The unbearable lightness of clitics
Ionova, A.

Citation

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/83258 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Ionova, A.
Title: The unbearable lightness of clitics
Issue Date: 2020-01-23

CHAPTER 4

Second position clitics in Slovenian

Slovenian (Slvn), like Serbo-Croatian (SC), has 2P clitics, which include pronouns and auxiliaries. However, they have received noticeably less attention in the literature and most often they are only viewed in comparison to Serbo-Croatian. In this chapter, I follow this tradition of comparison but also show that there are more critical differences between the two languages than usually discussed and that these differences indicate that the systems of cliticisation in the two languages are far less alike than it is previously assumed. The evidence comes from i) the contrast between Slvn and SC with respect to the interaction of VP-ellipsis and clitic placement and ii) clitic responses to polarity questions, a peculiar phenomenon which has not received the amount of attention it deserves in previous research.

Below, I first introduce the properties of 2P clitics in Slovenian and discuss the differences between SC and Slvn in this respect. Although at first sight Slovenian 2P clitics are quite similar to the Serbo-Croatian ones with respect to their positioning in a sentence and the ordering of clitics within a cluster, there seem to be many more differences between the systems of 2P clitics in the two languages than there are similarities. Some of the differences, discussed in more detail below, include:

- Slvn clitics can be either proclitics or enclitics;

- Slvn clitics can occur sentence-initially;

- Slvn clitics do not occur further to the right if the initial constituent of a sentence is prosodically heavy (the delayed placement effect);

- Slvn clitics normally occur after the first constituent (and not after the first word) of a sentence;

- a Slvn clitic cluster cannot be broken up by VP-ellipsis;

- Slvn clitics can bear stress in environments with focus on polarity;

- Slvn clitics can occur without any phonological support at all (in the case of clitic polarity answers)

4.1   The second position and the clitic cluster in Slovenian

Slovenian is a South Slavic language which shares many features with Serbo-Croatian. It is an articleless pro-drop language which allows optional scrambling and has second-position clitics. As for SC, I assume that argumental second position clitics in Slvn originate inside the vP and subsequently move to a higher position in the left periphery of a clause. I follow Stegovec (2016) in assuming the following structure for Slovenian ditransitive constructions, although the exact details are irrelevant for the current discussion:

(1) $[_{vP}\ v^0\ [_{ApplP}\ \text{DAT}\ [_{VP}\ \text{V}\ \text{ACC}\ ]]]$

As in SC, Slovenian 2P clitics cluster together in the second position of a sentence, as illustrated by (2). Separating the clitics or putting them in another position is not possible.

(2)   a.   Uščipnil *sem*   *jo* v bok.
             pinched AUX.1SG her on side

             'I pinched her on her side.'

       b.   * Uščipnil *sem* v bok *jo.*

       c.   * Uščipnil v bok *sem jo.*

The clitic ordering within a cluster in Slvn is similar to SC, with the only difference being the future tense auxiliary, which is placed in the end of a cluster, as is the exceptional 3SG auxiliary *je*:[1]

---

[1] As pointed out in Stegovec (2019), the order between DAT and ACC clitics is actually flexible in Slovenian.

(3)   Clitic order in Slovenian
      AUX_{perf} / COND < REFL < DAT < ACC < GEN < *je* / AUX_{fut}

The following tables contain the paradigms for the second position clitics and their strong counterparts most often used in this dissertation: the past tense auxiliary (Table 4.1) and the accusative (Table 4.2) and the dative (Table 4.3) forms of pronouns. Note that in many cases (and always for the auxiliary) the clitic and the strong form are identical segmentally, with clitics being simply unstressed counterparts of the strong forms. Negated forms of auxiliaries are not 2P clitics.

	SG		DUAL		PL	
	clitic	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**
1	*sem*	sem	*sva*	sva	*smo*	smo
2	*si*	si	*sta*	sta	*ste*	ste
3	*je*	je	*sta*	sta	*so*	so

Table 4.1: *The paradigm of the past tense auxiliary in Slvn*

	SG		DUAL		PL	
	clitic	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**
1	*me*	mene	*naju*	naju	*nas*	nas
2	*te*	tebe	*vaju*	vaju	*vas*	vas
3	*ga / jo*	njega / njo	*ju*	njiju	*jih*	njin

Table 4.2: *The paradigm of the accusative pronouns in Slvn*

	SG		DUAL		PL	
	clitic	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**	**clitic**	**strong**
1	*mi*	meni	*nama*	nama	*nam*	nam
2	*ti*	tebi	*vama*	vama	*vam*	vam
3	*mu / ji*	njemu / njej	*jima*	njima	*jim*	njim

Table 4.3: *The paradigm of the dative pronouns in Slvn*

Phonological properties of Slovenian clitics, discussed below, suggest that 2P clitics in Slvn are less "demanding" with respect to their prosodic environment and can adjust to it, as opposed to 2P clitics in SC. For example, Slovenian clitics can tolerate an intonational break to their left, in which case they simply become proclitics instead of enclitics. Clitic-initial sen-

tences, for example, can be created by the deletion of the question particle
ali (Derbyshire 1993, Franks & King 2000):

(4)   a. Ali *ga*   *je*   Marija ljubila?
         Q   him AUX.3SG Marija loved

         'Did Marija love him?'

      b. *Ga je* Marija ljubila?

Clitic-initial constructions in Slvn are not restricted to interrogatives.
According to Golden & Sheppard (2000), in the spoken language clitics
can occur in the initial position in declaratives as well, as in (5) below,
which can be an answer to the question *Kakšen se ti zdi Peter?* 'How
does Peter strike you?'. Note that in (5) and in (4b) the clitic form (*ga*)
of the pronoun is used, as opposed to the strong form *njega*.

(5)   *Ga* še nisem   srečal.   Slvn
      him yet NOT.AUX1SG met

      'I haven't met him yet.'

In SC, clitics can never occur in the initial position:

(6)   a. * *Ga* još nisam   sreo.   SC
              him yet NOT.AUX1SG met

      b.   Još *ga*   nisam   sreo.
           yet him NOT.AUX1SG met

           'I haven't met him yet.'

Therefore, as opposed to SC clitics, 2P clitics in Slvn do not have to
occur in the second position. Bošković (2000:154) analyses this difference
between the two languages as exclusively prosodic:

> This difference between Slovenian and SC is clearly prosodic.
> While SC clitics are necessarily suffixes, i.e., they are lexically
> specified as attaching to the right edge of their host, Slovenian
> clitics are prosodically neutral, they can attach either to the
> left or to the right edge of their host. In our terms, both Slove-
> nian and SC clitics are lexically required to be right adjacent
> to an I-phrase boundary. However, in contrast to SC clitics,
> which are suffixes, Slovenian clitics can be either prefixes or
> suffixes.

This prosodic neutrality of Slvn clitics can be seen not only in clitic-
initial constructions. In (7), according to Golden & Sheppard (2000), the

2P clitics of the embedded clause are enclitics (they cliticise to the initial complementizer *ker*), while the main-clause clitic cluster is proclitic to the participle *ponudil*. This pattern can be explained if each clause forms its own ι and the domian of clitic placement is an ι, so clitics cannot cliticise across an ι-boundary. Therefore, the main clause clitic cluster *mu jo je* cannot be enclitic and has to cliticise to the following word instead.

(7)   Golden & Sheppard (2000:194)

    [[Ker   ] =*ga* =*je*   zeblo], *mu*= *jo*= *je*=   ponudil
       because   him   AUX.3SG cold   him   her   AUX.3SG offered
    vročo.
    hot

    'Because he was cold he offered it to him hot.'

There is also some variation with respect to the directionality of attachment of Slovenian 2P clitics. According to Franks (2016), Slvn speakers differ in their preferences: some speakers prefer (8a) with the clitics being proclitics, while for the others the parsing with enclitics in (8b) sounds more natural.

(8)   a.   Včeraj   *se*= *je*=   Janez cel   dan praskal   po
          yesterday REFL AUX.3SG Janez whole day scratched over
          rokah.
          hands.
          'Janez scratched his hands yesterday all day long.'

      b.   Včeraj   =*se* =*je*   Janez cel   dan praskal   po
          yesterday REFL AUX.3SG Janez whole day scratched over
          rokah.
          hands.

As Franks suggests, the difference might be due to *včeraj* being treated as a topic in the former case but not in the latter. Then, possibly, the topicalized phrase creates an ι of its, as illustrated in (9a), and is separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause. The clitics are forced to be proclitics since they cannot cliticise through an ι-boundary to the preceding element. In (9b), the initial adverb is not parsed as a separate ι, and therefore clitics can cliticise to the left, which is the default option (Golden & Sheppard 2000).

(9)   a.   [$_\iota$ Včeraj] [$_\iota$ *se*= *je*= Janez cel dan praskal po rokah]
      b.   [$_\iota$ Včeraj =*se* =*je* Janez cel dan praskal po rokah]

Importantly, (9a) would not be grammatical in SC, since their 2P clitics cannot follow a prosodic break. As has been repeatedly noted in the literature, the environments which cause so-called delayed clitic placement in SC (see chapter (3) for discussion) do not affect clitic placement in Slvn. Consider the following minimal pairs, with (a) examples from SC and (b) examples from Slvn (cited after Golden & Sheppard (2000)), (10) with a preposed heavy constituent, (11) with an appositive and (12) with a parenthetical. The presumed ι breaks are indicated by |.

(10) a. SC, Bošković (2000:(57))

Sa   Petrom Petrovićem | srela *se*   samo Milena.
with Petr   Petrović   met REFL only Milena

'With Peter Petrović, only Milena met.'

   b. Slvn, Golden & Sheppard (2000:(13))

Z   Janezom Drnovškom | *se*   *je*   srčala samo
with Janez   Drnovšek   REFL AUX.3SG met   only
Milena
Milena

'With Janez Drnovšek, only Milena met.'

(11) a. SC, Bošković (2000:(51))

Ja, | tvoja mama, | obećala *sam*   *ti*   igračku.
I   your mother   promised AUX.1SG you.DAT toy

'I, your mother, promised you a toy.'

   b. Slvn, Golden & Sheppard (2000:(14))

Jaz, | tvoja mama, | *sem*   *ti*   obljubila igračko.
I   your mother   AUX.1SG you.DAT promised toy

'I, your mother, promised you a toy.'

