



On Negation as Diagnostic Criteria of Clitic Placement in Bulgarian

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Plan of the talk

- Object of the study
- Theoretical implications
- Early Modern Bulgarian (EMB)
- Clitics in present-day Bulgarian
- In brief

Object of the study

- Pronominal clitics in clauses with Negation:

A

Иван не.NEG му.DAT даде. vs.

Иван не.NEG я.ACC написа. vs.

Иван не.NEG му.DAT я.ACC даде. vs.

Ќазах да не.NEG му.DAT я.ACC оставя. vs.

B

??Иван му не даде.

??Иван я не написа.

??Иван му я не даде.

??Ќазах да му я не оставя.

Иван не беше му дал. vs. Иван не му беше дал.

Negation

Sentence negation (but not constituent negation - **Не** Иван говори с Мария.):

Иван **не** говори с Мария.

Иван **не е**.AUX **говори**.PART с Мария

Иван **не беше** **говори** с Мария.

Иван **няма да** **говори** с Мария.

Иван **не ще** **говори** с Мария. (coll.)

Proclitic; forms a prosodic word with the element on its right; non-stressed.

Neg is the only element supporting a pronominal clitic that draws the stress towards it.

Theoretical implications: clitics

- Most widespread hypothesis: clitics are verb-adjacent (pre-verbal) + Tobler-Mussafia effect (a clitic can be found after a pause but not first in the utterance; unlike in Mac).
- Other hypothesis:
 - quasi-second position condition (Avgustinova 1997);
 - second-position after FRONT node in the first (Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999);
 - extended W+-system (#XP — CL — V ~ #V — CL: # - “rhythmic-syntactic barrier” - Zaliznjak 2008): the Wackernagel Law is still active + additional constraints (Zimmerling 2013).

Theoretical implications: clitics

- Historically, Pancheva (2007): verb-adjacent (OCS, OB) > second-position (MB) > verb-adjacent (pre-verbal, present-dayB).
- Roberts (2012): two assumptions: the idea of a word as a phase; and clitics as defective goal.
 - Defective elements.
 - Simultaneously maximal and minimal elements (can move both as XPs and as heads).
 - Move to the edge of the minimal phase formed by their host, i.e. they are part of the host phase but are accessible to material outside the phase.
 - Feature loss as mechanism for diachronic change ($D > \varnothing$).
 - “...a system may allow clitics to occupy either the edge of vP or C, depending perhaps on phonological conditions. There is some reason to think that an analysis of this kind might be appropriate for Bulgarian...”

Theoretical implications: clitics

in CP phase

$D^{\min/\max}$

Full Ds

in vP phase

$\varphi^{\min/\max}$

At the edge of vP

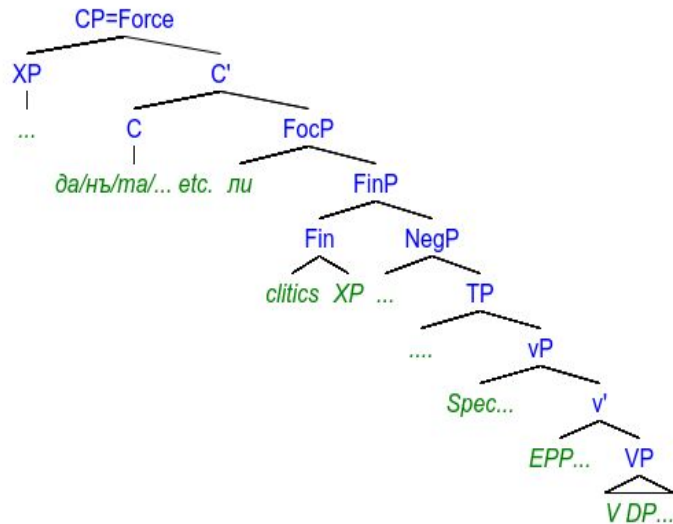
vP: Edge F to allow $D^{\min/\max}$ to move through a Spec,vP.

C: a phase head; attractor for movement (certain feature combinations in C may be 'split' to form separate heads

ass. with particular discourse-related interpretations

(see also Rizzi (1997))

Neg: higher than TP. For Neg to gain scopal or licensing properties and value -- movement to C.



Diachrony: EMB

Early Modern Bulgarian texts: Loveski Damaskin, Troyanski Damaskin, Tikhonravov Damaskin (17th c.), Vlachobulgarian Charters (15 - 16th c.).

- Negation is mostly verb-adjacent.
- Forms a prosodic word with V:
 - **Neg_V**

Защò **не_ка́же** то̀кò за_е́врѣете, ни́тò за_гра̀дѡвете .

Ѡна̀прѣ̀д **не_лю̀бѣ́ше** нѐпра̀вда , а̀_на̀по̀конь бѣ́ише пра̀в
дрѡ̀гѣи **не_мо̀га** на̀мѣ̀ри .

