Issues in Slavic Syntax and Semantics

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Edited by

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PREFACE

STEVEN FRANKS

This volume bears testament to the health and vibrancy of Slavic linguistics. It does this in a variety of ways. First, the level of graduate student involvement displayed at the Ohio State University and other institutions indicates that the discipline is undergoing a welcome rejuvenation. Slavic linguistics meetings, once populated largely by graying academicians, are seeing rapidly increasing participation by young and energetic scholars. Moreover, most of these venues—including of course the OSU Graduate Student Colloquium on Slavic Linguistics—did not even exist twenty years ago. Today, research on Slavic languages can be presented at such new annual international meetings (not to mention more regional meetings, of which there are too many to enumerate) as Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics (FASL), Formal Description of Slavic Languages (FDSL), Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages (FASSBL), the Slavic Cognitive Linguistics Association (SCLA), or the Slavic Linguistics Society (SLS)—this last most recently hosted by OSU! Second, and to my mind just as exciting, is the shift in subject matter, as revealed by the topics covered in the present volume. The sophistication of these topics confirms that we are successfully redefining ourselves to meet the challenges which the youngest generation of Slavic linguists will surely face. The authors represented here recognize the inevitability of transition, they know that the problems which concern us as Slavists are general ones, and that their research must be formulated not only so as to be accessible to but also to be of relevance to our colleagues working on other languages and on language in general. Third, it is significant that these authors have varied affiliations. And while it is unsurprising that OSU graduate students should be well represented, the fact that this colloquium regularly draws linguists from Europe speaks to its growing importance for our discipline. The languages represented in these pages are correspondingly diverse. These are all factors which will mark the present volume as a milestone in the formal study of Slavic linguistics in this country.

The volume's editors, and the organizers of the various graduate student colloquia which have been held at the Ohio State University in recent years, are to be commended not only for their dedication and hard work in bringing these projects to fruition, but also for the enthusiasm and vision without which such projects cannot even begin.

Bloomington, Indiana
14 July 2008

INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains selected papers presented at the 3rd and 4th Graduate Colloquia on Slavic Linguistics, held at the Ohio State University on March 3rd and November 4th 2006. The Graduate Colloquium on Slavic Linguistics is an annual meeting organized by graduate students at the OSU. First held in fall 2003, the colloquium has grown into a major Midwest graduate student conference, where graduate students from leading American, Canadian, and European universities present their work, participate in productive discussion, and exchange ideas.

The papers presented at the 3rd and 4th Colloquia addressed a variety of topics in different areas of Slavic linguistics: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics. The present volume includes the papers dealing with a variety of syntactic and semantic phenomena in different Slavic languages. Not included in this volume are syntactic and semantic papers presented by Yuliya Walsh, E. Allyn Smith, Joanna F. Furmanska, Hyun-Jong Hahm, Jonathan MacDonald, and Rok Žaucer.

We are thankful to all contributors, particularly for their participation and timely submissions. The conference was possible due to the generous support of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at the Ohio State University. Our special thanks to our predecessors, organizers of the first colloquia Andrea Sims, Tania Ivanova-Sullivan and Miriam Whiting, and to Daniel E. Collins, Brian Joseph, and the other faculty of the Slavic Department at OSU for their support and encouragement.

Paweł Rutkowski's paper *'From Apposition to Classification: Polish vs. Lithuanian'* offers a diachronic analysis of the unusual (from the perspective of Slavic languages) word order in Polish classifying constructions such as *dyrector generalny* 'executive director'. The author argues that while the surface word order, namely Noun – Adjective, remained the same in Old and in Modern Polish, the construction underwent a structural change, from bi-phrasal in Old Polish to mono-phrasal in Modern Polish. This process was motivated by the change in semantic functions of this construction, from definiteness to classification. This change in semantic function caused the activation of a functional

projection ClassP. The paper concludes by showing that the proposed analysis of classifying adjectives in Polish can be applied to the analysis of genitival phrases in Lithuanian. On a more theoretical level, the paper addresses the question of syntax-semantics interface and offers a diachronic analysis of syntactic change.

