

Izvorni naučni rad

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BCMS¹ CLITIC DEPRIVATION²

With no physical reality, no scientific tests are possible.

Victor H. Yngve (Yngve, 1996: 46)

The present paper takes (yet) a(nother) look at one of the outstanding questions regarding the fate of enclitics within a BCMS clause, specifically, the one that explicitly asks: When both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are found in a clause, which one precedes the other? An answer is provided by relying on the data collected from seven different BCMS corpora in an attempt to demonstrate that native BCMS speakers do not receive a sufficient amount of information from their elders' verbal output in order for them to build the necessary linguistic competence so that they could conclusively order the pronominal enclitics in question.

Keywords: *Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian, enclitics, accusative, genitive, ordering.*

1. BCMS Enclitics

BCMS enclitics—a finite subset of clitics (in addition to proclitics), words with no accent of their own—have long presented themselves as an interesting topic of research for the simple fact that—arguably—according to, for example, Belić and Langston (To appear), there seem to be three parame-

¹ In the present paper, BCMS stands for Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian.

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ters³ that determine the fate of enclitics within a BCMS clause: “All enclitics that belong to the same clause must be grouped together, ordered according to strict principles, and the group must be properly placed within the clause.” This is so in what are languages that allow within themselves for departure from what is otherwise taken to be the neutral/typical constituent order of S(u-bject)V(erb)O(bject), with the constituents not in their neutral/typical position becoming more prominent as a result of their being displaced. In the starkest view, BCMS enclitics do not follow the neutral/typical constituent order and cannot be displaced, as implied by the list of the three parameters. Despite claims that this finite subset of clitics is regulated—and without any exceptions—by the three parameters, there still remain outstanding questions when it comes to the fate of enclitics within a BCMS clause. One such question is the focus of the present paper and is particularly concerned with only one of the three parameters: the one that indicates that all enclitics within a group of enclitics belonging to the same clause must be ordered according to strict principles.

In the section immediately following, Section 2, I will explain in detail the general parameter of the strict ordering of BCMS enclitics within an enclitic group, as well as focus on the specific aspect of this parameter relevant for the present paper. In Section 3, I will provide five already existing answers to the question that is the focus of the present paper, which will also in a way help to support my statement about there still being outstanding questions with respect to BCMS enclitics. In Section 4, I will begin to offer my own answer to the focus question; there, I will explain the essence of why I think that this particular question is not one where—all valiant attempts notwithstanding—there is a conclusive answer to be given. In Section 5, I will provide an outline of the research I conducted utilizing seven different corpora while searching for examples of actual BCMS clauses with relevant enclitics. Section 6 is then used to provide a representative sample of sentence examples and offer a discussion of said examples with the focus question in mind. Based on everything presented here, in Section 7, I will—finally—explicate my own answer to the question that is the focus of the present paper and offer my concluding remarks.

³ For example, while using slightly different terminology, Browne (1974:1) claims that, when it comes to what is here referred to as BCMS enclitics, “[t]here is not just one rule governing their use in sentences, but several rules which form a system. Violating any one of the rules can give an incorrect ... sentence.”

2. Ordering of BCMS Enclitics

The parameter for ordering BCMS enclitics within an enclitic group indicates that the ordering must follow strict principles. In fact, the ordering is most commonly described in terms of six positions arranged in a strict linear manner, as in (1) below adapted from Belić and Langston (To appear), where all of the actual enclitics are found in the third row in italics:

(1) BCMS Enclitic Group

1	2	3	4	5	6
interrogative marker	auxiliary verbs (except <i>je</i>)	dative pronouns	accusative or genitive pronouns	reflexive pronoun/particle	auxiliary verb <i>je</i>
<i>li</i>	<i>sam</i> <i>si</i> <i>smo</i> <i>ste</i> <i>su</i> <i>bih</i> <i>bi</i> <i>bismo</i> <i>biste</i> <i>ću</i> <i>ćeš</i> <i>će</i> <i>ćemo</i> <i>ćete</i>	<i>mi</i> <i>ti</i> <i>mu</i> <i>joj</i> <i>nam</i> <i>vam</i> <i>im</i> <i>si</i>	<i>me</i> <i>te</i> <i>ga</i> <i>je</i> <i>ju</i> <i>nas</i> <i>vas</i> <i>ih</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>je</i>

Position 4 accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are exactly the same, save for the accusative-only enclitic *ju*.

