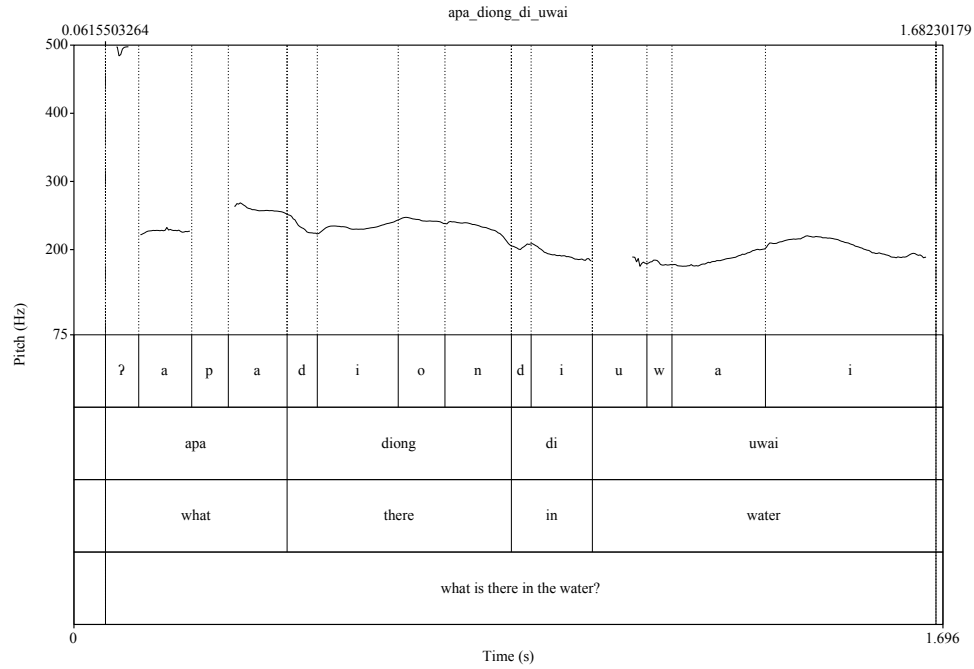
(20)   *Temporal Adverbs bear the* H-:

a. Maqbaluq^H=i balenga   mariri^H **digenaq**^{H}.
    sell=he   rice.cooker yellow earlier

    'He sold yellow rice cookers earlier.'

b. *Pitch Track for (20a): digenaq 'earlier'*

Maqbaluqi_balenga_mariri_digenaq
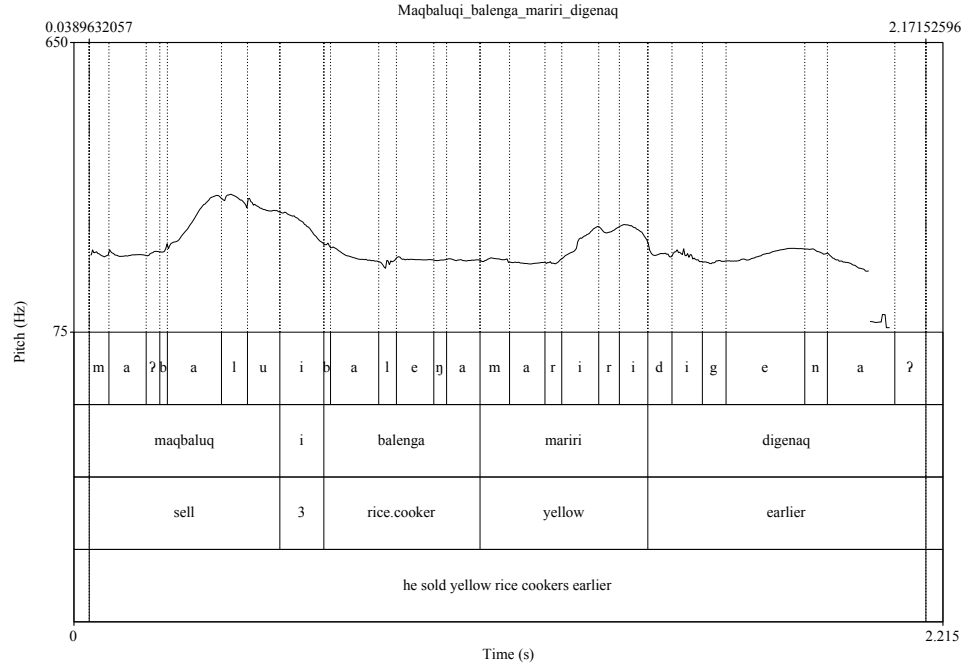
- **Proposal**: The relevant unit here is the prosodic word ω.

  – Other prosodic events: downstep in ϕ; final lengthening in ι; final fall in ι_{MAX}

  – **Alternative**: the L*H- unit is the ϕ_{MIN}.

- Auxiliary System: the agreement clitics strictly follow the first ω.

– The elements which host clitics all bear l*h-: NEG, AUX, V.

– Adverbs which surface linearly before NEG: do not bear l*h-; cannot host clitics.

Table 1: Strong and Weak Preverbal Elements

HOSTS					
	NEG		ASP		AUX
indang	NOT	*pura*	ALREADY	*mala*	CAN
da	DON'T	*biasa*	USUALLY	*meloq*	WANT
NON-HOSTS					
	MOD		TENSE		
maka	PROBABLY	*mane*	THEN		
baraq	HOPEFULLY	*sata*	ALWAYS		

(21)   *Strong Elements Attract Clitics*

    a. **Ndan**=nasang^H=o mala^H mangino^H
       NEG=all=you   can   play
       'You all can't play (here).'

    b. **Mala**^{H}=i=tia^H=ia^H malai^H!
       can=he=only=him go.home
       'Only he can go home!'

