Clitic omission in Czech as across-the-Board extraction

Jakub Dotlačil

June 2007

This paper analyzes clauses with deleted clitic clusters in Czech. It shows that these cases of clitic omission are possible only in coordinations, and concludes that they should be treated as ATB extractions. After showing this it focuses on cases of ATB extractions in which clitics stay inside the first conjunct. It argues that these examples supports Bošković (2001)'s analysis of clitic placement for Czech in which the second position of clitics is derived as an interplay between syntax and phonology.

1 Introduction

In the tradition of Slavic generative linguistics, one of the main discussions concetrate on the second position clitics and a question of how to account for their position. Should we blame syntax, phonology, or a mixture of the two?

The battlefield of various approaches to the second position of clitics was mostly Serbian or Croatian (see, for example, Schutze 1994 for a phonological approach, Progovac 1996 for a syntactic approach, or Bošković 2001 for a mixture of the two). On the other hand, the literature on similar issues in Czech was surprisingly unequivocal. As far as I know, linguists applied a purely syntactic approach to the second position in Czech (see, for example, Rivero 1991, Veselovská 1995, Lenertová 2004).

In this paper, I am going to discuss an argument from clitic omission in conjunction which goes against a purely syntactic account of clitic placement in Czech and supports Bošković's analysis of clitic positioning: namely, their surfacing in the second position is a result of an interplay of both, syntax (which takes care of clitics' movement) and phonology (which takes care of pronunciation of the right copy) (see Bošković 2001).

To have a taste of the argument, take a look at the following examples. In coordination, Czech allows for clitic omission in one of the conjuncts, as shown on two examples: (1-a), in which the clitics *jsem* and *ho* are omitted in the second conjunct, and (1-b), in which the clitic *se* is omitted in the second conjunct.[1]

(1) a. Já **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal a   představil známým.
          I   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   and introduced friends
          'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

---

[1] All clitics are boldfaced. All glossed examples are from Czech.

b. Petr **se**ᵢ umyl   a   oholil.
   Petr refl washed and shaved
   'Petr washed and shaved.'

As I am going to argue, cases like (1-a) and (1-b) should be analyzed as cases of Across-the-Board (ATB) extraction.

ATB extraction is, descriptively speaking, movement of like-phrases *out* of the coordination. (2) is an example of ATB wh-movement.

(2)   What did you buy and read?

The wh-word *what* starts as an argument of both *buy* and *read*. Later on, it moves out of the VP coordination (i.e., undergoes ATB-extraction) into its specific position (Spec, CP). The final structure with traces after movement is sketched in (3):

(3)
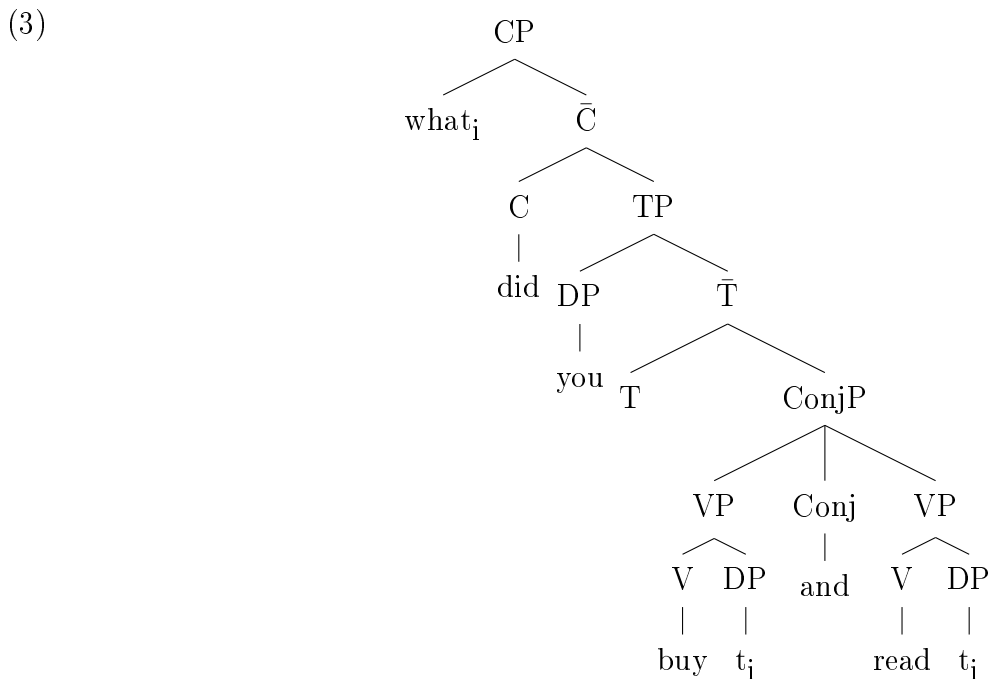
Similarly to the wh-word in example (2), I am going to argue that in examples (1-a) and (1-b), clitics originate in both conjuncts. Later on, they move out of the coordination (i.e., undergoing ATB extraction) into their specific position.

