

WHAT THE CLITIC *JE* IN CROATIAN TELLS US ABOUT MULTIDOMINANCE

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INTRODUCTION. In this paper I present novel evidence that in Croatian, the third person singular auxiliary clitic *je*, despite its deceiving distribution, occupies the same syntactic position as the other auxiliary clitics in the language. The fact that the syntactic behavior of *je* is the same as the behavior of other auxiliary clitics has consequences for our theory of what constrains multidominance (**MD**) structures in the grammar, i.e. it argues against the view that the range of possible MD structures is constrained (solely) by linearization based on c-command (as suggested, for example by Citko 2005).

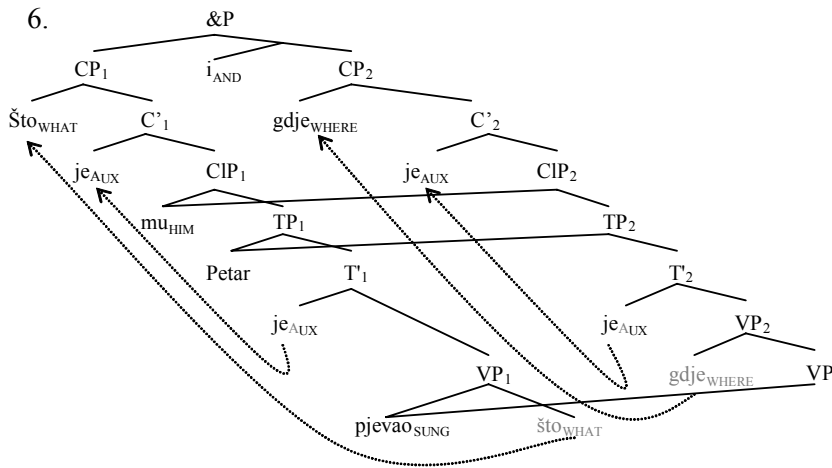
DATA. Croatian third person singular auxiliary clitic *je* of the verb *htjeti* ‘to want’ is seemingly different from other auxiliary clitics in the language (*sam*-1.S, *si*-2.S, *smo*-1.PL, *ste*-2.PL, *su*-3.PL) in that it follows rather than precedes pronominal clitics in a clitic cluster (1, 2). Evidence for the claim that *je* nevertheless occupies the same syntactic position as other auxiliary clitics comes from wh-questions that contain two fronted and coordinated wh-phrases (3). These are called “coordinated wh-constructions” in Kazenin (2001), “conjoined question words construction” in Zhang (2007), and “coordinated multiple wh-questions” in Gribanova (to appear). I follow Gracanin-Yukse (2007), which shows that in Croatian these constructions may have a bi-clausal analysis, and call them *bi-clausal* multiple wh-questions (**BMW**s). One indication of the bi-clausal structure of BMWs is the repetition of clitics (4a).

Interestingly, (4a) remains grammatical and optionally has the same reading even if the first conjunct contains only the auxiliary clitic, as long as the second conjunct contains both, (4b). In other words, the pronominal clitic may be pronounced only once (in the second conjunct), but be interpreted twice (once in each conjunct), as indicated by the translation. However, if the first conjunct contains only the pronominal clitic, the BMW is ungrammatical, (4c). This shows that in the syntax, the auxiliary clitic occupies a higher structural position than the pronominal clitics, regardless of what we believe is the correct analysis of the fact that a part of the first conjunct goes unpronounced (whether it is deleted or is pronounced only once as a consequence of being shared). Crucially, the same pattern seen in (4) obtains when the auxiliary clitic is *je* (5). We thus have evidence that there is no syntactic difference between *je* and other auxiliary clitics (contra Tomić 1996, Franks and King 2000, Franks and Progovac 1994). Auxiliary clitics seem to always be structurally higher than pronominal clitics.

ANALYSIS. Coupling the sharing analysis of BMWs (for arguments in favor of this analysis, see Gracanin-Yukse 2007) with Bosković’s (2001) explanation for the unique behavior of *je*, I propose that the BMW in (5b) has the structure in (6). This analysis correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (4c) and (5c), given that in an MD structure, shared material may not appear higher than the non-shared material. In addition, (7) is correctly predicted to be grammatical, but not to have the same reading as (5b). Instead, the pronominal clitic in (7) can be interpreted only in the first conjunct, where it is phonologically present.

CONSEQUENCES. If the present analysis is correct, it has an interesting consequence: if linearization is based on (asymmetric) c-command (Kayne 1994, Wilder 1999, Citko 2005, Gracanin-Yukse 2007), it is predicted that (5b) cannot be linearized. This is because in this structure, *je* is unshared, since it is not only interpreted twice, but is also *pronounced* twice. Since unshared material must be structurally higher than shared material, this means that *je* asymmetrically c-commands the pronominal clitic. The pattern of clitic repetition in a Croatian BMW thus presents a problem for any linearization account that relies on asymmetric c-command. The prediction of such an account is that the BMW in (5b) will be pronounced as (8), contrary to fact. This pattern is especially problematic for the claims (Citko 2005, Gracanin-Yukse 2007) that MD structures are well-formed as long as they are linearizable. However, (5b) is only linearizable once *je* moves above the pronominal clitic, as shown in (6), and yet its word order does not reflect this movement. This constitutes an argument against the view that MD structures are constrained by linearization.

1. a. Ja **SAM** **GA** gurnuo.
 I Aux.CL.1.S him.ACC pushed
 ‘I pushed him.’
 b. *Ja **GA** **SAM** gurnuo.
 I him.ACC Aux.CL.1.S pushed
2. a. On **GA** **JE** gurnuo.
 He him.ACC Aux.CL.3.S pushed
 ‘He pushed him.’
 b. *On **JE** **GA** gurnuo.
 He Aux.CL.3.S him.ACC pushed
3. Što i kada je Ivan jeo?
 What and when Aux.CL.3.S. Ivan eaten
 ‘What did Ivan eat and when did Ivan eat?’
4. a) Što **SI** **MU** i zašto **SI** **MU** pjevao?
 What Aux.CL.2.S him.DAT and why Aux.CL.2.S him.DAT sung
 ‘What did you sing to him and why did you sing to him?’
 b) Što **SI** i zašto **SI** **MU** pjevao?
 What Aux.CL.2.S and why Aux.CL.2.S him.DAT sung
 ‘What did you sing to him and why did you sing to him?’
 ‘What did you sing and why did you sing to him?’
 c) *Što **MU** i zašto **SI** **MU** pjevao?
 ‘What him.DAT and why Aux.CL.2.S him.DAT sung’
5. a) Što **MU** **JE** i gdje **MU** **JE** Ivan pjevao?
 What him.DAT Aux.CL.3.S and where him.DAT Aux.CL.3.S Ivan sung
 ‘What did Ivan sing to him and where did Ivan sing to him?’
 b) Što **JE** i gdje **MU** **JE** Ivan pjevao?
 What Aux.CL.3.S and where him.DAT Aux.CL.3.S Ivan sung
 c) *Što **MU** i gdje **MU** **JE** Ivan pjevao?
 What him.DAT and where him.DAT Aux.CL.3.S Ivan sung



7. Što **MU** **JE** i gdje **JE** Ivan pjevao?
 What him.DAT Aux.CL.3.S and where Aux.CL.3.S Ivan sung
 ‘What did Ivan sing to him and where did Ivan sing?’
8. *Što **JE** i gdje **JE** **MU** Ivan pjevao?
 What Aux.CL.3.S and where Aux.CL.3.S him.DAT Ivan sung
 ‘What and where did Ivan sing to him?’