

Clitic climbing and negative concord in Czech

Guy Tabachnick

New York University

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Czech pronominal clitics

Czech arguments and reflexives are often expressed as pronominal “second position” clitics that cluster towards the beginning of a clause (after the first element and auxiliary clitics, roughly speaking):

- (1) Včera jsem se mu omluvil.
yesterday PST.1SG REFL.ACC him.DAT apologized
'Yesterday I apologized to him.' (cf. Fried, 1994: 170)

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'Yesterday I apologized to him.' (cf. Fried, 1994: 170)

Clitics associated with arguments of embedded infinitives can often climb into the cluster position in the matrix clause:

- (2) Včera jsem **se** **mu** chtěl [omluvit
yesterday PST.1SG REFL.ACC him.DAT wanted apologize.INF
<se> <mu>].
REFL.ACC him.DAT
'Yesterday I wanted to apologize to him.'

When can clitics climb?

Clitics can't climb out of:

finite embedded clauses (Lenertová, 2004; Dotlačil, 2007)

wh-infinitives (Lenertová, 2004; Dotlačil, 2007)

certain configurations involving object control (Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

Clitics can climb out of:

other object control configurations

raising and subject control infinitives

...even those with syntactic subject PRO (contra Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

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What blocks clitic climbing? A hypothesis

One basic hypothesis:

clitics move as high as they can unless blocked by a particular structure (e.g. a phase boundary) in the infinitive

that is, climbing is obligatory out of a given infinitive

optionality in clitic climbing is a manifestation of the optional presence of this additional structure in the lower clause

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One basic hypothesis:

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<i>clitic climbing</i>	<i>no clitic climbing</i>
some subject control	some subject control
some object control	some object control
raising	finite embedded clauses
	wh-infinitives

Negative concord and clitic climbing

If clitic climbing is “clause-bound” (blocked by something like a phase boundary), it should pattern with other clause-bound processes like negative concord (see Progovac, 1993)

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clitic climbing → matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause

matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause → clitic climbing

Negative concord and clitic climbing

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clitic climbing → matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause **YES!**

matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause → clitic climbing **NOT ALWAYS!**

The distribution of negative concord and clitic climbing

Through the lens of negative concord, we get:

<i>negative concord</i>	<i>no negative concord</i>
raising	finite embedded clauses
subject control	wh-infinitives
object control	

The distribution of negative concord and clitic climbing

Through the lens of negative concord, we get:

	<i>negative concord</i>	<i>no negative concord</i>	
clitics (can) climb	raising subject control some object control	finite embedded clauses wh-infinitives	clitics can't climb
clitics can't climb	some object control		

Analysis (broad strokes)

negative concord is multiple Agree (Zeijlstra, 2004, 2008) blocked by ForceP phase boundary by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Keine, 2018)

clitics move to specifiers of dedicated heads RefIP , K_{dat}P , K_{acc}P (Toman, 1999), attracted by an Agree similarly blocked by phase boundary

clitic movement must preserve c-command relations (see e.g. Richards III, 1997; Rezac, 2005), preceded by relatively (but not always!) free scrambling to $v\text{P}$ edge (Biskup, 2006; Kučerová, 2007; Šimík et al., 2014)

Thank you!

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When can clitics climb?

Clitics can't climb out of:

finite embedded clauses (Lenertová, 2004; Dotlačil, 2007)

- (3) * Řekla **mi** **ho**, [že <mi> <ho> ukážete].
said.F me.DAT him.ACC that me.DAT him.ACC show.2PL
'She said that you will show him to me.' (see Lenertová, 2004: 156)

wh-infinitives (Lenertová, 2004; Dotlačil, 2007)

- (4) * Ale ne-vím **ho** opravdu, [jak <ho> zapisovat].
but NEG-know.1SG him.ACC really how him.ACC record.INF
'But I really don't know how to record him.' (Lenertová, 2004: 156)

object control infinitives where they would have to move over the controller
(Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

- (5) * Matka jí **ho** přinutila [pomocť <jí>].
mother her.DAT him.ACC forced help.INF her.DAT
'Mother forced him to help her.' (see Lenertová, 2004: 162)

When can clitics climb?

Clitics can climb out of:

object control infinitives where they slot below the controller

- (6) ... že nový územní plán **mu ho** ne-dovolí
that new zoning plan him.DAT it.ACC NEG-allow
[dokončit <*ho*>].
finish.INF it.ACC

'... that the new zoning plan will not allow him to finish it.'
(SYNv9)

- (7) ... a taky **mě ho** naučil [vyslovovat <*ho*>].
and also me.ACC it.ACC taught pronounce.INF it.ACC
'...and he also taught me to pronounce it.'
(SYNv9)

raising and subject control infinitives

...even those with syntactic subject PRO (contra Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

When can clitics climb?

