

CLITIC QUESTIONNAIRE

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INTRODUCTION

The text below presents the answers to the questionnaires originally distributed as a part of the NWO project 300-174-008: *Clitics in UG: Bibliography and Questionnaire*. The purpose of the questionnaire part of the project had been to gather comparable basic information about a range of clitic phenomena in some European languages. The project was carried out at Tilburg University. The project manager of the pilot study was M.A.C. Huybregts, executor H.M. Vos. The same questionnaires were used in 1993/1994 to get data from a wider range of languages within the ESF program, Theme Group 8 - *Clitics and Other Non-lexical Categories*, resulting in the following compilation of data made by Ludmila Veselovská.

In this text the list of abbreviated questions and a complete summary of the tables giving the answers in mostly YES/NO form are presented at the very beginning preceded by the list of informants. The questions and answers are then given with more details in the following sections 1-5.

The clitic questionnaire is divided into five parts which contain questions about different topics related to clitics. It starts with questions about some general properties of the language under discussion (section 1), it continues with questions about the categorial status of clitics (section 2), special properties of clitics (section 3), the position a clitic occupies in the clause (section 4), and it ends with questions concerning the possible movement of clitics (section 5).

The questionnaires were completed by informants in the period 1991/1994 and most of the data was repeatedly checked in 1994 and 1995. The informants had to answer YES/NO questions, open questions, and questions that ask for a description of the properties of clitics. They were also asked to give relevant examples and information which could not be supplied by answering the questions.

While the following summary was being made, some problems surfaced concerning mainly interpretations of the questions themselves as well as of the phenomena observed. The questions were formulated in terms of a specific framework which was not, however, shared to the same extent by all the informants. Some informants lack any generative linguistic background, while on the other hand, some informants give their data following previous research not necessarily compatible with the approaches of the others. The ambiguity of interpretation of the questions is therefore sometimes compounded by further ambiguity in the answers.

To avoid additional misinterpretation when making the summary, we have chosen to present both the questions and the answers in their original form and not to interpret the responses at all (beyond obvious shortenings and editorial work concerning mainly the attempt to make the glosses of the examples as uniform as possible). Some of the informants or other native speakers of the language in question were asked to check the draft of this summary with

an eye toward improving the reliability of the presentation of the data. Still, given the variety within the glosses used by the informants and the terminology used to render them, the data in this survey is often inconsistent. Therefore, the following text must be taken as a preliminary survey; whoever intends to make use of this collection of raw data is strongly recommended to consult more detailed and specialized literature to check and supplement the data given here.

We want to thank all the informants and people involved for their immense help with providing, collecting, checking and re-checking the data. The positives of the following text are due entirely to their contribution.

Ludmila Veselovská and Riet Vos

LIST (& ORDERING) OF LANGUAGES AND INFORMANTS

The numbers marking individual informants are used for individual specific remarks in the following sections 1-5. In the text also the given abbreviations are used when referring to the languages.

HUNGARIAN.....	Hn/Hng...	(1)	László Marác
		(2)	Katalin Kiss
		(3)	Anna Szabolcsi
		(4)	István Kenesei
FINNISH.....	Fi/Fin.....		Trond Trosterud
BASQUE.....	Bs/Bsq...	(1)	Jon Ortiz de Urbina
		(2)	Itziar Laka
WELSH.....	Wl/Wls.....		Bob Borsley
IRISH.....	Ir/Ir.....		M. Siobhan Cottell
BERBER.....	Br/Brb.....		Moha Ennaji and Fatima Sadiqi
HEBREW.....	Hb/Hbr...	(1)	Ur Shlonsky
		(2)	Ilan Hazout
SWEDISH.....	Sw/Swd...	(1)	Anders Holmberg
		(2)	Gunlög Josefsson & Lars Olof Delsing
NORWEGIAN.....	No/Nor.....		Lars Hellan
ICELANDIC.....	Ic/Ice.....		Johanna Bardal
FAEROESE.....	Fa/Far.....		Z. Hansen & J. Jacobsen
GERMAN.....	Gm/Grm.....		Dorothy Beermann
DUTCH.....	Du/Dut...	(1)	Marc van Oostendorp
		(2)	Gertjan Hakkenberg
		(3)	Jan-Wouter Zwart
ENGLISH.....	En/Eng.....		Andrew D. Caink
FRENCH.....	Fr/Fr.....		Michal Starke & Marc-Ariel Friedermann
PORTUGUESE.....	Pr/Prt...	(1)	Pilar Barbosa

		(2)	Ana Madeira
CATALAN.....	Ct/Ctl.....		Enrico Vallduví
SPANISH.....	Sp/Spn.....		María Angeles Escobar
ITALIAN.....	It/It....	(1)	Anna Cardinaletti
		(2)	Denis Delfitto
RUMANIAN.....	Ru/Rum...	(1)	Sandra Rîpeanu
		(2)	Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin
MODERN GREEK....	Gr/Grk.....		Elena Anagnostopoulou
ALBANIAN.....	Al/Alb.....		Dalina Kallulli
MACEDONIAN.....	Mc/Mcd...	(1)	Olga Tomić
		(2)	Wayles Browne
BULGARIAN.....	Bl/Blg...	(1)	Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova
		(2)	Ilyana Krapova
SERBO-CROATIAN..	SC/SCr...	(1)	Wayles Browne
		(2)	Olga Tomić
CZECH.....	Cz/Cz.....		Ludmila Veselovská
SLOVAK.....	Sl/Slva.....		Michal Starke
POLISH.....	Po/Pol.....		Piotr Banski
RUSSIAN.....	Ru/Rus...	(1)	Yakov Testelec
		(2)	Irina Kobozeva

SURVEY

1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

- 1.1. The unmarked word order is [+] VO, [-] OV.
- 1.2. The language has [+] prepositions, [-] postpositions.
- 1.3. **Pro-drop** [+] or [-] non-pro-drop language.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
1.1.	±	+	-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
1.2.	-	±	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	±	+	+	+	+
1.3.	+	+	+	+	±	+	±	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	±

1. CATEGORIES

- 2.1. The language [+] has or [-] has not **different series of weak and strong pronouns**.
- 2.2. A weak pronoun can [+] or cannot [-] **function** as:
(a) SUBJ, (b) IO, (c) DO, (d) reflexive, (e) possessive.
- 2.3. The language has [+] or has not [-] **nominal weak pronouns**.
- 2.4. The language has [+] or has not [-] **verbal clitics**.
- 2.5. The verbal CL shows [+] or does not show [-]
(a) **tense** and (b) **person features**.
- 2.6. The language has [+] or has not [-] **adverbial clitics**.
- 2.7. CLs have [+] or have not [-] **the same morphophonol. form**.
- 2.8. The language has [+] or has not [-] **adjectival clitics**.
- 2.9. The language has [+] or has not [-] **prepositional CLs**.
- 2.10. The language has [+] or has not [-] **particle CLs**, (a) negation PRT,
(b) quest. PRT, (c) emphatic PRT, (d) other.

	H n	F i	B s	W l	I r	B r	H b	S w	N o	I c	F a	G m	D u	E n	F r	P r	C t	S p	I t	R u	G r	A l	M c	B l	S C	C z	S l	P o	R u	
2.1.	-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	
2.2a	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2.2b	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2.2c	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2.2d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2.2e	-	+	o	+	o	-	+	+	-	o	o	i	+	+	+	-	%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2.3.	-	o	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	
2.4.	±	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2.5a	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	?	+	-
2.5b	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2.6.	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	+	
2.7.	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	i	+	i	+	i	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	
2.8.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2.9.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2.10a	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	±	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2.10b	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	
2.10c	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2.10d	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	

3. CATEGORIES

- 3.1. The order of full NPs is **[+] DAT - ACC or [-] ACC - DAT**.
- 3.2. CLs appear [+] or not [-] in **the same order as NPs**.
- 3.3. CLs appear [+] or not [-] in **conjunction**.
- 3.4. CLs appear [+] or not [-] in an environment of **stress**.
- 3.5. CLs appear [+] or not [-] **after negation**.
- 3.6. CLs appear [+] or not [-] **in isolation**.
- 3.7. CLs can [+] or cannot [-] be **modified**.
- 3.8. SUBJ CLs appear [+] or not [-] in a sent. **Initial position**.
- 3.9. OBJ CLs appear [+] or not [-] in a sent. initial position.
- 3.10. CL can[+] or cannot [-] be **related to a quantifier**.
- 3.11. CLs allow [+] or not [-] a **parasitic gap**.
- 3.12. The language has [+] or has not [-] **CL doubling**.
- 3.13. (a) nominal,(b) pronom.,(c) prepos.,(d) verbal,(e) adverb.,(f) possessive
CLs can [+] or cannot [-] double.
- 3.14. **The double of the CL** is (a) pronoun, (b) full definite NP,
(c) full indefinite NP,(d) adverbial CL.
- 3.15. **CL function** is: (a) SUBJ,(b) IO,(c) DO,(d) prepos. OBJ.
- 3.16. The CL can [+] or cannot [-] be **present when questioned**.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R	
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u	
3.1.	±	+	±	o	-	-	±	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	+	±	-	+	±	±	±	+	±	
3.2.	o	o	+	o	+	-	±	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	±	
3.3.	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3.4.	-	o	+	o	-	-	±	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3.5.	-	o	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	±	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	
3.6.	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
3.7.	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	±	±	-	
3.8.	-	o	o	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	±	-	-	i	i	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	
3.9.	-	o	o	-	-	-	±	±	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	
3.10.	-	o	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	o	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3.11.	-	o	o	-	-	+	±	-	-	-	o	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	
3.12.	±	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	o	+	±	-	±	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	-	±	-	-	±	
3.13b	?	o	+	+	i	o	-	i	i	i	o	+	+	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	?	i	i	?	
3.13f	-	o	-	+	i	o	+	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-	
3.14a	i	o	+	+	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	o	
3.14b	i	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	o	
3.14c	i	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	-	±	i	i	i	i	o	
3.15a	i	o	-	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-	
3.15b	i	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	i	i	?	
3.15c	i	o	+	+	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	i	i	?	
3.15d	i	o	-	?	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	i	-	i	i	?
3.16.	-	o	-	+	i	+	-	i	i	i	i	+	-	i	i	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	?	i	i	-	

4.A. POSITION

4.A.1. CLs attach [+] or not [-] to a **host**.

4.B. HOST CLITICS

4.B.1. The **host** is (a) verb, (b) noun, (c) adjective, (d) preposition, (e) complementizer, (f) adverb, (g) other.

4.B.2. CL **precedes** [+] or **follows** [-] its **host**.

4.B.3. CL is [+] or is not [-] **incorporated** in its host.

4.B.4. CLs are [+] or are not [-] **at the same side** of the host.

4.B.5/6. CLs have [+] or have not [-] **fixed order**.

4.B.7. **Function** influences [+] or not [-] position in a cluster.

4.B.8. **Case** restricts [+] or not [-] position in a cluster.

4.B.9. **REFL CL** in the CL cluster is (a) initial, (b) internal, (c) final), (d) depends upon its grammatical function.

CL attached to a verb is **pre** [+] or **post** [-] **verbal** in -

4.B.10. - a declarative main clause,

4.B.11. - a YES/NO question,

4.B.12. - a main clause wh-question,

4.B.13. - a positive imperative.

4.B.14. - a negative imperative,

	H n	F i	B s	W l	I r	B r	H b	S w	N o	I c	F a	G m	D u	E n	F r	P r	C t	S p	I t	R u	G r	A l	M c	B l	S C	C z	S l	P o	R u	
4A.1.	±	-	±	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	
4B.1a	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	+	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	
4B.1b	i	i	-	+	-	-	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	
4B.1c	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	i	
4B.1d	i	i	-	-	-	+	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	i	
4B.1e	i	i	-	+	-	+	-	i	+	-	i	i	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	i	
4B.1f	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	i	
4B.1g	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	i	
4B.2.	i	i	±	±	+	-	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	+	-	-	-	-	i	
4B.3.	i	i	+	-	-	-	-	i	-	-	o	i	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	+	i	+	i	
4B.4.	i	i	-	-	-	-	±	i	+	i	i	i	-	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	
4B.5.	i	i	+	o	i	+	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	i	
4B.7.	i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	±	±	-	i	-	i	
4B.8.	i	i	o	o	i	i	-	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	i	i	i	-	o	i	i	+	+	+	-	i	
4B.9a	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	-	-	-	i	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
4B.9b	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	+	-	%	-	-	+	i	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
4B.9c	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	
4B.9d	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	-	+	+	+	i	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
4B.10.	i	i	±	+	+	±	-	i	-	i	i	i	-	-	+	±	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	±	±	+	i	
4B.11.	i	i	±	+	+	i	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	±	±	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	i	i	i	-	i	
4B.12.	i	i	±	+	+	o	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	-	i	
4B.13.	i	i	±	i	+	o	-	i	-	-	i	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	±	i	i	-	i	
4B.14	i	i	±	i	+	o	-	i	-	i	i	i	i	-	±	+	+	-	±	+	+	+	+	-	+	±	i	i	-	i

CL attached to a verb is **pre [+] or post [-] verbal** in -

4.B.15. - in an '**absolute construction**' e.g. gerund, infinitive.

4.B.16. In **Aux + participle** construction a CL precedes [+] or follows [-]

(a) Aux, (b) participle.

4.B.17. In **Aux + gerund** construction a CL precedes [+] or follows [-] (a) Aux, (b) gerund.

4.B.18. In **Aux + infinitive** construction a CL precedes [+] or follows [-]

(a) Aux or (b) infinitive.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
4B.15	i	i	o	o	i	o	-	i	-	i	i	i	i	-	+	±	-	-	-	±	-	+	-	±	i	i	i	-	i
4B.16a	i	i	i	i	i	o	+	i	o	-	i	i	-	i	+	±	+	±	+	+	+	+	-	±	i	i	i	±	i
4B.16b	i	i	o	+	i	o	-	i	-	+	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	±	i	-	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	±	i
4B.17a	i	i	o	o	-	o	+	i	-	o	i	i	-	i	i	±	+	+	+	i	-	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i
4B.17b	i	i	i	+	+	i	-	i	-	o	i	i	i	-	i	i	-	-	-	i	i	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i
4B.18a	i	i	o	o	o	o	i	i	o	-	i	i	-	i	-	±	+	+	±	+	i	o	o	+	i	i	i	-	i
4B.18b	i	i	o	o	o	o	-	i	-	+	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	o	o	i	i	i	i	±	i

4.C. FIXED POSITION CLITICS

4.C.1. The '**fixed position**' of the CLs in the language is:

- (a) sentence initial, behind the first word,
- (b) sentence initial, behind the first constituent,
- (e) between the complementizer and the subject,
- (f) between the subject and before sentence adverbs,
- (g) another.