If a BCMS clause contains any enclitics at all, it may contain as few as one enclitic, as in (2) below,

- (2) *On se nagledao.*
 he ITR⁴ watch to satisfaction.LPT.SG.M

⁴ In the present paper, the following glossing abbreviations are used: 3PL – third person plural; 3SG – third person singular; ACC – accusative; AOR – aorist; DAT – dative; F – feminine; GEN – genitive; INS – instrumental; IPFV – imperfective; ITR – intransitive; LPT – L-participle; M – masculine; PFV – perfective; PL – plural; PRS – present; Q – question particle/marker; SG – singular.

‘He watched (it) to the point of satisfaction.’
and as many as five different enclitics, as in (3) below,

(3) *Da li bi joj ga se nagledao?*
that Q be.AOR.3SG she.DAT he.ACC ITR watch to
satisfaction.LPT.SG.M

‘Would you have enough of watching it (for her sake)?’

the reason for the latter being the fact that both positions 2 and 6 are those where an auxiliary verb is to be placed.

The sentence example from (3) above, while indeed demonstrating in practice what the table of the BCMS enclitic group from (1) above claims in theory, invites a general inquiry into how likely it is for such a sentence ever to be uttered. This general question is closely related to the very specific one which is the focus of the present paper, notably, what happens in clauses that require both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics. That is to say, the question being asked is whether what is commonly regarded as position 4 in a BCMS enclitic group—the only position stated in terms of a disjunction—would be better accounted for if it were divided into two separate positions. In the most explicit terms: When both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are found in a clause, which one precedes the other?

3. Selected Answers to the Question

The question of what happens when both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are present in a BCMS clause, while arguably somewhat on the margins of all BCMS enclitic-related questions, has already been both asked and answered. The apparent marginality of this particular question is, of course, a relative one and is only observable within the realm of the three main parameters that determine the fate of enclitics within a BCMS clause. Additionally, just how relatively marginal the question that is the focus of the present paper is can be seen in the first three already existing answers to the question, all of which were found in either the endnotes or the footnotes of their respective publications.

Browne (1974:27) offers his answer to the question only in his endnote 4, where he himself poses the question of “What happens when there is an accusative and a genitive enclitic together?” and proposes what he refers to as two different experiments: looking at clauses containing either—this is the first experiment—“a verb that takes one object in the accusative and the other in the genitive” or—this is the second experiment—“a quantity word taking

the genitive plus a verb taking the accusative,” of which only the former will be pursued in the present paper.⁵

Browne’s (1974:27) own answer to the question asked, and with respect to what the former of the two experiments proposed is, is given in its entirety here:

Lišiti “deprive someone (acc.) of something (gen.)” according to one speaker gives *Lišili su ih* (gen.) *ga* (acc.). “They deprived him (e.g. the peasant) of them (e.g. his rights).” But a different accusative pronoun gives the order *Lišili su me* (acc.) *ih* (gen.). “They deprived me of them.” Another speaker understands *Lišili su ih ga* as “They deprived them of him.” Other speakers consider such sentences “very unusual”, and all find it hard to make consistent judgements and therefore try to avoid such cases.

Crucially, Browne (1974) recognizes the strategy of avoiding the production of BCMS clauses in which both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics would surface at the same time.

Franks (1999:6) provides “a larger ordering pattern” of BCMS enclitics, according to which accusative pronominal enclitics precede genitive ones, and consequently awards each one of the two pronominal enclitics a separate position, thus ending up with a template with seven rather than six positions. Later on, when addressing the phenomena of clitic climbing and cluster splitting, Franks (1999:68) suggests that the question which is the focus of the present paper is an example of “more subtle clitic orderings” and states again that “accusative precedes genitive,” for which he provides two example sentences. However, in his footnote 66, Franks (1999) explains that “[n]ot all speakers share these judgments. The (unrealized) potential for ambiguity here (in Franks’ examples, B. B.) depends on the fact that both *me* and *ih* can be taken morphologically as either genitive or accusative.” These words appear to echo what Browne (1974), as demonstrated above, referred to as different speakers’ understanding one and the same example sentence differently, with yet some finding the example unusual or else failing to make consistent judgments regarding it.

