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## BCS Adjectival forms

Traditional grammars: *nominal declension*(ND) vs. *pronominal declension*(PD)

- (1) **SFA:** a. zélen- $\emptyset$                       b. zelén-u                      [ é ] =rising; [ è ]=falling  
                     green.NOM.SG.M.ND                      green-DAT.SG.M.ND  
**LFA:** c. zélen-i                              d. zélen-om  
                     green-NOM/ACC[-ANIM]-SG.M.(PD)                      green-DAT.SG.M.PD

Two sets of affixes only in N.SG and N.SG paradigms

Aljović 2002: In contemporary BCS: NOM.SG.M has a separate suffix [-i], PD+prosody elsewhere; ND = stylistic effect

- (2) **SFA:** a. zélen- $\emptyset$                       b. zelén-om  
                     green.NOM.SG.M.ND                      green-DAT.SG.M.ND

Browne 1993: ND especially frequent in postnominal genitive NPs

→ Talić (in prep): Online survey on Nominal vs. Pronominal declension in SFA contexts (43 speakers across the BCS speaking area):

**Accusative:**

	plav -a blue -ACC.M.ND	plav -o:g blue -ACC.M.PD1	plav -o:ga blue -ACC.M.PD2
average	1.94	<b>6.82</b>	2.75
SD	1.14	0.47	1.82

**Postnominal Genitive:**

	vedr -a cheerful -ACC.M.ND	vedr -o:g cheerful -ACC.M.PD1	vedr -o:ga cheerful -ACC.M.PD2
average	<b>3.67</b>	<b>6.51</b>	2.77
SD	1.98	1.06	1.81

Crucially: the prosody of the adjectival stem in SFA with ND suffixes is the same as the prosody of the stem in an SFA with PD suffixes (cf. (1b) and (2b)) (Ridjanovic 2012: mixed form)

## Contrasts and the lack of contrast:

### A. Stems without a H tone

	short	long	short	long
<b>Nom</b>	M plà: <sup>H</sup> v - $\emptyset$	plà: <sup>H</sup> v -i:	zélén - $\emptyset$	zéle <sup>H</sup> n -i:
	F plá: <sup>H</sup> v -a <sup>H</sup>	plà: <sup>H</sup> v -a: <sup>H</sup>	zélén -a <sup>H</sup>	zéle <sup>H</sup> n -a: <sup>H</sup>
<b>Dat</b>	M plá: <sup>H</sup> v -o: <sup>H</sup> m	plà: <sup>H</sup> v -o: <sup>H</sup> m	zélén -o: <sup>H</sup> m	zéle <sup>H</sup> n -o: <sup>H</sup> m
	F plá: <sup>H</sup> v -o: <sup>H</sup> j	plà: <sup>H</sup> v -o: <sup>H</sup> j	zélén -o: <sup>H</sup> j	zéle <sup>H</sup> n -o: <sup>H</sup> j
	blue -AGR	blue -AGR	green -AGR	green -AGR
	(i) Rising → Falling	(ii) Rising → Rising, but shifted		

### B. Stems with a H tone

	short	long	short	long
<b>Nom</b>	M vè <sup>H</sup> lik - $\emptyset$	vè <sup>H</sup> lik -i:	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t - $\emptyset$	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -i:
	F vè <sup>H</sup> lik -a <sup>H</sup>	vè <sup>H</sup> lik -a: <sup>H</sup>	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -a <sup>H</sup>	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -a: <sup>H</sup>
<b>Dat</b>	M vè <sup>H</sup> lik -o: <sup>H</sup> m	vè <sup>H</sup> lik -o: <sup>H</sup> m	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -o: <sup>H</sup> m	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -o: <sup>H</sup> m
	F vè <sup>H</sup> lik -o: <sup>H</sup> j	vè <sup>H</sup> lik -o: <sup>H</sup> j	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -o: <sup>H</sup> j	duhóvi <sup>H</sup> t -o: <sup>H</sup> j
	big -AGR	big -AGR	funny -AGR	funny -AGR
	(iii) no change in pitch accents			

Inkelas & Zec 1988 (a), Zsiga & Zec 2013 (b):

- Falling accent = monosyllabic = H tone and stress on the initial syllable
- Rising accent = H on a non-initial syllable, stress on the preceding syllable
  - + (a) H-tone spreading, (b) post-lexical L-tone insertion

→ Interaction between AGR and ADJ stem: If AGR has a lexical H, the stem preceding it gets a rising accent in SFA.

→ This interaction does not take place in LFA.

