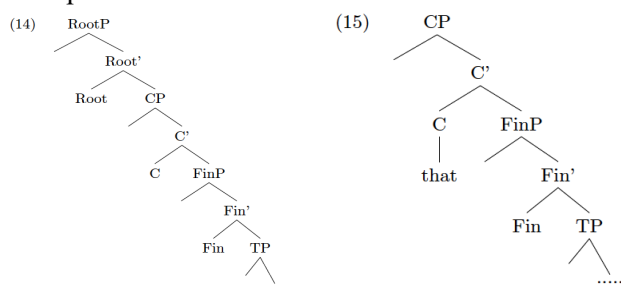


The copula, merged in Be (9), moves independently, adjoining to T, where it is spelled-out as finite *je* ‘is’ (Bošković (1997)), and lands in Fin, pied-piping T along (12). The independent motivation for the complex formation followed by the remnant movement is less apparent in the grammar of SC, as 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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