Boštjan Dvořák & Ilse Zimmermann's paper *'Imperative Subordination in Slovenian'* proposes the analysis of Slovenian imperatives within the framework of minimalist syntax. The authors propose that in main and embedded clauses imperatives are licensed by the zero functional category, which introduces the modal operator (IMP) in the structure. Imperatives are interpreted as the verb moves for feature checking—overtly to C in the main clauses, and covertly to M in the embedded clauses. This data-rich paper provides a detailed description of the phenomenon, but also has several theoretical contributions. It addresses the question about the relation between optative and imperative and explains why imperatives may occur in embedded clauses in Slovenian. The proposed analysis also accounts for the distribution of imperatives in control clauses and shows why these constructions are restricted. As one of the first formal analyses of this phenomenon in Slovenian, the paper is a welcome contribution to the body of cross-linguistic research on imperatives, particularly in analyzing the cross-linguistically rare occurrence of subordinated imperatives.

Oxana Skorniakova's contribution entitled *'The Existence of Expletive pronominal subjects in Russian Impersonal Constructions'* addresses the status of impersonal constructions in Russian, providing evidence that such constructions have subjects. The author cites data from colloquial Russian, as well as Russian literature imitating vernacular speech, where the subject of the impersonal constructions surfaces as a 3SG pronoun *ono*. Application of four subjecthood tests (reflexivization, agreement, raising, and replacement) shows that *ono* in impersonal constructions satisfies traditional subjecthood requirements. The paper provides empirical evidence for, and complements, Perlmutter and Moore's (2002) Salient Expletive Hypothesis which claims that the subject of Russian impersonal constructions is a phonologically null 3SG pronoun. On a more general scale, the paper supports the Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981), according to which finite clauses in all languages must have subjects.

Agnieszka Łazorczyk's paper *'Secondary Imperfective as an atelicizer: Evidence from Old Church Slavonic and Modern Bulgarian'* broadens the understanding of Slavic aspect by providing a semantic analysis of the Secondary Imperfectives (SI) in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) and in Modern Bulgarian (MB). Unlike previous studies which have analyzed Slavic categories of imperfective and perfective as instances of Viewpoint (outer) aspect, Łazorczyk proposes that the contrast between imperfective and perfective in the target languages is Aktionsart-based. The author suggests that historically SI played a role of an atelicizer, taking a telic predicate as an argument and returning an atelic predicate as a value. This analysis is supported by OCS data that demonstrates the incompatibility of imperfective morphology with telic predicates, given that imperfective selects a subinterval of the event time by the exclusion of the culmination point. The paper provides a unified analysis for the simplex imperfective and derived imperfective verbs, and clarifies the development of imperfective aspect in Slavic.

Anastasia Smirnova's paper on *'Temporal Properties of Subjunctive Complements in Bulgarian'* addresses the phenomenon of temporal dependency which holds between matrix verbs and embedded subjunctive complements in Bulgarian. On the basis of a study of over 80 Bulgarian predicates which select subjunctive complements the author argues that these verbs do not form a uniform class, and should be divided into three groups, depending on whether they 'require' the embedded subjunctive event to precede, to follow, or to temporally overlap with the event denoted by the matrix clause. The author proposes that this dependency should be encoded in the lexical semantics of the selecting verbs, rather than manifested in syntax in terms of the [T] features of the complement. The semantic approach allows the author to show how the temporal location of the subjunctive events is derived, a question that has been problematic for previous analyses. The author argues that the temporal location of the subjunctive events is an entailment from the semantic properties of the selecting verbs and their tense. From the empirical perspective, this paper presents novel facts about the subjunctive in Bulgarian. From the theoretical perspective, this paper sheds more light on the dependent nature of subjunctive complements and on how the temporal dependency between the main clause and the subjunctive clause is manifested.

Vedrana Mihaliček in her paper *'Instruments and Accompaniments in Serbo-Croatian'* addresses the question about the correlation between

the semantic categories of instruments and accompaniments and their morphosyntactic realization in Serbo-Croatian. While in Serbo-Croatian the semantic category of INSTRUMENTS is usually expressed by instrumental case, and ACCOMPANIMENTS by preposition *uz*, both INSTRUMENTS and ACCOMPANIMENTS can be expressed with the preposition *s*. Mihaliček proposes that the choice of instrumental case vs. preposition *s* for INSTRUMENTS and the choice of preposition *uz* vs. preposition *s* for ACCOMPANIMENTS are semantically governed, and relate to the event structure. In particular, the author proposes that instrumental case is obligatory for entities which signal direct causation, whereas indirect causation is signaled by *s*. For ACCOMPANIMENTS, the preposition *uz* marks an accompaniment-like entity, which cannot be a co-participant of the main event while the entities marked with *s* can be co-participants. This analysis explains language-internal correlation between morphosyntactic and semantic features. On a larger scale, the data presented in the paper challenges Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Companion Metaphor, according to which instruments and accompaniments are expressed by the same grammatical device crosslinguistically.