(12) a. SC, Wilder (1996)

Tko (*je*), | za boga, | (*je*)   razbio auto?
who AUX.3SG   for God   AUX.3SG ruined car

'Who, by God, ruined the car?'

   b. Slvn, Golden & Sheppard (2000:(15))

Kdo (*ti*   *je*   ), | za božjo voljo, | (*ti*
who you.DAT AUX.3SG   for God's sake   you.DAT
je)   razbil auto?
AUX.3SG ruined car

'Who, for God's sake, ruined your car?'

Furthermore, unlike in SC, the second position in Slvn is the one after the first syntactic constituent, which can be of any category or size (including clauses) and a clitic cluster cannot split a constituent:[2]

(13) (Golden & Sheppard, 2000:195)

    a.   Zanimivo pismo *ji*   *je*   napisal.
           interesting letter her.DAT AUX.3SG written

        'He wrote her an interesting letter.'

    b.   [?] Zanimivo *ji je* pismo napisal.

These differences between Slvn and SC have motivated distinct analyses of the phenomenon of 2P cliticisation in the two languages. Golden & Sheppard (2000) propose (contra Bošković 2001) that the differences between them are not only prosodic. Under their analysis, all 2P clitics in Slvn right-adjoin to C^0 of their CP domain. They propose the following properties for 2P clitics in Slvn and SC:[3]

(14) Golden & Sheppard (2000:205)

	domain	dominance	precedence
Slvn:	CP-phrase	Initial	Suffix/prefix
SC:	ι	Initial	Suffix

The difference between Slvn and SC, according to Golden & Sheppard, is that Slovenian clitics appear in a structurally fixed position, i.e. in C^0, and therefore the second position is defined in syntactic terms (as the position after the first syntactic constituent, which appears in Spec,CP). In SC, 2P clitics do not appear in a fixed syntactic position, and the second position itself is defined in phonological terms, as a position after the first prosodic word or the first prosodic phrase.

Therefore, there are two conflicting views on the systems of 2P cliticisation in Slvn and SC:

(a) The two systems are the same, with the only difference being the ability of Slovenian 2P clitics to be either proclitics or enclitics, while Serbo-Croatian 2P clitics must be enclitics (Bošković 2001).

(b) The two systems differ more considerably, with Slovenian 2P clitics being subjects to syntactic restrictions and Serbo-Croatian 2P clitics to prosodic restrictions, at least when it comes to clitic placement (Golden & Sheppard 2000).

---

[2] Golden & Sheppard (2000) mark (13b) with one question mark, but say that "there is no first prosodic word/first syntactic constituent alternative." (Golden & Sheppard 2000:p.194–195).

[3] Suffixes are enclitics and prefixes are proclitics.

In the rest of the chapter, I will present some supporting evidence in favour of the second view. I will argue that the interaction of 2P clitics with VP-ellipsis in SC and Slvn confirms the claim that the systems of 2P cliticisation are different in the two languages, being a prosodic phenomenon in SC and a syntactic phenomenon in Slvn.

The fact that Slvn behaves differently from SC with respect to the interaction between VP-ellipsis and clitic placement was noticed but not discussed in any detail by Bošković (2001:fn.57):

> It is worth mentioning here that, for reasons unclear to me, clitic sequences are more resistant to breaking by VP ellipsis in Slovenian than in SC.

I argue that this difference between SC and Slvn is crucial and deserves further attention. The next section introduces the experimental study aimed at determining to what extent Slvn is more resistant to the splitting of a clitic cluster by VP-ellipsis.

4.2   Slovenian clitics and ellipsis: a case study

As discussed in chapter 3 and Ionova (2018), pronominal clitics in SC normally do not survive ellipsis. For example, in (15) pronominal clitic *ga* has to be elided in the second conjunct.

(15)   Sandra *ga*   nije   poljubila, a   Jelena (*ga)
       Sandra him.ACC AUX.3SG.NEG kissed   but Jelena him.ACC
       jeste   ~~poljubila~~.
       AUX.3SG kissed
       'Sandra didn't kiss him, but Jelena did.'   SC

Note that the auxiliary in (15) is realised not as a clitic but as a strong form because it is contrastive. Therefore ellipsis does not break up a clitic cluster in (15), since it consists of one clitic. However, even when a pronominal clitic (or a group of pronominal clitics) is part of a cluster, it has to be elided under VP-ellipsis (as opposed to auxiliary clitics), as in (16).

(16)   Mi *smo*   *ih*   videli, a   i   oni *su*   (*ih)
       we AUX.1PL them.ACC seen   and also they AUX.3PL them.ACC
       ~~videli~~, takodje.
       seen   too
       'We saw them, and they did, too.'   SC

In the previous literature it has been noticed that in Slvn, as opposed to SC, pronominal clitics can be stranded when the verb is elided:

(17) Slvn, Priestly (1993:429)

Si   že   končal delo? Predvčerajšnjim   še   ne,
AUX.2SG already finished work day-before-yesterday still NEG
včeraj   *pa sem*   *gà*.
yesterday but AUX.1SG it.ACC

'Have you finished the work? The day before yesterday I didn't, but yesterday I did.'

It is not clear, though, whether pronominal clitics in Slvn have to survive ellipsis or can be optionally stranded. The study presented here is aimed at answering this question in order to determine their position in the structure.

4.2.1   Design of the survey

The design of the survey was similar to the one presented in chapter 3. It consisted of two parts, one on VP-ellipsis and the other on clitic polarity answers (the second part is discussed in section 4.4). The experimental sentences were presented in small dialogues (question-answers pairs), to provide the participants with the context, as (18) illustrates. Participants were instructed to judge the answer line (A) of each dialogue on a scale from 1 (bad) to 7 (good).

(18) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj? Ali
         Q   know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here   Q
         jih   *je*   kdo   videl?
         them.ACC AUX.3SG anyone seen
         'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Has anyone seen them?'

      A: Maja *jih*   *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   (*jih*)
         Maja them.ACC AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG them.ACC
         tudi.
         too
         'Maja has seen them and I have, too.'

Each example was presented in two variants: with the pronominal clitic stranded (*jih* in (18)) or elided, and in total there were 16 experimental sentences in this part of the survey.[4] The experimental sentences were

---

[4]The list of the sentences used in the survey can be found in Appendix 6.2.

presented in a pseudo-random order and mixed with the sentences from the second part of the survey (discussed in section 4.4.1), which served as fillers. The two variants were always presented separately (on different pages). 26 speakers of Slovenian participated in the survey and each participant gave a judgement to all sentences. The survey was distributed using Qualtrics Survey Software.

The first part of the survey, which focuses on VP-ellipsis, consisted of different types of elliptical sentences. The example of VP-ellipsis (VPE) in a coordinated structure is given in (18), the examples of other types are presented in (19)–(21).

(19)   VPE$_{embedded}$:
    Q: Kje *je*   vse vino? *Ga*   *je*   kdo včeraj
        where AUX.3SG all wine him.ACC AUX.3SG who yesterday
        spil?
        drunk
        'Where is all the wine? Has someone drunk it yesterday?'
    A: Slišal *sem*,   da (*ga*)   *je*   Ana.
        heard AUX.1SG that him.ACC AUX.3SG Ana
        'I've heard that Ana did.'

(20)   Gapping:
    Q: Ali *so*   vaši učenci včeraj   končali članek?
        Q   AUX.3PL your students yesterday finished paper
        'Have your students finished the paper yesterday?'
    A: Marija *ga*   *je*   končala včeraj,   Ana pa
        Marija him.ACC AUX.3SG finished yesterday Ana but
        (*ga*)   danes.
        him.ACC today
        'Marija finished it yesterday but Ana today.'

(21)   Right Node Raising (RNR)
    Q: Zakaj *je*   Anton tako srečen? *Ga*   *je*   Maja
        why   AUX.3SG Anton so   happy   him.ACC AUX.3SG Maja
        poljubila?
        kissed
        'Why is Anton so happy? Has Maja kissed him?'
    A: Maja (ga)   ni,   Nada pa *ga*   *je*
        Maja him.ACC AUX.NEG.3SG Nada but him.ACC AUX.3SG
        poljubila.
        kissed
        'Maja hasn't but Nada has kissed him.'

4.2.2 Results

The results of the first part of the survey are presented in table 4.4, which contains median values for every type of context with elided or pronounced pronominal clitics.

	clitic pronounced	clitic elided
VPE	7	2
VPE$_{embedded}$	7	1.5
Gapping	2	7
RNR	7	4.5

Table 4.4: *Slvn ellipsis survey results: medians*

For comparison, I repeat the result of the relevant part of the survey on SC, presented in chapter 3, in table 4.5.

	clitic pronounced	clitic elided
VPE	2	6
VPE$_{embedded}$	2	7
Gapping	1	7
RNR	5	6

Table 4.5: *SC survey results results: medians*

As can be concluded from the results, Slvn and SC are diametrically opposite in relation to the interaction of 2P cliticisation and VP-ellipsis: while SC pronominal clitics (but not the auxiliary) have to be elided under VP-ellipsis, pronominal clitics in Slvn have to be stranded together with the auxiliary clitic, as demonstrated in (22) and (23).

(22) 2P clitics and VP-ellipsis: Serbo-Croatian

    a. * Mi *smo*   *ih*   videli, a   i   oni   *su*   ***ih***,
          we   AUX.1PL them   seen   and also they   AUX.3PL them
          takodje.
          too
          'We saw them, and they did, too.'

    b.   Mi *smo*   *ih*   videli, a   i   oni   *su,*   takodje.
          we   AUX.1PL them   seen   and also they   AUX.3PL too

(23)   2P clitics and VP-ellipsis: Slovenian

    a.   Maja *jih* *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   ***jih*** tudi.
        Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG them too

        'Maja have seen them and I have, too.'

    b.   * Maja *jih* *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   tudi.
        Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG too

The two languages however behave similarly with respect to gapping, where stranding of pronominal clitics is not allowed, as in (24). As for RNR, both deletion and stranding of clitics is allowed in both languages, although in Slvnthere is a preference for pronouncing the clitics, as shown in (25).

(24)   a.   2P clitics and gapping: Serbo-Croatian

        Ana *mu*   *je*   dala knjigu, a   Nada ***(*mu)***
        Ana him.DAT AUX.3SG gave book   and Nada him.DAT
        (*je)   šolju.
        AUX.3SG cup
        'Ana gave him a book and Nada a cup.'

    b.   2P clitics and gapping: Slovenian

        Marija *mu*   *je*   dala knjigo in   Ana ***(*mu)***
        Marija him.DAT AUX.3SG gave book   and Ana him.DAT
        (*je)   skodelico.
        AUX.3SG cup
        'Marija gave him a book and Ana a cup.'

