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THE ROLE OF CLITICS IN SERBIAN PRESENTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

ABSTRACT

Presentative constructions in Serbian allow two patterns [presentative particle NP$_{GEN}$] and [presentative particle CL$_i$ NP$_{iNOM}$]. This paper proposes derivations of these patterns. The premise is that the choice between the two patterns is determined by the the type of inert v°. Namely, the first pattern is derived if inert v° can assign partitive case, i.e. v° [$_{PART}$] while the latter pattern is derived if v° cannot assign partitive case. A special focus is put on the [CL$_i$+NP$_i$] pattern since it represents a case of the co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic and a co-indexed NP, which is not characteristic of Serbian. It is argued that the relationship between the NP and the co-indexed clitic is that of agreement. The X° and the NP establish a relationship in which X° assigns nominative case to the NP and the NP values X°'s [uφ:]. This agreement is taken to be the same kind of agreement that holds between an NP$_{NOM}$ and the X° which is in charge of agreement with participles in Serbian. The only twist in presentative constructions is the absence of a verb in the numeration. This means that the φ-features checked in X° cannot be pronounced as an integral part of a participle. Allowing certain morpho-phonological rules to pronounce boundless of features as various morphemes, it is proposed that the clitic is a spell-out of this bundle of features, resulting in the [CL$_i$+NP$_i$] pattern.

KEYWORDS

presentatives; clitics; agreement; nominative; partitive

1. Introduction

Presentative constructions (henceforth presentatives) can be informally defined as constructions which are used to introduce a new entity or proposition into the discourse. The meaning of these constructions is more or less consistent with the English presentative constructions 'T/Here's X'. The structure of presentatives and the grammatical function of presentative particles have been studied in a number of languages (MORIN 1985; JOSEPH 1994, 2013; BERGEN – PLAUCHE 2001; PORHIEL 2012;

Manfredi 2014; Kandel 2015; Zanuttini 2016). However, there is no consensus in the literature on the exact structure of presentatives. In the languages in which this phenomenon has been studied, presentatives consist only of a presentative particle (e.g. Serbian *evo/eto/eno*; Italian *ecco*; Russian *vot*; French *voice/voila*) and an NP/DP or a free relative clause (with English presentatives as an exception since they allow auxiliary *be*) (1-2).

(1) *Evo   ih   ključevi.*
     evo $CL_{GEN/ACC.PL}$ $keys_{NOM.PL}$
     'Here're the keys.'   Serbian
(2) *Ecco   le   chiavi.*
     ecco   the   keys.
     'Here're the keys.' (Zanuttini, 2016)   Italian

Serbian presentatives exhibit two patterns with respect to the distribution of clitics and full NPs, and their respective cases (nominative and genitive).[1]

(3) a.   *Evo* NP_{GEN}
     b.   *Evo* $CL_{GEN/ACC}$ NP_{NOM}

Not going into the detail of the structure of presentatives, I will focus on the elements of the structure that are important for the analysis of CL_i+NP_i pattern in Serbian. I analyze presentative particles *evo/eto/eno* as pragmatic markers positioned in the CP-domain, i.e. in the highest functional projection in presentative constructions (for similar proposals see Porhiel 2012; Kandel 2015; Zanuttini 2016). I argue that an inert $v°$ is at the core of presentatives on the bases of the possibility of adverbial modification, *ne*-cliticization, and partitive case.

Presentative constructions can be modified with adjuncts (4). This strongly suggests that some kind of verbal projection is present in the structure (see Hill 2008 using the same argument for Romanian). If the adverb *polako* 'slowly' is a vP adjunct, then (4) indicates that $v°$ is present since it allows the adjunction of the APs.

(4) *Evo   ga   Marko   polako/konačno.*
     evo_{PART} $CL_{GEN/ACC}$ $Marko_{NOM}$ slowly/finally
     'Here's Marko slowly.'