Somewhat surprisingly, I will show that we can find cases similar to (1-a) and (1-b) (i.e., cases of ATB extraction of clitics), in which, crucially, clitics are pronounced not outside of the coordination but inside the first conjunct. In other words, we will deal with a special case of ATB extraction: one in which ATB extracted constituents do not surface *outside* of the coordination but *inside* the first conjunct. This, I am going to argue, provides an argument for a particular view on the second position clitic placement. In particular, it is compatible with Bošković's analysis of clitic placement but problematic for other, purely syntactic, accounts.

The paper is organized in the following way. Section 2 discusses arguments for ATB extraction analysis of (1-a) and (1-b). Section 3 discusses cases of ATB extraction of clitics in which clitics surface inside the first conjunct. Section 4 focuses on some problems with the presented analysis of clitic placement in Czech. Section 5 concludes.

2 Clitic omission as ATB movement

In Czech, clitics can be omitted in one of the conjuncts, as shown in (4), repeated from above:

(4) Já **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal a   představil známým.
     I   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   and introduced friends
     'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

The clitic omission in the second conjunct, one might suggest, is a result of an ellipsis that targets clitic clusters.

   However, an ellipsis analysis runs into immediate problems. First, notice that clitic omission is possible only in coordinations. It is ungrammatical in a non-coordinated sequence of clauses (5-a). Furthermore, clitic omission is impossible in the matrix clause if the anteceding clitics appear in a subordinate clause (5-b) or if the anteceding clitics appear in the matrix clause and the clitic cluster is deleted in a subordinate clause (5-c).

(5)   a. *Já **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal. Potom představil známým.
            I   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called. Then   introduced friends
            'I called him. Then I introduced him to friends.'
       b. *Poté co   **jsem**   **ho**zavolal představil známým.
            After what past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   introduced friends
            'After I had called him I introduced him to friends.'
       c. *Představil **jsem**   **ho**   známým poté co   zavolal.
            introduced past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ friends   after what called
            'I introduced him to friends after I had called him.'

The fact that clitic omission is licensed only in coordination would seem arbitrary and surprising if we assumed that clitic omission is a result of an ellipsis of clitics.[2] However, if we assumed that clitic omission is a result of ATB extraction of clitics the difference between (4) and (5-a)-(5-c) would fall out automatically. This is so because ATB extraction (a label for the phenomenon in which a constituent that is understood to originate in all the conjuncts surfaces outside of the conjunction (see (2))) occurs only in coordinations.

   Thus, based on the difference between (4) and (5-a)-(5-c) I suggest that (4) should be analyzed as (6):

(6)   I past-aux$_i$ him$_j$ ... [$_{ConjP}$[$_{XP}$ called t$_i$ t$_j$] and [$_{XP}$ introduced t$_i$ t$_j$ friends]]

The next three subsections are going to present an additional support for the analysis of clitic omission as ATB extraction.

---

[2]VP ellipsis, sluicing, or NP ellipsis can normally be licensed in contexts similar to (5-a)-(5-c). Gapping (verb deletion) is a surprising case: it can be licensed only in coordinations (cf. (i) and (ii)):

(i)   Marie políbila Petra a   Táňa Tomáše.
        Marie kissed   Petr and Táňa Tomáš
        'Marie kissed Petr and Tanya - Tom.'

(ii)   ??Marie políbila Petra předtím než   Táňa Tomáše.
        Marie kissed   Petr before   than Táňa Tomáš
        '*Marie kissed Petr before Tanya - Tom.'

   In fact, this has been used as an argument to treat gapping not as an ellipsis (contra Ross 1967) but as ATB extraction (Johnson, 2006).

2.1 Case matching

It has been noted (see Dyla 1984, Franks 1993) that the constituent that undergoes ATB extraction must be assigned cases in conjuncts which have the same overt manifestation.

To see the validity of this generalization, let us turn for a moment to ATB wh-movement.

The following table summarizes nominative, genitive and accusative forms for Czech *kdo* 'who' and *co* 'what'. Notice that 'who' has a syncretic form in genitive and accusative, whereas 'what' has syncretic forms in nominative and accusative:

(7)

Table 1: Case of *who* and *what*

Case	who	what
nominative	kdo	*co*
genitive	*koho*	čeho
accusative	*koho*	*co*

Syncretism in forms corresponds to acceptability of ATB extraction. In case the first conjunct assigns nominative and the second conjunct assigns accusative, only 'what' is (marginally) acceptable (8-a). Similar examples with 'who' are ungrammatical ((8-b)-(8-c)).

(8)   1st conjunct - nominative, 2nd conjunct - accusative

   a. ?Co   tam leželo a   ty jsi   sebral?
      what$_{\text{gen-acc}}$ there lay   and you past-aux picked
      'What lay there and you picked it?'

   b. *Kdo   tam ležel a   ty jsi   sebral?
      who$_{\text{nom}}$ there lay   and you past-aux picked
      'Who lay there and you picked him?'

   c. *Koho   tam ležel a   ty jsi   sebral?
      who$_{\text{acc}}$ there lay   and you past-aux picked
      'Who lay there and you picked him?'