Clitics can climb out of control structures with syntactic subject PRO
(contra Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

partial control

- (8) Dominik_i **se** chce [sejít <se> PRO_{i+}
Dominik_i REFL.ACC wants meet.INF REFL.ACC PRO_{i+}
zítra v Základně].
tomorrow in Základna
'Dominik wants to meet tomorrow at Základna.'
(SYNv9)
- (9) * Dominik **se** sejde zítra v Základně.
Dominik REFL.ACC meet.FUT tomorrow in Základna
'Dominik will meet tomorrow at Základna.'

When can clitics climb?

Clitics can climb out of control structures with syntactic subject PRO (contra Lenertová, 2004; Rezac, 2005)

subject-oriented possessive anaphor *svůj*

- (10) Pavlovi_i se **ho** podařilo [dokončit
Pavel_i.DAT REFL.ACC it.ACC succeeded.N.SG finish.INF
<ho> PRO_i během své_i směny].
ACC PRO_i during own_i shift
'Pavel_i managed (*literally: it succeeded for Pavel*) to finish
it during his_i shift.'
- (11) *Pavlovi_i je líto svého_i mládí.
Pavel_i.DAT is sorry own_i.GEN youth.GEN.
'Pavel_i feels sorry (*literally: it is sorry for Pavel*) for his_i
youth.'
(Nedoluzhko, 2016: 113)

Negative concord and clitic climbing

No matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause →
no clitic climbing

finite embedded clauses

- (12) * To ale ne-znamená, [že mají **žádné** výhody].
that but NEG-mean that have.3PL no advantages
'But that doesn't mean that they have any advantages.'

wh-infinitives

- (13) * Petr ne-ví, [jak si **nic** koupit
Petr NEG-knows how REFL.DAT nothing buy.INF
přes internet].
through internet
'Petr doesn't know how to buy anything on the
internet.'

Negative concord and clitic climbing

Matrix negation licenses negative elements in embedded clause → clitic climbing

clitic climbing possible but clitics don't climb

(14) Nikdy jsem ne-toužil [vyměnit **si** s **nikým** místo].
never PST.1SG NEG-yearned swap.INF REFL.DAT with nobody place
'I have never yearned to change places with anyone.' (SYNv9)

(15) ... že se ne-touží [vrátit do **žádné** funkce].
that REFL.ACC NEG-yearns return.INF to no function
'...that he isn't yearning to return to any function.' (SYNv9)

clitic climbing impossible

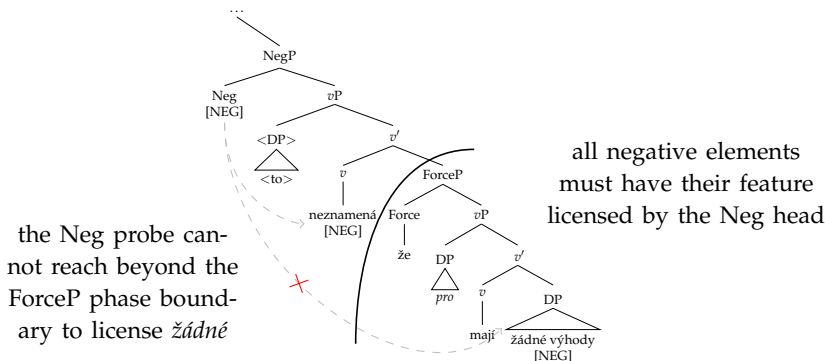
(16) Táta {***si**} dětem ne-dovolil [{**si**} v cukrářství
dad REFL.DAT children.DAT NEG-allowed REFL.DAT in candy store
nic koupit].
nothing buy.INF
'The dad didn't allow the children to buy anything at the candy store.'

Analysis: Negative concord

Negative concord is multiple Agree (Zeijlstra, 2004, 2008) blocked by ForceP phase boundary by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Keine, 2018)

- (12) * To ale ne-znamená, [že mají **žádné** výhody].
that but NEG-mean that have.3PL no advantages
'But that doesn't mean that they have any advantages.'

