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Czech Pronominal Clitics*

Denisa Lenertová

Abstract. This article explores the empirical properties of Czech pronominal clitics, which differ from their counterparts in other second position (2P) clitic languages (such as Serbian/Croatian) in a number of respects. After looking at clitic-first and clitic-third phenomena and their semantic/pragmatic impact, it is argued that Czech clitic placement must be basically driven by syntax, and that 2P is a heterogeneous structure in which pronominal clitics occupy a TP-external position below clitic auxiliaries but higher than the copula. The linear ordering of pronominal clitics within their cluster has a certain limited flexibility due to phonological requirements, which affect both monoclausal clitic placement and clitic climbing. Finally, the empirical details of clitic climbing in Czech are discussed, showing that it cannot be reduced to movement for case checking or to the phenomenon of restructuring known from Romance languages.

1. Introduction

Mixed approaches combining the phonological and syntactic requirements of clitics into one picture have played a dominant role in recent accounts of clitic placement in Slavic. In studies focused primarily on South Slavic, two different views on the mechanism of clitic placement have been developed among the mixed accounts. Franks (2000) analyzes second-position clitics as verbal features undergoing an overt feature checking movement. On their way up the verbal extended projection, clitics form a syntactic cluster which ends up in the highest functional position of the clause. PF plays a filtering role, i.e., if syntax leaves clitics without a proper host, a lower copy of the clitic cluster is pronounced. On the other hand, Bošković (2000) claims that there is no special syntactic procedure involved in clitic placement and in particular no need for a syntactic cluster formation. The "2P-requirement" is actually a constraint on PF representations ruling out all constructions where clitics are found in any other but second position of their intonational phrase (I-phrase).

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This paper will discuss the properties and placement of pronominal clitics in Czech, both with respect to placement of other clitic elements and with respect to the structure of the Czech clause. The general properties of Czech clitic placement will therefore be discussed first. It will be shown that they pose problems for both of the above accounts. Czech clitics do not appear in the highest head of the clause nor do auxiliary and pronominal clitics cluster in one head, which is problematic for the more syntactic approach of Franks (2000). Still, *contra* Bošković (2000) we claim that the second-position effect is syntax-driven. We will support this claim by the discussion of clitic climbing properties, showing that pronominal clitics are placed higher than their case-checking positions.

In section 2 the properties of clitic placement in Czech will be discussed in the light of the above theories, with focus on the internal structuring of the second position and the difference between pronominal and auxiliary clitics. In section 3 the inventory of pronominal clitics will be presented with focus on some phonological constraints. In section 4 syntactic properties of pronominal clitics will be discussed with respect to clitic climbing.

2. Second Position: General Considerations

In this section, the main patterns of Czech clitic placement will be discussed, providing some new evidence relevant to the phenomena already known from the literature. For the characteristic patterns of Czech cliticization, see, e.g., Avgustinova and Oliva 1997; Fried 1994; Toman 1996, 1999; and an overview in chapter 3 of Franks and King 2000.

2.1. Lower than Second

In certain syntactic contexts Czech clitics appear lower than 2P of the clause. In embedded clauses there are two possibilities: either clitics directly follow the conjunction (example (1)) or a fronted topic/focus/emphasized element intervenes between the conjunction and the clitics (examples (2–4)). This phenomenon typically occurs with the conjunction *že* 'that' (example (2)), but it is not limited to it (examples (3–4)), nor is it limited to a clitic type (i.e., auxiliary or pronoun):[1]

[1] Throughout the text, clitics will be set in italics. Abbreviations: ACC – accusative, AUX – past tense auxiliary, AUX_{CD} – conditional auxiliary, COP – copula, CL – clitic, DAT – dative, F – feminine, [FOC] – focus, FUT – future (used as abbreviation for pf/present, which is interpreted as future), GEN – genitive, INF – infinitive, INSTR – instrumental, LOC – locative, M – masculine, NOM – nominative, NT – neuter, PL – plural, PASSP – passive

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(1) Myslela jsem, **že** *jsi* *ho* Marii představila.
thought$_{SG.F}$ AUX$_{1.SG}$ that AUX$_{2.SG}$ him$_{ACC}$ Mary$_{DAT}$ introduced$_{SG.F}$
'I thought that you have introduced him to Mary.'

(2) Věřil byste, **že** [i revma]$_{FOC}$ *jsem* ztratil?
believe$_{SG.M}$ AUX$_{CD.2}$ that even rheumatism$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{1.SG}$ lost$_{SG.M}$
'Would you believe that I have even lost my rheumatism?' (S2)

(3) Nevím, **jestli** [muže]$_{TOP}$ *by* tak pohotová
not-know$_{1.SG}$ whether man$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{CD.3}$ so ready
odpověď vůbec napadla.
answer at all occurred$_{SG.F}$
'I don't know whether such a ready answer would occur to a man at all.' (adapted from ČNK)

(4) Měl štěstí, **protože** [kvalitní předlohu]$_{TOP}$ *mu*
had$_{SG.M}$ luck because good pattern$_{ACC}$ him$_{DAT}$
poskytla sama historie.
provided$_{SG}$ itself history
'He was lucky, because history itself provided him with a good pattern.' (ČNK)

A similar pattern can be found with root/embedded *wh*-questions and relative clauses, where a focused element can intervene between the *wh*-phrase and the clitics:

(5) A co Ema *by* na to řekla?
and what$_{ACC}$ Emma AUX$_{CD.3}$ to it said$_{SG.F}$
'And what would *Emma* say to that?' (adapted from ČNK)

In multiple *wh*-questions clitics typically follow the first *wh*-word (see Toman 1981). In certain contexts, however, both *wh*-words can precede them and the choice between *wh*–cl–*wh* and *wh*–*wh*–cl has an impact on the interpretation of the *wh*-pair (see Meyer 2003). In case of multiple *wh*-extraction out of embedded clauses, clitics cannot split the *wh*-phrases:

participle, prt – particle, REFL$_{CL}$ – reflexive clitic, SC – Serbian/Croatian, SG – singular, Sln – Slovenian, [TOP] – topic.

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(6) a. Kdo komu *~bys* myslel, že *se* nakonec
who $whom_{DAT}$ $AUX_{CD.2.SG}$ $thought_{SG.M}$ that $REFL_{CL}$ in-the-end
omluvil?
$apologized_{SG.M}$
'Who would you think in the end apologized to whom?'

b. *Kdo *~bys* komu myslel, že se nakonec omluvil?

[Lenertová 2001:297]

In summary, we can conclude that clitic placement in Czech has syntactic and semantic correlates.[2]

2.2. Splitting the Cluster

The following section will discuss evidence against the assumption that the clitic sequence auxiliary–reflexive–pronominal clitics clusters in a single head.[3]

In subjunctive complements and conditional embedded clauses, the conditional auxiliary combines with the conjunction into one word carrying the agreement features (*kdyby* 'if', *aby* 'so as to/in order to'). Fronted constituents in such embedded clauses intervene between the conditional conjunction and the rest of the cluster: the reflexive clitic in (7), pronominal clitics in (8) and (9):

(7) ... a řekl **mi**, **abych** jeden *si* nechal a
and $told_{SG.M}$ me_{DAT} $that_{CD.1.SG}$ one_{ACC} $REFL_{CL}$ $kept_{SG.M}$ and
ostatní podepsal.
$rest_{ACC}$ $signed_{SG.M}$
'... and he told me to keep one of them and sign the rest.' (ČNK)

[2] Lenertová (2001) proposes an account of the data in section 2.1 in terms of a Split-C approach, where the specification of sentence type and finiteness/mood is divided between two heads. Using Rizzi's 1997 terminology, these heads are $Force^0$ and Fin^0 respectively. Fin^0 is supposed to be the highest head available for the (auxiliary) clitics (some approaches, e.g., Platzack 1998, identify Fin^0 with the V2-position). Thus, one fronted constituent can appear between the complementizer and the clitics. However, the proposal still assumes clitics cluster in one head, an assumption which is abandoned here.

[3] Toman (1999) already argues for mapping the sequence of clitics into separate heads within the extended VP. However, he adopts a base-generation view. In contrast, in this paper we assume that pronominal clitics are base-generated in their argument positions (cf. Junghanns 2002a, Franks 2000) and move to the second position in syntax.

