INHALT

AUFSÄTZE

АВЕРИНЦЕВ, С. С. (Wien), Специфика лирической героини
в поэзии Анны Ахматовой: солидарность и двойничество..... 7
AVGUSTINOVA, T. — OLIVA, K. (Saarbrücken), Wackernagel Position
and Related Phenomena in Czech........................................ 21
BELAJ, V. (Zagreb), Der mythologische Hintergrund eines kroatischen
Hochzeitsbrauches.......................................................... 43
GALTON, H. (Wien), Übernahme und Widerstand in der Begegnung
phonologischer Systeme. Der Fall des Altaiischen und Slavischen.... 51
HOLZER, G. (Wien), Die Einheitlichkeit des Slavischen um 600 n. Chr.
und ihr Zerfall............................................................ 55
KRZYSZTOFORSKA-DOSCHEK (Wien), Fragmente urslawischer heid-
nischer Texte in der Lyrik Bolesław Leśmians................................ 91
ЛУЧИК, В. В. (Кировоград), До питання про внутрішню
форму гідрооснови Блокв-........................................ 97
MAREČEK, Z. (Brno/Wien), Deutsche und Tschechen. Imagologische
Aussagen in ausgewählten Werken der tschechischen Literatur des
19. und 20. Jahrhunderts.................................................. 103
MOSER, M. (Wien), Der russische Genitivus qualitatis vor 1700....... 117
OSSADNIK, E. M. (Wien), Die periphrastischen Verbalformen
im niedersorbischen Wolfenbütteler Psalter ................................ 131
REINHART, J. (Wien), (Alt)kirchenslavisch teteg & ‘Sânfte’............... 135
SCHMIEGER, R. (Sofija), Versuch einer Einordnung der sogenannten
Übergangsmundarten im bulgarisch-serbischen Grenzgebiet.......... 143
SIMONEK, S. (Wien), Zu einigen Parallelen im Werk von
Daniil Charms, Nikolaj Zabolockij und Henri Michaux............. 163
ШУЛЬГАЧ, В. П. (Київ), Українські етимології. 1-6-................ 175
ZAND, G. (Wien), Die Erzählungen von Jan Zábrana:
Realismus gegen den Strom........................................... 181
TANIA AVGUSTINOVA — KAREL OLIVA (SAARBRÜCKEN)

Wackernagel Position
and Related Phenomena in Czech*

0. Introduction

The main goal of this article is to propose an analysis of the "second position" (relevant for clitic placement) and related phenomena, which would adequately accommodate also the following non-trivial data problematic for the currently available approaches dealing with the subject (e.g., BAUER-GREPL 1972, DANĚŠ ET AL. 1987, KOPEČNÝ 1958, TRÁVNÍČEK 1949, ŠMILAUER 1966):

- complex fronting of partial VPs: in clauses containing analytical verb forms, the sentential clitics may be preceded by the main verb of the clause accompanied by some (not necessarily all) of its complements and/or adjuncts.

a. (infinitive with a complement)
   Posilat dopisy ti budu pravidelně každý týden.

b. (infinitive with an adjunct)
   Vesele zpíváti si budou jenom svazácí.

c. (infinitive with an adjunct and a complement)
   Vesele zpíváti budovatelské písně si budou jenom svazácí.

d. (passive participle with a complement)
   (Vše, co je vám kladený k tíži, jste udělali sice ze strachu, ale přece jenom dobrovolně). Nucen k takovým čínům jste nebyl nikdo.

e. (passive participle with an adjunct)
   Nějak zvlášt’ obřadně představování mi tedy rozhodně nejsou.

f. (passive participle with an adjunct and a complement)
   Srdečně uvítání domorodým obyvatelstvem jsme rozhodně nebyli.

- sentential clitics preceded by two or more prepositional phrases describing together a path/direction or a time period, with each of the PPs indicating initial, transit or final point.

* The research reported in this paper has been in part supported by the Commission of the European Communities in the framework of the PECO2824 Joint Research Project “Language Technologies for Slavic Languages”. We are greatly indebted to Eva Hajíčková, Jarmla Panevová, Niki Petkević, Saša Rosen, Petr Sgall and Hanka Skoumalová for most valuable comments on an early draft of this paper, as well as to all who had the patience to serve us as informants.

1 In examples below, clitics placed on this position will be marked off by *italics*. 
a. Od hrobky Caecilie Metelly na předměstí Říma přes vyprahlé roviny Apulie až po jižní pobřeží poloostrova se jako nikde nepřerušená rovná čára támne nejsnážnější ze všech antických cest – Via Appia.

b. Od dubna přes celé léto až do září by bývalo trvalo mimořádné zasedání ústředního výboru strany.

c. Od Mexického zálivu přes pláně těchých pouští po první výběžky Skalistých hor jsme o vodu nikde ani nezavadili.

d. Od prvních momentů startu z Bajkonuru po celou dobou pobytu na orbitu až do samotného přistání se na palubě této kosmické loď koncejejí různější vědecké pokusy.

• sentential clitics preceded by two or more adverbials of the same type, which can be viewed as a repetition, e.g., of the locational modification in a., b. or of the temporal modification in c.

a. (Na dotaz pana prokurátorá místopřízemi prohlašuji, že) v Praze v ulici 28. října jsem nikdy nebydlel.


c. Každý týden v neděli dopoledne v devět hodin se stará paní svátečně ustrojila a šla na mši.

• sentential clitics preceded by a combination of a temporal and a local adverbial

Včera na Rudém náměstí se stejná skupina starobolševických demonstrantů opět střetla s milicí.

• sentential clitics preceded by more than one contrasted constituents

V našem pražském bytě jsme příbuzné ze Saarbrücken o vánocích ještě nějak snesli, ale na chatu v letech jsme je už raději nepozvali.

The second position puzzles we are going to discuss in this article are tightly related to the sentential (predicative) clitics in Czech. Therefore, before discussing the Wackernagel position, we first reconsider the common assumptions about the syntactic and word-order properties of the Czech clitics.

1. Preliminaries: Standard Assumptions about the Position of the Sentential Clitics in the Czech Clause

Judging by the treatments of clitic placement in the available grammar handbooks, as to the positioning of the sentential clitics, Czech is a language which might serve as an example par excellence for the Wackernagel’s Law.

