

A division of labor between the remnant movement and the left branch extraction in Serbo-Croatian(SC)

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Diesing&Zec (2011,2017) present the experimental data involving predicates and arguments ‘split’ by the copula (the second position clitic). The crucial distinction I focus on is a discourse neutral order with ‘split’ predicates (1) and a discourse marked order with ‘split’ arguments (4).

Context: You must be well prepared.

- (1) Veoma **je** važan ovaj zadatak. (2) Ovaj zadatak **je** veoma važan.
 very is important this task this task is very important
 lit. ‘This task is very important.’ ‘This task is very important.’

Context: John thinks that xeroxing research on clitics is important. But, I disagree.

- (3) Veoma VAŽAN **je** ovaj zadatak. (4) OVAJ **je** zadatak veoma važan.
 very important is this task this is task very important
 ‘This task is very IMPORTANT (and not trivial).’ ‘THIS task is very important (and not xeroxing research on clitics).’

While (4) has a more obvious syntactic resolution via left branch extraction (LBE) (Wilder&Čavar (1994), Bošković (2005)), a movement to an A-bar position, the same analysis does not transfer to the split predicate in (1), in which ‘splitting’ does not have an LF effect, as it does in (4). The question is whether (1) is derivable syntactically, and if it is, what kind of syntactic analysis derives it. The semantic asymmetry contingent on the syntactic position as in (1&4) is also found with subjects and objects. The result of a questionnaire with six native speakers of Croatian, shows that, under a neutral discourse, subjects in which the adverb is separated from the rest of the constituent by a copula (5), are degraded, as opposed to the objects with a similar internal structure (6). (5) improves under contrastive focus on the adverb (7):

Context: Do you have anything to report?

- (5) ??Jako **je** glupo pitanje zainteresiralo predavača .
 Very is stupid question interested lecturer
 Intended: ‘A very stupid question interested the speaker.’

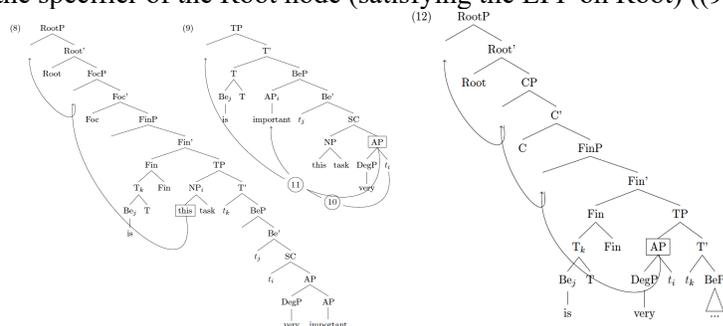
Context: What did Marko do?

- (6) Jako **je** glupo pitanje postavio.
 very is stupid question made
 ‘He asked a very stupid question.’

Context: You say that a question that was not downright stupid drew the speaker’s attention, but that is not true.

- (7) JAKO **je** glupo pitanje zainteresiralo predavača .
 very is stupid question interested lecturer
 ‘A VERY stupid question interested the speaker (and not the one with a negligible degree of stupidity).’

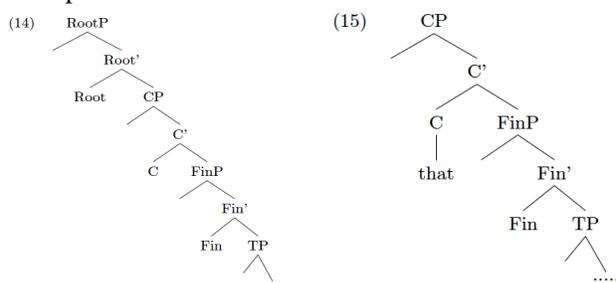
The generalization emerging from (1&4) and (5-7) is reminiscent of a crosslinguistically well-known one: predicates and objects pattern the same (under the neutral discourse), and the subjects behaves differently (Huang (1982)). I argue that the asymmetry can be captured entirely in syntax (contrary to Diesing&Zec (2017): with subjects, ‘splitting’ is a result of the (left branch) extraction out of a raised constituent, to a Focus position ((8) derives (4)), with predicates and objects ((9-12) derive (1)), the ‘splitting’ is obtained syntactically via complex predicate formation (the copula forms a complex with the predicate) occurring early in the derivation (10), followed by the movement of the remnant (11) to spec TP, and from there to the specifier of the Root node (satisfying the EPP on Root) ((9) is continued in (12)).



The copula, merged in Be (9), moves independently, adjoining to T, where it is spelled-out as finite *je* ‘is’ (Bošković (1997)), and lands in Fin, pied-piping T along (12). The independent motivation for the complex formation followed by the remnant movement is less apparent in the grammar of SC, as opposed to the LBE. For instance, the analysis in (9-12) predicts *very* (contained in the AP remnant) to be separated from *important* (in spec BeP) when (1) is embedded under a complementizer as in (13). However, this is not directly observable, given the linear order, in which *je* must follow the complementizer (13) and not the remnant (14).

- (13)...da je veoma važan ovaj zadatak/ (14)... *da veoma je važan ovaj zadatak.
 that is very important this task that very is important this task
 ‘...that this task is very important.’

(13) does not threaten the proposed analysis under assumption that the position of the remnant in (13) is determined by the ‘size’ of the clause, by the standard of which the embedded clause is structurally ‘smaller’ than the root clause. Thus, the complex predicate formation occurs in (13) as well, but it is obscured by the absence of RootP (cf.14&15). Since there is no RootP in (13) (see (15)), nothing attracts the remnant to a position higher than the spec TP, thus the remnant follows the complementizer in C, and the copula is in Fin.



Another diagnostic which shows that complex predicate formation occurs in (13), is the position of the subject. The subject can intervene between the remnant containing *very* and the AP *important* in spec BeP, only if it is focused (14). Analytically, (14) shows that when the remnant is raised to spec TP, the small clause subject, which, outside of the small clause, targets the same position in the canonical order of a copular construction (Moro (1997)), must occur in another available position (i.e. a low focus position occurring between TP and BeP). In (14), the copula shows up in T, which is unsurprising given, by now standard assumption, that the position of the clitic is not tied to a single position in the clause (Bošković (2001)).

- (14) ...da veoma je OVAJ zadatak važan.
 that very is this task important
 ...’that THIS task is very important (and not the other one).’

To summarize, I have suggested that both LBE and the remnant movement play an independent role in the grammar of SC. Thus, a division of labor: the remnant movement is parasitic on complex predicate formation, which occurs only from an object or a predicate, and results in a neutral order. Conversely, LBE derives a split from the subject, to an A-bar position, making this movement consistent with the empirical and theoretical findings in Serbo-Croatian (Bošković (2005)). A consequence of such analytical division is a set of independently motivated syntactic tools which derive (the most of) the second position phenomenon in Serbo-Croatian uniformly in syntax without a recourse to post-syntactic operations.

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