Franks and King (2000:29) appear to closely follow Franks (1999) in that they provide what they refer to as “the template” for “the relative ordering” of BCMS enclitics, according to which—as is the point of the focus question in the present paper—accusative pronominal enclitics come before genitive pronominal enclitics, each with its own position, resulting again in

⁵ When addressing the latter of the two experiments proposed, Browne (1974:27) ultimately concludes that “[m]ost commonly ... the full form of the genitive” would be used, thus not providing a conclusive enough example to answer the question asked in a satisfactory manner.

a seven-position template. The relevant sentence example, however, marked for its incomplete acceptability, is additionally commented upon in footnote 11 as follows: “This sentence is unacceptable for some speakers that do not appear to have a separate template slot for accusative and genitive clitics (W. Browne, p.c.).” What is significant now is that Franks and King (2000) seem to be implying that there are at least two different groups of speakers: those possessing templates with seven positions for the ordering of enclitics and those possessing templates with just six positions.

Much like Franks (1999) and Franks and King (2000), Milićević (2009:239) also proposes a template with seven positions. The two relevant positions, positions 4 and 5, where accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are supposed to be placed, are stated in ambiguous terms, in that position 4 is meant for accusative/genitive enclitics and position 5 for genitive/accusative enclitics. Milićević (2009:241) explains that “[t]he genitive and the accusative clitics ... have highly restricted and problematic co-occurrence... even the acceptable combinations are avoided, being rather difficult to process.” Much like the previous three accounts, Milićević (2009:241) indicates that “speakers tend to disagree about the mutual order of these clitics,” ultimately providing her own take on the proposed seven-position template in what seem to be fairly uncertain terms: “I believe that this is so because ... they (accusative and genitive enclitics, B. B.) can actually be used either in the ‘acc+gen’ or in the order ‘gen+acc’.⁶ ... [T]he order of these clitics is free...; however, the order ‘acc+gen’ is somewhat easier to understand and may be considered as the default case.” In footnote 9, Milićević (2009) notes the aforementioned ambiguity in interpreting relevant BCMS sentences and explains it by “[t]he free order of acc[usative]/gen[itive] clitic and the homophony of their masc[uline]/neut[er] forms.”

The question that the present paper focuses on is also addressed by Piper and Klajn (2013:452). In their work, intended to provide the linguistic norm of the times, they simply claim that “the accusative enclitic comes before the genitive enclitic” and, in support of that claim, they offer the following example:

- (4) *Lišili* *su* *ih* *je*
[e.g., *svoje pažnje*].
deprive.LPT.PL.M be.PRS.3PL they.ACC she.GEN[own attention.GEN.SG.F]
‘They deprived them of it.’

4. Hypothesizing Another Answer

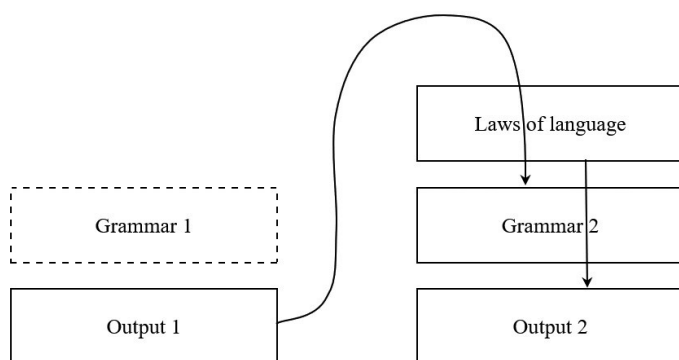
⁶ Milićević (2009:241), however, points out that there are two contexts in which there is no free variation of this kind, both of which are beyond the scope of the present paper.

In the end, as has been demonstrated above, all but the last among the selected answers to the question of the mutual ordering of accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics within a BCMS enclitic group point out the fact that the ultimate answer provided by native speakers—albeit here reduced to speakers’ judgments regarding the representative example sentences offered as either understanding the sentences themselves or else their claims about the sentences’ acceptability—is not an easy one to give. This is the case despite the fact that some of them (cf. Franks 1999, Franks and King 2000) start from the explicit statement that, indeed, each one of the two pronominal enclitics under consideration has its own position, such that the accusative enclitic comes before the genitive one. Milićević (2009) may seem merely to be giving precedence to the accusative over the genitive enclitic while at the same time emphasizing their problematic co-occurrence. Additionally, Franks and King (2000) in fact speak against their own seven-position template when they imply that in some speakers’ template there are not two separate positions for the two enclitics in question. Finally, both Browne (1974) and Milićević (2009) invoke the notion of avoidance of what are presumably naturally occurring BCMS sentences containing enclitic groups with accusative and genitive enclitics. In Milićević’s (2009:241) own words: “[E]ven the acceptable combinations are avoided.” Just why what is otherwise taken to be an acceptable combination is—in the linguistic physical reality—avoided remains an unanswered question, one which I will attempt to address now.

