

# Selected Topics in Slavic linguistics

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Slavic languages are sufficiently similar and sufficiently different to provide an attractive research laboratory. (Corbett 1998)



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## Clitics in Slavic\*



- **Simple** clitic
  - an element of some basic word class
  - occupies the normal syntactic position for a non-clitic word of its category
- **Special** clitic
  - „unusual“ position, additional restrictions
  - special principles and mechanisms must be invoked for obtaining the correct placement
- **Special clitics have special syntactic properties which require them to cluster, whereas simple clitics only have a phonological deficiency.**



# Special predicative (“inflecting”) clitics

## Auxiliary

(tense-forming)

realisation of person & number agreement features

### ● non-3rd-person

- Bg: *săm, sme, si, ste*
- Cz: *jsem, jsme, jsi, jste*
- Pl: *-m -śmy -ś -ście*

### ● 3rd-person

- Bg: *(e, sa)*
- Cz: *∅*
- Pl: *∅*

## Argument / reflexive

### ● personal pronouns

- Bg: *mi/me, ti/te, mu/go, i/ja, ni/ni, vi/vi, im/gi*
- Cz: *mi ti/tě mu/ho*
- Pl: *mi ci/cię mu/go//je*

### ● anaphoric pronouns / non-anaphoric reflexive particles

- Bg: *si / se*
- Cz: *si / se*
- Pl: *się*



# “Weak” non-clitic / semi-clitic forms

## Auxiliary

(voice-forming)

### ● 3rd-person

- Cz: je, jsou (semi-clitic)
- Pl: jest, są (non-clitic)

## Argument / reflexive

### ● personal pronouns

- Cz: mě, jí/ji, nám/nás, vám/vás, jim/je (semi-clitic)
- Pl: mnie, jej/ją, nam/nas, wam/was, im/ich (non-clitic)

### ● anaphoric pronoun / non-anaphoric reflexive (particle?)

- Pl: sobie (non-clitic)



- **Host-category-bound**

- Clitics belong to the syntactic domain of a particular (morphosyntactic) category which also hosts them prosodically (Av'97)

- **core clitics** within the Bulgarian verb complex

- “movability” of prosodic attachment (**endoclitics**)
- proclitic tendency
  - forbidding clitics to appear in initial position

- **“second position”** effects

- **non-initial** in the clausal domain (Tobler-Mussafia law)
- **left edge** of the (morphosyntactic sub-domain within the) verb-complex

# Core (endoclititic), NEG (proclitic), Q (enclitic)



## ● 'Ivan gave them to me'

● Ivan *mi gi* dade.  
Ivan DAT1sg ACC3pl gave

● Dade *mi gi* Ivan.  
gave DAT1sg ACC3pl Ivan

\**Mi gi* dade Ivan.  
DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Ivan

\*Ivan dade *mi gi*.  
Ivan gave DAT1sg ACC3pl

## ● 'Ivan didn't give them to me'

● Ivan *ne mi gi* dade.  
Ivan NEG DAT1sg ACC3pl gave

● \**Ne* dade *mi gi* Ivan.  
NEG gave DAT1sg ACC3pl Ivan

*Ne mi gi* dade Ivan.  
NEG DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Ivan

\*Ivan *ne* dade *mi gi*.  
Ivan NEG gave DAT1sg ACC3pl

# Core (endoclititic), NEG (proclitic), Q (enclitic)



● 'Did Ivan give them to me?'

● Dade *li mi gi* Ivan?  
gave Q DAT1sg ACC3pl Ivan

● ?\*Ivan *mi gi dade li*. (echo)  
Ivan DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Q

Ivan dade *li mi gi*?  
Ivan gave Q DAT1sg ACC3pl

\**Mi gi dade li* Ivan.  
DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Q Ivan

● 'Didn't Ivan give them to me?'

● Ivan *ne mi li gi dade*?  
Ivan NEG DAT1sg Q ACC3pl gave

● \*Ivan *ne mi gi dade li*?  
Ivan NEG DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Q

● \**Ne dade li mi gi* Ivan?  
NEG gave Q DAT1sg ACC3pl Ivan

*Ne mi li gi dade* Ivan?  
NEG DAT1sg Q ACC3pl gave Ivan

?\**Ne mi gi dade li* Ivan? (echo)  
NEG DAT1sg ACC3pl gave Q Ivan

\*Ivan *ne dade li mi gi*?  
Ivan NEG gave Q DAT1sg ACC3pl





Togava [ [*si* *štjala*] [*da si mi gi pokazala*] ] veče.

then AUX-2sg FUT-AUX-sg.f PRT AUX-2sg DAT-1sg ACC-3pl shown-sg.f already

'You would have already shown them to me by that time (reportedly).'

[ [*Štjala si*] [*da si mi gi pokazala*] ] togava veče.

Inv.VC: [ [*Da si mi gi pokazala*] [*si štjala*] ] togava veče.

Split.VC: [*Štjala si*] togava veče [*da si mi gi pokazala*].

Togava [[*štjala li si*] [*da si mi gi pokazala*]] veče ?

then FUT-AUX-sg.f Q AUX-2sg PRT AUX-2sg DAT-1sg ACC-3pl shown-sg.f already

'Would you have already shown them to me (reportedly)?'

[[*Štjala li si*] [*da si mi gi pokazala*]] togava veče ?

Inv.VC: [ [*Da si mi gi pokazala*] [*štjala li si*] ] togava veče ?

Split.VC: [*Štjala li si*] togava veče [*da si mi gi pokazala*] ?



