

Cyclic clitic incorporation and High-tone spreading in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

Aida Talić (University of Connecticut)

I investigate Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) enclitics focusing on a previously unexplored phenomenon of *High-tone spreading* (HTS) from enclitics onto their hosts in a BCS dialect in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. The paradigm revealed here bears on the question of what aspects of syntactic structure condition phonological processes and how syntactic locality is reflected in the prosodic structure. I show that HTS is possible only if the host and the clitic belong to the same spell-out domain (SOD) (Chomsky 2000). This investigation provides evidence for the phase-based mapping from the syntax to the prosody (Kratzer and Selkirk 2007; Kahnemuyipour 2004).

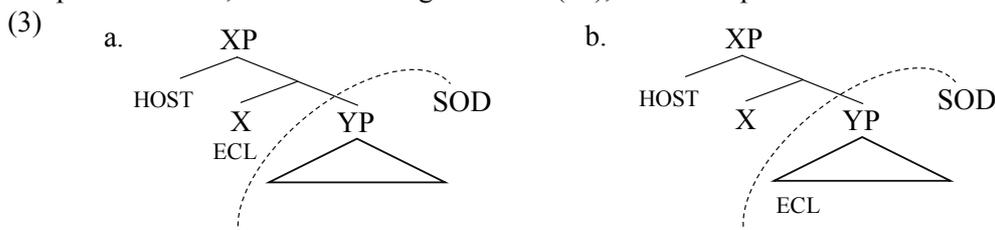
The main puzzles: BCS enclitics can interact with the accent of the particle *da* and some wh-words. In that case, the host gets a rising accent [š^á, d^á] due to HTS (see e.g. Inkelas and Zec 1988), which spreads the High tone from the enclitic onto the preceding syllable. Otherwise, [da] is unaccented, and wh-words get a default falling accent [š^{tà}]. Crucially, the same enclitic can interact with the accent of the host in some constructions (1a&c), but not in others (1b&d).

- (1) a. Š^{tó} su kupili auto? c. Š^{tá} mu je rekao? (✓)
 why are bought car what him.DAT is said
 ‘Why did they buy a car?’ ‘What did he say to him?’
- b. Kaže da su kupili auto. d. Š^{tà} mu govori? (✗)
 says that are bought car what him.DAT tells
 ‘He says that they bought a car.’ ‘What is he telling him?’

(2) Domain of HTS in BCS: prosodic word (ω_{min}).

Given that the prosodic word is the domain of HTS in BCS, for HTS to take place in (1), the enclitic needs to be incorporated into the ω of the host as an *internal* clitic in Selkirk’s (1996) sense. Why are the clitics in (1a&c) incorporated into the ω_{min} , but not in (1b&d)?

Main proposal: Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), I assume the complement of a phase head is a SOD, and argue the main reason for the contrasts in (1) is that in (1a&c), there is no SOD boundary between the host and the clitic as in (3a), but in (1b&d) the clitic and the host are in separate SODs, as in (3b). Thus, in the configuration in (3a), the host and the clitic can be mapped to prosody as one prosodic word, but in the configuration in (3b), this is not possible.



To capture the effect of SOD boundaries on HTS, I propose (4):

(4) *Simultaneous Spell-Out Condition (SSC):*

A clitic C incorporates into the prosodic word of the host H iff C and H are in the same spell-out domain and they are immediately adjacent.

Given (2) and (4), HTS from an enclitic to the host takes place only if the two belong to same SOD, otherwise, it is not possible. Thus, in (1a) *šta* is in SpecCP and *su* raises to C, the head of a phase. *Šta* and *su* are in the highest SOD of this clause. Given that both the host and the clitic undergo spell-out at the same time, they are mapped to the prosodic structure as one prosodic word, and the High tone can spread from the enclitic to the host. In contrast, *da* in the declarative clause in (1b) is in C, but the auxiliary is within the complement of C, a separate SOD. Thus, the host *da*

and the clitic *su* do not undergo spell-out at the same time, and the clitic does not incorporate into the prosodic word of the host, making HTS from the enclitic to the host impossible. Stjepanović (1998) provides evidence from VP ellipsis (5) that object clitics are in a lower syntactic position than auxiliary clitics. Crucially, in (5) VP-ellipsis removes object clitics, stranding the auxiliary *je* in T (See also Bošković 2001 for additional evidence for lower positions of object clitics).