4.C.2-7. CLs are **pre [+] or post [-] verbal** in

4.C.5. - a positive imperative,

4.C.6. - a negative imperative,

4.C.7. - an 'absolute construction'.

4.C.8. A CL can [+] or cannot [-] be **separated** from its adjacent element by

(a) subject or (b) an adverb.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
4C.1a	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	+	+	i	+
4C.1b	-	+	-	i	-	i	i	-	I	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	+	+	i	-
4C.1e	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	+	I	o	-	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	-	-	i	-
4C.1f	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	+	I	o	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	-
4C.1g	+	-	+	i	+	i	i	+	I	o	-	-	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	+	+	i	-	-	-	i	-
4C.5.	i	-	o	i	i	i	i	-	I	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	±	-	i	±	±	±	i	i
4C.6.	+	o	o	i	i	i	i	-	I	o	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	±	-	i	±	±	±	i	i
4C.7.	+	o	o	i	i	i	i	-	i	o	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	o	o	i	±	±	o	o	o
4C.8a	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	+	i	o	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	i
4C.8b	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	+	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	i

5. MOVEMENT

- 5.1. The language has [+] or has not [-] **CL climbing**.
- 5.2. The CL climbing appears [+] or [-] in the context of:
 - (a) causative verbs, (b) modal verbs,
 - (c) aspectual verbs, (d) other verbs e.g.
- 5.3. When the CLs climb, then all [+] or not all [-].
- 5.4. CL can [+], cannot [-] cross a lexical **complementizer**.
- 5.5. CL can [+], cannot [-] cross an embedded **wh-phrase**.
- 5.6. CL can [+], cannot [-] cross an embedded **subject**.
- 5.7. CL can [+], cannot [-] **leave deverbal NPs** containing CLs.
- 5.8. CL can [+], cannot [-] **move within the deverbal noun**.
- 5.9. CL can [+], cannot [-] escape from the element which selects it.
- 5.10. The escaped CLs move [+] or not [-] (a) to the verb,
 - (b) after 1st word/constituent, (c) other.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
5.1.	±	-	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	o	-	+	±	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
5.2a	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	?	-	-	-
5.2b	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	?	i	-	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+
5.2c	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	?	i	-	+	+	+	+	-	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	-
5.2d	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	-	+	-	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	+	+	-	-	-
5.3.	o	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	i	-	±	i	+	±	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	-	-
5.4.	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	o	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.5.	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	-	i	-	±	±	-	+	-	i	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.6.	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	+	+	i	±	-	+	-	+	-	i	-	o	-	±	-	-	-	-
5.7.	-	i	-	i	i	i	-	o	i	o	-	-	±	i	-	i	i	o	o	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.8.	-	i	-	i	i	i	-	o	i	o	-	-	-	i	o	i	i	-	o	i	o	-	o	-	-	-	o	-	o
5.9.	+	i	-	i	i	i	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	±	±	+	+	+	+
5.10a	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	i	+	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	-	-	-	-	+	-
5.10b	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	-	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	i	-	+	+	+	+	+
5.10c	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	-	+	-	-	-	-	o	o	i	+	-	-	-	-	-

For more details, remarks, and examples see Sections 1-5.

In the tables in Sections 1-5 below [o] means 'no answer',
 [i] means 'irrelevant'.
 In YES/NO questions [+] means YES,
 [-] means NO.

1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1. Which is the unmarked word order of your language?

a) SVO, b) SOV, c) VOS, d) VSO, e) OSV, f) OVS

(Only answers that appeared are given below)

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
SVO	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOV	+		+		+							+	+										o						+
VSO				+	+	+							+								+		o					+	

Hng: unless a wide variety of intervening factors (3).

- (1) János látta Mari-t.
 Janos saw Mari.ACC
 'Janos saw Mari.'

Fin Pekka näk-i kana-n.
 Pekka see-PAST-3S hen .ACC
 'Pekka saw a/the hen.'

Bsq (1) Jon -ek liburu-a irakurri du
 John-ERG book-the read Aux
 'John has read the book.'

Wls: SVO in nonfinite clauses and VSO in finite clauses.

Gwelodd Emrys y ddraig.
 saw Emrys the dragon
 'Emrys saw the dragon.'

Disgwylodd Megan i Emrys weld y ddraig.
 expected Megan for Emrys see the dragon
 'Megan expected Emrys to see the dragon.'

Ir: VSO in finite clauses, in non-finite clauses in some dialects SVO, in others SOV.

VSO: Cheannaigh Máire an leabhar.
 buy-PAST Mary the book.
 'Mary bought a book.'

SVO: Ba mhaith liom Máire a cheannach an leabhar.
 COP good with-me Mary PART buy the book
 'I would like Mary to buy the book.'

SOV: Ba mhaith liom Máire an leabhar a cheannach.
 COP-PAST good with-me Mary the book PART buy
 'I would like Mary to buy the book.'

Brb	<u>I -zra Ahmed tafunast.</u> 3SM(CL)-saw Ahmed cow 'Ahmed saw a cow.'
Hbr	<u>Dani 'axal falafel.</u> Dani eat-PAST-3SM falafel 'Dani eats falafel.'
Swd(2)	<u>Maria köper en bok.</u> Maria buys a book 'Maria buys a book.'
Ice	<u>Ég kaupi bók.</u> I buy book 'I buy a book.'
Grm	<u>- weil er den Apfel gegesses hat.</u> - because he the.ACC apple eaten has '...because he has eaten the apple.'

Dut(2): has SVO in main clauses and SOV in embedded clauses.

- (a) Jan slaat de hond.
Jan beats the dog
- Karel heeft een elpee van John Mayall gekocht.
Karel has an LP of John Mayall bought
'Karel has bought an LP by John Mayall.'
- (b) Ik hoop dat Jan de hond slaat.
I hope that Jan the dog beats
'I hope that Jan beats the dog.'
- I denk dat Karel een elpee van JM gekocht heeft.
I think that Karel an LP of JM bought has
'I think that Karel has bought an LP by JM.'

Eng	<u>(- that) John cut the cake.</u>
Fr	<u>Pierre embrasse Marie dans le train.</u> Pierre kisses Marie in the train
Prt (2)	<u>Pedro comprou um carro.</u> the-Pedro bought-3S a car 'Pedro bought a car.'

Ctl: SVO is the citation order and the most frequent as well. Other orderings, however, appear as well.

Els aliats van guanyar la guerra.
 the allies Aux-PAST-3P win the war
 'The allies won the war.'

Van guanyar la guerra els aliats.
 Aux-PAST-3P win the war the allies

Spn Juan compró un libro.
 Juan bought a book

It (1) Gianni ha letto quel libro.
 Gianni has read that book

Rum (1) Ion scrie o scrisoare.
 Ion writes a letter

Grk O Petros pantrefike tin Maria.
 the Petros.NOM married the Maria.ACC
Pantrefike o Petros tin Maria.
 married the Petros.NOM the Maria.ACC
 'Peter married Maria.'

Alb Shikoj filmin.
 see-1S film-the.ACC
 'I see the film.'

Blg (1) Ivan kupi kniga.
 Ivan bought book
 'Ivan ought a/the book.'

SCr(1): (b)-(d) and even (e) and (f) are possible for discourse structure or stylistic reasons.

Svetlana vidi Olgu
 Svetlana.NOM see-PRES-3S Olga.ACC
 'Svetlana sees Olga.'

Cz: SVO is taken for 'unmarked', but any ordering is used for discourse structure or stylistic reasons.

Jan napsal dopis.
 Jan.NOM write-PAST-3SM letter.ACC
 'Jan wrote a letter.'

Slva Jano zjedol jablko vo vlaku.
 Jano.NOM ate apple.ACC in train
 'Jano ate an apple in the train.'

Pol Jan studiuje język polski.
 Jan.NOM studies language.ACC Polish
 'Jan studies the Polish language.'

Rus (2) Ivan (piot) čaj (piot).
 Ivan.NOM (drinks) tea (drinks)
 'Ivan drinks tea.'

Ivan (eto) znajet (eto).
 Ivan.NOM (it.ACC) knows (it.ACC)
 'Ivan knows it.'

1.2. Does your language have:

a) prepositions, b) postpositions, c) both, d) neither

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
prep	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	-	+	+	+	+
post	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
both	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	-	-

Hng(1) (*mögött) János mögött
 (*behind) Janos behind
 'behind Janos'

Fin: most postpositions.

sinu-n taki
 you .GEN because-of
 'because of you'

ilman sinn-a
 without you -PART
 'without you'

Wls Aeth Emrys i Loegr.
 went Emrys to England
 'Emrys went to England.'

Prepositions inflect for the person, number and gender (3S) of their following pronominal complements.

arn-af i
 on- 1S I
 'on me'

arn-at ti
 on- 2S you(S)
 'on you'

arn-o ef
 on-3SM he
 'on him'

arn-i hi
 on-3SF she
 'on her'

arn-om ni
 on- 1P we
 'on us'

arn-och chwi
 on- 2P you(P)
 'on you'

arn-ynt hwy
 on-3P they
 'on them'

ar y dyn / dynion
 on the man / men
 'on the man/men'

Ir: Prepositions inflect for the person, number and (3S) gender of their following pronominal complements.

ag Seán - agam, agat, aige, aici
 at Sean - at-1S, at-2S, at-2SM, at-2SF...
 'at Sean' 'at me/you/him/her...'

Brb i -lla ddaw ti flut
 it-is under the door
 'It is under the door.'

Hbr Dani 'axal falafel 'al ha- gag
 Dani ate falafel on the-roof
 'Dani ate falafel on the roof.'

Swd: only one or two postpositions, lexically restricted (1). Postpositions are rather marginal, they may be used as prepositions as well (2).

(1) till en flicka med Johan
 to a girl with John

oss emellan vänner emellan *sidorna emellan
 us between friends between *the pages between

Ice Ég kaupi bókina í búðinni.
 I buy book-the in store-the
 'I buy the book in the store.'

Grm (a) Das Glas steht auf dem Tisch.
 the glass stands on the.DAT table
 'The glass stands on the table.'

(circump.) Er geht unter der Brücke durch.
 he goes under the.DAT bridge through
 'He goes under(through) the bridge.'

(b) Er lebt dem Bahnhof gegenüber.
 he lives the.DAT station opposite
 'He lives opposite the station.'

Dut(1) (a) met Jan onder vrienden
 with John between friends

(b) postpositions appear mostly with directionals
 (2) but also with (some) non-directionals (1)

Hij vliegt onder de brug door / * de brug onder.
 he flies under the bridge through / * the bridge under

(2) (c) (in) de boom (in) (op) de fiets (op)
 (in) the tree (in) (on) the bike (on)

Eng with a knife of that

 atrophied forms: his account thereof was adequate

Fr	<u>dans le train</u> in the train	
Prt	(2) <u>Comprei isto para a Maria.</u> Bought-1S this for the Maria. 'I bought it for Maria.'	
Ctl	<u>Dormo sota la teulada.</u> sleep-1S under the roof 'I sleep under the roof.'	<u>Visc a Catalunya.</u> live-1S in Catalonia 'I live in Catalonia.'
Spn	<u>(para) mí (*para)</u> (for) me (*for)	
It	(1) <u>Gianni ha parlato con Mario.</u> Gianni has spoken with Mario	
Rum	(1) <u>merge cu el</u> goes with him	
Grk	<u>me to molyvi</u> with the pencil.ACC	<u>apo tin poli</u> from the town.ACC
Blg	(1) <u>Tazi knjiga e za mene.</u> this book is for me	
SCr	(1): a few words can be postpositions as well as prepositions.	
	<u>o Olgi</u> about Olga-LOC	
	<u>(radi) užitka (radi)</u> (for-the-sake-of) enjoyment (for-the-sake-of)	
Cz	<u>na/ve stole</u> on/in table-LOC	<u>* stole na/ve</u> * table-LOC on/in
Slva	<u>vo vlaku</u> in train	<u>* vlaku vo</u> * train in
Pol	<u>dla Jana</u> for Jan.ACC	
Rus	(2) <u>radi Ivana/boga</u> for-the-sake-of Ivan /god	<u>* Ivana/boga radi</u>

1.3. Is your language a pro-drop language?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+	+	+	+	±	+	±	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+	±

Hng(4): subject: all persons and numbers; object: if singular.

(1)subj: (én) látom Mari-t
 (I) see-PRES-1S Mari.ACC
 'I can see Mari.'

obj: (én) látom (öt)
 (I) see-PRES-1S (3S.ACC)

(4)obj: Olvas-ok vs. Olvas-om
 read-PRES-1S read-PRES-1S.ACC[+DEF]
 'I'm reading' 'I'm reading it(+DEF).'

Fin: pro-drop in 1st and 2nd persons. In 3rd person only under certain conditions (V non-initial, generic interpretation). In colloquial Finnish pro-drop becomes more rare.

(Mä) Aio -n lähteä huomenna.
 (I) intend-1S leave-INF tomorrow
 'I intend to leave tomorrow.'

Hän /(*) aikoo lähteä huomenna.
 He/She/(*) intend-3S leave-INF tomorrow
 'He/she intends to leave tomorrow.'

Bsq(2): ERG, DAT and ABS can be dropped.

pro_i pro_j ikusi n- au- zu
 seen me-have-you
 'You have seen me.'

pro_i pro_j pro_k eman d- i- da-zu
 given it-have-me-you
 'You have given it to me.'

Wls: and also phonological null prepositional objects.

Gwelais y ddraig.
 saw-1S the dragon
 'I saw the dragon.'

