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## 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<sup>1</sup>) 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*)

Posílat dopisy *ti* budu pravidelně každý týden.

b. (*infinitive with an adjunct*)

Vesele zpívat *si* budou jenom svazáci.

c. (*infinitive with an adjunct and a complement*)

Vesele zpívat 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 an adjunct and a complement*)

Srdečně uvítání domorodým obyvatelstvem *jste* 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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 nepřerušovaná rovná čára táhne nejnámějnější 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 texaských pouští po první výběžky Skalistých hor *jsme* o vodu nikde ani nezavádili.
- d. Od prvních momentů startu z Bajkonuru po celou dobu pobytu na orbitu až do samotného přistání *se* na palubě této kosmické lodi konaly nejruznější 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 prokurátora místopřísežně prohlašuji, že) v Praze v ulici 28. října *jsm* nikdy nebydlel.
- b. V Praze v ulici 28. října *se* až do roku 1974 konaly prvomájové průvody.
- 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 létě *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<sup>2</sup> placement in the available grammar handbooks, as to the positioning of the sentential<sup>3</sup> 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 (DANEŠ ET AL. 1987), p. 604, we find the following (our translation):

<sup>2</sup>We shall try to precisise the term "clitic" below; now, we rely on an informal understanding of the term.

<sup>3</sup>"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 dívá na televizi), phrase (Proud teplého vzduchu na okraji balkánské tlakové výše se dostává do střední Evropy), or even a complete clause (Kde Sokrates skutečně zemřel, se zřejmě 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 mlhami).*

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 explanation 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<sup>4</sup> to almost exclusive placement in the Wackemagel’s position.

Very similar to these statements is also the treatment of clitics in other grammars, from BAUER-GREPL 1972 through KOPEČNÝ 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

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<sup>4</sup> Very similarly to what is the case, e.g., in Bulgarian.

constituent<sup>5</sup> 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* milují.

(2) a. Města, doprava, životní styl *se* budováním socialismu změnilo k nepoznání.

b. Náhle, zcela bez přechodu *se* thema rozhovoru změnilo.

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

(4) \*Včera Jan *se* tím problémem zabýval.

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<sup>6</sup>, 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-Clitics

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

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<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>7</sup>. Refinement of the notion of clitic is introduced in 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 ANDERSON 1992, ANDERSON 1993, HALPERN 1992, HALPERN 1994, 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<sup>8</sup> of Czech does not hold in this case.

We shall regard as *pure* sentential clitics the following classes of words:

- reflexive clitics/particles: *si, se*
- short dative and genitive/accusative non-reflexive pronominal forms: *mi, ti, mu, tě, ho*
- indicative present tense forms of auxiliary verb “to be” standing with past participles: *jsem, jsi, jsme, jste* (used for forming analytical perfect tense)<sup>9</sup>
- conditional present tense forms of auxiliary verb “to be”: *bych, bys, by, bychom, 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.

<sup>7</sup> Clitics might get a secondary stress, as is, e.g., the case with any clitic following the negation particle *ne* in Bulgarian. As for the situation of Czech clitics, this will be dealt with below.

<sup>8</sup> Free constituent order on the clausal level, in fact.

<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>10</sup>:

- genitive, dative and/or accusative pronominal forms: *jich, mně, jí, nám, vám, jim, mě, ji, nás, vás, je*
- affirmative indicative present tense forms<sup>11</sup> of auxiliary verb “to be” standing with passive participles: *jsem, jsi, je, jsme, jste, jsou*
- certain “short” adverbials and other words, e.g., *už, pryč*

They<sup>12</sup> can occur as members of the clitic cluster but can also appear outside of it, which behaviour is illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. Jan *se jí ho* včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.  
 b. \*Jan *se Marii ho* včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.  
 c. Marii *se ho* Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.  
 d. Jí *se ho* Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.  
 e. \*Mu *se ho* Jan včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám.  
 f. Jan *se ho* včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám Marii.  
 g. Jan *se ho* včera pevně rozhodl dát k narozeninám jí.  
 h. \*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 beginning 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 ungrammaticality of (5) e, h.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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.

(i) a. Tyto knihy jsou mu antikvářem nabízeny jako protihodnota.

b. \*Tyto knihy mu jsou antikvářem nabízeny jako protihodnota.

The negative forms *nejsem, nejsi, není, nejsme, nejste, nejsou* are non-clitic, cf. the contrast in (ii)

(ii) a. Tyto knihy mu nejsou antikvářem nabízeny jako protihodnota.

b. \*Tyto knihy nejsou mu antikvářem nabízeny jako protihodnota.

<sup>12</sup> The list given should not be considered complete. E.g., at least two further accusative 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 *být*, 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. \*Jsme všichni nenáviděli policii ?  
 c. \*Policii nenáviděli jsme (přes své křesťanské 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 appertaining 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) Nepřiblížil-*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 žítí, žebrákem půjdeš světem.  
 b. *Své lásce-li* nebudeš žítí, 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 žití budeš protiviti, 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<sup>13</sup>. 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 *netroufat 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.

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<sup>13</sup> 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 haplology 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<sup>14</sup>. Thus, in the following, a significant distinction will be made between *actants* and *circumstants* 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-

<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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’)<sup>16</sup>.

### 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*<sup>17</sup> re-

<sup>15</sup> We are not going to develop a full-fledged inventory of actants here, since this is not needed for the purposes of this article.

<sup>16</sup> Most our examples are taken from PANEVOVÁ 1980.

<sup>17</sup> 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 further 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., SGALLE ET AL. 1986 postulating that each autosemantic element in an utterance must be assigned some degree of communicative dynamism. Another important 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 elements in an utterance can only be assigned different degrees of communicative dynamism.

