

## Clitic placement and the properties of the Intonational Phrase in Serbian

The aim of this paper is to investigate the prosodic properties of the contexts where two types of non-default clitic placements in Serbian occur: delayed clitic placement and clitic placement after a pause.

It is well-known that the second position effect of SC clitics is cancelled when the first constituent is set off from the rest of the clause by some kind of prosodic break. This happens with appositives (1), parentheticals (2) and fronted heavy constituents and/or the so-called 'topicalization' structures (3).

The standard assumption is that appositives, parentheticals and fronted heavy constituents or topicalization structures (Zec and Inkelas 1990) come as independent Intonational Phrases, with prosodic breaks preventing encliticization. The 2nd position effect is then defined on prosodic grounds as a requirement for the clitic to be in the 2nd position of their own intonational phrases (cf. Bošković 2005, Radanović-Kocić 1988).

The first complication with this descriptive generalization is that the I-boundary is taken for granted, with very little information about the exact phonological and phonetic properties, as well as independent evidence for their existence (cf. Radanović-Kocić, but also Schütze 1994, and Werle 2009). Even the core property of an I-boundary – the pause/break – is quite illusive, since it does not seem to be of the same type at all the assumed boundaries. Thus, intuitively, a pause separating the antecedent from the appositive seems to be stronger than the one following the appositive (5). A similar observation has been made for pauses after fronted non-heavy (single-word) phrases and after heavy (multi-word) phrases (Čamdžić and Hudson 2006: 324).

The second problem is the possibility of the so-called clitic placement after pauses (cf. Schütze 1994 and the references there). Cliticization after heavy constituents is most often found with the auxiliary clitic *je*, although other clitics as well are possible there, especially with single-word predicates (6), (contra Browne 1986, cited in Schütze 1994). Also, it is not unusual to find cases of cliticization after appositives (less so, or perhaps opposite to parentheticals), as in (7), especially in the spoken language. The existence of such examples poses a serious question either about the nature of the clitic (cf. Bošković 2001, and the proposal about the loss of cliticness) or the nature of the I-boundary (cf. Schütze 1994, where he argues that the pauses in cases such as (6-7) are crucially different from those such as (1-4), however, without offering any concrete phonological or phonetic evidence for this).

Following Godjevac 2006, and some insights from Selkirk 2005, we assume the following properties distinguishing IP as a prosodic unit: specific boundary tone (H%, signaling continuity, and L%, signaling finality; boundary tones are to a certain extent independent of lexical tones/pitch accents), substantial ('comma') pause and/or phrase-final lengthening, and strong pitch reset. In a production experiment, we examine how these properties relate to the clitic-delaying structures in (1-4), and how they differ in cases where they can serve as clitic hosts (6-7).

We show that (a) in cliticization after heavy constituents typical prosodic properties of IP's are obliterated; namely there is no break or reset, and such cases differ very little from ordinary (second position) cases; (b) the length of temporal disjuncture varies depending on the constituent type and length; and (c) there is little evidence that shorter topicalized/fronted elements render a separate IP.

- (1) Majina tetka, profesorica latinskog, objasnila mi je ablativ.  
Maja's aunt professor of-Latin explained me.DAT.CL AUX.3SG.CL ablative  
'Maja's aunt, a teacher of Latin, explained ablative to me'
- (2) Slavna balerina, kako sazanaje Politka, predstaviće nam se novom ulogom.  
famous ballerina as finds Politika introduce to-us.RFL with- new role  
'The famous ballerina, as 'Politika' finds out, will introduce herself to us with a new role'
- (3) a. Pre nekoliko godina palo mi je na pamet da odem u Španiju  
before several years fell to-me AUX on mind to go to Spain  
A few years ago it occurred to me I could go to Spain  
b. Dve osobe iz Bara lakše su povređene u dve saobraćajne nesreće u Beogradu  
two person from Bar lightly AUX injured in two traffic accidents in Belgrade  
'Two people from Bar were lightly injured in two traffic accidents in Belgrade'
- (4) a. Lica ne razanaje im. (Radanović-Kocić 1988: 107)  
faces them not distinguish  
'He doesn't distinguish their faces.'  
b. Danima zadaje im puno problema.  
for-days gives them lots of-problems  
'For days he's been giving them lots of problems'
- (5) Marija ## naša profesorica latinskog# dolazi sutra.
- (6) a. Problemi o kojima ćemo danas razgovarati su nam neprijatni.  
problems about which shall today discuss AUX. to-us unpleasant  
'The problems that we shall discuss today are unpleasant to us.'  
b. Moj brat koji se zove Marko se ženi/je stigao/nam je pomogao  
my brother who REFL call Marko REFL marry/AUX arrived/us AUX helped  
'My brother, who is called Marko, is getting married/has arrived/helped us.'
- (7) Majina tetka, profesorica latinskog, nam je objasnila ablativ.

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