(22)   *Weak Elements Never Attract Clitics*

    a. **Mane** naun=nasang^H=i mameang^H.
       then go.down=all=he fish
       'Then they went down to fish.'

    b. **Sata**   indang^H=i mala^H!
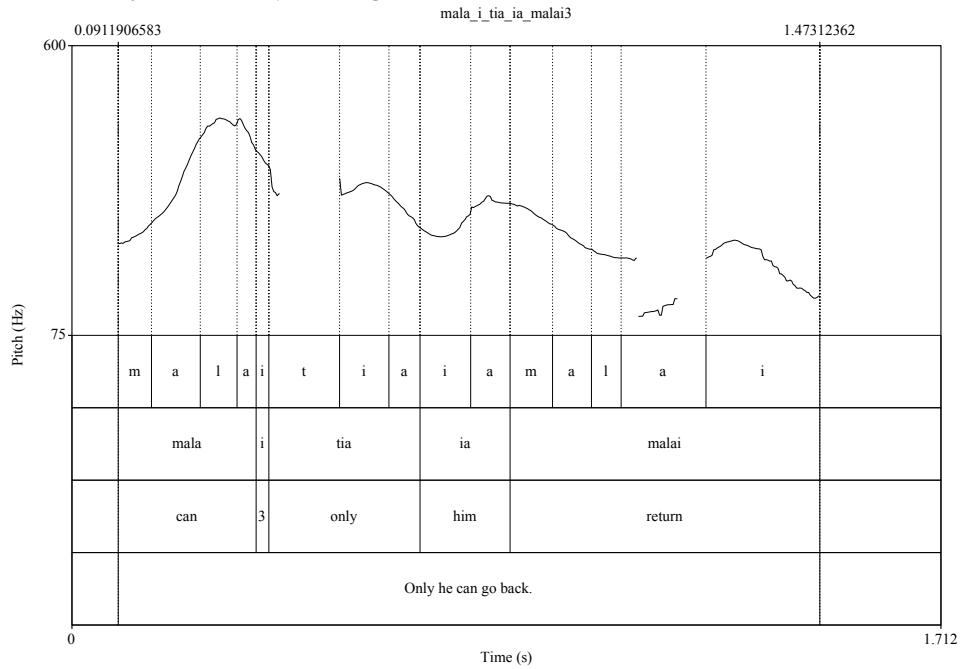   always NEG=she can
       'She never can!'