In the Academic Grammar of Czech, volume III: Syntax (DANĚŠ ET AL. 1987), p. 604, we find the following (our translation):

---

2 We shall try to precise the term “clitic” below; now, we rely on an informal understanding of the term.

3 “Sentential” (also “clausal” or “predicative”) clitics are clitics occurring on the level of main sentential constituents—as opposed to clitics occurring on a subclausal level (e.g., clitics standing with a subordinated infinitive).
The basic word-order rule about positioning of clitics in an utterance says that a clitic is to be placed after the first accented expression in the utterance. Under an accented expression we understand one word (Eva se divá na televizí), phrase (Proud teplého vzduchu na okraji balkánské tlakové výše se dostává do střední Evropy), or even a complete clause (Kde Sokrates skutečně zemřel, se řeje nikdy nedovíme). In an utterance including a subordinated clause, the clitic is, as a rule, placed after the conjunctive element (Proud teplého vzduchu na okraji balkánské tlakové výše se dostává do střední Evropy, kde se projevuje mlhama).

Apart from some minor formulation matters—that it is the whole clitic cluster (not only a single clitic) which would be placed after the first accented expression, that this cluster has to stand immediately after this first accented expression, that the wording somehow suggests a difference between a phrase and clause (i.e. a clause not being a phrase)—and apart from the missing explication of the “as a rule” placement of clitics in subordinated clauses, this seems to be a clear and satisfactory wording.

Similarly, in Šmilauer’s classical book Syntax of Modern Czech (Šmilauer 1966), we find the following wording on p. 67 (our translation):

Enclitics. Words missing an accent of their own are as a rule positioned after the first accented element of a clause (in a subordinated clause after the conjunctive element); some coordinating conjunctions .... are not counted as the first element.

In further text, Šmilauer presents a lot of examples, some of them showing a placement of a clitic different from the one specified above: on closer inspection it turns out that this is always the case when the clitic (cluster) stands adjacently to the verb it belongs to. These examples, on the one hand, explicate the words as a rule from the above quotation from the Academic Grammar and on the other hand, their occurrence in Šmilauer’s book (whose original edition appeared in 1947), together with the nonexistence of such examples in the recent Academic Grammar, document the rather fast and radical shift which clitic placement in modern Czech has undergone during the past hundred years: the shift from positioning the clitics preferably adjacently to the verb to almost exclusive placement in the Wackernagel’s position.

Very similar to these statements is also the treatment of clitics in other grammars, from Bauer-Grepl 1972 through Kopecký 1958 and Trávníček 1949 back to Gebauer 1894, with the above-mentioned tendency of favouring the clitic cluster placement adjacently to the verb getting stronger with the earlier date of publishing of the book.

Thus, it seems reasonable to resume the standard assumptions by saying that in contemporary Czech, sentential clitics stand on the second position in the sentence, i.e. the clitic cluster immediately follows the first major syntactic

---

4 Very similarly to what is the case, e.g., in Bulgarian.
constituent\(^5\) in the clause. Such a treatment, then, copes easily also with cases where this first constituent is of considerable internal complexity (containing, e.g., overt (1) or asyndetical (2) coordination, different kinds of apposition (3) etc.), as well as it trivially rules out the ungrammatical strings like (4).

1. Jan a Marie se miluji.
2. a. Města, doprava, životní styl se budováním socialismu změnily k nepoznání.
   b. Náhle, zcela bez přechodu se thema rozhovoru změnilo.
3. Její Jasnost Marie Terezie, císařovna rakouská, se octla ve smrtelném nebezpečí.

As far as clitic placement is scrutinized in other literature available to us (stylistic handbooks, articles in journals, proceedings of congresses and conferences etc., cf. the bibliography list), the "basic rule" of placement of sentential clitics from above never undergoes revisions, amendments or changes. The authors are mainly concerned with clitics standing in a non-sentential position, i.e. with clitics appurtenant not to the main (tensed) verb of the clause but to (mainly) infinitives or infinitival VPs\(^6\), or with problems of nonsyntactic nature, such as, e.g., the "loss of cliticity" (i.e. the phonological independence) of clitics on the phonological level of language (among others TRÁVNÍČEK 1959).

On closer observation of more complex data (e.g., the one presented above), however, the rule postulating that the lexical material preceding the sentential clitics always creates one syntactic constituent, i.e. that the sentential clitics are always placed on the syntactically second position in the Czech clause, has to be considered questionable.

2. Notions and Terminology

Let us now reconsider the relevant notions and introduce some basic terminology to be used in our further analysis.

2.1. Czech Clitics

2.1.1. Pure Clitics vs. Semi-Cлитics

Referring back to Wackernagel’s original understanding of the term “clitic” (see also ANDERSON 1993 for a discussion) and following the sub-

---

\(^5\) For the case of the slightly oldish style, where clitics are adjacent to the verb, we consider these clitics as verbal (and not sentential) ones. In the case of these clitics occurring in the second position, i.e. when the verb stands on the first or on the third position in the clause, we consider the clitics to be sentential—also because in this case the antiquity of the style is not felt.

\(^6\) In traditional Czech grammars using no phrase-structure terminology, “infinitival VP” is usually subsumed under such terms as “semi-clausal constructions” and the like.
stantial body of recent literature, we resume that clitic is typically considered
to be a weak, prosodically dependent form, typically, though not necessarily,
accentless\textsuperscript{7}. Refinement of the notion of clitic is introduced in \textsc{Zwicky} 1977—
the distinction between simple and special clitics. A simple clitic is an element
of some basic word class, which appears in a position in which the rules of the
syntax would (or at least could) place it, i.e. it occupies the normal syntactic
position for a non-clitic word of its category. Instances of simple clitics in
Czech could be found, e.g., among prepositions and conjunctions. Special
clitics are items whose position within some phrasal unit is determined by
principles other than or additional to those of nonclitic syntax, i.e. they either
occupy positions which we would not expect based on the distribution of other
words or phrases of similar class or function, or they obey restrictions which
are not imposed on similar but non-clitical words. It is for these elements that
some special principles and mechanisms must be invoked in the description to
get them placed correctly with respect to the rest of the syntactic domain they
occur in (see \textsc{Anderson} 1992, \textsc{Anderson} 1993, \textsc{Halpern} 1992, \textsc{Halpern}
1994, \textsc{Miller} 1992, and others cited therein).

In Czech, the sentential clitics have the nature of special clitics, since
they always occur in the syntactic domain of the clause immediately following
some type of ensemble, prototypically (but not necessarily, as it has already
been illustrated and will be discussed later) the first, i.e. leftmost, major
clausal constituent; if more than one sentential clitics occur in the clause, they
form together a clitic cluster standing in this position. The order of the
elements of the cluster is strictly fixed, i.e. the otherwise general assumption
of free-word-order\textsuperscript{8} of Czech does not hold in this case.

