

CLITICIZATION PHENOMENA IN LANGUAGES 'ON THE BORDER'

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The Problem - The aim of this talk is to account for clitic doubling and other cliticization phenomena found in Prizren-Timok Serbian (PTS) (1a) and Gorica Slovenian (GS) (1b), two non-standard dialects spoken in Southeastern Serbia and Western Slovenia (note that generative linguistics has been completely silent on PTS). Bošković (2008) observes that languages with and without articles differ regarding a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena based on a number of cross-linguistic generalizations, where article and article-less languages display completely different behavior. He proposes to account for these differences by deducing them to a single difference between the two languages: the presence vs. absence of a DP. One of Bošković's (2008) generalizations is related to clitic doubling, as in (2). However, PTS and GS are article-less languages that have clitic doubling with pronouns (1), as noted by Marušič & Žaucer (2009, 2010) for GS, which is problematic for Bošković's (2008) account.

The Analysis - A thorough examination of the dialects in question reveals some hitherto unnoticed properties regarding the categorial status of pronouns. Bošković (2008) and Fukui (1988) argue that even pronouns are Ns in Serbo-Croatian (SC) and Japanese. One of their tests involves productive modification of pronouns; they show only N pronouns can be productively modified (there are a few cases where a pronoun can be modified in English (cf. *a healthy you*); these authors show that English is still very different from SC/Japanese, in which such modification is very productively available). The data in (3a) show that in both PTS and GS pronouns can be modified (only PTS is used for illustration). This reveals that PTS/GS pronouns are Ns. Importantly, however, doubling with such modified pronouns is banned in PTS and GS (3b). This means that N pronouns cannot undergo clitic doubling. Crucially, doubling is allowed only with non-modified pronouns (3c), hence the conclusion being that non-modified doubled pronouns must be Ds. To account for the data in (3), I propose the following: non-standard PTS and GS have N pronouns in the lexicon (like their standard vernaculars - Serbian and Slovenian). However, D feature [DF] is not yet lexicalized but added during the derivation to particular elements - namely, pronouns, as a result of an ongoing change involving lexicalization of [DF] (at least with pronouns or with pronouns initially). The dual (and identical) behavior of pronouns in PTS and GS is justified by the fact that both dialects are situated between NP (article-less) languages (Standard Serbian and Slovenian) and DP (article) languages (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Italian), hence a consequence of language contact. Thus, pronominal clitic doubling in PTS and GS is the result of a language change with the next step involving pronouns to become Ds.

Further Issues - Several additional hitherto unnoticed properties are exhibited in clitic doubling contexts in both dialects, and illustrated by PTS in (4)-(6), which raises further theoretical questions. First, a clitic and its doubled pronoun cannot be separated by a verb (4a, b) in this context. I interpret this as indicating that the doubled pronoun and the clitic in PTS and GS form a constituent. A number of authors have argued that a clitic and a doubled argument are located in the same phrase at some point during the derivation (Boeckx 2003, *i.a.*). I claim that the data in (4) give supporting evidence for this line of research. Second, the doubled clitic cannot follow a verb, while it can follow any other prosodic word (5a, b). Following Bošković's (2001) approach to cliticization in South Slavic (based on Chomsky (1993)), I argue that the order *verb-clitic* arises through a lower copy pronunciation of a non-trivial chain created by clitic movement, which I claim is blocked in the clitic doubling environment. Finally, I show that some speakers of both dialects allow doubling with full NPs. However, full NP doubling for these speakers does not show the standard definiteness/specificity effects that normally accompany clitic doubling (for example, doubling is allowed in the non-specific indefinite context in (6)). Based on this, I claim that full NP doubling in these dialects (for the speakers who allow it) is also subject to language change with [DF] becoming lexicalized in the next step, just like pronouns (see above).

Conclusions - Overall, the data from PTS and GS confirm several theoretical findings: (i) Fukui's (1988) claim that pronouns can enjoy N or D status; (ii) Bošković's (2008) account of clitic doubling as involving

D feature checking; (iii) the claim that a clitic and its associate are generated together (Boeckx 2003, *i.a.*); (iv) the assertion that lower copy pronunciation is not a preference (Bošković 2001).

- (1) a. Je l' **gu** **njuma** vide na pijacu? [PTS]
 AUX Q her.CL.ACC her.ACC saw.2SG on market
 'Did you see her in the (open) market?'
 b. Ma to **me** **mene** ne briga. [GS, Marušič & Žaucer, 2010: 103]
 but this me.CL.GEN me.GEN not cares
 'But I don't care about this.'
- (2) Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling. [Bošković 2008: 105]
- (3) a. On je svaki dan zanimljiv, ali je **jučerašnji on** bio zanimljiviji od [PTS]
 he is every day interesting but AUX yesterday's he was more interesting than
prekjučerašnjeg njega.
 the day before yesterday's he
 '*He is interesting every day but yesterday's he was more interesting than the day before
 yesterday's he.'
 b. *Jesi **ga** **jučerašnjeg njega** pitaja za što je to tako? [PTS]
 AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC yesterday's him asked why is that like that
 '*Did you ask yesterday's he why is this the case?'
 c. Jesi **ga** **njega** pitaja za što je to tako? [PTS]
 AUX.2SG him.CL.ACC him.ACC asked why is that like that
 'Did you ask him why is this the case?'
- (4) a. *Je l' **me** **čekaš mene**? [PTS]
 AUX Q me.CL.ACC wait.2SG me.ACC
 b. Je l' **me** **mene** čekaš?
 AUX Q me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG
 'Are you waiting for me?'
- (5) a. *Čekaš **me** **mene**? [PTS]
 wait.2SG me.CL.ACC me.ACC
 b. Ti **me** **mene** čekaš?
 you me.CL.ACC me.ACC wait.2SG
 'Are you waiting for me?'
- (6) Izvin'te. Imate **(gu)** **salvetu**? [PTS]
 sorry have.2SG it.CL.ACC napkin
 'Excuse me. Do you have a napkin?'

References

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