

Reviews

Franc Lanko Marušič and Rok Žaucer, eds. *Formal studies in Slovenian syntax: In honor of Janez Orešnik*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016. 335 pp. [*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 236.]

Reviewed by Vrinda Subhalaxmi Chidambaram

Linguistics is a prism: any given language in its entirety can be refracted through it to reveal an astounding spectrum of properties. And these properties may prove to be unique or universal, but our understanding of how this prism must work is enhanced by every finding. Few have understood this better than Janez Orešnik, to whom this volume is dedicated, and whose work largely focused on Slovenian and Icelandic. He explored many facets of these languages: diachronic development as well as synchronic phenomena, from Icelandic epenthesis to Slovenian verbal aspect. Professor Orešnik's work is far-reaching in its scope and widely influential. This volume is a fitting tribute for a scholar with broad interests whose work has influenced and inspired several generations of linguists.

The first paper of the volume, "On Second Position Clitics Cross-Linguistically" by **Željko Bošković**, exemplifies the intentions of Marušič and Žaucer (as stated in their introduction) in that it is both informed by and a contribution to the study of Slovenian syntax but that it also draws from a much wider body of knowledge, illustrating clearly the integration of Slavic (and Slovenian) linguistics into the broader scheme of general linguistics.

In this paper, Bošković examines one of the many generalizations related to the NP/DP parametric division (Bošković 2008, 2012), namely that only NP languages can accommodate second-position clitic systems. Central to his argument, of course, is the nature of the difference between NP and DP languages.

DP languages are defined as those that contain a definite article, which are characterized by three basic properties: (1) they are unique (i.e., morphologically distinct from demonstratives and other determiners), (2) they occur maximally once per traditional NP, and (3) they confer a definiteness interpretation onto their complement NP. This precise definition forms the basis of exclusion of many languages that were previously analyzed as having definite articles, casting them instead as NP languages. For example, this exclusion extends to colloquial Slovenian, which has been argued (notably by Marušič and Žaucer (2014)) to contain a definite determiner *ta*. According to the defini-

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tion given here, *ta* violates both the morphological uniqueness condition and the single-instance-per-NP condition and thus does not qualify as a definite article.

An NP language is distinguished from a DP language by two related features: (1) while it may have an indefinite article, it must not have a definite article (as defined by the conditions above), and (2) bare NPs can be interpreted as definite.

This paper is an investigation of the intersection of the DP/NP parameter and another parameter, namely, the second-position clitic parameter, which Bošković sets up as dichotomous between languages that have second-position clitics and those that do not. He readily admits that the latter category is diverse, but he focuses in on languages that have verb-adjacent clitics. The reader must then keep in mind that the analysis that is given, while capable of handling the data from these two language types (2nd position and V-adjacent), may not extend to all clitic types cross-linguistically.

Bošković offers diachronic evidence from Greek to support the generalization that only NP languages accommodate second position clitics. In Homeric Greek, an NP language, clitics occurred overwhelmingly in the second position. But by the time Koine was being spoken, by which time a definite article had emerged, there was no longer a system of 2nd position clitics. Perhaps even more compelling is the variation between two dialects of Ossetic, Iron and Digor. The dialects differ in part due to the presence of a definite article in one (Digor) and its absence in the other (Iron). This correlates with another difference: Iron displays 2nd position clitics while Digor does not.¹

In the subsequent sections of the paper, Bošković explores cross-linguistic data to confirm that his generalization holds. Specifically, he explores Australian languages as well as Uto-Aztecan languages. His findings reveal that of the 19 Pama-Nyungan languages and 3 non-Pama-Nyungan Australian languages that have 2nd position clitics, none have anything that would correspond to a definite article according to his classification, a claim which he supports with substantial empirical evidence. A large subset of Uto-Aztecan languages also exhibit second-position clitic placement. Bošković looks closely

¹ Interestingly, the data Bošković presents to support the NP-2nd position clitic generalization may serve as a counterexample to one of the other generalizations he presents in the same paper. Bošković asserts that only DP languages have clitic doubling, but Iron (an NP language) seems to contain a clitic double.

- (14) Či=ma=šən sə žonə asə fešivad-ən?
 who=also=DAT.3PL what know_{PRS.3SG} this youth-DAT
 'Who knows what about them, this youth?' (Aljarty 2002:13)

The pronominal clitic *šən* appears to be a double of the fully expressed dative NP *as fešivad-ən*. Although the clitic is plural, it could easily be an identity-of-sense double, since "this youth" is a collective term.

at Comanche, in which the subject clitic occurs in second position (unless topicalized). He shows that the second position is not necessarily verb-adjacent, but that it follows the first phonological / prosodic word. While it is widely accepted that Comanche lacks a definite article, it has been claimed that some of the other Uto-Aztecan languages which have 2nd position clitics do have definite articles, which would not accord with the generalization. Bošković looks carefully at these languages and demonstrates that once again, the lexical items in question do not fall into the category of definite article, given his definition.

Having investigated data from sets of unrelated languages, Bošković concludes that the generalization holds. However, if one finds a counterexample, his data show that there is a heavy bias toward this generalization, which itself deserves some explanation (even it doesn't prove perfectly universal). The second half of the paper offers two potential explanations, contrasting the structures of NP languages (in particular, Serbo-Croatian) from DP languages (specifically Bulgarian) and showing how this basic structural difference results in differing clitic placement.

Both Serbo-Croatian (SC) and Bulgarian have clitic systems, but SC clitics occur in second position while Bulgarian clitics occur V-adjacent. Bošković notes one critical difference in the behavior of these languages with respect to clitic placement: Bulgarian clitics form an indivisible cluster while SC clitics are independent from one another and, under certain circumstances, can be separated. While some of the examples he offers to illustrate that SC clitic clusters are separable are in fact degraded,² and thus do not serve as strong evidence, Bošković offers enough data to illustrate satisfactorily that there is a difference in the flexibility of SC versus Bulgarian clitic systems. All this serves to indicate that clitics in SC occur in separate projections while in Bulgarian, they occupy a single position.

² The following example is unmistakably ungrammatical in Bulgarian, but it should be noted that it is also degraded in SC:

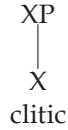
(38a) Mi smo mu ga dali a i vi ste (ʔmu) (takodje).
 we are him_{DAT} it_{ACC} given and also you are him_{DAT} too.
 'We gave it to him and you did, too.' (Serbo-Croatian)

(42b) *Nie sme mu go dali, i vie ste mu (sūšto).
 we are him_{DAT} it_{ACC} given and you are him_{DAT} too
 'We gave it to him, and you did, too.' (Bulgarian)

Another degraded example from SC:

(39c) ʔMarija mu želi da ga predstavi.
 Maria him_{DAT} wants that him_{ACC} introduces
 'Marija wants to introduce him to him.' (Serbo-Croatian)

The first analysis is the Bare-D account. All clitics occur in the following structure:



The clitic itself is therefore ambiguous between a head and a phrase; it is simultaneously both. Crucially, in NP languages, clitics are N/NP, while in DP languages, clitics are D/DP.