(25)   a.   2P clitics and RNR: Serbo-Croatian

        Ana ***(ga)***   nije,   a   Nada *ga*   jeste
        Ana him.ACC AUX.3SG.NEG and Nada him.ACC AUX.3SG
        poljubila.
        kissed
        'Ana didn't but Nada did kiss him.'

    b.   2P clitics and RNR: Slovenian

        Maja ^?**(ga)**   ni,   Nada pa *ga*   *je*
        Maja him.ACC AUX.NEG.3SG Nada but him.ACC AUX.3SG
        poljubila.
        kissed
        'Maja hasn't but Nada has kissed him.'

I do not discuss RNR in this dissertation because more research needs to be done to establish if the contexts used in the survey indeed involve RNR before jumping to any conclusions. Most of the discussion below
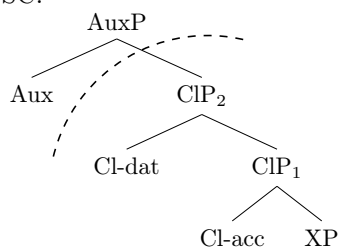
focuses on what I call here VP-ellipsis (but what involves ellipsis of a bigger constituent than only the VP, as I argue further). Gapping is briefly discussed at the end of the chapter.

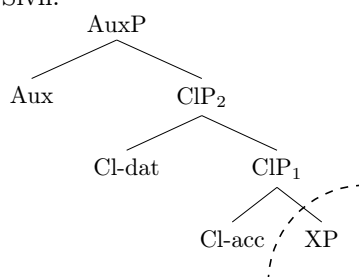### 4.2.3 Interpreting the results: towards an account

In this dissertation I follow the common assumption that, being arguments, pronominal clitics originate within VP and move to the second position later during the derivation. Keeping this in mind, there are several options to explain the difference between SC and Slvn with respect to 2P cliticisation and ellipsis:

(26) a. Different sizes of ellipsis sites: assuming that the systems of cliticisation are similar in both languages and clitics occupy the same positions, the contrast between (22) and (23) can be explained by postulating different ellipsis sites: in Slvn VP-ellipsis would target a projections below the final position of clitics (whether they cluster in the same position or not), while in SC VP-ellipsis would target a position above pronominal clitics but below the auxiliary clitic:
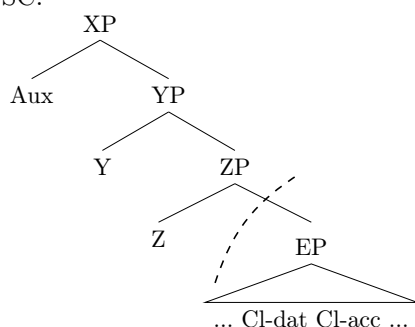
SC:

```
            AuxP
           /  \ - - - -
        Aux    ClP₂
           \  /    \
            Cl-dat   ClP₁
                    /  \
                 Cl-acc  XP
```

Slvn:

```
            AuxP
           /   \
        Aux    ClP₂
              /    \
           Cl-dat   ClP₁
                   /  \  - -
                Cl-acc  XP
```
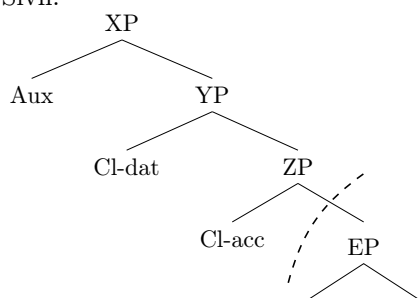
b. Different positions of clitics in syntax: assuming that VP-ellipsis targets the same projection in both languages, the difference between (22) and (23) can be explained by postulating different landing sites for clitics in Slvn and SC: while

in the former case clitics would move to positions / a position above the projection targeted by ellipsis, in the latter case only an auxiliary clitic would move above the projection targeted by ellipsis:

SC:

```
            XP
          /    \
       Aux      YP
              /    \
            Y       ZP
                  /  \  ⟍
                 Z    \   EP
                       \  / \
                   ... Cl-dat Cl-acc ...
```

Slvn:

```
            XP
          /    \
       Aux      YP
              /    \
          Cl-dat    ZP
                  /  \  ⟍
             Cl-acc   \   EP
                       \  /△\
```

c. Difference in the derivational timing of VP-ellipsis: assuming that the timing of clitic movement out of the VP to the second position in both languages is the same, the contrast between (22) and (23) can be explained by postulating different timing of VP-ellipsis in Slvn and SC: in Slvn VP would happen after clitic movement but in SC before:

SC:	VPE	<	clitic movement	
Slvn:			clitic movement	<	VPE

d. Difference in the derivational timing of clitic movement: assuming that the timing of VP-ellipsis in both languages is the same, the contrast between (22) and (23) can be explained by postulating different timing of clitic movement in Slvn and SC: in Slvn clitics would move to the second position before ellipsis happens while in SC clitic movement would happen (or fail to happen) after VP-ellipsis:

$$\begin{array}{llll} \text{SC:} & & \text{VPE} & < & \text{clitic movement} \\ \text{Slvn:} & \text{clitic movement} & < & \text{VPE} \end{array}$$

The options in (26a) and (26b) therefore explain the differences in the interaction of clitics and ellipsis in SC and Slvn by the relative positions of projections occupied by clitics and the projection targeted by the ellipsis site, while the options in (26c) and (26d) – by the relative timing of ellipsis and clitic movement.

The first, structural type of explanation is schematized in (27): in Slvn ellipsis targets a constituent below the clitics, while in SC the projection hosting the pronominal clitic (or some other projection above it) must be a target of ellipsis, regardless of whether the size of the ellipsis site or the position of clitics is different in the two languages.

(27)   a.   Slovenian:

... in   jaz [$_{ClP}$ *sem*   *jih$_i$*   [$_{VP}$ ~~videla t$_i$~~]] tudi.
and I   AUX.1SG them.ACC   seen   too

'...and I have, too.'

   b.   Serbo-Croatian:

... a   i   oni [$_{ClP}$ *su*   [~~*ih$_i$*~~   [$_{VP}$ ~~videli t$_i$~~]],
but and they   AUX.3PL them.ACC seen
takodje.
too

'...and they have, too.'

The second, timing-related type of explanation is illustrated in (28): the pronominal clitic *jih / ih* has moved out of the ellipsis site in Slovenian, but not in Serbo-Croatian by the time ellipsis happens, either because of the different timing of ellipsis or clitic movement in the two languages.

(28)   a.   Slovenian:

... in   jaz *sem*   *jih$_i$*   ~~[videla t$_i$]~~ tudi.
and I   AUX.1SG them.ACC seen   too

'...and I have, too.'

   b.   Serbo-Croatian:

... a   i   oni *su*   ~~[videli *ih*]~~,   takodje.
but and they AUX.3PL seen   them.ACC too

'...and they have, too.'

I will develop the idea about late clitic movement in SC proposed in the previous chapter and argue that the option in (26d) is the correct one and the differences in the interaction of VP-ellipsis and 2P cliticisation in Slvn and SC arise from the differences in the relative timing of ellipsis and clitic movement.

There are no reasons to assume that the timing of VP-ellipsis is different in the two languages, which eliminates option (26c). As for options with different ellipsis sites (26a) and with different movement sites (26b), the situation is more complicated. As it'll become clear later, it is true that Slvn and SC clitics occupy different syntactic positions and Slvn clitic stranding ellipsis can at least sometimes target a higher projection than that in SC, I argue that those are consequences of the major differences in the nature of cliticisation in Slvn and SC.

It has been previously noticed that the phenomenon of 2P cliticisation is more "prosodic" in SC than in Slvn since Serbo-Croatian clitics are sensitive to the prosodic organisation of a sentence (see Golden & Sheppard 2000). Slovenian clitics do not seem to have any requirements with respect to their prosodic environment, can carry stress when required and sometimes even appear as a single element of a sentence, as shown below. I argue that the differences in the interaction between VP-ellipsis and 2P cliticisation in the two languages can be fully accounted for by assuming that the timing of clitic movement differs: in Slvn clitics undergo syntactic movement to a particular position within their clause, while in SC clitics are placed into the second position within their ι post-syntactically.

The next section provides further evidence for the syntactic nature of 2P cliticisation in Slvn.

4.3   The clitic cluster and polarity in Slovenian

As has been discussed in the literature, 2P clitics in Slvn can acquire stress under certain conditions. This happens when clitics are left stranded at the right edge of a sentence by ellipsis, as in (29).

(29)   Priestly (1993:429)

Si   že   končal delo? Predvčerajšnjim   še   nè,
AUX.2SG already finished work day-before-yesterday still NEG
včeraj   *pa   sem*   *gà.*
yesterday but AUX.1SG it.ACC

'Have you finished the work? The day before yesterday I didn't, but yesterday I did.'

A Slovenian clitic cluster can also appear in isolation when it serves as an answer to a polarity question, as in (30) from Franks & King (2000:98).

(30) Q: Ali *mu ga* daješ?
          Q   him it give
          'Are you giving him it?'

     A: *Mu gà.*
          him it
          'I do.'

Importantly, the form used in these sentences is a clitic (*ga*), not a strong form (*njega*) of the pronoun. A strong form, in fact, cannot be used as an answer to a polarity question:

(31)   Based on Dvořák 2007:210

     Q: Ali ga   poznaš?
            Q   him.ACC know.2SG
           'Do you know him?'

     A: *Gà.*
           him.ACC
           'I do'. (Lit: 'Him.')

     A': * Njega.
            him.ACC
           Int: 'I do'. (Lit: 'Him.')

Note that in both (29) and (30) it is the rightmost clitic in the clitic cluster that bears stress. Franks (2016:99) argues that the default stress on the final element is realised in these cases:

> All these examples clearly demonstrate that clitics can end up bearing stress. What is crucial about them is a lexical fact <..> that they do not project their own prosodic feet thus cannot have any lexically represented stress, nor can they be the target of the regular stress rules of the language. <..> Here it looks like a "lexical" clitic (i.e., an element that lacks word-level prosodic structure as a lexical property) can acquire such structure if forced. I suggest that there is a last resort PF rule in Slvn that, on encountering an I(ntonational)-Phrase which contains no footed syllables, imposes a special prosodic structure, placing default stress on the final element.

This explanation however cannot be applied to cases like (29), where clitics still bear stress even though there are other (non-clitic) elements, which are better candidates for the stress realisation than a footless clitic.