The explicit question which the present paper focuses on—repeated here for convenience: When both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are found in a clause, which one precedes the other?—was originally suggested to be one of the outstanding questions when it comes to the fate of enclitics within a BCMS clause. All but one of the answers offered have undoubtedly confirmed the original suggestion. What they have also done, however, is to point out the fact that BCMS native speakers—the ultimate arbiters of all things language—think that certain sentences of their own native language are, in Browne’s (1974:27) words, “very unusual.” No matter what the connotation of this phrase may be, sentences considered to be unusual should not constitute even a part of BCMS native speakers’ linguistic repertoire. Indeed, a BCMS native speaker’s linguistic competence should allow for differentiating between so-called usual sentences and so-called unusual sentences, the latter being those which do not conform to said competence. It thus seems that BCMS native speakers’ linguistic competence itself is such that it does not provide a conclusive answer to the question on which the present paper focuses: there appears to be no satisfactory answer to the question of

whether the accusative enclitic or the genitive enclitic comes before the other, no matter what our expectations may be.

Andersen's (1973) model of abduction and deduction in the acquisition of language may offer some insights into the realm of why the question in focus apparently continues to be an outstanding one, if not an outright unanswerable one. Andersen's Figure 2 (1973:778), reproduced in (5) below,



(5) Andersen's model of abduction and deduction in the acquisition of language provides a graphic account of what are referred to as internally motivated change and change influenced from without. And while this model was originally conceived of in order to explain a very specific phonological change in a Czech dialect, it was ultimately offered as a model of phonological change which allows for innovations in the phonology of a homogenous speech community. This model is now utilized to support the proposal that there appears to be no conclusive answer to the focus question.

Andersen's (1973:776) model is founded upon the understanding that "[i]n acquiring his language, a learner observes the verbal activity of his elders, construes it as a 'result'—as the output of a grammar—and guesses at what that grammar might be." Crucially, according to Andersen (1973:777), "[a]s he builds up his grammar, the learner listens to the speech of his models; and he also speaks, testing his grammar by using it to produce utterances in conformity with the laws of language." If, then, the learner, in observing his elders—which should necessarily include everybody to whose verbal activity the learner may be exposed—does not receive a sufficient amount of information from what is the output of a grammar, the learner's own grammar will be built lacking precisely what was lacking in the constructed result in spite of what Andersen refers to as the "cyclical applicati-

on of induction and abduction.”

Thanks to the model advanced by Andersen (1973:767), which “recognizes, on the one hand, that the verbal output of any speaker is determined by the grammar he has internalized, and on the other, that any speaker’s internalized grammar is determined by the verbal output from which it has been inferred,” it is possible to hypothesize about a verbal output that ultimately does not allow the learner to build the necessary linguistic competence for the particular question of the relative ordering of BCMS accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics within an enclitic group. This hypothesis is now tested using actual data from seven different corpora.

5. Researching Output

In an attempt to research the output to which native BCMS speakers are exposed in building their own grammar, seven different corpora were consulted: bsWaC; HNK; hrWaC; KSSJ; meWaC; OCBT; and srWaC. From them, all sentences containing the verbs *lišavati/lišiti* ‘to deprive.IPFV/PFV’; *oslobađati/osloboditi* ‘to liberate, free, rescue, exonerate, relieve.IPFV/PFV’; and *udostojavati/udostojiti* ‘to honor.IPFV/PFV’ were extracted. These verbs were chosen because all of them may have both accusative and genitive constituents. Specifically, the verbs *lišavati/lišiti* ‘to deprive.IPFV/PFV’ are such that they, in fact, must have both of the two constituents; the remaining four verbs, while also being capable of having both of the two constituents, can additionally appear with other non-nominative constituents, including only one or no non-nominative constituents at all.

