The Position of Czech Clitics

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Overview

- Clitics in matrix clauses
- Clitics after complementizers
- Conclusion
Clitics usually follow the first clausal constituent:

(1) [Příští sobotu] *bych mu to už asi dal.*
   next Saturday would₁sg him₁sg it₁sg already maybe gave
   ‘Next Saturday, I would probably give it to him already.’
But there are exceptions.
Exceptions
Following an embedded constituent

(2) [Ten wordovský dokument] se mu nepodařilo otevřít.
that Word document reflA himD not-succeeded openinf
‘He did not manage to open that Word document.’
Exceptions
Following a partial constituent

(3) [Hlídat děti] bych ti nepřál [Novákům.] (ale watch\textsubscript{inf} children would\textsubscript{1sg} you\textsubscript{D} wished Nováks\textsubscript{D} Hanovi jsou OK)

‘I would not wish you to watch children for the Nováks. (but the Hanas are fine)’
Exceptions
Following a multiple constituents

(4) [Všechny sny] [najednou] se mu určitě nesplní.
All dreams at-once refl$_A$ him$_D$ definitely not-fulfill.

‘There is no way all his dreams will come true at the same time.’
Exceptions
Following a multiple constituents

(4) \[Všechny sny] \[najednou\] se \textit{mu} určitě
dreams at-once \textit{refl}_A \textit{him}_D
definitely
nesplní.
not-fulfill.

‘There is no way all his dreams will come true at the same
time.’

- Path/Period
- Stage
- Contrastive theme
Exceptions?

These are not exceptional clitic placements but exceptional frontings (Hana 2007).
Exceptions?
Following an embedded constituent

(5) [Ten wordovský dokument] se mu nepodařilo otevřít.

(6) [Ten wordovský dokument] nešlo otevřít.
that Word document was-not-possible open
‘It was impossible to open that Word document\(C\).’

(7) [Ten wordovský dokument] vím, že se mu
that Word document know\(1sg\) that refl\(A\) him\(D\)
ne podařilo otevřít.
not-succeeded open
‘That Word document, I know that he did not manage to open.’
Exceptions?
Following a partial constituent

(8) [Hlídat děti] bych ti nepřál [Novákům.]

(9) [Pohlídat děti] budu moct [Novákům]
   watch_{inf} children will_{1sg} be-able_{inf} Nováks_{D}
   ‘I will be able to babysit_{C} FOR THE NOVÁKS_{R}.’

(10) [Hlídat děti] říkal Martin, že by ti nepřál
    watch_{inf} children said Martin that would_{3} you_{D} wished
    [Novákům].
    Nováks_{D}
    ‘Martin said that he he would not wish you to babysit_{C} FOR
    THE NOVÁKS_{R}.’
Clitics follow

the first clausal constituent
Analysis I

Clitics follow

1. the first clausal constituent
2. the whole fronted expression
Clitics follow

1. the first clausal constituent
2. the whole fronted expression

Usually the same position.
Clitics after complementizers

(11) a. comp cl⁺ ...
    Helena říkala, že se Petr odstěhoval.
    ‘Helena said that reflₐ Petr moved’ [Fried 1994 (9a)]

    b. comp X cl⁺ ...
    Helena říkala, že [Petr] se odstěhoval.
    ‘Helena said, Petrₗ had moved.’ [Fried 1994 (9b)]

X is roughly a contrasted theme.
Claims

...comp X cl\(^+\)...

1. A rare construction (Veselovská 1995)
2. Only with certain complementizers (Veselovská 1995)
3. X cannot be a verb (Uhlířová 1987; Veselovská 1995)
4. X can only be a single constituent (Daneš et al. 1987; Uhlířová 1987; Veselovská 1995)
Claim – Rare

A rare construction (Veselovská 1995, §4.6).
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(12) a. že ‘that’ se ‘refl_A’ noun . . . – about 10,000 times in syn0
    b. že ‘that’ noun se ‘refl_A’ . . . – about 6,000 times
Veselovská (1995, §9.3.5): Ungrammatical with any complementizer but že ‘that’

(13) * Ptal se, jestli [Petr] mu to nedal.
    asked refl_A whether Petr him_D it_A not-gave
    ’He asked whether Peter gave it to him.’   [Veselovská 1995]
Claim – Only with certain complementizers?