(23)   *Pitch Tracks: Auxiliary System*

(24)   *Strong Preverbal Elements attract Clitics*
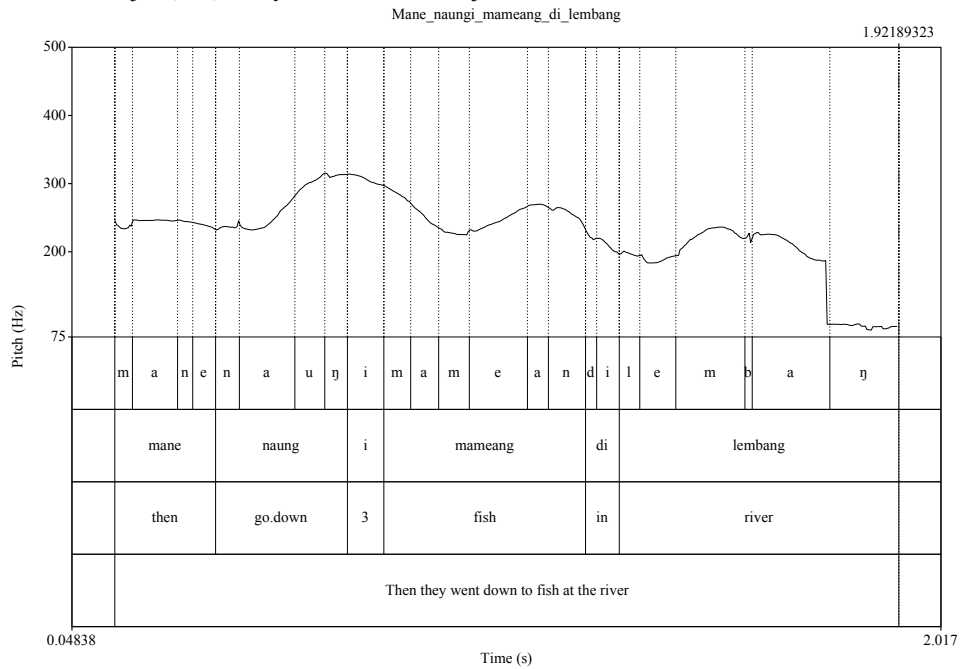
    a. *Pitch Track for (26a): You can't all play here.*
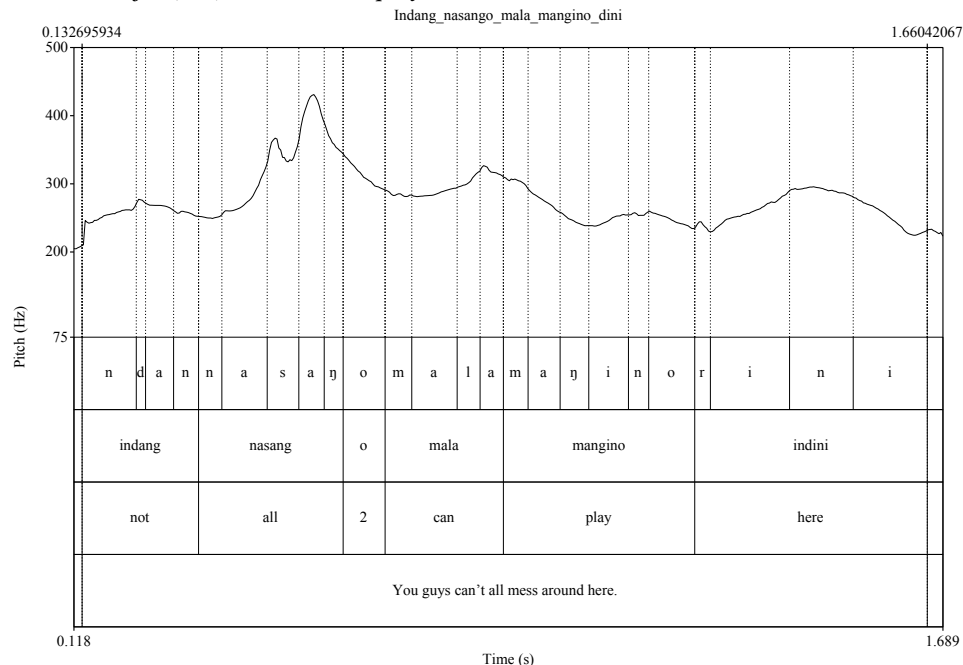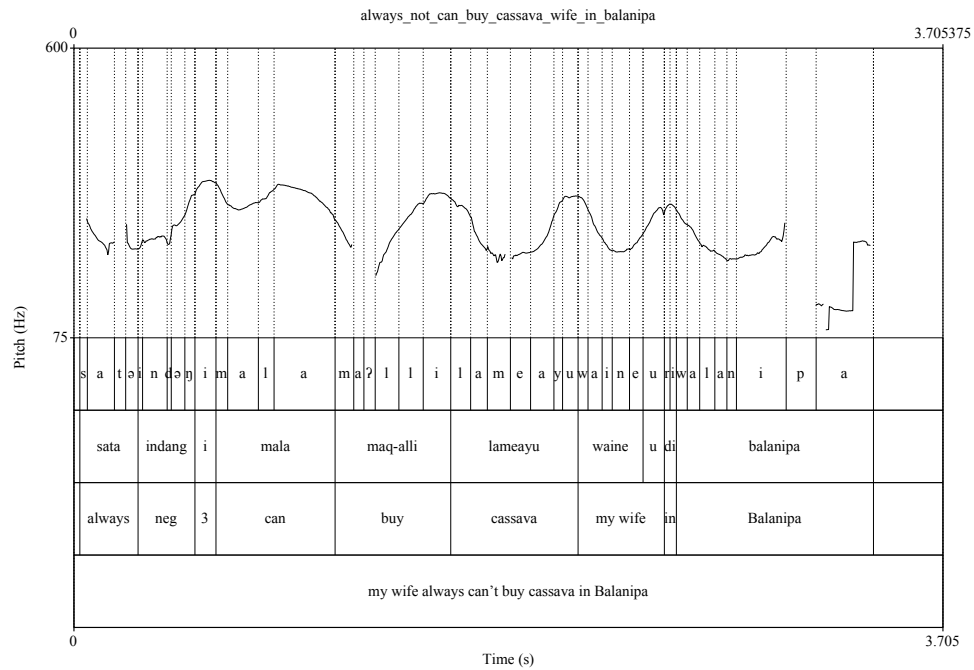
b. *Pitch Track for (21b): Only he can go home.*

mala_i_tia_ia_malai3

m	a	l	a	i	t	i	a	i	a	m	a	l	a	i

mala	i	tia	ia	malai

can	3	only	him	return

Only he can go back.

(25) *Weak Preverbal Elements don't attract Clitics*

a. *Pitch Track for (22a): They all went down to fish in the river.*

Mane_naungi_mameang_di_lembang

m	a	n	e	n	a	u	ŋ	i	m	a	m	e	a	n	d	i	l	e	m	b	a	ŋ

mane	naung	i	mameang	di	lembang

then	go.down	3	fish	in	river

Then they went down to fish at the river

b. *Pitch Track for (22b): My wife always can't buy cassava in Balanipa.*

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always_not_can_buy_cassava_wife_in_balanipa

sata	indang	i	mala	maq-alli	lameayu	waine	u di	balanipa
always	neg	3	can	buy	cassava	my wife	in	Balanipa

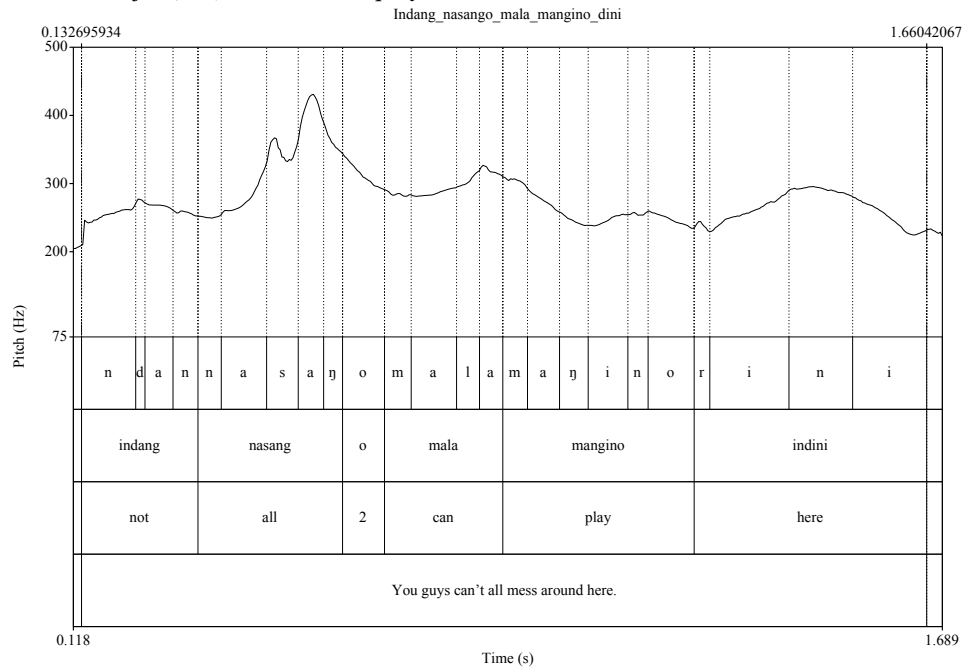my wife always can't buy cassava in Balanipa