Aeth Emrys iddi.
 went Emrys to-3SF
 'Emrys went to her.'

Ir: Pro-drop in some persons and number with some verbal tenses and mood. Dialect variation. Prepositional pronominal objects are obligatorily null (inflected prepositions).

molaim
praise-PRES-1S
'I praise'

molfaidg mé
praise-FUT 1S.NOM
'I will praise'

mholainn
praise-PAST/HAB-1S
'I used to praise'

mhol mé
praise-PAST 1S.NOM
'I praised'

Brb (ntta/Ahmed) i -ffeR
(he/Ahmed) 3SM(CL)-went
'he/Ahmed went'

Hbr: depends on tense

'axalti falafel
eat-PAST-1S falafel
'I eat falafel.'

Swd(1) Vad läser (*) / du?
what read (*) / you
'What are you reading?'

Har (*) / det regnat?
has (*) / it rained
'Has it rained?'

Jag /(*) läser en bok.
I / (*) read a book
'I'm reading a book.'

Ice: only expletive subject can be dropped.

Hefur right.
has rained
'It has rained.'

Grm: only non-thematic subject can be dropped.

- wenn du /(*) kommst.
- when you/(*) come-2S
'- when you come.'

- weil getanzt wurde.
- because danced-3S was

Dut(1): non-thematic dummy subjects may be omitted when the preverbal slot is filled.

* Rookt een sigaret.
* smokes a cigarette

* Regent.
* rains

In de danszaal wordt gedanst.
in the ballroom is danced
'There is a dance in the ballroom.'

Eng * Smokes a cigarette.

* Rains.

Fr * Embrasse Marie dans le train.
 * kisses Marie in the train
 cca: 'He/she kisses Marie in the train.'

Prt (2) Vou ao cinema.
 go-PRES-1S to-the cinema
 'I go to the cinema.'

Ctl: see 1.2. Overt pronoun is both statistically and interpretively marked.

Spn (Yo) Quiero hacerlo.
 (I) want-PRES-1S do-INF-it
 'I want to do it.'

It (1) Ha parlato con Mario.
 have-3S spoken with Mario
 'He/she has spoken with Mario.'

Rum (1) Scrie o scrisoare.
 writes-PRES-3S a letter
 'He/she writes a letter.'

Grk Éfyga xtes.
 leave-PAST-1S yesterday
 'I left yesterday.'

Alb Shikaj filmin.
 see-I film-the.ACC
 'I see the film.'

Blg (1) Kupix kniga
 buy-PAST-1S book
 'I bought a book.'

SCr (1) Vidi Olgu.
 see-PRES-3S Olga.ACC
 'He/She sees Olga.'

Cz	<u>(On) Snědl jablko.</u> (he) eat-PAST-3SM apple.ACC 'He ate the apple.'	<u>Prší.</u> rain-PRES-3S 'It's raining.'
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Slva (Jano) Zjedol jablko.
 (Jano.NOM) eat-PAST-3SM apple.ACC
 'Jano/He ate the apple.'

Pol Jestem studentka.
 be-PRES-1S student

'I am a student.'

Rus: Only with some verbs and in some sentences (1/2).

(Ja) vižu zemlju.

(I) see-1S land

'I can see the land.'

* Byl bolen.

* was-3SM ill

cca: 'He was ill.'

2. CATEGORIES

2.1. Does your language have different series of weak and strong pronouns?

a) yes, b) no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	

Hng(4): no general agreement on weak vs. strong pronouns. The sentence with preverbal ones (see te in Topic position) have neutral reading and the pronouns can be considered to be strong. Postverbal pronouns (*arra/rá in Focus) are then weak.

(Te) olvas-od (*te) a dolgozat-ot.

you read-2S+obj[-DEF] (*you) the paper .ACC

'You are reading the paper.'

Számítok rá / *arra.

count-1S on-it / *on-it

'This is what I count on.'

Arra / *rá számítok.

on-it / *on-it count-1S

'This is what I count on.'

Bsq (2): See 2.2. Only for 1st and 2nd person pronouns. 3rd person pronouns do not have strong forms, neither do they have pronominal CLs. Demonstratives are used for 3rd persons.

Wls: See also 3.12. Weak pronouns - here understood as CL pronouns. In addition to these CLs, Welsh has emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns, the latter may be called weak pronouns as well.

Mae Gwyn yn darllen y llyfr.

is Gwyn in read the book

'Gwyn is reading the book.'

Mae Gwyn yn ei ddarllen.

is Gwyn in 3SM read

'Gwyn is reading it.'

Ir: separate paradigms for emphatic / non-emphatic NOM and ACC pronouns which do not share distribution: see 2.2. for paradigms. Object pronouns have a tendency to shift rightwards to a clause final position. Emphatic ACC cannot move there.

Chonaic mé i nDoire inné é.

saw 1S.NOM in Derry yesterday 3SM.ACC

'I saw him in Derry yesterday.'

* Choniaic mé i nDoire inné eisean.
 * saw 1S.NOM in Derry yesterday 3SM.ACC
 'I saw him in Derry yesterday.'

Progressive constructions take the form BE + subject + ag + verbal noun + object, but when pronominalized, the object appears as a possessive pronoun following the preposition do or ag or as a single morpheme.

Bhí sí ag caith tobac.
 was 3SF.NOM PROG smoke (verb.noun) tobacco
 'She was smoking.'

Brb (ntta) i -ffeR
 (3SM) 3SM(CL)-went
 'He went.'

Hbr(1): Hebrew has (a) CLs, (b) weak pronouns, (c) strong pronouns. The (b) and (c) are homonymous. Examples indicate pronominal subject and prepositional object.

hu yašav 'al-av
 he sit-PAST-3SM on -3SM.ACC(CL)
 'He sat on it.'

Swd (2): weak pronouns are morphophonematically not distinct from strong pronouns.(1): Weak pronouns have a short vowel in cases where the strong ones (which can be unstressed) have a long vowel. They are distinguished by syntactic distribution.

Ice: pronouns are always object-shifted and can be topicalized.

Ég sá ekki manninn.
 I saw not man-the
 'I didn't see the man.'

Hann sá ég ekki.
 3SM.ACC saw I not
 'I didn't see him.'

Ég sá hann ekki.
 I saw 3SM.ACC not
 'I didn't see him.'

Dut (2) (- dat) Ik/"K heb het boek gekregen.
 (- that) 1S/1S(CL) have the book got
 '(...that) I have got the book.'

'ie' (he/3SM) may not be sentence initial:

Hij /*ie luistert vaak naar muziek.
 3SM/3SM(CL) listens often to music
 'He often listens to the music.'

- dat ie luistert...
 - that 3SM(CL) listens...
 '- that he listens

Eng: phonetic reduction. (In all examples for English, the (CL) label means the pronunciation is reduced.)

		<u>You can't do that.</u> [yð]2S.NOM(CL)		<u>Give 'r a book.</u> [ð]3SF-OBJ(CL)
Fr		<u>Je le _____ vois</u> I 3SM.ACC(CL) see 'I see him.'		<u>Je vois lui _____ et Marie</u> I see 3SM.ACC and Mary 'I see him and Mary.'
Prt	(2)	<u>Comprei -te _____ um livro.</u> bought-1S-2S.DAT(CL) a book 'I bought you a book.'		
		<u>Comprei este livro para ti.</u> bought-I this book for 2S.DAT 'I bought this book for you.'		
Ctl: with non-oblique arguments, if a strong pronoun is used, it must co-appear with a weak one.				
		<u>Parlo amb ell.</u> talk-1S with 3SM.ACC 'I talk with him.'		<u>Hi _____ parlo.</u> 3SM(CL) talk-1S 'I talk to him.'
		<u>El _____ /(*) vaig _____ veure a ell.</u> 3SM.ACC(CL) /(*) Aux-PAST see to 3SM 'I saw him.'		
Spn		<u>Le _____ di _____ el libro a él.</u> 3SM.DAT(CL) gave-1S a book to 3SM 'I gave him a book.'		
It	(2)	<u>Gianni (*lui _____ /lo) ha visto (lui _____ /*lo).</u> Gianni (*3SM.ACC/CL) has seen (3SM.ACC/*CL) 'Gianni has seen him.'		
Rum	(1)	<u>(*lui _____ /îi dă _____ (lui _____ /*îi) _____ o carte.</u> (*3SM.DAT/CL) gives (3SM.DAT/*CL) a book 'He/she gives him a book.'		
Grk: e.g.		<u>emena</u> : 1S.ACC <u>aftis</u> : 3SF.GEN	vs. vs.	<u>me</u> : 1S.ACC(CL) <u>tis</u> : 3SF.GEN(CL)
Blg: e.g.		<u>nego</u> : 3SM.ACC	vs.	<u>go</u> : 3SM.ACC(CL)
SCr	(1)	<u>Eva (nju _____ /je) vidi (nju _____ /*je).</u> Eva (3SF.ACC/CL) sees (3SF.ACC/*CL) 'Eve can see her.'		

Cz: but some weak pronouns/CLs (e.g. *jí* :3SF.DAT) have the same morphological form as their strong (stressed) counterparts. Some dialects (Moravian) can use the CL forms for strong pronouns as well.

Koupil (??jemu /mu) dárek (jemu /*mu).
bought-3SM (??3SM.DAT/CL) present.ACC (3SM.DAT/*CL)
'He bought him a present.'

Slva	<u>On ma videl.</u>	<u>Mña /*ma videl.</u>
	he 1S.ACC(CL) saw	1S.ACC/*CL saw-3S
	'He saw me.'	'He saw me.'

Pol: e.g. jego: 3SM.ACC vs. go: 3SM.ACC(CL)
 jemu: 3SM.DAT vs. mu: 3SM.DAT(CL)

Rus: with reservations (in non-standart Russian) (2).

<u>tebja</u> : 2S.ACC	vs.	<u>tja</u> : 2S.ACC(CL)
<u>tebje</u> : 2S.DAT	vs.	<u>tje</u> : 2S.DAT(CL)
sebjē: REFL.DAT	vs.	sje: REFS.DAT(CL)

2.2. If you answered (2.1) positively: can a weak pronoun function as: (a) subject, (b) indirect object, (c) direct object, (d) reflexive, (e) possessive. Give paradigm.

	H n	F i	B s	W l	I r	B r	H b	S w	N o	I c	F a	G m	D u	E n	F r	P r	C t	S p	I t	R u	G r	A l	M c	B l	S C	C z	S l	P o	R u
Subj	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IO	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DO	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
REFL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	o	o	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
POSS	-	+	o	+	o	-	+	+	-	o	o	i	+	+	+	-	%	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-

Hng: (a),(c): subject and DO pronouns are dropped if they occur in 'weak position'. (b): neki (weak) vs annak (strong)(4).

Fin: difference in 1st and 2nd person. "Strong" = standard Finnish, "weak" = colloquial (Southern urban Finnish).

NOM:	strong: <u>mină</u> , <u>sină</u>	weak: <u>mă</u> , <u>să</u>
OBL (stem):	strong: <u>minu-</u> , <u>sinu-</u>	weak: <u>mu-</u> , <u>su-</u>
	1S 2S	1S 2S

Bsq (2): has no independent weak pronouns; it is possible to analyse the agreement markers as a kind of CL: Subject CLs are ERG or ABS.

(a) ERG: Zu ikusi zaitu-t ABS: etorri n-aiz
 you seen you-have-I arrived I-am
 'I have seen you.'

(b) IO: zuk dirua eman di - da - zu
 you money given have-to me-you
 'You have given me money.'

(c) DO: zuk ikusi a - au - zu
 you seen me-have-you
 'You have seen me.'

strong pronouns: ni, hi, gu, zu, zuek
 ABS CLs: n-, h-, g-, z-, z-
 DAT/ERG CLs: d-, k-/n-, gu, zu, zue
 1, 2, 1P, 2P, 2P

Wls: (a) subject weak pronouns only appear in subordinate clauses with the verb bod (to be) in initial position.

Dywedodd Emrys ei fod yn oer.
 said Emrys 3SM be in cold
 'Emrys said he was cold.'

(c)DO Mae Gwyn wedi fy ngweld.
 is Gwyn after 1S see
 'Gwyn has seen me.'

lit.: Fe 'm gwelodd. stand.: Fe gwelodd fi.
 PRT 1S saw-3S PRT saw-3S 1S
 'He saw me.'

(e)POSS Gwerthodd Emrys ei dy.
 sold Emrys 3SM-POS house
 'Emrys sold his house.'

In passives, there are CLs agreeing with the superficial subject.

Cafodd Emrys ei daro gan Megan.
 got Emrys 3SM hit by Megan
 'Emrys was hit by Megan.'

Ir: (a) and (c) see 2.1.

NOM(emph.)	<u>mise, tusa, seisean, sise, sinne, sibhse, siadsan</u>
NOM(non-e.)	<u>mé, tú, sé, sí, sinn, sibh, said</u>
ACC(emph.)	<u>mise, tusa, eisean, ise, sinne, sibhse, iadsan</u>
ACC(non-e.)	<u>mé, tú, é, í, sinn, sibh, iad</u>
	1S 2S 3SM 3SF 1P 2P 3P

(b) prepositional IO = do + ACC. If the object is not R-expression, preposition must be inflected.

dom, duit, dó, di, dúinn, daoibh, dóibh
 to-1S, to-2S, to-3SM, to-3SF, to-1P, to-2P, to-3P
 'to me /you /him /her /us /you /them'

Thug mé an leabhar dó.
 gave 1S the book to-3SM
 'I gave the book to him.'

progressive construction (prepositions do/ag+ pronoun):

do/ag mo, do/ag do, á(+len), á, dár, do bhur, á(+ecl)
 1S 2S 3SM 3SF 1P 2P 3P

Brb: subject and DO CLs are the same.

nkkin, kijjin, ntta, nttat,
 1S 2S 3SM 3SF

nukni, kunnimi, kunnimti, nutni, nutnti
 1P 2PM 2PF 3PM 3PF

Hbr(1):(b) l-: 'to'

l-i, l-xa, l-ax, l-o, l-a,
 to-1S, to-2SM, to-2FS, to-3MS, to-3FS

l-nu, l-axem, l-axen, l-ahem, l-ahen
 to-1P, to-2PM, to-2PF, to-3PM, to-3PF

(c)(d) A DO weak pronoun only occurs with nonfinite verbs. With the REFLs weak pronouns are fixed to the element 'acm- (self), it is not clear whether the whole phrase acts like a weak pronoun.