In her paper *'Yes/No Questions with VERUM in Bulgarian'*, *Galina Dukova-Zheleva* proposes a unified semantic analysis of *yes/no* interrogatives in Bulgarian with *li* and *dali*, which are shown to have both neutral and focused interpretations. This study focuses on the case in which the focused element in the structure is the VP. The author demonstrates that in this case, negative *yes/no* questions in Bulgarian parallel English interrogatives with inverted negation, which have been argued to involve a VERUM operator. This analysis attributes the ambiguity of the answers to negative *yes/no* questions in Bulgarian to the fact that these questions can have two interpretations.

Individually, each of these papers challenge current linguistic theory or refine theoretical explanations to particular linguistic phenomena. Collectively, they comprise a high-quality contribution from the next generation of Slavic scholars and demonstrate something of the present vitality of Slavic linguistics and its importance to formal approaches to language.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – Accusative case
ADJ – Adjective
AUX – Auxiliary
CG – Common Ground
DAT – Dative case
DEF – Definite marker
DL – Dual
ET – Event Time
FEM –Feminine
GEN – Genitive case
IMP – Imperative
IMPRFV – Imperfective aspect
IND – Indicative
INF – Infinitive
INST – Instrumental
MASC – Masculine
NEG – Negation
NEUT – Neuter
NOM – Nominative case
OCS – Old Church Slavonic
OPT – Optative
PART – Particle
PAST – Past tense
PL – Plural
PPLE – Past participle
PRES – Present tense
PRFV – Perfective aspect
Q –Question word
REFL – Reflexive
REL – Relative
RT – Reference Time
SG – Singular
ST – Speech Time
SUBJ – Subjunctive

FROM APPOSITION TO CLASSIFICATION: POLISH VS. LITHUANIAN[1]

PAWEŁ RUTKOWSKI

Abstract. This paper discusses the diachronic development of the word order of certain adnominal modifiers in Polish and Lithuanian. First, I will try to trace the historical evolution of the syntax of adjectival elements in Polish. In Old Polish, such modifiers invariably appeared in preposition with respect to the head noun. As shown by Brajerski (1963), in the second half of the fifteenth century they started to be commonly placed postnominally. I argue that the structure of this syntactic innovation was as follows: the postnominal adjective was part of an appositive DP, whose function was to specify the denotation of the head noun. This analysis finds support in the phenomenon of preposition doubling: the structure P-N-P-A is well attested in Old Polish, which suggests that the postnominal adjective was syntactically detached from the head noun. In Modern Polish adjectives appear postnominally only if they subclassify the denoted entity as belonging to a certain category/type. I will argue that the Modern Polish classifying construction has evolved from the Old Polish appositive configuration as a result of syntactic reanalysis (which could be viewed as simplification). I will also explore Say's (2004) suggestion that the word order of genitival phrases in Old Lithuanian might have been influenced by the pre- vs. postnominal adjectival contrast in Polish. Ultimately, I will argue against this hypothesis. As shown by Rutkowski and Progovac (2006), the structural difference which in Polish results in the premodification vs. postmodification word order pattern is also present in Lithuanian, but not in the syntax of genitives.

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1. Introduction

In Modern Polish there is a clear-cut syntactic distinction between qualifying and classifying adjectives: the former precede the modified noun, while the latter always appear postnominally, for example:

(1)   a.   szkoła podstawowa[2]
              school elementary
              'elementary school' (a type of school)
        b.   *podstawowa szkoła
              elementary school

(2)   a.   aparat cyfrowy
              camera digital
              'digital camera' (a type of camera)
        b.   *cyfrowy aparat
              digital camera

The present paper investigates the historical origin of the N-A classifying structure. This syntactic configuration is very unusual for Slavic languages. It is often viewed as resulting from the impact of Latin on Old Polish. I argue that the N-A pattern was indeed calqued from Latin, but it was introduced to Old Polish as an appositive construction, and only later was reanalyzed as a single DP. Another goal of this paper is to examine to what extent the classifying structure that emerged in Polish influenced analogous nominal expressions in Lithuanian.