(14) Ptal se, jestli [třeba Petr] by mu to nedal.  
asked reflₐ whether perhaps Petr would₃ himₜ itₐ not-gave  
‘He asked whether perhaps Peter would not give it to him.’

(15) Nepamatuju se, jestli [tenhleten] se z toho  
not-remember₁sg reflₐ whether this-one reflₐ from that  
vyvlíknul, nebo ne.  
backed-out or not  
‘I do not remember if this one managed to back out of it.’  
[syn5]
(16) Nejsem překvapen, že se na to ptáte, protože [Kanaďané] mi dávají tuhle otázku pořád dokola. Canadians meD give this question all around
‘I am not surprised you ask me about this because the Canadians ask me that question all the time.’ [syn6]
Claim – No verbs

X cannot be a verb (Uhlířová 1987, p. 89, Veselovská 1995, §4.6)

(17) *...že nedal by mu to.
...that not-gave would₃ him₃ it₁
‘... that he would not give₃ it to him.’ [Veselovská 1995 §4.6]
Claim – No verbs?

(18) Špičkovou pantomimou jí vysvětlil, že [pil] by perfect mime her$_D$ explained that drank would$_3$ on. he

‘He explained miming perfectly, that $\text{HE}_R$ would drink$_C$. ’ [syn5]

(19) Petrová uvedla, že [jednat] by se Petrová put-forward that negotiate$_{\text{inf}}$ would$_3$ refl$_A$ mělo koncem druhého zářijového týdne. should$_{p,part}$ at-the-end second September week.

‘Petrova put forward that the negotiation should take place in the end of the second week in September.’ [syn6]
Claim – Only a single constituent

X can only be a single constituent (Daneš et al. 1987, p. 619, Uhlířová 1987, p. 89 implicitly; Veselovská 1995, §4.6 explicitly)

(20) * . . že Petr knihu by mu nedal.
   . . that Petr book$_A$ would$_3$ him$_D$ not-gave
   ‘. . that Petr would not give it to him. [Veselovská 1995 §4.6 27a]
Claim – Only a single constituent?

Exactly parallel to multiple constituents in matrix clauses.
Claim – Only a single constituent? – Path/Period

(21) [Od pátku] [do neděle] se zde narodilo pět miminek.
  From Friday till Sunday reflA here born five babies.
  ‘From Friday to Sunday, five babies were born here.’  [syn5]

(22) Psali, že [od pátku] [do neděle] se zde narodilo pět
  wrote3pl that from Friday till Sunday reflA here born five
  babies.
  ‘They wrote from Friday to Sunday, five babies were born
  here.’
Claim – Only a single constituent? – Stage

(23) [Včera]  [na Rudém náměstí] se stejná skupina
Yesterday on Red Square reflA same group
starobolševických demonstrantů opět střetla s milicí.
of-old-bolshevik demonstrators again clashed with militia
‘Yesterday on the Red Square, the same group of
old-bolshevik demonstrators again clashed with militia.’
[Avgustinova and Oliva 1995 (55)]

(24) ... že [vocuď] [hned] by šel tamhle, ...
... that from-here righ-away would3 went over-there ...
‘... that from here, he would go there right away ...’
[Oral2006]
Claim – Only a single constituent? – Contrastive theme

(25) [Petra] [do Francie] bych ještě poslal, ale Martina do Petr\textsubscript{A} to France would\textsubscript{1sg} still send but Martin\textsubscript{A} to Maďarska ani náhodou.
Hungary not-even by-accident
‘I would send Petr\textsubscript{C} to France\textsubscript{C}, but never Martin\textsubscript{C} to Hungary\textsubscript{C}.’ 