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1   Admittedly, there is another sub-type of constructions headed by *evo/eto/eno* (i). However, this pattern does not convey the same meaning as the examples in (1-2), as indicated by the English translation. In this paper I will concentrate solely on the presentatives that convey the meaning T/Here's X.

(i)   *Evo ti/Jovani   olovka.*
         Evo CL_{DAT}/$Jovana_{DAT}$ pen_{NOM}
         'Here you go!' (while giving someone a pen)

Secondly, the possibility of *ne*-cliticization in Italian speaks in favour of the inert vP hypothesis (5). *Ne*-cliticization in Italian is possible only out of subjects of unaccusatives, but not out of subjects of unergatives and transitives.

(5)   *Eccone   due.*
        ecco-ne   two
        'Here are two of them.' (Kandel 2015)

Finally, the partitive case in (6) (morphological genitive in Serbian) serves as an indication that this vP is indeed inert. Following Belletti (1988), I assume that an inert v° (unaccusative) can assign partitive case.

(6)   *Evo knjiga.*
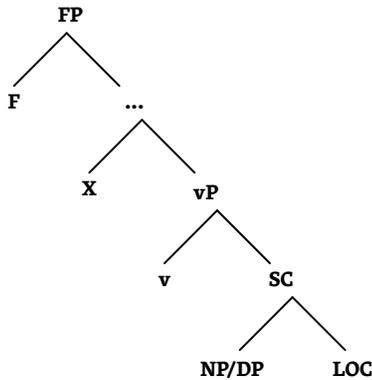   evo books$_{GEN}$²
        'Here're (some) books.'

Presentative constructions in Serbian can serve as answers to the 'Where's X?'-questions. This implies that there is a (covert) locative element (LOC) in the structure of presentatives. On the basis of data in (7) and (8), I propose that the complement of the v° is a small clause with an NP and a locative element as its arguments [$_{SC}$ NP LOC] (see Kandel 2015; Zanuttini 2016).

(7)   *Gde   su   moje   knjige?*
        where   are   my   books
        'Where are my books?'
(8)   *Eno   ih   tvoje   knjige   (u   sobi).*
        eno   CL$_{GEN/ACC}$ your   books   in   room
        'There're your books (in the room).'

While the exact distribution of functional heads above v° in presentatives is vague, a certain hierarchy is possible to be derived. Above a vP (taking a SC complement), at least two more functional heads need to be projected: one hosting the clitic (XP), and a higher one for the presentative particle (FP) (9).

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2   Partitive case is morphologically represented as genitive case in Serbian.

(9)

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                    FP
                   /  \
                  F    …
                      /  \
                     X    vP
                         /  \
                        v    SC
                            /  \
                       NP/DP    LOC
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2. The problem

Recall from section 1 that Serbian presentatives exhibit two patterns. The pattern in (3b), repeated here as (10), is problematic because of the co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic with a co-indexed NP. Serbian is not a clitic doubling language, so the pattern $CL_i + NP_i$ is not expected to be attested. The NP and the clitic share the φ-features, but differ in case (10).

(10) *Evo* ga_i $telefon_i$.
      evo $CL_{GEN/ACC.SG.M}$ phone$_{NOM.SG.M}$
      'Here's the phone.'

The distribution of clitics and NPs and their respective cases is quite restricted. As (12) shows, the clitic and NP cannot match in case.

(11) *Evo*   *telefona.*
       evo   phone$_{GEN.SG.M}$
      'Here's a/the phone.'

(12) **Evo*   *ga*   *telefona.*
       evo $CL_{GEN/ACC.SG.M}$ phone$_{GEN.SG.M}$
      'Here's a/the phone.'

Furthermore, the clitic cannot be substituted by a pronoun. Importantly, the relationship between the NP$_{NOM}$ and the clitic is asymmetric. Namely, the NP$_{NOM}$ can be omitted, while the clitic cannot be (14).

