

Syntax coming 1st in second position cliticization: analysis of sentence initial predicates

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The abstract proposes a uniform syntactic derivation of the second position auxiliary clitic (the copula) with sentence initial adjectival predicates, when ‘second position’ means the position following the 1st word of the sentence (thus, 1st word position)(2a). The analysis rests on two familiar analytical tools, complex predicate formation (denDikken 2006; Koopman&Szabolcsi 2000) and predicate inversion (Moro 1997), and thus dispenses with the less parsimonious analyses which derive second position at least partially in prosody (e.g. Halpern 1995; Diesing&Zec 2017). The analysis is concerned with the experimental data from Diesing&Zec (2017; 2011), which show that the clitic position following the 1st word has a different discourse effect with sentence initial predicates than sentence initial arguments (1-4). Whereas the 1st position is preferred in the neutral context (1) with initial predicates ((2a) as opposed to (2b)), with initial arguments, the same position is preferred when the context forces contrastive interpretation on the word preceding the clitic (3)((4a) as opposed to (4b)):

(1) You must be well prepared.

(2a) Veoma je važan ovaj zadatak. (1st word position)
 very be.PRS.3SG important this task
 lit. ‘This task is very important.’ (predicate initial)

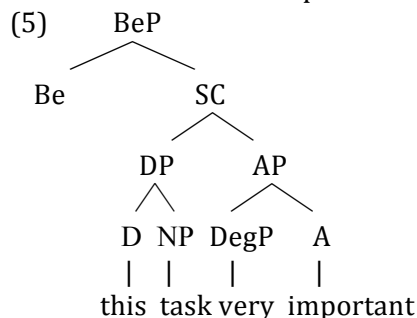
(2b) ???Veoma važan je ovaj zadatak.
 very important be.PRS.3SG this task
 Intended: ‘This task is very important.’

(3) John thinks that xeroxing research on clitics is important. But, I disagree.

(4a) OVAJ je zadatak veoma važan. (1st word position)
 very important be.PRS.3SG this task
 ‘THIS task is very important (and not xeroxing research on clitics!).’ (argument initial)

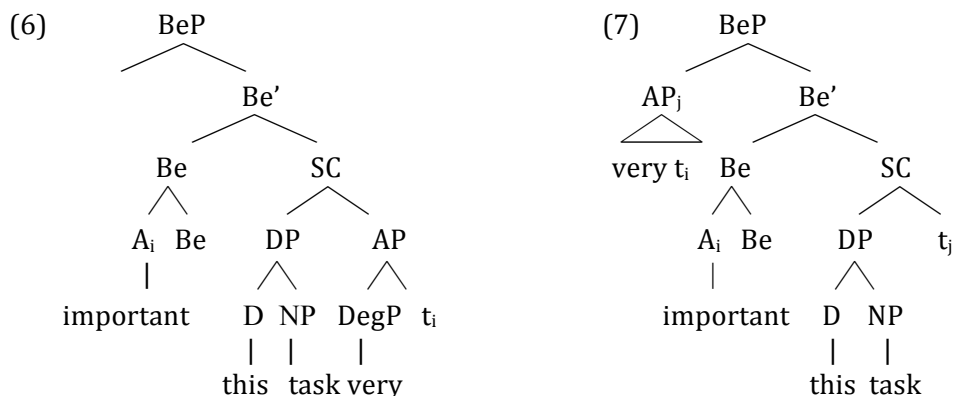
(4b) ???Ovaj zadatak je veoma važan.
 this task be.PRS.3SG very important
 Intended: ‘THIS task is very important (and not xeroxing research on clitics!)’

While the syntactic derivation of the 1st word position with sentence initial predicates, has not been attempted, the 1st word position with sentence initial arguments has been derived via left branch extraction (LBE) (Franks&Progovac 1994). While LBE is well motivated in the derivation of the 1st word position with fronted arguments (paralleling wh-movement, see Franks&Progovac 1994), applying the same operation in the derivation of (2a) predicts a wrong output, namely contrastive interpretation of *veoma* ‘very’. Thus, the syntactic mechanism that splits (2a) cannot be LBE. The proposed analysis of (2a) starts with the constituency in (5), which shows a predicate construction in which the copula (Be) merges with a small clause (SC) complement (Stowell 1981) consisting of the subject *ovaj zadatak* ‘this task’ and a predicate *veoma važan* ‘very important’:

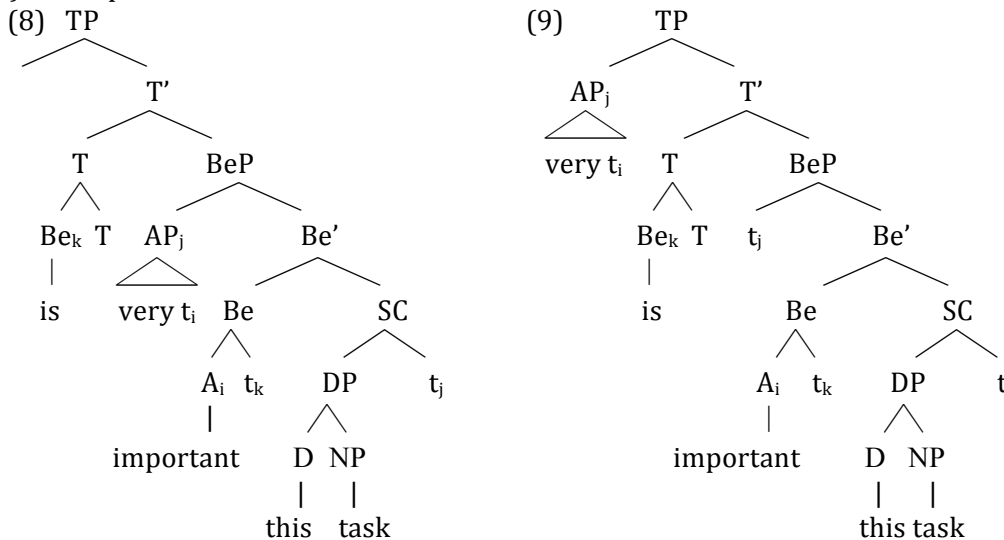


Subsequent steps of the derivation following Be merging with SC as in (5) are as follows. A incorporates into Be forming a complex predicate (6). Once a head is merged with an XP, movement to its specifier ensues driven by the EPP on the head (Koopman&Szabolcsi 2000). This motivates

the movement of AP remnant to spec BeP (predicate inversion) as a step following complex predicate formation (7):



Next, T merges with BeP, and Be incorporates into T where it checks person and tense features (8). Finally, T attracts the closest XP to its specifier which is the AP in spec BeP (9), and the derivation of (2a) is complete:



The next challenge for the complex predicate analysis is derivation of clitic position in other types of predicate constructions, such as constructions with prepositions, in which case the clitic can follow both the 2nd word of the sentence (11a) and the 1st word (11b) following a neutral context (10) (Diesing&Zec 2017):

- (10) The prices of strawberries are horrible!
 (11a) Protiv svake su logike./ (11b) Protiv su svake logike.
 against every be.PRS.3SG logic against be.PRS.3PL every logic
 'They are against every logic.' 'They are against every logic.'

The analysis of (11a-b) is to be determined, but the current analytical approach looks promising for these cases as well.

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