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(8) [Marie však pro něj byla portrét, jaký by uměl namalovat pan Řeřicha,]

'Maria struck him as a portrait which Mr. Řeřicha would be able to paint,'

kdyby	pozadí	*mu*	namaloval	Rembrandt.
if$_{CD.3}$	background$_{ACC}$	him$_{DAT}$	painted$_{SG.M}$	Rembrandt

'if Rembrandt painted the background for him.' (ČNK)

(9) [na to by se podívala,]
'she wouldn't allow'

aby	nějakým	komplotem	*jí*	bylo	zabráněno
that$_{CD.3}$	some	conspiracy$_{INSTR}$	her$_{DAT}$	was$_{SG.NT}$	prevented$_{PASSP.NT}$
ve svobodném	rozhodování.				
in free$_{LOC}$	deciding$_{LOC}$				

'any conspiracy to prevent her deciding freely.' (ČNK)

Further, certain particles and short adverbials, e.g., *už* 'already' and *prý* 'supposedly', may intervene in the clitic cluster. Although their preferred position is immediately preceding or following the cluster, they can also be placed between the auxiliary and reflexive or pronominal: (10a)/(10b, c) (the canonical positions are added in parenthesis):[4]

(10) a. My (už) *bychom* už *se* (už) o něj postarali.
we AUX$_{CD.1.PL}$ already REFL$_{CL}$ of him$_{ACC.M}$ care$_{PP.PL}$
'We would already take care of him.' (ČNK)

b. Pak (už) *by* už *mu* (už) v odchodu nikdo nebránil.
then AUX$_{CD.3}$ already him$_{DAT}$ in leaving$_{LOC}$ nobody not-prevent$_{SG.M}$
'Then nobody would be preventing him from leaving any more.' (ČNK)

[4] Avgustinova and Oliva (1997), who pointed out the floating character of these adverbials, do not specify any restrictions at all. However, their placement in other positions within the cluster than between the auxiliary and the reflexives/pronominals is rather marginal. Occasionally it is possible to find an example of the sequence reflexive – adverbial – pronoun, but the sequence pronoun – adverbial – pronoun seems to be completely out.

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(10) c. Já (už) *jsem* už *jich* (už) potkal hodně.
I $AUX_{1.SG}$ already of-them$_{GEN}$ met$_{SG.M}$ a lot
'I have already met a lot of them.' (adapted from ČNK)

If we assume that these adverbials can be adjoined to various maximal projections, then the auxiliaries and reflexives/pronominals in (10) do not form a syntactic cluster in one head (Franks and King 2000: 104).

Finally, clitics represent heterogeneous features, which is also reflected in the different interactions between them. First, the conditional auxiliary inflects for agreement, and the above examples (7–9) also show that the affinity of the conditional clitic to certain conjunctions causes the agreement features to appear with it on the C-head. In turn, the 2nd sg agreement features combine with the reflexive pronouns *se* and *si* to form *ses* and *sis*. This separates the agreement features from the conjunction:

(11) řekl, **aby** jeden *sis* nechal a ostatní podepsal.
said that$_{CD.3}$ one AUX+REFL$_{2.SG}$ kept and rest signed
'He said that you should keep one and sign the rest.'

In periphrastic past tense constructions, the same cluster *ses*, *sis* results from combining the 2nd sg AUX *jsi* with the reflexive (see (12a)).[5] However, in the absence of the reflexive, there is no parallel clustering of the auxiliary with a pronominal clitic (12b, c).

(12) a. Proč *ses* *mu* smála?
why REFL+$AUX_{2.SG}$ him$_{DAT}$ laughed$_{SG.F}$
'Why were you laughing at him?'

b. Proč *jsi* *mu* nevěřila?
why $AUX_{2.SG}$ him$_{DAT}$ not-believed$_{SG.F}$
'Why didn't you believe him?'

c. *Proč *mus* nevěřila?

The lack of interactions between the pronominal and auxiliary clitics may follow from the lack of syntactic adjacency and/or from their respective characteristics as deficient phrases/maximal projections or heads.[6] The

[5] In Junghann's (2000) analysis, the auxiliary *jsi* is reduced to *s* and the reflexive *se/si* raises to support it.

[6] Then it is necessary to explain the special behavior of the reflexives.

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properties of auxiliary clitics will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

2.3. The Status of Auxiliary Clitics

In contrast to pronominal clitics, verbal clitics in Czech have no strong counterparts, i.e., Czech periphrastic past and conditional can be formed only with clitic auxiliaries. The following table illustrates the properties of periphrastic constructions in Czech:[7]

Table 1

Construction	Auxiliary form / features		Complement/ features
	Clitic aux		***l*-participle**
Past tense	Sg: *jsem, jsi, Ø* Pl: *jsme, jste, Ø*	**Agr** (person, number) **Mood**	**Agr** (number, gender) **[–present]**[8] negation
Conditional	Sg: *bych, bys, by* Pl: *bychom, byste, by*	**Agr** (person, number) **Mood**	
	Copula		
Passive	present: Sg: *jsem, jsi, je* Pl: *jsme, jste, jsou* future: Sg: *bud-u, -eš, -e* Pl: *bud-eme, -ete, -ou* past: *byl*(...) + past aux	**Agr** (person, number) **Tense / Mood** negation	**passive-participle** **Agr** (number, gender)
Predicative construction			adjectival, nominal, or prepositional **predicate**

[7] Following Fried 1994, the passive construction is included among the copular constructions, as the characteristics associated with the passive auxiliary *být* are identical with the copular/existential uses of *být*.

[8] As the *l*-participle is used in both past tense and conditional constructions, it cannot be just specified as [+past], nor can the clitic auxiliary be characterized as having a temporal meaning (cf. *MČ II*: 424, where it is attributed only number, person, and mood).

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The fact that the past-tense clitic auxiliary and the present-tense copula are identical in form is often taken as evidence that the copula is the full counterpart of the clitic auxiliary. Franks and King (2000: 97) conclude that "forms of *být* are syntactically clitics as auxiliaries and not syntactically clitics as copulas". Toman (1980, 1999), on the other hand, argues that the copula is not the real counterpart of the auxiliary, pointing out different morphological changes affecting the auxiliary and the copula.[9]

The situation is complicated by the fact that the affirmative present tense copula can precede or follow pronominal clitics, i.e., occupy the clitic or non-clitic position:[10]

(13) a. Kolik (je) *mu* (je) let?
how many (is) him_{DAT} $years_{GEN.PL}$
'How old is he?'

b. Kolik (je) *mi* (je) dlužen?
how much (is) me_{DAT} $owed_{PASSP.M}$
'How much does he owe me?'

[9] The auxiliary has a defective paradigm and allows contracted forms (ia), in contrast to the copula (ib):

(i) a. Kdy*s* přišel?
when+$AUX_{2.SG}$ $come_{SG.M}$
'When did you come?'

b. *Ty*s ale naivní!
you+$are_{2.SG}$ PRT naive
'You are so naive!'

b′. Ty *jsi* ale naivní!

On the other hand, the colloquial forms of the copula pattern with the conjugational morphology of full verbs: e.g., the 2nd sg form *seš* (iia) or the dialectal 1st sg form *su*, such forms cannot be used as an auxiliary (iib):

(ii) a. Ty *seš* ale naivní!
you $are_{2.SG}$ PRT naive
'You are so naive!'

b. *Kdy *seš* odešel?
when $are_{2.SG}$ $gone_{SG.M}$
'When have you gone?'

b′. Kdy *jsi* odešel?

[10] Avgustinova and Oliva (1997) characterize the copula as a "semiclitic" due to its mixed behavior.

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An investigation of the ČNK corpus shows that in the majority of the cases the present tense copula precedes the pronominal clitics, regardless of the person/number it carries:[11]

(14) a. ... kde **jsou** *mu* zkontrolovány cestovní doklady.
where $are_{3.PL}$ him_{DAT} $checked_{PASSP.PL}$ travel $documents_{NOM}$
'... where his travel documents are checked.' (ČNK)

b. Zeptali se, jestli **jste** *mu* podobný.
$asked_{3.PL}$ $REFL_{CL}$ whether $are_{2.SG}$ him_{DAT} similar
'They asked whether you look like him.' (ČNK)

c. ... pokud **je** *mu* takový projev umožněn.
if $is_{3.SG}$ him_{DAT} such $speech_{NOM.M}$ $enabled_{PASSP.M}$
'... if he is allowed such a speech.' (ČNK)

On the other hand, future/negative/past forms of the copula are clearly forbidden in the pre-pronominal position,[12] as in (14'a, b, c), respectively:

(14)' a. kde ***budou** *mu* **(budou)** zkontrolovány cestovní doklady.
where $be_{3.PL.FUT}$ him_{DAT} $checked_{PASSP.PL}$ travel $documents_{NOM}$
'... where his travel documents will be checked.'

b. zeptali se, jestli ***nejste** *mu* **(nejste)** podobný.[13]
$asked_{PP.3.PL}$ $REFL_{CL}$ whether $not\text{-}are_{2.PL}$ him_{DAT} similar
'... whether you, by chance, look similar to him.'