We shall regard as \textit{pure} sentential clitics the following classes of words:

- reflexive clitics/particles: \textit{si}, \textit{se}
- short dative and genitive/accusative non-reflexive pronominal forms: \textit{mi}, \textit{ti},
  \textit{mu}, \textit{tē}, \textit{ho}
- indicative present tense forms of auxiliary verb "to be" standing with past
  participles: \textit{jsem}, \textit{jsi}, \textit{jsme}, \textit{jsi} (used for forming analytical perfect tense)\textsuperscript{9}
- conditional present tense forms of auxiliary verb "to be": \textit{bych}, \textit{bys}, \textit{by},
  \textit{bychom}, \textit{byste}

Provided these lexical items are true sentential clitics, i.e. not clitics
belonging to a subordinated infinitive etc., they can occur only in the
Wackernagel position in the clause.

\textsuperscript{7} Clitics might get a secondary stress, as is, e.g., the case with any clitic following the
negation particle \textit{ne} in Bulgarian. As for the situation of Czech clitics, this will be dealt
with below.

\textsuperscript{8} Free constituent order on the clausal level, in fact.

\textsuperscript{9} Mind the defectiveness of the conjugation paradigm of this auxiliary verb—it has
no form for third person (neither singular nor plural), it has no negative forms, and it has
no infinitive in Czech.
In our understanding, several classes of words in Czech behave as semi-
clitics, inasmuch as the lexical items belonging to them can but need not
necessarily behave as clitics:\footnote{We prefer this way of description to the alternative possibility, namely that of
introducing pairs of clitic and non-clitic lexical entries for all the words in question.}
- genitive, dative and/or accusative pronominal forms: jich, mně, jí, nám, vám,
jím, mě, ji, nás, vás, je
- affirmative indicative present tense forms\footnote{Note the fact that only the affirmative forms have the semi-clitical status,
exemplified in (i), where in the a. case the word jsou behaves as a clitic (occurs in the
clitic cluster—otherwise the pure clitic mu would stand on the third position only) and in
the b. case as a non-clitic.}
  - Jan se jí ho včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.
  - *Jan se Marii ho včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.
  - Marii se ho Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.
  - Jí se ho Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.
  - *Mu se ho Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.
  - Jan se ho včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám Marii.
  - Jan se ho včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám já.
  - *Jan se ho včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám mu.

In (5) a, the dative feminine singular pronoun jí has pure clitics both to
its left and to its right, and hence it seems necessary to assume that it stands in
the middle of the clitic cluster, i.e. that it behaves as a clitic; a non-clitical NP
cannot stand in this position, as shown by the unacceptability of (5) b. Such
an NP can, however, occur on any other position in the clause, e.g., at its be-
ginning or at its end as in (5) c, f, respectively. The semi-clitic jí can then
occur in the same positions as this "normal" dative NP, as in (5) d, g, which
positions, however, cannot be occupied by a pure clitic—cf. the ungrammatic-
ality of (5) e, h.

\footnote{The list given should not be considered complete. E.g., at least two further ac-
cusative forms of pronouns, mne and to, as well as the adverb tu might be also
considered to belong to the class of semi-clitics. However, since the data we collected
were not clear (above all, not uniform as to grammaticality judgements by different
persons), we prefer to leave this question open. Similarly unclear is also the status of the
forms of the copula byt, where, in addition, it is not easy to find or even construct
examples where these forms occur together with pure clitics—seemingly, the only
possible constructions are those including ethical dative.
The difference in the behaviour of the present tense forms of the auxiliary “to be” when used for forming past tense and when forming a passive voice is exemplified by the contrast between (6) and (7).

(6) a. Policii jsme nenáviděli všichni.
    b. *Jsmě všichni nenáviděli policii?
    c. *Policii nenáviděli jsme (přes své křest’anské vychování).

(7) a. Policií jsme sledováni všichni.
    b. Jsme všichni sledováni policií?
    c. Policií sledováni jsme (o tom si nedělejte žádné iluze).

From the pure cliticity of the auxiliary forms appurtenant to the past tense it follows that they can and do occur only in the Wackernagel position of the clause, i.e. in the position of the sentential clitics—(6), while the auxiliaries involved in forming the participial passive, being semi-clitic, can in principle occur anywhere in the clause, including, certainly, also the Wackernagel position—(7).

By introducing the distinction between clitics and semi-clitics, we refine the standard treatment, e.g., that of Šmilauer 1966, where all monosyllabic dative and accusative forms of personal pronouns are marked as clitics, and no distinction is made between the auxiliaries standing with active and passive participles. As shown in the examples (5) – (7) above, such a distinction is sanctioned by the differences in distributional properties of the two classes, as well as it is essential for the description of these differences.

Further, we do not consider li to be a sentential clitic and hence an element of the clitic cluster, although it is in contact position to it (even though this is described as belonging to this cluster in, e.g., Šmilauer 1966). Our view is that the positioning of the word (rarely: constituent) marked with li in (8), (9), (10) and similar does not result from any requirement that li has to occur in the Wackernagel position but rather from the fact that such a word, similarly to wh-words, has to occur first in the clause (in the leftmost position)—cf. (11), an oldish but still acceptable variant of (8), where li occurs in the middle of the first sentential constituent.

(8) Lásce-li nebudeš žíti, žebrákem půjdeš světem. (Karel Toman)
(9) Chci vědět, přijde-li dnes pan profesor.
(10) Nepříbližil-li by se mi na dostřel, musel bych ... 
(11) Lásce-li své nebudeš žíti, žebrákem půjdeš světem.

Further evidence against the assumption that li is a member of the clitic cluster is the lower acceptability of both sentences in (12) a, b, as compared to (11). On the assumption that li stands on the second sentential position, the sentences in (12) should be actually more acceptable than those in (11). We, on the other hand, would explain their (relative) lack of acceptability by the violation of the rule requiring wh-words to stand sentence-initially (or of a corresponding li-analog of this rule).
(12)  a. Lásce své-li nebudeš žíti, žebrákem půjdeš světem.
    b. Své lásce-li nebudeš žíti, žebrákem půjdeš světem.

It is even possible to show that *li* can be detached from the clitic cluster on the second position, as in (13)—an important point here is that the reflexive *se* is indeed a sentential, not a verbal clitic, since it does not stand adjacently to the verb.

(13) Lásce-li své *se* v žítí budeš protivití, žebrákem půjdeš světem.