3.2   Prosodic Structure of the Cluster

- **Observation**: the string which precedes agreement looks like a minimal word

    – Contour shape: completely flat till two syllables away from the agreement.

    – Primary stress: apparently penultimate in the constituent before agreement.

    – No evidence for other stress; intonational events.

(26)   *The Pre-Agreement String: Flat and Unaccented*

    a. **Ndan**=nasang[H]=o mala[H] mangino[H]
        NEG=all=you   can   play
        'You all can't play (here).'

    b. Naun=nasang[H]=i=tau[H] di Majene[H].
        descend=all=AGR=we   in CITY
        'We're all going to Majene.'

    c. *Pitch Track for (26b): We're all going to Majene.*

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naung_nasang_i_tau_di_majene

n	a	u	n	n	a	s	a	ŋ	i	t	a	u	d	i	m	a	j	e	n	e

naung	nasang	i	tau	di=Majene
descend	all	3	we	in=Majene

We're all going to Majene.

d. *Pitch Track for (26a): You can't all play here.*

Indang_nasango_mala_mangino_dini

n	d	a	n	n	a	s	a	ŋ	o	m	a	l	a	m	a	ŋ	i	n	o	r	i	n	i

indang	nasang	o	mala	mangino	indini
not	all	2	can	play	here
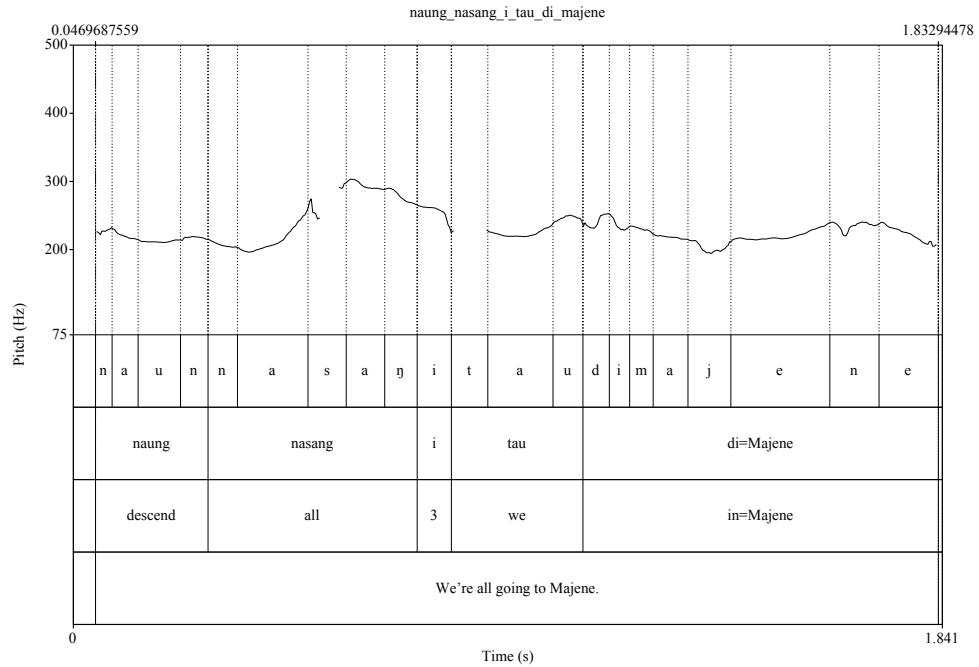
You guys can't all mess around here.

- **Pseudo-Incorporation**: same pattern.

  – Mandar permits NP objects and locative PPs to follow the verb and precede clitics.

  – This construction: absolutely everything before the agreement gets flattened out.

(27)   *Pseudo-Incorporation: Compression before Agreement*

   a. Mandundu **kopi di boyangu**=**nasam**=**bo**ᴴ=i=tuqu=tau.
      drink   coffee in my.house=all=again=AGR=EMPH=we

      'We're ALL JUST DRINKING COFFEE IN MY HOUSE AGAIN!'

