

The Position of Czech Clitics

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Overview

- Clitics in matrix clauses
- Clitics after complementizers
- Conclusion

The Usual Case

Clitics usually follow the first clausal constituent:

- (1) [Příští sobotu] *bych mu to už asi* dal.
next Saturday would_{1sg} him_D it_A already maybe gave
'Next Saturday, I would probably give it to him already.'

Exceptions

But there are exceptions.



Exceptions

Following an embedded constituent

- (2) [Ten wordovský dokument] se *mu* nepodařilo otevřít.
that Word document refl_A him_D not-succeeded open_{inf}
'He did not manage to open that Word document.'

Exceptions

Following a partial constituent

- (3) [Hlídat děti] *bych* *ti* nepřál [Novákům.] (ale
watch_{inf} children would_{1sg} you_D wished Nováks_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
All dreams at-once refl_A him_D definitely
nesplní.
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 *mu* určitě
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'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.
that Word document was-not-possible open_{inf}
'It was impossible to open that Word document_C.'
- (6) [Ten wordovský dokument] nešlo _____ otevřít.
that Word document was-not-possible open_{inf}
'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
nepodařilo otevřít.
not-succeeded open_{inf}
'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 would₃ you_D wished
[Novákům].

Nováks_D

'Martin said that he he would not wish you to babysit_C FOR
THE NOVÁKS_R.'

Analysis I

Clitics follow

- 1 the first clausal constituent

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Usually the same position.

Clitics after complementizers

(11) a. comp cl⁺ ...

Helena říkala, že se Petr odstěhoval.

Helena said that refl_A Petr moved

‘Helena said that Petr had moved.’ [Fried 1994 (9a)]

b. comp X cl⁺ ...

Helena říkala, že [Petr] se odstěhoval.

Helena said that Petr refl_A moved

‘Helena said, Petr_C 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

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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

Claim – Only with certain complementizers

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 refl_A whether perhaps Petr would₃ him_D it_A not-gave
'He asked whether perhaps Peter would not give it to him.'
- (15) Nepamatuju se, jestli [tenhleten] se z toho
not-remember_{1sg} refl_A whether this-one refl_A from that
vyvlíknul, nebo ne.
backed-out or not
'I do not remember if this one managed to back out of
it.'

[syn5]

Claim – Only with certain complementizers?

- (16) Nejsm překvapen, že se na to ptáte, protože
not-am surprised that refl_A prep it ask because
[Kanaďané] *mi* dávají tuhle otázku pořád dokola.
Canadians me_D 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 him_D it_A
'... that he would not give_C 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 would₃
on.
he

'He explained miming perfectly, that HE_R would drink_C.' [syn5]

(19) Petrová uvedla, že [jednat] by se
Petrová put-forward that negotiate_{inf} would₃ 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 would₃ 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 refl_A 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
wrote_{3pl} that from Friday till Sunday refl_A here born five
miminek.
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 refl_A 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 right-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_A to France would_{1sg} still send but Martin_A to
Maďarska ani náhodou.
Hungary not-even by-accident
'I would send Petr_C to France_C, but never Martin_C to
Hungary_C.' [Hana 2007 105]
- (26) Helena říkala, že [Petra] [do Francie] *by* poslali, ale ...
Helena said that Petr_A to France would₃ send but ...
'Helena said that they would send Petr_C to France_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

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X patterns similarly as 1P in matrix clauses.

Analysis II

(27) Hejtmana *by* navrhla ODS. (*by* is a clitic)
local-governor_A would₃ nominated ODS.

'The governor would be nominated by ODS.' [syn6]

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- 3 the first fronted constituent

Analysis II

In fact, all three anchors are possible:

- (28) Předpokládá se, že (by) ropa (by) do tuzemska by
assumes refl_A, that oil to inland would₃
mohla začít proudit již dnes.
could start_{inf} flow_{inf} already today
'It is assumed that oil could start to flow to our country
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But typically, all three yield the same position.

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- Sentences are realized in context!
- Is a non-stochastic analysis satisfactory?

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The set of Czech clitics

- ① Constant clitics (always clitics):
 - ① all weak pronouns: *mi* 'me_D', *ti* 'you_{sgD}', *ho* 'him_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_D', *nám* 'us_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.