(13) *Evo   njega   telefon.*
      Evo   him$_{GEN/ACC.SG.M}$ phone$_{NOM.SG.M}$
      'Here's a/the phone.'

(14) *Evo   telefon.*
       evo   phone$_{NOM.SG.M}$
      'Here's a/the phone.'

Schematically, the distribution of the clitics and NPs and their cases can be stated as in (15).

(15) ✓NP$_{GEN}$
      ✓CL$_{GEN/ACC}$ + NP$_{NOM}$
      *NP$_{NOM}$
      *CL$_{GEN/ACC}$ + NP$_{GEN}$

3. The complementary distribution of [CL+NP$_{NOM}$] and NP$_{GEN}$

I assume that the basic structure of presentatives is as in (16). This is the part that presentatives, locatives and existential locatives have in common (ZANUTTINI 2016). Allowing the inert v° to assign partitive case, we can predict the pattern with NP$_{GEN}$, i.e. NP$_{PART}$ (17) and its derivation (18).

(16) $[_{vP} v [_{SC} NP LOC]]$
(17) *Evo   mačaka   na krovu.*
       evo   cats$_{PART}$ on roof
      'Here're cats, on the roof.'
(18) $[vP v_{[PART]} [_{SC} cats_{[ucase: PART]} on the roof]$

It is traditionally assumed that NPs in existentials in Serbian must bear morphological genitive case, i.e. abstract partitive case. In these instances, the existential verb *imati* 'have' surfaces in the default form (3.SG).

(19) *Ima   nekih mačaka   na krovu.*
      have$_{3SG}$ some   cats$_{PART}$ on roof
      'There are some cats on the roof.'

However, for certain speakers the version in (20) is equally acceptable. Here NP$_{NOM}$ triggers the proper agreement on the verb. Assuming that the underlying structure

of both (19) and (20) is (16), what is important to note is the alternation of NP_{GEN} and NP_{NOM} and the obligatoriness of proper agreement with NP_{NOM}.

(20) *Imaju   neke   mačke   na krovu.*
      have$_{3PL}$ some   cats$_{NOM}$ on roof
      'There are some cats on the roof.'

The parallel with the case-agreement patterns in Serbian locative existentials, and *there*-insertion in English can be drawn. Default agreement in Serbian will be taken to be an analogue of *there*-insertion in English. Abels (2003), discussing the data in (21) and (22), proposes a solution for *there*-insertion in English.

(21) *There exists evidence that a man was in the garden.*
(22) *Evidence that a man was in the garden exists.*

Namely, Abels (2003) proposes that in (21) the DP *evidence* can receive the case from $v_{[PART]}$ as well as that *there* is inserted either because of the EPP requirement or because finite T° has to assign nominative to something (23).

(23) $[_{TP}$ *There* $[_{T\,NOM}$ *present* $[_{vP}[_v$ *exists*$_{PART}$ $[_{DP}$ *evidence that a man was in the garden*$]]]]]$.

On the other hand, if v° is not able to assign partitive to the DP, the DP has to move to the Spec-TP for case-driven reasons (24). In this way the difference between (21) and (22) boils down to the difference in numeration. The numeration for (21) contains v°$_{[PART]}$ and the expletive, while the numeration for (22) does not.

(24) $[_{TP}$ $[_{DP}$ *Evidence that a man was in the garden*$]_i$ $[_{T\,NOM}$ *present* $[_{vP}[_v$ *exists* t$_i$$]]]]$

The case of the NPs in (19) and (20) can be accounted for in the same way. In (19), the partitive case is assigned locally by v°$_{[PART]}$. This results in the default agreement on the verb because the NP is no longer active and cannot share its φ-features with a higher X°. On the other hand, the v° in (20) is unable to assign partitive case, leaving the NP caseless. The NP will be assigned nominative case by a higher X°, which also has [uφ:] (i.e. just as in English T° assigns [NOM], but also has [uφ:]). The difference between (19) and (20) now boils down to the difference in the type of v° in the derivation. While (19), represented as (25), contains v°$_{[PART]}$, (20), represented as (26), does not.