2. N-A structures in Modern Polish

Modern Polish adjectives typically precede the modified noun. However, the construction exemplified in (1a-2a) above is a notable exception. I will refer to this kind of syntactic structure as the "classifying construction." It consists of a noun and a postnominal adjective with a categorizing function. The adjective is used as a classifying term: it subclassifies the entity denoted by the noun as belonging to a certain class/type (Warren 1984).

Rutkowski and Progovac (2005) argue that the N-A word order in the classifying construction is derived from the underlying A-N configuration

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[2] Unless stated otherwise, all examples used in this paper are taken from standard Modern Polish.

by syntactic movement. Namely, the noun is moved from its base position in N° to a higher functional head (which Rutkowski and Progovac (2005) refer to as Class°).[3] This movement is triggered by feature checking needs: a feature that yields the classifying reading is merged in Class° and needs to be checked by the noun. As a result of the N°-to-Class° raising, the adjective, which occupies a fixed syntactic position in the specifier of NP, must surface postnominally.

3. N-A structures in Old Polish

As noted by Brajerski (1959, 1963), among many others, the postnominal placement of adjectives in the classifying construction must be considered a Latin influence (in Latin, adjectives typically appear in postposition). Brajerski (1963) examines the word order of Old Polish possessive pronouns (which, in terms of morphology and syntax, should be interpreted as adjectival elements). He shows that postnominal modifiers were significantly more common in the second than in the first half of the fifteenth century. This means that sometime around the year 1450, a new syntactic configuration emerged in Polish. This coexistence of two different adjectival structures was conditioned semantically: the A-N word order was used in regular attributive contexts, while the function of the N-A pattern was to clarify or provide further specification of the denotation of the head noun. Brajerski (1963) argues that an Old Polish N-A sequence would be roughly equivalent to the following expression: 'N, that is to say A N' (see example (3)).

(3) Old Polish
    żyto moje
    rye my
    'rye, that is to say my rye'

I interpret such clarification structures as more complex syntactically than their equivalents of the A-N type. The clarifying part should be

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[3] As noted by Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), *ClassP* is merely a tentative label, which could be paraphrased as "a functional layer located immediately above NP, which is targeted by N-raising in classifying structures". Possibly, ClassP might be correlated with another, better established functional layer in the universal nominal structure (such as *nP*). I do not discuss this issue in the present paper because it does not influence the analysis presented below.

analyzed as an appositive DP, attached to the main DP in an adjunctive fashion.[4] This is illustrated in (4).

(4) Old Polish

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                  /    \
                 /      \
               DP        DP
               /\        /\
              /__\      /__\
           żyto 'rye'  moje 'my'
```
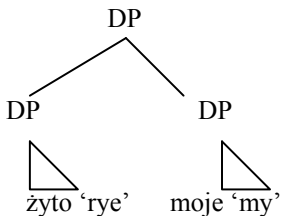
This structural analysis finds confirmation in the phenomenon of preposition doubling. As shown by Brajerski (1963), when Old Polish N-A expressions were used in Prepositional Phrases, the preposition could be optionally doubled:

(5) Old Polish
     w życie w mojem
     in rye   in my
     'in rye, that is to say in my rye'

This suggests that the adjective was syntactically detached from the head noun. If we assume that P° always selects a DP complement, the postnominal possessive pronoun in (5) must be interpreted as located in a separate DP. However, despite this syntactic distance, the postnominal modifier agreed with the head noun in number, case, and gender. Thus, the noun must have been present in both DPs. This, in turn, means that one of its occurrences was subject to deletion under identity (see the structures in (6), where the deleted material is crossed out):

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[4] The hypothesis that the postnominal placement of adjectives is derived from an appositive structure seems to find some cross-linguistic motivation. As shown by DeLancey (1994), exactly the same reanalysis has taken place in Tibetan, where structures with postpositional adjectives result from a grammaticalization of an original appositive construction.

(6) Old Polish

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                  /    \
               DP       DP
               /|       /|
              /_|      /_|
           żyto 'rye'  moje żyto 'my rye'
```
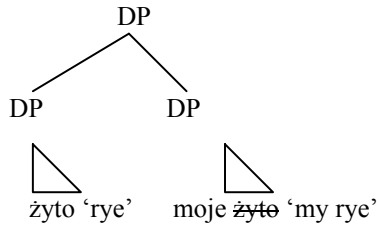
The deletion analysis is confirmed by Brajerski's (1963) observation that postnominal third-person possessive pronouns were significantly less frequent than postnominal first- and second-person possessive pronouns in fifteenth-century Polish. This fact is not surprising because third-person possessive pronouns are genitival forms of corresponding personal pronouns in Polish and, therefore, do not exhibit adjectival morphology. As shown by Lobeck (1995), among others, in many languages ellipsis is impossible unless licensed by adjectival morphology.

