

Prosodic Alignment of Weak Pronouns in Chamorro

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In Chamorro, *weak pronouns* are limited in their positional distribution compared to strong (independent) pronouns and full DPs. Weak pronouns are prosodically deficient enclitics that must lean on material to their left (Chung, 2003). Weak pronouns in Chamorro are, on the surface, *second-position* clitics that appear high within the clause, typically right after the predicate of the clause (Chung, 2003).

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| (1) Malagu' <i>gui'</i> nuebu na kareta | (2) Ma'estro-nña <i>gui'</i> si Carmen |
| AGR.want she new L car | teacher-AGR he Carmen |
| 'She wants a new car.' | 'He is Carmen's teacher.' |

Chung (2003) demonstrates that the placement of weak pronouns cannot be determined syntactically, and is instead determined prosodically. Through *prosodic subcategorization* (Bennett, Harizanov, & Henderson, 2018; Chung, 2003; Zec & Inkelas, 1990), weak pronouns are aligned to the immediate right of the leftmost phonological phrase (p-phrase) within an intonational phrase. Phrasing in Chamorro is said to be determined by a mapping constraint, aligning the left edge of a syntactic XP with the left edge of a p-phrase, and a *Generalized Strict Parsing Condition* (Zec & Inkelas, 1990; Chung, 2003).

However, with the introduction of Match-Theory by Selkirk (2011), it is important to determine whether a theory couched in Optimality Theory obtains the phrasing needed for the placement of the weak pronoun. Furthermore, the use of such a strictly defined prosodic subcategorization for the weak pronoun may be unnecessary. I propose that the placement of weak pronouns in Chamorro may be determined by a more generalized alignment constraint (3).

(3) Align-WP (i-phrase, L) – *Assign one violation for every prosodic word intervening between the weak pronoun and the left-edge of an intonational phrase*

Similar to the treatment of infixes as misaligned prefixes (McCarthy & Prince, 1993), the alignment constraint simply pressures the movement of the weak pronoun, but it is the interaction of the alignment constraint with other markedness constraints which ultimately achieves the second-position placement. A ranking of STRONG START (Bennett, Elfner, & McCloskey, 2016) above ALIGN-WP ensures the weak pronoun will not be at the leftmost edge of a phrase. This prevents the clitic from aligning too far left to immediately begin the clause, and also prevents the clitic from procliticizing, rather than encliticizing. Constraints regulating binarity of phrases, both phonological and intonational, as well as equality of sister nodes (EQUAL-SISTERS) (Bennett et al., 2016), rank above MATCHSP-XP resulting in non-isomorphism from syntactic to prosodic structure. The interaction of match-theoretic mapping constraints, generalized alignment, and markedness constraints on prosodic structure replicate the phrasing seen in Chung (2003), while correctly positioning the weak pronoun through a more generalized alignment constraint.

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