This exemplifies the descriptive generalization, mentioned above: only 'what' can undergo ATB extraction in (8-a) because it has one and the same form for nominative and accusative. 'who' cannot undergo ATB extraction in this case because its forms for nominative and accusative differ.

This descriptive generalization can be made sense of if we follow approaches to the architecture of the language which assume that syntax feeds lexical insertion.[3] In the examples (8-a) to (8-c), the wh-words are assigned two cases in syntax (either by agreement projections inside each conjunct, or by the verb itself, or by combination of the two). When lexical insertion applies, the lexicon is searched for an item that matches the requirement of being an exponent of both cases (nominative and accusative). The paradigm of 'what' has such a lexical item (namely, *co*), unlike the paradigm of 'who'. Thus, in case of 'who', whatever lexical item is inserted it cannot satisfy morphological requirement and the ungrammaticality of (8-b) and (8-c) follows.[4]

---

[3]Generative semantics was one such an approach. Recently, the same idea has been revived in Distributed Morphology.

[4]This reasoning only works if we do not assume that morphological forms in paradigms are always underspecified.

Notice that there is no reason to expect a similar requirement for ellipses. This is so because whereas in cases of ATB moevement one and the same object originates in both conjuncts and is assigned two cases in each of the conjuncts, in cases of ellipses, we deal with two different objects: the antecedent and the ellided constituent. And, in fact, the head that assigns case to the antecedent and the head that assigns case to the ellided constituent do not need to assign case with the same overt manifestation. For example, a subject pro-drop can differ from its antecedent (9-a). The same holds for noun ellipses (9-b).[5]

(9)   the antecedent - accusative, the ellipsis - nominative

    a.   Petr měl rád Marii$_i$.   Hlavně   když   _$_i$ mu vařila.
            Petr had like Marie$_{acc}$. especially when _   him cooked
            'Petr liked Marie. Especially when she cooked for him.'

    b.   Marie měla ráda černovlasé kluky$_i$.   Táně   se   líbili   blonďatí   _$_i$
            Marie had like black-hair guys$_{acc}$. Tanya refl appealed blond$_{nom}$ _
            'Marie liked blackhair guys. The blond ones appealed to Tanya.'

Crucially, clitic omission patterns with ATB-wh-movement and unlike ellipsis.

The following table shows that he$_{cl}$ has a syncretic form for genitive and accusative, unlike they$_{cl}$.

Table 2: Case of he_{cl} and $they_{cl}$

Case	he	they
genitive	*ho*	jich
accusative	*ho*	je

(10)

As predicted, in case one conjunct assigns genitive and the other conjunct assigns accusative, only 'he$_{cl}$' is acceptable:

(11)   1st conjunct genitive, 2nd conjunct accusative

    a. ?Já **se ho**   bojím   a   nenávidím.
        I   refl him$_{gen-acc}$ be-afraid and hate
        'I am afraid of him and loathe him.'

    b. *Já **se jich**   bojím   a   nenávidím.
        I   refl them$_{gen}$ be-afraid and hate
        'I am afraid of them and loathe them.'

    c. *Já **se je**   bojím   a   nenávidím.
        I   refl them$_{acc}$ be-afraid and hate
        'I am afraid of them and loathe them.'

2.2 Coordination with more than two conjuncts

As discovered by Ross (1967), conjuncts are islands (i.e., structures which block movement out of them). This descriptive generalization is known as the Coordinate Structure Constraint:

(12)   Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC): In a coordinate structure, no element contained in a conjunct may be moved out of that conjunct.

---

[5]Ellipses in these two examples are marked by the underline _ coindexed with the ellipsis' antecedent.

There is a well-known exception to that generalization, an exception that is a topic of this paper: ATB extraction. This has also been noticed by Ross in his seminal thesis:

(13)   There is an important class of rules to which (12) does not apply. These are rule schemata which move a constituent out of all conjuncts in a coordinate structure. (Ross, 1967, page 107)

Thus, whereas (14-a) is ungrammatical (violation of the CSC), (14-b) is fine (ATB extraction).

(14)   a. *Co   jsi   koupil a   odešel?
             what past-aux bought and left
             '*What did you buy and left?'
         b.   Co   jsi   koupil a   prodal?
             what past-aux bought and sold
             'What did you buy and sell?'

So far, we have seen examples of clitic omission in which clitics originated in both conjuncts and surfaced outside of the coordination. This confirms the description as given in (13). If clitics originated only in some of the conjuncts we should expect ungrammaticality because clitic omission is a case of ATB movement which is movement out of *all* conjuncts. If clitics moved from some, but not all, conjuncts, the Coordinate Structure Constraint should be violated, which should cause ungrammaticality.