The crucial difference that leads to the 2nd position/V-adjacency parameter stems from a constraint which Bošković introduces, namely, that functional heads cannot be stranded; they must be adjoined to something as either a Specifier or Complement. Because D is a functional head, it is subject to the constraint *Stranded functional heads, while N, being lexical, is not.

*Stranded functional heads is not an unproblematic constraint. One might immediately consider common examples, such as English stranded prepositions (e.g., *Which lecture did you go to?*) as a clear counterexample. However, Bošković later offers a solution, suggesting that P is actually lexical in English. Perhaps this is satisfactory. An alternative might be to suggest that a copy can satisfy the constraint. Either way, we expect this constraint to have broad-ranging consequences which require further investigation. It does, however, offer an explanation for another generalization, namely, the Lobeck (1990) / Saito and Murasagi (1990) finding that the YP complement of a functional head X can be elided only if X has undergone Spec-Head agreement. This generalization in fact directly follows from the *Stranded functional head constraint.

But here Bošković explores the consequences of this constraint on NP vs DP clitics. NP clitics are not subject to the constraint, so they are unaffected. But because D is functional, the clitic cannot be stranded.

Clitics must check their case. In NP languages, pronominal clitics license their case by movements to Spec of distinct case-licensing AgrPs. In DP languages, employment of this same mechanism would result in a bare D. Thus, an alternative case-checking mechanism is utilized: incorporation into the V/T complex. As V raises through the projections, the clitics sequentially adjoin to the leftmost position of the verbal complex, thereby forming a composite V-adjacent clitic cluster.

The alternative account is the pro-identification account. Under this account, too, it is the structure of clitic phrases that proves essential. Here, however, DP language clitics occur not in non-branching DP but rather as a D⁰ taking an NP *pro* complement. Because *pro* must be licensed, the entire DP either moves to or is generated in the V/T complex, whose verbal morphological features can license *pro*. This automatically involves incorporation of

the clitic onto the V/T complex, making these clitics V-adjacent as opposed to second position.³

One potential problem with this analysis is that it proposes a one-to-one correspondence between phrase type (NP or DP) and clitic placement (second position and V-adjacent). While this is certainly an elegant symmetry, it proposes a binary distinction, which Bošković himself admits (fn 7: 28) is false. So a few questions remain: what about languages whose clitics occur neither in 2nd position nor V-adjacent? Are these DP or NP languages? Could this analysis extend to those languages as well?

Wayles Browne's "Participles Come Back to Slovenian" is an exploration of the structure of participial phrases in Slavic languages—in particular looking at Russian and Slovenian, which are special cases in that both have participial forms that were lost and then reintroduced much later. In contemporary Russian, the past active, present active, and present passive participles are all borrowed from Old Church Slavonic. Similarly, Slovenian had lost all but the past passive participle, but active participles were reintroduced.

Before addressing the structure of participial phrases, Browne first investigates a closely related phenomenon, namely, adjectives that select for complements. He shows that Slavic languages, which are otherwise pervasively head-initial, differ in their behavior in terms of constituent order within prenominal adjective phrases. In Russian (along with the other East Slavic languages as well as Polish, Macedonian, and Bulgarian), AP is head-initial, giving the following order:

[NP [AP proud [PP of her son]] mother].

However, in Slovenian (as well as BCS, Sorbian, Czech, and Slovak), AP is head-final, giving the order:

[NP [AP [PP of her son] proud] mother].

He notes that in both languages when the AP is in the predicate position either order is available; [AP proud [PP of her son]] and [AP [PP of her son] proud] are both possible, although there is a preference in both languages for the head-initial version.

³ It might be noted that there is one sentence in the paper that could easily be misunderstood. On p. 45, Bošković writes "Either way, the clitic provides the verbal morphology that is necessary for *pro*-licensing." I feel pretty certain that he does not intend to say that a pronominal clitic bears verbal morphology. Rather he is saying the clitic provides the motivation for *pro* to occur (either by movement or first merge) in a position where it can be licensed by the verbal morphology in the V/T complex.

Participles are similar to adjectives in that they are nominal modifiers and can occur either preminally or in predicate position. They are, however, morphologically derived from verbs and adopt the argument structure of their parent verbs.

The crucial point is that at the moment that participles were reintroduced into Russian and Slovenian there must have been a decision regarding the internal structure of these phrases: are they head-initial or head-final? In Russian, this was a straightforward choice: because both AP and VP are head-initial, participial phrases, as expected, pattern with both as head-initial. In Slovenian, on the other hand, VP is head-initial and AP is head-final. The result is that Slovenian participle phrases ultimately pattern with adjective phrases; when the phrase occurs preminally, it is head-final.

The final puzzle which Browne addresses is the placement of clitics within Slovenian participial phrases. Slovenian clitics typically occur in second position. If the participle has no other arguments, the clitic will follow the participle, thus intervening between the participle and the modified N. However, if the participial phrase is more complex, the clitic can occur either following the participle or in second position within the phrase, and occasionally (although this is probably due to error) in both positions.

This paper touches upon a number of phenomena that have been central to the study of Slavic syntax: the historical fall and rise of participles, the argument structure of hybrid categories, and the placement of clitics. While Browne does not give a formal analysis of the structures in Russian and Slovenian, he provides a lucid illustration of the parallel between reintroduced participial phrases and adjective phrases in both languages.

In “Restructuring Restructuring”, **Simon Dobnik** and **Robin Cooper** illustrate a novel approach to relating syntactic structure to semantic interpretation whereby the two largely operate independently of one another. The assertion is not, however, that the two are unrelated. Indeed, their view (which contrasts with other proposals, notably Ramchand 2008) is that semantics is not explicitly encoded in syntactic structure but that syntactic structure does have semantic consequences. To elucidate this notion, they examine the semantic differences resulting from variation in clitic placement. Specifically, they look at Slovenian sentences that are often analyzed as biclausal with a matrix subject control verb (i.e., *nameraovati* ‘intend’ and *načrtovati* ‘plan’).