4. Diachronic Reanalysis

In Modern Polish preposition doubling is not allowed in N-A sequences:

(7) a. o   szkole podstawowej
        about school elementary
        'about the elementary school'

    b. *o   szkole o   podstawowej
        about school about elementary

Therefore, there is no reason to assume that postnominal modifiers are attached to the head noun in an appositive manner. They have been integrated into the main DP. It seems that principles of structural economy (cf. e.g. Roberts and Roussou 1999) triggered syntactic simplification along the following lines:

(8) Old Polish bi-phrasal structure

```
                        DP
                   ╱         ╲
              DP                 DP
           ╱      ╲           ╱        ╲
        D°          NP      D°            NP
                    │                   ╱    │
                   N°                  ╱     N°
                    │                 ╱       │
                  noun           adjective   n̶o̶u̶n̶
```
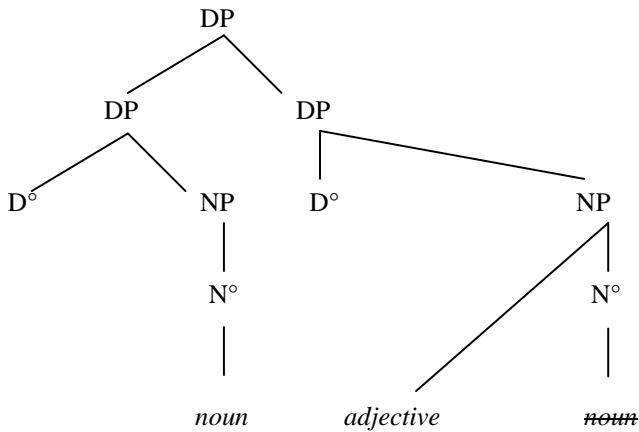
(9) Modern Polish mono-phrasal structure

```
                   DP
                    ╲
                   ClassP
                  ╱       ╲
             Class°          NP
               │           ╱    │
            nounᵢ          ╱     N°
               ↑          ╱       │
               ┊     adjective    tᵢ
               ┊                   ┊
               └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
```
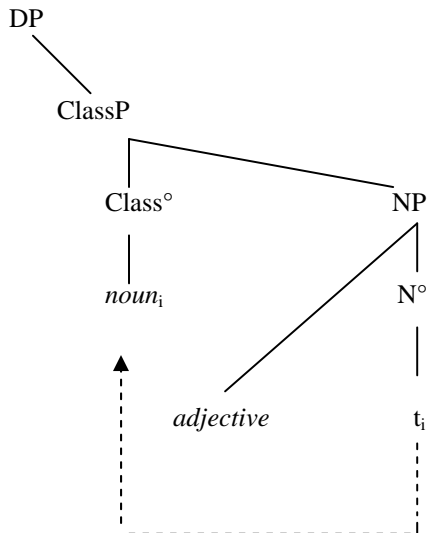
This reanalysis was possible thanks to the activation of a functional projection (ClassP), associated with a specific semantic function. Note that the Old Polish N-A structures tended to be definite (therefore, they are very well attested in the syntax of possessive pronouns). However, in the

development of Polish, the definite reading has been narrowed to classification.[5] We might hypothesize that the appositive structure of Old Polish must have been used frequently in classifying contexts (where the denotation of the noun was specified by being classified—'school, that is to say the elementary school' or 'school, the elementary one'), and that at some point the classifying function dominated other uses. The pre-adjectival placement of the noun was reinterpreted as derived by movement, whereas the modifier lost its appositive characteristics: it was not an additional comment/clarification any more. The whole structure became just a regular DP, although with a specific reading.