In the following paragraphs, we shall try to present the empirical motivation 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<sup>18</sup> 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 questions (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 jim je už někdy minulý týden.

Therefore, we prefer a description assuming that the (semi)clitics in such cases are informationally insignificant<sup>19</sup>, since their reference is fully recoverable from the context, and hence these (semi)clitics do not bear any communicative importance whatsoever (i.e. distinguishing degrees of communicative dynamism would not make any sense).

understanding is, however, slightly different.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. without recourse to extra-linguistic mechanisms like logical formulae and similar.

<sup>19</sup> 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<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup>, e.g., (24) or even (25) including quantification.

(24) Q: Kde jsi všera 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<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> 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).

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> 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<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> 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

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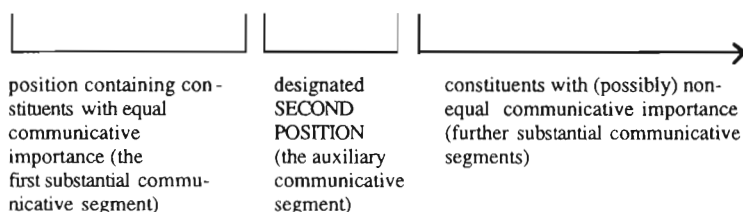
has no bearing on the language structure of the respective sentences.

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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<sup>25</sup>. 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 (synsemantic) 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 *a single substantial communicative segment*<sup>26</sup>. 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)



<sup>25</sup> Unclear remains the status of the short adverbials *už*, *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 (*už*), or it expresses uncertainty or renarrative modality (*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.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. here also the following quotations from DANES 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 předevčírem a tobě *jsem* zcela jednoznačně nařídil, aby ta televize zůstala vypnutá a v žádném případě ne, jak ty si asi myslíš, 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., USZKOREIT 1986).

- (29) a. (*infinitive with a complement*)  
 Posílat dopisy *ti* budu pravidelně každý týden.  
 Kupovat knihy *si* bude jenom Petr.  
 Zpívat budovatelské písně *si* budou jenom svazáci.
- b. (*infinitive with an adjunct*)  
 Vesele zpívat *si* budou jenom svazáci.
- c. (*infinitive with an adjunct and a complement*)  
 Vesele zpívat 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*)  
 Srdečně uvítání 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).

- (31) a. \*Posílal dopisy *jsem ti* pravidelně každý týden.  
 b. \*Koupil knihy *si* včera jenom Petr.  
 c. \*Zpívali budovatelské písně *si* jenom svazáci.

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 Circumstances 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 circumstances, in particular those which indicate “path” or “period”. The situation was illustrated by examples with verbs like *táhnout se* and *trvat*, where the circumstances of “path” and “period” are complements—(32) and (33) respectively, as well as by examples of usage of these circumstances as adjuncts—(34) and (35). Hence, the occurrence of several constituents creating together a single semantic/informational “aggregate” (circumstance of location, circumstance of duration) in front of the sentential clitics seems to be possible both when the circumstance 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 nepřerušovaná rovná čára táhne nejnámější 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 Skalitých hor *jíme* 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 lodi 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 circumstantial, 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 circumstantial type and must stand in a given order—cf. the contrast of (32) with (36).

- (36) ?\* (Až) po jižní pobřeží poloostrova od hrobky Caecilie Metely na předměstí Říma *se* jako nikde nepřerušovaná rovná čára táhne neznámější 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 *hodit se* for a complement ‘to where’<sup>27</sup>. 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 přivést 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 circumstantial of duration are not adjacent in (39) a, and the order of the two PPs creating together the subcategorized circumstantial 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 Vladivostok *se* světová socialistická soustava rozkládá od Aše.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the classification of verbal frames in PANEVOVÁ 1980, p. 68.

### 3.2.2. Multiple Circonstants of the Same Type

The next phenomenon presented as problematic in the Introduction was the occurrence of several constituents of the same circonstant 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) (Na dotaz pana prokurátora místopřísežně prohlašuji, že) v Praze v ulici 28. října *jsem* nikdy nebydlel.
- (41) V Praze v ulici 28. října *se* až do roku 1974 konal prvomájové průvody.
- (42) a. V Praze *jsem* v ulici 28. října nikdy nebydlel.  
b. V ulici 28. října *jsem* v Praze nikdy nebydlel.
- (43) a. V Praze *se* v ulici 28. října prvomájové průvody konaly až do roku 1974.  
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 *bydlel*, 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<sup>28</sup>. The variant (45) differing in the placement of the sentential clitics is, on the contrary, considered fully acceptable.

- (44) ?? U moře ve stanu *jsem* s manželkou bydleli každé léto.  
(45) U moře *jsem* 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.

<sup>28</sup> 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.

- (46) Včera na Rudém náměstí *se* stejná skupina starobolševických demonstrantů opět střetla 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 circonstant 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 circonstant 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 circonstant types and in the same order, is ungrammatical. The crucial point here is again the fact that the verb *bydlet* subcategorizes for a local circonstant (here *v domě svých rodičů*) which then must always remain an independent sentential constituent and cannot conjoin with a temporal circonstant 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 circonstants (of the type “temporal-when”) or local circonstants (of the type “local-where”),

and

- (iii) all temporal circonstants among them precede all local circonstants<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> 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 vánocích 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 contextualizable 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<sup>30</sup>
- (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)

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i.e. for those who at least in some cases allow also for the reversed order of the components of the stage adjunct, this condition has to be made milder—in which way exactly remains, however, presently unclear.

<sup>30</sup>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.

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