# Clitic doubling

Az na Ivan pokazvala li sym mu gi njakoga dokumentite?  
 I-1sg to Ivan-3sg.m shown-sg.f Q AUX-1sg DAT-3sg.m ACC-3pl ever paper-3pl.def

'Have I ever shown the papers to John?'

Pkazvala li sym mu gi ?  
 shown-sg.f Q AUX-1sg DAT-3sg.m ACC-3pl

'Have I shown them to him?'

- Cross-referencing the core grammatical relations [Av'04]
  - Subject (verb inflection)
  - Direct object (accusative clitic)
  - Indirect object (dativa clitic)



# Wackernagel clitics (Czech)

- **Prosodically autonomous** clitics

- inherently related to a “second” position rather than to a prosodic host of a particular (morphosyntactic) category (Av’97)

- **Second position** in the clausal domain

- What is in the “first” position? (AvO’95)

(Minulý týden) (v neděli) (ráno) (doma) (v koupelně) se Jan při holení nebezpečně zranil.

last week on Sunday morning at-home in bathroom REFL Jan at shaving dangerously hurt

- Pure clitics vs. semi-clitics



# Wackernagel clitics (Slovene)

- **Second position** (after the “first phrase”)
- **Prosodically neutral** clitics
  - after an intonational pause
  - clitic-initial sentences (“topic-drop”)

● Si \_\_\_\_\_ ga \_\_\_\_\_ videl?  
AUX-2sg ACC-3sg.m saw

(‘Have you seen him?’)

● Se \_\_\_\_\_ mi \_\_\_\_\_ je \_\_\_\_\_ smejal.  
REFL DAT-1sg AUX-3sg laughed

(‘He was laughing at me.’)



# Wackernagel clitics (Serbian/Croatian)

- **Second position** (after the “first word” or the “first phrase”)

- Taj čovjek joj ga je danas kupio.  
that man DAT-3sg.f ACC-3sg.n AUX-3sg today bought

- Taj joj ga je čovjek danas kupio.

- **Prosodically enclitic**

- Ona mu ga je dala, a i ja sam mu ga dala.  
she DAT-3sg.m ACC-3sg.n AUX-3sg gave and also I AUX-1sg DAT-3sg.m ACC-3sg.n gave

- Ona mu ga je dala, a i ja sam mu ga.

- Ona mu ga je dala, a i ja sam mu.

- Ona mu ga je dala, a i ja sam.

# Special principles and mechanisms needed for:



- determining the **domain of distribution**
  - sentential clitics: non-initial in the clause;  
left-edge tendency within the clause
  - verbal clitics: non-initial in the clause;  
left-edge tendency within the verb complex
- clitic **climbing**
  - with all sentential clitics: out of syntactically subordinated verbal domains
- clitic **cluster formation**
  - with 'true' special clitics: general patterns, e.g., DAT & ACC-3rd;  
language-specific restrictions
  - with sentential clitics: **haplology** – avoiding sequences  
of phonologically identical clitics

# Clitic clustering patterns



## ● Wackernagel 2P

- Czech: **AUX < ETH.DAT < REFL(dat/acc) < DAT < ACC (GEN)**

co-occurrence restrictions:

\*two phonologically identical clitics,

\*two reflexive clitics

Poslat kurýrem se mi mu ho dnes nepodařilo ...  
send-INF courier-INST RFL DAT-1sg DAT-3sg.m ACC-3sg.n today NEG-succeeded

Jan se snažil si koupit nové auto.  
John RFL tried RFL buy-INF new car

- Serbian / Croatian: **AUXnon3sg < DAT < ACC/GEN < REFL < AUX3sg**

## ● Verbal (core)

- Bulgarian: **AUXnon3sg < DAT < ACC < AUX3sg:**



# Special-clitic distribution

- **alignment domains** that are defined ...
  - syntactically, e.g., word order domains with (partial) compaction
  - prosodically, e.g., prosodic words in an intonational phrase
  - information structure (?), e.g., in determining the Wackernagel position
  
- **anchors** for special clitics ...
  - in syntax, e.g., a licensing category
  - in morphology (a phrasal-inflection view),  
e.g., clitics as features attached to lexical or syntactic categories
  - in phonology, e.g., a prosodic host



# Special clitics with simple-clitic behaviour (Polish)



- argument / reflexive clitics: “free” clitics;  
optional clitic climbing;  
haplology (się)
- “floating” weak auxiliaries: “auxiliary inflection” on verbs  
but also hosted by other categories

- no clitic-cluster formation

(?!) Pokazali cię mu wczoraj.  
showed ACC-2sg DAT-3sg.m yesterday

- “second position” effects
  - non-initial in the clausal domain
  - resist non-immediate post-verbal positioning: left-edge tendency



## 1. Case in Slavic

- Common Slavic inventory of functional cases
- Functional and marking dimensions of case classification
- Shared Slavic case hierarchy

## 2. Clitics in Slavic

- Common Slavic inventory of special predicative clitics
- Module of inflecting (aux & pron) clitics

## 3. Agreement in Slavic

- Systematic relations of co-variation
- An ontology of co-variation phenomena



- Background (Zwicky 1977)
  - A **simple clitic** is an element of some basic word class and occupies the normal syntactic position of a non-clitic word of its category.
  - A **special clitic** occupies an “unusual” position: special principles and mechanisms must be invoked for obtaining the correct placement.
  - **While simple clitics are only phonologically deficient, special clitics have additional restrictions which require them to cluster.**
- Common Slavic inventory of special predicative clitics
  - pro-forms **cross-referencing core arguments** of a predicate
  - defined in terms of **morphosyntactic features**
  - distinguished module of inflecting clitics, cross-Slavic parameterisation [Av'07]

# Cross-Slavic parameterisation