The structural simplification illustrated in (8) and (9) made the ellipsis of one of the occurrences of the head noun redundant. In Modern Polish, the head noun can both agree with the classifying adjective and appear before that adjective, because part of its covert raising to D° (which could be stipulated independently for theoretical reasons, as related to the mechanism of feature checking) has been made overt. Therefore, there is no need for the complicated appositive base generation: the postnominal word order that at some point became associated with classification could now be derived in a more economical way.

5.   Genitives and the Lithuanian ClassP

This section confronts the evolution of the ClassP model in Polish (as outlined above) with certain facts about the historical development of the word order of genitival phrases in Lithuanian. In Modern Lithuanian, such phrases usually appear preposed with respect to the head noun (with the notable exception of pseudo-partitive constructions (Rutkowski 2007a), (2007b)), for example:

(10) Modern Lithuanian
   a. Adomo brolis
      Adam-GEN brother
      'Adam's brother'

   b. *brolis Adomo
      brother Adam-GEN

---

[5] Interestingly, as shown by Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), classifying adjectival structures in Serbian also resemble morphologically definite constructions, suggesting a more general correlation between the notions of definiteness and classification.

(11) Modern Lithuanian
   a. Lenkijos valdžia
       Poland-GEN government
       'government of Poland'

   b. *valdžia Lenkijos
       government Poland-GEN

   Say (2004) shows that in Old Lithuanian the distribution of genitives was different, namely that they were placed either pre- or post-nominally, depending on their interpretation. Possessive, objective, and subjective genitives were located after the head noun. This is illustrated in (12-14) below.[6]

(12) Old Lithuanian
       isz   akiu Aniutes
       from eyes Aniute-GEN
       'from Aniute's eyes'

(13) Old Lithuanian
       pasamdimas kutias
       renting sty-GEN
       'the renting of the sty'

(14) Old Lithuanian
       unt kłausima karalos
       on question king-GEN
       'to the question of the king'

On the other hand, genitives which referred to various characterizing qualities of the head noun appeared preposed:

(15) Old Lithuanian
       sidobro blizguczai
       silver-GEN spangles
       'silver spangles'

---

[6] Examples (12-16) are cited after Say (2004) but they originally come from Vasiliauskienė (1998).

(16) Old Lithuanian
    ape   sanowas   gadyni
    about old.times-GEN days
    'about (the) days of yore'

The above distinction correlated with referentiality: the prenominal genitives were usually devoid of a particular referent, while the postnominal ones were highly referential.

    According to Say (2004), the postnominal placement of referential genitives in Old Lithuanian is an example of a syntactic borrowing from Polish (see also Zinkevičius 1996: 181-182). Such a contact-induced influence was possible due to the common use of Polish by the Lithuanian elite and the translation of early Lithuanian written texts from Polish. Say (2004:372) states his hypothesis in the following way:

> Polish influence could have indeed initiated (or at least strengthened) the tendency to express referential/non-referential distinction by the position of the genitive in Old Lithuanian.…The Polish system of nominal modifiers could have triggered or strengthened the differentiation of the two types of genitives in Lithuanian. In other words, the source and target systems have been assimilated, even though the morphosyntactic patterns of the two languages were different.

To phrase it differently, Say (2004) suggests that the distinction between prenominal and postnominal adjectives in Polish was calqued onto the syntax of genitives in Old Lithuanian. In principle, this is a conceivable scenario because there is nothing in the structure of the ClassP model (as proposed by Rutkowski and Progovac (2005)) that would prevent genitival phrases from occurring in the classifying position (similarly to APs). Note that characterizing genitival expressions in Lithuanian (such as *sidobro* 'silver-GEN' in (15)) correspond to adjectives in Polish, for example:

(17) srebrne błyskotki
     silver-ADJ spangles
     'silver spangles'

    However, Say's (2004) analysis is called into question by the fact that another syntactic phenomenon in Lithuanian corresponds to the Polish pre-/postposition adjectival contrast. Note that when a Lithuanian nominal expression contains both a qualifying adjective and a genitival phrase, the latter is always placed closer to the head noun (Rutkowski 2007a):