Moreover, Franks's account cannot explain how clitics receive stress when they are not final elements in a clause and no ellipsis applies. This happens in the environments with focus on polarity (*verum focus*), which in Slvn is realised on clitics. Consider (32) from Jasinskaja (2016:12):

(32) Vsak teden *ga* obiskujem.
       every day   him visit.1SG
       'I DO visit him every week.'

Stressing the clitic is obligatory for the realization of verum focus in such environments. Stressing another element results in a different information structure, as the following paradigm from Dvořák (2010:149) shows (focused elements are represented in small caps). Note that using a strong form of the pronoun instead of the clitic form, as in (33c), results in the focus on the object instead of on the polarity.

(33) a. Pravi, da JIM   verjame.
         says   that they.DAT believes
         '(S)he says that (s)he DOES believe them.'
      b. Pravi, da jim   VERJAME.
         says   that they.DAT believes
         '(S)he says that (s)he BELIEVES them.'
      c. Pravi, da NJIM   verjame.
         says   that they.DAT believes
         '(S)he says that (s)he believes THEM.'

Another language where verum focus is realised on weak pronouns that otherwise never receive focal accent is Irish (Bennett et al. 2019). Consider (34), where the subject pronoun SE 'he' is realised with focal accent even though it is polarity that is focused, not the subject itself.

(34) (Bennett et al., 2019:81)

      Amharcann siad air   mar fhear a   bhí ag troid
      look.PRS   they on.him as man COMP was PROG.fight
      ar son   saoirse, agus throid SÉ ar mhaithe le saoirse
      for.the.sake.of freedom and fight.PRS he for   freedom

      'They look on him as a man who fought for freedom, and he did
      fight for freedom.'

Moreover, weak subject pronouns in Irish can survive ellipsis under verum focus in elliptical answers (but not in other environments). Again, in (35b) the weak pronoun SE is stressed.
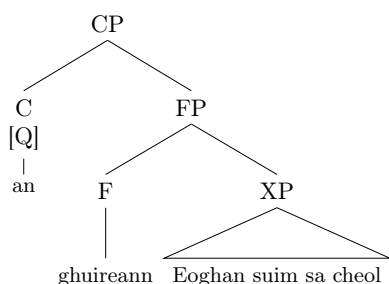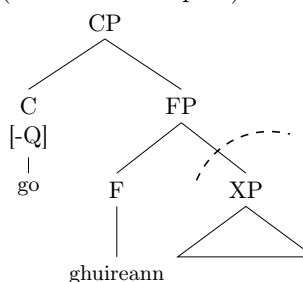
(35) (Bennett et al., 2019:91)

    a. Siud é an chéad chuid den fheachtas seo – an
       DEM it the first piece of.the campaign DEM the
       agóidíocht seo a tá sibh ag dul
       protest DEM COMP be.PRS you.PL PROG go
       a dhéanamh. Ar oibrigh sé?
       do.NONFIN Q work.PST it

       'This was the first phase of this campaign—this protest that you are mounting. Did it work?'

    b. D'oibrigh. D'oibrigh SÉ.
       work.PST work.PST it

       'It did. It absolutely did.'

Therefore, Slovenian and Irish are similar in the strange behaviour of weak phonological items under focus on polarity: they receive focal accent, creating "a curious phenomenon, at the heart of which is a striking mismatch between interpretive focus on the one hand and the phonological exponent of that focus on the other" (Bennett et al., 2019:80), and can survive ellipsis, creating another curious phenomenon, since given material usually cannot be stranded under ellipsis. Given these similarities, it is reasonable to take a closer look at how Bennett et al. analyze what they call "responsive ellipsis" in Irish. The core of their account lies in the fact that in Irish, which is an VSO language, the verb moves high to the left periphery of the clause. Consider the simplified structures in (37) and (38) that they propose for the question-answer pair in (36).

(36) Bennett et al. (2019:69)

    a. An gcuireann Eoghan suim sa cheol?
       Q.PRS put.PRS Owen interest in.the music

       'Is Owen interested in music?'

    b. Creidim go gcuireann.
       believe.PRS.1SG COMP put.PRS

       'I believe he is.'

(37) The structure of (36a)   (38) The structure of (36b)
                                            (the embedded part)

```
            CP                                     CP
           /  \                                   /  \
          C    FP                                C    FP
         [Q]  /  \                             [-Q]  /  \_ _ _ _
          |  F    XP                            |   F      XP
          | |    /  \                           |   |      /\
         an ghuireann Eoghan suim sa cheol     go ghuireann
```

Therefore, responsive ellipsis involves deletion of the complement of the
F head, which is in fact the head of the Polarity Phrase, as they argue
earlier. When the subject pronoun receives stress under verum focus and
survives ellipsis, it gets incorporated into the Pol head.[5] In (39b), the
subject pronoun *sé* gets incorporated into the verb in Pol, while the rest
of the clause (the complement of Pol) undergoes ellipsis, as schematized
in (40).

(39) Bennett et al. (2019:92)

      a. An   gcuireann sé   iontas ort anois
          put.PRS it   wonder on.you now COMP
          gur   fágadh ceithre mhí   gan an   obair
          leave.PST.IMPRS four   month without the work DEM
          seo   a dhéanamh?
          do.NONFIN

          'Does it surprise you now that four months went by without
          this work being done?'

      b. Ó   cuireann SÉ dáiríre.
          oh put.PRS it seriously

          'Oh, it really does.'

---

[5]Subject pronoun incorporation happens due to the subcategorization requirement on a
nominative pronoun which forces it to be contained within a complex category of Pol, see
Bennett et al. (2019:77) for the details.

(40) Subject Pronoun Incorporation in Irish (Bennett et al., 2019:92)

```
              TP
             /  \
            T    PolP
                /    \
              Pol     TP
             /  \
           Pol  D  D
```
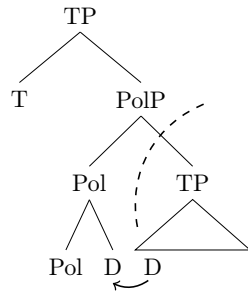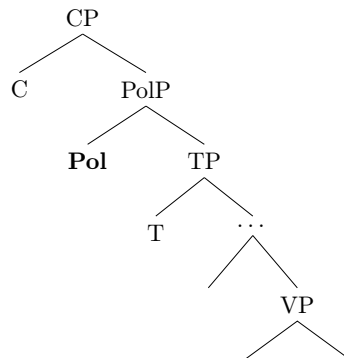
After the incorporation, the subject pronoun becomes part of the complex morphosyntactic (and prosodic) word together with the verbal complex, which moved to the Pol head, as schematised in (41). The focal accent is realised at the right edge of a phonological domain in Irish, and therefore it is the pronoun which bears accent in configurations like (41) even though it is the Pol head which is Focus-marked.

(41) VERUM FOCUS in Irish   (Bennett et al., 2019:86)
     {{   V   v   Pol   }   **D**   }
                  [FOC]

On the basis of comparison between Irish and Slovenian, I am going to assume that the Polarity head is present in the structure of Slovenian as well, as shown in (42).

(42) Slovenian clausal structure

```
              CP
             /  \
            C    PolP
                /    \
             Pol      TP
                     /    \
                    T     ...
                            \
                            VP
```

The similarities between Slovenian and Irish in the realisation of verum focus on the pronouns and the possibility to strand pronouns under ellipsis are striking. Compare (43) from Slovenian to (39b) from Irish. In both cases verum focus is realised by focal accent on the pronoun.
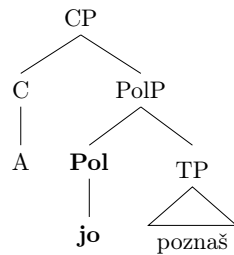
(43)   A ME slišiš?   (Dvořák 2010:147)
       Q me hear.2SG

       'Do you REALLY hear me?'

The mechanism of responsive ellipsis is also similar in the two languages, with the difference that in Irish it is the verb that gets stranded, while in Slovenian it is the clitic (cluster): compare (44) to (36).

(44)   a. A jo   poznáš?   (based on Dvořák 2010:151)
           Q her know.2SG

           'Do you know her?'

       b. Mislim,   da   jo.
           think.1SG COMP her

           'I think I do.' (Lit: I think that her.)

Considering the facts presented above, I believe that it is reasonable to suggest that the clitic cluster in Slovenian also appears in Pol, either by undergoing movement to that position or via the incorporation of some sort, and the clitic polarity answers in Slovenian involve ellipsis of the complement of Pol, similar to responsive ellipsis in Irish. Compare the potential structures in (45–46) to the ones in (37–38).

(45)   A potential structure of (44a)

```
              CP
            /    \
           C      PolP
           |     /    \
           A   Pol     TP
               |        △
               jo     poznaš
```

(46)   A potential structure of (44b) (the embedded part)

```
              CP
            /    \
           C      PolP
           |     /    \
          da   Pol     TP
               |        △
               jo
```
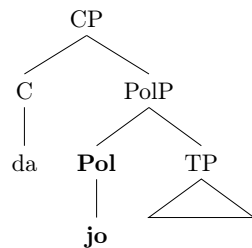
Ellipsis of the complement of the Pol head in Irish is not limited to the responsive function. It occurs in a number of other environments, including coordination:

(47) Bennett et al. (2019:69)

Dúirt   siad go   dtiocfadh   siad, ach ní   tháinig
say.PST they COMP come.COND they but NEG.FIN come.PST
ariamh.
ever

'They said that they would come but they never did'

A question arises if clitic stranding VP-ellipsis, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, and clitic polarity answers in Slovenian also involve the same kind of operation, i.e. deletion of the complement of Pol. The study described in the next section was aimed at determining that.

4.4   Polarity answers: a case study

This section describes the second part of the grammaticality judgement survey, aiming at investigating the behaviour of clitics in polarity answers. The main question is if Slovenian 2P clitics behave similarly in clitic polarity answers as they behave under VP-ellipsis, i.e. if the whole clitic cluster always survives ellipsis.

4.4.1   Design of the survey

As in the first part of the survey, the experimental sentences were included into small dialogues (question-answers pairs), to provide the participants with a suitable context. 24 dialogues were presented in a pseudo-random order and were mixed up with the dialogues of the VP-ellipsis part of the survey, which were used as fillers. Participants were instructed to judge the answer line (A) of each dialogue on a scale from 1 (bad) to 7 (good). 26 speakers of Slovenian participated in the survey and each participant gave a judgement to all sentences.