(3) **LFAs have an extra High tone on the final vowel of the stem**

## Abstract

*In this paper, I argue that some seemingly unsystematic, prosodic contrasts between BCS long-form adjectives (LFAs) and short-form adjectives (SFAs) arise from the difference in their structure, as well as the presence/absence of a partially overt and partially covert exponent of a functional head in the extended projection of A. In particular, I show that LFAs have an extra High tone between the adjectival stem and the agreement morphemes. Given that LFAs differ from SFAs in having having the extra High tone, having extra meaning (they mark specificity, see Aljović 2002), and extra structure (Talić 2017), I argue that the H tone is the exponent of the functional head contributing [specificity] in the adjectival complex.*

## Analysis

**Proposal:** The stem-final H is a part of a segmentally null morpheme between the stem and AGR.

- (4) SFA: a. plà:v -o:<sup>H</sup>j                      b. zelén -o:<sup>H</sup>j                      c. duhóvi<sup>H</sup>t -o:<sup>H</sup>j  
                     ADJ -AGR                      ADJ -AGR                      ADJ -AGR
- (5) LFA: a. plà:v - $\emptyset^H$  -o:<sup>H</sup>j                      b. zelén - $\emptyset^H$  -o:<sup>H</sup>j                      c. duhóvi<sup>H</sup>t - $\emptyset^H$  -o:<sup>H</sup>j  
                     ADJ -X -AGR                      ADJ -X -AGR                      ADJ -X -AGR  
                     falling                      shifted rising                      neutralized

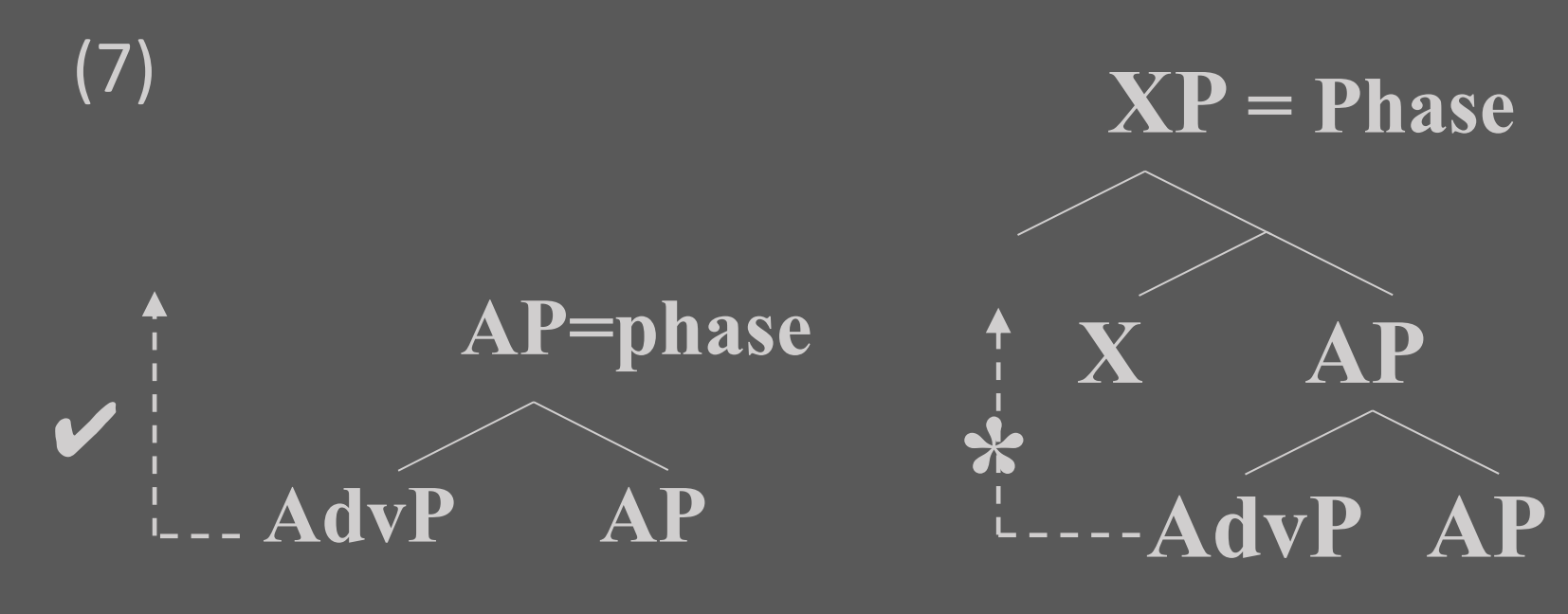
In a sequence of multiple H tones, the first one is realized. (e.g. Inkelas & Zec 1988)

Q: Which of these morphemes correspond to syntactic heads? Where is - $\emptyset^H$  in the structure?