This prediction is borne out. (15) shows a case of coordination of two conjuncts. Clitics undergo ATB extraction out of both conjuncts:

(15)   Petr **se** umyl   a   oholil.
         Petr refl washed and shaved
         'Petr washed and shaved.'

Coordination of more than two conjuncts is also possible if clitics undergo ATB extraction out of all conjuncts:

(16)   Petr **se** myl,   česal   a   holil.
         Petr refl washed, combed and shaved
         'Petr washed, combed and shaved.'

However, it is crucial that clitics end up outside of the coordination and are omitted in *all* conjuncts:

(17)   *Petr **se** myl,   čistil   si   zuby a   holil.
         Petr refl washed, brushed refl teeth and shaved
         'Petr washed, brushed his teeth and shaved.'

As said above, the ungrammaticality of (17) follows since the CSC is violated in this case.

On the other hand, if clitic omission was a case of ellipsis, the ungrammaticality of (17) would come as a surprise. Simply put, there is no reason why ellipses should be all-or-nothing phenomenon. In other words, there is no reason to expect that ellipses can either appear in all conjuncts (apart from the first one), or in none of them.

2.3 When ATB extraction is blocked

The final argument that I believe supports my analysis of clitic omission as ATB extraction comes from a surprising piece of data. As pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer of Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 2007, not all coordinations allow for clitic omission within their conjuncts. According to the reviewer (18), in which the clitic *mu* 'him$_{dat}$' is omitted, is ungrammatical (I myself do not find it completely ungrammatical, but agree that the sentence is degraded):

(18)   *Už   **se mu**   ulevilo a   je líp
      already refl him$_{him}$ relieve and is better
      'He was relieved of pain and feels better.'

The ungrammaticality of (18) surely is surprising. The example represents a coordinated structure and therefore ATB extraction of clitics should be licensed.

Fortunately, independent reasons have been found which suggest that (18) might not be a coordinated structure after all. As discussed at length by Postal (1998), coordinations in which the first conjunct serves as a cause of the second conjunct show different behavior than standard coordinations. For example, they allow for violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (19), as noticed by Lakoff (1986):

(19)   The stuff which$_i$ the guys in the Caucasus drink t$_i$ and live to be 100.

Postal (1998) suggests that these constructions should not be analyzed as coordinate structures but as subordinations. If his analysis is on the right track, we might have an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (18). Notice first that (18) is also a case in which the first conjunct is a cause of the second conjunct. Now, if, following Postal (1998), we do not analyze (18) as a coordinate structure, we actually expect ATB extraction to be ungrammatical. Notice that ATB extraction of a wh-word is also impossible in the same coordination which supports our conclusion that (18) is ungrammatical because ATB extraction is impossible in this case:

(20)   *Komu$_i$ se   už ulevilo a   je líp?
      who   already refl relieve and is better
      'Who was relieved of pain and feels better?'

This concludes arguments for analysing clitic omission as ATB extraction. From now on, I am going to assume that this analysis is correct. In the next section I am going to concentrate on a surprising case of clitic omission: one in which clitics arguably do not move out of the coordination but stay inside the first conjunct.

3 ATB extraction with seemingly no extraction

3.1 Problematic examples

Take a look at the following example:

(21)   Zavolal **jsem**   **ho**   a   představil známým.
      called   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ and introduced friends
      'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

7

Let us go through this example more carefully. First, notice that the clitics *jsem* and *ho* are omitted in the second conjunct. Clearly we deal with clitic omission, which, as I argued, should be analyzed as an ATB extraction of clitics. Thus, both clitics *jsem* and *ho* originate as an auxiliary and an argument in both conjuncts. Later on, they both move out of the coordination.

Notice that both clitics are linearly ordered at the end of the first conjunct. Since clitics undergo ATB extraction out of the coordination the verb preceding them must undergo movement out of the coordination as well. Thus, we end up with the structure (22) for example (21).

(22)   [called$_i$ [past-aux$_j$ him$_k$ [$_{ConjP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_j$ t$_k$] [$_{VP}$ introduced t$_j$ t$_k$ to friends]]]]

The problem is that in this structure the verb underwent movement from the first conjunct. But this movement violates Coordinate Structure Constraint and thus should render (21) ungrammatical! Furthermore, notice that after ATB extraction of clitics the first conjunct consists only of 'called'. Its movement out of the coordination violates another well-known constraint, the Conjunct Constraint (Grosu, 1981), which states that no conjunct may be moved.

We have already seen (in Section 2.2) that the Coordinate Structure Constraint applies in Czech. (23) shows that the Conjunct Constraint applies in Czech, as well:

(23)   *Chlapec kterého jsem   potkal a   Petra.
          boy   which past-aux met   and Petr
          '*The boy which I met and Petr.'

In short, we have ended up in a paradox. If we assumed that clitic omission is a case of ellipsis which targets clitic cluster we would have no explanation for the data discussed in the previous section (Section 2). But if we assume that clitic omission is a case of ATB extraction we expect the movement of the verb 'called' in (21) to violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint and, therefore, we expect (21) to be ungrammatical, contrary to the facts.

