

Timing of post-syntactic operations in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian truncated infinitives

I address the timing of Local Dislocation (LD; Embick and Noyer 2001) with respect to prosodic structure building and accent assignment, by investigating accentual interactions between enclitics and their hosts in BCS, and I show that LD follows (at least some) prosodic structure building in the BCS verbal complex.

E&N (2001) propose the order of postsyntactic operations in (1). This predicts that an LD-ed element affixed to a root should be visible for phonological processes within the prosodic word (ω) containing the root. Indeed, Despić (2017) discusses truncated infinitives in Standard Serbian (also found in other dialects of BCS) in the context of the future clitic (2), arguing the clitic undergoes LD and linearizes as an affix after the infinitive (3a), further triggering infinitival suffix truncation (3b). He shows the truncation leads to a closer phonological interaction between the root and the clitic, e.g. /s/ obligatorily assimilates with /ć/ (2). Furthermore, Talić (2018) shows most BCS enclitics have a lexical High tone that spreads and results in a rising accent on their hosts if the two are in the same spell-out domain and consequently get mapped to the same minimal prosodic word (ω_{\min}), e.g. the future clitic spreads its High tone to a wh-host in SpecCP (4).

Given the High tone from enclitics can spread to toneless hosts like (4) when the two are in the same ω_{\min} , if future clitics were LD-ed before the ω_{\min} of the root is built in truncated infinitives, they would spread their High tone to toneless verbal roots. However, this is not possible, as illustrated in (5), where toneless roots that can get a rising accent via High tone spreading from suffixes in their ω_{\min} (e.g. participle suffix *-la* in (5a)) *retain* the falling accent they have in the non-truncated infinitive form (5b) even when the infinitival suffix is truncated (5c) in the presence of a future clitic. Thus, in the truncated infinitive, there is an accentual domain containing only the root where default initial High-tone insertion takes place before the clitic is added, yielding a falling accent. This, however, raises the question why the /s/ *obligatorily* assimilates with /ć/ in (2). Crucially, while assimilation can optionally take place even across a word boundary in fast speech (6), Despić (2017) notes that the assimilation is obligatory between a root and a typical affix (i.e. within the same word) (7). Therefore, the future clitic behaves both as if it is *inside* and *outside* of the prosodic word of the verbal root. However, this is not the only place where clitics in BCS show dual behavior. For instance, Talić (2019) shows proclitics can also show dual behavior. E.g. the root can spread its High tone to the preposition *za* in (8a), but *za* cannot participate in the default High-tone insertion taking place at the ω_{\min} of the root, even though without the suffix, this proclitic can fully participate in this process (8b). Talić argues *za* in (8a) is an affixal clitic and adjoins to, rather than incorporates into, the ω of the host (9). The default High tone insertion then applies at the ω_{\min} , which then undergoes spreading at the ω_{\max} . Similarly, I argue ω_{\min} is built before LD of the future clitic in truncated infinitives. Thus, the toneless root gets a default initial High tone (and falling accent). Subsequently, the future clitic undergoes LD, but it can no longer make it a part of the ω_{\min} of the root. The default tone still gets realized, bleeding High-tone spreading from the future clitic. The loss of the infinitival suffix still feeds assimilation given that affixal clitics are also within the ω of the root, the ω_{\max} .

In sum, the lack of accentual interaction with the future clitic in truncated infinitives sheds light on the timing of LD and Prosodic Structure building at PF, indicating that LD of the future clitic takes place *after*, not *before*, the minimal prosodic word containing the verbal root has been built and that the two operations at PF are intertwined, rather than all LD taking place before prosodic phrasing. Otherwise, the future enclitic and the verbal root would map to the same ω_{\min} the same way that the PRT and the verbal root do. Suffixes and suffixed clitics behave differently, as shown by the contrast between PRT in (5a) and the future clitic in (5c).

(1) *lowering* > *vocabulary insertion/linearization* > **LD** > *building prosodic domains* > *prosodic inversion* > *Phonetic Form*

(2) sješ-ćeš → /sjes-ćeš/
sit-will.2sg
'you will sit'

(3) a. [[V][T[*fut*]]] = /sjes-ti-ćeš/
b. ti → ∅ /[[V-__][T[*fut*]]] (V = ti-infinitive)

(4) [' = rising accent; ` = falling accent]

a. gdjé	ću	d. gdjé	ćemo
where	will.1sg	where	will.1.pl
b. gdjé	ćeš	e. gdjé	ćete
where	will.2sg	where	will.2.pl
c. gdjé	će	f. gdjé	će:
where	will.3sg	where	will.3.pl

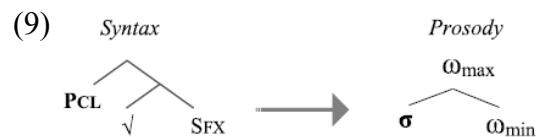
(5) a.	b.	c.
náš-la	nà:-ći	nà:-ćeš
find-PRT	find-inf	find-will.2sg
dóš-la	dò:-ći	dò:-ćeš
come-PRT	come-inf	come-will.2sg
sjéd-i-la	sjès-ti	sjèš-ćeš
sit-TV-PRT	sit-inf	sit-will.2sg

(6) Ovaj njihov *pas* čuva kuću. [pas#čuva] or [paščuva] (Radanović-Kocić 1988)
this their dog guards house
'This dog of theirs is guarding the house.'

(7) *pas-će / paš-će
dog-DIM dog-DIM
'small dog'

(8) a. *zà_zidara / zá_zidara
for_builder
'for the builder'

b. zà_zid
for_wall
for the wall



References: Embick and Noyer 2001. Movement operations after syntax. • Despić 2017. Suspended affixation in Serbian: Clitics and affixes • Talić 2018. Spelling out enclitics and giving their tone a voice. • Talić 2019. Upward P-cliticization, accent shift and extraction out of PP. • Radanović-Kocić 1988. The grammar of Serbo-Croatian clitics.