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b. Maqbaluq **balenga**   **mariri**=**nasam**=**bo**=**mo**$^{\text{H}}$=**o** a?
   sell   rice.cooker yellow=all=again=PFV=you   Q

   'You're ALL SELLING YELLOW RICE COOKERS AGAIN?!'

c. *Pitch Track for (27a): We're all just drinking coffee in my house again.*
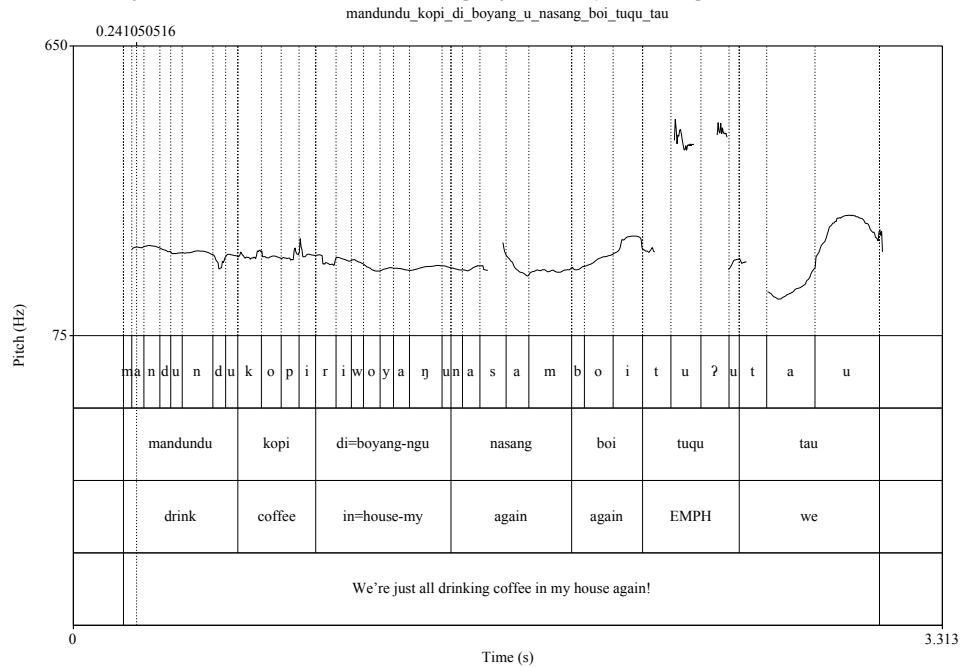
d. *Pitch Track for (27b): You're all selling yellow rice cookers again?*
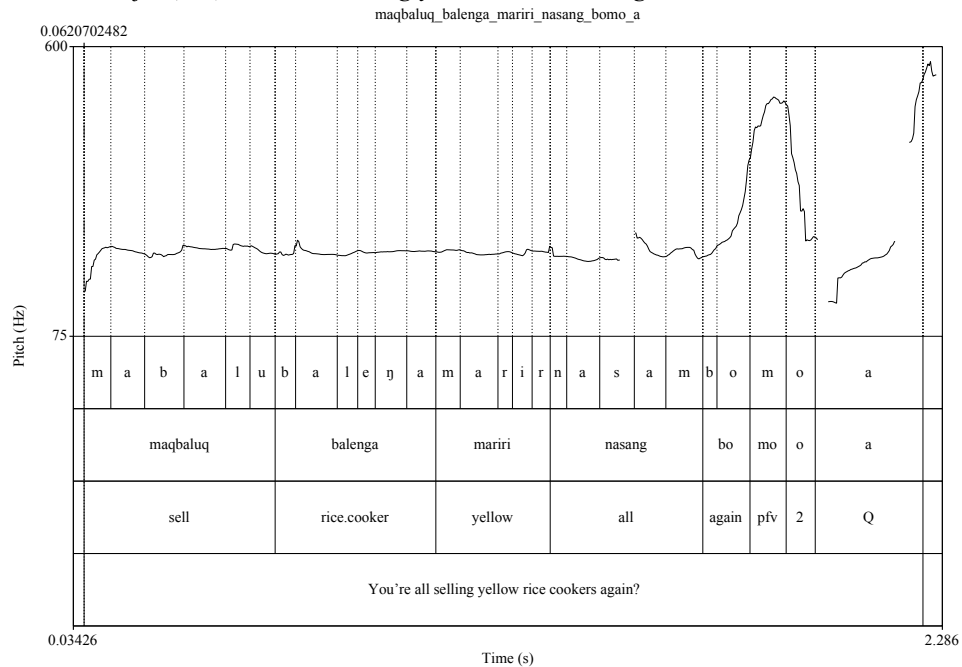

- Proposal: the HOST=AGR string forms a minimal prosodic word.

    – 2P elements which precede agreement adjoin as feet or stray syllables.

    – Single L*H- contour and penultimate stress because the host *is* an ω_{MIN}.

- Observation: the 2P clitics which follow AGR bear L*H- contours.

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(28) *Clitics which follow Agreement: Independent Contours*

    a. Mala^H=i=**tia**^{H} ia^H malai^H.

        can=he=only him go.home

        'Only he can go home.'

    b. *Pitch Track for (28a): Only he can go home.*
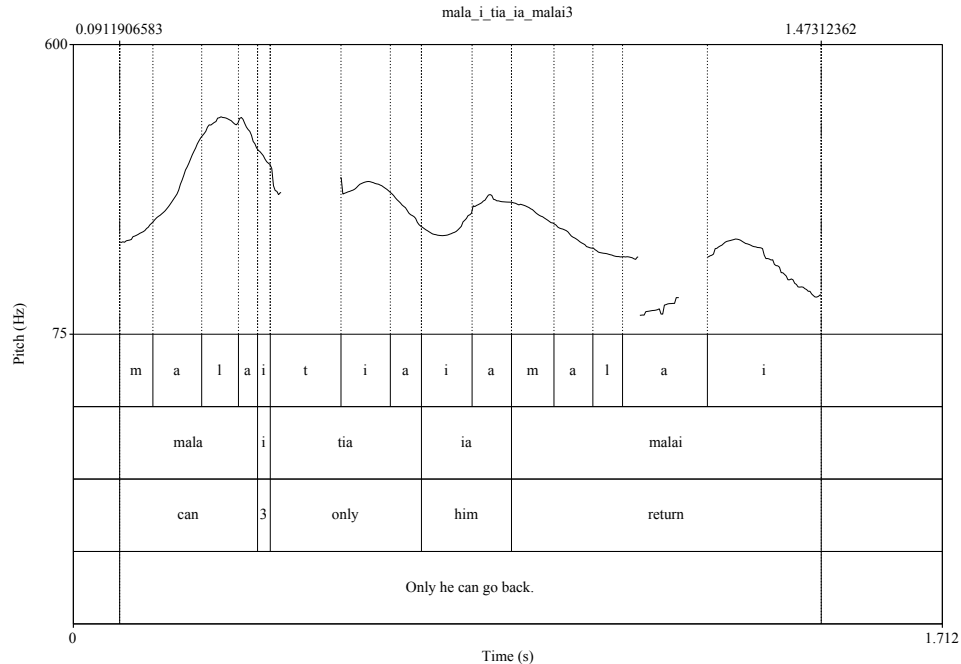
- **Claim**: these elements adjoin as independent words.