There are, as far as I can see, two possible ways out of this paradox. The first one is to assume that the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint are structure-specific. They do apply in cases like (23) but are not applicable to (21). The second way out of the paradox is to assume that there is something special about ATB extraction of clitics. Something that enables them not to be pronounced outside of the coordination in cases like (21). In that case, the verb 'called' do not need to move out of the coordination either, and, therefore, no violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint takes place.

I am going to follow the second route.

3.2 Clitic placement at the syntax-phonology interface

One of the many issues connected to the study of clitics is a question of how to account for their placement. Is their second position a result of a phonological requirement, syntactic requirement, or both?

In his recent work, Željko Bošković (Bošković, 2001) follows Franks (2000) and suggests that we should consider clitic placement an interface phenomenon. It is a result of an interplay between syntax and phonology.

Following the Minimalist Program (see, especially, Chomsky 1995), Bošković assumes that when a constituent moves it leaves a copy of itself in the original position. The two copies (one in the base position and the other in the target position of the movement) are indistinguishable

from each other. However, they do behave differently with respect to pronunciation. As has been noted many times in literature, it is usually only the highest copy that is pronounced. All the lower copies are deleted (see Nunes 2001 and Nunes 2005 for an extensive discussion and interesting explanation of why this should be so). It is this last point that, according to Bošković, differentiates clitics from other moved constituents.

Clitcs enter computation with syntactic requirements. For the sake of argument let us assume that all clitics in Czech need to move via head movement to C.[6] However, unlike most other words, clitics also come with phonological requirements that must be satisfied. Following Bošković I assume that clitics in Czech need to lean on a host to their left.[7]

Recall that it is normally the highest copy of a moved constituent that is pronounced. Thus, we would expect clitcs to be pronounced in their highest position, the head of C. However, this copy might violate clitics' phonological requirements: if there is no material higher in the sentence, clitics cannot lean on any host to their left and the sentence is ungrammatical. Bošković (2001) suggests that in this scenario, a lower copy of clitics is pronounced: the one that satisfies phonological requirements.

Let us go through one example:

(24)   Zavolal **jsem**   **ho**.
       called   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$
       'I called him.'

Let us assume that the clitic 'him' is merged as a direct object of the verb and later on moves as a head to the projection which hosts the auxiliary. Furthermore, let us assume (following Veselovská 2004) that past auxiliaries are located in the head T. Thus, at the level of $\bar{\text{T}}$, the structure looks followingly:

(25)   [$_{T'}$ [$_T$ past-aux him$_i$] [$_{vP}$ [$_v$] [$_{VP}$ [$_v$ called] t$_i$]]]

The T projects further up. Following Migdalski (2006), let us assume that to satisfy EPP requirements of the T, the vP moves into its specifier. After that, C selects for the TP and clitics head move via the T into the head C. This is the final structure:

(26)

<hr />
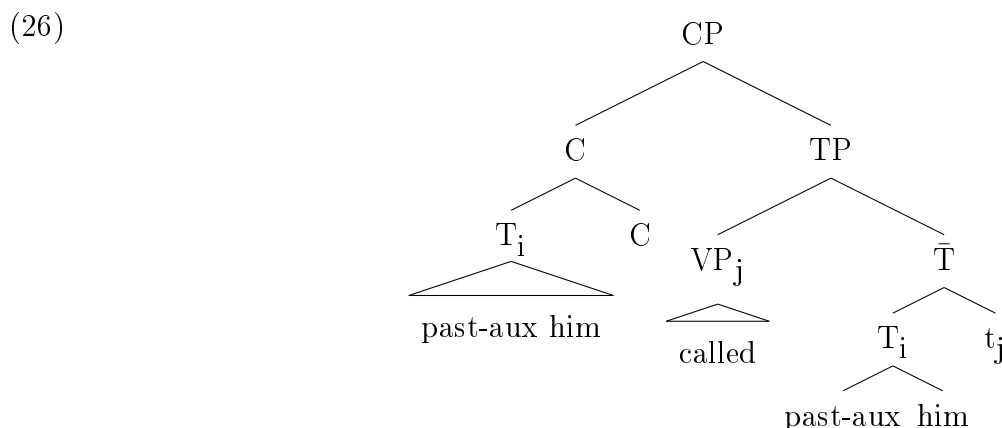
[6]This goes contra arguments that Bošković explicitly makes for Serbian, namely that clitics do not all move into the same position. However, the arguments on which this conclusion is based do not work in Czech. Thus, I assume that unlike in Serbian, all clitics in Czech do target the same position. If this turns out to be incorrect, the analysis that I am going to propose can still be maintained, with appropriate modifications.

[7]There are problems with this assumption for Czech because clitics in Czech can be either enclitics or proclitics. I will turn to this issue in Section 4.