Roughly speaking, there were almost 217,000 different occurrences of the six verbs selected across all seven corpora. Naturally, not all of those occurrences were relevant for the present research and ultimately only those BCMS sentences with accusative and genitive enclitics were closely considered. The following section presents selected representative examples. The decision was made not to gloss the example sentences fully, that is, the whole interlinear is almost entirely missing. In the present paper, the interlinear was used solely to provide information on the two relevant cases: accusative and genitive; as necessary, it was also used for glossing relevant prepositions. Additionally, the encliticized constituents, as well as their glosses, were given in boldface type.

6. Findings from the Output

This section provides selected example sentences, all of which are grouped into five different categories, as discussed below.

6.1. Both Enclitics

The goal of researching the output was to find as many sentence examples containing accusative and genitive enclitics within the same clause. The most revelatory aspect of the research was the fact that only two such example sentences were found in all seven corpora combined and only one of them, shown below in (6),

(6) *Biće da je obrnuto: veliki događaji rešavaju male lične stvari tako što*
vas ih

ACC GEN

lišavaju.

‘It appears that it is the opposite: big events resolve small personal matters in such a way that they deprive you of them.’

reflected the expected syntax of the verb *lišavati* ‘to deprive.IPFV’ in that it contained both accusative and genitive constituents. Based solely on this one sentence example, the accusative enclitic precedes the genitive enclitic in the BCMS enclitic group.

The other sentence example, as seen in (7) below,

(7) *Koliko god ovaj stav naoko izgledao nemoćan u suštini je moćno oružje*
koje druga strana

uviđa i hoće

toga da

nas

ga liši.

GEN

ACC

GEN

‘As much as this position appeared weak, it is in essence a powerful weapon, which the other side recognizes and wants of that to deprive us of it. [*sic*]’

contains a clause with the verb *lišiti* ‘to deprive.PFV’ with—indeed—accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics, but with an additional genitive constituent. It remains unclear why this is so. It could simply be that (7) is the result of a typographical error. However—and this is more in line with the hypothesized answer to the question on which the present paper focuses—it could be that (7) was produced in earnest; according to the hypothesis outlined in section 4 above, BCMS native speakers’ linguistic competence is such that it is not easy for them to handle instances of accusative and

genitive enclitics co-occurring in one and the same clause, to the extent that even clauses with not two, but three non-nominative constituents—two of which appear to be the same constituent—will show up in the BCMS native speakers' linguistic repertoire. Nevertheless, sentence example (7) confirms what was seen in sentence example (6), notably that the accusative precedes the genitive.

6.2. Accusative Encliticization

The vast majority of sentence examples in the output researched were of the kind shown in this category: in clauses containing verbs with accusative and genitive constituents, both of which were potential candidates for encliticization, only one of them would be encliticized, and that one was always the accusative constituent, as seen in (8)-(13) below.

- (8) *Vruća voda lišava* **vas** *prirodnih ulja.*
 ACC GEN

‘Hot water deprives you of natural oils.’

- (9) *Starost* **ga** *je lišila i* *vida.*
 ACC GEN

‘Old age deprived him of sight, too.’

- (10) *Ovim prihvataste da* **nas** *oslobađate* *svake odgovornosti.*
 ACC GEN

‘With this, you accept [the fact] that you are absolving us of all (lit. every) responsibility.’

- (11) *Kompanija „Debt Management Project 1 Montenegro“, registrovana za promet nekretnina, u stopostotnom vlasništvu je OTP Faktoringa, mađarske firme koja se bavi naplatom potraživanja Crnogorske komercijalne banke (CKB) kako bi* **je**
 ACC

oslobodila loše kolaterale.

GEN

‘The registered real-estate company Debt Management Project 1 Montenegro is fully owned by the Hungarian company OTP Faktoring, which charges for the Montenegrin Commercial Bank’s (Crnogorska komercijalna banka; CKB, B. B.) demands in order to free it from bad collateral.’

- (12) *Udostojava* **ih** *iste slave i darova.*

In the sentences above, a conscious effort was made to show every single one of the six verbs and an array of accusative enclitics found in the output. The fact that the sentence examples, like those seen in (8)-(13) above, constituted the significant majority of relevant example sentences speaks in favor of the point which was hypothesized about earlier in the paper: the information that the learner receives from (or else, observes in) elders helps them to build a grammar which, given clauses with accusative and genitive constituents available for encliticization, will encliticize only one of them, the accusative one. Based on the output of the elders' grammar, the learner will not necessarily be able to build their own grammar equipped to deal with both accusative and genitive enclitics at the same time.