3.3 Brief Summary

- Mandar 2P elements placed prosodically.

- The 2P elements form a cluster organized by:

  - Syllable count: disyllabic > monosyllabic > agreement > disyllabic again > pronouns.
  - Scope: structurally 'higher' clitics surface farther to the right in the cluster.

- The internal prosodic structure of the cluster:

  - Everything up to agreement forms a minimal ω: single L*H- contour and stress.
  - The clitics which follow agreement: apparently adjoin as independent ωs as well.

4 Appendix: Outstanding Issues

4.1 The Status of the L*H- Constituent

- Certain phrasal categories form a single L*H- constituent.

  - Nouns and adjectives can form independent L*H- domains or form a single one together.
  - Noun-adjective sequences *must* form L*H- domains when the DP contains a D.
 - Complex PPs: also form single L*H- units when preceded by the preposition *di*.

(29) *Noun and Adjective bear Independent L*H-*

a. Maiqdi[H] **naqibaine**[H] **malolo**[H] dio[H] di Malang[H].
    Many   girl   pretty   there in CITY

    'There are lots of pretty girls in Malang'

b. Diang[H]   annang[H] **balao**[H] **manarang**[H] .
    there.are six   mouse clever

    'There are six clever mice.'

c. *Pitch Track for (29a): There are lots of pretty girls in Malang.*

maiqdi_naqiwaine_malolo_dio_di_Malang1
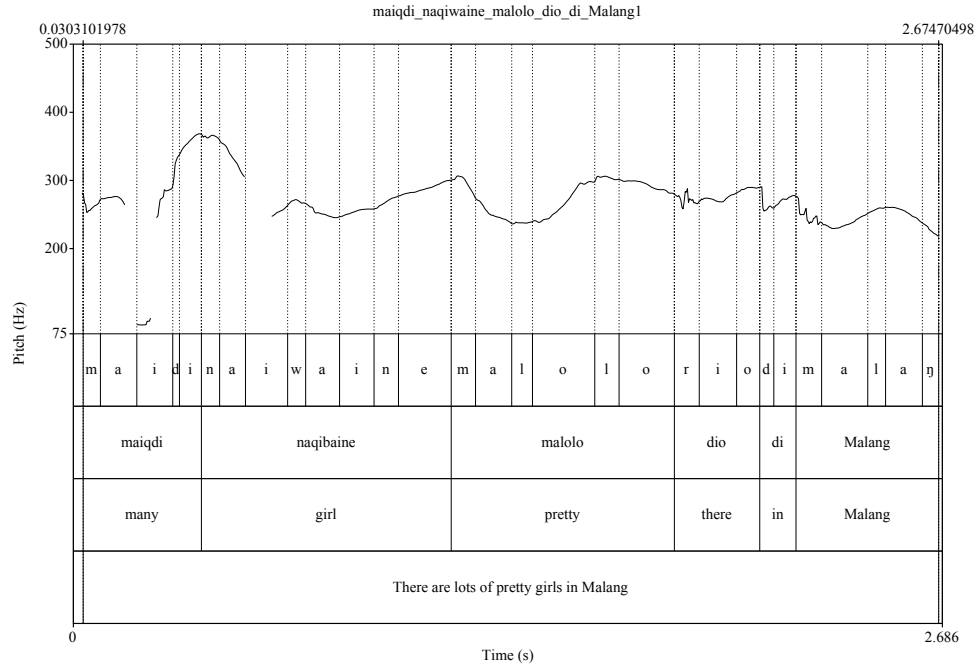
d. *Pitch Track for (29b): There are six clever mice.*

