

## Some notes on the Slovenian second position conjunction *pa*

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### Goal:

- to present some new facts about the Slovenian second position conjunction *pa*
- to relate various not-immediately-related uses of *pa*
- to present our analysis of *pa* -- as a (contrastive) topic marker

### 1. Different uses of Slovenian *pa*

- i. (i) *Pa* can act as a regular additive conjunction and appears in the medial position. It can conjoin any two phrases (NPs, PPs, AdjPs, VPs, CPs etc.)
  - (1) a. *Miha pa Tone sta šla v Ljubljano.* NP *pa* NP  
 Miha and Tone aux went to Ljubljana  
 'Miha and Tone went to Ljubljana.'
  - b. *Miha je hotel it na izlet pa v kino.* PP *pa* PP  
 Miha aux wanted go on trip and in theater  
 'Miha wanted to go to on a trip and to the movies.'
  - c. *Tone je bral knjigo pa srkal kofe.* VP/IP *pa* VP/IP  
 Tone read a book and sipped coffee  
 'Tone is reading a book and sipping coffee.'
  - d. *Slišim, da Tone bere knjigo pa da Ana gleda TV.* CP *pa* CP  
 hear that Tone reads book and Ana watches TV  
 'I hear that Tone is reading a book and that Ana is watching TV.'
- ii. When conjoining two clauses/IPs, *pa* is often placed in the second position of the second clause, following the first syntactic constituent, (2a)
  - only *pa* can act as a second-position conjunction – but not *in* and *ter*, the other additive conjunctions in Slovenian, (2b,c)
- (2) a. *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.'
- b. \**Janez je prišel domov Metka in/ter je odšla v trgovino.*
- c. *Janez je prišel domov in/ter Metka je odšla v trgovino.*  
 Janez aux came home and Metka aux went in store  
 'Janez came home and Metka went to the store.'

iii. Outside coordination structures, *pa* can be used as a topic marker, (3), or a focus marker, (4):

(3) *Petra pa danes še nisem srečal.*  
 Peter PA today yet not-aux met  
 'As for Peter, I haven't seen him yet today.'

(4) *Pravim, da Vida sem pa (jaz) SLIšal.*  
 say that Vid aux PA I heard  
 'I'm saying that I have hear Vid, as opposed to Črt./ as opposed to see.'

iv. *Pa* can cooccur with some conjunctions and complementizers (all of which can also be used on their own).

(5) *Tone in pa Maja rada pijeta sok.*  
 Tone and PA Maja like drink juice  
 'Tone and also Maja like to drink juice'

(6) *Da pa ne zamudimo, uporabimo vlak.*  
 that PA not late use train  
 'Let's use the train so that we are not late.'  
 / 'But so as not to be late, we take the train.'

(7) *Ko pa prideš nazaj, ugasni luč.*  
 When PA come back switch-off light  
 'But when you come back, switch off the light.'

v. There's some dialectal variation regarding the position of *pa*, which we will ignore at this point.

(8) a. To pa še svet ni videl. Central Slovenian  
 b. To še pa svet ni videl. Eastern Slovenian  
 this yet PA world not seen  
 'This is something the world hasn't yet seen.'

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## 2. The second position conjunction *pa* - previous analysis

- Mitrović (2011) claims that *pa* is the head of a &P which attracts a head from the second coordinand to adjoin to it.

(i) This predicts that *pa* would behave parallel to the Latin conjunction *-que* 'and'.

- (9) a. *boni pueri bonaeque puellae* Latin  
 good<sub>NOM.PL</sub> boy<sub>NOM.PL</sub> good<sub>NOM.PL</sub>-and girl<sub>NOM.PL</sub>  
 'Good boys and good girls' Harley and Noyer (1999)

(ii) This is not the case: *pa* has to follow the first syntactic constituent rather than just the first head, (10a-b). (10a) is completely ungrammatical.

- (10) a. \**Pridna punca poreden pa fant sta se tepla.*  
 good girl naughty PA boy aux refl fought  
 b. *Vid se je usedel, otroci z baloni v rokah pa so skočili.*  
 Vid refl aux sat children with balloons in hands PA aux jumped  
 'Vid sat down, while children with balloons in their hands jumped.'

• Franks and Holloway King (2000) [FHK] mention *pa* as one of the words in Slovenian that can appear in a string of clitics.

- (i) (ii) According to FHK, *pa* seems to come at the beginning or the end of a clitic string, though with unclear restrictions (it cannot, however, split a clitic string).

- (11) a. *V srcih pa smo bili stari.* (FHK: (43b))  
 in hearts PA aux were old  
 'But in our hearts we were young.'  
 b. *V srcih smo pa bili stari.* (FHK: (44b))  
 c. *... pa se ji ne mudi s kruhom.* (FHK: (43a))  
 PA refl her neg delay with bread  
 ..., and so she is in no hurry with bread.

- However, when one of the clitics is contrastively focused, *pa* can appear inside the cluster:

- (12) *Peter mu jo je pokazal, Janez mu pa GA je pokazal.*  
 Peter him<sub>DAT</sub> her<sub>ACC</sub> aux show Janez him<sub>DAT</sub> PA him<sub>ACC</sub> aux show  
 'Peter has shown her to him while Janez showed HIM to him.'

- Note that despite the focus, the clitic *ga* in (11) is still part of the clitic cluster since as shown by the fact that it is followed by the auxiliary clitic *je*.  
 - The position of *pa* with respect to the clitic cluster is sensitive to the function *pa* is performing. For now we will leave the focus meaning aside.

- (ii) According to FHK, the meaning of *pa*, when it is in the clitic cluster, can be both 'and' or 'but'.