-i, -xa, -ax, -o, -a, -anu, -xem, -xen, -am, -an
 1S, 2SM, 2SF, 3SM, 3SF, 1P, 2PM, 2PF, 3PM, 3PF

(e) the elements in (c)(d) can be added to the noun (2)

beyt- i, beyt- xa, beyt- o...
 house-my, house-your, house-his...

Swd: (b),(c) and (d) have the same phonological form, except 3S and 3P (1). Possessive pronouns agree with their heads, (not clear whether they are CLs) (2).

(a)	(b)=(c) (d)	(e)
1S <u>jag</u> [ja:/][ja]	<u>mig</u> [mei]	<u>min</u> /mitt /mina
2S <u>du</u> [du:] [du]	<u>dig</u>	<u>din</u> /ditt /dina
3SM <u>han</u> [han] [han]	<u>honom</u>	<u>sin</u> /sitt /sina

3SF	<u>hon</u> [hun] [hun]	<u>henne</u>	<u>sig</u>	<u>sig</u> /sitt /sina
3SU	<u>den</u> [den] [den]	<u>den</u>	<u>sig</u>	<u>dess</u> /dess /dess
3SN	<u>det</u> [de:] [de]	<u>det</u>	<u>sig</u>	<u>dess</u> /dess /dess
1P	<u>vi</u> [vi:] [vi]	<u>oss</u>	<u>oss</u>	<u>vår</u> /vårt /våra
2P	<u>ni</u> [ni:] [ni]	<u>er</u>	<u>er</u>	<u>er</u> /ert /era
3P	<u>de</u> [de:] [de]	<u>dem</u>	<u>sig</u>	<u>deras</u> /deras/deras

- (1) boken min / *Johan's
book-the 1S-POSS(CL) / *John's
'my /John's book'

Nor: 3rd person CLs are for subject/IO/DO 'n (M) and 'a (F).

- (a) Så 'n /'a tyven?
saw'3M/3F-subject(CL) the-thief
'Did he/she see the thief?'
- (b) Ga du 'n /'a ikke pengene?
gave you 3M /3F-IO(CL) not the-money
'Didn't you give him/her the money?'
- (c) Så du 'n /'a ikke?
saw you 3M/3F-DO(CL) not
'Didn't you see him/her?'

Dut: (1) refers only to 3SM. The 1/2-DO pronouns may be used as reflexive pronouns. (3): zich is considered a weak pronoun by some (but it has no non-weak counterpart and does not allow CL climbing). (2): Weak forms can be identical with the strong forms: (-) below means 'no special weak form').

- (a) 'k, je, ie, ze, 't, we, -, zij
(b/c) me, je, 'm, 'r, 't, -, -, ze
(d) m'n, je, z'n, d'r, z'n, -, je, hun
1S 2S 3SM 3SF 3SN 1P 2P 3P

- (a) see 2.1.
- (b) Ik geef 'r het boek (*aan 'r)
I give 3SF.DAT(CL) the book [*to 3SF.DAT(CL)]
'I give her the book.'
- (c) Ik heb 't (aan) Jan gegeven.
I have 3SN.ACC(CL) (to) Jan given
'I have given it to Jan.'
- (d) Ik (/Je) vergis (/t) me (/je).
1S (/2S) mistake-1S (-2S) 1S-REFL (/2S-REFL)
'I(/You) make a mistake myself (/yourself).'

	(e)	<u>m'n</u> <u>boek</u> 1S-POSS(CL) book 'my book'	<u>d'r</u> <u>moeder</u> 3SF-POSS(CL) mother 'her mother'
Eng	(a)	<u>-</u> , <u>you</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>you</u> , <u>-</u> , [jə] [jə]	
	(b/c)	<u>-</u> , <u>you</u> , <u>(hi)'m</u> , <u>(he)'r</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>(the)m</u> [jə] [m] [ə] [ðm]	
	(d)	<u>myself</u> , <u>yourself</u> , <u>himself</u> , <u>herself</u> , <u>yourselves</u> , <u>themselves</u> [miself] [jəself] [imself] [əself] [jəselvz] [ðmselvz]	
	(e)	<u>my</u> , <u>your</u> , <u>his</u> , <u>her</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>-</u> , [mi] [jə] [əz] [ə]	

Only those forms which have a distinct weak form are given in the paradigm above for British English (some dialects). In Standard American only 3rd person REFLs have the CL forms.

You can't do that.
2S/P.NOM(CL)

I send 'm the book.
3SM-OBJ(CL)

I talk to myself.
1S-REFL(CL)

your friend
2S-POSS(CL)

Fr: (-) = weak pronouns morphologically identical with the strong ones. Possessive pronouns precede nouns and the forms given below are masculine (there are also feminine forms).

(a)	<u>je</u> , <u>tu</u> , <u>il</u> , <u>(elle)</u> , <u>(nous)</u> , <u>(vous)</u> , <u>ils</u> , <u>(elles)</u>
(b)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>lui</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>nous</u> , <u>vous</u> , <u>leur</u> , <u>leur</u>
(c)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>le</u> , <u>la</u> , <u>nous</u> , <u>vous</u> , <u>les</u> , <u>les</u>
(d)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>se</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>nous</u> , <u>vous</u> , <u>se</u> , <u>se</u>
(e)	<u>mon</u> , <u>ton</u> , <u>son</u> , <u>notre</u> , <u>votre</u> , <u>leur</u> , <u>leur</u>
	1S 2S 3S(M) 3SF 1P 2P 3P 3PF

Prt(2): some forms are only formal, others only informal.

(b)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>lhe</u> , <u>-</u> <u>-</u> <u>nos</u> , <u>vos</u> , <u>lhes</u> , <u>-</u> <u>-</u>
(c)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>-</u> <u>o</u> , <u>a</u> , <u>nos</u> , <u>vos</u> , <u>-</u> <u>os</u> , <u>as</u>
(d)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>se</u> , <u>-</u> <u>-</u> <u>nos</u> , <u>vos</u> , <u>se</u> , <u>-</u> <u>-</u>
	1S 2S 2S/3S 2/3SM 2/3SF 1P 2P 2/3P 2/3PM 2/3PF

Ctl	(b)	<u>m</u> , <u>t</u> , <u>li</u> , <u>li</u> , <u>li</u> , <u>nos</u> , <u>vos</u> , <u>els(i)/los/ls</u>
	(c)	<u>em</u> , <u>et</u> , <u>el/l/lo</u> , <u>la/l</u> , <u>ho</u> , <u>ens</u> , <u>us</u> , <u>els(i)/los/ls</u>
	(d)	<u>me</u> , <u>te</u> , <u>se/es/s</u> , <u>se/es/s</u> , <u>se/es/s</u> , <u>ns</u> , <u>-</u> , <u>-</u>
		1S 2S 3SM 3SF 3SN 1P 2P 3P

Possessive CLs are only used in a few idioms (or when the POSS modifies terms of kinship). Otherwise a stress-bearing POSS, which must be preceded by a determiner, is used.

	(e)	'my'(CL)	<u>mon,</u>	<u>ma,</u>	<u>mos,</u>	<u>mes</u>				
		'your' (CL)	<u>ton,</u>	<u>ta,</u>	<u>tos,</u>	<u>tes</u>				
		'his/her/their'(CL)	<u>son,</u>	<u>sa,</u>	<u>sos,</u>	<u>ses</u>				
			SM	SF	PM	PF				
Spn	(b)	<u>me,</u>	<u>te,</u>	<u>le,</u>	<u>nos,</u>	<u>os,</u>	<u>los /las</u>			
	(c)	<u>me,</u>	<u>te,</u>	<u>lo,</u>	<u>nos,</u>	<u>os,</u>	<u>los /las</u>			
	(d)	<u>me,</u>	<u>te,</u>	<u>se /se/se,</u>	<u>nos,</u>	<u>os,</u>	<u>se /se</u>			
		1S	2S	3SM/F /N	1P	2P	3PM-N/3PF			
	(b)	see 2.1.								
	(c)	<u>Lo</u> <u>besé</u> <u>a él.</u> 3SM.ACC(CL) kissed-1S to 3SM 'I kissed him.'								
	(d)	<u>Me</u> <u>lavo</u> <u>a mí mismo.</u> 1S-REFL(CL) wash-1S to 1S 1S-REFL 'I wash myself.'								
It	(b)	<u>mi,</u>	<u>ti,</u>	<u>lo /la,</u>	<u>ci,</u>	<u>vi,</u>	<u>li/le</u>			
	(c)	<u>mi,</u>	<u>ti,</u>	<u>gli/le,</u>	<u>ci,</u>	<u>vi,</u>	<u>loro</u>			
	(d)	<u>mi,</u>	<u>ti,</u>	<u>si,</u>	<u>ci,</u>	<u>vi,</u>	<u>si</u>			
		1S	2S	3SM/F	1P	2P	3PM/F			
	(a)	subject: impersonal pronoun <u>si</u> <u>Si</u> <u>va</u> <u>a scuola.</u> CL-IMP goes to school 'People go to school.'								
	(b)	<u>Gianni le</u> <u>invia una cartolina.</u> Gianni 3SF.DAT(CL) sends a card 'Gianni sends her a card.'								
	(c)	see 2.1.								
	(d)	<u>Gianni si</u> <u>lava.</u> Gianni 3S-REFL(CL) washes 'Gianni washes himself.'								
Rum	(b)	<u>îmi,</u>	<u>îti,</u>	<u>i,</u>	<u>îi,</u>	<u>îi,</u>	<u>ne,</u>	<u>vă,</u>	<u>le(-),</u>	<u>le(-)</u>
		<u>mi(-),</u>	<u>t,</u>	<u>i(-),</u>	<u>i(-),</u>	<u>i(-),</u>	<u>ni,</u>	<u>vi</u>		
	(c)	<u>m/m-,</u>	<u>te(-),</u>	<u>îl/l-,</u>	<u>o,</u>		<u>ne(-),</u>	<u>v/v-,</u>	<u>îi/i-,</u>	<u>le(-)</u>
	(e)	<u>-mi,</u>	<u>-t,</u>	<u>i,</u>	<u>-i,</u>	<u>-i,</u>	<u>(-ne),</u>	<u>(-vă),</u>	<u>(-le),</u>	<u>(-le)</u>
		1S	2S	3SM	3SF	1P	2P	3PM	3PF	

- (d) refl ACC se for all persons/gender
(West) refl DAT si for all persons/gender

Cz	(b)	<u>mě,</u>	<u>tě,</u>	<u>ho,</u>	<u>ji,</u>	<u>nás,</u>	<u>vás,</u>	<u>je</u>
	(c)	<u>mi/mně,</u>	<u>ti,</u>	<u>mu,</u>	<u>jí,</u>	<u>nám,</u>	<u>vám,</u>	<u>jím</u>
	PART.GEN	<u>mě,</u>	<u>tě,</u>	<u>ho,</u>	<u>jí,</u>	<u>nás,</u>	<u>vás,</u>	<u>jich</u>
		1S	2S	3SM/N	3SF	1P	2P	3P

- (d) DAT: si (-self) all persons/gender
ACC: se (-self) all persons/gender

The only use of GEN CLs now is in combination with a quantifier (CL=partitive GEN) which must be 'stranded'. See also 2.3.

Deictic pronoun to (2SN: a nonspecific short form of 'this/that') can be used as a CL (3SN.ACC(CL)) even if it has some non-CL specificities, e.g. it can appear in a sentence initial position (stressed) and it can be in non-CL sentence final position, when introducing a relative clause.

- (c) Včera jsem to /*tohle tam dal.
yesterday Aux-1S 3SN.ACC(CL)/*this.ACC there put
Včera jsem tam dal *to /tohle.
yesterday Aux-1S there put *3SN.ACC(CL)/this.ACC
'Yesterday I put it/this there.'
(Dal mu) To, o čem jsme mluvili.
[gave 3SM.DAT(CL)] 3SN.ACC(CL)about what Aux-1P spoke
'(He gave him) What we spoke about.'

Slva	(b)	<u>mi,</u>	<u>ti,</u>	<u>mu,</u>	<u>jej,</u>	<u>nám,</u>	<u>vám,</u>	<u>im</u>
	(c)	<u>ma,</u>	<u>ta,</u>	<u>ho,</u>	<u>ju,</u>	<u>nás,</u>	<u>vás,</u>	<u>ich</u>
		1S	2S	3SM/N	3SF	1P	2P	3P

- (d) DAT: sa (-self) all person/gender
ACC: si (-self) all person/gender

Pol	(b)	<u>mi,</u>	<u>ci,</u>	<u>mu,</u>	<u>jej,</u>	<u>nam,</u>	<u>wam,</u>	<u>im,</u>	<u>im</u>
	(c)	<u>mie,</u>	<u>cie,</u>	<u>go,</u>	<u>ja,</u>	<u>nas,</u>	<u>was,</u>	<u>ich,</u>	<u>je</u>
	GEN	<u>-</u>	<u>cie,</u>	<u>go,</u>	<u>jej,</u>	<u>nas,</u>	<u>was,</u>	<u>ich,</u>	<u>ich</u>
		1S	2S	3SM/N	3SF	1P	2P	3PM	3PF

- (d)ACC: się all persons/gender
(d)GEN: się all persons/gender

Rus(2): in non-standard Russian 2S pronouns and REFL.DAT appear to have a "weak" (CL) form.

- (b) tje: 2S.DAT(CL)
(c) tja: 2S.ACC(CL)
(d)DAT: sje: 2S-REFL.DAT(CL)

**2.3. Does your language have nominal weak pronouns, like Italian ne ('one')?
a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	

Brb: see 1.3.

Dut: one can use er (of-3SN.ACC) with a quantifier (but not with adjective only (2). Certain dialects (Brabants) have these even without a quantifier (3)

- (2) Marie kent er drie.
Marie knows of-3SN.ACC(CL) three
'Mary knows three of them.'