2.1.2. Clitic Clustering: Haplology and Cooccurrence Restrictions

The clustering of clitics obeys certain regularities. In Czech, similarly as, e.g., in Italian, clitics of subordinated verbs (typically infinitives) within the same clause show the tendency to occur in (to "climb" to) the syntactic domain of the superordinated verb until they eventually become sentential clitics. Thus, for example, (14) a showing the climbing of the reflexive clitic *se* appertaining to the reflexivum tantum *smát se* is considered definitely better than (14) b, c where no climbing takes place.

(14)  a. Jan se začal smát.
    b. ¿*Jan začal smát *se*.
    c. ¿*Jan začal se *smát.

In general, the variants with clitic climbing are more preferable, though not always the difference in acceptability is as sharp as in (14). Haplology, then, is the phenomenon of merging two phonologically identical clitics into a single one (alternatively, of omitting one of the identical clitics) which can be observed if a clitic climbs to a verb where an equal clitic already is present.

Importantly, the equality or difference of morphosyntactic categories of the clitics involved is irrelevant. As examples, let us take two pairs of reflexive verbs: on the one hand, *snažit se* and *obléci se* both licensing the clitic *se*, which, however, is a (reflexive) particle with the former verb and a short reflexive accusative pronoun with the latter one, and on the other hand *netroufát si* and *koupit si* both licensing the clitic *si*—a (reflexive) particle and a short reflexive dative pronoun, respectively. The basic variants of simple sentence without clitic climbing are given in (15), the variants illustrating climbing (and haplology) are shown in (16).

(15)  a. Jan *se* snažil se elegantně obléci.
    b. Jan *si* netroufá si koupit nové auto.

---

13 If there is a chain of dependent infinitives in the sentence, this “climbing” can have a number of different results.

(i) Jana bude muset začít chtít se usmívat.
(ii) Jana bude muset začít se chtít usmívat.
(iii) Jana bude muset se začít chtít usmívat.
(iv) Jana se bude muset začít chtít usmívat.

However, only in (iv) *se* might be considered a sentential clitic.
(16) a. Jan se snažil elegantně obléci.
    b. Jan si netroufá koupit nové auto.

Further, the haplogy cannot be explained purely by the impossibility of two clitics in the same case to stand within one clitic cluster, cf. (17) where the cooccurrence of two (dative) clitics is possible—if the clitics are different.

(17) Poslat kurýrem se mi mu ho dnes nepodařilo (tak snad zítra obyčejnou poštou).

The examples in (18) further show that the cooccurrence restrictions are even more subtle when reflexive clitics are at stake.

(18) a. Stále se snažím získat si její přízeň.
    b. Stále se snažím si získat její přízeň.
    c. *Stále si se snažím získat její přízeň.
    d. *Stále se si snažím získat její přízeň.

It is important to note that what is relevant here is the real clustering of clitics, not only their adjacency. Thus, e.g., (19) a is considered acceptable, which we conjecture to be the result of the fact that the two reflexive clitics se do not create one cluster: the first stands to the main (tensed) verb and the second one to the infinitive. That this is actually the case is particularly clear in (19) b, where, if the clitics occurred in one cluster, also the standard rule that dative clitic must precede the accusative one would have to be violated.

(19) a. Snažil se se tam dostat.
    b. Naučil se si vždy znovu získat její přízeň.

Based on this, we resume this paragraph by posing tentatively the following two constraints to hold about clitic cluster:

A. Two phonologically identical clitics must not cooccur in one clitic cluster.

B. Two reflexive clitics must not cooccur in one clitic cluster.

2.2. Types of Modifiers

Further, we need to introduce terminology for a more fine-grained classification of the major constituents in the clause\textsuperscript{14}. Thus, in the following, a significant distinction will be made between actants and circonstants on the one hand, and complements and adjuncts on the other hand. The former opposition is a general one reflecting the different properties of the two basic types of modifiers that a given syntactic category can generally have when it functions as a head, while the latter opposition between modifiers is head-specific. Since the sentential constituency is in the main focus of this article, let us look from such a perspective at the verbal heads and their modifications.

Among all types of modifications of verbs, actants are defined as those which must always be subcategorized for by a head verb if they are to occur as its modification. A typical property of actants, following from such a defini-

\textsuperscript{14} In doing so, we closely follow the classification to be found in PANEVOVÁ 1980.
tion, is that they cannot occur more than once with the head verb. Examples of actants are subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object, predicative, etc. A circonstant is then defined as a type of modification which, at least in principle, can occur with any head verb, irrespectively whether such type of modification is subcategorized for by this particular verb or not (the former situation being rather an exception, while the latter is the rule). A typical property of a circonstant modification is that it can occur more than once with a given head. Examples of circonstants are adverbials of location, time, manner, etc.

The opposition between complements and adjuncts is always specific for the particular verb. We call complements those modifiers of the verb which are subcategorized by this verb, and we call (free) adjuncts of the verb all modifiers which are not subcategorized by this verb.

Adjuncts of a particular verb always fall into the class of circonstants. Complements of a verb are typically members of the class of verbal actants, but sometimes, depending on the lexical semantics of the verb, they can also be from the class of circonstants—such is the case with verbs like, e.g., 'to come, to arrive' subcategorizing for a circonstant of location (‘where to’), ‘to last’ subcategorizing for a circonstant of duration (‘how long’), the verb ‘to live’ (in the meaning of the French ‘habiter’) subcategorizing for a local circonstant (‘where’) or ‘to behave’ subcategorizing for an adverbial of manner (‘how’).

2.3. Communicative Structure of the Clause

In this section we discuss terminological issues related to the communicative aspect of an utterance. As it will become clear later, the notions introduced here support the core of our analysis of the “second position” phenomenon.

2.3.1. Informational Significance and Communicative Importance

In our analysis, we slightly reconsider the treatment of the communicative structure of the sentence made in, e.g., FIRBAS 1971, SGALL ET AL. 1980, SGALL ET AL. 1986 (among others). We assume that, for each particular utterance, it can be determined which elements are informationally indispensable from a communicative perspective, and on the contrary, which items are without any communicative contribution and occur for other reasons (e.g., structural, pleonastic etc.) only. We regard the former type of elements as informationally essential (significant) for the particular utterance, and the latter as informationally unessential (insignificant) for the particular utterance. On such a basis we introduce the notion of communicative importance

---

15 We are not going to develop a full-fledged inventory of actants here, since this is not needed for the purposes of this article.
16 Most our examples are taken from Panevová 1980.
17 This term has been coined by Firbas, and it is also used in Koktová in prep. Our
ferring to the assigned *degree of communicative dynamism*. Crucially, we fur-
ther assume that not all elements of an utterance can be assigned a degree of
communicative dynamism—i.e. that there are items (also autosemantic ones
like the pronominal clitics) for which the feature communicative importance is
inappropriate. In particular, only the informationally essential elements can be
assigned a degree of communicative dynamism, and hence, can be considered
communicatively important. In this we diverge from the treatment in, e.g.,
SGALLET et al. 1986 postulating that each autosemantic element in an utterance
must be assigned some degree of communicative dynamism. Another impor-
tant assumption in our approach is that there might exist two or more words or
phrases in an utterance which, albeit syntactically distinguishable as different
constituents, bear the same degree of communicative dynamism, i.e. are of
equal communicative importance. This again stands in a contrast to the views
put forward in the literature quoted above, namely that two autosemantic ele-
ments in an utterance can only be assigned different degrees of communicative
dynamism.