In many syntactic theories sentences like (1) are considered either to contain a PRO subject in the embedded clause or to involve movement from the embedded subject position to the matrix-subject-position (Hornstein 1999; Boeckx 2006; among many others).

- (1) Janez je nameraval kupiti Mariji rože na
 Janez AUX intended to.buy Marija_{DAT} roses_{ACC} at
 tržnici.
 market_{LOC}
 ‘Janez intended to buy Marija flowers at the market.’ OR
 ‘Janez had a go at buying Marija flowers at the market.’⁴

In both PRO and movement theories of control, the principle is that there are two main verbs, each belonging to a dedicated clause and requiring its own dedicated subject (given an EPP constraint). Dobnik and Cooper, on the other hand, eschew the involvement of empty categories in any form (PRO, trace, or copy) and instead analyze the structure of (1) as being monoclausal with the verb *nameraval* taking a VP complement headed by *kupiti*.

They make a point of mentioning the simplicity of their syntactic derivations, which are of the type S broken down into NP and VP and which involve ternary branching and various structural properties which some may consider invalid. They suggest, however, that these structures are preferable to the far more complicated derivations advanced in First-Phase Syntax (Ramchand 2008) and similar proposals, in which a good deal of morphology and semantics is derived within the syntax, and that instead, event structure should be handled within the semantic component.

Dobnik and Cooper point out a critical empirical fact about (1): it is ambiguous between two meanings of the verb. It is generally agreed that semantic ambiguities are often the result of syntactic structural differences. Dobnik and Cooper suggest two different structures corresponding to the different interpretations.

In addition, the authors show that the ambiguity is resolved when clitics replace the internal arguments of the embedded verb.

- (2) Janez je nameraval kupiti **ji** **jih** na
 Janez AUX intended to.buy **her**_{DAT} **them**_{ACC} at
 tržnici.
 the.market
 ‘Janez **intended** to buy them for her at the market.’

⁴ I am a native speaker of English (northern Virginia dialect), and I confess that I have no idea what it means to “have a go at buying flowers.” In my dialect “have a go at” can usually be paraphrased as “try out for fun” (e.g., *We’re in Vegas, so I may as well have a go at the slots.*), which obviously doesn’t work here. Maybe it means “attempt and fail”? In any case, the point that the authors make is still valid (i.e., that there exists an ambiguity in Slovenian, which deserves some kind of syntactic account).

- (3) Janez **ji** **jih** je nameraval kupiti na
 Janez her_{DAT} them_{ACC} AUX intended to.buy at
 tržnici.
 the.market

‘Janez **had a go** at buying them for her at the market.’

Although they do not make it explicit, the obvious question is whether the position of the clitics is constrained by the structural differences of the two derivations of the ambiguous sentence in (1). In this paper, they do not explore that question. Instead, they focus on deriving the semantics of the two meanings of *nameravati* using TTR (Type Theory with Records). This theory appears to be an extension of Montague’s (1973) semantics of control verbs. In this analysis Dobnik and Cooper suggest that the nature of the subject-control verb is defined not within the syntax but rather within a separate semantic component, which relates the subject of the control verb to the agent of the complement VP.

Subject control is complicated, and even among those who generally agree on basic theoretical machinery, the mechanism behind control is debated. In this paper, the complexity is shifted from syntax to semantics, which is an interesting new way of looking at the question of deriving control.

In “Clitics Are/Become Minimal(ist)”, **Steven Franks** investigates the fundamental nature of clitics. While there has been work (among others Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) that seeks to define pronouns, and among them clitic pronouns, he notes that these analyses tend to oversimplify, missing both important differences in how languages handle clitic pronouns as well as some broadly applying generalizations. All the analyses, however, point to one common trait of clitics: they are defined by featural lacunae. In this paper, Franks identifies and explores three fundamental deficits of clitics: prosodic, semantic, and syntactic. He names universal restrictions on each of these properties of clitics.

Each of these broad restrictions is broken down into more specific cross-linguistically variant rules. For example, the general prosodic deficiency of clitics is that they cannot project feet. This indirectly ensures that clitics require a host, or as he cleverly puts it “without their own feet they cannot stand on their own.” However, he shows that there are two ways that this requirement can be overridden (i.e., the surface will make it appear that the general rule has been broken): (1) in the case of Macedonian (and other languages with fixed primary stress), the word can be configured in such a way that forces stress to be pronounced on a clitic. As he points out, this is not ev-

idence that the clitic bears any inherent stress.⁵ Configurationally determined stress can require that a clitic be stressed. This occurs in languages with idiosyncratic stress, as well. In Slovenian, which is somewhat exceptional in that it can strand a clitic completely (through VP-ellipsis), the stranded clitic must be stressed because there is nothing else in the utterance to bear stress.⁶

Franks further challenges the generally accepted notion that clitics are specified for directionality (i.e., they are either enclitic or proclitic). He illustrates that in many languages, the attachment of the clitic follows from a lower-order generalization. In many languages, there is some form of “non-initiality” restriction on clitics, but that is not true for all languages (Slovenian for example, can have no such requirement, given that a clitic can constitute a full utterance). But languages vary regarding the potential positions: some have no restriction against initiality at all, some disallow clitics from initiating an intonational phrase (e.g., BCS), and some disallow clitics from initiating an utterance (e.g., Bulgarian). Franks also shows that within a language the requirements can vary between clitics. For example, the interrogative clitic *li* (which Franks calls a “simple” clitic and thus distinguishes from “special” clitics) is restricted from initiating a prosodic word in all Slavic languages in which it occurs. One can then derive the directionality of clitics simply by the application of these prosodic restrictions following linearization.

Having said this, Franks points out that there are some invariably proclitic elements, but their proclisis is derived from their syntactic relations (i.e., they bear a syntactic relationship to the elements that follow them but not to those that precede them). The Macedonian future marker *ќе* and negation, for example, take scope over the syntactic material that follows them but bear no relation to the material that precedes them, and thus they are obligatorily proclitic.

The semantic deficit of clitics is that they bear no lexicoconceptual features; they are purely functional elements. Of course, there are both affixes and free morphemes that comply with this rule, and Franks is careful in noting that the semantic restriction is necessary but insufficient for designating something a clitic.

Different languages can have further semantic restrictions on clitics. Franks specifically addresses the restrictions on person features (broken

⁵ Of course, languages with fixed stress don't really have any words that are lexically marked for stress (e.g., Peperkamp 1997). It seems more likely that stress is part of the computational system in these languages, whereas it is lexical in languages with idiosyncratic/phonemic stress.