→ Talić 2017: The extended projection of A contains functional structure in LFAs, but not in SFAs.

Evidence from variation in extraction of adverbs cross-linguistically (languages with non-affixal articles vs. languages with affixal articles and languages without articles) and within languages with two forms of adjectives used attributively (Icelandic and BCS):

- (6) a. Strašno<sub>i</sub> je bila [ t<sub>i</sub> umorna].  
                     terribly is been tired.F.SF  
                     'She was terribly tired.'  
       b. Izuzetno<sub>i</sub> su kupili [ t<sub>i</sub> skup] automobil.  
                     extremely are bought expensive.SF car  
                     'They bought an extremely expensive car.'  
       c. \*Izuzetno<sub>i</sub> su kupili [ t<sub>i</sub> skupi] automobil.  
                     extremely are bought expensive.LF car



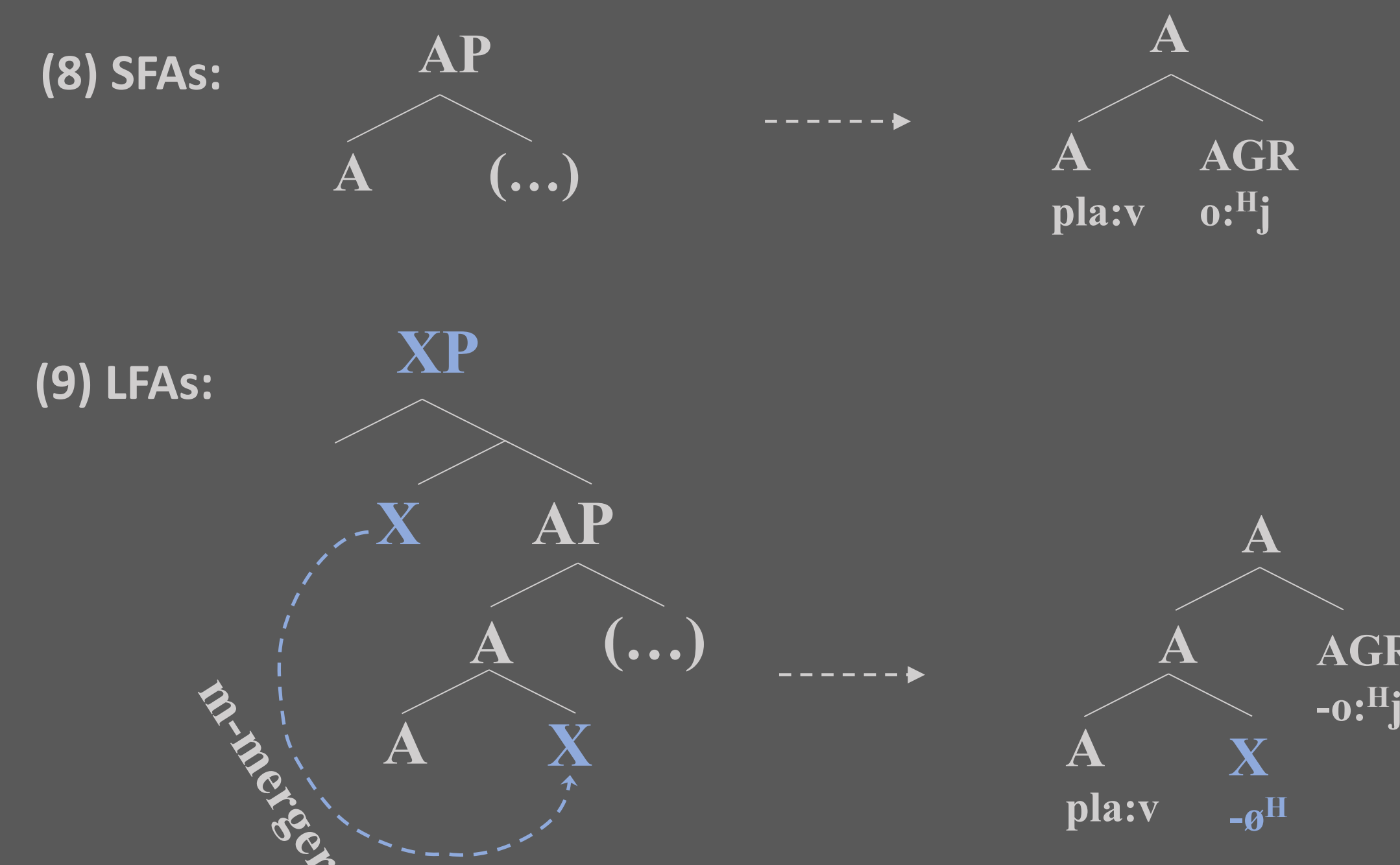
Contextual approach to phases (See Bošković 2014 for Left-branch Extraction of adjectives): extraction of an element adjoined to the complement of a phase head is not possible because of conflicting requirements of the Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC: Chomsky 2000) and anti-locality (Abels 2003, a.o.)