In the following paragraphs, we shall try to present the empirical moti-
vation for these changes.

With pronominal clitics or semi-clitics standing in the same clitic
cluster, e.g., the clitics *ti* and *ho* in examples like (20), any assignment of
communicative importance to the semantic representation of such elements
seems to be empirically unmotivated.

(20) Marie *se ti ho* několikrát pokoušela poslat.

The point here is that the order of these clitics is strictly fixed, as well as
none of them can be in the scope of a focalizer, or contrasted etc. Hence, the
language system as such\(^\text{18}\) does not provide means for expressing any
difference in the communicative importance of clitic pronouns. This holds even
in cases where the logical forms of the sentence (22) used as answers to ques-
tions (21) a, b, respectively, would differ in quantifier scopings.

(21) a. Kdy jsi dal pět otázek svým třem přítelkyním?
b. Kdy jsi dal svým třem přítelkyním pět otázek?

(22) Dal jsem jím je už někdy minulý týden.

Therefore, we prefer a description assuming that the (semi)clitics in such
cases are informationally insignificant\(^\text{19}\), since their reference is fully recover-
able from the context, and hence these (semi)clitics do not bear any communi-
cative importance whatsoever (i.e. distinguishing degrees of communicative
dynamism would not make any sense).

---

\(^{18}\)i.e. without recourse to extra-linguistic mechanisms like logical formulae and
similar.

\(^{19}\)More precisely, it is the entities referred to by the clitics that are unessential for the
particular communication purpose.
Further, our line of reasoning in examples like (23) would be that the two PP-constituents in the answer do not, in fact, contribute to the communication each separately, but only in common, since only in this way, as one unitary (semantic) circonstant of duration, they transmit the information required in the question.

(23) Q: Jak dlouho dnes děti spaly?
   A: Od dvou do pěti.

For this reason, we do not see any motivation for assuming that any of these two constituents is more communicatively important than the other one. In particular, we shall argue that it is the whole semantic complex these constituents create that has to be assigned some degree of communicative dynamism, and that the members of this complex can be assigned an equal degree of communicative dynamism in fact only secondarily

A possible candidate for a treatment where none of two (or possibly more) constituents is marked as more communicatively important than the other one would be also the case of answers to multiple questions, e.g., (24) or even (25) including quantification.

(24) Q: Kde jsi včera koho viděl?
   A: Potkal jsem na Václavském náměstí svou bývalou manželku.
   or: Potkal jsem svou bývalou manželku na Václavském náměstí.

(25) Q: Na co jsi se koho ptal?
   A: Dal jsem pět standardních otázek dvěma dívkám ze své třídy.
   or: Dal jsem dvěma dívkám ze své třídy pět standardních otázek.

Mind the fact that, in these examples, both svou bývalou manželku and na Václavském náměstí in (24) and dvěma dívkám ze své třídy and pět standardních otázek in (25) are constituents which are directly asked for in the respective questions, and hence, at least intuitively, both are foci proper of each of the variants of the answer. This intuition is confirmed also by the possibility of using any of the word order variants from the examples as an answer, which would not be so naturally possible when answering other kind of questions (not multiple-wh ones) or in a fluent narration.

---

20 Assuming that communicative dynamism is represented on the semantic level of language description, the assignment of its degrees to syntactic units (constituents or other) is indeed questionable, at least in cases where the syntactic and semantic “constituency” seem to diverge from each other. Also, this and similar examples (some more of them will be given in Section 3) might serve as an argument for keeping the separation of syntactic and semantic levels of description, whose merger has been proposed in several approaches lately (cf., e.g., the recent developments in the Functional Generative Description, or the introduction of SYNSEM feature in HPSG).

21 For some discussion of the communicative structure of answers to multiple questions, cf. also Kuno and Robinson 1972, as well as Sgall et al. 1986, esp. the discussion in footnotes of the section 3.12.

22 We take for granted that the fact that in the representation of the answers from (24) and (25) in some formal logical framework some order must be assigned to the (representations of) the constituents, which for (25) ends up in ordering of quantifiers,
2.3.2. Communicative Segmentation

Having introduced all these modifications, we are now in a position allowing us to introduce the structuring of an utterance into communicative units—we shall call them tentatively communicative segments—on the basis of the informational significance/insignificance and communicative importance of the contained syntactic elements.\(^{23}\)

Remaining for the purpose of this article only at the topmost sentential level of this structuring, we distinguish between informationally significant substantial and informationally insignificant auxiliary communicative segments.

An auxiliary communicative segment is supposed to consist of one or more adjacent syntactic elements which are informationally unessential, and therefore, not specified for communicative importance. In other words, the latter feature is not appropriate for these elements, i.e. they cannot be assigned any degree of communicative dynamism. Hence, the auxiliary communicative segment, as a whole, is also considered to have no informational contribution expressible as a degree of communicative dynamism.

A substantial communicative segment is a notion intended to refer to a group of informationally essential elements\(^{24}\) for which the following holds:

(i) for each of these elements the feature communicative importance is appropriate (i.e. the degree of communicative dynamism of each of these elements is defined);
(ii) all these elements have equal communicative importance expressible in equal degree of communicative dynamism;
(iii) these elements stand adjacently;
(iv) and as a result of (i) - (iii) these elements belong communicatively together.

Importantly, the appurtenance of the components of a substantial communicative segment to the topic or to the focus of the particular utterance, or their being contrastive, etc., is not directly relevant: having the same degree of communicative dynamism, they are homogeneous in this respect.

2.3.3. The Nature of the “Second” Position

Resuming the assumptions made above, the Czech clitic cluster standing on the “second” sentential (Wackernagel) position consists of phonologically weak lexical elements. Each of these elements is either a synsemantic word (an

\(^{23}\) This structuring is different from the standard structuring of the clause into accentual units (prosodic words) or syntactic units (phrases), even when obviously not independent from them.