⁶ As pointed out by Wayles Browne, Slovenian can also strand an entire clitic cluster, in which case the final clitic will be stressed. One could imagine this to be the result of a rule in which the phonology searches the linearized utterance for an appropriate stress-bearer and, finding none, assigns it to the final syllable.

down into PERSON, PARTICIPANT, and AUTHOR, following Halle 1997 and Runić 2013), which he suggests is the underlying source of PCC effects.

In terms of their syntax, clitics are defective in that they lack syntactic complexity. What this means exactly is not totally clear. In Bošković (in this volume), this lacuna is defined as the inability to project. But Franks contends that this may be an oversimplification. Instead, he looks at their morphosyntactic features and suggests that the syntactic idiosyncracies of clitics relate to their movement within derivations. Here the difference between simple clitics (like *li*) and special clitics (like pronominal clitics) becomes crucial. Simple clitics have no unvalued morphosyntactic features; where they are generated is where they stay. Special clitics, on the other hand, have unvalued grammatical features, which drives their movement.

In this paper, Franks lucidly describes differences between clitics along three axes: semantic, prosodic, and syntactic, showing that they are universally bounded by certain restrictions and illustrating the variance within those bounds.

In “The Left Periphery of Slovenian Relative Clauses”, **Marko Hladnik** investigates the various theories of relative-clause structure and argues that only one is suited to handle the data he presents from Slovenian and Polish. He offers brief but clear outlines of the Head External Analysis [HEA] (in which the relative head is first merged outside the relative CP) and the alternative Head Raising Analysis [HRA] (in which the relative head moves from within the relative clause into the matrix clause), finding that the HRA is the only one that accounts for reconstruction effects. He notes that Kayne (1994) adjusted this account to meet the criterion of the Linear Correspondence Axiom; a relative head raises into Spec-CP of the relative clause, which is a CP complement of D^0 . Hladnik, following Aoun and Li (2003), adopts an analysis of relative clauses that combines aspects of Kayne’s HRA and the HEA, arguing that only a highly articulated left periphery can account for the data from Slovenian.

The structure Hladnik adopts is a DP, whose D^0 selects a CP with the relative head merged into the Spec position. The head of this CP in turn selects for a second CP, the relative pronoun occupying its Spec. Thus, while it sees the relative CP as a complement to the D^0 , as in Kayne’s analysis, it involves no movement. The inevitable consequence of a movement-free analysis is that the question then reemerges of how to account for reconstruction effects, and this remains unresolved. But additionally there are now two distinct C^0 positions in the structure, and Hladnik shows that both of them are utilized in Slovenian.

Hladnik turns to an examination of the syntax of Slovenian relative clauses, which can be formed either using a relative pronoun (*kateri*) or using a relativizing complementizer (*ki*). The key fact that Hladnik introduces is

that both *kateri* and *ki* can co-occur with the word *da*. He notes that while this word is homophonous with the subordinating complementizer, the two are semantically and syntactically distinct.

Semantically, the *da* that can occur in relative clauses has the effect of an epistemic modal, incorporating the meaning ‘supposedly’. This is enough to justify its status as a distinct lexical item from the subordinating complementizer, which really is purely functional. The question, then, is what position it occupies, especially within a relative clause. Hladnik argues that, because *da* can appear alongside *ki*, there must be two C^0 positions (and by extension two CP projections), one for *ki* and the other for *da*. Underlying this is the assumption that the modal *da* is indeed a C^0 , which is not an obvious inference (in fact, he later suggests that it is actually a Foc^0 , which given its semantics, seems quite plausible). However, initially assuming this classification, it is clear that the two C^0 of the proposed relative clause structure can be filled, with *ki* occupying the higher C^0 position and *da* occupying the lower.

Hladnik notes a problem that arises in every analysis of relative clauses: the relative pronoun and the complementizer supposedly occupy distinct positions but never co-occur. This makes the problem of identifying their relative order far from trivial; *ki* and *kateri* are mutually exclusive (within a single relative clause), so how do we know which occupies the higher position? Hladnik proposes that *ki* appears higher than *kateri* and supports this using data from Polish (Szczegelniak 2004, 2005). Unfortunately, the data from Polish are severely degraded. They are described as rare cases of marginal acceptance by a small number of speakers, which doesn’t inspire much confidence. That said, syntacticians who work on relative clauses are forced to posit one order or the other for the relativizing complementizer and the relative pronoun, and rarely is the order justified.

A similar problem arises with respect to the two instances of *da*; though they are (justifiably) claimed to be distinct, they never co-occur, so what can we say about the positions which they occupy? Hladnik shows that while the subordinating complementizer cannot be preceded by a clausal modifier, the epistemic modal *da* can. Here he suggests that the epistemic modal *da* is actually the head of a deeply embedded $FocP$. The $FocP$ is selected by an interrogative phrase (IntP), into whose Spec the relative pronoun is merged. The IntP is selected by the ForceP, whose head is the position into which *ki* would be merged and whose Spec is the relative head. The ForceP, then, is what has traditionally been analysed as the relative clause CP.

This analysis solves one of the nagging problems of Kayne’s (1994) Head Raising Analysis; namely, if D^0 can select a CP complement, what prevents massive overgeneration of sentences such as **The what did the student read??* In reanalyzing the relative clause as a different clausal type altogether, Hladnik eliminates this problem: D^0 selects ForceP.

In “Unaccusatives in Slovenian from Cross-Linguistic Perspective, Gašper Ilc and Tatjana Marvin investigate the limitations of various diagnostics for classifying intransitive verbs. They show that many of the accepted diagnostics fail to properly classify Slovenian verbs. The two types of intransitives are those with agentive subjects, unergatives, and those with non-agentive subjects, unaccusatives. Several diagnostics have been proposed for distinguishing between the two, some cross-linguistically applicable and others specifically applying to Slavic languages. Ilc and Marvin show that most of these tests are unreliable, at least for Slovenian (but quite possibly for other languages as well).

The broadly applicable diagnostics they identify are: auxiliary selection (whether ‘have’ or ‘be’ is selected reflects the verb type), Italian *ne*-cliticization (allowable only on unaccusative intransitive V), appearance as participles within reduced relative clauses (only unaccusatives can do this), and appearance in impersonal passives (only unergatives can do this). The authors find that two of these tests can be used to identify unaccusatives in Slovenian: (1) the past active *l*-participial form of a verb may appear in a reduced relative clause only if it is unaccusative, and (2) the *se* impersonal, which corresponds to the impersonal passive, is only available for unergatives.