→ Aljović 2002: LFAs mark **specificity** (also proposes a functional projection with LFAs, but in the extended projection of N, not A).

→ In PF:

X lowers to A (m-merger: Marantz 1984; Bobaljik 1995)

Agreement morphemes have no semantic/syntactic contribution, so they are inserted in PF (dissociated morphemes: Embick 1997)



## Contextual Allomorphy

Q: If - $\emptyset^H$  is the exponent of the functional head present in LFAs, i.e. LFA inflection:

- what is the suffix [-i] in NOM.SG.M the exponent of?
- what is the difference between LFAs and SFAs with PD suffixes and SFAs with ND suffixes?

**Nominative Singular Masculine:**

- (10) a. NOM.SG.M → [- $\emptyset^H$ ] /{N,A}\_\_\_\_  
       b. NOM.SG.M → [-i]

Evidence: [-i] does not only distinguish between SFAs and LFAs:

Also found in comparatives and superlatives:

(11) Comparatives and superlatives are not LFAs:

- a. \*Mak Dizdar je poznat-i.  
                     Mak Dizdar is famous.LF-AGR  
                     Intended: 'Mak Dizdar is famous.'  
       b. Mak Dizdar je poznatij-i od A. Sidrana.  
                     Mak Dizdar is famous.CMPR-AGR than A. Sidran  
                     'Mak Dizdar is more famous than Abdulah Sidran.'  
       c. Mak Dizdar je najpoznatij-i od svih  
                     Mak Dizdar is most-famous.CMPR-AGR than all  
                     bosanskih pjesnika.  
                     Bosnian poets  
                     'Mak Dizdar is the most famous of all Bosnian poets.'

- Ordinal numbers: prv-i (1<sup>st</sup>), drug-i (2<sup>nd</sup>), treć-i (3<sup>rd</sup>)...
- Interrogative and indefinite adjectives: koj-i (which), nek-i (some)...
- A subset of exclusively attributive adjectives: bivši (former), mašinski (mechanical)...

**Nominal vs. Pronominal Declension:**

	Nom Decl SFA	PRN Decl SFA	PRN Decl LFA
(12) a.	crvén-a <sup>H</sup>	crvén-o: <sup>H</sup> g	c' rve <sup>H</sup> n-o: <sup>H</sup> g
	red.GEN.SF	red.GEN.SF	red.GEN.LF
b.	zelén-a <sup>H</sup>	zelén-o: <sup>H</sup> g	zéle <sup>H</sup> n-o: <sup>H</sup> g
	green.GEN.SF	green.GEN.SF	green.GEN.LF
c.	dúg-a <sup>H</sup>	dúg-o: <sup>H</sup> g	dù <sup>H</sup> g-o: <sup>H</sup> g
	long.GEN.SF	long.GEN.SF	long.GEN.LF

→ Accentual difference is there, regardless of whether separate suffixes are used: -o<sup>H</sup> is the LFA inflection (exponent of X) in both situations.

(i) Varieties with ND suffixes in SFAs:

- (13) a. GEN.SG.M → -a/{N, A}\_\_\_\_  
       b. GEN.SG.M → -o:g

(ii) Varieties with PD suffixes in SFAs:

- (14) a. GEN.SG.M → -a/N\_\_\_\_                      (A<sub>[style]</sub>\_\_\_\_)  
       b. GEN.SG.M → -o:g

**References:** Aljović, N. 2002. *Long adjectival inflection and specificity in Serbo-Croatian*; Bobaljik, J. 1995. *Morphosyntax*; Bošković, Ž. 2014. *Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase*; Browne, W. 1993; *Serbo-Croat*; Chomsky, N. 2000. *Minimalist Inquiries*; Embick, D. 1997 *Voice and the interfaces of syntax*; Inkelas & Zec 1988. *Serbo-Croatian pitch accent: The interaction of tone, stress, and intonation*; Marantz, A. 1984. *On the nature of grammatical relations*; Ridjanović, M. 2012. *Bosnian for Foreigners*; Talić, A. 2017. *From A to N and Back: Functional and bare projections in the domain of N and A*; Talić in prep. *Tone unveils structure*; Zsiga & Zec 2013. *Contextual Evidence for the Representation of Pitch Accents in Standard Serbian*.