(18) Modern Lithuanian
    a. žalia Reginos   suknelė
      green Regina-GEN dress
     'Regina's green dress'

    b.*Reginos   žalia suknelė
       Regina-GEN green dress

This generalization does not cover examples such as (19a), however, in which the adjective is bracketed by the genitival phrase and the noun.
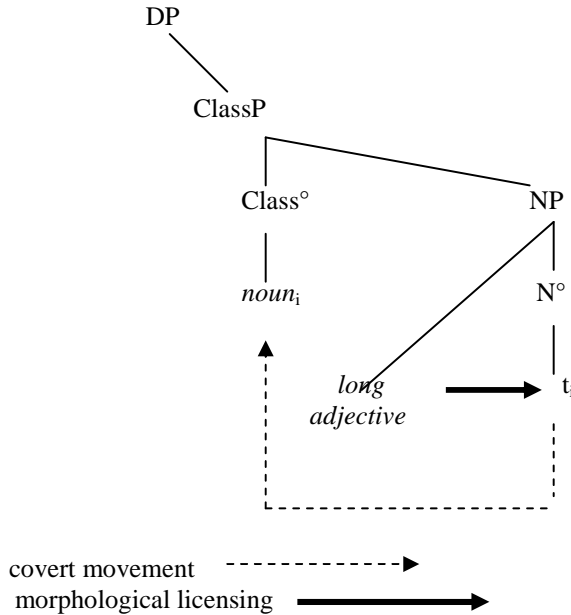
(19) Modern Lithuanian
    a.   Reginos   žalioji arbata
        Regina-GEN green   tea
       'Regina's green tea'

    b. *žalioji Reginos   arbata
        green   Regina-GEN tea

Schmalstieg (1988) points out that the GEN-A-N word order is possible only if the A-N sequence forms a terminological unit. Rutkowski and Progovac (2006) account for this phenomenon by postulating that the adjective *žalioji* 'green' in (19a) is a classifying modifier, which means that it is located below Class°. Their analysis implies that the ClassP configuration, which results in the pre-/postposition contrast in Polish, is also syntactically active in Lithuanian. However, in Lithuanian classifying structures such as (19a), the noun moves to Class° covertly, not overtly. The trace of the moved noun is licensed by the so-called "long" adjectival morphology: therefore, the example (19a) is grammatical only if the long form *žalioji*, and not the short form *žalia,* is used. The covert movement in question is illustrated in (20).

(20) Modern Lithuanian classifying structure

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\quad\diagdown \\
\quad\quad\text{ClassP} \\
\end{array}
$$

          covert movement   ⤍ ⤍ ⤍ ⤍ ▶
     morphological licensing   ━━━━━━━━━▶

   As such, I conclude that the ClassP pattern in Lithuanian is unlikely to accommodate both classifying adjectives and postnominal genitives at the same time. Therefore, Say's (2004) hypothesis does not find straightforward confirmation, unless it can be proven that the structural configuration underlying the word order of genitives in Old Lithuanian was later reanalyzed in a way similar to the Polish ClassP pattern in classifying adjectival expressions.

   Interestingly, although the influence of the Polish ClassP pattern on the nominal syntax of Lithuanian is uncertain, in some dialects of Polish spoken in present-day Lithuania, such an influence is well-attested but in the opposite direction. As pointed out by Karaś (2002) and Masojć (2001), among others, Polish dialects spoken around Vilnius and Kaunas do not place the classifying adjective in postposition. Thus, similar to Lithuanian, they do not have overt N-raising in classifying structures.

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IMPERATIVE SUBORDINATION IN SLOVENIAN[1]

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Abstract. Crosslinguistically, the occurrence of the imperative in subordinate clauses is a rare phenomenon. In Slovenian, however, imperative verbs can freely appear in embedded clauses as a marked mood in paradigmatic alternation with the indicative, conditional and optative. This raises the question about the properties of the Slovenian imperative in root clauses and in embedded clauses. Furthermore, the embedding of the imperative in control contexts raises the question of the relation between infinitive constructions and embedded imperatives. It will be shown that the imperative invariantly involves reference to the hearer, which is not true for infinitive embeddings. All these facts will be considered systematically within the framework of minimalism. The analysis follows a lexicalist treatment of morphology, a minimalist conception of syntax and the differentiation of Semantic Form as grammatically determined meaning and Conceptual Structure as representation of world knowledge. More generally, the paper raises the question at which levels of sound-meaning correlation the morpho-syntactic features of the imperative verb forms get checked and interpreted.