\(^{24}\) In Czech, these are to be understood as sentential constituents. In other languages, e.g., Serbo-Croatian, the condition that these elements are sentential constituents need not be met.
auxiliary verb, a particle) or it is a pronominal clitic with reference recoverable from the context\textsuperscript{25}. Leaving aside the phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of the problem, we assume that on the level of communicative segmentation, this clitic cluster is a purely functional (syntactic) component, i.e. it can be viewed as an auxiliary communicative segment with no informational significance and, hence, with no communicative importance for the particular utterance. The main function of this cluster is to occupy the designated “second position”, and thus to define the preceding lexical material as \textit{a single substantial communicative segment}\textsuperscript{26}. In other words, we would “read” the original Wackernagel’s requirement for these clitics to stand “after the first word” (WACKERNAGEL 1892) in the following way: “after the first substantial communicative segment”. This is illustrated schematically in (26). This accepted, the fact that the second-position clitics of the same syntactic domain go always together and, in particular, that within the same clause, they cannot be “split” between two (or more) differently defined second positions, is correctly predicted.

(26)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
\hspace{1cm} & \hspace{1cm} & \hspace{1cm} \\
position containing constituents with equal communicative importance (the first substantial communicative segment) & designated SECOND POSITION (the auxiliary communicative segment) & constituents with (possibly) non-equal communicative importance (further substantial communicative segments)
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{25} Unclear remains the status of the short adverbials \textit{už}, \textit{prý} and similar. On the one hand, they seem to float freely even within the cluster (which otherwise has a strictly fixed word order), cf. (i), (ii)—even when some of these examples might sound better than others, none of them is to be really excluded.

(i) Jan už se jim ho rozhodl nedávat. (ii) Jan prý se jim ho rozhodl nedávat.
Jan se už jim ho rozhodl nedávat. Jan se prý jim ho rozhodl nedávat.
Jan se jim už ho rozhodl nedávat. Jan se jim prý ho rozhodl nedávat.

Semantically, on the other hand, their contribution is either minimal and in fact derivable from the context (\textit{už}), or it expresses uncertainty or renarrative modality (\textit{prý}) which in some other Slavic languages is a genuine conjugation form of its own. However, we do not want to take any position here and leave the question open for further research.

\textsuperscript{26} Cf. here also the following quotations from DANES \textsc{et al.} p. 619 “... the word order of clitics ... can be used for both grammatical construction of the sentence and for its functional sentence perspective”. We, however, cannot fully agree with the formulation immediately following in the next paragraph of this book, saying “By its position on the second place of an utterance, a clitic helps a clear syntactic division of the sentence. It marks off the syntactic border of the first sentential constituent.”
3. An Alternative Treatment of the “First” Position in Czech

3.1. Trivial cases

In Czech, a substantial communicative segment prototypically coincides with a single constituent, which can certainly contain also an apposition (27), or a coordination of different types (28).

(27) Její Jasnost Marie Terezie, císařovna rakouská, *se* octla ve smrtelném nebezpečí.

(28) a. Jan a Marie *se* milují.
   b. Města, doprava, životní styl *se* budováním socialismu změnily k nepoznání.
   c. Starý sešlý *se* vrátil do vlasti.
   d. Náhle, zcela bez přechodu *se* thema rozhovoru změnilo.
   e. Smutně a po dlouhou dobu *jsme se* spolu procházeli po vltavském břehu.
   f. Už především a tobě *jsem* zcela jednoznačně nařídil, aby ta televize zůstala vypnutá a v žádném případě ne, jak ty si asi mysliš, teprve dnes ráno (a) Marii.
   g. Co a o kolik *se* zase moudrým rozhodnutím Cenového úřadu zdražilo?

As shown in the examples (29), such a constituent can be also a “partial VP”, very similar to what is assumed for German in cases like (30) (e.g., ÚSZKOREIT 1986).

(29) a. (*infinite with a complement*)
   Posílat dopisy *ti* budu pravidelně každý týden.
   Kupovat knihy *si* bude jenom Petr.
   Zpívat budovatelské písně *si* budou jenom svazáci.

b. (*infinite with an adjunct*)
   Vesle *zpívá* *si* budou jenom svazáci.

c. (*infinite with an adjunct and a complement*)
   Vesle *zpívá* budovatelské písně *si* budou jenom svazáci.

d. (*passive participle with a complement*)
   (Vše, co je vám kladeno k tíži, jste udělali sice ze strachu, ale přece jenom dobrovolně).
   Nucen k takovým činům *jste* nebyl nikdo.

e. (*passive participle with an adjunct*)
   Nějak zvlášť obřadně představování *mu* tedy rozhodně nejsou.

f. (*passive participle with a complement and an adjunct*)
   Srdčně uvitání domorodým obyvatelstvem *jsme* rozhodně nebyli.
   Nucen k takovým činům násilím *jste* nebyl nikdo.

(30) Den Brief heimlich zustecken sollte er dem Kurier.
Unlike the situation in German, however, there is a language specific restriction on this “complex fronting” in Czech: only the infinitive or the passive participle form of the verb can create, together with some of its non-subject modifiers, a “partial VP” which would occupy the position preceding the sentential clitics as in (29). On the other hand, active participles cannot create such a “partial VP” (31).

   b. *Koupil knihy si včera jenom Petr.
   c. *Zpívali budovatelské písně si jenom svazáči.

So far, we were dealing with cases where the standard assumption of exactly one constituent preceding the sentential clitics was still defensible, albeit this constituent was sometimes of high internal complexity. In the following sections, we shall use the scheme from (26) when searching for an explanation for the rest of the data—for the cases where no “single syntactic constituent” (of whatever nature) might be reasonably assumed to stand in front of the (cluster of) sentential clitics—in other words, where the sentential clitics are always preceded by more than one constituent.

3.2. Multiple Constituency within a Single Communicative Segment

3.2.1. Compound Circonstants of Path and Period

The first item in the above overview of “true” cases of occurrence of more than one constituent in the position preceding the sentential clitic cluster was the case of certain types of local and temporal circonstants, in particular those which indicate “path” or “period”. The situation was illustrated by examples with verbs like tahnout se and trvat, where the circonstants of “path” and “period” are complements—(32) and (33) respectively, as well as by examples of usage of these circonstants as adjuncts—(34) and (35). Hence, the occurrence of several constituents creating together a single semantic/informational “aggregate” (circonstant of location, circonstant of duration) in front of the sentential clitics seems to be possible both when the circonstant type in question occurs in the valence frame of the verb (i.e. when it is a complement of the verb), as well as when it is a clear adjunct.