[11] For an illustration, in ČNK 90% of passive embedded clauses and passive matrix/embedded *wh*-questions with pronominal clitics have the copula preceding the pronominals.

[12] With the exception of V–cl order, which will be discussed in section 2.4

[13] I should like to point out that, especially in spoken Czech, yes/no questions typically contain pleonastic negation, which causes these questions to mean something like 'do you by chance...':

(i) Nemáte něco na psaní?
$not\text{-}have_{2.PL}$ $something_{ACC}$ to write with
'Do you have something to write with?'

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(14)′ c. pokud ***byl** *mu* **(byl)** takový projev
if was$_{3.SG}$ him$_{DAT}$ such speech$_{NOM.M}$
umožněn.
enabled$_{PASSP.SG.M}$
' ... if he was enabled such a speech.'

It does not seem plausible to claim that the difference between (14) and (14)′ lies in prosody/phonology.[14] It is also not plausible to claim that it lies in the semantic value of the tense/negation features. The 2P conditional clitic has semantic value as well, so the availability of the 2P is not necessarily connected to pure agreement features.

The positional possibilities/requirements of auxiliaries obviously correspond to the distribution of the heads (see Toman 1999, Junghanns 1999):[15] the clitic auxiliaries carry modal and agreement features, corresponding to the heads Fin^0 (Rizzi 1997) and AgrS^0, respectively. The data in (13–14) suggest that the affirmative present-tense copula can lose its temporal meaning and be reduced just to agreement features, thus being available for AgrS^0. The tense-specifying copula, on the other hand, can get only to T^0. On the basis of the difference in the location of auxiliary clitics and the copula, the possible location of the pronominal clitics becomes more obvious: they seem to be adjoined to the TP.

The fact that auxiliary clitics cannot carry negation supports the claim that they are base-generated higher than the copula. Negation is carried by the *l*-participles and the copula, which pass through the NegP on the way to T^0. It has been claimed that *l*-participles undergo movement out of the VP (see Franks and King 2000: 112), as indicated by the ban on VP-topicalization. Passive participles, on the other hand, stay in the VP and can be fronted:

---

[14] Then we would have to account, e.g., for the unacceptability of **budou mu* in (14′a) vs. the acceptability of conditional-aux preceding the pronominals, e.g., *bychom mu* (AUX$_{CD1.PL}$ + him$_{DAT}$).

[15] In this section we assume the following structure of the Czech clause (see Junghanns 1999):

(i) [$_{CP}$ C [$_{AgrSP}$ AgrS [$_{TP}$ T [$_{NegP}$ Neg [$_{AgrOP}$ AgrO [$_{VP}$ ...V ...]]]]]] (with C split into ForceP-FinP)

NegP is the base-generation position of the proclitic negative particle *ne-*. Toman (1999) proposes a different structure.

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(15) a. *[Posílal dopisy]$_{TOP}$ *jsem* *ti* pravidelně každý
sent$_{SG.M}$ letters$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{1.SG}$ you$_{DAT.SG}$ regularly every
týden.
week.
'I sent letters to you every week.'

b. [Nucen k takovým činům]$_{TOP}$ *jste* nebyl
forced$_{PASSP.SG.M}$ to such actions$_{DAT}$ AUX$_{2.PL}$ not-were$_{SG.M}$
nikdo.
nobody
'None of you was forced to such actions.'
[Avgustinova and Oliva 1997: 40]

Similarly, in embedded clauses only the passive participle can be fronted:

(16) a. Nehledě na to, že zaměstnán *by* byl
regardless of that that employed$_{PASSP.SG.M}$ AUX$_{CD.3}$ were$_{SG.M}$
samozřejmě ten starší.
naturally the older
'Regardless of the fact that the older one would be employed.'
(ČNK)

b. *Nehledě na to, že zaměstnali *by* samozřejmě
regardless of that employed$_{PL}$ AUX$_{CD.3}$ naturally
toho staršího.
the$_{ACC}$ older$_{ACC}$
'Regardless of the fact that they would employ the older one.'

The conclusion that (auxiliary) clitics are located high in the tree raises one important issue ofhow to account for the V/Participle-clitics sequences as in (17):

(17) Koupila *jsem* *mu* knihu.
bought$_{SG.F}$ aux$_{1.SG}$ him$_{DAT}$ book$_{ACC}$
'I bought him a book.'

2.4. The V – Cl Problem

The original accounts of clitic placement which postulated V-to-C movement to support the clitics in cases when nothing else is moved to [Spec, CP] (see, e.g., Ćavar and Wilder 1994 for Croatian, Veselovská 1995 for

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Czech) have been criticized on empirical and theoretical grounds. Bošković (2000) argues that SC participles cannot appear in C^0, as they cannot cross sentential adverbials (ex. (18)) and support the question particle *-li*. He uses this as evidence that participles appear low in the tree. Consequently, the sequence V–cl reveals that clitics too are placed low in syntax. Only if the sequence V–cl is preceded by more material, the surface 2P of clitics is determined phonologically. Franks (2000) proposes that the V–cl order is achieved through the pronunciation of a lower copy of the clitic cluster, which is a last-resort operation taking place if the clitic cluster in the highest head is left without a host.

In Czech there is no empirical evidence that the *l*-participles cannot go to C^0. In contrast to what is claimed for SC, *l*-participles in Czech can raise across S-adverbs:

(18) a. Jovan *je* **pravilno** odgovorio Mariji. [SC]
Jovan $AUX_{CL.3.SG}$ correctly answered Marija
'Jovan gave Marija a correct answer/did the right thing in answering Marija.'

b. Odgovorio *je* **pravilno** Marii. [SC]
answered $AUX_{CL.3.SG}$ correctly Maria
'He gave Marija a correct answer/*He did the right thing in answering Marija.'

[Franks and King 2000: 308]

(19) Dotkl *jste* *se* **správně** mého přístupu k
$raised_{SG.M}$ $AUX_{2.PL}$ $REFL_{CL}$ rightly my_{GEN} $approach_{GEN}$ to
hráčům.
$players_{DAT}$
'You rightly raised [the issue of] my approach to the players.' (ČNK)

Whereas in (18a) the adverb *pravilno* can be interpreted either as a VP or as a sentential adverb, with the participle fronted, as in (18b), only the VP-interpretation of the adverb is available. No such restriction occurs in Czech (19).

Moreover, the *l*-participles support the conjunction *-li*:[16]

[16] In contrast to other Slavic languages, Czech *-li* is not used to mark root questions but only conditional and indirect interrogative clauses. It is obligatorily supported by the finite verb or the *l*-participle.

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(20) a. Pochopil **-li** *jsem* pana Pitharta správně, …
understood$_{SG.M}$ -if$_{CL}$ AUX$_{1.SG}$ Mr. Pithart$_{ACC}$ properly
'If I understood Mr. Pithart properly, ….' (ČNK)

b. Právě to bychom potřebovali, chtěli **-li** *bychom*
exactly that AUX$_{CD.1.PL}$ needed$_{PL}$ wanted$_{PL}$ -if$_{CL}$ AUX$_{CD.1.PL}$
se spoléhat na policii.
REFL$_{CL}$ rely$_{INF}$ on police$_{ACC}$
'We would need exactly that if we wanted to rely on the police.'
(ČNK)

It is also obvious that the V–cl order cannot always be explained by Franks's copy theory. In the previous section, we suggested that auxiliary clitics are base-generated above NegP, as they cannot carry the negation particle *ne-*. If a clitic auxiliary follows a negated participle as in (21), there is no lower copy which could be pronounced to achieve the V–cl order:

(21) Neodpověděla *bych* *mu* prý na tu
not-answered$_{SG.F}$ AUX$_{CD.1.SG}$ him$_{DAT}$ supposedly at this
otázku správně.
question$_{ACC}$ properly
'I would supposedly not answer him properly on this question.'