- (3) Marie kent er.
Marie knows of-3SN.ACC(CL)
'Marie knows about it.'

Fr Jean en connaît trois.
Jean CL knows three
'Jean knows three of them.'

Ctl En conec tres. N'he llegeit un d'alemany.
CL know-1S three CL'1S-PRFT read a of-German
'I know three of them.' 'I've read a German one.'

Spn: not overtly. But a null object may be a Spanish counterpart of the 'partitive' CL.

It(1) Maria ne conosce tre. Ne ho letto uno tedesco.
Maria CL knows three CL have-1S read a German
'Maria knows three of them.' 'I've read a German one.'

Cz: See PART.GEN CLs in 2.2. and 3.7. Some kind of modification is needed.

Petr jich tam viděl pět (*jich).
Peter 3P.GEN(CL) there(CL) saw five (*3P.GEN)
'Peter saw there five of them.'

Bylo jí všude plno.
was-3S 3SF.GEN(CL) everywhere a-lot-of
'She was everywhere.' (There was much of her everywhere.)

Slva: facts not clear. It depends on what is stranded.

Jano ich pozná ??tri / veľa.
Jano 3P.ACC(CL) knows ??three / many
'Jano knows three/many of them.'

Je ho malo.
is 3SM.DAT(CL) little
'There is a little of it/him.'

Pol Mam (ich) trocę.
have-1S (3P(CL)) three
'I have three of them.'

Rus: quantifier is needed (2).

Ja ich tam videl ??? pjat' / celych pjat' / tol'ko pjat'
I 3P.GEN(CL) there saw ??? five / all five /only five
'I saw there as many as five/all five/only five of them.'

2.4. Does your language have verbal CLs, like Czech být (be)?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
±	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Hng: verbs like fog (will)(3)
which is stressless and practically cliticized onto the preceding word (4).

(4) Men-ai fog-ok. El fog-ok men-ni.
go-INF will-1S away will-1S go-INF
'I will go.' 'I will go away.'

Bsq(1) Jon bihar etorriko da
Jon tomorrow come be-3ABS-PRES
'Jon will come tomorrow.'

Eng: phonetically reduced Aux and modal verbs.

I'm cutting the cake.

We've lost it.

We'll fight them on the beaches.

I'd have gone if I had known.

Grk: except n' ('is') as in pu 'n'tos?
where's he
'Where is he?'

Mcd Si ja videl Jana.
be-2S(CL) 3SF.ACC(CL) seen-SM Jane
'You've seen Jane, I understand.'

Blg(1) Toj e / be došal
 he be-PRES(CL)/be-PAST-3S(CL) come-PASTpart.
 'He has/had come.'

SCr(1): both as main verb and as Aux.

Ti si student. Ty si došao.
 you be-PRES-2S student you be-PRES-2S come-PASTpart
 'You are a student.' 'You have come...'

Ti ćeš čitati. / Čitat ćeš.
 you will read-INF / read-will-2S
 'You will read...' (non-Croat) / (Croat)

Cz: when 'be' is AUX (in past and conditional it combines with past participle)

Hned jsme /bychom přišli.
 at-once be-PRES-1P(CL)/PRT-COND-1P(CL) come-PAST-PM
 'We have/would come at once.'

Slva Chcela som ho.
 wanted-PAST-SF be-PRES-1S(CL) him.ACC(CL)
 'I wanted him.'

Rus(2): by (particle?) forming conditional/subjunctive mood. The conjugational paradigm of byť (be) is not overt, now.

Ja/ty/on (by) vzjal (by) jejo.
 I/you/he (would) take-PAST (would) 3SF/N.ACC
 'I/you/he would take her/it.'

2.5. If you answered (2.4) positively:

a) In which tense(s) may the verbal CL appear?

b) Which person features may the verbal CL possess?

	H n	F i	B s	W l	I r	B r	H b	S w	N o	I c	F a	G m	D u	E n	F r	P r	C t	S p	I t	R u	G r	A l	M c	B l	S C	C z	S l	P o	F u	
		i		i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i		i	i		i	i	i	i	i								
Pres	+		+											+			+						+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
Past	+		+											+			+						-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
AllT	+		+											+			-						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
AllP	+		+											+			+						+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
None	-		-											-			-						-	-	-	+	-	-	+	

Hng(4): a) There are only two tenses in Hng and CLs appear in both present and past (fog only present). (b) Features of all persons.

Bsq(1): the verbs can occur with ABS, ERG and DAT markers for all persons. All Aux forms cliticize to the lexical main verb (subject to dialectal variation).

Eng: a) tense: be(- PAST), have(+/-PAST), will(+/-PAST).
b) person/number: be CL shows person in singular, have, will have no variation.

<u>be</u> :	<u>'m,</u>	<u>'re,</u>	<u>'s,</u>	<u>'re,</u>	<u>'re,</u>	<u>'re</u>
	[ðm]	[ð(r)]	[z]	[ð(r)]	[ð(r)]	[ð(r)]
	am	are	is	are	are	are
	<u>'ve,</u>	<u>'d,</u>	<u>'ll,</u>	<u>'d</u>		
	[v]	[d]	[l]	[d]		
	have	had	will	would		

Ctl: see 1.1. CL Auxiliaries form a part of past and perfect tenses. They are (in most variants of Catalan) stressless and lean on the nonfinite verbal form that comes with them.

The Aux(CL) show both person & number features.

'SIMPLE PAST' is compound of an Aux element that evolved from the (now morphologically different) verb 'go' in present and from infinitive verb. 'PRESENT PERFECT' is compound of an Aux element that evolved from the verb 'have' in present and from infinitive verb.

PAST:	<u>vai(g),</u>	<u>vas,</u>	<u>va,</u>	<u>vem,</u>	<u>veu,</u>	<u>van</u>
PERFECT:	<u>hai(g)/he,</u>	<u>has,</u>	<u>ha,</u>	<u>hem,</u>	<u>heu,</u>	<u>han</u>
	1S	2S	3S	1P	2P	3P

Rum(2): conditional, present perfect, future, all tenses. No example given.

Blg	<u>săm,</u>	<u>si,</u>	<u>e,</u>	<u>sme,</u>	<u>ste,</u>	<u>sa</u>
	1S	2S	3S	1P	2P	3P

PRESENT INDEFINITE (see 2.4.)

PAST PERFECT (see 2.4.)

FUTURE PERFECT Ște sîm proçel knigata
will Aux-1S read book-the

FUTURE IN THE PAST Ștjach da sîm proçel knigata
would to Aux-1S read-PP book-the

RE-NARATED MOOD Bil e çel knigata
be-PAST-3S Aux-PRES-3S read-PP book-the

(2): direct narration: present and future perfect; future perfect in the past. Indirect narration forms: aorist, imperfect/present, future, present/past/future perfect, future (perfect) in the past. The 'be' CL paradigm is used to form the direct perfect forms and all indirect forms which are all composite. In the indirect conjugation: the 3S CL e gets deleted. There is subject agreement for person and number.

SCr	PAST/PERF. Aux:	<u>sam,</u>	<u>si,</u>	<u>je,</u>	<u>smo,</u>	<u>ste,</u>	<u>su</u>
	CONDITIONAL Aux:	<u>bih,</u>	<u>bi,</u>	<u>bi,</u>	<u>bismo,</u>	<u>biste,</u>	<u>bi</u>
	FUTURE tense Aux:	<u>ću,</u>	<u>ćeš,</u>	<u>će,</u>	<u>ćemo,</u>	<u>ćete,</u>	<u>će</u>
		1S	2S	3S	1P	2P	3P

(1): the present tense is used for the main verb; the Aux can be used for the perfect, the future and the conditional tenses. PAST and FUTURE Auxs show person and number. COND shows person and number only in standard language (colloquial forms are bi for all persons).

PAST Ti si bio kod kuće.
 You Aux-PRES-2S(CL) be-PAST at home
 'You were at home.'

PRES.COND. Ostala bih kod kuće.
 stay-PAST-SF Aux-COND-1S at home
 'I would stay at home.'

PAST COND. Petar bi bio ostao kod kuće.
 P. Aux-COND-3 be-PAST-SM stay-PAST-SM at home
 'Peter would have stayed at home.'

Cz: The verb být (to be) can be both Aux(CL) or existential (copula) verb non-CL. (If CL then never INF.)

Jsem doma.
 be-PRES-1S(exist.) at-home
 'I am at home'

* Jsem byl doma.
 * Aux-PRES-1S(CL) be-PAST-SM at-home
 cca: 'I was at home.'

Aux-be(CL)s are parts of analytical verbal forms: "PAST" Aux(CL) of the analytical past and COND Aux(CL) of both present and past conditional. They all combine with past participle.

"PAST" Aux	<u>jsem,</u>	<u>jsi,</u>	<u>0,</u>	<u>jsme,</u>	<u>jste,</u>	<u>0</u>
COND. Aux	<u>bych,</u>	<u>bys,</u>	<u>by,</u>	<u>bychom,</u>	<u>byste,</u>	<u>by</u>
	1S	2S	3S	1P	2P	3P

(a) tense: the "PAST" Aux used to form analytic past tense is itself in a present tense [-PAST] (the following V-participle is [+PAST]). Aux-COND by shows no tense at all.

(b) person & number features: "PAST" Aux(CL): person: 1st vs. 2nd (in 3rd Auxs are absent). No gender nor animacy. Number: singular vs. plural present on 1st and 2nd S/P. COND Aux(CL): all persons. Number in 1st and 2nd S/P. No gender nor animacy.

PAST TENSE Ty jsi byl doma.
 you Aux-PRES-2S(CL) be-PASTpart-SM at home
 'You were at home.'

PRES. COND. Zůstala bych doma.
 stay-PASTpart-SF Aux-COND-1S at-home
 'I would stay at home.'

PAST COND. On by byl (býval) zůstal doma.
 He Aux-COND-3 be-PAST-SM stay-PAST-SM at-home
 'He would have stayed at home.'

Slva "PAST" Aux som, si, 0, sme, ste, 0
 1S 2S 3S 1P 2P 3P

(a) The "PAST" Aux forms a part of analytical PAST tense and COND (the Aux is in PRESENT, i.e. [-PAST]).

(b) All but third person features are overt.

PAST TENSE Chcel som ho.
 want-PAST-SM Aux-PRES-1S(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I wanted him/it.'

Present Conditional (combination of "PAST" Aux(CL), COND PART(CL) by, and past participle.

PRES. COND. Chcel by som
 want-PAST-SM COND(CL) Aux-PRES-1S(CL)
 'I would want'

PAST COND. Boli by sme chceli.
 be-PAST-P COND(CL) Aux-1P(CL) want-PAST-P
 'We would have wanted'

Pol: PAST -m, -ś, 0, -śmy, -ście, 0
 COND. by, byś, by, byśmy, byście, by
 1S 2S 3S 1P 2P 3P

Rus by : COND Aux PART(CL): no tense, no person features.

2.6. Does your language have adverbial CLs, like Dutch er?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
±	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	+	

Hng(4): doubling of oda ('there') and NP-hoz ('to').

Oda-megy-ek Kati-hoz.
 there-go-1S Kati-to
 'I'm going (up) to Kati.'

Oda fog-ok men-ni Kati-hoz.
 there will-1S go -INF Kati-to
 'I'll go (up) to Kati.'

Swd(2) Han bor ju där.
he lives indeed there
'But he lives there!'

Ice: hér (here), þar (there), nú (now) are weak adverbs, but whether they are CLs remains to be investigated.

Hann býr (ekki) hér /þar (ekki) lengur.
he lives(not) here/there (not) anymore
'He doesn't live here/there anymore.'

Ég veit nú ekki.
I know now not
'Now I don't know.'

Nú veit ég ekki.
now know I not

Dut(2) Hij woont er nu vijf jaar.
 he lives there(CL) now five years
 'He's been living there for five years now.'

Fr:	locative <u>y</u>	<u>Il y</u> va.
		he there goes
		'He goes there.'

Ctl Fa cinc anys que hi vius.
do-3S five years that there(CL) live-2S
'You've lived there for five years now.'

It(1) Gianni ci abita da due anni.
Gianni there(CL) lives since two years
'Gianni has been living there for two years.'

Cz: e.g. the unstressed tu (here), tam (there). But they can clause initial (even final) when stressed, so they are 'CLs' to the same extent as the deictic "to"(it) mentioned in 2.2.

Petr tu /tam včera nebyl *tu / *tam.
Petr here(CL)/there(CL) yesterday not-was *here(CL)/*there(CL)
'Peter was not there/here yesterday.'

Rus(1): most unstressed monosyllabic particles may be regarded as adverbial CLs.

(2) Pjotr tut /tam včera ne byl tut /tam.
Peter here/there yesterday not was here/there
'Peter wasn't here/there yesterday.'

2.7. If you answered (2.6) positively, are there (pro) nominal CLs in your language which have the same morphophonological form?
a)yes, b)no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	i	I	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	i	+	i	+	i	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-

Dut: er can be a (pro) nominal or an adverbial CL (1). See 2.3. and 2.6. (2)

Fr: Street Fr: Il y _____ a dit que...
he her/him(CL) has said that...
'He has said to him/her that...'

Ctl: hi is also a prepositional CL (see 2.9.). It also acts as a proform for secondary predicates.

T _____ 'hi considero.
2S(CL)'CL consider-1S
'I consider you it/the one.'

Et _____ considero un boc amic / repulsiu.
2S(CL) consider-1S a good friend / repulsive
'I consider you a good friend/ repulsive.'

It: ci is both the adverbial and the first person plural personal pronoun.

Gianni ci _____ ha visti.
Gianni us.ACC(CL) has seen
'Gianni has seen us.'

Gianni ci _____ abita volentieri.
Gianni there(CL) lives willingly
'Gianni lives there willingly.'

2.8. Does your language have adjectival CLs (APs)?
(Notice: This question does not mean pronominal CLs referring to adjectives.)
a)yes, b)no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ctl: so-called 'neutre' CL ho is a proform for copular predicates, whether these are APs, PPs, or NPs. In some instances also en can perform the copular-predicate function of ho with APs.