(25) $[_{vP}$ v $_{[PART]}$ $[_{SC}$ *cats*$_{[ucase:PART]}$ *on the roof*$_{PP}$$]]$ (19)
(26) $[_{XP}$ x° $_{[NOM][uφ:\,pl.]}$ $[_{vP}$ v $[_{SC}$ *cats*$_{[ucase:\,NOM]}$ *on the roof*$_{PP}$$]]]$ (20)

In (27) and (28), the alternation between NP_{GEN} with NP_{NOM} is observed as well. If the same head that assigns nominative case, possesses the [uφ:], it is predicted that NP_{NOM} will always be accompanied by proper agreement. Given that the nominative case is allowed to occur in (28), it is expected to be accompanied by proper agreement. This is the crucial point in the analysis here. Namely, I will argue that the clitic actually spells-out this agreement in (28). The reason why it is spelled-out as a clitic and not as a suffix is due to the fact that there is no verb in the numeration for presentatives. The derivation for (27) is shown in (29b), while the derivation for (28) is shown in (29a).
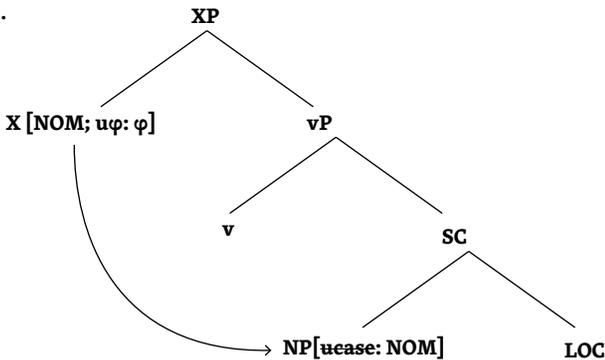
(27) *Evo mačaka na   krovu.*
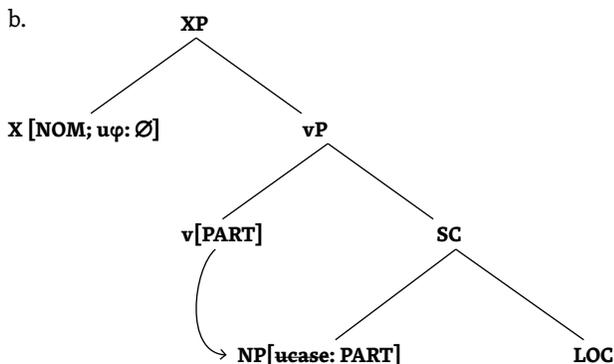   evo cats_PART on   roof
      'Here're cats, on the roof.'

(28) *Evo ih   mačke   na krovu.*
      evo CL_PL cats_NOM on roof
      'Here're the cats, on the roof.'

Opposed to ABELS (2003), who proposed that partitive is an inherent case, we would need to assume that partitive is or can be a structural case in Serbian since it is allowed to be assigned to the subject of a SC (see LASNIK 1996 for the proposal that partitive is also a structural case in English existential locative constructions). Leaving aside the question of whether partitive is a structural or inherent case, $v_{[PART]}$ hypothesis allows us to account for the patterns of alternation [NP_{GEN} + no agreement] with [NP_{NOM} + proper agreement] in two types of constructions in Serbian, which proves its validity.

(29)

a.

b.

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                        XP
                       /  \
                      /    \
        X [NOM; uφ: Ø]      vP
                          /    \
                         /      \
                   v[PART]       SC
                       |        /  \
                       |       /    \
                       └→ NP[ucase: PART]   LOC
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4. Clitics as a spell-out of agreement

If clitics spell-out agreement in Serbian presentatives, they are expected to behave as bundles of relevant features, without any lexical content attached to them, on a par with verbal morphology.