One particularly interesting datum they present involves the verb *priteči*, which is semantically ambiguous. It can mean ‘flow from’, as in ‘Water flows from the spout continuously’, in which case it is unaccusative. Alternatively, it can mean ‘come running’, as in ‘The horse came running from the stables’, in which case it is unergative. Crucially, the past active *l*-participial reduced relative can only mean ‘flowed from’. Conversely, only the ‘come running’ interpretation is available when *priteči* appears in the *se*-impersonal form. This indicates that indeed these are robust diagnostics.

The narrow diagnostics (those that are particular to Slavic languages) are: the genitive of negation on subjects of impersonals (only possible for unaccusatives), the distributive *po*-phrase as a subject of an impersonal (only possible if the impersonal is unaccusative), the derivation of a secondary imperfective (again, only possible for unaccusatives), and the derivation of deverbal agentive nouns (only possible for unergatives). None of these proves to be an infallible diagnostic for Slovenian. However, the authors show that while only a subset of unaccusative verbs can undergo secondary imperfectivization, unergatives are strictly prohibited from doing so; thus, if a verb *can* produce a secondary imperfective form, it must be unaccusative. The deverbal agent nominalization test, too, can be used in confirming a verb’s status (i.e., if it can derive a deverbal agentive noun, it must *not* be unaccusative).

The authors seem to overlook a few other diagnostics, which might be explored in further research. For example, one of the most common diagnostics for unaccusativity / unergativity is modification by a purpose clause. In Slovene what happens if one modifies the sentences with *zanalášč* ‘on purpose’?

It would be interesting to know whether this serves as a reliable diagnostic as well.

In “The Modal Cycle vs. Negation in Slovenian”, **Franc Lanko Marušič** and **Rok Žaucer** investigate the status of the possibility modal auxiliary *lahko* ‘easily/can’ from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The word *lahko* is an adverb derived from the adjective meaning ‘easy’ or ‘light’, and in most Slavic languages the counterpart of this word (Russian *legko*, Slovak *ľahko*, etc.) is used solely in this capacity. Among Slavic languages (and perhaps European languages generally, as the authors suggest), Slovenian is unique in using this word as a modal auxiliary ‘can’, which selects a finite verb. So, the natural questions are: (1) where did this come from? and (2), how does it work? Marušič and Žaucer seek to answer both of these questions.

The authors suggest that although the modal auxiliary use of *lahko* is unique to Slovenian, in fact its appearance in the language is due to a diachronic shift that is attested in many languages. Jespersen (1924) identified a cyclical pattern to the syntactic and lexical changes in the expression of negation. It starts with the negative marker being weakened, often through prosodic weakening. This is followed by the inclusion of a new negative marker (in addition to the weakened one) to strengthen the negation. The third stage involves the omission of the original weakened negative marker. The fourth stage is the reanalysis of the ancillary negative reinforcer as the new (and sole) strong marker of negation. At this point, the cycle can restart. Marušič and Žaucer argue that Jespersen’s cycle applies to the development of the modal auxiliaries in Slovenian.

The first half of the paper tracks the use of the modal auxiliary *moči* and the word *lahko* through a millenium of documented Slovenian. They show that, indeed, there was a time when only *moči* ‘can’ was available and that at some point this changed such that both items were used simultaneously to show possibility (they show that this is even attested in a dialect of Slovenian spoken today which preserves many features of Slovenian that have become obsolete in the contemporary standard) and that eventually *lahko* could be used on its own (with a finite verb). Crucially, they point out the (near) complementary distribution of the two modal auxiliaries in standard contemporary Slovenian. While *lahko* is used in positive contexts, *moči* exhibits some characteristics of a negative polarity item, occurring almost exclusively in conspicuously negative contexts and in certain other downward entailing contexts.⁷

Adapting Jespersen’s cycle to reflect current formal syntactic theory and applying it to Slovenian, Marušič and Žaucer suggest that *moči* started out as the head of a possibility modal phrase (Mod_{POSSP}), which optionally se-

⁷ Interestingly, *moči* can occur in some but not all downward entailing contexts, which the authors mention but leave as fodder for further exploration.

lected a MannerP, headed by *lahko*, which in turn selected *v*P. The big question regarding this initial stage of the cycle is why MannerP selects *v*P instead of being a *v*P adjunct. Given the manner adverbial semantics of *lahko* at that stage, it seems far more likely that the MannerP was an adjunct. This doesn't appear to have been considered by the authors, and the reason why not is unexplained. In the second stage of the cycle, *lahko* acquires the modal reinforcer interpretation and becomes a Specifier of the Mod_{POSS}P. In the third stage the Mod_{POSS}P head *moči* vanishes. In the fourth stage *lahko* assumes the head position of Mod_{POSS}P.

The authors then turn to the synchronic question of how *lahko* functions in contemporary Slovenian. The central question is why we find the tendency toward complementary distribution of the two modal auxiliaries. Their analysis rests on the notion that the NegP head *ne* is a verbal proclitic to which *v*⁰ raises within narrow syntax (following Ilc and Sheppard (2003)). The authors' idea is that Mod_{POSS}P occurs between the *v*P projection and the NegP projection; thus *lahko* becomes an intervening head blocking the movement of *v*⁰ to Neg⁰. What they fail to assert explicitly, perhaps because it goes without saying, is that this is not an issue for *moči* because it is verbal and thus raises to Neg (i.e., *moči* cannot block itself).

Marušič and Žaucer offer data from several dialects to support both their diachronic and synchronic analyses. They point out potential counterexamples, only to show that these are simply the exceptions that prove the rule (as in their example of Gorica Slovenian). In this paper the authors weave together analyses of diachronic and synchronic data to produce a single coherent and comprehensive study of the modal auxiliary *lahko*.

In "The Left Periphery of Multiple *wh*-Questions in Slovenian", **Petra Mišmaš** explores the limitations and causes of the free ordering of *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions. She shows that unlike some other Slavic languages (e.g., Bulgarian and Russian), Slovenian shows no Superiority effects in multiple *wh*-questions. She refers to a survey of native speakers in which she asked for both acceptability and preference among sentences with varied *wh*-phrase ordering. Based upon these data, she finds that although the order of *wh*-phrases is indeed free (all variations prove to be acceptable), speakers do occasionally (and under the right circumstances) exhibit preferences for one order over others. In this paper she describes those preferences and then offers an analysis for the structure of multiple *wh*-questions in Slovenian.

Mišmaš shows that there are factors that contribute to preferences in the ordering of *wh*-phrases, but crucially she notes that preference is a separate issue from acceptability. For example, when both the subject and object of a sentence are *wh*-phrases and both are [+human], native speakers show a strong preference for maintaining the S-O ordering. But because both orders are acceptable, she asserts that both are grammatical (i.e., syntactically well-

formed). The preferences are attributed to a different domain. Thus Mišmaš concludes that the order of *wh*-phrases in narrow syntax is free.