És dolent / de Vic / per nosaltres. - Ho és.
be-3S bad / of Vic / for us - CL be-3S
t's bad from Vic/for us.' - 'It is (so).'

However, ho is also a weak form of the ACC demonstratives aixó ('this') and alló ('that') and pronominalizes sentential complements as well.

<u>No vull aixó / que plougui.</u>	-	<u>No ha vull.</u>
no want-1S this / that rain-subject-3S	-	no 3S(CL) want-1S
'I don't want this / it to rain.'	-	'I don't want(it).'

It(2): there are adjectival CL demonstratives in a substandard variety with a lexicalized equivalent phenomena in the standard language.

<subst.>	<u>sta casa</u>	<u>sto tipo</u>
	this house	this guy
<stand.>	<u>stavolta</u>	<u>stamani</u>
	this time	this morning

2.9. Does your language have prepositional CLs, like French en or y ?

a)yes, b)no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bsq(2): ABS pronominal, Neg and Q CLs cliticize before the verbal root, but they are different from CLs like Fr en (of-it) and y (of-it).

Fr	<u>Il y pense souvent.</u>
	he of-it(CL) thinks often
	'He often thinks of it.'
	<u>Il en a déjà parlé.</u>
	he of-it(CL) has already spoken
	'He has already spoken about it.'

Ctl: en is the proform for PPs headed by de ('from'), while CL hi pronominalizes PPs headed by any other preposition.

<u>Hi penson sovint.</u>	<u>Ja n 'hem parlat.</u>
3S(CL) think-1P often	already 3P(CL)'Aux(CL) talk
'We often think about it.'	'We've already talked about it.'

It: ci (about-it) and ne (about-it).

<u>Ci pensa spesso.</u>
about-it(CL) think-3S often
'He thinks about it often.'

Ne ha già parlato.
 about-it(CL) have-3S already spoken
 'He has already spoken about it.'

Cz: only the "resumptive" PPs may be mentioned which occur in (colloquial) relative clauses with unmarked co ('what'). These must be at the end of the CL cluster.

chlap, co se za něho Marie provdala (*za něho)
 guy what-3SN REFL(CL) for him(CL?) Mary married (*for him)
 'the guy which Mary married'

2.10. Does your language have particles functioning as CLs?

- a) negation PRT, b) question PRT,
 c) emphatic PRT, d) other e.g.

2.11. If you answered one or more items of (2.10) positively, describe what the properties of the respective CLs are.

	H n	F i	B s	W l	I r	B r	H b	S w	N o	I c	F a	G m	D u	E n	F r	P r	C t	S p	I t	R u	G r	A l	M c	B l	S C	C z	S l	P o	R u
A	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	±	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
B	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
C	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
D	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+

Hng:(a)(4) se ('not-either') cliticizes on a preceding XP (not VP). Nem usually is, but need not always be left-adjacent to the verb.

Kati se olvas.
 Kati not-either reads
 'Kati is not reading either.'

Mari nem ment el.
 Mary not went away
 'Mary hasn't left.'

Nem Mari ment el.
 not Mary went away
 'It's not Mary that's gone away.'

(b)(2) in YES/NO questions the PRT e is adjoined to the end of the verb (or to the verbal prefix in substandard Hungarian). The PRT is optional in main clauses and obligatory in the embedded clauses.

(2) Nem tudom, hogy elment-e Jancsi az egyetemre.
 not know-1S that off-went-Q Jancsi the university-to
 'I don't know if Jancsi went to the university.'

(d) Auxiliaries like fog ('will'), want etc., adverbial CLs like is ('even'), or még ('even')(4). Is follows the verbal prefix, or the finite verb (or the phrase in Kiss's quantifier position)(3); it cliticizes onto the preceding XP (not VP), and also on finite verb(4).

- (4) (Még) Kati is olvas.
 (Even) Kati also/even reads
 'Even Kati is reading.'

Fin: all the following CLs except the first one are Wackernagel-CL, they attach to the right edge of the first constituent. In addition to the following CLs also the possessive suffixes are sometimes claimed to be CLs.

- (b) ko, kö - YES/NO question PRT

Ymmärä -t -kö nyt?
 understand-2S-Q(PRT) now
 'Do you understand now?'

- (c) kin - 'also, as well'

Tunne-n Pekkaa-kin (ei vain Marija-a).
 know -1S Pekka -PRT (not only Mary-PRT)
 'I (also) know Pekka as well, not only Mary.'

pa, pä, pas, päs - exclamatory PRT

<u>E-n ole tyhmä!</u>	-	<u>Ole-t-pa!</u>
neg-1S be stupid!	-	be-2S-PRT
'I am not stupid!'	-	'Yes, you are.'

han, hä - "as you already know" (common ground)

Ole-t-han lingvisti!
 be-2S-PRT linguist
 'As we both know/after all, you are a linguist!'

Bsq(1):(a) negation CL: attached to the element bearing inflection. Periphrastic verbal form: neg+AuxCLs+infl form a unit separated from V (Aux not to V).

Jonek ez- daki hori.
 Jon not-knows that
 'Jon doesn't know that.'

Jonek ez -du hori irakurri.
 Jon not-Aux that read
 'Jon hasn't read that.'

(b) question PRT: al Vinfl, Vinfl-a (different dialects).

(c) Emphatic PRT: ba can optionally attract Aux. Indicates positive polarity.

- (b) Jonek al daki hori?
 Jon Q knows that
 'Does Jon know that?'

- (c) Jonek ba- daki hoki.
 Jon EMP-knows that
 'Jon does know that.'

(d) epistemic: quotative/reportive omen, dubitative ote, conditional ba (1), habitual ohi (2). Epistemic PRT are attached to Vinfl, never in ABS initial position 'indicating they are totally integrated into the inflected form'.(1)

- (2) etorri omen /ohi da
 arrived Q-R /HAB is
 'He/she/it is said to arrive.'

complementizers -ela,n (1)

- Jonek hori daki - ela
 - Jon that knows-COMP
 '- that Jon knows that.'

conditional if, causal bait (2)

<u>ba.DATor</u>	<u>bait - dator</u>
if - arrives	since-arrives
'If/Since he/she/it arrives.'	

If CL means: morphologically dependent, then also: postpositions (case markers), aspect markers, genitive, determiners, distributive markers, modals, reportive, tense, etc.(2).
 Postpositions (14/15 'cases' of Bsq): last element of the phrase to which they qualify (1).

<u>Etxe -an</u>	<u>etxe haundi-at</u>
home-at	home big - at
'at (a big) home'	

Ir: (d) emphasis on possessed (pro)nominals may be marked by a suffix = enclitic on the (pro)noun or its adjective or inflected prepositions. The form of the suffix depends on the preceding vowel.

<u>-sa/-se,</u>	<u>-sa/-se,</u>	<u>-san/-sean,</u>	<u>-na/-ne,</u>	<u>-sa/-se,</u>	<u>-san/-sean</u>
1S	2S	2S	1P	2P	3P

mo leabh bocht-sa
 my child poor -EMPH
 'My poor child!'

<u>domsa,</u>	<u>duitse,</u>	<u>dósan,</u>	<u>dise,</u>	<u>dúine,</u>	<u>daoibhse,</u>	<u>dóibhsean</u>
to-1S	to-2S	to-3SM	to-3SF	to-1P	to-2P	to-3P

'To me/you/him/her/us/you/them'

Brb: these CLs tend to occur initially and trigger CL movement (attract OBJ CLs which are normally postverbal)

(a) <u>ur -t</u> <u>-zri-R</u>	(b) <u>is -t</u> <u>-i</u> <u>-zra?</u>
not-3SM.ACC(CL)-saw-1S	did-3SM.ACC(CL)-3SM-saw
'I didn't see him.'	'Did he see him?'

Hbr(1): CL complementizers.

Swd(2):(a) neg PRT: marginally in dialects,(b) perhaps there also is a question PRT (the status of this lexical item has not yet been established).

(a) <u>Han har oätit.</u>	(b) <u>Månne han har gjort det än?</u>
he has not-eaten	Qpl.(?) he has done it yet
'He hasn't eaten.'	'Has he done it already?'

Nor: (a) negative PRT 'kke

Hun så 'kke tyven.
she saw'not(CL) the-thief
'She didn't see the thief.'

Ice: unless negative adjectives formed by prefixation with 'ó'

<u>hæfur</u>	-	<u>óhæfur</u>
competent		incompetent

Ger:(c) emphatic PRT ja meaning bekanntlich ('is well known'). Appears to the left and right of the definite subject.

Der kommt ja wahrscheinlich nicht.
the-SM.NOM come-3S CL probably not
'It is clear, he is probably not coming.'

- weil's ja der Peter nie kapiert.
- because-it(CL) CL the Peter never understand-3S
'...because, as known, Peter never understands it.'

Dut(3): certain dialects (West Flemish) and older stages of the language have negative PRTs functioning as CLs.

Eng: (a) NEG PRT n't [nt]/[ðnt]: cliticizes to preceding finite Aux or Modal.

I do not / n't want to not /* n't go.
They think not/*n't.

(d) a number of prepositions can be proclitic on their OBJ DP as can than, and, and or.

<u>in</u> vs. <u>'n</u> ,	<u>on</u> vs. <u>'n</u> ,	<u>than</u> , <u>and</u> , <u>or</u> ,
[in] vs. [n]CL	[on] vs. [n]CL	[n]CL [n]CL [ð]CL

<u>Bill drove 'n the car.</u>	=	'Bill drove in the car.'
* <u>Bill drove 'n the car.</u>	=	'Bill drove the car in.'
<u>He walked 'n the ice.</u>	=	'He walked on the ice.'
* <u>He walked 'n the ice.</u>	=	'He walked the ice on.'

Fr: (a) neg PRT = prefix on the verb, except in infinitives, stranded before the negative adverb.

<u>Je ne mange pas</u>	<u>ne pas le manger</u>
I neg(CL) eat not	neg(CL) not 3SN.ACC(CL) eat-INF
'I don't eat.'	'not to eat it'

Ctl: the following CLs are stressless and are phonologically dependent on adjacent stress-bearing items (do not appear in isolation). In Eastern Catalan, including the standard variety, stresslessness affects vowel quality: /a/, /e/, /ɛ/ turn into /ə /, and /u/, /o/ merge to /u/.

(b) the complementizer que and YES/NO PRT are homophonous.

Que vindràs?
Q(PRT) come-2S
'Will you come?'

(d) The standard-language definite articles el/l(3SM), la/l(3SF), els(3PM), les(3PF), en/n, na/n ('the': for names), and es/s, sa/s, e(t)s, ses from other varieties.

è

el gos l' àvia en/el Carlos
the dogthe grandmother the Carlos

- prepositions a ('in/to/on/at'), de ('of/from'), per ('for, through'), and amb ('with').

a casa d' abans amb mi
at home from before with me

Spn: (a) neg PRT no: left-attached to the Aux or finite verb. Can appear also isolated in YES/NO questions.

Juan (no) está (*no) trabajando ahora.
Juan (not) Aux-3S (*not) working now
'Juan is not working now.'

No, (no) ha (*no) venido Juan.
no, (not) has (*not) come Juan
'No, Juan has not come.'

It(2): (a) the negation CL (sentential negative marker licensing negative items after the head of their sentential scope domain) appears before all other CLs.

Non ho ricevuto la lettera di nessuno.
not(CL) have-1S received the letter of no-one
'I haven't received the letter from anyone.'

(b)(c) interrogative che has adjectival ('which') and pronominal ('what') use.

<u>Che</u> <u>(*e chi)</u> <u>hai</u> <u>visto?</u>	<u>Che</u> <u>bello!</u>
what(CL) (*and whom) have-2S seen	EXCL(CL) beautiful
'What (and whom) have you seen?'	'How beautiful!'

(d) the complementizer che in relative clauses

L'uomo che ho incontrato.
the man COMPL-PART(CL) have-1S met
'The man who I have met.'

Rum: negation PRT (1). (d): adverbial PRTs (2).

<u>n'aude</u>	vs.	<u>nu aude</u>
not'listens		not listens
'he/she doesn't listen'		

- Grk:** (a) den, min PRTs,
 (d) modal PRT na: subjunctive, conditional,
 neg. imperative marker., future PRT tha.

Fixed order: den+tha (neg + future indicative/conditional)
na+min (subjunctive, cond., imperative + neg)

<u>den-tha-erthi</u>	* <u>tha-den-erthi</u>
not-FUT-come-PERF-3S	* FUT-not-come-PERF-3S
'He will not come'	
<u>na -min-erxotan</u>	* <u>min-na -erxotan</u>
subject-not -come-IMPERF-3S	* not-subject-come-IMPERF-3S

Nothing may intervene between the PARTs and inflected verbal forms, except object CLs.

* Tha avrio Petros erthi.
 * FUT tomorrow Petros come-3S
 cca: 'Petros will come tomorrow.'

Na -min -tu -to -dosis.
 subject(CL)-not(CL)-3SM.GEN(CL)-3SN.ACC(CL)-give-2S
 'Don't give it to him!'

Mcd(2): there are future tense and conditional PRTs. NegPRT CL: ima NegCL; XQ/XPQ;
 tense/conditional CL.

- (a) Ne mi go dade molivot.
 not 1S.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) gave pencil-the
 'You/he/she didn't give me the pencil.'
- Ne sum go imal viden.
 not Aux-1S(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) had-PP seen
 'I haven't, reportedly, seen him.'
- Sum go nemal viden.
 Aux-1S(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) not-had-PP seen
 'I haven't, reportedly, seen him.'

Blg(2): vocative PRT: le, be, de; formative PRT šte for future tenses; da for inducement in composite imperative forms. Ne is a CL when it immediately precedes the verb or another CL. It has scope over the whole sentence. Otherwise ne is usually not a CL. ne X li; X li ne V, ne V X li (X = any lexical category)

- (a) ne, ni: Ne mi dade ni stotinka.
 not 1S.DAT(CL) gave not coin
 'She didn't give me (even) a coin.'