A piece of evidence for clitics behaving as a piece of morphology comes from short questions. In (30) and (31), there is a mismatch in case between the clitic, which bears genitive/accusative case, and the wh-operator, which bears nominative case.

(30) *Evo ga.*
     evo CL$_{GEN/ACC.SG.M/N}$
     'Here he is.'
(31) *Ko?*
     who$_{NOM}$ /*who$_{GEN/ACC}$
     'Who?'

This is a rather surprising pattern, if the clitic is assumed to be just a pro-form for the NP$_{GEN}$. However, the pattern is predicted if we assume that the structure of (30) is (32a). In (30), the NP$_{NOM}$ has been either elided or there is a *pro*, and the wh-operator actually agrees in case with the elided NP$_{NOM}$/*pro*. Clitic is then interpreted as a set of φ-features without any lexical content, just like verbal morphology.

(32) a. ✓*Evo* CL$_{GEN/ACC}$ ~~NP.NOM~~
     b. **Evo* CL$_{GEN/ACC}$ (where CL is a pro- form for NP$_{GEN}$)

NP$_{NOM}$ functions as a proper antecedent for sluicing (33), while NP$_{GEN}$ fails to do so (34).

(33) *Eno   ga   neko,   ali   ne znam   ko.*
     eno $CL_{GEN/ACC}$ someone$_{NOM}$ but   not know$_{1SG}$ who$_{NOM}$
     'There's someone, but I don't know who.'

(34) **Eno   nekoga,   ali   ne   znam   koga.*
     eno   someone$_{GEN}$ but   not   know$_{1SG}$ who$_{GEN}$
     'There's someone, but I don't know who.'

The reason for the impossibility of sluicing with genitive antecedent is a topic for future research; nonetheless, it confirms that there are syntactic differences between NP_{NOM} and NP_{GEN}. Additionally, there is a difference in the interpretation of NP_{GEN} and the pattern $CL_i + NP_i$. Native speakers report that the difference in meaning is with regard to the specificity of the NPs. NP_{GEN} arguments often receive kind/indefinite interpretation, while NP_{NOM} ones are associated with specific referents.[3] However, this is only a tendency, and it remains to show that the "definiteness/specificity" interpretation sometimes noted is actually a side-effect of some other property of the construction. Furthermore, replacives also show a similar pattern to sluicing. While NP_{NOM} can serve as a proper antecedent (35), NP_{GEN} fails to do so (36).

(35) *Eno   ga   moj drug,   a   ne   moj   kum.*
     eno $CL_{GEN/ACC}$ my friend$_{NOM}$ but not   my   bestman$_{NOM}$
     'There's my friend, not my best man.'

(36) **Eno   mog   druga,   a   ne   mog   kuma.*
     eno   my   friend$_{GEN}$ but not   my   bestman$_{GEN}$
     'There's my friend, not my best man.'

A widely studied phenomenon in Slavic languages is closest conjunct agreement (Bošković 2009; MARUŠIĆ 2015). Namely, the participle can agree either with the whole conjunct phrase (&P) (38) or with one conjunct only (37).

(37) *U radnji su   bile   izložene   šolje   i   književna   dela.*
     in store are been$_{PL.F}$ displayed$_{PL.F}$ cups$_{PL.F}$ and literary   works$_{PL.N}$
     'The cups and literary works were displayed in the store.'

(38) *U radnji su   bili   izloženi   šolje   i   književna   dela.*
     in store are been$_{PL.M}$ displayed$_{PL.M}$ cups$_{PL.F}$ and literary   works$_{PL.N}$
     'The cups and literary works were displayed in the store.'