A crucial fact, though, is that while order is free among *wh*-phrases, there does exist a constraint on multiple *wh*-questions; namely, they must have a clause initial *wh*-phrase. In other words, a multiple *wh*-question must start with a *wh*-phrase, although it can be any *wh*-phrase. She notes a potential counterexample:

- (4) Temu fantu je kdaj kaj Maja kupila za
 This_{DAT} boy_{DAT} AUX when what Maja_{NOM} bought for
 rojstni dan?
 birth day

‘Did Maja ever buy this boy anything for his birthday?’

This is clearly not a counterexample, since the *wh*-words are not actually [+q] at all. In Slovenian, *wh*-words are polysemous and can be [+q]; alternatively, they can be interpreted as indefinite indeterminate expressions (*kdaj* can mean ‘when’ but also ‘at any time’). While Mišmaš does not point this out explicitly (making this datum and its exclusion from the principle of *wh-first* difficult to understand for those who don’t know Slovenian), it is, in fact, not subject to the same requirements as a multiple *wh*-question because it is not a *wh*-question.

The two questions posed in this paper are: (1) why must a *wh*-phrase front the clause? and (2) what allows the free order of *wh*-phrases? The latter of these is perhaps the easier to answer: Mišmaš proposes parametric variation between languages which obey Cinque’s condition on chains and those that do not. The Condition on Chains essentially states that a chain of Type X cannot be contained within another chain of Type X (i.e., [A...[B...t_B] ...t_A] is malformed). Mišmaš suggests that this condition simply does not apply to Slovenian, thus allowing free movement of *wh*-phrases. She notes that Slovenian does, however, obey Relativized Minimality, as evidenced by the existence of *wh*-islands. Mišmaš suggests that Slovenian provides a case which allows one to tease apart Relativized Minimality from the Condition on Chains, as the former applies but the second does not.

The question remains of the precise position of the *wh*-phrases (and what motivates the requirement for the clause initial position). Mišmaš offers evidence suggesting that there exists a dedicated Int(errogative)P, which is the highest phrase besides the ForceP and which carries a complex [uQ+*wh*-feature,EPP] feature bundle. This motivates the movement of a *wh*-phrase into the SpecIntP. Additionally, the valuation of the complex [Q+*wh*-feature] is responsible for the interrogative Clause Typing. Besides the one *wh*-phrase which raises into SpecIntP to satisfy its EPP feature as well as value its [Q+*wh*-fea-

ture], all other *wh*-phrases move from their A-positions into dedicated WhP (*wh*-projections) which occur between IntP and the Fin(ite)P. This, Mišmaš argues, explains the distribution of *wh*-phrases in multiple *wh*-questions.

In “A Relative Syntax and Semantics for Slovenian”, **Moreno Mitrović** explores many dimensions of the Slovenian Free Relative. He notes that relative pronouns in Slovenian are morphologically complex:⁸ they include the *wh*-word (which is identical to the interrogative) as well as the relative marker *-r*. Mitrović follows Chierchia and Caponigro’s (2013) approach to Free Relatives, which suggests that their contrast from *wh*-questions is in fact minimal.

Mitrović’s proposal, in short, is that *wh*-questions and free relative CPs are initially indistinguishable. However, in a free relative clause, an *-r* morpheme is merged as the head of a TopicP. The *wh*-word raises to combine with the relative marker and is thus part of the TopP, as opposed to the FocusP, which is the eventual landing site of an interrogative *wh*-phrase.

This paper is ambitious in its scope: Mitrović traces the historical development of the *-r* relativizing morpheme, looks at the phonological realization of free relative pronouns, and gives a comprehensive analysis of their syntax and semantics. The consequence of examining so many properties simultaneously is that the writing becomes dense. And unfortunately there are also oversights and errors in the data. For example, the characterization of *že* cross-linguistically and historically has several flaws; for one, the complementizers in Polish and Czech and Slovak are derived not from old *že* but rather the neuter relative pronoun *ježe*, and the Czech *že* can be used as an emphatic particle on *wh*-echo questions. Perhaps an even more unfortunate oversight is the absence of discussion of the *-r* morpheme outside of free relatives (in relative clauses where the head is a universal pronoun, for example). The author also has a tendency to create unnecessary acronyms, which is more distracting than it is helpful. While this paper certainly contributes to better understanding of Slovenian free relatives, and perhaps free relative clauses in general, the presentation obscures its purpose.

In “The Slovenian Future Auxiliary *biti* as a Tenseless Gradable Evidential Modal: Inferential and Concessive Readings”, **María Luisa Rivero** and **Milena Milojević Sheppard** explore the semantics of the *bom*, *boš*, *bo*, etc. forms of the verb *bom*,⁹ which are often simply characterized as the auxiliary indicating future tense. The authors, however, illustrate in careful detail and

⁸ Although it is not mentioned in this paper, other languages share the property of having a distinct morphological marker that merges to *wh*-words to form relative pronouns. Georgian - ႗ (-ts), for example, appears to have a similar function.

⁹ I deviate from the authors’ terminology here. As pointed out by Wayles Browne, the phrase “auxiliary *biti*” is highly ambiguous as it can refer to *sem*, *si*, *je*, etc. as well as

with numerous supporting data, that *bom* in fact has wide-ranging uses and interpretations, which are identified and analyzed. In particular, Rivero and Sheppard identify two epistemic uses of *bom*: the Inferential (in which *bom* indicates expectation/probability) and Concessive (in which *bom* indicates reluctant acknowledgement, doubt, or denial). These readings, they note, are only available when *bom* is paired with an imperfective aspect verb.

There are two clear examples of inferential epistemic modals in Slovenian: *morati* and *utegniti*, but while the former can additionally convey a root/circumstantial reading, the latter cannot. The authors show that *bom* contrasts with both of these in that it can be used not only to express expectation but also doubt (i.e., concessive).¹⁰

Having distinguished *bom* from other epistemic modals, Rivero and Sheppard offer a characterization of *bom*, proposing that it has three properties: it is (1) gradable, (2) evidential, and (3) tenseless. They adopt Kratzer's theory of modality as a basis for their proposal of *bom* as a gradable modal and suggest that it is gradable along two dimensions: believability and desirability. They characterize it as evidential because it requires a context involving indirect evidence. Finally they characterize it as tenseless because the Temporal Perspective of *bom* (which is always fixed to present) does not directly influence the Temporal Orientation, which may be either present or past, depending entirely on context. On the contrary, the tensed modals, *morati* 'must' and *utegniti* 'may', link the Temporal Perspective to the Temporal Orientation. The authors note that the terms Temporal Perspective and Temporal Orientation are coined by Condoravdi (2002), but the difference between Temporal Perspective and Speech Time is somewhat unclear to me, as is the difference between Temporal Orientation and Event Time. With respect to the Slovenian data presented, these do not seem to be meaningfully contrasted.

