

Some notes on the Slovenian second position conjunction *pa*

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On top of the regular conjunction *in* 'and', which appears medially between the two coordinands, (1a), Slovenian has also a conjunction *pa* 'and' that sometimes appears following the first syntactic constituent of the second clausal coordinand, (1b).

- (1) a. *Janez je prišel domov in Metka je odšla v trgovino.*
Janez aux came home and Metka aux went in store
'Janez came home and Metka went to the store.'
- b. *Janez je prišel domov, Metka pa je odšla v trgovino.*
Janez aux came home Metka PA aux went in store
'Janez came home and/while Metka went to the store.'

Mitrović (2011) claims *pa* is the head of a &P that attracts a head from the second coordinand to adjoin to it. This predicts *pa* would behave parallel to the Latin conjunction *-que* 'and'. This cannot be right since *pa* has to follow not only the first head like *-que*, (2a), but rather the first syntactic constituent, (2b-c).

- (2) a. *boni pueri bonaque puellae* Latin
good-nom.pl boy-nom.pl good-nom.pl-and girl-nom.pl
'Good boys and good girls'
- b. **Pridna punca poreden pa fant* Slovenian
Good girl naughty PA boy
- c. *Vid se je usedel, otroci z baloni v rokah pa so skočili.* Slovenian
Vid refl aux sat children with balloons in hands PA aux jumped
'Vid sat down, while children with balloons in their hands jumped.'

In addition to being a 2P conjunct, *pa* can also act as a regular medial conjunction, as in (3).

- (3) a. *Peter je kupil eno štruco kruha pa en liter mleka*
Peter aux bought one loaf bread PA one liter milk
'Peter bought one loaf of bread and one liter of milk.'
- b. *Peter je pojedel celo štruco kruha pa popil skor cel liter mleka.*
Peter aux ate whole loaf bread PA drank almost whole liter milk
'Peter ate a whole loaf of bread and drank almost a whole liter of milk.'

When *pa* conjoins two noun phrases, it can only appear medially, as in (3a), any attempt at making it similar to the Latin *-que*, given in (2a), fails, as shown in (2b). But there is a clear interpretive difference between clausal conjunctions where *pa* appears medially and those where it appears following the first conjunct, as shown in (5). While the interpretation of the medial *pa* seems comparable to a regular conjunction like the English *and*, the interpretation of the second position *pa* is closer to the English *while/whereas*.

- (5) a. *Janez je šel v trgovino in Micka je šla domov.*
Janez aux went in store and Micka aux went home
'Janez went to the store and Micka went home.'
- b. *Janez je šel v trgovino pa Micka je šla domov.*
'Janez went to the store and Micka went home.'
- c. *Janez je šel v trgovino, Micka pa je šla domov.*
'Janez went to the store, whereas Micka went home.'/... as for Micka, she ...'

In many cases, 2P-*pa* can be paraphrased with *medtem ko* "while", but there are some clear syntactic differences between the two. Whereas 2P-*pa* allows Across-the-board movement from both coordinands, (6b), *medtem ko*, introducing an adjunct clause, doesn't allow it, (6c).

- (6) a. *Koga Peter gleda in/pa Micka tepe?*
 who Peter watch and Micka beat
 ‘Who does Peter watch and Micka beat?’
 b. *Koga Peter gleda, Micka pa tepe?*
 who Peter watch Micka PA beat
 c. **Koga Peter gleda, medtem ko Micka tepe?*
 who Peter watch while Micka beat

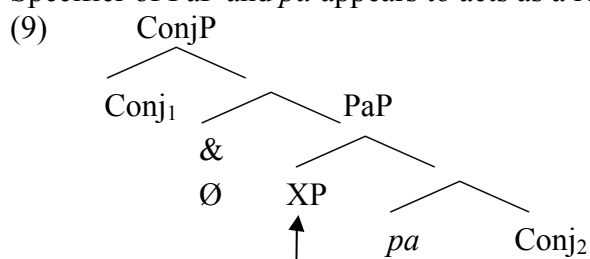
Further, like adjuncts, *medtem ko* clauses do not allow extraction out of them, so in order to ask a question like (6a,b), we need a clitic inside the adjunct, as in (7a). Such a clitic is impossible in coordinations (Coordinate structure constraint) and also with 2P-*pa*, which shows the clause introduced with 2P-*pa* is not an adjunct but rather the second coordinand.

- (7) a. *Koga Peter gleda, medtem ko ga Micka tepe?*
 who Peter watch while him Micka beat
 ‘Who does Peter watch while Micka beats him?’
 b. **Koga Peter gleda, Micka pa ga tepe?*
 who Peter watch Micka PA him beat

There is a further use of 2P-*pa*, which seems important for the proper analysis. When not used as a conjunction, *pa* can be used to mark the topic of the clause, as in (8) (cf. Mišmaš 2011).

- (8) *Petra pa nisem videl že eno leto.*
 Peter PA NEG-AUX see already one year
 ‘As for Peter, I haven’t seen him already for a year.’

Assuming the *pa* in (8) is the same *pa* as the one discussed above, we propose that *pa* heads a functional projection, which we’ll call PaP for the time being, but could easily be called also TopP. PaP can then be selected by a null conjunction so that we get the structure in (9). If *pa* carries a [+Top] feature, it attracts a constituent form inside its complement to its specifier, as shown with the arrow. This movement puts *pa* in the second position inside the second coordinand. If *pa* does not have any feature that needs to be checked, nothing moves to the Specifier of PaP and *pa* appears to act as a regular medial conjunction.



When *pa* conjoins two DPs, DPs being phases, nothing can get extracted out of them to the Spec of PaP, which is why examples like (2b) are impossible (this also means that clausal conjunctions conjoint two TPs, not CPs). This is further supported by the fact that not even in examples where *pa* is a simple topic marker, DPs can get split, (10).

- (10) **Rdečega pa še nisem videl avtomobila.*
 red PA yet NEG-AUX seen car

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