(32) Od hrobky Caecilie Metelly na předměstí Říma přes vyprahlé roviny Apulie až po jižní pobřeží poloostrova se jako nikde nepřerušená rovná čára táhne nejznámější ze všech antických cest – Via Appia.

(33) Od dubna přes celé léto až do září by bývalo trvalo mimořádné zasedání ústředního výboru strany.

(34) Od Mexického zálivu přes pláně texaských pouští po první výběžky Skalistých hor jsme o vodu nikde ani nezavádili.
(35) Od prvních momentů startu z Bajkonuru po celou dobu pobytu na orbitu až do samotného přistání se na palubě této kosmické lodí konaly nejrůznější vědecké pokusy.

Obviously, the solution here is to accept the existence of a "compound modifier"—a unit consisting of two or more constituents but functioning as a single circumstant, and, hence, also as one communicative segment, which, then, can occur in the position preceding the sentential clitic(s). The syntactic parts of this communicative segment must, however, be of a particular circumstant type and must stand in a given order—cf. the contrast of (32) with (36).

(36) ?* (Až) po jižní pobřeží poloostrova od hrobky Caecilie Metelly na předměstí Říma se jako nikde nepřerušená rovná čára táhne nejznámější ze všech antických cest — Via Appia.

It is also important to note that whenever neither the main verb nor some of the contingent infinitives make such "path" or "period" understanding possible (e.g., by the subcategorization frame), the two syntactic constituents cannot occupy the position preceding the sentential clitics. This is exemplified by the contrast in (37), where the respective surface forms as well as the semantic functions of the two PPs are identical, namely "from where" and "to where", in both (37) a and (37) b, but the latter sounds odd due to the subcategorization of the verb hodi se for a complement 'to where'\textsuperscript{27}. The sentence with the "correct" position of clitics in (38) is, on the other hand, fully grammatical.

(37) a. Z chalupy v Krkonoších do bytu na pražském sídlišti se mu povedlo přivězt jen málo věcí.
   b. ?? Z chalupy v Krkonoších do bytu na pražském sídlišti se mu hodilo jen málo věcí.

(38) Z chalupy v Krkonoších se mu do bytu na pražském sídlišti hodilo jen málo věcí.

It is to be remarked here that neither the property of being subcategorized for nor the mutual order of such constituents in the sentence is related only to the particular problem of the "first sentential position", but is of a more general nature, as the examples in (39) illustrate. The two PP constituents creating "semantically" together the subcategorized circumstant of duration are not adjacent in (39) a, and the order of the two PPs creating together the subcategorized circumstant of "span" is in addition reversed in (39) b if compared to the "normal" one. As to their syntactic structure, these sentences would be classified as fully correct. The syntax alone thus provides no explanation for the relatively high degree of unacceptability of such examples.

(39) a. ?? Od r. 1914 by první světová válka byla trvala do r. 1922 (kdyby ...).
   b. ?* Po Vlašivostok se světová socialistická soustava rozkládá od Ašě.

\textsuperscript{27} Cf. the classification of verbal frames in \textit{PANEOVÁ 1980}, p. 68.
3.2.2. Multiple Circumstants of the Same Type

The next phenomenon presented as problematic in the Introduction was the occurrence of several constituents of the same circumstantial type (adverbial of location, temporal adverbial etc.) in front of the sentential clitics as shown in (40) and (41). The trivial cases with one syntactic constituent in the frontfield are given for comparison in (42)—the complement case, and in (43)—the adjunct case, in order to show that this phenomenon should not be classified together with appositions.

\[(40)\quad \text{(Na dotaz pana prokurátora místopřísežně prohlašuji, že) v Praze v ulici 28. října jsem nikdy nebydlel.}\]
\[(41)\quad \text{V Praze v ulici 28. října se až do roku 1974 konal prvomájové průvody.}\]
\[(42)\quad \text{a. V Praze jsem v ulici 28. října nikdy nebydlel.}\]
\[(43)\quad \text{b. V ulici 28. října jsem v Praze nikdy nebydlel.}\]
\[(43)\quad \text{a. V Praze se v ulici 28. října prvomájové průvody konaly až do roku 1974.}\]
\[(43)\quad \text{b. V ulici 28. října se v Praze prvomájové průvody konaly až do roku 1974.}\]

Such cases are commonly assumed to illustrate the fact that adjuncts, unlike complements, can be repeated. However, this is not a truly precise formulation. First, what is at stake is a circonstant modification, irrespectively to its status of a free adjunct or a complement. Second, at least in cases like (41), the “repetition” occurs only on the level of syntax (i.e. it is a “repetition” of syntactic constituents with identical syntactic function). Semantically and communicatively, there is no repetition but rather a “stepwise modification”, albeit a syntactically complex one. More support of this unicity of semantic/communicative function (as opposed to multiplicity of syntactic constituency) can be gained also from negative examples like (44), where the first of the PPs preceding the sentential clitics is an adjunct and the second one a complement of the verb bydlet, and exactly because of this reason the two PPs do not create one semantic/communicative unit, hence the whole string has a high degree of unacceptability. The variant (45) differing in the placement of the sentential clitics is, on the contrary, considered fully acceptable.

\[(44)\quad \text{?? U moře ve stanu jsme s manželkou bydleli každé léto.}\]
\[(45)\quad \text{U moře jsme ve stanu s manželkou bydleli každé léto.}\]

3.2.3. The “Stage” Adjunct

Further set of data presented in the introduction is in fact parallel to the one observed for German already in Van de Velde 1977, namely the possible combination of a temporal and a local adverbial in the first clausal position.

\[\text{28}\] We exclude here the pragmatically implausible attributive reading of the PP ve stanu, i.e. the reading on which a sea were inside a tent.
Wackernagel Position and Related Phenomena in Czech

(46) Včera na Rudém náměstí se stejná skupina starobolševických demonstrantů opět střítila s milicí.

However, there are some more refined observations to be made on the basis of such data than what is presented in the paper by van de Velde. First of all, there is a clear contrast in the acceptability of the sentences in (46) and (47). The only substantial difference between the members of this pair is the order of the two constituents standing in the frontfield—in (46) the temporal adverbial precedes the local one, while in (47) this order is reversed.

(47) ?? Na Václavském náměstí včera se tytéž hloučky republikánů znova pokoušely rušit pokojnou atmosféru pietního aktu.

Further, it is to be observed that what truly matters is only the semantic nature of the constituents, i.e. their circumstantial type, as well as the order in which they occur. Their number (i.e. possible repetition) is not directly relevant—cf. the acceptability of (48), where three temporal adverbials precede two local adverbials while all these five constituents precede the sentential clitics.

