Thoughts on the (Not so Left) Periphery in South Slavic

This talk explores aspects of the status and distribution of *da, li,* and *(j)e* in the S Sl languages. These are functional heads which can occur in positions of varying heights, with details depending on the specific construction and language under consideration. The elements interact in interesting ways.

***Da* and *li*.** One point of departure is the form *da li*, which can introduce Yes/No interrogatives:

(1) a. Da li oni vole Mariju?   [BCS]
        'Do they love Marija?'
    b. Dali te vidjaxa knigata?   [Bg]
        '(I wonder), did they see the book?'
    c. Dali ḱe dojdeš so nas?   [Mac]
        'Will you come with us?'

A question to be explored—for each of the languages—is whether movement is involved, with (i) *da* a C(omplementizer) and *li* starting below it or (ii) *li* in C and *da* starting below it, or there is no movement, with (iii) *dali* simply a full form of *li*, either along the lines of Slvn *ali* (or with expletive *da* inserted as a last resort to support prosodically stranded *li*). An attempt to defend (ii) will be made for Bg and (iii) for BCS, with Mac possibly embodying both options. This allows us to keep *li* in C and also to explain why the verbal complex need not immediately follow *dali* as it does *li*. Compare the following, from Izvorski (1995), with (1b):

(2) Na kino li bjaxa decata?   [Bg]
    'Were the kids at the MOVIES?'
    [cf. *Na kino li decata bjaxa?]

On the other hand, the felicity of (3), from Rudin (1982/2013), could be problematic for analyses in which *da* is not introduced directly under C:

(3) Dali na kino da otidem?   [Bg]
    '(I wonder), shall we go to the movies?'

This is consistent with assuming multiple sources for *da*.

Just *li*. A second point of departure is the position of *li* inside the verbal complex in Bg:

(4) a. Ne sí li mu gi dala?   [Bg]
        'Did you not give him them?'
    b. Dala li si mu gi?
        'Did you give him them?'

Since participles never move to C (cf. Bošković 2001), the verbal complex remains to the right of/lower than *li*, which prosodically adjoins to the adjacent P(rosodic)-Word; this is realized as right-adjunction because *li* cannot be initial in its P-Word. In (4a) this is to [$_\omega$ *ne sí*], in (4b) it is to [$_\omega$ *si mu gi dála*], with the Clitic Group *si mu gi* subsequently also right-adjoining, since, in Bg, these clitics cannot be initial in their Utterance:

(5) a. li [$_\omega$ ne sí] [$_\omega$ mu gi [$_\omega$ dála]] $\Longrightarrow$ [$_\omega$ [$_\omega$ ne sí] li] [$_\omega$ mu gi [$_\omega$ dála]]
    b. li [$_\omega$ si mu gi [$_\omega$ dála]] $\Longrightarrow$ [$_\omega$ [$_\omega$ si mu gi [$_\omega$ dála]] li] $\Longrightarrow$ [$_\omega$ [$_\omega$ [$_\omega$ dála] li] si mu gi]

Note that the intermediate stage in (5b), *Si mu gi dala li?*, is the correct output in Mac, which lacks Utterance non-initiality. In BCS expletive *da* is inserted (*Da li si mu ih dala?*); a *da* option also exists in Bg, but is not expletive because *da* adds dubitative modality; cf. (1b) and (3).

Quirks of *j(e)*. A third concern is the mixed behavior of 3rd sg aux *(j)e*, which famously comes last throughout S Sl but, in BCS, is the stem for tonic auxiliaries (6a) and also supports *li* (6b):

(6) a. Jesi li čula da …?   [BCS]
     'Did you hear that …?'
   b. Je li ona čula da…
     'Did she hear that …?'

On the basis of comparative S Sl data, it is argued that *je* is a T(ense) head which, in (6a), adjoins to *si* in Agr; this does not happen in Slvn, which may relate to the fact that the well-known *je* resolutions of BCS (e.g., *je je > ju je*; *se je > se*) are absent in Slvn. Extending the account to (6b), however, raises questions, since *je* in C is compatible with tensed verbs, but not a lower aux clitic (except, marginally, another *je*; see Bošković 2001: 131):

(7) a. Je li oni vole Mariju?   [BCS]
     'Do they love Marija?'
   b. *Je li su oni volili Mariju?
     'Did they love Marija?'

An account is proposed whereby 3rd sg Agr is null (as in W Sl), T moves to Agr, and Agr moves to C.

References

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