diang_annang_balao_manarang
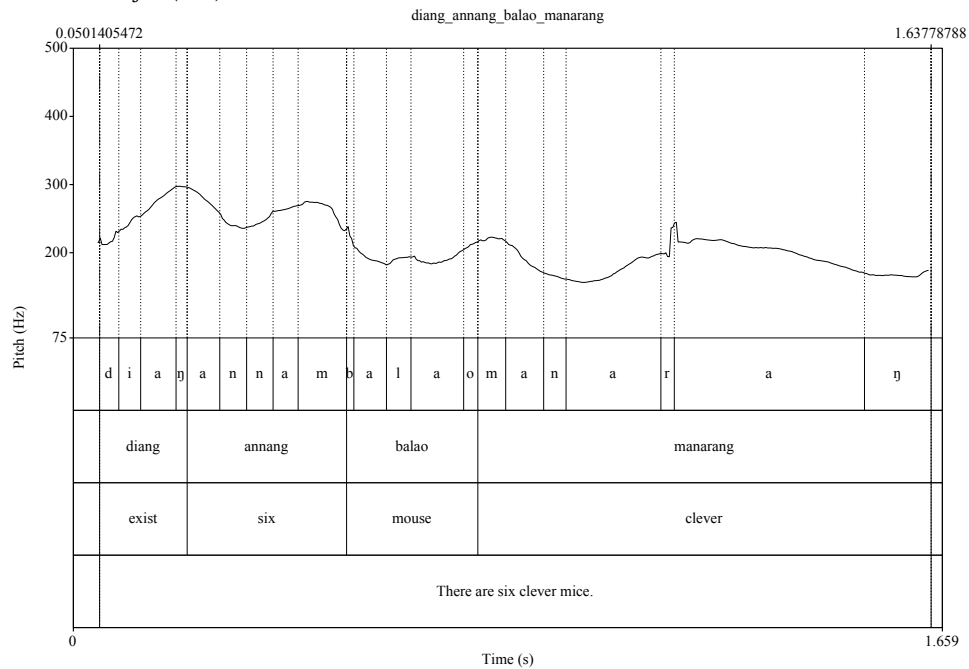
(30) *Noun and Adjective bear a single L*H- with overt D*

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a. Mambaluq[H]=i **balenga   mariri**[H] **i   balao manarang**[H] .
   sell=he   rice.cooker yellow   THE mouse clever

   'The clever mouse is selling yellow bowls.'

b. Annang[H] **ular   manaran-na**[H] i=Nabila[H].
   six   snake clever-her   NAME

   'Nabila's six clever snakes.'

c. *Pitch Track for (30a): The clever mouse is selling yellow bowls.*
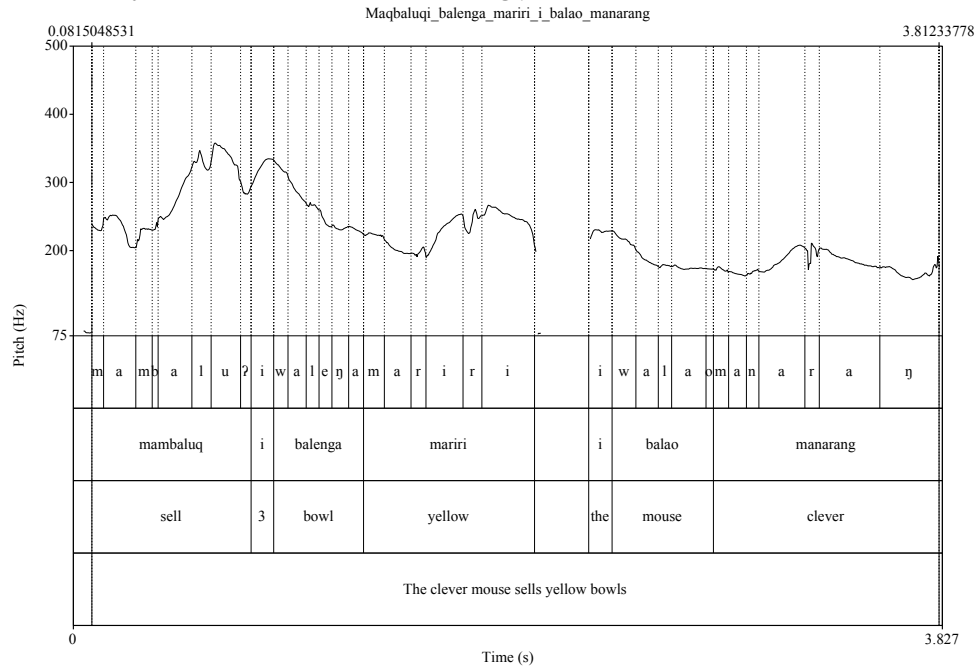

d. *Pitch Track for (30b): Nabila's six clever snakes.*
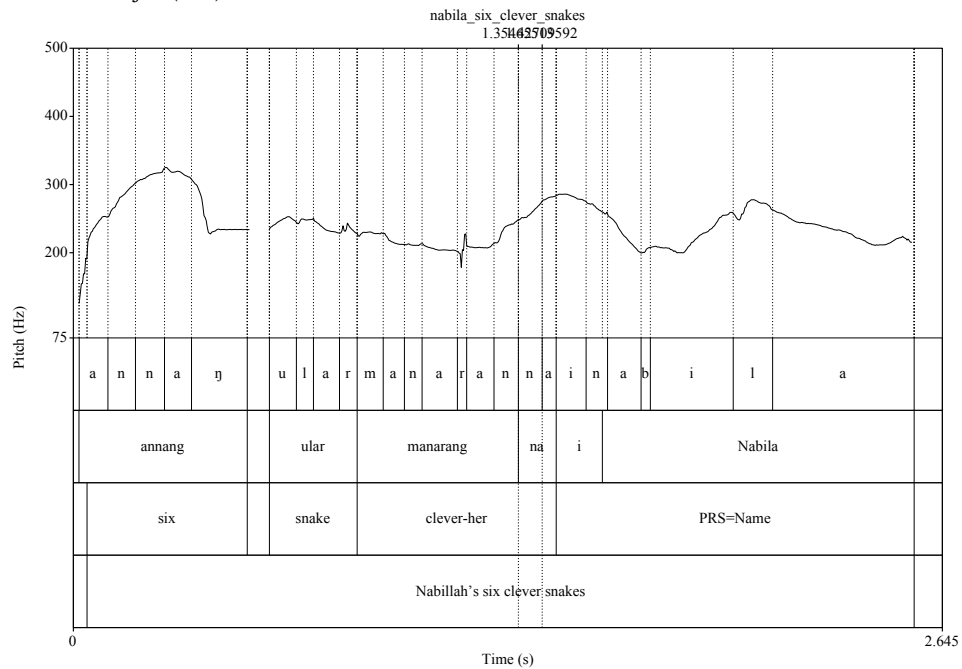
(31) *Complex PPs form a single L*H- Domain*