However, in this case the highest copy of the clitics cannot be pronounced because it would violate phonological requirements. Therefore, a lower copy is selected: the one in which clitics sit in the T. The pronunciation of the lower copy gives us the correct word order for (24).

## 3.3 ATB extraction with seemingly no extraction explained

Armed with an analysis of how clitics' syntactic and phonological requirements together derive their position let us move to the example discussed in Section 3.1.

(27) Zavolal **jsem** **ho** a představil známým.
      called past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ and introduced friends
      'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

Recall what the problem was. Example (27) is a case of ATB extraction of clitics. Therefore, clitics must have moved out of the coordination. But if they did (so the reasoning went) then the verb 'called' must have moved out of the coordination, too, in violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint.

There is a flaw in this reasoning, and, I believe, it should be obvious by now what the flaw is. In Section 3.1, I have assumed without discussion that what is pronounced is the highest copy of a moved constituent. In fact, this assumption is natural if one follows syntactic accounts to the second position of clitics and assumes that the second position is derived solely in syntax. However, we have seen in the previous section that this does not need to be so. More concretely, I presented an approach to clitic placement which argues that the second position is a result of a phonological requirement which leads to the pronunciation of a lower copy.

This is one possible analysis of (27) which avoids violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint: first, the object is merged as the object of the verbs in both conjuncts and it adjoins to the auxiliary in the T, still separately in the two conjuncts. The T in both conjuncts project. The T in the first conjunct attracts the verb phrase consisting of 'called' into its specifier. The T in the second conjunct attracts the verb phrase consisting of 'introduced' into its specifier. Now, the two TPs are conjoined and C takes this coordination as its complement. The clitics *jsem* and *ho* undergo ATB extraction into the C. This is the final structure:

(28)
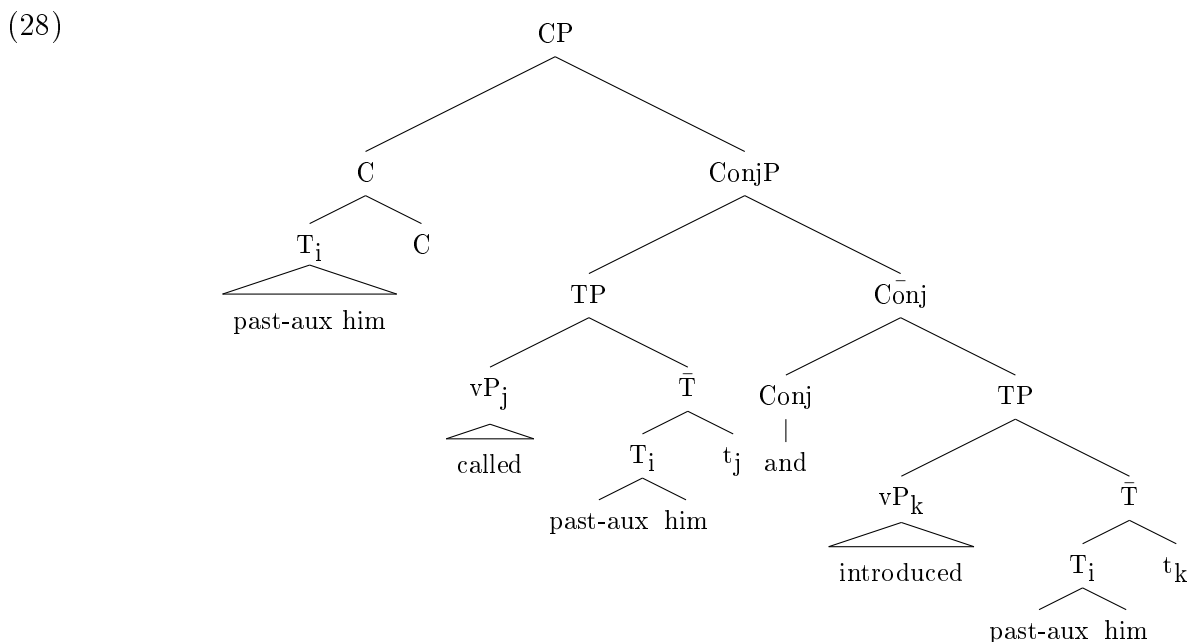
However, if the highest copy of the clitics was pronounced the clitics' phonological requirement would not be satisfied. Therefore, a lower copy must be pronounced. Counting the number of nodes, we arrive at the second highest copy: the one in which the clitics sit in the T in the first conjunct. Thus, this copy of clitics is pronounced and we end up with the correct word order without violating the Coordinate Structure Constraint or the Conjunct Constraint.

There are at least two predictions that this approach makes. First, notice that full DPs should behave differently than clitics do with respect to examples like (27). This is so because full DPs do not have a phonological requirement that would force pronunciation of a lower copy. Since it is always the case that the highest copy of these DPs is pronounced examples like (27) with DPs in the place of the clitics should be ungrammatical.

