

Enclisis and proclisis in Serbian/Croatian

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The end-based theory of function word prosody (Selkirk 1995) cannot describe grammars that yield both enclitics and proclitics. Rather, it predicts the direction of clisis to be constant within a language (except in the case of clitics that are morphosyntactically adjoined to their host word). However, some dialects of Serbian/Croatian exhibit both enclitics and proclitics. In most or all dialects, the second-position clitics, which include reduced pronouns and auxiliaries, reflexive *se* and question/focusing *li*, are phonologically enclitic on a preceding word (see 2). In some of these dialects, another class of function words including prepositions, the negator *ne* and negative particle *ni*, and less often complementizers and conjunctions, are proclitic on a following word (see 3) (Vuković 1940, Magner & Matejka 1971, Browne 1993, Zec 1993). In fact, these categories show an implicational asymmetry, with proclisis of complementizers and conjunctions implying proclisis of prepositions and negation (within the same dialect).

Zec 2002 accounts for the presence of both enclisis and proclisis by allowing function words to subcategorize for degree and direction of clisis, abandoning the premise of interface constraint-based approaches to prosodization that prosodic structure is a constraint-mediated mapping from syntactic categories and structure. Yet this premise is supported by the fact that the division between enclitics and proclitics respects syntactic categories (see above).

I propose that the end-based theory can be maintained with the addition of a condition along the lines of the *Sense Unit Condition* (Selkirk 1983). I offer an Optimality-Theoretic analysis in which a version of this condition is expressed by two constraints — not hierarchically ranked but standing in a stringency relation — that enforce the parsing of functional heads into the same prosodic word (PWd) with their complements. These interact with a third constraint on the alignment of lexical and prosodic words.

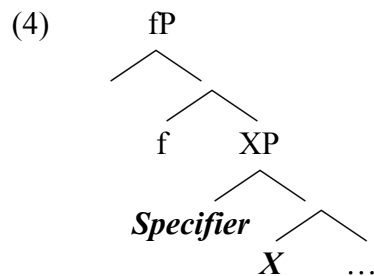
- (1) a. COMP- ω : A functional head is parsed into the same PWd with its complement.
- b. COMP- ω -LOCAL: A functional head is parsed into the same PWd with its *local complement*. If *f* is a functional head with complement XP, then the local complement of *f* includes any element in the head or Specifier of XP (see 4).
- c. AL-L(LEX| ω): Align the left edge of every lexical word with the left edge of some PWd.

When not overruled by higher-ranking constraints, COMP- ω causes functional heads like prepositions, negation, complementizers and conjunctions to procliticize to *the leftmost word* of their complement. By comparison, the more specific COMP- ω -LOCAL causes proclisis only in a subset of these categories: those that immediately dominate a maximal projection with lexical material in its head or Specifier positions, namely prepositions and negation.

Differences among dialects are obtained by different relative rankings of the COMP- ω constraints with the constraint AL-L(LEX| ω), which prefers enclisis over proclisis. In dialects where AL-L(LEX| ω) outranks the COMP- ω constraints, there is no proclisis. When either COMP- ω or COMP- ω -LOCAL outranks AL-L(LEX| ω), this yields proclisis of all or a subset of the procliticizing categories, respectively. Thus, this account yields the observed implicational asymmetry within the procliticizing categories.

The second-position clitics, by contrast, are predicted never to procliticize. The pronouns do not take syntactic complements, *li* follows its complement, and the auxiliaries are raised away from their complement — VP — in the syntax, and therefore cannot procliticize to it.

- (2) a. Prèdstavit **ćemo im se**.
 predstaviti=**ćemo =im =se**
 introduce =FUT.1P=3DP=REFL.ACC
 We will introduce ourselves to them.
- b. Dájěš **li mu ih** svàkī dān?
 dajěš =**li=mu =ih** svakī dān
 give.2SG=Q=3M/NDS=3AP every day
 Do you give them to him every day? (Franks & King 2000:26)
- (3) a. **ù** kuću ‘into house’
 b. **pòd** rǔku ‘(to) under hand’
 c. **nà** bržem kònju ‘on a faster horse’
 d. **isprèd** kuće ‘in front of house’
 e. **nè** trebā ‘doesn’t need’
 f. **nī o** kome ‘about no one’
 g. **ì** čěsto ‘and often’
 h. **dà** vidīm ‘that I see’
 (Vuković 1940, Magner & Matejka 1971, Zec 1993, 2002, Kordić 1997)



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