6.3. Impersonal Passive

There is in C and only to a certain extent in B a construction known as an impersonal passive. In it, a transitive third person singular (and neuter when gender is relevant) verb is accompanied by its direct object and *se*. The following three examples, in (14)-(16) below, are all examples of impersonal passive. Again, a conscious effort was made to show a diversity of verbs and enclitics.

‘According to religious law, one can deny them service (lit. deprive them of service).’

‘There was no thought of honoring me with even a single glance.’

'He was asking for them to free him of all obligations (lit. functions).'

What these sentences demonstrate again, much like in 6.2 above, is

that even in the impersonal passive, despite the fact that there are accusative and genitive constituents available for encliticization, only the accusative constituent is encliticized. The impersonal passive sentence examples here also demonstrate that BC(MS) native speakers' linguistic competence generally does allow them to produce clauses with two enclitics, yet the other one is not genitive, but rather *se*.

6.4. Genitive Encliticization

Encliticized genitive constituents were found in the output in only a very specific kind of sentence examples, as in (17)-(21) below. Despite all efforts, the full spectrum of the six verbs is not shown from an otherwise small sample of example sentences; there were none of this kind containing the verb *udostojavati* 'to honor.IPFV'.

- (17) *Elegija ipak živi. Stoga, zašto da **je** se lišavamo?*

GEN

'Nevertheless, elegy lives on. Thus, why deprive ourselves of it?'

- (18) *Neki berberin se začudio što čovek sa tako lepim telesnim preimućstvima pristaje da **ih** se liši.*

GEN

'A certain barber was surprised that a man, with such beautiful bodily advantages, would agree to deprive himself of them.'

- (19) *Nema stolicu svakog dana i teško **je** se oslobađa.*

GEN

'[He/She] does not have a bowel movement (lit. stool) every day and [he/she] relieves himself/herself of it with difficulty.'

- (20) *Želimo da se rešimo onoga što je nepoželjno i oslobodimo **ga** se da bi-smo se
oporavili.*

GEN

'We want to get rid of that which is undesirable and free ourselves from it in order to recover.'

- (21) *Ni ja nisam dorastao do toga stepena, niti sam **ga** se udostojio na-*

‘I also have not lived up to that level nor have I honored myself with it by my way of life.’

All of the sentences in this category are such that their relevant clause is reflexive, containing—as is customary in BCMS—*se*. In these instances, there is no accusative constituent available for encliticization, which fact—in turn—allows for genitive constituents to be encliticized. Crucially, however, even with these sentence examples, the learner still does not receive enough information to be able to build a grammar equipped to handle both accusative and genitive enclitics.

In addition to what has already been indicated in Section 5 above regarding the verbs *oslobađati/osloboditi* ‘to liberate, free, rescue, exonerate, relieve.IPFV/PFV’ and *udostojavati/udostojiti* ‘to honor.IPFV/PFV’—namely that the four of them, first, may have both accusative and genitive constituents and, second, may also have other non-nominative constituents including only one or no non-nominative constituents at all—when it comes to their non-nominative constituents, there is more to be said with respect to all six verbs. A notable number of sentence examples containing the by now already expected encliticized accusative constituent also contained the other constituent in what was not the otherwise expected (genitive) case form (alone).

The non-accusative argument of the verb *lišiti* ‘to deprive.PFV’ in (22) below is a prepositional phrase with genitive.

- (22) *Strijelac vjeruje da ljubav može da **ga** liši od ovog oklopa.*
ACC of, from GEN
‘Sagittarius believes that love can deprive it of this armor.’

Similarly, the non-accusative argument of the verb *oslobađati* ‘to liberate, free, rescue, exonerate, relieve.IPFV’ in (23) below is again a prepositional phrase with genitive.

- (23) *Ovakva masaža* *vas oslobađa* *od* *stresa i napetosti.*
ACC of, from GEN

'A massage of this kind relieves you of stress and tension.'

That should be contrasted with the expected prepositionless genitive consti-

- Also, the verb *udostojiti* ‘to honor.PFV’ was found in the sentence example where, in place of the non-accusative constituent, either an instrumental one stood, as in (25) below,

- or a whole clausal constituent, as in (26).

- The sentence example in (27) below is offered here for the sake of comparison with what is an expected prepositionless genitive constituent with arguably the same connotation as the instrumental and clausal constituents in (25) and (26), respectively.