This is correct. Notice first that full DPs can license what looks like an object drop:

(29) Petra   jsem   zavolal a   představil známým.
      Petr$_{acc}$ past-aux called and introduced friends
      'I called Petr and introduced him to friends.'

Since there is no object drop in Czech, I conclude that example (29) is a case of ATB extraction: 'Petr$_{acc}$' starts as an argument of the verbs in both conjuncts and undergoes ATB extraction out of the coordination.

Thus, example (29) shows us that ATB extraction of full DPs is possible.

Interestingly, an example parallel to (27), in which the clitic *ho* 'him' is substituted by the full DP 'Petr$_{acc}$' is ungrammatical:

(30) *Zavolal jsem   Petra   a   představil známým
       called   past-aux$_{1sg}$ Petr$_{acc}$ and introduced friends
       'I called Honza and introduced him to friends.'

As discussed above, this follows from the presented analysis. 'Petr$_{acc}$' comes with no phonological requirements that would force pronunciation of a lower copy in this example. Therefore, the highest copy of 'Petr$_{acc}$' has been pronounced in (30). Since the highest copy must be outside of the coordination (otherwise, there is no way to license object drop in this coordination), the verb 'called' must have moved out of the coordination, as well. But this movement of the verb violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint and the Conjunct Constraint!

The second prediction that the presented analysis makes concerns interaction of clitic omission with the size of conjuncts. To license clitic omission in (27), repeated here as (31), clitics have to move out of coordination even though this movement is masked by the fact that the copy outside of the coordination is not pronounced.

(31) Zavolal **jsem**   **ho**   a   představil známým.
      called   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ and introduced friends
      'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

Crucially, clitics must be able to move out of the coordination, otherwise the structure is illicit. If we dealt with a coordination of conjuncts which are islands for clitic movement (i.e., if we dealt with a structure bigger than the TP) clitics should not be able to undergo ATB extraction out of the coordination and clitic omission should consequently be ungrammatical. This should be so even though clitics are not pronounced outside of the coordination.

This prediction is also borne out. Notice first that clitic omission is possible in conjoined TPs in embedded contexts:

(32)   Petr řekl že **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal a   představil známým.
          Petr said that past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   and introduced friends
          'Petr said that I had called him and had introduced him to friends.'

However, once we conjoin CPs clitic omission is impossible:

(33)   *Honza řekl že **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal a   že   představil známým.
          Honza said that past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   and that introduced friends
          'Honza said that I had called him and that I had introduced him to friends.'

As is well-known, clitics cannot move out of CP (see Progovac 1993, Veselovská 1995, Rezac 2005, or Dotlačil 2007 for different explanations of this fact). In (33), clitics have to undergo ATB extraction out of the coordination. However, since clitics cannot move out of CP this movement is illicit, and since ATB extraction is impossible, clitic omission cannot take place in (33).

In conclusion, the grammaticality of clitic omission in (31) supports the analysis of clitic placement in Czech along Franks (2000) / Bošković (2001) line. We have seen an argument for the language architecture in which phonology overrides syntax in deciding which copy should be pronounced (see Nunes 2005 for an approach to the pronunciation of copies which is compatible with this view).

The next section is going to discuss one problem ignored so far: do we really have any reasons to assume that clitics come with phonological requirements?

4   Czech clitics and their phonological requirements

As discussed by Fried (1994), Toman (1996), and many others, clitics in Czech do not need to lean on a host to their left. Clitics in Czech can be at the beginning of an intonational phrase and lean on a host to the right (i.e., behave as proclitics) (example (34-a)). They can, in fact, even be at the beginning of a clause in colloquial Czech (example (34-b)) (see Lenertová 2004 for more examples and discussion).

(34)   a.   Já # tvoje máma   # **jsem ti**   slíbila   hračku.
            I   # your   mother # aux   you promised toy
            'I, your mother, promised you a toy.'
   b.   **Se mi** včera   narodil syn. (ok only in colloquial Czech)
            refl me yesterday born   son
            'My son was born yesterday.'

But is the fact that Czech clitics can be either proclitics or enclitics important for my analysis of examples like (35)?

(35)   Zavolal **jsem**   **ho**.
          called   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$
          'I called him.'

In fact, it is. Following Bošković (2001), I analyzed (35) as a case in which phonology forces pronunciation of a lower copy of clitics. But if clitics can also be proclitics there is no reason to expect that phonology should force the pronunciation of a lower copy in this case. The highest copy would violate no phonological requirements after all. Since phonologically, clitics can be both proclitics and enclitics, shouldn't it be only syntax that derives clitics' second position (in

standard Czech), with no help from phonology?

One way out from this problem that I would like to suggest is that clitics are not underspecified for proclitization and encliticization. Instead, they are ambiguous. In (35) enclitics were chosen in the lexicon: since these need to lean on their hosts to the left, the pronunciation of a lower copy is forced. If proclitics were used instead the highest copy could be pronounced (for reasons unclear to me, this latter option is possible only in colloquial Czech).

