

## The internal structure of word-initial clusters in Sardinian

Rosangela Lai

Alexander von Humboldt Fellow

Sardinian is a Romance minority language spoken on the island of Sardinia (Jones 1997; Mensching & Remberger 2016). It is peculiar in the Romance group because of various phonological processes. Our purpose is to identify the structural conditions that govern syllabic changes and the creation of word-initial clusters in Sardinian. We argue that a theoretical model that offers a phonological explanation in terms of positional effects (i.e. the CVCV model, Lowenstamm 1996; Scheer 2004 and further developments) provides effective tools for an in-depth analysis of the processes under examination. Processes that affect segments and clusters will be explained in terms of lateral relations (Government and Licensing). I will survey all the clusters allowed in word-initial position in different varieties of Sardinian, most especially plosive-liquid clusters (Lai 2013a, 2014, 2015a, forthcoming), complex segments such as *sr*, *tsr*, *tʃr*, *lr*, and *mr* (Molinu 1999; Lai 2013b, forthcoming), and the typologically rare initial geminates (Bolognesi 1998; Lai 2015b) and I will show how these clusters fit into the whole of the Sardinian phonological system.

### References

- Bolognesi, R. 1998. *The Phonology of Campidanian Sardinian*. Dordrecht: HIL.
- Cossu, M. G. 2013. *Unità e variabilità fonetiche delle parlate sarde meridionali*. Edizioni Dell'Orso.
- Jones, M. A. 1997. "Sardinia", in M. Maiden & M. Parry (eds.) *The dialects of Italy*, Routledge, 376–384.
- Lai, R. 2013a. *Positional Effects in Sardinian Muta cum Liquida. Lenition, Metathesis, and Liquid Deletion*. Edizioni Dell'Orso, ISBN: 9788862744720
- Lai, R. 2013b. "Fattori posizionali nella metatesi del sardo sud-occidentale". *Annali Online dell'Università di Ferrara*, 8: 1–24, ISSN: 1826-803X
- Lai, R. 2014. "Positional Factors in the Evolution of Sardinian Muta cum Liquida: A Case Study". *L'Italia Dialettale*, 75: 149–160, ISSN: 0085-2295
- Lai, R. 2015a. "Lateral Relations in Sardinian Metathesis: A Unified Account", in D. Russo (ed.) *The Notion of Syllable across History, Theories and Analysis*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 264–293.
- Lai, R. 2015b. "Word-initial geminates in Sardinian". *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali*, 1: 37–60, ISSN: 2421-7220, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-16515>
- Lai, R. *Forthcoming*. "Sardinian". In *Manual of Romance phonetics and phonology* (Manuals of Romance Linguistics [MRL]), Christoph Gabriel, Randall Gess and Trudel Meisenburg (eds). Mouton De Gruyter.
- Lowenstamm, J. 1996. "CV as the Only Syllable Type", *Current Trends in Phonology Models and Methods*, J., Durand (ed.), European Studies Research Institute, 419–442.
- Mensching, G. & E-M. Remberger 2016. "Sardinian", in A. Ledgeway & M. Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford guide to the Romance languages*, Oxford University Press, 270–291.
- Molinu, L. 1999. "Métathèse et variation en sarde", *Cahiers de grammaire* 24: 153–181.
- Scheer, T. 2004. *A Lateral Theory of Phonology. What is CVCV and Why Should it be?* Mouton De Gruyter.