The clitic in (39) agrees with the whole &P, while in (40) it agrees with the first conjunct only. Therefore, the clitic, just like participles, has two options for agreement. Since closest conjunct agreement is a phenomenon exclusive to verbal agreement

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3   Serbian does not have articles, so it is very difficult to prove whether the difference is with regard to definiteness or specificity, or some other notion.

in Serbian, examples (39-40) speak in favour of treating pronominal clitics in presentatives as a spell-out of agreement.

(39) *Evo   ih   učiteljica   i   učenik.*
     evo   CL$_{GEN/ACC.\textbf{PL}}$ teacher$_{NOM.\textbf{F}}$ and student$_{NOM.SG.\textbf{M}}$
     'Here are the teacher and student.'

(40) *Evo   je   učiteljica   i   učenik.*
     evo   CL$_{GEN/ACC.\textbf{SG.F}}$ teacher$_{NOM.\textbf{F}}$ and students$_{NOM.SG.\textbf{M}}$
     'Here are the teacher and student.'

Furthermore, if the clitic was a real pronominal element, (41) would violate Principle C. The clitic is higher than the R-expression, and it should not allow the reading where the clitic and the NP are co-indexed.

(41)   *Evo   ga$_i$ Jovan$_i$.*
       evo   CL$_{SG.M}$ Jovan
       'Here's Jovan.'

Alternatively, it is possible that the R-expression is higher than the clitic in syntax, and it is just linearized in the second position because of the standard requirement for clitics in Serbian to always occupy the second position. However, the facts from agreement with &Ps indicate that the NP is lower than the clitic. As shown, the clitic can agree with one conjunct only. With respect to verbal agreement, the verb can agree with the first conjunct when the &P is in the postverbal position, while it can agree with second conjunct when the &P is in the preverbal position (hence the term closest (to the verb) conjunct agreement). Thus, if we assume that the &P is higher than the X° where the clitic is generated, we would predict that the clitic would be able to agree with the second conjunct. This is not the case (cf. (42)), and the clitic can agree only with the first conjunct. Thus, the CL must be higher than the &P.

(42) **Evo   ga   učiteljica   i   učenik.*
     evo   CL$_{GEN/ACC.SG.M}$ teacher$_{NOM.SG.F}$ and student$_{NOM.SG.M}$
     'Here are the teacher and the student.'

Additionally, the clitic and NP can be separated by focus particles *i* 'too' (43a) and *čak i* 'even' (43b). This indicates that the clitic and NP do not form a constituent. If they were a constituent the insertion of these elements between the clitic and NP would be impossible.[4]

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4   Focus particles I (too) and *čak i* (even) seem to block left branch extraction (LBE) (ii-iii). The impossibility of LBE indicates that *i* and *čak i* can never be positioned inside an NP.

(43) a. *Evo   ga   **i**   Marko.*
      evo   CL   too   Marko
    'Here's Marko, too.'
    b. *Evo   ga   **čak i** Marko.*
      evo   CL   even   Marko
    'Here's even Marko.'

In sum, the clitic does not behave as a standard pronominal element. On the other hand, it has more in common with (verbal) morphology, as the data with closest conjunct agreement indicate. Clitics also do not form a constituent with the NP, which indicates that clitics are not part of the nominal domain of the structure.

5. Clitics as pieces of inflection

The agreement analysis of the $CL_i + NP_i$ pattern requires the explanation of why clitics may be allowed to perform the role of inflection (i.e. verbal suffixes), and why is this possible in the first place. In section 2, we have argued that nominative and agreement are virtually inseparable from one another. It is formalized in the way that X° which assigns nominative case, also has uninterpretable, unvalued φ-features [uφ:]. The prediction is that nominative case will always be accompanied by agreement. This agreement is usually incorporated into the verb, in the form of a suffix. With respect to the features that have to be valued, Serbian seems to exhibit two points of agreement. (44) is an existential locative construction in the present tense, while (45) is the same construction in the past tense. In (44) the verb does not inflect for [gender], but only for [number] and [person]. On the other hand, in (45) there seem to be two points of agreement. The participle *bile* inflects for [gender] and [number], while the auxiliary clitic *su* shows [person] and [number] features.