- (b) Y/N Q Napisa li pismoto?
write-2/3S Q letter-the
'Did you/he/she write the letter?'
- (c) Emph.: Az pāk ne sam napisal pismoto.
I as-for(CL) not Aux-1S(CL) wrote letter-the
'As for me, I haven't written the letter.'
- (d) Vocative: Vzemi de, ne sé straxuvaj!
take-IMP CL not REFL(CL) afraid
'Take it now, don't be afraid!'

(e) šte and da see 2.5.

SCr(1): the question PRT precedes all other CLs. Li = enclitic on the verb and marks a Y/N question li is also enclitic on a wh-phrase with a special meaning "I wonder". ne is proclitic on the verb (1). Some prepositions procliticize on the following noun (2).

(a) Neg proclitic on verb and Aux (1).

Ti nisi student.
you not-Aux-2S(=nonCL) student
'You are not a student.'

Svetlana ne vidi Olgu.
Svetlana not sees Olga
'Svetlana doesn't see Olga.'

Nisam ga htio.
not-Aux 3SM.ACC(CL) wanted
'I didn't want him.'

*Nehtio sam ga.
not-wanted Aux 3SM.ACC(CL)

(b) Y/N Q verb/(Wh-word) enclitic li (1).

Vidi li Svetlana Olgu?
sees Q Svetlana Olga
'Does Svetlana see Olga?'

Koga li vidi Eva?
who.ACC Q sees Eva
'I wonder who Eva sees.'

Cz: (a) negative prefix on non-CL verbal form. Also free negation PRT ne ('not') negating the following phrase: it precedes the phrase it negates, it does not move to 'the second position'('lexical negation?').

Nechtěl jsem ho.
not-wanted Aux(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)
'I didn't want him.'

Udělal to včera ne ze zlé vůle.
did-3SM 3SN.ACC(CL) yesterday not(CL?) of evil will
'He did it with no evil intention yesterday.'

(b) YES/NO question verbal suffix (CL) -li (whether). Enclitic to clause initial element, mostly to V (not to Aux-CL).

Nevím, chtěla - li jsem to.
 not-know-1S wanted-SF- Q Aux-1S it
 'I don't know if I wanted it.'

Petr-li mu to dal?
 Peter-Q 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC gave-PP
 'Was it Peter who gave it to him?'

(c) (non-thematic?) deictic pronoun to (it-SN.NOM/ACC): behaves as the other pronominal CLs (Second position).

Kam to jdeš?
 here 3SN.NOM?ACC?(CL) go-2S
 'Where do you go?'

(d) se / si non-thematic RFL PRTs: REFL.DAT/ACC CLs are parts of the 'inherently' reflexive verbs. Other REFLs are interpreted as DAT of purpose, -of concern(?). All behave as the other pronominal (REFL) CLs (Second position).

Smál se Petrovi /sám sobě.
 laughed-3SM REFL.ACC?PRT(CL) Peter.DAT /alone self.DAT
 'He laughed at Peter /at himself.'

Jenom si tu sedíš a nic neděláš.
 only REFL.DAT?PRT(CL) here(CL) sit-2S and nothing not-do-2S
 'You're only sitting here doing nothing.'

Maybe also the -by (suffix?) part of the causative and conditional agreeing complementisers a-by/kdy-by (so that/if) which show the subject agreement identically as the COND Aux(CL) by (see 2.4)

Chci, a-byste /a-by mu ho dali.
 want-1S so-that-2P/so-that-3P 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) gave-PP
 'I want you/them to give it to him.'

Slva: (a) the negative morpheme is prefixed on the highest non-CL verbal form.

<u>Jano ma videl.</u>	vs.	<u>Jano ma nevidel.</u>
Jano 1S.ACC(CL) saw		Jano 1S.ACC(CL) not-saw
'Jano saw me.'		'Jano did not see me.'

(d) the conditional PRT initiates the CL cluster, preceding the Aux CL and the pronominal CL. See 2.5 above.

Pol: the negation PRT nie always attaches to the highest verb. The emphatic PRT že always attaches to the verb.

(a) <u>Nie widziałem go.</u>	<u>Nie będę go widzieć.</u>
not see-PAST-1S him	not will-1S him see-INF
'I haven't seen him.'	'I won't see him.'

- (c) Idžže spać.
 go-IMP+EMPH sleep-INF
 'Go to sleep!!'

Rus: the negation PRT ne is a CL by definition, but its 'freedom' may better be understood as determined by its scope (in a complicated way) - it precedes its scope and it can be displaced from its scope under certain conditions (1). Neg PRT ne normally precedes the phrase that is a predicate of the sentence at LF (2)

- (a) (Ne-1) ja (ne-2) kupil (ne-3) etu (*ne) knigu.
 (not) I (not) bought (not) this (*not) book
 1. 'The one who bought this book is not me.'
 2. 'I did not buy this book.'
 3. 'The book I bought is not this one.'

Neg PRT ni either precedes the existential quantifier phrase or is incorporated (graphically) into it, if the phrase is pronominal. Requires the presence of ne before the verb.

On ne rešil ni odnoj zadači.
 he not solved not one.GEN problem.GEN
 'He did not solve any problem.'

On ni-kogda ne plačet.
 he never not weep
 'He never weeps.'

(b) As YES/NO question PRT li generally follows the main verb. With another illocutionary force (e.g. surprise) it can appear after a pronominal phrase, marking thus the scope of Q-operator. Together with ne (not) it can appear freely, presupposing mostly YES-answer.

Čital-li ty etu knigu?
 read -PRT you this book
 'Have you read this book?'

Ty li eto?
 you PRT this
 'Is it (really) you?'

Ne v kino li ty idjoš?
 not in cinema PRT you go
 'Isn't it so, that you go to the cinema?'

(c) Many emphatic PRTs, each having its own syntactic properties. Eg. ved', že, da, i etc.

III. PROPERTIES

3.1. Which is the unmarked order of DAT and ACC full NPs in your language?

a) DAT ACC, b) ACC DAT

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
D-A	+	+	+	o			+	+	+	+	+	+	+							+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
A-D	+		+	o	+	+	+					+	%		+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+		+

Hng(1) János oda-adta a könyvet Marinak.
 Janos to-gave the book.ACC Mary.DAT
 'Janos gave the book to Mary.'

Fin: both orders, however, possible. Dative = allative.

Anna-n Marija-lle lahja-n.
 give-1S Marija-ALL gift .ACC
 'I give Mary a/the gift.'

Bsq: equivalence between ACC and ABS.

(1) Jonek Mireni librua eman dio
 Jon Mary.DAT book-ABS given Aux
 'John has given the book to Mary.'

Wls: Welsh does not have DAT NPs. Goal-arguments are PPs.

Ir: NP(ACC) - PP(DAT), there is no NP - NP

Thug mé an páipéar do Mháire.
 gave I the paper to Mary
 'I gave the paper to Mary.'

Brb t -fa lktab i Ahmed.
 3SF(CL)-gave the-book to Ahmed
 'She gave the book to Ahmed.'

Hbr Dan natan l-Rina matana.
 Dan gave to-Rina present
Dan natan matana l-Rina
 Dan gave present to-Rina

Swd(1) Jag gav Johan en bok.
 I gave John a book

Ice Ég gaf Guðmundi bókina.
 I gave Gudmundur.DAT book-the.DAT
 'I gave the book to Gudmundur.'

Grm: if both NPs are definite, both orders are possible. If ACC is indefinite, then ACC - DAT is marked. Judgements are sensitive to regional and personal speaker variation.

Er hat (den Scheck) dem Angestellten (den Scheck) gegeben.
 he has (the.ACC check) the.DAT employee (the.ACC check) given
 'He has given the check to the employee.'

Er hat (einen Scheck) dem Angestellten (?einen Scheck) gegeben.
 he has (a.ACC check) the.DAT employee (? a.ACC check) given
 'He has given the check to the employee.'

Dut(2): the order ACC DAT is only possible if the DAT is preceded by a preposition.

-, dat ik Jan het boek gegeven heb.
 -, that I Jan.DAT the book.ACC given have
 '...that I have given Jan a book.'

-, dat ik het boek aan Jan gegeven heb.
 -, that I the book.ACC to Jan.DAT given have
 '...that I have given the book to Jan.'

Eng: without preposition (after 'DAT shift') DAT ACC.

I sent - that man your wife. / - your wife to that man.
 DAT ACC ACC to.DAT

Fr Je donne un livre à Jean.
 I gave a book to Jean.

Prt Dei o bilhete ao Pedro.
 gave-I the ticket to+the Pedro
 'I gave the ticket to Pedro.'

Ctl Vaig donar l' os al gos.
 Aux(CL) give the-bone to-the dog
 'I gave the bone to the dog.'

* Vaig donar al gos l' os.
 * Aux(CL) give to-the dog the-bone
 cca: 'I gave the dog the bone.'

It(1) Gianni ha regalato un libro a Mario.
 Gianni has given a book to Mario

Rum(1) Scrie o scrisoare mamei.
 write-1S a letter mother-the.DAT

Scrie mamei o scrisoare.
 write-1S mother-the.DAT a letter
 'I write a letter to mother.'

Grk: DAT/GEN - ACC. With IO doubled or prepositional, however, both orders are possible:

Edosa tu Petru to vivlio.
 gave-1S the Peter.GEN the book.ACC
 'I gave Peter the book.'

CL-V-IO-DO: Tu edosa tu Petru to vivlio.
 3SM.DAT(CL) gave-1S the Peter the book.ACC

CL-V-DO-IO: Tu edosa to vivlio tu Petru.
 3SM.DAT(CL) gave-1S the book.ACC the Peter

V-IO-P+DO: Edosa to vivlio s-ton Petro.
 gave-1S the book.ACC prep+3SM.ACC(CL) Peter

V-P+DO-IO: Edosa s-ton Petro to vivlio.
 gave-1S prep+3SM.ACC(CL) Peter the book.ACC

Alb: both orders appear due to VP internal scrambling.

Blg(2) Davam knjigata na Ivan.
 give-1S book-the to Ivan
 'I give the book to Ivan.'

IO focused: Davam na Ivan knjigata.
 give-1S to Ivan book-the

IO focused: Na Ivan davam knjigata.
 to Ivan give-1S book-the

SCr(1) Dajem (Svetlani) auto (Svetlani).
 give-1S (Svetlana.DAT) car.ACC (Svetlana.DAT)
 'I give Svetlana a car.'

Cz: Preference for DAT - ACC but both orders are taken for equivalent (pragmatic choice).

Prodal jsem (Petrovi) knihu (Petrovi).
 sold-S Aux-1S(CL) (Peter.DAT) book.ACC (Peter.DAT)
 'I sold the book to Peter.'

Slva Dal som (Janovi) knihu (Janovi).
 gave-S Aux-1S(CL) (Jan.DAT) book.ACC (Jan.DAT)
 'I gave a book to John.'

Pol Dąłem Janowi książkę.
 Gave-1S Jan.DAT book.ACC
 'I gave a book to Jan.'

Rus(2) On piše (žene) pismo (žene).
 he writes (wife.DAT) letter.ACC (wife.DAT)
 'He writes a letter to his wife.'

3.2. Do DAT and ACC weak pronouns appear in the same order as full NPs in your language?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
o	o	+	o	+	-	±	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	+	+	-	±	±	±	±	+	±

Bsq(1): If agreement markers are CLs, than they are the mirror image of independent NPs. The order is:

ABS + Tense + V root + DAT + Mood + Ergative + Tense

Wls: there are no DAT CLs.

Ir: ACC(pronoun) - DAT(inflected proposition)

Thug mé é di.
 gave I 3SM.ACC to-3SF
 'I gave it to her.'

Hbr: for weak pronouns only DAT ACC order. The example of (1) shows CL IO l-a (to-her) and a full DO NP.

Dan natan l-a matana.
 Dan gave to-her present
 'Dan gave her a present.'

Swd(1): some speakers accept the reversed order as well, which they do not with full NPs.

Jag gav (den) honom (den) inte.
 I gave (it) him (it) not
 'I did not give it to him.'

Ice Ég gaf honum hana.
 I gave 3SM.DAT 3SN-F.ACC
 'I gave it to him.'

Grn: tremendous speaker variation. The examples are for North German dialect.

Er hat (*ihm) es (ihm) gegeben.
 he has (*3SM.DAT) 3SN.ACC (3SM.DAT) given
 'He gave it to him.'

Er hat ihm's gegeben.
 he has 3SM-it (phon. reduced form) given
 'He gave it to him.'

Dut(2) ..., dat ik 't 'm gegeven heb.
 ..., that I 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) given have
 '...that I have given it to him.'

Eng I sent 'm 'r yesterday.
 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SF.ACC(CL)

* I sent 'r 'm yesterday.
 3SF.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL)

In (some) British English 3SN.ACC(nonCL)- DAT(CL) is possible.

I sent it 'm yesterday.
 3SN.ACC(nonCL) 3SM.DAT(CL)

Fr: 1st/2nd + 3rd = DAT ACC
 3rd + 3rd = free for me (normatively ACC DAT)

Prt Dei -lho.
 gave-1S-3SM.DAT(CL)+3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I gave you/it/him/her to you/it/him/her.'

Ctl: see 4.6-8.

It(2) Gianni (me) lo (*me) diede in regalo.
 Gianni[1S.DAT(CL)]3SN.ACC(CL)[*DAT]gave as-a present
 'Gianni gave it (to me) as a present.'

Rum: Mirroring AGR, with many idiosyncrasies (2). Only DAT ACC possible with CLs (1).

I le da.
 3SM.DAT(CL) 3P.ACC(CL) give-3S
 'He/she gives them to her.'

Grk: with CLs only DAT(GEN) ACC possible. The exception being imperatives of some verbs which allow both orders.

Dos tu to!
 give 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL)
 'Give it to him.'

Dos to tu!
 give 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL)
 'Give it to him.'

Xarise tu to / * to tu.
 donate 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) / * .ACC .DAT
 'Donate it to him!'

Alb: only DAT ACC with the CLs, while both DAT ACC and ACC DAT are possible with full NPs.

Blg(2): ACC DAT is the unmarked order, DAT ACC is also possible.

Dadoch mu ja knjiga na Ivan.
 give-PAST-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) book-the to Ivan
 'I gave him it - the book to Ivan.'