However, we do not wish to claim that the verb moves in order to support the clitics. Examples (22) and (23) show that in matrix clauses an *l*-participle or a finite verb can appear sentence-initially followed by anaphoric PPs and anaphoric adverbials. However, this is not felicitous in embedded clauses.

(22) a. Zaplatil *za* *ně* velkoryse všechny dluhy.
paid$_{SG.M}$ for them$_{ACC}$ generously all debts
'He generously paid all their debts.'

b. *?Řekla, že zaplatil *za* *ně* velkoryse všechny
said$_{3.SG.FM}$ that paid$_{SG.M}$ for them$_{ACC}$ generously all
dluhy.
debts
'She said that he generously paid all their debts.'

b'. Řekla, že **za ně** zaplatil velkoryse všechny dluhy.

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(23) a. Jezdí **tam** **s** **ní** každý rok.
go$_{3.PL}$ there with her$_{INSTR}$ every year
'They go there with her every year.'

b. *Dobře to tam znají, protože jezdí **tam** **s** **ní**
well it there know$_{3.PL}$ because go$_{3.PL}$ there with her
každý rok.
every year
'They know that place well, because they go there with her every year.

b'. ... protože **tam s ní** jezdí každý rok.

Obviously, in (22a) and (23a) the verb/*l*-participle undergoes movement that in embedded clauses is not necessary (22b, 23b). Although the boldface items are not clitic auxiliaries or pronominals, a similar pattern occurs as with clitics: the verb must be sentence-initial in matrix clauses, in embedded clauses the complementizer suffices. Generally, if nothing has been topicalized/focused then the verb seems to move to satisfy some formal requirement.[17] This requirement can be neglected in informal, spoken Czech in so-called clitic-first cases.

The clitic-first phenomenon has been discussed in the literature in connection with so-called topic-drop, i.e., deletion of the first constituent (see Toman 1996):

(24) ~~To~~ *bych* neřekl.
~~that~~ AUX$_{CD.1.SG}$ not-said$_{SG.M}$
'I wouldn't say that.'

As Czech 2P clitics are prosodically neutral, in cases like (24) they procliticize on the verb (see Fried 1994, Toman 1996). However, clitic-initial sentences do not always result from an ellipsis (see Lenertová 2001). In (25–27), with initial auxiliary, reflexive and pronominals respectively, there is no definitive answer about what could have been deleted:[18]

[17] See also Junghann's(2002b) account of overt verb movement in root clauses indicating *pro*-drop topics.

[18] In (25) it could be the discourse particle *vždyť* 'after all' or the personal pronoun, an expletive (*on*) in (26), the complementizer *protože* 'because' in (27), or an expletive (*ona*).

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(25) [... kdyžs mi za celou dobu nenapsal ani pohled!]
'you didn't write me even a postcard the whole time!'

a. *'sem* na tebe myslel každej den!
$AUX_{1.SG}$ about $you_{ACC.SG}$ $thought_{SG.M}$ every day!
'I've been thinking about you every day!' (S1)

b. Myslel *sem* na tebe každej den!

(26) [Ty máš časy, kamaráde!] 'You seem to be having good times!'

a. *'se* *mi* včera narodil kluk,
$REFL_{CL}$ me_{DAT} yesterday $born_{SG.M}$ son
[tak jsme trochu oslavovali!]
'My son was born yesterday, so we were celebrating a bit!' (S3)

b. Narodil *se mi* včera kluk...

(27) [Co sis dala?] 'What did you order?

a. Rum. *'mě* bolela hlava.
Rum. me_{ACC} $ached_{SG.F}$ $head_{NOM}$
'Rum. I had a headache.' (S1)

b. Bolela *mě* hlava.

The vacant first position makes the utterances marked, sloppy, and suitable only for an informal, spoken register.

What is the formal feature requiring the initial position to be filled? Bošković (2000) argues against a feature that can be checked by any phrase in [Spec, CP] or by a head. On the other hand, recent research reveals that such a requirement seems to be a general phenomenon across languages. Holmberg's (2000a, b) accounts of Icelandic stylistic fronting and the V2 phenomenon propose that languages have a generalized EPP feature P that attracts the closest visible accessible category to the C-domain. It is a syntactic movement, as there are certain locality conditions (Minimal Link Condition), but it targets only the phonological matrix of the category, leaving its semantic and formal features in situ. The contrast between (22a)/(23a) and (22b)/(23b) would then follow from the possibility of checking the P feature in embedded clauses by the complementizer, which would make verb movement redundant. Further research should clarify whether this model is viable for Czech.

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2.5. A Problem for Intonational Phrase Based Accounts

In connection with the so-called clitic-first phenomenon we mentioned the prosodically neutral behavior of Czech clitics. Following a pause (28a, b), clitics behave as proclitics (Fried 1994; Toman 1996):

(28) a. Ta veverka, kterou krmíte, *by* *vás* mohla
the squirrel$_{NOM}$ which$_{ACC}$ you-feed$_{2.PL}$ AUX$_{CD.3}$ you$_{ACC}$ could$_{SG.F}$
kousnout.
bite$_{INF}$
'The squirrel you are feeding could bite you.' [Toman 1996: 506]

b. Že nikdo neprotestoval, *ho* nepřekvapilo.
that nobody not-protested$_{SG.M}$ him$_{ACC}$ not-surprised$_{SG.NT}$
'It didn't surprise him that nobody spoke up against it.'
[Fried 1994: 168]

However, although prosodically neutral, clitics cannot follow just any pause. The first position cannot be occupied by an adverbial clause (see Trávníček 1959):

(29) a. *Až se vrátí, *bych* *s* *ním*
when REFL$_{CL}$ returns$_{3.SG.FUT}$ AUX$_{CD.1.SG}$ with him$_{INSTR}$
chtěla mluvit.
wanted$_{SG.F}$ speak$_{INF}$
'When he returns, I would like to talk to him.'

b. Až se vrátí, chtěla *bych s ním* mluvit.

(30) a. *Protože mi byla zima, *jsem* *si* uvařil
because me$_{DAT}$ was$_{SG.F}$ cold$_{F}$ AUX$_{1.SG}$ REFL$_{CL}$ cooked$_{SG.M}$
grog.
grog$_{ACC}$
'As I was cold, I made myself some grog.'

b. Protože mi byla zima, uvařil *jsem si* grog.

Interestingly, adverbial clauses can serve as the first constituent in Slovenian:

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(31) Ker ga je zeblo, *mu* *jo* *je* ponudila
because him_{ACC} $was_{3.SG}$ cold him_{DAT} her_{ACC} $AUX_{3.SG}$ $offered_{SG.F}$
vročo. [Sln]
hot
'Because he was cold she offered it to him hot.'
[Golden and Sheppard 2000: 194]

Both Czech and Slovenian have prosodically neutral clitics and obligatory V–cl order if nothing occupies the initial position. It would be difficult to deal with this problem in terms of Bošković's I-phrase. On the other hand, we can attribute the phenomenon to the different syntax of adverbial clauses in Czech and Slovenian. In Czech, adverbial clauses seem to be in a position external to the main CP, i.e., they cannot serve as a syntactic host for clitics (see also Junghanns 2002a for an analysis along these lines).

2.6. Summary

The aim of this section was to show that the 2P effect in Czech is syntax-driven but that the second position is heterogeneous and structured. Auxiliary clitics are verbal features located in the appropriate functional heads high in the tree (Fin^0/$AgrS^0$). If we adopt a split-C structure consisting of ForceP and FinP (see Rizzi 1997), the clitic-third effect in embedded clauses can be accounted for. As indicated by the possibility of intervening material, pronominal clitics are located lower than auxiliaries, but from their location with respect to the copula/participles it follows that they are still TP-external. The fact that pronominal clitics can escape the TP will be shown to be relevant for the account of clitic climbing.

3. Pronominal Clitics: Inventory

Only five pronouns distinguish a clitic form and a full form. The five forms in italics in table 2 are genuine clitics,[19] i.e., they cannot be emphasized or serve as a complement of a preposition. Their complementary full forms are in boldface.

[19] The difference between genuine (lexical) clitics and other pronominal forms (elements that optionally undergo phonological cliticization as well as non-clitic forms) in Czech is discussed in detail in Junghanns 2002a.