Surprisingly, (34-a) does not allow for the possibility in which clitics become enclitics (and end up not in the second, but third position in the clause):

(36) ??Já # tvoje máma # slíbila   **jsem ti** hračku.
       I   # your mother # promised aux   you toy
       'I, your mother, promised you a toy.'

This is surprising if clitics were ambiguous: why should we not be able to retrieve to enclitics in (36) which would force the pronunciation of a copy below the predicate?

I tentatively assume that there is nothing wrong with choosing enclitics in (36). What goes wrong with this example is the predicate movement. The predicate 'promised' cannot move above clitics to support them. Notice that if the predicate cannot move from its base position both clitics *jsem* and *ho* must end up at the left edge of the intonational phrase.[8]

To be sure there are much more cases that one should analyze before jumping at the conclusion that the hypothesis of clitics being ambiguous between enclitics and proclitics really is viable. Unfortunately, since this would lead me too far afield from the topic of this paper, I have to leave them aside.

5 Conclusion

This paper has discussed cases of clitic omission as in (37):

(37)   Já **jsem**   **ho**   zavolal a   představil známým.
       I   past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ called   and introduced friends
       'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

I argued that these cases should be analyzed as ATB extraction of clitics. However, this conclusion turned out to be problematic in cases of examples in which clitics seemed to stay inside the first conjunct:

(38)   Zavolal **jsem**   **ho**   a   představil známým.
       called past-aux$_{1sg}$ him$_{acc}$ and introduced friends
       'I called him and introduced him to friends.'

This, I argued, should be seen as evidence that clitics might be pronounced in their non-highest position, which is in line with Bošković's analysis of clitic placement in Serbian (Bošković, 2001). Based on the examples like (38), I argued that clitics' position in Czech is not solely derived in the syntactic part of the computation but is a result of an interplay between syntax and phonology. If this analysis is on the right track cases like (38) supports a particular view on the syntax-phonology interface. Under this view, phonology can alter word order that is derived in syntax by deciding which copy of movement done in syntax should be chosen for pronunciation.

---

[8]I assume that the base position of *ho* cannot be pronounced for independent reasons - see Moro (2000)

References

Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: cliticization and related phenomena*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.

Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Dotlačil, J. 2007. "Why clitics cannot climb out of CP: a discourse approach." In *Formal APproaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Toronto Meeting 2006*. University of Michigan: Michigan Slavic Publications, vol. 15, pp. 76–93.

Dyla, S. 1984. "Across-the-board dependencies and Case in Polish." *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:701–705.

Franks, S. 2000. "Clitics at the interface." In F. Beukema and M. den Dikken, eds. *Clitic phenomena in European languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

—. 1993. "On parallellism in across-the-board dependencies." *Linguistc Inquiry* 24:509–529.

Fried, M. 1994. "Seccond-position clitics in Czech: Syntactic or phonological?" *Lingua* 94:155–175.

Grosu, A. 1981. *Approaches to island phenomena*. Amsterdam, New York: North-Holland.

Johnson, K. 2006. "Gapping is not (VP) ellipsis." Unpublished, ms.

Lakoff, G. 1986. "Frame semantic control of the Coordinate Structure Constraint." In *Papers from the Parasession on Pragmatics and Grammatical Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Lenertová, D. 2004. "Czech pronominal clitics." *Journal of Slavic linguistics* 12:135–171.

Migdalski, K. 2006. "The Syntax of Compound Tenses in Slavic." PhD dissertation, Tilburg University, Tilburg.

Moro, A. 2000. *Dynamic antisymmetry*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Nunes, J. 2005. *Linearization of Chains and Sideward Movement*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: MIT Press.

—. 2001. "Sideward movement." *Linguistic Inquiry* 31:303–344.

Postal, P. 1998. *Three investigations on extraction*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Progovac, L. 1996. "Clitics in Serbian/Croatian: Comp as the second position." In *Approaching second: Second position clitics and related phenomena*. Stanford, Calif: CSLI, pp. 411–428.

—. 1993. "Locality and Subjunctive-like Complements in Serbo-Croatian." *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 1:116–144.

Rezac, M. 2005. "The syntax of clitic climbing in Czech." In L. Heggie and F. Ordøñez, eds. *Clitic and Affix Combinations*. John Benjamins.

Rivero, M.L. 1991. "Long head movement and negation: Serbo-Croat vs. Slovak and Czech." *The Linguistics Review* 8:319–351.

Ross, J.R. 1967. "Constraints on Variables in Syntax." PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Schutze, C. 1994. "Serbo-Croatian second position clitic placement and the phonology-syntax interface." *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 21:373–473.

Toman, J. 1996. "A note on clitics and prosody." In *Approaching second*. Stanford: CSLI.

Veselovská, L. 2004. "The Extended verbal projection in Czech: Three Variants of the verb be." In *FDSL 5*. Leipzig.

—. 1995. "Phrasal Movement and X-Morphology: Word Order Parallels in Czech and English Nominal and Verbal Projections." PhD dissertation, Palacký University, Olomouc.