Having noted early on that the epistemic modal reading of *bom* is only available when the accompanying verb is imperfective, Rivero and Sheppard proceed to explore more precisely the interaction of aspect with *bom*. When the following verb is perfective, the future tense reading is unavoidable. They offer an explanation for why this is the case: perfectivity requires that the Event Time be included in the Speech Time, which is defined as an instantaneous moment. This results in a conflict because including an extended event within an instantaneous moment is impossible. The only way to resolve this conflict is to fix the Temporal Orientation to future.

In this paper the authors not only illustrate the unique properties of Slovenian *bom* compared to the future auxiliary in other Slavic languages but

the conditional *bi*. In this paper, the authors focus on the future auxiliary, so for the sake of clarity I will call the future auxiliary *bom* instead of *biti*.

¹⁰ The example they use to illustrate this unique property of *biti* is as follows:

additionally give a thorough data-driven account of when (in what context), how (with what syntactic requirements, e.g., perfective vs. imperfective), and why these properties arise. Their observations and analyses could potentially extend to exploration of languages outside the Slavic family, as many other languages use the verb ‘to be’ as an epistemic modal.

Adrian Stegovec’s “Not Two Sides of One Coin: Clitic Person Restrictions and Icelandic Quirky Agreement” is an exquisite example of the broad (indeed, universal!) implications of the analysis of Slovenian data; Stegovec illustrates that standard analyses (specifically Anagnostopoulou 2005 and Béjar and Řezáč 2003) of the Person Case Constraint (PCC), a universal restriction prohibiting 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics in the presence of a dative indirect object clitic, cannot possibly hold. He offers an alternative to the standard analyses in which not Case but rather ordering of arguments plays a critical role.

Stegovec readily acknowledges that the standard analyses of the PCC have the advantage of being powerful enough to reduce two phenomena bearing strong similarities to one another into instantiations of a single rule. In specific, PCC phenomena involving clitics and restrictions on nominative direct objects in Icelandic are both explained under the same syntactic constraint. The similarities between the two phenomena are indeed striking and can be characterized as follows:

The direct object must be 3rd person:

-
- (20a) Naj bo zguba ali naj ne bo zguba, jaz ga ljubim.
 PTCL BE_{FUT.3SG} loser OR PTCL NEG BE_{FUT.3SG} loser, I him love_{PRES.1SG}
 ‘He might be a loser or he might not be, but I love him.’

They note that the particle *naj* is required in concessives only when the verb is copular. When it is paired with another verb, the inclusion of *naj* renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Although this is likely unrelated, I find it interesting that in older forms of Modern English (e.g., Elizabethan English), “be” also has an epistemic reading that has different properties depending upon whether it is the sole copular verb (in which case it is read as inferential) or whether it is paired with a transitive verb (in which case it is commissive). Here are two examples, both from Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, Act 5, Scene 8.

(i) *Inferential*:

Siward: Had he hurts before?

Ross: Ay, on the front

Siward: **Why then, God’s soldier be he!**

‘Well then, he must be God’s soldier now!’

(ii) *Commissive*:

Macbeth: **And damn’d be him that first cries “Hold! Enough!”**

‘And may he who first cries “Stop! Enough!” be damned.’

1. in Icelandic: when there is a dative subject present.
2. cross-linguistically: when it is a clitic and when there is a dative clitic present.

The impulse to assume these two phenomena are related (and consequently need to develop an overarching rule subsuming them) is understandable and the resulting analyses are elegant but, Stegovec argues, erroneous. His argument is rooted in data from Slovenian, which provide a counterexample to the rules posited in previous analyses of the PCC.

The analysis of PCC given by Béjar and Řezáč (2003) rests on the intersection of two requirements: (1) that Agreement (in the technical sense of establishing an agree relation between a Probe and Goal) with a functional head can license 1st and 2nd (but crucially not 3rd) person features, and (2) an Agree operation can only occur before Case is assigned to the Goal. This second requirement prohibits quirky or inherent case assigned phrases from being viable Goals for any Agree operation, thus their person features are licensed via some other operation. The most crucial aspect of their argument, and the one which Stegovec adopts, is that there is a locality constraint on Agree; namely that an intervening element which matches the features of the Probe will effectively halt the search (i.e., another element further down the tree will be invisible to the Probe). Thus, the Probe, v^0 , reaches only the dative IO and subsequently cannot license 1st or 2nd person on the DO, which then receives default 3rd person. This analysis appears to provide a unified solution to both the Icelandic quirky-case puzzle as well as the PCC puzzle. However, it only works so long as the dative IO acts as the intervening object resulting in the accusative DO assuming a default 3rd person feature. As Stegovec shows, this is not what we find in Slovenian.

In Slovenian, Case appears not to be a relevant factor in the expression of the PCC. The following are the crucial data he presents, which cannot be accounted for under earlier PCC analyses:

- (5) Sestra mi/ti ga/*te/*me bo predstavila.
 Sister me/you_{DAT} him/*you/*me_{ACC} will introduce
 'The sister will introduce him (*you/*me) to me/you (*him).'
- (6) Sestra me/te mu/*ti/*mi bo predstavila.
 Sister me/you_{ACC} him/*you/*me_{DAT} will introduce.
 'The sister will introduce me/you to him (*you/*me).'

Furthermore, Stegovec shows that if both the DO and IO are 3rd person, then either ordering of the two is acceptable. Thus, it seems that linear order and not case is playing a crucial role. In fact, he then points to data from various

sources which indicate that many of the generalizations about the PCC which led to earlier analyses fail to hold under careful scrutiny.

Stegovec then offers an alternative analysis of PCC effects. Under his analysis, the Agree operation doesn't just license features but rather values them. Clitic pronouns are defective; in terms of morphosyntax, this means they have unvalued ϕ -features. Here Stegovec posits a distinction between interpretability and valuation. A pronoun may enter the derivation with an interpretable but as yet unvalued feature. And conversely, a head may enter the derivation with an uninterpretable but valued feature (e.g., the v^0). Failure to value an interpretable person feature results in the assignment of default 3rd person. Stegovec's proposal follows previous hypotheses in that he suggests intervention blocks valuation of the interpretable person feature. The presence of another intervening element with features matching those of the Probe will prohibit a lower head from being visible to the Probe.