1. Introduction

One of the most typical general syntactic properties of orders is their formal inability to appear in subordinate constructions (1b); if

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syntactically embedded, imperative clauses mostly show a change of mood (1c), or they are replaced by an infinitival construction (1d):

(1) a. Mum asked: "Eat!"
 b. *Mum asked *that* eat.
 c. Mum asked (that) you should eat.
 d. Mum asked you to eat.

This is strikingly different in Slovenian, where imperatives can generally be embedded and are often found in subordinate clauses:[2]

(2) a. Mama je   rekla: "**Jej**!"
  mum AUX.3SG say.PPLE.SG.FEM eat.IMP.2SG
  'Mum said: "Eat!" '

 b. Mama je   rekla,   da **jej**.
  mum AUX3.SG say.PPLE.SG.FEM that eat.IMP.2SG
  'Mum said that you should eat.'

  This crosslinguistically rare phenomenon, even though mentioned several times in the literature, remains mostly unknown or at least seemingly unconsidered in the modern contemporary linguistic literature, and lacks a systematic explanation at the theoretical level. The main concern of the following investigation will be to determine what is unique to the imperative in root clauses and embedded clauses and the difference between imperative sentence mood and verbal mood. We will propose semantic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical representations of the particular ingredients involved in imperative constructions.

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[2] Besides this possibility, imperatives in subordinate clauses can also be (and often are) reproduced by using the simple indicative (*Mama je rekla, da ješ*), which is generally used in the neighbouring Croatian (where embedded imperatives are fully ungrammatical in the standard language) or by applying a modal verb like *morati* 'must' + infinitive (*Mama je rekla, da moraš jesti.*).

2.   The phenomenon

2.1 Occurrence: stylistic properties, geographic distribution and embedding types

The various types of embedded imperative clauses will be presented and discussed in the following section, each of them illustrated by a few characteristic examples out of a large collection of data, gathered from spoken as well as from written language sources. Before we present the data, a few words about the stylistic properties of embedded imperatives are in order. The embedding of imperative forms is not restricted to spoken Slovenian, although its use may reflect some familiarity and is naturally much more likely to be found in spontaneous dialogues than in formal uses of language such as official speech or literary texts. In terms of dialectal distribution, the active use of embedded imperative forms seems to be limited to more central parts of the Slovenian language territory, whereas in eastern parts (as e.g. Slovenian Styria and Prekmurje), when hearing the clauses, speakers accept them, but seem to prefer constructions with modal verbs. On the other hand, some types of subordinated imperative clauses occur in the closely related Kajkavian dialect of Croatian, whereas subordinate imperative constructions are completely ungrammatical in the rest of the related South Slavic languages.[3] To the south, the boundary of regular occurrence can be given approximately by 45°30" of northern latitude in the Istrian peninsula, in the Kajkavian as well as in the Čakavian dialectal areas.[4]

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[3] Occasional use of subordinated imperatives may partly occur further east of the Slovenian language border as far as Zagreb in the old Kajkavian dialect area, but most evident are data from Kajkavian districts closest to the Slovenian border. We would like to thank Andrea Grünwald from Humboldt University in Berlin for sharing us some data from her current study. We thank the Kekić and Nemarnik families from Piran for useful help and patience with extensive recordings.

[4] Nevertheless, sometimes the stress, that often distinctively marks the imperative form in the 1st and 2nd person Pl (e.g. *hválimo* 'we thank' vs. *hvalímo* 'let us thank!'), coincides exactly with the indicative one, as is the case in the example (3), where *posadíte* is indeed the imperative ('plant!') as well as the indicative ('you plant.'). However, most of these rather rare cases are interestingly subject to a secondary stress movement, associated with vowel syncope of the unaccentuated syllable, in colloquial speech of the central dialects (*posadíte → posádite → posád'te*). Thus, the confusion of forms is avoided, as the syncope is totally impossible with the indicative.