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Analysis: Clitics

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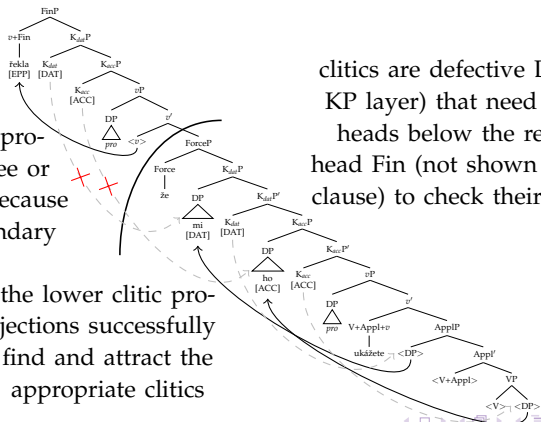
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(18)

the higher clitic projections cannot see or attract the clitics because of the phase boundary

the lower clitic projections successfully find and attract the appropriate clitics

clitics are defective DPs (lacking KP layer) that need to move to heads below the regular EPP head Fin (not shown in the lower clause) to check their case feature



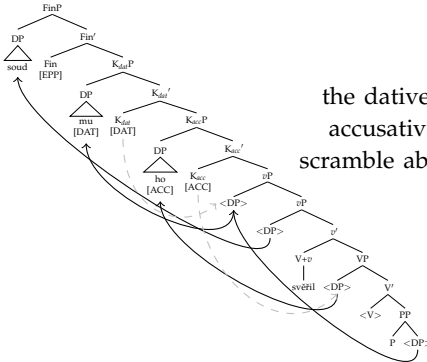
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Clitic movement must preserve c-command relations (see e.g. Richards III, 1997; Rezac, 2005), preceded by relatively (but not always!) free scrambling to vP edge (Biskup, 2006; Kučerová, 2007; Šimík et al., 2014)

- (19) Soud **mu** **ho** svěřil loni 25. května.
court him.DAT him.DAT entrusted last year 25th May

'The court entrusted him (*the child*) to him last year on May 25.'

(SYNv9)

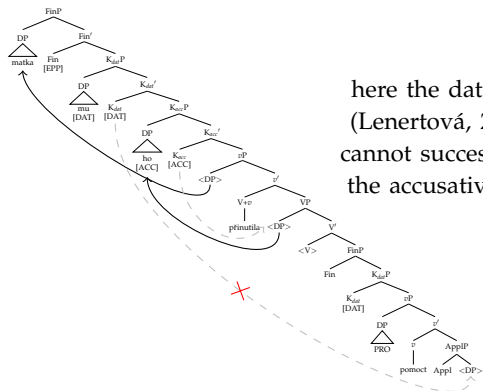
- (20) 
- the dative argument starts below the accusative (Dvořák, 2010) and must scramble above it before clitic movement

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mother her.DAT him.ACC forced help.INF her.DAT
'Mother forced him to help her.' (see Lenertová, 2004: 162)

(21)



here the dative clitic cannot scramble (Lenertová, 2004) so the matrix probe cannot successfully reach and attract it: the accusative controller is in the way

More on clitic ordering

(Arguably) reverse-merged orders okay in monoclausal constructions but not biclausal ones

acc > dat → dat > acc

- (19) Soud **mu** **ho** svěřil loni 25. května.
court him.DAT him.DAT entrusted last year 25th May
'The court entrusted him (*the child*) to him last year on
May 25.'
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- (5) * Matka **jí** **ho** přinutila [pomocť <*jí*>].
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(see Lenertová, 2004: 162)

More on clitic ordering

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dat > refl → refl > dat

- (22) Justýna **se** **mu** však ne-věnovala tak,
Justýna REFL.ACC him.DAT however NEG-devote thus
jak by rád
like COND.3SG happy
'Justýna, however, was not paying attention to him as he
would have liked' (SYNv9)

- (23) *Jan **se** **mu** ne-dovolí omluvit.
Jan REFL.ACC him.DAT NEG-allow apologize.INF
'Jan will not allow him to apologize.'

More on clitic ordering

Internal argument clitics can also precede genitive clitics associated with the subject

subj gen > dat → dat > subj gen

- (24) Když jsem jim podával ruku, tak **mi**
when PST.1SG them.DAT gave hand then me.DAT
jich několik řeklo ...
them.GEN several said
'When I shook hands with them, a few of them said to me...'
(SYNv9)

Clitic movement and the A-system

I argue for a looser fit between clitic movement and the A-system than Rezac (2005)

one claim: DPs with non-structural case can't cliticize – but such examples are well attested

for ACC-DAT verbs like *svěřit* 'entrust' (Dvořák, 2010), the dative argument should be outside the reach of the A-system (cf. Holmberg and Platzack, 1995)

- (19) Soud **mu** **ho** svěřil loni 25.
court him.DAT him.DAT entrusted last year 25th
května.
May
'The court entrusted him (*the child*) to him last year
on May 25.'
(SYNv9)

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for ACC-ACC verbs like *učit* 'teach', Rezac (2005) claims that it is ungrammatical for the second accusative argument (the thing taught) to cliticize

- (25) Učím **se** **ho** celý život, učím
teach.1SG REFL.ACC it.ACC whole live teach.1SG
ho studenty.
it.ACC students
'I've been learning it my whole live, I teach it to
students.'
(SYNv9)