On Two Types of Pronouns and So-Called ‘Movement to D’ in Serbo-Croatian
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It has been argued widely that all languages, including article-less languages like Serbo-Croatian (SC), have overtly/covertly realized DP. One of the strongest arguments for adopting this view for SC comes from noun/pronoun asymmetries. Progovac (1998) notes that certain intensifying adjectives in SC must follow pronouns, while they always precede nouns (1). Following Longobardi’s (1994) analysis of similar contrasts in Italian, she concludes pronouns in SC move to null D (as opposed to Italian pronouns which are generated in D), while nouns stay in their base position. This paper argues against this analysis and proposes pronouns do move in SC, but that this is a focus movement of a deficient pronoun/clitic.

Proposal. The noted contrast appears only with one adjective - a typical intensifier. SC sam ‘alone’, similarly to German selbst, has different meanings: its non-agreeing form samo means ‘only’ (2a), while the form which agrees in case, number and gender with the noun/pronoun it modifies can either mean ‘alone’ (2b), or have the intensifying function (1). I adopt Eckardt’s (2002) semantic analysis of the intensifier selbst for SC intensifying sam (I-sam), which assumes that its core meaning contribution is the identity function ID on the domain of objects D_e (3). The approach states the intensifier defined this way becomes meaningful exactly when it’s in focus, since like any other focus item, it evokes focus alternatives that enter in the meaning of the respective focus construction. Importantly, I-sam meaning is available only when the noun/pronoun it modifies is linearly adjacent to it - when separated from the noun/pronoun it only means ‘alone’ (4b). Thus, completely undetected by Progovac I-sam exactly patterns with what she argues to be a movement-to-D situation. Also, as already noted by herself, SC reflexives surprisingly pattern with nouns rather than with pronouns in that they always follow I-sam (5), which is unexpected from her approach’s perspective.

Conclusion and Further Issues. I argue that SC lacks DP altogether (see Bošković 2008) also based on binding contrasts between English, a DP language, and SC. Kayne (1994) argues English (12) doesn’t violate binding conditions due to the presence of null DP on top of PossP. The ungrammaticality of SC (11) then indicates DP is lacking in SC, even when demonstratives are present. (I show all prenominal modifiers agreeing with the NP they modify, including demonstratives, possessives, and adjectives, c-command out of the NP in SC). In the paper I also address (a) the exact morpho-syntactic nature of SC deficient pronouns that motivates the focus movement I assume and (b) cross-linguistic implications for other languages with different pronoun classes which exhibit similar noun/pronoun asymmetries.
(1) a. I samu Mariju to nervira.
   And alone Mary that irritates
   ‘That irritates Mary herself.’

b. *I Mariju samu to nervira.

(2) a. Samo Marija spava.
   Only Mary sleeps
   ‘Only Mary sleeps.’

b. Marija spava sama.

(3) ID: D_0 \rightarrow D_e
   \text{ID}(a) = a \text{ for all } a \in D_e

(4) a. Ona sama je zaspala.
   She alone is fallen asleep
   ‘She herself fell asleep.’

b. *Video je sebe samog.
   ‘She fell asleep alone.’

(5) a. Čak sam ga video.
   Even am him\_\text{DEFIC} saw
   ‘I even saw him.’ (In addition to hearing him…)
   ‘I saw even him.’

b. Čak sam njega video.
   Even am him\_\text{STRONG} saw
   ‘I even saw him.’
   ‘I saw even him.’

(6) Malo ko obilazi muzeje oko gradske crkve, Nju, *(samu), opet dnevno poseti oko 50 turista.
   Few who visits museums around city church Her\_\text{STRONG} alone again daily visits around 50 tourists
   ‘A few people visits museums around the city church. (As for the church itself), An average of 50 tourists daily visits it itself.’

(7) a. Čuo sam je. \text{<+human> \text{<human>}}
   Heard am her\_\text{DEFIC} ✓ ✓
   ‘I heard her.’

b. Čuo sam nju. ✓ *
   Heard am her\_\text{STRONG}

(8) Svaki kandidat i misli da će ga i izabrati za predsednika.
   Every candidate thinks that will him\_\text{DEFIC} choose for president
   ‘Every candidate, thinks that they will elect him for president.’

b. Svaki kandidat i misli da će njega i izabrati za predsednika.
   ‘Every candidate, thinks that it is him, that they will elect for president.’

(9) a. Svaka kupola se sastoji od 3 dela koji je podržavaju.
   Every dome reflexive consists from 3 parts which her\_\text{DEFIC} support
   ‘Every dome, consists out of 3 parts that support it,’

b. Svaka kupola se sastoji od 3 dela koji podržavaju nju i samu.
   Every dome reflexive consists from 3 parts which support her\_\text{STRONG} alone
   ‘Every dome, consists out of 3 parts that support it, itself.’

c. *Svaka kupola se sastoji od 3 dela koji podržavaju nju.

(10) a. *Ovaj njegov prijatelj voli Marka.
    This his friend loves Marko.
    ‘This friend of his, loves Marko.’

b. *Ovaj Markov prijatelj voli njega.
    This Marko’s friend loves him
    ‘This friend of Marko, loves him.’

(11) a. [DP [D: D_0[H_{\text{posp}}[His_{\text{posp}} Poss_{\text{posp}} [NP\_\text{father}]]]]]
    loves John,
    loves him.

b. [DP [D: D_0[H_{\text{posp}}[John_{\text{posp}} Pos_{\text{posp}} ‘s [NP\_\text{father}]]]]]
    loves John,
    loves him.