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Table 2

	1.SG	2.SG	3.SG.M/NT	3.SG.F	1.PL	2.PL	3.PL
DAT	*mi* **mně**	*ti* **tobě**	*mu* **jemu**	jí	nám	vám	jim
ACC	mě mne	*tě* **tebe**	*ho* **jeho** jej	ji	nás	vás	je
GEN	= ACC		= DAT	= ACC			jich

The other pronouns (including the 3rd sg form *jej*) can be emphasized/focused/topicalized, but if they are not, then they are subject to the same restrictions as the genuine clitics. The parallel behavior of genuine and non-genuine clitics can be illustrated with adverbial clauses. In (32) the main-clause pronouns need a host and cannot occupy the CP-initial position immediately following the adverbial clause, which is CP-external, as argued in section 2.5.

(32) a. Když se probudila, **ji* bolela (*ji*) hlava.
when $REFL_{CL}$ woke $up_{SG.F}$ her_{ACC} $ached_{SG.F}$ $head_{NOM.F}$
'When she woke up, she had a headache.'

b. Když měl dobrou náladu, **nám* všechno (*nám*) dovolil.
when $had_{SG.M}$ $good_{ACC}$ $mood_{ACC}$ us_{DAT} $everything_{ACC}$ $allowed_{SG.M}$
'When he was in a good mood, he allowed us everything.'

Moreover, both genuine and non-genuine clitics can be affected by certain phonological constraints.

3.1. A False Person Case Constraint

Bonet's (1994) allegedly universal Person-Case Constraint disallows the co-occurrence of 1st/2nd ACC with DAT pronominal arguments of the same verb. In Czech, however, most of the pronominal clitics can combine in this way:

(33) a. ... a potom *nám* *tě* dávají za vzor.
and then us_{DAT} $you_{ACC.SG}$ $give_{2.PL}$ as example
'... and then they present you to us as an example.' (ČNK)

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(33) b. … jestliže *mu* *vás* předám živou a zdravou.
if him_{DAT} $you_{ACC.PL}$ $bring_{1.SG.FUT}$ $alive_{ACC}$ and $healthy_{ACC}$
'… if I can bring you to him safe and sound.' (ČNK)

c. Chci *mu* *tě* ukázat.
$want_{1.SG}$ him_{DAT} $you_{ACC.SG}$ $show_{INF}$
'I want to show you to him.' (ČNK)

d. Představil *mu* *mě* jako prodavačku z
$introduced_{SG.M}$ him_{DAT} me_{ACC} as $saleswoman_{ACC}$ from
bazaru.
$market_{GEN}$
'He introduced me to him as a market saleswoman.' (ČNK)

Interestingly, in some cases an inverted ACC–DAT order of the pronominals is preferable:

(34) a. Kdy *mě* *jí* konečně představíš?
when me_{ACC} her_{DAT} finally $introduce_{2.SG.FUT}$
'When are you finally going to introduce me to her?' (ČNK)

b. …aby *mě* *jim* vydal.
…$that_{CD.3}$ me_{ACC} $them_{DAT}$ $handed_{SG.M}$
'that he should hand me over to them' (ČNK)

In control constructions, climbing is not felicitous with pairs having the preferred inverted order as in (35a). In contrast, climbing is unproblematic with pairs which are never used in an inverted order (35b).

(35) a. Petr *jí* *?*mě* zakázal (*mě*) navštěvovat (*mě*).
Peter her_{DAT} me_{ACC} $forbidden_{SG.M}$ $visit_{INF}$
'Peter forbade her to visit me.'

b. Petr *jí* *je* zakázal navštěvovat.
Peter her_{DAT} $them_{ACC}$ $forbidden_{SG.M}$ $visit_{INF}$
'Peter forbade her to visit them.'

The contrast between (35a) and (35b) cannot be explained by the Person-Case Constraint, as it applies only to objects of the same verb. We

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conclude that examples like (34) and (35a) should be attributed to a prosodic constraint.[20]

3.2. The Case of *ho*

Another phonological constraint concerns 3rd ACC/GEN masculine *ho* 'him', which cannot appear initially in the cluster. Whereas the co-occurrence of genitive and accusative arguments requires the order ACC–GEN (36), if the accusative argument is *ho* (which has the same form for gen/acc), then it must follow the genitive clitic (37b, c):

(36) Tím chceš říct, že *mě* *ho* zbavíš?
by-this$_{INSTR}$ want$_{2.SG}$ say that me$_{ACC}$ of-him$_{GEN}$ rid$_{2.SG.FUT}$
'You mean you will rid me of him?' (ČNK)

(37) a. Nakonec *ji* *ho* zbavili.
finally her$_{ACC}$ him$_{GEN}$ they-rid$_{PL}$
'They finally rid her of him.'

b. Nakonec *jí* *ho* zbavili.
finally she$_{GEN}$ him$_{ACC}$ they-rid$_{PL}$
'They finally rid him of her.'

c. *Nakonec *ho jí* zbavili.

The same problem arises with two accusative arguments, regardless of whether they are arguments of the same verb or not:

(38) a. *Stejně *ho* *ji* nenechali dokončit.
anyway it$_{ACC.M}$ her$_{ACC}$ not-let$_{PL}$ finish$_{INF}$

b. Stejně *ji* *ho* nenechali dokončit.
anyway her$_{ACC}$ it$_{ACC.M}$ not-let$_{PL}$ finish$_{INF}$
'They didn't let her finish it anyway.'

---

[20] A survey of Czech speakers that used the technique of Magnitude Estimation of linguistic acceptability (see Bard et al. 1996) showed the following tendencies:

a.	DAT-ACC preferred:	3.SG.M – 1.SG/2.SG/2.PL 3.PL – 2.SG	(*mu mě, mu tě, mu vás*) (*jim tě*)
b.	both DAT-ACC/ACC-DAT:	3.SG.F – 2.PL, 3.PL – 1.SG	(*jí vás/vás jí, jim mě/mě jim, jí tě/tě jí*)
c.	ACC-DAT preferred:	3.SG.F – 1.SG	(*mě jí* instead of *jí mě*)

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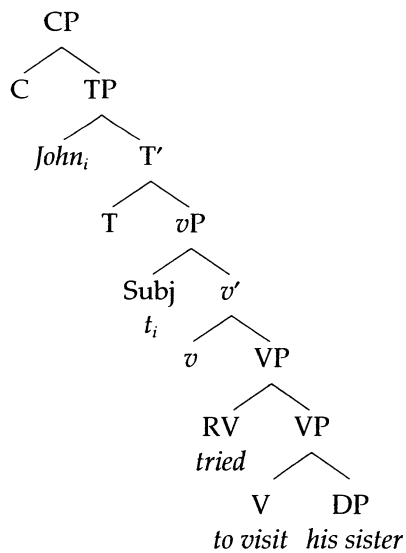
Obviously, the unacceptability of the sequence *ho ji* follows from phonological rather than syntactic rules and thus is expected to be active also in climbing constructions like (38).

4. Clitic Climbing

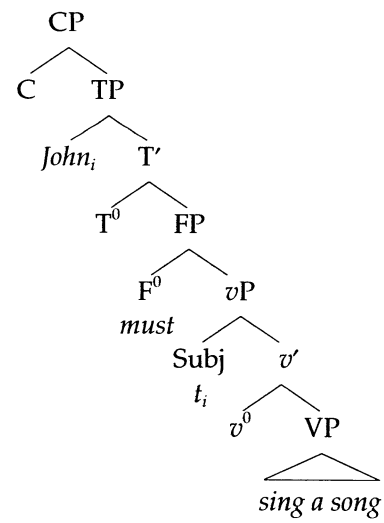
In section 2 we argued that pronominal clitics undergo movement from their argument positions to a TP-external position. In this section, we will look at the patterns of clitic climbing in infinitival constructions in order to support the claim that pronominal clitics move higher than their Case-checking positions.