According to Stegovec, Slovenian differs from other languages that show the PCC effect only in that the ordering of the arguments can be altered prior to the merger of v^0 . The causes of and mechanics behind this reordering is left open, but it is precisely this which allows the PCC effects to appear on both the accusative DO and dative IO in Slovenian. But because his analysis does not rely on case as a determining factor, it is able to account for a broader spectrum of data that are unexplained under earlier analyses.

It fails, however, to account for Icelandic quirky-case phenomena, in which none of the relevant pronouns are clitic (i.e., defective, requiring a person feature value). Stegovec suggests that, however appealing it may be, perhaps PCC and Icelandic quirky-case effects cannot be subsumed under a single analysis. He points to Schütze's (2003) "ineffability" analysis of the Icelandic phenomenon as an alternative.¹¹

In "Quo Vadis, Slovenian Bipartite Pronouns?", the final paper of the volume, **Sašo Živanović** explores the topic of composite pronouns. This paper introduces several novel ideas: (1) that bipartite pronouns extend beyond just the reciprocal; that there exists a non-trivial set of such pronouns in Slovenian and they share properties that previously have gone unnoticed; (2) that the three-stage diachronic development of complex compositional pronouns is transparently manifested in the three uses of bipartite pronouns in different dialects of modern Slovenian; and (3) that the licensing of coordination of

¹¹ Here is a brief and oversimplified synopsis of Schütze's analysis: the subject and nominative case assigned element are both controllers of agreement. Very often, they coincide, so no conflict arises. However when the subject and the element bearing nominative case are distinct, it creates a conflict for agreement because agreement is controlled by both, and in cases of conflict default ϕ -features are assigned.

prepositions correlates with the morphological relationship between the two components of the bipartite pronoun.

The five bipartite pronouns that Živanović identifies are the reciprocal *en drugega* 'one another', the distributive reflexive *vsak sebe* 'each self', the distributive reflexive possessive *vsak svoj* 'each self's', the emphatic reflexive *sam sebe* 'own self', and the emphatic reflexive possessive *sam svoj* 'own self's'. All of these occur in three syntactic variations: (A) totally separable units, where one part may be part of one argument and the second part will be part of a different argument, (B) a morphologically complex unit, separable by a preposition but composing a single syntactic phrase, and (C) a fully fused morphologically complex word.

It has been argued that the historical development of bipartite pronouns (specifically, reciprocals) followed the path (A) → (B) → (C). And indeed, with all the bipartite pronouns identified (not, as prior literature suggests, restricted to reciprocals), all three stages are currently attested. Živanović does note however that what he refers to as Dialect C (which corresponds to speakers who use syntactic variation (C)) is spoken by very few; he has identified but four speakers, all of whom are from the city of Celje in the Štajerska region of Slovenia. He suggests that although it is currently quite rare, the lexicosyntactic fusion of bipartite pronouns is emerging, and given the history of bipartite pronouns in other languages (e.g., Germanic), it may eventually replace the standard contemporary use.

In Dialect C, the bipartite pronoun has truly fused, as shown by the stress pattern. In Dialect B (standard Slovenian), the bipartite pronoun is pronounced with one primary stress on each component, whereas in Dialect C, it is treated as a single prosodic word with only one primary stress. Although phonologically distinct, bipartite pronouns in (B) and (C) are semantically similar and distinguished from bipartite pronouns in (A) (in which the two components are separate entities). Živanović focuses on the syntactic properties of the three variations, particularly on the peculiarities of the (C) (fused) variety. He looks primarily at (1) the behavior of the prepositions, (2) Case, and (3) binding.

Prepositions in standard Slovenian are placed between the two components of a bipartite pronoun, which again reinforces the notion that they are phrasally related but not morphologically fused units. In Dialect C, on the other hand, prepositions must precede the entire complex. He further makes a novel observation: in standard Slovenian, which applies variety (B), coordination of prepositions intervening between the components of a bipartite pronoun is prohibited. However, in Dialect C, coordination of prepositions is allowed.

In Dialect C, Case is morphologically instantiated only once on the bipartite pronoun. The first component appears in the default form (which is identical to the nominative, singular, masculine form) and only the second com-

ponent inflects for case, number, and gender, depending upon its syntactic position. This differs substantially from standard Slovenian (in which bipartite pronouns appear not to be fused but are phrasally related), in which not only are both components inflected for case but they can inflect for different Cases (for the reciprocal and distributed pronouns, the first component agrees with its antecedent in Case and ϕ -features while the second component gets its Case from v^0). Živanović shows, however, that although (B) and (C) differ syntactically in terms of preposition placement and Case assignment, they are similar when it comes to binding effects.

Živanović's paper is replete with data illustrating the differences and similarities between the three varieties of bipartite pronoun use: separate, phrasally related, and fused. These three types, which are attested in historical development elsewhere, are all attested in currently spoken Slovenian. This, Živanović argues, supports the notion that there ought to be a unified analysis of the diachronic development and synchronic properties of bipartite pronouns.

This volume represents a succinct summary of our current understanding of Slovenian syntax, from formal synchronic analyses to descriptions of historical changes and dialect variation. The papers are largely quite readable and engaging. And perhaps most importantly, they have relevance beyond the sphere of Slovenian or even Slavic linguistics. For any syntactician (or semanticist, for that matter), these papers are a worthy read. It is a fitting ode to a hero of the field, who pushed the Slovenian language away from the margins and toward the center of linguistic scholarship.

We conclude by listing a few errata observed in the book:

1. P. 24 Section (2): "While it is more or less standardly assumed that languages that lack overt articles like Serbo-Croatian (SC) have null articles, which means that the difference between English (1) [should be (2)] and SC (2) [should be (3)] with respect to articles is strictly phonological.
2. P. 156, Russian example (20c) *smtjalos'* should be *smejalos'* and *mal'dku* should be *mal'čiku*.
3. P. 187, last sentence of the paragraph between example 45 and 46: "However, *moči* could not simply be a typical NPI, as it is not at all possible just in any questions." Maybe should have been rephrased to "as it is not at all possible in certain environments that would otherwise be suitable for licensing an NPI"
4. P. 205 (31.i) $[A_i = A_{i+1}]$ should be $[A_i = A_{i+1}]$
5. P. 303, final sentence of penultimate paragraph of section 4: "Specifically, PCC effects are predicted to occur with reflexive

clitics that have number of gender features”, should be “number or gender features”

6. P. 316, section 2.2: “...idiosyncratic meanings listed in (3)” [should be (5)].

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