(44) *Imaju   neke   mačke   na krovu.*
    have$_{3PL}$ some   cats$_{NOM.F}$ on roof
    'There are some cats on the roof.'

(45) *Bile   su   neke   mačke   na krovu.*
    Been$_{PL.F}$ are$_{3PL}$ some   cats$_{NOM.F}$ on roof.
    'There were some cats on the roof.'

(ii)   *Došao je čak i lepi Marko.*
      come is even handsome Marko
      'Even handsome Marko came.'
(iii)   **Lepi   je došao   čak i   Marko.*
      handsome is come   even   Marko
      'Even handsome Marko came.'

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that there are two X° with different [uF:] responsible for agreement in Serbian. The head responsible for participle agreement has uninterpretable, unvalued [number] and [gender] features. The clitic agrees exactly in these two features with the co-indexed NP (46). Therefore the X° in charge of participle agreement, and one where the clitic is generated could be one and the same head.

(46)   Evo   je   mačka   na krovu.
       evo   CL$_{SG.F}$ cat$_{NOM.F}$ on roof.
       'Here's the cat, on the roof.'

The proposal to equate participle inflection and clitics in their functional status has been offered by Tsakali – Anagnostopoulou (2008). Comparing the data from clitic doubling constructions in Greek and object participle in Italian, they argue that clitics and participle inflection are just different morphological realizations of one and the same syntactic strategy, i.e. sharing and checking of φ-features. Overt agreement, they state, will surface if [number] and [gender] features are checked in syntax. In other words, if these features are checked in narrow syntax, they will get morphological representation at PF. This approach assumes that the agreement features are checked in a separate FP (e.g. AgrOP) from the one where the verb is merged, and that the two become a unit at PF. In this, they rely on Guasti – Rizzi's (2002) hypothesis in (47).

(47)   If a feature is checked in the overt syntax then it is expressed in the morphology.

To sum up, nominative case and agreement are inseparable because X° and NP establish an agreement relationship in which X° assigns nominative case to NP, while NP values the [uφ:] on X°. Furthermore, the [uφ:]-features that this head possesses are [gender] and [number]. It is proposed that the same X° which is in charge of participle agreement in Serbian is the place where the clitics are generated in presentative constructions. Having been checked, these features have to be morphologically expressed. They are usually expressed as inflection on the verb, but in the absence of a verb in the numeration, these features are expressed in the form of a clitic. The tests in section 4 indicate that the clitic indeed behaves as a piece of morphology and not as a pronominal element. This is possible only if certain morpho-phonological rules are allowed, in the spirit of Distributed Morphology (Halle – Marantz 1993), to spell-out bundles of features as various morphemes.

6. Alternative analysis of CL_i+NP_i pattern

There are three standard ways in the literature to deal with CL_i + NP_i constructions: clitic dislocations (right and left), clitic doubling, and agreement. In the previous sections, it has been proposed that this pattern in Serbian presentatives surfaces as the result of agreement relationship between the X^o and NP. The alternatives to this analysis are that [CL_i + NP_i] pattern represents a clitic right dislocation (CLRD) or clitic doubling construction.

The absence of a phonological pause, which is one of the defining properties of dislocations (ANAGNOSTOPOLOU 2006), between the clitic and the NP indicates that CL_i+NP_i in presentatives is not a case of CLRD. The pause would indicate a clausal boundary, but no such boundary is present in (48). This indicates that (48) is a monoclausal construction.

(48) *Evo ga *(,) Jovan.*
  evo CL   John.
  'Here's John.'

The other possibility is that (48) is a case of clitic doubling. This solution faces certain theoretical and empirical issues. Clitic doubling can be descriptively defined as an instance of the occurrence of both the clitic and the referring DP in an argument position (49).