[Hana 2007 105]

(26) Helena říkala, že [Petra] [do Francie] by poslali, ale ...
Helena said that Petr\textsubscript{A} to France would\textsubscript{3} send but ...
‘Helena said that they would send Petr\textsubscript{C} to France\textsubscript{C} but ...’
Claims revisited

...comp X cl⁺ ...

1. It is not a rare construction
2. Possible with many if not all complementizers
3. X can be a verb
4. X can consist of multiple constituents
Claims revisited

...comp X cl⁺ ...

1. It is not a rare construction
2. Possible with many if not all complementizers
3. X can be a verb
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X patterns similarly as 1P in matrix clauses.
Analysis II

(27) Hejtmana by navrhla ODS. (by is a clitic)
    local-governor₃ would₃ nominated ODS.
    ‘The governor would be nominated by ODS.’

[syn6]
Analysis II

(27) Hejtmana  by navrhla ODS. (by is a clitic)
   local-governorₐ would₃ nominated ODS.
   ‘The governor would be nominated by ODS.’ [syn6]

The clitic by can be viewed as occurring after:

1. the first clausal constituent
(27) Hejtmána by navrhla ODS. (by is a clitic) 
local-governorₐ would₃ nominated ODS. 
‘The governor would be nominated by ODS.’ [syn6]

The clitic by can be viewed as occurring after:

1. the first clausal constituent
2. the fronted expression
(27) Hejtmana *by* navrhla ODS. (*by* is a clitic)
lícal-governor\_A would\_3 nominated ODS.

‘The governor would be nominated by ODS.’ [syn6]

The clitic *by* can be viewed as occurring after:

1. the first clausal constituent
2. the fronted expression
3. the first fronted constituent
In fact, all three anchors are possible:

(28) Předpokládá se, že (by) ropa (by) do tuzemska by assumes refl\(_A\), that oil to inland would\(_3\) mohla začít proudit již dnes. could start\(_{\text{inf}}\) flow\(_{\text{inf}}\) already today

‘It is assumed that oil could start to flow to our country already today.’ [syn6]
In fact, all three anchors are possible:

(28) Předpokládá se, že (by) ropa (by) do tuzemska by assumes reflₐ, that oil to inland would₃ mohla začít proudit již dnes. could startₐ flowₐ already today

‘It is assumed that oil could start to flow to our country already today.’

But typically, all three yield the same position.
Many properties of clitic placement are a consequence of other phenomena.
Conclusion

- Many properties of clitic placement are a consequence of other phenomena.
- Sentences are realized in context!
Many properties of clitic placement are a consequence of other phenomena.

Sentences are realized in context!

Is a non-stochastic analysis satisfactory?
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Bibliography II


The set of Czech clitics

1. Constant clitics (always clitics):
   1. all weak pronouns: *mi* ‘me\textsubscript{D}', *ti* ‘you\textsubscript{sg} D', *ho* ‘him\textsubscript{A}', etc.
   2. weak reflexives: *se* (acc), *si* (dat); *ses*, *sis* contractions
   3. past and conditional auxiliary
   4. *tu* ‘here’

2. Inconstant clitics (can act as clitics or nonclitics):
   1. some personal pronouns: *jí* ‘her\textsubscript{D}', *nám* ‘us\textsubscript{D}', ...
   2. *to* ‘it'
   3. non-negated copula, passive auxiliary
   4. fringe clitics: *tam* ‘there’, *ale* ‘but’, *už* ‘already’, *prý/prej* ‘allegedly’, ...

This follows (Hana 2007); (Avgustinova and Oliva 1995; Karlík et al. 1996; Rosen 2001; Short 1993,...) have similar sets.