Clitic climbing (CC) became known from Romance in connection with the phenomenon of restructuring (Rizzi 1978). In her recent account of infinitives Wurmbrand (1998) distinguishes between restructuring verbs (RVs) (e.g., *try*) and non-restructuring verbs (e.g., *decide*) on the grounds of their syntactic and semantic properties. She argues that whereas non-restructuring infinitival complements (NRIs) are syntactically and semantically clauses, restructuring infinitives (RIs): (i) lack the complementizer system; (ii) contribute no independent tense information; (iii) lack the structural case position; and (iv) lack a syntactic subject. As unsaturated VP-predicates, RIs form a monoclausal structure with the matrix verb:

(39) a. Lexical RV



b. Functional RV (modals/raising verbs)



[Wurmbrand 1998: 21, 29]

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Restructuring being a necessary condition for clitic climbing, there is no need to explain clitic climbing as long-distance movement in Wurmbrand's account: clitics just undergo their case-checking movement as in a simple clause.[21]

4.1. The Size of Transparent Infinitives in Czech

A closer look at the Czech data reveals that infinitival constructions allowing clitic climbing do not need to have all of the above mentioned properties. We will show that clitic climbing is possible with matrix verbs taking TP-complements and with passive and unaccusative verbs, which cannot assign accusative case. On the other hand, it will be shown that apart from finite complements and *wh*-infinitives, clitic climbing is blocked in constructions falling under Wurmbrand's definition of syntactic control, which involves a syntactic PRO subject in the infinitive. We will analyze such infinitives as CPs on a par with the other opaque structures. The transparent infinitives will be analyzed as TPs, thus establishing a parallel to the monoclausal structures, where pronominal clitics regularly escape TPs.

4.1.1. CPs vs. TPs

It is well known that clitic climbing in Czech is blocked with finite complements (George and Toman 1976) and *wh*-infinitives (Junghanns 2000c):

(40) a. Řekl, že *mi* *ho* můžete ukázat.
said$_{SG.M}$ that me$_{DAT}$ him$_{ACC}$ can$_{1.PL}$ show$_{INF}$
'He said that you can show him to me.'
[George and Toman 1976: 237]

b. *Řekl mi_i ho_j, že t_i t_j můžete ukázat.

(41) a. Ale nevím opravdu, jak *ho* zapisovat.
but not-know$_{1.SG}$ really how him$_{ACC}$ record$_{INF}$
'But I really don't know how to record him.'

b. *Ale nevím ho_i opravdu, jak t_i zapisovat. [Junghanns 2000c]

CP is clearly a barrier for clitic movement.[22]

---

[21] Stjepanović (2004/this volume) pursues this account in her analysis of clitic climbing in Serbian Croatian.

[22] One might object that (i) represents counterevidence to this claim:

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The second restructuring condition in Wurmbrand's 1998 account concerns the tense in the infinitival complements. In (42a), the complement of the verb *try* contributes independent tense information, which leads to ungrammaticality. In contrast, verbs like *decide* or *plan* select infinitives with a quasi-future interpretation (Stowell 1982) allowing adverbial modification (42b):

(42) a. *John tried to visit his sister in two months.

b. John decided to visit his sister in two months.

[Wurmbrand 1998: 22–23]

In German only the *try*-verbs allow scrambling, which supports Wurmbrand's argument that infinitives involving independent tense are non-restructuring. In Czech, however, verbs selecting for [+tense] complements allow clitic climbing:

(43) Místo toho *se* *ho*$_i$ rozhodl [na moment
instead of it$_{GEN}$ REFL$_{CL}$ him$_{ACC}$ decided$_{SG.M}$ for a moment
ignorovat t$_i$].
ignore$_{INF}$
'He decided instead to ignore him for a moment.' (ČNK)

Even if we substituted the PP *na moment* in (43) with *příště* 'next time', the example would be acceptable. Thus, the lack of TP by Wurmbrand's reasoning is not a necessary condition for clitic climbing in Czech.

(i) a. protože *mu*$_i$ neměla co závidět t$_i$
because him$_{DAT}$ not-had$_{SG.F}$ what$_{ACC}$ envy$_{INF}$
'because she had nothing to envy him for'

b. Snad *mi*$_i$ máš *co* říct t$_i$
hopefully me$_{DAT}$ have$_{2SG}$ what$_{ACC}$ say$_{INF}$
'I hope you have something to tell me.'

In constructions like (i), possessive predicates seem to take infinitival *wh*-clauses as complements. Izvorski (1998) argues that these complements have the syntax and semantics of embedded questions. But why should clitic extraction be blocked in embedded questions like (41) but not in (ia, b)? The constructions in (i) express modality of availability (cf. Izvorski 1998: 160), moreover, *wh*-phrases often function as indefinites in Czech. Thus there is reason to believe that (i) does not represent *wh*-infinitives but monoclausal structures.

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4.1.2. Climbing out of AgrOP/$_{[+ACC]}v$P

The third condition on restructuring follows from the observation that scrambling of accusative embedded objects is allowed only when the matrix verb can assign structural accusative (44a), i.e., it is prohibited with passive or unaccusative matrix verbs (44b), (45) respectively:

(44) a. weil der Hans [*einen Brief*]$_i$ versucht hat [der Maria t$_i$
since the John$_{NOM}$ a letter$_{ACC}$ tried has to Mary$_{DAT}$
zu übermitteln].
to send$_{INF}$
'since John tried to send a letter to Mary.'

b. *weil [*einen Brief*]$_i$ versucht wurde [der Maria t$_i$ zu
since a letter$_{ACC}$ tried was to Mary$_{DAT}$ to
übermitteln].
send
'since somebody tried to send a letter to Mary.'

(45) *...weil [*einen Brief*]$_i$ Hans gelang [der Maria t$_i$ zu
since a letter$_{ACC}$ John$_{DAT}$ managed to Mary$_{DAT}$ to
übermitteln].
send
'since John managed to send a letter to Mary.'
[Wurmbrand 1998: 130–131]

On the other hand, if the embedded object moves to a passivized or unaccusative matrix verb, it receives nominative case and triggers agreement with the matrix verb (see Haider 1993):

(46) ...weil [der Lastwagen und der Traktor] zu reparieren
since [the truck and the tractor]$_{NOM.PL}$ to repair$_{INF}$
versucht wurden/ *wurde.
tried were$_{PL}$/ *was$_{SG}$
'...since somebody tried to repair the truck and the tractor.'
[Wurmbrand 1998: 120]

Wurmbrand concludes that infinitives assigning accusative case, as in (44b) and (45), where the matrix verb is not an acc-assigner, are NRIs. RIs,

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on the other hand, are bare VPs not projecting a *v*-head (AgrOP). Movement of the embedded object is, therefore, case-driven.

However, clitic climbing in Czech is possible in constructions where case cannot be assigned by the matrix verb. First, many of the verbs taking transparent infinitival complements are inherent reflexives (*snažit se* 'attempt', *pokusit se* 'try'), i.e., their structural accusative is absorbed (see Junghanns 2000).

Second, an accusative clitic can climb to a passivized matrix verb:

(47) Přivezl puk za švýcarskou branku,
'He brought the puck behind the Swiss goal...'
ale tam ho_i byl donucen [předat t_i Lubinovi].
but there $it_{ACC.M}$ $was_{3.SG.M}$ $forced_{PASSP.M}$ $give_{INF}$ $Lubin_{DAT}$
'...but there he was forced to give it to Lubin.' (ČNK)

Third, clitic climbing is allowed with unaccusatives. The unaccusative verb *podařit se* 'manage' has similar properties to German *gelingen*: it takes a dative experiencer argument and a theme argument which can appear as an infinitive. The embedded object either receives accusative (48) or nominative case. In the latter case it agrees in number and gender (in the case of *l*-participles) with the matrix verb (49):

(48) Nakonec se *nám* podařil*o* [celou věc
finally $REFL_{CL}$ us_{DAT} $managed_{3.SG.NT}$ whole $thing_{ACC}$
nastartovat].
$start_{INF}$
'Finally we managed to start the whole thing.'

(49) Celá věc$_i$ *se* podařil*a* [nastartovat t_i].
whole $thing_{NOM.SG.F}$ $REFL_{CL}$ $managed_{SG.F}$ $start_{INF}$
'The whole thing was successfully started.' (ČNK)

The long object movement in (49) reveals that the infinitival complement is a bare VP. Consequently, if the embedded verb takes two accusative arguments, one of them cannot receive case in such a construction, regardless of its position:

(50) *Abeceda$_i$ *se* *je$_k$* nepodařil*a* [(*je$_k$*) naučit t_i t_k].
$alphabet_{NOM.F}$ $REFL_{CL}$ $them_{ACC}$ $not\text{-}managed_{SG.F}$ $teach_{INF}$
'They were not successfully taught the alphabet.'