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### 3. How is the conjunction/‘medial’ *pa* different from the 2P *pa*:

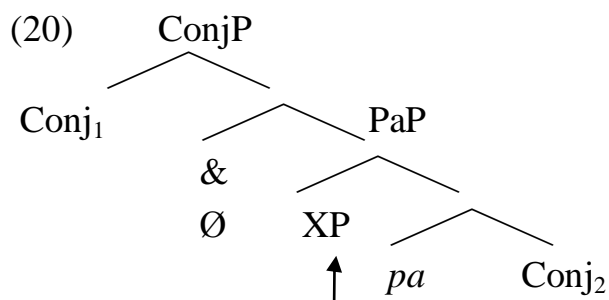
- (i) When *pa* conjoins two NPs, it can only appear medially, as in (1) above.
- (ii) There is a clear interpretive difference between clausal conjunctions in which *pa* appears medially, (13a), and those where it appears in the second position within the second conjunct, (13b).
- (13) a. *Janez je šel v trgovino pa Micka je šla domov.*  
 'Janez went to the store and Micka went home.'
- b. *Janez je šel v trgovino Micka pa je šla domov.*  
 'Janez went to the store, whereas Micka went home.'  
 /'... as for Micka, she went home.'
- (iii) 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'.
- (iv) Whereas 2P-*pa* can often be paraphrased with *medtem ko* 'while/'whereas', but there are also some clear syntactic differences between 2P-*pa* and *medtem ko*.
- Whereas 2P-*pa* allows Across-The-Board movement from both coordinands, (14b), *medtem ko*—introducing an adjunct clause—doesn't allow it, (14c).
- (14) a. *Koga Suzana gleda in/pa Liza tepe?*  
 whom Suzana watches and/and Liza beats  
 'Who does Suzana watch and Liza beat?'
- b. *Koga Suzana gleda, Liza pa tepe?*  
 whom Suzana watches Liza PA beats
- c. \**Koga Suzana gleda, medtem ko Liza tepe?*  
 whom Suzana watches while Liza beats
- Clauses with *medtem ko* do not allow extraction – to ask (14a)-(14b) with *medtem ko*, a clitic is needed inside the adjunct, (15a)
  - Such a clitic is impossible in coordinations and also with 2P-*pa*.
    - o This clearly shows that the clause introduced with 2P-*pa* is not an adjunct but rather the second coordinand.
- (15) a. *Koga Suzana gleda, medtem ko ga Liza tepe?*  
 whom Suzana watches while him Liza beats  
 'Who does Suzana watch while Liza beats him?'
- b. \**Koga Suzana gleda, Liza {pa ga / ga pa} tepe?*  
 whom Suzana watches Liza PA him him PA beats

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#### 4. Analysis of second position *pa*

- (i) We will assume that the *pa* which has a topic feature, as in (16), is the same *pa* as the one discussed above in conjunctions.
- a. (Assumption not uncontroversial, but if a unified analysis can be provided, it should be the preferred one)
- (16) *Petra pa nisem videl že eno leto.*  
 Peter PA NEG-aux seen already one year  
 'As for Peter, I haven't seen him in a year.'
- (ii) Both the topic marker *pa* and the second position conjunction *pa* can be understood as contrastive topic markers.
- Contrastive topic is “an element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics” (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007):
- (17) a. *Kaj počne Metka?*  
 'What is Metka doing?'  
 b. *Mojca pije kavo, Metka pa dela.*  
 Mojca drinks coffee, Metka PA works.  
 'Mojca is having coffee and Metka, she's working.'
- (iii) Domains of contrast (=the material relevant for calculating the set of alternatives on which the contrast operates; Neeleman et al. 2011) need not be a subject DP. It can also be a member of the clitic cluster, (18), or an adjunct, (19):
- (18) *(Tonetu darila ni dala Metka) mu pa ga je dala Špela.*  
 Tone<sub>DATi</sub> gift<sub>GENj</sub> not-aux given Metka him<sub>DATi</sub> PA it<sub>ACCj</sub> aux given Špela  
 'Tone was not given a gift by Metka, but he was given one by Špela.'
- (19) *V kavarni smo spili kavo, v gostilni pa pojedli kosilo.*  
 in coffee-shop aux drunk coffee in bar PA eaten lunch  
 'We had coffee at the coffee-shop but had lunch at the pub.'
- (iv) We propose that *pa* heads a functional projection, PaP/TopP.
- (v) PaP/TopP can then be selected by a null conjunction so that we get the structure in (20). If *pa* carries a [+Top] feature, it attracts a constituent from inside its complement to its specifier, as shown with the arrow. If we also assume that *pa* be a contrastive focus marker, then it also has a

[+contrast] feature, which universally licenses A'-movement (Neeleman et al. 2011).



- (vi) This movement puts *pa* in the second position inside the second coordinand.
- (vii) 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.
- (viii) The conjunction does not have to be null, since examples such as (21) are acceptable:

(21) *Mojca pije kavo in Metka pa dela.*  
 Mojca drinks coffee and Metka PA works.  
 ‘Mojca is drinking coffee and Metka is working.’

- (ix) 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 (9a) are impossible (this also means that clausal conjunctions conjoin 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, (21).

(21) \**Rdečega pa še nisem videl avtomobila.*  
 red PA yet NEG-aux seen car

## 5. Conclusion

Analysing *pa* as a (contrastive) topic marker rather than a conjunction enables us to cover different meanings of Slovenian *pa*.

In the light of the often posited parallel between CP and DP – we found no evidence for a (contrastive) topic/focus position inside the DP, (22)

(22) *Banane sem že videl, plavih { \*pa banan / ✓ banan pa } še nisem videl.*  
 bananas aux already seen blue PA bananas bananas PA yet not seen  
 ‘Bananas I’ve seen before, but blue bananas I haven’t seen yet.’

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