- **Neg_Fut**

Сѣ́о̀е ѐвѣ́лиѣ вѐкѣ **не_щ̀е** да_с̀е сло̀уша в́_то̀зи вѣ́ме

А̀_то̀и **не_щѣ́ше** да_г̀и послѡ̀ша

- **Neg_Aux (non-clitic)**

та | **не_бѣ́их'т̀е** бы̀л̀е сег̀а о̀сѣ́дени въ_о̀г'нѣ нѐга̀симь.

и́_до̀гд̀е **не_бѣ́ше** и́здѣ́хна̀ль

Diachrony: EMB

- Forms a prosodic word with other (non-V) element to the left, esp. **да** - always non-stressed, thus the other element (Neg) takes the accent (much rarer examples of a, та...)

А̀ми да_нѐ дꙋмаме мнѡго дꙋмы пророчѣскы ,
а̀_нѐ знае че_щѐ скоро да_лиѡа ѡ_нѐ

- However, at this stage already there are variations (да_Neg_V, where Neg can be stressed or non-stressed):

ѡ веѡе да_не_сꙋгрѡшаваме .

ѡ_пазѡте_се нѡкои ѡ_вас да_нѐ ѡиде да_сѐ ꙗчи на_злѡи ра̀боты

А̀_не_знаꙋꙋ грѡшнии сыромаси че_ѐ сѐ ѐдна

EMV: + Pronominal Clitics

- Pronominal clitic may follow Neg_V, esp. after a pause (or a ‘rhythmic-syntactic barrier’):

Neg_V_PronCL:

млад_сѣмъ оше // не_□зѣмаи_ме .

що_сѣ тол’кози благо събралъ // не_помогна_ми нищо .

- PronCL may form a prosodic word with an element to the left (XP, да, но, тъ..) and before Neg_V:

да: каѣо трѣста ѿ_вѣтрѣ да_гѣи не_иссѣши е_ще ѿг’нь скоро да_гѣи (...)

Pronoun: а”_тои_се не_гѣтви ни днѣ ни ношѣсь •

Pronoun: А”ла никои_го не_видѣше

дето: кои ѣ тоизи царѣ дѣто_се не_бой ѿ мене

Adverb: а_тамм_го не_[оставѣ]ть,

Conj: а”то_им_се не_стоаше да_зѣмать (Lov.); ако ли те не попита□ (Troian.)

Early Modern Bulgarian: НѢ

- Constituent negation (non-clitic negation operator):

катó м□ се паднѣ ждребиѣ да ѣде тáмо. а́ нѣ да се надѣе на га. (*Troian.*)
и царь реч` нѣ до поль црството мѣ да дай; тои_ѣ нáмь тѣма , а`_нѣ свѣтъ .

- **With present-tense Aux and Cop** (from the earlier OCS model):

е́ва нѣ_смь гъ , та да_има то́ва
защò още дóмь нѣ_сѣмь доп́равиль
щотò нѣ_сѣ нѣкакъ пѣт_вале; ѣ_нѣкоѣ да_нѣ_ѣ мѣналь прѣз_нѣговь дóмь

Early Modern Bulgarian: НѢ

- **Neg_Pron_Aux** where the pronoun may take the accent

ѣ_нѢ_гѣ_са пра□□н□вале

а”_не_гѣ_е члѣкъ похвѣналь .

[â_pákъ] др□гъ др□гым□ нѣщо не_м□_е дѣль,

а господство ви **не м□ сте** □чинили правд□. (*Vlach.*)

тако п□тове **не их съм** затворил да □чиним размирице (*Vlach.*)

ни един ѡт них **не се би** сврътѣл межд□ вас. (*Vlach.*)

BUT

а вы м□ **не стѣ** дали, анж сте искалы март□рѣж. (*Vlach.*)

Early Modern Bulgarian: НѢ

Vlacho-Bulgarian Charters

PresAux:	не: 40	нѣ: 4	нѣсмъ: 19
present-tense copula:	не: 7	нѣ: 2	нѣсмъ: 46

Loveshki Damaskin

PresAux:	не: 2	нѣ: 49 (нѣсмъ: 2)
present-tense copula:	не: 0	нѣ: 17 (нѣсмъ: 1)

Troyanski Damaskin

PresAux:	не: 8	нѣ: 14
present-tense copula:	не: 3	нѣ: 25 (нѣсмъ: 1)

EMV: + Pronominal Clitics

Other elements may be found between:

Ɱ планинѣнта , дѣто_го члѣкъ не_пофáщаше . та_е тоиѣзи кáмикъ х́с
Ɱтáмо_се веѣкѣ не_мóга врьна .
дáй нáмь тестíрь да_имь веѣкѣ не_сл□г□ва̀ме

и он'зи мом'къ. вѣди **Кáк'** го веѣкѣ не срѣди, нѣ м□ зáповѣи дáва. (*Troian.*)
амí се тѣ не бóй, и дрѣж' се да прѣтрьпíшь (*Troian.*)
ако лѣ се и Ɱ тоvá не оусѣщате. (*Troian.*)

Present-day Bulgarian

- Variation in ordering of pronominal clitics with PresAux: [Aux.1,2SG,PL, 3PL PronCL] while in 3SG it is [PronCL Aux.3SG], and this variation is extended to constructions with negation:

(...) Хирата ги е разпитвал, но те не=сА=му=го казали...
Значи той не=Им=я=е=дал и се е наложило да разбиват (...)