- (5) On mi ga je dao, a i ona je ~~mi~~ ~~ga~~ ~~dala~~ takođe.
 he me.DAT it.ACC is gave, and also she is ~~me.DAT~~ ~~it.ACC~~ give too
 ‘He gave it to me, and she did, too.’

In (1c-d) the object *mu* is within the complement of C, and the wh-host is in SpecCP. Thus, in (1c-d), *šta* and *mu* are in separate SODs based on their syntactic positions. In (1d) there is no incorporation of the object clitic into the host, which is expected. Why does then the low object clitic *mu* incorporate into its host in (1c)? The main difference between (1c) and (1d) is that the object clitic is followed by *je* in (1c), but not in (1d). Crucially, low object clitics incorporate to the host only when they are *followed* by a clitic that is *high* in the syntax. This only happens with *je*, which has an idiosyncratic PF-requirement to not be followed by another clitic (Bošković 2001); all other auxiliaries precede object clitics. Given that this is an exceptional PF-requirement of *je*, I argue that in (1c) *je* is in C and *mu* in its complement in the syntax, which yields *je+mu* order in the syntax (see (5) which shows that object clitics are lower than *je*). When *je* is linearized in PF with respect to the elements in the lower SOD, it is clear that the PF requirement of *je* (to follow all other clitics) is violated. I suggest that a PF-repair operation applies and lifts *mu* from the lower SOD and relinearizes it in front of *je*, avoiding violating the requirement of *je*. As a result, the object clitic can incorporate into the wh-host in (1c) and HTS takes place. Crucially, since the reordering between the object clitic and *je* takes place due to a PF requirement of *je*, when *je* is absent, *mu* cannot reach the higher SOD. The first case of that sort is in (1d), where the object clitic cannot incorporate into the wh-host in (1d) and HTS cannot take place. Furthermore, in the presence of the clitic *se* ‘self’, the clitic *je* is preferably omitted. BCS past tense has an auxiliary verb and a participle of the lexical verb, as in (1a-c). However, when the clitic *se* occurs in a past tense sentence where *je* would be used as an auxiliary, the clitic *je* is dropped, as in (6). Crucially, the HTS does not take place from the object clitic to its host.

- (6) Šta mu se desilo? (X)
 what him.DAT SE happened ‘What happened to him?’

Interestingly, the presence/absence of *se* has no effect on HTS from clitics that are higher in the syntax than object clitics. HTS always takes place from the interrogative particle *li* which originates high in the left periphery (7a) (see e.g. Gračanin-Yuksek 2016), as well as from auxiliaries in yes-no questions, which raise to C (7b).

- (7) a. Šta li su se dogovorili? b. Šta su se dogovorili? (✓)
 what FOC are SE agreed what are SE agreed
 ‘I wonder what they agreed.’ ‘What did they agree?’

The SSC proposed here captures several puzzles posed by the new observations about accent interaction between enclitics and their hosts in BCS: why HTS sometimes takes place from clitics that have a lexical High tone and sometimes not, why HTS always takes place with some clitics, and why the presence of *se* affects HTS from low clitics, but not from high clitics. Given that the presence/absence of an SOD boundary between a host and a clitic plays a crucial role in whether the enclitic incorporates into the host, these data also provide evidence that BCS enclitics are not in the same syntactic position, regardless of their second position requirement (see Bošković 2001; Stjepanović 1998).