There were 3 types of answers: positive answers (48), negative answers (49), and embedded answers (50). Every sentence appeared in two variants: with the pronominal clitic elided or stranded.

(48) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj?
         Q   know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here
         Si   *jih*   videl?
         AUX.2SG them.ACC seen

         'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Have you
         seen them?'

      A: (Yes,) *sem*   (*ih*).
         yes   AUX.1SG them.ACC

         'Yes.' (Lit: 'Am them.')

(49) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj?
         Q   know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here
         Si   *jih*   videl?
         AUX.2SG them.ACC seen

         'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Have you
         seen them?'

      A: Nisem   (*ih*).
         AUX.NEG.1SG them.ACC

         'No.' (Lit: 'Am not them.')

(50) Q: *Si*   videl vino? Ali veš, če *ga*   *je*   Ana
         AUX.2SG seen wine Q   know if him.ACC AUX.3SG Ana
         kupila?
         bought

         'Have you seen the wine? Do you know if Ana has bought it?'

      A: Mislim, da (*ga*)   *je.*
         think   that him.ACC AUX.3SG

         'I think yes.' (Lit: 'I think him is'.)

4.4.2   Results

The results of the experiment are presented in Table 4.6 in the form of
medians.

	clitic pronounced	clitic elided
Positive	7	7
Negative	6	7
Embedded	7	6

Table 4.6: *Answers survey results: medians*

As can be concluded from table 4.6, the results are different from the VP-ellipsis ones: while in VP-ellipsis a pronominal clitic has to be stranded, in polarity answer both variants (with or without the pronominal clitic) are acceptable. Compare (51) with VP-ellipsis and (52) with a clitic answer: the pronominal 2P clitic *jih* must survive ellipsis in the former case but not in the latter.

(51) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj? Ali
          Q know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here   Q
          jih   *je*   kdo videl?
          them AUX.3SG who seen

          'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Has anyone seen them?'

      A: Maja *jih* *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   **jih** tudi
          Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG them too

          'Maja has seen them and I have, too.'

      A': * Maja *jih*   *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   tudi
             Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG too

(52) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj?
          Q know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here
          Si   *jih*   videl?
          AUX.2SG them.ACC seen

          'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Have you seen them?'

      A: *Sem*   **ih**.
          AUX.1SG them.ACC

          'Yes.' (Lit: 'Am them.')

      A': *Sem*.
          AUX.1SG

          'Yes.' (Lit: 'Am.')

However, it is not possible to use only the pronominal clitic in the answer if there is also an auxiliary in the sentence.

(53) Q: Ali veš,   če *so*   glasbeniki že   tukaj?
          Q know.2SG if AUX.3PL musicians already here
          Si   *jih*   videl?
          AUX.2SG them.ACC seen

          'Do you know if the musicians are already here? Have you seen them?'

A: * *Jih.*
       them.ACC

      Int: 'Yes.' (Lit: 'Them.')

According to the previous literature, an answer with a single pronominal clitic would be felicitous when there is no auxiliary clitic in the question (for example, in present tense), as in (31), repeated here as (54).

(54) Q: Ali *ga*   poznaš?   (Dvořák 2007:210)
          Q   him.ACC know.2SG

          'Do you know him?'

      A: *Ga.*
          him.ACC

          'I do'. (Lit: 'Him.')

To sum up, if there is an auxiliary clitic in a sentence, it would serve as a clitic answer to a polarity question, optionally with pronominal clitics. If there is no auxiliary, a pronominal clitic can serve as an answer by itself.

Slovenian is thus a problematic case for the definition of clitics as such. If a clitic is a defective element, primarily a phonologically defective one, how can it survive as the sole element of an utterance? Can it still be called a clitic or should we consider it to be a distinct lexical item? To answer these questions exhaustively, much more research on the phenomenon is needed. In the next section, I attempt to give an explanation to some peculiarities of Slovenian clitics.

4.5   Defining the position of Slovenian 2P clitics

The results of the surveys and the discussion presented above come down to several peculiarities in the behaviour of 2P clitics in Slvn, for which I will account in this section:

(55)   a. Slvn clitics can receive focal accent under verum focus;

        b. Slvn clitics can be used as an answer to polarity questions, in which case either the whole cluster or only the auxiliary survives ellipsis;

        c. Slvn pronominal clitics obligatorily survive VP-ellipsis.

4.5.1 Verum focus realization on clitics

Gutzmann et al. (2017:4) give the following definition of verum focus, following Höhle (1992):[6,7]

(56) Verum focus (common usage)   (Gutzmann et al., 2017:4)
A special kind of H*L accent that, instead of focusing the accent-bearing expression, is used to emphasise the truth of the propositional content of a sentence.

Consider the dialogue in (57), where verum focus is realised on the clitic pronoun *jim* in (57b).

(57) a. Mislim,   da *jim*   Marija ne verjame.   Slvn
think.1SG that they.DAT Marija not believe.3SG

'I think that Marija doesn't believe them.'

b. Pravi, da   JIM   verjame.
says   that they.DAT believes

'(S)he says that (s)he DOES believe them.'

If there are more than one clitic in a sentence, the rightmost clitic of the cluster receives accent, regardless of its grammatical function. In (58a), the pronominal 2P clitic *te* receives focal accent in the first clause, while in (58b) it is the auxiliary 2P clitic *je*.

(58) a. Slišal *sem*   TE,   videl *pa* NE.   (Dvořák 2007:215)
heard AUX.1SG you.ACC seen PA NEG

'I heard you but I didn't see you.'

b. Slišal *te*   JE,   videl *pa* NE.
heard you.ACC AUX.3SG seen PA NEG

'He heard you but he didn't see you.'

Why is verum focus realised on clitics and why is it the rightmost clitic of a cluster that receives focal accent? I propose that the mechanism behind stress placement is the same as in Irish, and clitics are located in Pol in Slovenian.

---

[6]Although Gutzmann et al. (2017) do not say it explicitly, it can be concluded from their discussion that this definition holds for English and German. Other languages can use other accents. The crucial aspect is the mismatch between the phonological exponent of the focus (the accent on a verb or an auxiliary or a pronominal clitic, depending on a language) and the interpretation of focus (focus on polarity).

[7]The term focus is descriptive here. Gutzmann et al. (2017) in fact argue that verum focus does not involve any focus at all.

As in Irish, in Slovenian the nuclear stress is normally located at the right edge of ι. Consider the following examples from Jasinskaja (2016). In (59a), with the default word order, the nuclear stress falls on the verb, which results in a broad focus interpretation. In (59b), the pronoun is contrastively focused and therefore has to appear at the right edge of the clause to bear the most prominent accent, resulting in narrow focus on the pronoun (note that it is the accented and not the clitic form of the pronoun that is used in this case). I therefore assume that, in terms of the Prosodic Hierarchy, the rightmost φ is the head of an ι in Slovenian.

(59)   a. [Vsak teden *ga*   OBISKUJEM]_F.   (Jasinskaja 2016:11)
              every week him visit.1SG

           'I visit him every day.'

       b. Vsak teden obiskujem [NJEGA]_F.
           every week visit.1SG   him

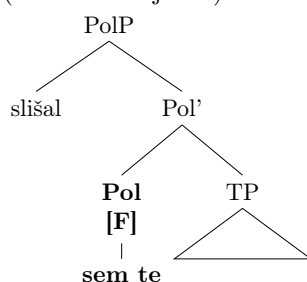   'I visit HIM every day.'

I take the fact that clitics get accented under verum focus as evidence that they are (or at least can be) located in the Polarity head. Since it is the Pol head that is F-marked under verum focus, clitics must either undergo syntactic movement to that position or incorporate into Pol post-syntactically, similarly to subject pronouns in Irish.

(60)   The structure of (57b) (the embedded part)
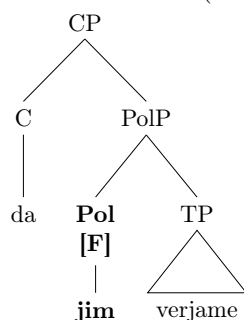
The fact that it is the rightmost clitic of the cluster that receives focal accent under verum focus in turn indicates that Slovenian 2P clitics cluster together in one syntactic position. Under this assumption, the fact that different clitics get accented in (58a) and (58b) can be easily accounted for: the F-marking on Pol must be realised as a focal (the most prominent) accent and since Slovenian heads of prosodic domains are located at the right edge of a corresponding domain, it is the rightmost element of a clitic cluster that carries focal accent.

(61) The structure of (58a)
(the first conjunct)

```
        PolP
       /    \
   slišal   Pol'
           /    \
         Pol     TP
         [F]    /__\
          |
        sem te
```

(62) The structure of (58b)
(the first conjunct)

```
        PolP
       /    \
   slišal   Pol'
           /    \
         Pol     TP
         [F]    /__\
          |
         te je
```
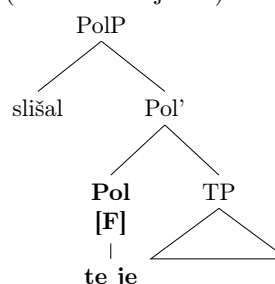
I propose that there is absolutely no structural or lexical differences between "normal" 2P clitics and accented 2P clitics in Slovenian.[8] Clitics receiving accent is a result of the interaction of syntax-prosody interface rules that are responsible for the prosodic realization of focus, and there is nothing special about the clitics themselves, they just appear "at the right place at the right time".

One potential argument against this claim is the fact that clitics do not have to appear in the second position when they bear focus accent under polarity focus (but not in other cases). According to Dvořák (2010), both (63a) and (63b) are grammatical and have no difference in meaning:

(63) a. Pravi, da JIM   verjame.
          says   that they.DAT believes
          Dvořák (2010:149)

          'She says that she DOES believe them.'
      b. Pravi, da verjame JIM.
          says   that believes they.DAT

I argue that it does not mean that *jim* is not a 2P clitic in (63b) or that 2P clitics in Slovenian can occur in different syntactic positions. The fact that the accent on the clitic is interpreted as verum focus indicates that the clitic is located in Pol, following the approach implemented here. In suggest that in fact (63b) involves post-phonological reordering, as a result of the interaction of several prosodic constraints that require the focused constituent to bear the strongest accent in its ι and to appear in its right edge.[9] However, simply placing the accented clitic at the right

---

[8]Note that by "accented clitics" I mean clitic forms that receives (focal) accent, not the corresponding strong forms.