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a. Na=naung=nasam[H]=mi   mameang[H] **di biring uwai**[H]
   FUT=descend=all=PFV.HE fish   in edge   water

   'They'll all go down to fish at the water's edge.'

b. Diang[H] boe[H] manarang[H] dio[H] **di pondoq boyang**[H].
   there.is pig   clever   there in back   house

   'There's a smart pig out behind the house.'

c. *Pitch Track for (31a): They'll all go down to fish at the water's edge.*
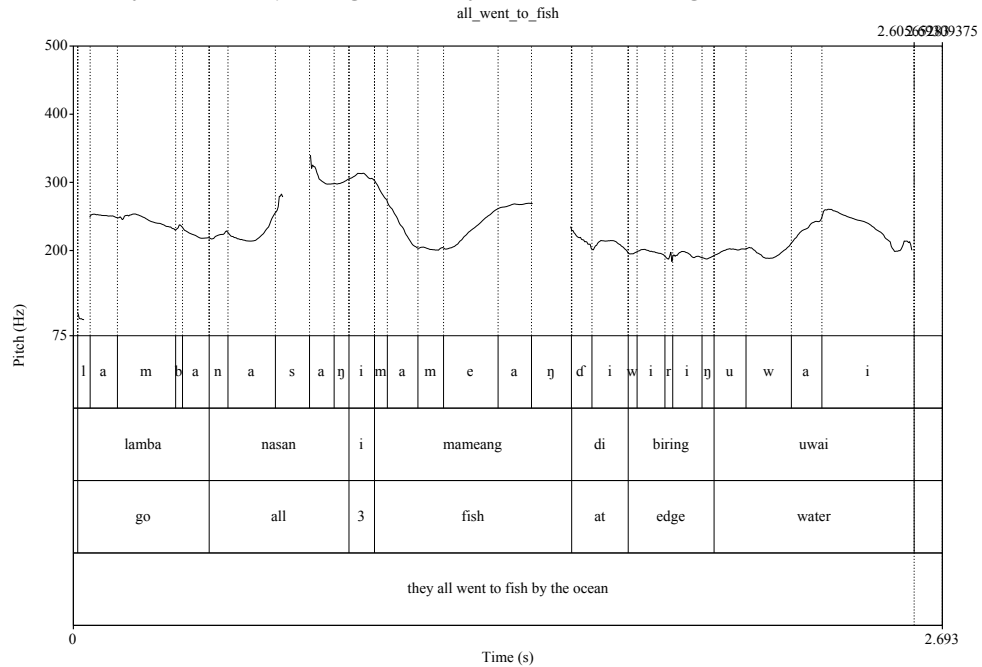
d. *Pitch Track for (31b): There's a smart pig out behind the house.*
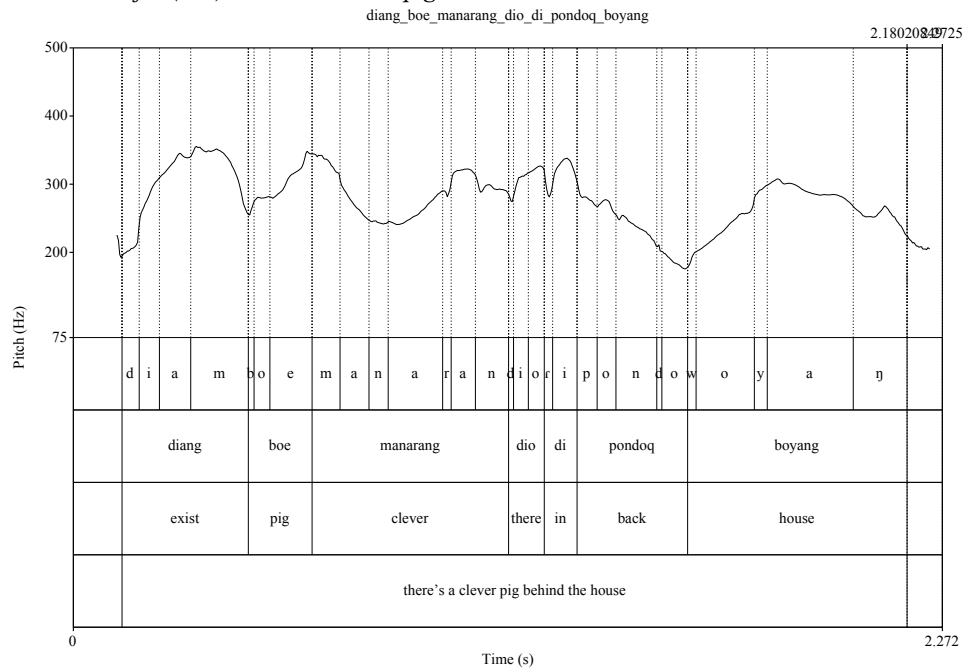
- **Claim**: this structure involves prosodic smothering.

  – Overt D and P force complex NPs to phrase as single ωs.

– Alternative: the ʟ*ʜ- accent actually associated with ϕ; makes everything more tricky.

4.2   Syntactic Height Matters

- The clitics show different behavior when the left periphery gets complex.

  – Some clitics raise to overt C: *mau* 'although' hosts 2ᴘ elements.

  – Some clitics raise to follow clause-initial foci; an even bigger problem.

- Problem: not clear how a prosodic account of clitic placement can get these effects.