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However, clitic climbing in constructions like (48) is possible, although the accusative case is assigned in the infinitive:

(51) kdyby *se* *mi* *ho*$_i$ podařil*o* [pokořit t$_i$].
if REFL$_{CL}$ me$_{DAT}$ him$_{ACC}$ managed$_{SG.NT}$ humiliate$_{INF}$
'if I managed to humiliate him.' (ČNK)

(52) Policistům *se* *je*$_i$ podařil*o* rychle
policemen$_{DAT}$ REFL$_{CL}$ them$_{ACC}$ managed$_{SG.NT}$ quickly
[dopadnout t$_i$].
catch$_{INF}$
'The policemen managed to catch them quickly.' (ČNK)

We can conclude that climbing is possible out of infinitives which are not bare VPs, i.e., case checking cannot be the only motivation for the movement of pronominal clitics.

4.2. Infinitival Subjects

In the previous subsection, we presented evidence that clitic-climbing contexts in Czech cannot be reduced to bare VP-infinitives. Even infinitives which assign structural accusative and project a TP are transparent. In this section, we will argue that the condition determining the transparency of an infinitive concerns the status of the infinitival subject.

4.2.1. Syntactic and Semantic Control

Wurmbrand (1998, 2002) makes a distinction between semantic control and syntactic control depending on whether the antecedent of the infinitival subject is determined lexically/semantically or syntactically. Whereas syntactic control verbs allow variable interpretation of the embedded subject (53), semantic control verbs specify as part of their meaning that the non-overt embedded subject is obligatorily coreferential with a specific argument in the matrix clause (54).

(53) Ich$_i$ habe ihm$_k$ vorgeschlagen [PRO$_{i/k}$ mich zu
I$_i$ have him$_{DAT}$ proposed [PRO$_{i/k}$ me/myself to
erschießen].
shoot$_{INF}$]
'I proposed to him that he shoot me / that I would shoot myself.'

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(54) Ich$_i$ habe ihm$_k$ befohlen/erlaubt [subj$_{*i/k}$ mich zu
I$_i$ have him$_{DAT}$ ordered/allowed [subj$_{*i/k}$ me/myself to
erschießen].
shoot]
'I ordered/allowed him to shoot me.'

To account for the difference between (53) and (54), Wurmbrand claims that only syntactic control involves projection of an embedded PRO subject, whereas semantic control infinitives have no subject in syntactic terms.

In the case of subject control verbs, syntactic control allows split antecedents of the infinitival subject (55) or partial/imperfect control (56) (Wurmbrand 2002, Landau 2000).

(55) a. Hans$_k$ sagte daß sein Vater$_i$ beschlossen hat
John said that his father decided has
[PRO$_{i+k}$ gemeinsam zu musizieren].
together to make music
'John said that his father had decided to make music together.'

b. *Hans sagte daß sein Vater$_i$ versucht hat [subj$_i$ gemeinsam
John said that his father tried has together
zu musizieren].
to make music
'John said that his father had tried to make music together.'

(56) a. weil der Bürgermeister$_i$ beschloß [PRO$_{i+x}$ sich im Schloß
since the mayor decided PRO$_{i+x}$ self in-the castle
zu versammeln].
to gather
'since the mayor decided to gather in the castle.'

b. *Der Bürgermeister$_i$ versuchte [subj$_i$ sich im Schloß zu
the mayor$_i$ tried subj$_i$ self in-the castle to
versammeln].
gather
'The mayor tried to gather in the castle.'

[Wurmbrand 1998: 186–89]

Importantly, only verbs of the *decide*-type allow collective adverbials or collective predicates in their infinitival complements, even when the

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matrix subject is singular (55a, 56a). This is impossible with RVs like *try* (55b, 56b). Thus if an infinitive involves a syntactic PRO subject, it must be non-restructuring. This generalization seems to be valid also in Czech.

Infinitival subjects in object control constructions have predetermined controllers[23] and climbing is possible, as illustrated for dative and accusative controllers in (57a) and (57b), respectively:[24]

(57) a. Stát$_j$ *mu*$_i$ *je*$_k$ pouze doporučil t$_i$ [subj$_{i/*j}$
state$_{NOM}$ him$_{DAT}$ them$_{ACC}$ only recommended$_{SG.M}$ subj$_i$
realizovat t$_k$].
realize$_{INF}$
'The state just recommended him to realize them.' (ČNK)

[23] Panevová's (1996) classification of control in Czech lists four verbs which marginally allow variable control like in (53): *slíbit* 'promise', *odepřít* 'refuse', *nabídnout* 'offer', and *odmítnout* 'refuse'. Still, subject control is the most natural interpretation with *odepřít*, *slíbit*, and *odmítnout*. This clear preference makes clitic climbing acceptable with these verbs (i). The verbs allow implicit objects, so the interpretation of the dative clitic in (i) is ambiguous between the matrix and embedded object (see Veselovská 1995, Franks and King 2000):

(i) Evžen$_i$ *mi*$_{(j)}$ *ji*$_k$ odmítá [subj$_{i/*j}$ poskytnout (t_j) t_k]
Evžen me$_{DAT}$ it$_{ACC.F}$ refuses$_{3.SG}$ provide$_{INF}$
'Evžen refuses to provide it to me/ refuses me to provide it.' (ČNK)

[24] There is one restriction on climbing in acc-control constructions, which is independent of the infinitival subject. Whereas with dative control, an embedded accusative clitic can climb across the dative NP-controller as in (i), with accusative control, an embedded dative clitic cannot climb across the accusative NP controller as in (ii) (see Thorpe 1992, Veselovská 1995, Rezac 1999). However, the same restriction holds for scrambling of full dative NPs across acc-controllers (iii).

(i) a. Matka *ji*$_i$ Petrovi$_k$ nedovolila t$_k$ [*navštívit* t$_i$].
mother her$_{ACC}$ Peter$_{DAT}$ not-allowed visit$_{INF}$
'Mother didn't allow Peter to visit her.'

b. Matka mu$_k$ *ji*$_i$ nedovolila t$_k$ [*navštívit* t$_i$].
mother him$_{DAT}$ her$_{ACC}$ not-allowed visit$_{INF}$
'Mother didn't allow him to visit her.'

(ii) *Matka *mu*$_j$ *ho*$_i$/*Petra*$_i$ přinutila t$_i$ [*pomoct* t$_j$].
mother him$_{DAT}$ him$_{ACC}$/Petra$_{ACC}$ forced help$_{INF}$
'Mother forced him/Peter to help him.'

(iii) a. *Matka *Pavlovi*$_j$ Janu$_i$ nutila t$_i$ [pomoct t$_j$].
mother P.$_{DAT}$ Jan$_{ACC}$ forced help$_{INF}$
'Mother tried to force Jana to help Pavel.'

b. Matka Janu$_i$ *Pavlovi*$_j$ nutila t$_i$ [*pomoct* t$_j$].

We will leave this problem aside, concluding only that whatever prohibits the configurations in (ii)-(iiia) applies both to pronominals and to scrambled full phrases.

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(57) b. Guláš jsme nesnášeli, ale stále *nás*$_i$ *ho*$_k$
goulash$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{1.PL}$ not-bear$_{PL}$ but always us$_{ACC}$ it$_{ACC.M}$
nutila$_j$ t$_i$ [subj$_{i/*j}$ jíst t$_k$].
forced$_{SG.F}$ subj$_i$ eat$_{INF}$
'We couldn't stand goulash but she always forced us to eat it.'

Many subject-control verbs are inherently reflexive, which excludes the possibility of imperfect/partial control: the infinitival subject refers exhaustively to the matrix subject (cf. exhaustive control in Landau 2000; Wurmbrand 2002). This concerns also the verb *rozhodnout se* 'decide':

(58) [Proč bych neměla prožít dva hezké dny,]
'Why shouldn't I have two nice days,'
když *se* *mi*$_i$ *je*$_k$ přítel$_j$ rozhodl [subj$_j$ darovat t$_i$ t$_k$]?
when REFL$_{CL}$ me$_{DAT}$ them$_{ACC}$ friend$_{NOM}$ decided$_{SG.M}$ give$_{INF}$
'when my friend decided to give them to me as a present?' (ČNK)

The non-reflexive counterpart of *decide*, allowing split antecedents and imperfect control does not, however, allow transparent complements:

(59) a. Nakonec otec rozhodl [PRO poslat *mě* do
finally father decided$_{SG.M}$ send$_{INF}$ me$_{ACC}$ to
Istanbulu jako velvyslance] ...
Istanbul$_{GEN}$ as ambassador$_{ACC}$
'Finally father decided to send me to Istanbul as an ambassador.'
b. *Nakonec *mě*$_i$ otec rozhodl [PRO poslat t$_i$ do Istanbulu jako velvyslance] ...