- Finally, what seems to be a true instance of a syntactic minimal pair of sorts is provided in (28).

- ‘The seventh step does not suggest that we free ourselves from our deficiencies on our own, but to ask our Higher Power to free us from them.’
(cf. *Sedmi korak ne sugerije da se sami oslobađamo svojih nedostataka, nego*

da zamolimo svoju Višu silu da nas od njih oslobodi.
 ACC of, from GEN)

Indeed, both sentence examples were excerpted from the output researched and from two different texts centered around the exact same topic, once—as in the top sentence—with the prepositionless genitive constituent and yet another time—as in the bottom sentence—with the prepositional genitive constituent.

All of the so-called peculiar example sentences of the six BCMS verbs under consideration are taken to further support the hypothesis that ultimately the learner has not been able to build the necessary linguistic competence to deal with the particular question of the relative ordering of BCMS accusative and genitive enclitics within an enclitic group. Based solely on this kind of sentence examples, what the learner should be able to observe in the verbal activity of elders is that, first, again accusative constituents available for encliticization could, indeed, be encliticized and, second, arguably the same information can be conveyed with various different constituents other than prepositionless genitive ones in their stead.

6. Conclusion

What has been shown in the present paper thus far, in particular in the immediately preceding section, provides if not the answer, then at least an answer—to be sure, the one to examine further and in various different respects—to the outstanding question of when both accusative and genitive pronominal enclitics are found in a BCMS enclitic group, which one precedes the other. The hypothesis—that the BCMS native speakers' linguistic competence itself does not provide a conclusive answer to the question—appears to have been confirmed.

The evidence obtained from seven different corpora has shown that, in instances when both accusative and genitive encliticizations were possible, the former alone is overwhelmingly prevalent. In fact, genitive encliticization was seen in only one particular kind of sentence examples—those with reflexive clauses—but not the other—in impersonal passive constructions. Additionally, genitive encliticization appeared to have been prevented by the very fact that genitive constituents in the sentence examples were sometimes substituted by constituents which did not allow encliticization to take place at all. The two lone examples offered as evidence with both accusative and genitive enclitics—indeed showing accusative placed before genitive—were exactly that: two single examples juxtaposed against numerous others.

For the time being at least, with the linguistic physical reality the way it

has been presented here, what is commonly regarded as position 4 in the ordering of BCMS enclitics within an enclitic group should continue to be stated in terms of a disjunction, reflecting the stated reality in which the learner infers the grammar that produced the linguistic physical reality itself.

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Corpora

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- HNK. Croatian National Corpus. Web. <http://filip.ffzg.hr/cgi-bin/run.cgi/first_form>
- hrWaC. Natural Language Processing group Croatian web corpus. Web. <https://www.clarin.si/noske/all.cgi/first_form?corpname=hrwac;align=>>
- KSSJ. Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language. Web. <<http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs/korpus/korpus2013adv.php>>

- meWaC. Natural Language Processing group Montenegrin web corpus. Web. <https://www.clarin.si/noske/all.cgi/first_form?corpname=mewac;align=>>
- OCBT. The Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts. Web. <<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>>
- srWaC. Natural Language Processing group Serbian web corpus. Web. <https://www.clarin.si/noske/all.cgi/first_form?corpname=srwac;align=>>

Bojan BELIĆ

BCMS CLITIC DEPRIVATION

U radu se razmatra jedno od pitanja na koje još uvek nije konačno odgovoreno, u vezi sa sudbinom enklitika u bosanskim, crnogorskim, hrvatskim, srpskim klauzama. Konkretno, eksplicitno pitanje na koje se traži odgovor je: Kada se u klauzi nađu i zamenička enklitika u akuzativu i zamenička enklitika u genitivu, koja je prva, a koja druga? Ponuđeni odgovor se oslanja na podatke sakupljene iz sedam različitih bosanskih, crnogorskih, hrvatskih i srpskih korpusa. Na osnovu sakupljenih podataka vidi se da izvorni govornici bosanskog, crnogorskog, hrvatskog, srpskog ne dobijaju dovoljnu količinu informacija iz onoga što treba da im omogući da razviju neophodnu jezičku sposobnost zahvaljujući kojoj bi onda bez ikakvih problema mogli da rasporede dve razmatrane zameničke enklitike.

Ključne reči: *bosanski, crnogorski, hrvatski, srpski, enklitike, akuzativ, genitiv, raspored*