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

Similarly as shown in both 3.2.1. and 3.2.2., it is also important that the material preceding the sentential clitic(s) is homogeneous as to being either a circumstantial complement or an adjunct. Thus, the string in (49), which is, as to its syntactic structure, superficially parallel to the fully acceptable (46), containing adverbials of the same circumstantial types and in the same order, is ungrammatical. The crucial point here is again the fact that the verb bydlet subcategorizes for a local circumstantial (here v domě svých rodičů) which then must always remain an independent sentential constituent and cannot conjoin with a temporal circumstantial to become a part of a communicative segment of the type discussed.

(49) *Před pěti lety v domě svých rodičů jsem zdarma bydlel.

Summed up, we assume that the examples (46) and (48) are examples of a communicative segment with semantic function of a “stage adjunct”. Such a communicative segment consists of several constituents, provided these constituents:

(i) are all adjuncts (i.e., as a whole a “stage adjunct” can function only as a free adjunct, not as a complement),

(ii) are all either temporal circumstants (of the type “temporal-when”) or local circumstants (of the type “local-where”),

and

(iii) all temporal circumstants among them precede all local circumstants

29 For the idiolects of those among our informants who considered also the examples of the type
V Moskvě na konci července se o bratrské pomoci kontrarevolucí ohroženému Československu rozhodlo již definitivně.
3.2.4. Contrast
The last type of data we want to discuss is the comparison of the three examples in (50) - (52).

(50) V našem pražském bytě jsme příbuzné ze Saarbrücken o vánočích ještě nějak snesli, ale na chatu v létě jsme je už raději nepozvali.
(51) a. ?? Na chatu v létě jsem jel s rodinou.
    b. ?? V létě na chatu jsem jel s rodinou.
(52) a. *Marii v létě jsem v Praze nepotkal.
    b. *V létě Marii jsem v Praze nepotkal.

Between the examples (50) and (51) there is a clear difference—the former, where the two constituents in question are contrasted with the previous material, is more acceptable than the latter where there is no (direct) contrast involved. It is also to be observed that the acceptability of the construction sinks further considerably if one of the constituents standing in front of the sentential clitics is of an actant type (52), as compared to constructions where all these constituents are of a circonstant type—as in (50) and (51). It seems that in contrast to (50) and (51), the example (52), and similarly (53), is not contextuallizable and remains always unacceptable.

(53) *Marii knihu jsem včera koupil.

We conjecture that this is due to the fact that in (52) and (53) an actant and a circonstant, or two actants, respectively, precede the sentential clitics—in other words, that it is a distinguished linguistic property of an actant to be, by its very nature, a syntactic constituent as well as a communicative segment of its own which cannot be merged with other elements into a (larger) communicative segment.

The conclusions to be drawn from this are:
(i) the occurrence of two constituents in the position preceding the sentential clitics can be at least in some cases sanctioned by both of them standing in a contrast to some other parts of the discourse\textsuperscript{30}
(ii) however, this is impossible in the following cases:
   a. if at least one of the constituents is an actant complement of the verb
   b. if at least one of the constituents is a circonstant complement of the verb and at least one of them is a free adjunct of the verb (see also the discussion concerning the example (49) in the paragraph 3.2.3)

\textsuperscript{30} The same observation is presented in KOKTOVÁ IN PREP. Koktová, however, claims that this is the only case where the “first position” can contain more than one syntactic constituent.
COMAREK M. 1957: Nová příručka praktické stylistiky (review of DANEŠ, DOLEŽEL, HAUSENBLAS AND VÁHALA 1955), Naše řeč 40
KOPECNY F. 1958: Základy české skladby, Praha
KUNO S. AND J. ROBINSON 1972: Multiple wh-questions, Linguistic Inquiry 3
PANEVOVÁ J. 1980: Formy a funkce ve stavbě české věty, Praha
ŠMIAUER V. 1966: Novočeská skladba (2nd edition), Praha
TRÁVNÍČEK F. 1949: Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, II, Praha
TRÁVNÍČEK F. 1959: K postavení stálých příkonek po přestávce uvnitř věty, Naše řeč 42
uhlířová L. 1984: Cestující jsou povinni se za jízdy držet, Naše řeč 67
USJKOREIT H. 1986: Linear Precedence in Discontinuous Constituents: Complex Fronting in German, CSLI Report No. 47, CSLI, Stanford, California
WACKERNAGEL J. 1892: Über ein Gesetz der Indogermanischen Wortstellung, Indogermanische Forschungen I, 333-436
ZWICKY A. 1977: On Clitics, Bloomington
MATERIALIEN

REINHART, J. (Wien), Zur Quellenkunde von Miklosichs
Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeaco-latinum: die Dezembermenäe der
Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (cod. Vindob. slav. 33)........... 193
SIEGLOVÁ, N. (Brno), Die tschechische Kinderpoesie nach 1945........... 199
VALENTOVÁ, M. — GLOVŇA, J. (Nitra - Wien), Die slowakische Schule
der literarischen Kommunikation ........................................ 211
VINTR, J. (Wien), Altpolnische Glossen des XIV. Jahrhunderts in einer
Handschrift des österreichischen Stifts Melk.............................. 221
ZAND, G. (Wien), Pavol Winczer sexagenarius................................ 227

ZUM KOPITAR-JUBILÄUM

Aus Anlaß des 150. Jahres nach seinem Tode (1844)

HAFNER, S. (Graz), Über B. Kopitars Übersetzungen
zur russischen Kormčija von 1816......................................... 233
KATIČIĆ, R. (Wien), Bartholomäus Kopitar als Balkanologe.............. 245
POGAČNIK, J. (Maribor), Bartholomäus Kopitar als Slawist............... 255

REZENSIONEN

Česká literatura doby baroka — sborník příspěvků k české literatuře
17. a 18. století, Praha 1994 (J. Vintr)..................................... 271
Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského, 3: dělo — gospodь,
Praha 1995 (H. Eichner — J. Reinhart).................................... 274
ФЕРМ, Л., Особенности развития русской лексики
в новейший период (на материале газет), Stockholm 1994
(I. Krajewská) ................................................................. 283
FRICK, D. A., Meletij Smotryc'kyj,
Cambridge, Massachussets 1995 (M. Moser).......................... 285
GLÜCK, J. E., Grammatik der russischen Sprache (1704),
hrsg. und eingeleitet von H. Keipert, B. Uspenskij und V. Živov,
Köln - Weimar - Wien 1994 (M. Moser).................................. 287