Thus in contrast to the non-reflexive *decide* in (59), the verbs in (57–58) fulfill Wurmbrand's definition of semantic control and allow clitic climbing. Nevertheless, the lack of a syntactic PRO subject with semantic control verbs is not obligatory (see Wurmbrand 2002). PRO can for example be projected for anaphor-binding reasons. Wurmbrand's account predicts that in such cases the infinitives are non-restructuring. The data in the next section will show that this prediction is borne out for Czech.

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4.2.2. Binding and PRO

The presence of PRO in Czech can be illustrated with the subject-oriented anaphoric possessive *svůj*.[25] In simple clauses a nominative subject is the obligatory antecedent of the anaphor.[26]

(60) Martin$_i$ Petra$_j$ představil své$_{i/*j}$ kolegyni.
Martin Peter$_{ACC}$ introduced$_{SG.M}$ his$_{DAT.F}$ colleague$_{DAT.F}$
'Martin introduced Peter to his colleague.'

In control constructions object controllers bind the anaphor in the embedded infinitive as in (61a) with a dative-controller and in (62a) with an accusative controller. Binding by the matrix subject is impossible. Examples (61b) and (62b), where the anaphor can only be bound by the matrix subject for pragmatic reasons, are ungrammatical.[27]

(61) a. Matka *mu*$_i$ zakázala [PRO$_i$ dát ho /ten
mother him$_{DAT}$ forbidden$_{SG.F}$ give$_{INF}$ it$_{ACC.M}$ /the
dopis *své*$_i$ *ženě*].
letter$_{ACC}$ his wife$_{DAT}$
'Mother forbade him to give it/the letter to his wife.'

b. **Matka*$_i$ mu$_j$ zakázala [PRO dát ho /ten dopis
mother him$_{DAT}$ forbidden$_{SG.F}$ give$_{INF}$ it$_{ACC.M}$ /the letter$_{ACC}$
svému$_i$ *muži*].
her husband$_{DAT}$

c. *Matka *mu*$_i$ *ho*$_k$ /ten dopis$_k$ zakázala [dát t$_k$
mother him$_{DAT}$ it$_{ACC.M}$ the letter$_{ACC}$ forbidden$_{SG.F}$ give$_{INF}$
své$_i$ *ženě*].
his wife$_{DAT}$

---

[25] Rezac (1999) also uses *svůj* to test subjects in dative-controller constructions; he assumes that climbing in acc-controller constructions is not possible.

[26] With the exception of constructions lacking a nominative subject, where the anaphor is bound by the dative:

(i) Bylo *mu*$_i$ líto *svého*$_i$ otce.
was$_{SG.N}$ him$_{DAT}$ sorry his$_{GEN}$ father$_{GEN}$
'He was sorry for his father.'

[27] In this respect Czech differs from Russian. See Rappaport (1986), who discusses parallel Russian constructions where either the matrix subject or the object-controller can bind the anaphor.

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(62) a. Otec ji_i nutil [PRO_i dát ho / ten dopis
father her_{ACC} $forced_{SG.M}$ $give_{INF}$ $it_{ACC.M}$ /the $letter_{ACC}$
$svému_i$ *muži*].
her $husband_{DAT}$
'Father forced her to give it/the letter to her husband.'

b. *$Otec_i$ ji_j nutil [PRO_i dát ho /ten dopis
father her_{ACC} $forced_{PP.SG.M}$ $give_{INF}$ $it_{ACC.M}$ /the $letter_{ACC}$
$své_i$ *ženě*.
his $wife_{DAT}$

c. *Otec ji_i ho_k /ten $dopis_k$ nutil [dát t_k
father her_{ACC} $it_{ACC.M}$ /the $letter_{ACC}$ $forced_{PP.SG.M}$ $give_{INF}$
$svému_i$ *muži*].
her $husband_{DAT}$

We can conclude that the embedded infinitives in (61–62) contain a syntactic PRO, which is coreferential with the dat/acc controller. Examples (61c) and (62c) show that climbing/scrambling out of such infinitives is prohibited.[28]

4.2.3. Transparent Infinitives

Given that even in monoclausal structures clitics regularly escape TPs, a natural extension of Wurmbrand's proposal would be that Czech allows embedded TP-infinitives with semantic control properties, from which clitics climb in a parallel way.

The question is whether this generalization is strong enough, or whether clitic climbing is also possible out of infinitives which by definition are smaller than CPs but do not fulfill the requirement of semantic control. A case in point are the complements of ECM and perception verbs.

4.2.4. Climbing with ECM/Perception Verbs

In Wurmbrand's account infinitives with overt embedded subjects cannot be restructuring. In Czech, however, with an appropriate context clitic climbing and scrambling is possible out of such constructions:

[28] With climbing/scrambling, only the matrix subject can bind the anaphor, which can be attributed to the missing PRO. Such a long-distance anaphor has, however, a lower acceptability; a finite embedded clause would be preferred in such cases.

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(63) [Máte právo na svůj názor.]
'You have a right to your own opinion.'

Tak proč *nás*$_i$ *ho*$_k$ /ten názor$_k$ nenecháte [t$_i$ vyslovit t$_k$]?
prt why us$_{ACC}$ it$_{ACC.M}$ the opinion not-let$_{2.PL}$ say$_{INF}$
'Then why won't you let us express it?'

(64) [...ale málokdy čtu noviny.]
'but I seldom read newspapers.'

To mám asi po tatínkovi, kterého$_i$ *jsem* *je*$_j$
that have$_{1.SG}$ prt from father$_{LOC}$ whom$_{ACC}$ aux$_{1.SG}$ them$_{ACC}$
nikdy neviděl [t$_i$ číst t$_j$].
never not-seen$_{SG.M}$ read$_{INF}$
'Perhaps I have it from my father, whom I never saw reading them.'
(ČNK)

(65) [A potom to auto zamkla.]
'And then she locked the car.'

Jste si jistý, že *jste* *ji*$_i$ *ho*$_k$ /to auto$_k$
are$_{2.PL}$ REFL$_{CL}$ sure that AUX$_{2.PL}$ her$_{ACC}$ it$_{ACC}$ the car$_{ACC}$
viděl [t$_i$ zamykat t$_k$]?
seen$_{SG.M}$ lock$_{INF}$
'Are you sure you saw her locking it/the car?'

In (63–65) the embedded subject receiving accusative case from the matrix verb moves to the matrix predicate to check its case. The climbing of the embedded object clitic in (63–65), on the other hand, cannot be motivated by case checking, as these pronominal objects receive their case in the embedded infinitivals. Even embedded dative objects can move, leading to acc-dat order, which is unacceptable in monoclausal structures (apart from the phonological phenomena discussed in section 3):

(66) to nejmilejší, co$_i$ *jsem* *ji*$_j$ *mu*$_k$ slyšel
the nicest what$_{ACC}$ aux$_{1.SG}$ her$_{ACC}$ him$_{DAT}$ heard$_{SG.M}$
[t$_j$ říct t$_k$ t$_i$], bylo...
say$_{INF}$ was
'The nicest thing that I heard her saying to him was ...' (ČNK)

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Although these constructions do not fulfill the definition of semantic control, the movement of the embedded subject to the matrix clause in (63–66) seems to cause a certain clause-union effect. The climbing of an accusative embedded object is more difficult to interpret if the pronoun is animate. However, with an inanimate embedded object, as in (63) and (65), no interpretational problems interfere and clitic climbing is acceptable.

5. Conclusion

Let us summarize the main points concerning Czech pronominal clitics which we have argued for:

1) Second-position clitics in Czech do not cluster in one syntactic node. Auxiliary clitics are associated with the highest verbal head Fin/AgrS. Pronominal clitics are located higher than the copula, i.e., they are TP-external.
2) The linear sequence of pronominal clitics is not dictated solely by their surface case, but is also subject to certain phonological rules, which are operative both in monoclausal structures and in clitic-climbing structures.
3) Pronominal-clitic movement cannot be reduced to just case checking, as it targets higher than case-checking positions. This property has an impact on the possibilities of clitic climbing, which is not restricted to bare-VP contexts.
4) Clitic climbing in Czech cannot occur from infinitival CPs, but it may from smaller structures such as TP or *v*P. The respective infinitives may not contain a PRO subject (which would also be indicative of an infinitival CP). CC can thus involve semantic control verbs without PRO in Wurmbrand's sense, along with ECM and perception-verb complements, all of which involve smaller structures than CP.

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