[9]In the terms of Optimality Theory, the relevant constraints are formulated in Bennett et al. (2019:84) as following:

edge of its ι violate another constraint, which forbids postsyntactic re-ordering of elements. Therefore both (63a) and (63b) are imperfect from the prosodic point of view,

The fact that clitics do not resist receiving stress is evidence for the syntactic nature of 2P cliticisation in Slvn. In fact, Slovenian 2P clitics seem to be completely insensitive to their prosodic environment. I propose that "the second position" in Slovenian corresponds to a position in syntactic structure of a sentence (even though possibly not always a fixed one), as opposed to the second position in an ι in Serbo-Croatian. The 2P requirement in Slvn is satisfied as long as clitics are located in that position, even if in this case they follow an intonational break, receive stress, or lack phonological support whatsoever.

The next section examines further evidence that 2P clitics in Slvn are or can be located in Pol: clitic polarity answers.

4.5.2   Polarity clitic answers in Slovenian

As has been repeatedly mentioned above, clitics can serve as answers to yes / no questions in Slovenian. In this case, either the whole clitic cluster or only the auxiliary can survive ellipsis, as shown again in (64).

(64)   Q: Ali *vas je*   Marija povabila na večerjo?
             Q   you AUX.3SG Marija invited   to dinner

             'Has Marija invited you to dinner?'

        A: Nas je.
             us   AUX.3SG

             'She have.' (Lit: 'Us has.')

        A': Je.
             AUX.3SG

        A": * Nas.
             us

(i)   HD-R(ι)
       Assign one violation for each φ-phrase that (i) is the head of a dominating ι-phrase and (ii) is not right-aligned within that dominating ι-phrase.

(ii)   FOCUS-TO-PROMINENCE(ιP) (= FOC-PROM(ι))
       Assign one violation for every constituent C[F] that is semantically focused and does not contain the strongest intonational prominence of a dominating ι-phrase.

(iii) NO SHIFT
       If a terminal element α is linearly ordered before a terminal element β in the syntactic representation of an expression E, then the phonological exponent of α should precede the phonological exponent of β in the phonological representation of E.

Elliptical answers to polarity questions are usually analyzed as deletion of the complement of the Pol head in different languages (López & Winkler 2000, Holmberg 2001, 2016, Gribanova 2017, Bennett et al. 2019), providing further evidence that Slvn clitics (can) move to Pol.

What is surprising here is the availability of both (64A), with the pronominal clitic stranded, and (64A'), with the pronominal clitic elided, contrary to what happens under VP-ellipsis. I suggest that the grammaticality of (64A') does not indicate that Slovenian clitics do not cluster together in one syntactic position.

As noticed in Dvořák (2007, 2010), besides clitic answers, Slovenian allows elliptical answers with finite lexical verbs. Both options are available as an answer in (65). However, according to Dvořák, clitics answers are always preferred to verbal answers.

(65) Q: A *ga*   poznaš?   (Dvořák 2007)
          Q him.ACC know.2SG
          'Do you know him?'

      A: *Ga.*
          him.ACC

      A': Poznam.
           know.1SG
           'I do.'

I argue that the variant in (64A'), with only the auxiliary surviving ellipsis, is in a fact a verbal answer, not a clitic answer. In Slovenian, the only thing that distinguishes clitic auxiliaries from strong forms of auxiliaries is stress: the strong form of the 1SG auxiliary *je* would be its stressed counterpart *jé*. Accidentally, in cases like (64A'), when the auxiliary is the only item surviving ellipsis in polarity answers, a clitic form and a strong form are phonetically indistinguishable: a strong form is always accented and a clitic form would receive accent as the rightmost (and, in fact, only), element of the clause. Therefore, the auxiliary in (64A') is not a clitic and is not a part of the clitic cluster (unlike the auxiliary in (64A)): it appears in its strong form in this case. The apparent difference between the behaviour of a Slovenian clitic cluster under VP-ellipsis and in polarity answers is then accounted for.

To sum up, there are two options for the realization of the elliptical polarity answer: the one with a finite verb and the one with a clitic cluster:

	clitic answer	verbal answer
present tense	ga	poznam
past tense	ga je	je

Table 4.7: *Types of elliptical answers in Slvn*

The question that arises is what the position of the verb or the auxiliary in the verbal answers is. If verbal answers are analysed as involving ellipsis of the complement of the Pol head as well, it means that the clitic cluster in Slovenian is not always located in Pol because it would be occupied by the verb, not the clitic cluster. I believe that this is true, and the evidence for it comes from some elliptical environments, discussed in the next section.

4.5.3   Verbal ellipsis and 2P clitics in Slovenian

Consider the following examples from Dvořák (2010). The two sentences have the same meaning, but the second conjuncts are different: (66a) involves the pronominal clitic, the particle *pa* (discussed below), the negative form of an auxiliary, while (66b) has only the particle *pa* together with the bare negation (not a negative auxiliary).

(66)   a. Slišal *sem*   TE, videl *te*   *pa* NISEM.
          heard AUX.1SG you saw   you PA NEG.AUX.1SG

          'I heard you, but I didn't see you.'

       b. Slišal *sem*   TE, videl *pa* NE.
          heard AUX.1SG you saw   PA NEG

          'I heard you, but I didn't see you.'

It is not obvious that (66) involves ellipsis at all. It is plausible, however, that the structures of the sentences in (66) are parallel to those in (67A-A'), which obviously do involve ellipsis.

(67)   Q: Ali *je*   Marija včeraj   poslala paketa   v Ljubljano
          Q AUX.3SG Marija yesterday sent   package to Ljubljana
          in   Zagreb?
          and Zagreb

          'Did Marija send the packages to Ljubljana and Zagreb yesterday?'

       A: V Ljubljano *ga je*,   v Zagreb *pa ga* ni.
          to Ljubljana it AUX.3SG to Zagreb PA it AUX.NEG.3SG

          'To Ljubljana, she did, to Zagreb, she didn't.'

> A': V Ljubljano *ga je*, v Zagreb *pa* ne.
> to Ljubljana it AUX.3SG to Zagreb PA NEG

Analogous constructions involving contrastive polarity ellipsis in Russian are analyzed as involving the movement of the initial constituent to Spec,PolP in Gribanova (2017) and TP-ellipsis. I adopt her analysis here. The structure of the first conjunct of (67A-A') is shown in (68).

(68)   The structure of (67A-A')   (the first conjunct)
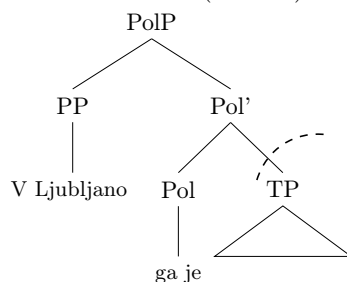
While 2P clitics are located in Pol in the first conjunct of (67A'), there are reasons to think that it is not the case for the second conjunct. First, I discuss the particle *pa* and its interpretation.

Pa forms a cluster together with the 2P clitics and can normally occur either at the left or the right edge of the cluster. I suggest that *pa* is associated with reverse relative polarity (similar to Romanian *ba*, Farkas 2010, Farkas & Bruce 2010), i.e. it marks the change of polarity between the current and the previous proposition.[10] If the polarity changes from negative to positive, it can be marked by *pa* alone, as in (69), in which case it receives accent.

(69)   Dvořák (2010:162)

    a. Petra   ne poznam, Sabino   PA.
        Peter.GEN NEG know   Sabina.ACC PA

        'I don't know Peter but I know Sabina.'

    b. Lačni nismo,   žejni PA.
        hungry NEG.AUX.1PL thirsty PA

        'We are not hungry, but we are thirsty.'

When polarity changes from positive to negative, it can be marked by the combination of *pa* and the negative particle *ne*, as in (66b), repeated here as (70).

---

[10] At least in the usage discussed here; *pa* has wider usage in colloquial language.

(70) Slišal *sem*   TE, videl *pa* NE.
      heard AUX.1SG you saw   PA NEG

      'I heard you, but I didn't see you.'

Sentential negation in Slovenian is realised by the negative particle *ne*, which is normally a proclitic attached to the verb (71a). It cannot be separated from the verb (71b) and the verbal complex with negation acts as a constituent and counts as the first constituent for the 2P constraint (71c) vs. (71d), as shown in Ilc & Milojević Sheppard (2003). Note that the negative particle is not a 2P clitic and does not form a cluster with 2P clitics (71e).

(71) Slvn, Ilc & Milojević Sheppard (2003:273–274)

      a.   Janez *ji*   **ne** piše   pisem.
            Janez her.DAT NEG writes letters.GEN

            'Janez doesn't write letters to her.'

      b. * Janez **ne** *ji*   piše   pisem.
            Janez NEG her.DAT writes letters.GEN

      c.   **Ne** lazi   *mi*!
            NEG lie.IMP me.DAT

            'Don't lie to me.'

      d. * Lazi   **ne** *mi*!
            lie.IMP NEG me.DAT

      e.   Takoj   *mu*   *ga*   resnično **ne** moreš
            immediately him.DAT it.ACC really   NEG can
            odposlati.
            send

            'You really cannot send it to him immediately.'

Ilc & Milojević Sheppard (2003) propose that in Slovenian the verb moves to a functional projection FP directly above NegP, which hosts negation, and the negative particle adjoins to the raised finite verb:[11]

---

[11] Alternatively, the verbal complex can be assumed to raise to Neg itself, as Gribanova (2017) proposes for Russian.

(72) Verb raising and negation in Slvn
      (following Ilc & Milojević Sheppard 2003:275)
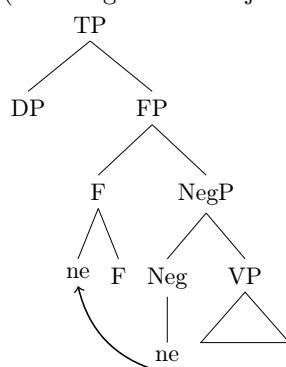
It is then surprising that negation can get disconnected from the verb in contrastive polarity environments. Consider (67), repeated here as (73). It is clear that in (73b) the negation is separated from the auxiliary since the negated form of the 3SG auxiliary is *ni*, as in (73a).