- Two orderings are possible with some (non-clitic) auxiliaries:

Не бЕше му го дал Том, за да се пазари.

Не мУ го беше казвала, но го тласкаше от повишение към повишение.

Negation

Directionality in prosody is subject to opposing analyses due to differing judgments on hosting and directionality of attachment (see also Franks 2017), as in:

Валко не знае историята и бих искал още да=не=мУ=я кАзвате.

OR

Валко не знае историята и бих искал още да=не=мУ=я=кАзвате.

Значи той не=Им=я=e=дАл и се е наложило да разбиват (...)

OR

Значи той не=Им я=e=дАл и се е наложило да разбиват (...)

Хората ги е разпитвал, но те не=сА=му=го кАзали...

OR

Хората ги е разпитвал, но те не=сА=му=го=кАзали...

Colloquial language

- Examples of clitics before [Neg V]

- Colloquial language, archaic and (pseudo)-archaic incl. from fiction

Хайде, рекох, да му не троша хатъра. (BNK, N. Rusev)

Ще го пусна, защо да го не пусна? (BNK, P. Bobev)

Е, добре, ще ти дам едно момиче; то знае пътя, само че гледай да ми го не отмъкнеш, зер едно ми отмъкнаха тъй едни търговци. (BNK, N. Gogol, prev. D. Podvarzachov)

- Diff. (idiomatic expressions)

Бре да му се не види.

Хич го не бива в тая работа.

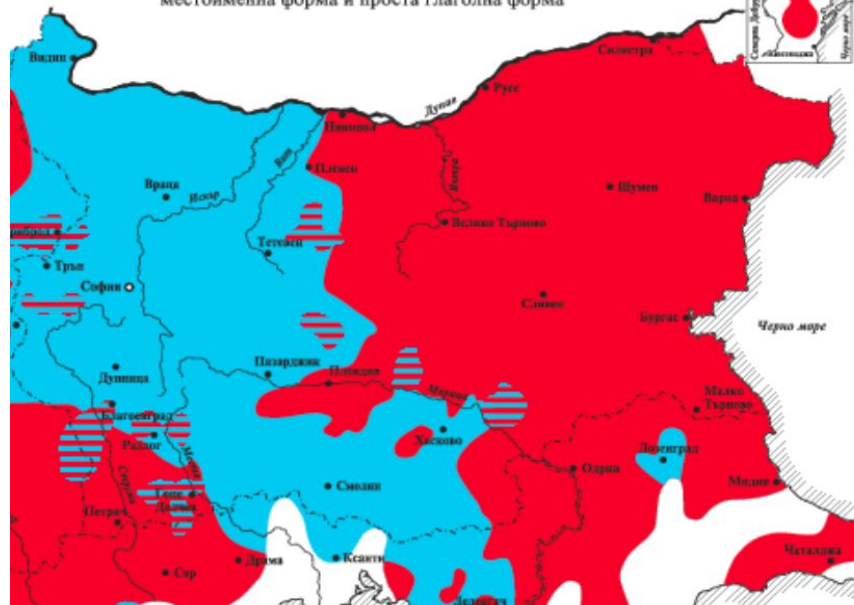
а мене да ми не дава Господ да се хваля (...)

Dialects

1e

Карта № М 143

Мястото на отрицателната частица не при кратката местоименна форма и проста глаголна форма



Карта № М 144

Мястото на кратките форми на личните местоимения, употребени край минало неопределено време, в конструкции от типа аз съм го видял, аз съм ѝ дал



БЪЛГАРСКИ ДИАЛЕКТЕН АТЛАС. Обобщаващ том. IV. Морфолог

In brief

- Pronominal clitics are prosodically deficient elements; have no accent on their own BUT:
 - May take the accent in constructions with other prosodically deficient elements, and
 - May form a phonological word with the lefthand element (which can be separated from the following constituent).
- In need of a host. However, Neg cannot be their host, independently:
 - If there is Neg and a pronominal clitic, there is another (verbal) element that is a host – auxiliary, verb, future particle.
 - If there is another element to the left of [Neg V], the clitic may encliticise to it.
 - Neg is a clitic but it is not an affix (suffix) and if there is a constituent to the left which may function as its host, it may attach to it.

Traces that:

- The Wackernagel Law is still active.
- There is still the so-called second-position.
- A transient stage as there are variety of orderings: [XP Neg] V where [XP Neg] is one phonological word separated from V, and [XP Neg V] where XP and Neg attaches to V on the left.

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