(49) *Tin   eho   agorasi   tin   turta.*
  $CL_{ACC.F}$ have-I   bought   the $cake_{ACC.F}$
  'I bought the cake.'   (TSAKALI – ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2008)

This phenomenon can be confused with object agreement due to their similarity in form, i.e. superficially, clitic doubling and agreement may look completely the same (FRANKS 2009). However, object agreement and clitic doubling are theoretically completely different phenomena. Agreement is a realization of [uF:] on a functional head, whereas clitic doubling is usually analysed as a movement of a D-element to a higher verbal projection (KRAMER 2014).

KRAMER (2014) in her case study on Amharic offers the following basic list of the differences between clitic doubling and agreement.

(50) a. *Clitic doubling*: clitic, optional, D that has moved to a verbal functional head
  b. *Agreement*: affix, obligatory, realization of valued φ-features on a functional head

A clitic thus optionally doubles the DP in clitic doubling constructions. The clitic originates in the DP-domain and consequently moves to a higher verbal projection.

However, it has been shown that clitic in Serbian presentatives is not optional, i.e. omitting the clitic leads to ungrammaticality (cf. (14)).

Secondly, the existence of a D-layer in Serbian, an article-less language, is problematic. Bošković (2008) argues that only languages that have a definite article have a D-layer, setting a parameter that separates NP from DP languages. His generalization states that only DP languages may allow clitic doubling. Thus, it does not predict clitic doubling to occur in a language without a definite article, such as Serbian. Bošković's generalization aligns well with that part of Kramer's classification that in clitic doubling, D-element moves to a higher verbal projection. If article-less languages indeed lack the D-layer, clitic doubling is dismissed as an option because there is no D element that would move in the first place.

Additionally, it has been assumed that only definite DPs can be doubled (Kechagias 2011, 14). However, Kallulli (2000) and consequently Kechagias (2011) show that even DPs with indefinite articles in Albanian and Greek can be doubled, while bare NPs (NPs without an article in front of it) cannot be. They conclude that the D-layer is crucial for clitic doubling, regardless of its definiteness.

Furthermore, clitic doubling is optional and depends on pragmatic factors, i.e. topic-focus notions. Namely, Kallulli (2000) shows that only topic-marked objects can be doubled. On the other hand, in Serbian presentatives, clitic is obligatory in all instances, and clearly does not depend on such information structural notions (cf. (14)). Finally, clitic doubling is a phenomenon that is either present in a language or not. It would be very surprising that it exists as a phenomenon only in one type of construction.

The reasons presented above provide additional support for an analysis of 'extra' clitics in terms of agreement features spell-out, rather than pronominal doubling elements. Serbian then remains unproblematic for the generalization that only DP languages allow clitic doubling.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, the derivations for the two patterns of Serbian presentative constructions are proposed. The basic premise is that the different patterns arise due to the type of inert $v°$ that enters the derivation. While for the pattern [presentative particle NP$_{GEN}$], $v°$ can assign partitive case [$v°_{[PART]}$] for the pattern [presentative particle CL NP] the derivation contains $v°$ that cannot assign partitive case. In the first case, partitive case is assigned locally to the NP, therefore the NP is no longer active and cannot establish agreement relationship with a higher $X°$. On the other hand, if $v°_{[PART]}$ is not present, the NP cannot be assigned the case locally and must enter into the agreement relationship with a higher $X°$. This $X°$ assigns nominative case to the NP, but also has uninterpretable [gender] and [number] features that are

valued by the NP. Being checked in the syntax, these features must get a morphological realization. Clitics in Serbian presentative constructions thus represent the morphological realization of these features, acting as a piece of morphology. This explains why $[CL_i + NP_i]$ pattern does not give rise to the redundancy effect – only the NP has lexical content, while the clitic represents the checked uninterpretable features on X°. In other words, pronominal clitics in Serbian presentative constructions act a piece of (verbal) morphology.

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