(73) a. V Ljubljano *ga je*   ~~poslala~~, v Zagreb *pa ga*
          to Ljubljana it   AUX.3SG sent   to Zagreb PA it

          ni   ~~poslala~~.
          AUX.NEG.3SG sent

          'To Ljubljana, she did, to Zagreb, she didn't.'

      b. V Ljubljano *ga je*   ~~poslala~~, v Zagreb *pa* ne   ~~ga~~
          to Ljubljana it   AUX.3SG sent   to Zagreb PA NEG it

          ~~je~~   ~~poslala~~.
          AUX.3SG sent

Two aspects are surprising in the second conjunct of (73b). First, the negation *ne* does not combine with the auxiliary *je* into the negative auxiliary *ni*, as it does in (73a). Second, the clitic cluster is elided, instead of appearing in Pol, as it does in (73a). The negative particle does not cliticise to the verb in contrastive polarity environments even if the verb itself is not elided, as in (74).

(74) **Slišim** *te* **NE**, vidim *pa* TE.   Dvořák (2010:160)
      hear.1SG you NEG see.1SG PA you

      'I don't hear you, but I see you.'

The negative particle can appear without cliticizing to the verb in negative clitic polarity answers as well, as in (75), in which case it is the negative particle which receives the accent, being the rightmost element of the clause.

(75) Q: A *jo*   poznaš?
          Q her.ACC know
          Dvořák (2010:151)

          'Do you know her?'

      A: *Je*   NE.
          her.GEN NEG

          'I don't.' (Lit: 'Her not.')

Following my analysis of polarity answers in Slovenian as the instance of ellipsis of the complement of Pol, (75A) indicates that the negative particle can raise to Pol by itself, without combining with the verb or the auxiliary. Alternatively, if the clitic cluster also appears in Pol, *ne* combines with the auxiliary, as in (73a).

2P clitics can be elided when the particle *pa* alone is present, i.e. when polarity switches from negative to positive:

(76) Dvořák (2010:163)

      Danica ni   razuméla   predpisov,   Lukrécia PA
      Danica NEG.AUX.3SG understood instructions, Lukrécia PA
      ~~jih~~   ~~razuméla.~~
      them understood

      'Danica didn't understand the instructions, but Lukrécia did.'

When *pa* is combined with 2P clitics, the last element of the cluster bears accent. Note from (77) that the position of *pa* with respect to 2P clitics is often flexible; there is no semantic or pragmatic differences between the two sentences.

(77) a. Slišim   *te* NE, vidim *pa* TE.
          hear.1SG you NEG see.1SG PA you

          'I don't hear you, but I see you.'

      b. Slišim   *te* NE, vidim *te* PA.
          hear.1SG you NEG see.1SG you PA

          'I don't hear you, but I see you.'

The optionality of clitic movement to Pol in contrastive polarity environments under ellipsis is challenging to account for, as any optionality is under the Minimalist program. One possible analysis is to assume that

clitics move to Pol only under verum focus, i.e. when Pol is F-marked.[12] Then there are several possible featural compositions of Pol, each of which results in the different composition of a clitic cluster:[13]

(a) Clitic cluster in Pol under verum focus:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textsc{pol: } +/\text{-} \\ \textsc{f} \end{array}\right]$$

The clitic cluster appears in Pol under verum focus, i.e. when the featural inventory of Pol includes the focus feature F.

(78) Pravi, da JIM verjame.   Dvořák (2010:147)
     says   that they.DAT believes

   '(S)he says that (s)he DOES believe them.'

(b) Clitic polarity answers:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textsc{pol: } +/\text{-} \\ \textsc{f} \\ \textsc{e} \end{array}\right]$$

The clitic cluster appears in Pol, which carries the E-feature, which triggers ellipsis of its complement.

(79) A: A *jo* poznaš?   Dvořák (2007:218)
        Q her know.2SG

   'Do you know her?'

---

[12]A similar phenomenon is found in Irish: while subject pronoun incorporation into the verb is obligatory in general, it is optional under ellipsis. Bennett et al. (2019) argue that the subject pronoun is incorporated in elliptical environments only if it is needed for the realisation of verum focus. Compare the two options in (ib): in the former case the subject pronoun is elided, while in the latter it is incorporated into the verb.

(i) (Bennett et al., 2019:91)

   a. Siud é an chéad chuid den   fheachtas seo – an agóidíocht seo a   tá
      DEM it the first piece of.the campaign DEM   the protest   DEM COMP be.PRS
      sibh   ag   dul a dhéanamh. Ar oibrigh sé?
      you.PL PROG go do.NONFIN   Q work.PST it

      'This was the first phase of this campaign—this protest that you are mounting. Did it work?'

   b. D'oibrigh. D'oibrigh **sÉ**.
      work.PST work.PST it

      'It did. It absolutely did.'

I leave open the question whether the same contrast exists in Slovenian (for example, in (73)).

[13]I follow Gribanova (2017) in assuming different types of Pol heads for different kinds of constructions involving polarity focus and partially adopt the featural compositions of Pol she proposes.

A: Jo.
    her
    'I do.'

(c) Reverse polarity elliptical responses:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{POL: } +/\text{-} \\ \text{REVERSE} \\ \text{F} \\ \text{E} \end{bmatrix}$$

The clitic cluster appears in Pol together with the particle *pa*, which spells out the REVERSE feature; the complement of Pol is elided.

(80) A: Saj *me* ne   slišiš!   Dvořák (2010:162)
          PART me NEG hear.2SG
          'But you don't hear me!'
      B: *Pa te*!
          PA you
          'But I do!'

(d) Contrastive polarity ellipsis, clitics elided:[14]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{POL: } +/\text{-} \\ \text{REVERSE} \\ \text{CT,EPP} \\ \text{E} \end{bmatrix}$$

The particle *pa*, which spells out the REVERSE feature; the CT,EPP triggers the movement of the contrastive topic to Spec,PolP; the complement of Pol is elided.[15]

(81) V Ljubljano *ga je*   poslala, v Zagreb *pa* ne.
      to Ljubljana it AUX.3SG sent   to Zagreb PA NEG
      'To Ljubljana, she sent it, to Zagreb, she didn't.'

(e) Contrastive polarity ellipsis, clitics in Pol:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{POL: } +/\text{-} \\ \text{REVERSE} \\ \text{CT,EPP} \\ \text{F} \\ \text{E} \end{bmatrix}$$

---

[14]I follow Gribanova (2017) in using the CT,EPP feature which attracts the contrastive topic (CT) to Spec,PolP.

[15]The negative particle *ne* can raise to Pol under negative polarity (POL: -). Possibly, it raises when Neg, which normally hosts the negative particle, is marked for ellipsis.

The clitic cluster appears in Pol together with the particle *pa*, which spells out the REVERSE feature; the CT,EPP triggers the movement of the contrastive topic to Spec,PolP; the complement of Pol is elided.

(82) V Ljubljano *ga je*   poslala, v Zagreb *pa* ga
      to Ljubljana it AUX.3SG sent   to Zagreb PA it
      ni.
      AUX.NEG.3SG
      'To Ljubljana, she sent it, to Zagreb, she didn't.'

Importantly, if 2P clitics appear in Pol, the whole clitic cluster consisting of an auxiliary and pronominal clitics must undergo movement or incorporation there. Consider the contrast in the interpretation in (83a), with clitics elided, and (83b), with only the pronominal clitic appearing in Pol. The two sentences receive different interpretations: in the former one, the second conjunct is interpreted in the past tense, while in the latter one, only the present tense interpretation is available.

(83) Dvořák (2010:163)
      a. Danica ni   razuméla   predpisov,   Lukrécia PA.
         Danica NEG.AUX.3SG understood instructions, Lukrécia PA
         'Danica didn't understand the instructions, but Lukrécia did.'
      b. Danica ni   razuméla   predpisov,   Lukrécia pa
         Danica NEG.AUX.3SG understood instructions, Lukrécia PA
         JIH.
         them
         'Danica didn't understand the instructions, but Lukrécia does.'
         #'...but Lukrécia did.'

The difference in the interpretation, I suggest, comes from the fact that the ellipsis site in (83b) cannot be interpreted as containing an auxiliary, since it would be incorporated into Pol together with the pronominal clitic.[16] Therefore, only (84a) is a possible underlying structure for (83b), and not (84b). (83a), on the other hand, corresponds to (84b) with all the clitics except *pa* elided.

(84) a.   ... Lukrécia pa *jih*   ~~razúme~~.
              Lukrécia PA them understands

---

[16]This phenomenon can be analysed in different ways. It is possible that since 2P clitics in Slvn cluster together, the change in the temporal interpretation in (83b) is signalled by the absence of the auxiliary clitic. It is also possible that T is in fact outside the ellipsis site and (83b) involves ellipsis not of the complement of the Pol but of a smaller part. I leave distinguishing between these two options for further research.

    b.   * ... Lukrécia pa *jih* ~~je~~ ~~razuméla.~~
             Lukrécia PA them AUX.3SG understood

All the evidence presented in this chapter indicates that Slovenian auxiliary and pronominal clitics cluster together (at least in their final position) and can never be separated by ellipsis. For this reason pronominal clitics in Slovenian must be stranded under VP-ellipsis, as demonstrated again in (85).

(85) a.   Maja *jih* *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   *jih* tudi
           Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG them too
           ~~videl.~~
           seen

           'Maja has seen them and I have, too.'

    b.   * Maja *jih* *je*   videla in jaz *sem*   tudi ~~jih~~
           Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG too them
           ~~videl.~~
           seen

4.6   Conclusion

4.6.1   Slovenian 2P clitics and ellipsis: summary

This chapter discussed several types of elliptical constructions in Slovenian and shows that in every case the behaviour of 2P position clitics differs. Table 4.8 summarizes the data discussed in the chapter.

type of ellipsis	clitics stranded	comments
VP-ellipsis	AUX and pronominal clitics	The whole clitic cluster must survive ellipsis.
clitic polarity answers	AUX and / or pronominal clitics	If AUX survives ellipsis without pronominal clitics, it is a strong form and not a part of a cluster → a clitic cluster is not separated by ellipsis.
contrastive polarity ellipsis	*pa* (*ne*) and / or AUX and pronominal clitics	The only case where clitics survive ellipsis optionally.

Table 4.8: The interaction of 2P cliticisation and ellipsis in Slvn

To sum up, if pronominal and auxiliary clitics survive ellipsis, they survive it as a cluster. The difference between VP-ellipsis and the other two types of elliptical constructions is that clitics must survive in the case of VP-ellipsis.

The fact that clitics do not have to survive ellipsis in two other cases suggests that although clitics can move to Pol in Slvn, they do not necessarily have to under ellipsis. Note that without ellipsis clitics would have to move to the second position and, in the case of contrastive polarity ellipsis, form a cluster together with the particle *pa*.

4.6.2 2P clitics and VP-ellipsis: Slovenian vs Serbo-Croatian

The systems of 2P cliticisation in Slvn and SC are often analysed as being quite similar, with the only difference being in the prosodic requirements of clitics with respect to the directionality of attachment (obligatorily enclitics in SC and freely proclitics or eclitics in Slvn). Bošković (2001) proposes that Slvn and SC clitics have different lexical specifications: SC clitics must be left-adjacent to an ι-boundary but must be suffixes, i.e. enclitics (87), while Slvn clitics just have a requirement to be left-adjacent

to an ι-boundary (87).[17]

(86) *Lexical properties of SC 2P clitics*   (Bošković 2001:95)
    a. $\#\_$ (where $\#$ is an ι-boundary)
    b. Suffix

(87) *Lexical properties of Slvn 2P clitics*   (Bošković 2001:156)
    $\#\_$ (where $\#$ is an ι-boundary)

Franks (2016) supports the idea of the difference between Slvn and SC
being prosodic, he argues that it does not come from lexical properties of
clitics but rather from the restrictions on the elements that can appear at
the left edge of an ι. He proposes that the restriction in (88) is effective
in SC but not in Slvn.

(88) *Prosodic Restriction$_{I-phrase}$*   (Franks 2016:99)
    Clitics cannot initiate an I-phrase.

Golden & Sheppard (2000) argue that the difference in clitic placement
in the two languages does not originate merely from distinct prosodic
restrictions but also from different domains to which the 2P requirement
refers. They adopt the properties of clitics that Bošković (2001) proposes
for SC, but propose different properties for Slvn. As (89) shows, while
in SC the domain of 2P cliticisation is a prosodic one (ι), it is syntactic
(CP) in Slvn, which means that in SC clitics are placed after the first
element of their ι, while in Slvn after the first element of their CP. In
fact, following Golden & Sheppard, 2P clitics in Slovenian clitics move to
C^0, and therefore appear after a constituent that moves to Spec,CP.

(89) *Properties of clitics*   (Golden & Sheppard 2000:205)

	domain	dominance	precedence
Slvn:	CP-phrase	Initial	Suffix/prefix
SC:	ι	Initial	Suffix

My analysis of the differences between the systems of 2P cliticisation
in Slvn and SC develops the approach of Golden & Sheppard (2000).
I propose that while it is true that the domains that clitics select are
different(a syntactic clause vs. an intonational phrase), the source of this
difference lies in the timing of clitic movement.

In the discussion in chapters 3 and 4 here as well as in the previous
literature, 2P clitics in SC are sensitive to their prosodic environment

---

[17]Bošković argues that Slvn clitics are not specified to be proclitics or enclitics but rather
have no specification for the directionality of attachment, see the discussion in Bošković
(2001:156–163) for details.

and find their place with respect to the prosodic structure: they can never immediately follow an ι-boundary and can even be replaced to avoid violating this rule (delayed clitic placement). 2P clitics in Slvn, on the contrary, seem to be indifferent to their prosodic environment: they can appear at an edge of a prosodic domain, be proclitics or enclitics and even receive nuclear stress.

I suggest that this difference in the role of prosodic structure for clitic placement is not arbitrary and does not arise simply from the lexical properties of clitics.

Slovenian clitics ignore prosodic structure because it does not yet exist at the point when clitics move out of their original positions to "the second position": 2P cliticisation in Slvn is a syntactic process. Slovenian clitics must occupy a particular syntactic position high in the structure (at least in some cases they end up in Pol) and they remain there regardless of where they find themselves with respect to the prosodic structure later in the course of derivation. That explains why 2P clitics in Slovenian neither necessarily have to be (phonological) clitics nor appear in the second position.

2P cliticisation in Serbo-Croatian is a phonological phenomenon, as shown in Bošković (2001). However, while under Bošković (1995)'s account phonology merely filters out sentences that violate the second position requirement (that means, sentences where clitics were not placed into the proper position by syntax), I argue that clitics in 2P are placed into the second position post-syntactically. The prosodic effects on clitics placement in SC are obvious, whereas there appear to be no strictly syntactic restrictions on it: the apparent syntactic effects used as an argument against the strict phonological approach to 2P cliticisation in the previous literature can also be accounted for by appealing to the prosodic structure.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the difference in the timing of clitic placement in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian.
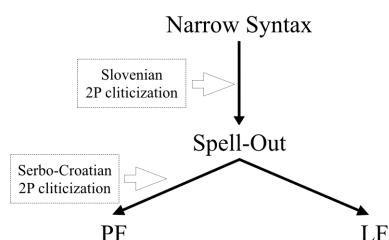

Figure 4.1: *The timing of clitics placement in Slvn and SC*

My main argument for the account presented in this dissertation comes from the interaction of clitics and VP-ellipsis: pronominal 2P clitics must

be elided under VP-ellipsis in Serbo-Croatian but must survive VP-ellipsis
in Slovenian, as illustrated again in (90) and (91).

(90)   2P clitics and VP-ellipsis: Serbo-Croatian

    a. * Mi *smo*   *ih*   videli, a   i   oni   *su*   ***ih***,
          we AUX.1PL them seen   and also they AUX.3PL them
          takodje.
          too
          'We saw them, and they did, too.'

    b.   Mi *smo*   *ih*   videli, a   i   oni   *su*,   takodje.
          we AUX.1PL them seen   and also they AUX.3PL too

(91)   2P clitics and VP-ellipsis: Slovenian

    a.   Maja *jih*   *je*   videla in   jaz *sem*   ***jih***   tudi.
          Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG them too
          'Maja saw them and I did, too.'

    b. * Maja *jih*   *je*   videla in   jaz *sem*   tudi.
          Maja them AUX.3SG seen   and I   AUX.1SG too

The contrast between (90) and (91) cannot be accounted for simply by
the difference in prosodic requirements of clitics. However, it can be easily
explained by the timing of clitic movement. In SC, pronominal clitics are
still located inside the VP at the point when it is marked by ellipsis. As
I argue in chapter 3, pronouns in SC only become clitics at the point of
Vocabulary Insertion. If ellipsis is the absence of Vocabulary Insertion,
SC pronouns never receive a clitic status and do not have the requirement
to move to the second position. In Slvn, clitics move out of the ellipsis
site to a higher position in syntax, and therefore survive ellipsis.

There are two other potential explanations of the contrast between (90)
and (91), as Željko Bošković (p.c.) points out. First, a potential interfering
factor, independent of other issues discussed here, can be the requirement
of *MaxElide*. *MaxElide* would prefer (90b) to (90a) to maximise the size
of the ellipsis site, explaining the behaviour of SC clitics under ellipsis.
MaxElide can also be overridden by stressing the relevant elements sur-
viving ellipsis, which could explain the contrast between Slovenian and
Serbo-Croatian. I would like to point out two issues here: i) it has been
argued that *MaxElide* does not capture the facts correctly and should
be discarded (see, for example, Griffiths 2019); ii) Slvn 2P clitics only
receive stress due to being at the right edge of a relevant domain of stress
assignment, therefore they receive stress because they survive ellipsis as
opposed to surviving ellipsis because of being stressed.

Another explanation for the difference between Slvn and SC could be the
proposal that these languages differ when it comes to the phasehood of

their constituents, which in turn can interact with ellipsis in accounts like Bošković (2014). In this account, ellipsis is phase-constrained and extraction out of the ellipsis site is allowed only when ellipsis site corresponds to a phasal complement, as opposed to a whole phase. This proposal is further developed in Sakamoto (2019), where it is argued that phasal ellipsis is implemented by LF copying, while phasal complements are targeted by PF-deletion. Under these accounts, one would have to postulate crucial differences with respect to the phasehood of ellipsis sites and/or the mechanism of ellipsis (LF copying vs. PF-deletion) in (90) and (91). I opt against pursuing such an analysis, as cross-linguistic differences in these domains are notoriously difficult to support with clear evidence. The difference in sensitivity to the prosodic environment between SC and Slvn 2P clitics, on the other hand, has been repeatedly noted in the literature, which makes the account proposed here more coherent than the mentioned alternatives.

4.6.3 Supporting evidence from gapping

Recall that while SC and Slvn clitics behave differently with respect to VP-ellipsis, they show the same behaviour under gapping: all the second position clitics must be elided in both languages:

(92) a. 2P clitics and gapping: Serbo-Croatian

Ana *mu*　*je*　　dala knjigu, a　Nada *(*mu)*
Ana him.DAT AUX.3SG gave book　and Nada him.DAT
šolju.
cup
'Ana gave him a book and Nada a cup.'

   b. 2P clitics and gapping: Slovenian

Marija *mu*　*je*　　dala knjigo in　Ana *(*mu)*
Marija him.DAT AUX.3SG gave book　and Ana him.DAT
skodelico.
cup
'Marija gave him a book and Ana a cup.'

Given the differences in clitic behaviour under VP-ellipsis between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, the fact that they behave similarly in case of gapping is unexpected. It indicates that gapping is a different process from VP-ellipsis, contra Coppock (2001) and Toosarvandani (2013). The facts however can be easily explained if we adopt the move-and-delete account of gapping introduced in Boone (2014). Boone argues that the remnants of ellipsis move out of the ellipsis site to a high position prior to ellipsis in the case of gapping. Under this account, the sentences in

(92) would have the structures in (93). Note that I assume that clitics in SC remain in their original positions at this point of the derivation, while clitics in Slvn move higher (and probably cluster together), and the remnants move higher than the position of 2P clitics.

(93)   a. 2P clitics and gapping: Serbo-Croatian
            Ana *mu je* dala knjigu, a [$_{DP}$ Nada]$_i$ [$_{DP}$ šolju]$_j$ [$_{XP}$ t$_i$ je dala mu t$_j$].

        b. 2P clitics and gapping: Slovenian
            Marija *mu je* dala knjigo in [$_{DP}$ Ana]$_i$ [$_{DP}$ skodelico]$_j$ [$_{XP}$ t$_i$ mu je dala t$_j$].

Regardless of the precise position of clitics in both languages or timing of their movement to the second position, they remain stranded in the ellipsis site. This indicates that the elided constituent is higher than the one in the case of VP-ellipsis.

While gapping itself does not inform us about the site or the timing of clitic movement in SC and Slvn, together with the whole discussion in this and previous chapters it demonstrates how a closer inspection of delicate interactions of cliticisation and ellipsis can reveal crucial differences between similar phenomena in closely related languages, and can potentially shed light into the precise mechanisms of different elliptical processes.