SCr(1) Dajem (joj) ga (*joj).
 give-1S [3SF.DAT(CL)] 3SN.ACC(CL) [*3SF.DAT(CL)]
 'I give it to her.'

Cz Prodal jsem (mu) ji (*mu).
 sold Aux-1S [3SM.DAT(CL)] 3SF.ACC(CL) [*3SM.DAT(CL)]
 'I sold her/it to him.'

Slva Dal som (mu) ho (*mu).
 gave Aux-1S [3SM.DAT(CL)](3SMN.ACC(CL))[*3SM.DAT(CL)]
 'I gave him/it to him.'

Pol Dalem mu go.
 Gave-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SMN.ACC(CL)
 'I gave it to him.'

Rus(2): With weak pronouns DAT - ACC is unmarked order and with CLs, i.e. non-standard tje (2S.DAT), tja (2S.ACC), sja (REFL) DAT.ACC is the only possible.

Ty mne eto (?mne) pokazyval.
 you 1S.DAT 3SN.ACC (?1S.DAT) showed
 'You showed it to me.'

Ja tje eto (*tje) pokazyval.
 I 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC [*2S.DAT(CL)] showed
 'I showed it to you.'

3.3. Can weak pronouns appear in conjunction?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Hng(4): 'CLs' are dropped (null pronouns cannot be conjoined).

Wls * Mae ef wedi dy a 'm gweld.
 * is he after 2S and 1S see
 cca: 'He has seen you and me.'

Ir * Chuaigh sé agus mé go Meiriseá.
 * went he and I to America
 cca: 'He and I went to America.'

* Chonaic Máire é agus í i nDoire inné.
 * saw Mary him and her in Derry yesterday
 cca: 'Mary saw him and her in Derry yesterday.'

* Tá sé do mo agus bhur gcuardach.
 * is he to me and you look-for(verbal noun)
 cca: 'He is looking for me and you.'

Swd(1) * Johan såg mej och dej inte.
 * Johan saw me and you not
 cca: 'John did not see me and you.'

Ice: but conjoined CLs are often replaced by plural pronoun.

Ég sá hann og hana / þau ekki.
 I saw him and her / them not
 'I didn't see him and her/them.'

Grm: possible with animate, * with inanimate.

Er hat beiden ihm und ihr nicht geglaubt.
 he has both him and her not believed
 'He hasn't believed either him or her.'

* Er hat nicht sie gelesen aber es.
 * he has not she/it read but it
 cca: 'He hasn't read it but it.'

Dut(2) * Ik heb 'm en 'r het boek gegeven.
 * I have 3SM.DAT(CL) and 3SF.DAT(CL) the book given
 cca: 'I have given the book to him and to her.'

Eng	- for John/*'m and Bill/*'m.
Fr	* Je le _____ et la _____ vois. * I 3SM.ACC(CL) and 3SF.ACC(CL) see cca: 'I can see him and her.'
Prt	* Não o _____ e a _____ vejo. * not 3SM.ACC(CL) and 3SF.ACC(CL) see-1S cca: 'I don't see him and her.'
Ctl	* Et i li _____ vaig fer un petó. * 2S(CL) and 3S.DAT(CL) Aux(CL) do a kiss cca: 'I gave a kiss to you and him.'
	Us _____ vaig fer un petó a tu i a ell. 2P(CL) Aux(CL) do a kiss to you and to him 'I gave a kiss to you and to him.'

It(2): see also 2.10/11 (b).

- (1) * Gianni lo _____ e le _____ conosce.
* Gianni 3SM.ACC(CL) and 3SF.ACC(CL) knows
cca: 'Gianni knows him and her.'

Alb: marginal but not totally unacceptable.

Blg(2)	* Davam mu _____ i í _____ po edna kniga. * give-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) and 3SF.DAT(CL) each one book cca 'I give a book to him and to her.'
SCr(1)	* Vidim je _____ i _____ ga. * see-1S 3SF.ACC(CL) and 3SM.ACC(CL) cca 'I can see her and him.'
Cz	* Dal _____ jí _____ a mu _____ to. * Gave-3SM 3SF.DAT(CL) and 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL). cca 'He gave it to her and to him.'
Slva	* Videl ma _____ a ho _____ včera. * saw-he me.DAT(CL) and 3SM.DAT(CL) yesterday cca: 'He saw me and him yesterday.'

Rus(2): not those taken here for CLs. With pronouns that have weak and strong forms identical, coordination is possible, preferably following the verb.

- * On tja _____ i Mašu videl.
* he 2S.ACC(CL) and Mary saw
cca: 'He saw you and Mary.'

On (?jego i jejo) videl jego i jejo.
 he (?3SM.ACC and 3SF.ACC) saw 3SM and 3SF
 'He saw him and her.'

3.4. Can a weak pronoun appear in an environment of contrastive stress?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	+	o	-	-	±	-	-	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Hng(4): see 2.1. arra/rá.

Bsq(2): yes, but a strong pronoun is required. Pronominal CLs are obligatory in Basque.

baizik eta gu ikusi gaitunela
 but she us(strong) seen us-have-her-that
 'but that she has seen us'

Ir * Ní mhaith liom ach é.
 * not good with-me but with-you
 cca: 'it's not good with me but with you'

* Níl sé ag cuardach ach á.
 * not-is he PROG look-for(verbal noun) but 3SM/her
 cca: 'He is looking for no one but him/her.'

Hbr(1): weak and strong pronouns are homonymous, but only the latter can be stressed.

Swd(1) * Johan såg mej inte.
 * Johan saw 1S.ACC(CL) not
 cca: 'John did not see ME.'

Ice Ég sá hann ekki.
 I saw 3SM.ACC(CL) not
 'I didn't see HIM.'

Grn: possible with animate, * with inanimate

Er hat nicht ihn gesehen aber sie.
 he has not 3SM.ACC(CL) seen but 3SF.ACC(CL)
 'He hasn't seen him but her.'

* Er hat nicht sie gelesen aber es.
 * he has not 3PM/F/N.ACC(CL) read but 3SN.ACC(CL)
 cca: 'He hasn't read her/it but it.'

Dut * - dat hij niet hem gezien had maar 'r.
 * - that he not 3SM.ACC seen had but '3SF.ACC(CL)
 cca: '...that he hasn't seen him but her.'

Eng I gave her the address, not him/*'m.

Fr: under standard assumptions NOT. But it is oversimplified.

* Jean le voit, pas Marie.
 * Jean 3SM.ACC(CL) sees, not Marie
 'Jean sees HIM, not Marie.'

Prt * Nã o vi, vi -a.
 * not 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-1S, saw-1S 3SF.ACC(CL)
 cca: 'I did not see HIM, I saw HER.'

Ctl El /*EL vaig voler.
 3SM.ACC(CL)/*stressed Aux-1S(CL) want
 'I wanted him.'

Vaig voler-lo /*LO.
 Aux-1S(CL) want -3S.ACC(CL) /*stressed
 'I wanted him.'

It(1) * Gianni non lo ha visto, l'ha vista.
 * G. not 3SM.ACC(CL) has seen 3SF.ACC(CL)'has seen
 cca: 'Gianni has not seen him but her.'

Alb: see 3.5.

Blg(2) * - če toj ne e vidjal nego, a ja.
 * - that he not Aux-3S saw 3SM.ACC but 3SF.ACC(CL)
 cca '...that he hasn't seen him, but her.'

SCr(1) * Nije vidio je nego ga.
 * not-Aux-3S saw 3SF.ACC(CL) but 3SM.ACC(CL)
 cca 'I didn't see her but him.'

Cz Pomohl jemu /*mu a ne tobě /*ti.
 helped-3SM 3SM.DAT/*CL and not 2S.DAT/*CL
 'He helped him and not you.'

Slva: possible but in limited contexts. Not natural.

* Videl ma, nie Jana.
 * saw-3SM 2S.ACC(CL) not Jan.ACC
 cca: 'He saw ME, not Jan.'

Rus(2) * Ja videl tja _____ a ne Mašu.
 * I saw 2S.ACC(CL) and not Mary
 'I saw you and not Mary.'

3.5. Can a weak pronoun appear after negation?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	±	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-

Hng(4): not in the immediate scope of negation.

Nem számít-ok rá.
 not count-1S on-it
 'I don't count on it.'

Nem arra/*rá számít-ok.
 not on-it count -1S
 'It's not IT I count on.'

Bsq(2): there is no restriction imposed by negation.

ez zaitugu ikusi
 no you-have-we seen
 'we haven't seen you'

Wls <lit.> vs. <standard>

Ni 'm gwelodd.
 not me(CL) saw-3S
 'He did not see me.'

Ni welodd fi.
 not saw-3S me(CL)
 'He didn't see me.'

Ni ('not') is one of the variety of initial PRTs, presumably complementizers, all of which can be followed by a CL.

Ir Neg PRT - V fin -
 Neg COMP - ACC(CL) - V infin -

B'fhearr liom gan é a bheith ann.
 would-prefer to-me NegCOMP 2SM.ACC PART be-INF there
 'I would prefer him not to be there.'

Brb Ur -t -zri -R.
 not-3SM.ACC(CL)-saw-1S
 'I didn't see him.'

Swd(1): some people accept an unstressed pronoun after neg.

% Johan ság inte mej.
 % Johan saw not 1S.ACC(CL)
 cca: 'John did not see me.'

(Det var bra) att inte Johan/HAN/*han såg mej.
 (it was good) that not Johan/HE /*he(CL) saw me
 'It was good that John/he did not see me.'

Ice Ég sá (*ekki) hana (ekki).
 I saw (*not) 3SF.ACC(CL)(not)
 'I didn't see her.'

Grm: the dividing line is animacy (*unanimate)

* - daß ich nicht sie gelesen habe.
 * - that I not her/it read have
 cca: '- that I haven't read it.'

- daß ich nicht ihn gemeint habe.
 - that I not him meant have
 '- that I haven't meant him.'

Dut * - dat ik niet 'm gezien heb.
 * - that I not 3SM.ACC(CL) seen have
 cca: '...that I haven't seen him.'

Eng: no, except 2S.NOM(CL) you [je] after V+NEG movement into S-initial position.

I haven't (*'m) seen.
Didn't you see them?
 [jə](CL)

Fr: see 2.11.

Prt Não o vi.
 not 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-1S
 'I did not see him.'

Ctl No me 'ls hi vas portar.
 no 2S(CL)'3P.ACC(CL) CL Aux-2S(CL) take
 'You didn't take them for me.'

Spn - que yo no lo he visto.
 - that I not 3SN.ACC(CL) have seen
 '...that I haven't seen it.'

It(1): See 2.10.(a) or 3.4.: negation is also a CL.

Grk Idha oxi afton / *ton alla tin Maria.
 saw-1S not 3SM / *3SM.ACC(CL) 3SM but Maria
 'I didn't see him but Mary.'

Alb	<u>Nuk e kam parë.</u> not CL have-1SM seen 'He hasn't seen...'
Mcd	<u>Ne mu go dade.</u> not 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) gave-3SM 'He/she didn't give it to him.'
Blg	<u>- çe az ne go vidjah</u> - that I not 3SM.ACC(CL) saw '...that I cannot see him.'

SCr(1): CL cannot appear after a negative marker, but can appear after a negative word.

<u>* Vidim ne je nego ga.</u> * see-1S not 3SF.ACC(CL) but 3SM.ACC(CL) cca: 'I don't see her but him.'
<u>Nije mu to dao.</u> not-Aux-3S 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) gave 'I didn't give it to him.'

Cz: CLs can freely appear after a word with neg prefix but cannot immediately follow the separate neg PRT (see 3.4.).

<u>Nedal mu to.</u> not-gave-3SM 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) 'He didn't give it to him.'
<u>Nikdo mu to nedal.</u> nobody 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) not-gave-3SM 'Nobody gave it to him.'
<u>Dal jsem to Petrovi, ne tobě / *ti.</u> gave-1S be-Aux-1S it Peter.DAT, not 2S.DAT / *2S.DAT(CL) 'I gave it to Peter, not to you.'

Slva	<u>Nevidel ma nikdo.</u> not-saw-3SM 1S.ACC(CL) nobody 'Nobody saw me.'	<u>* Ne ho vidím.</u> * not 3SM.ACC(CL) see-1S cca: 'It's not him, I see.'
Pol	<u>Niewidziałem go nigdy.</u> not-saw-1S him never 'I have never seen him.'	
Rus(2)	<u>On (*ne) tja (ne) videl.</u> he (*not) 2S.ACC(CL) (not) saw 'He didn't see you.'	

3.6. Can a weak pronoun appear in isolation? (E.g. as the answer to a question?)
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ir	<u>Cén duine a dhearna an rud sin?</u>	-	<u>* Mé</u>
	what person COMP did the thing that	-	* 1S.NOM(CL)
	'Which person did that thing?'	-	'Me.'
	<u>Cén duine a fhaca tú inné?</u>	-	<u>* É</u>
	what person COMP saw you yesterday	-	* 3SM.ACC(CL)
	'What person did you see yesterday?'	-	'Him.'

Swd(1): Since a weak pronoun is not phonologically distinct from strong pronouns, except for stress, the answer is arguable. Phonological reduction is unnatural in isolation.

Ice: Assuming the pronouns are weak.

Grm	<u>Den! So einen Wagen würde ich nie kaufen.</u>		
	the-S.ACC! such a.ACC car would I never buy		
	'It! Such a car I would never buy!'		
	<u>Ihn! Den würde ich nie einladen.</u>		
	3SM.ACC! The-SM.ACC would I never invite		
	'Him! I would never invite him!'		
Dut(1)	<u>Wie heb je gezien?</u>	-	<u>* 'r.</u>
	who have you seen?	-	* 3SF.ACC(CL)
		-	cca: 'Her.'
Eng	<u>Who did you see?</u>	-	<u>Him./ *'m.</u>
Fr	<u>Qui as -tu vu?</u>	-	<u>* Le.</u>
	who have-2S you seen	-	* 3SN/M.ACC(CL)
	'Who have you seen?'	-	cca: 'Him.'
Prt	<u>A quem deste o livro?</u>	-	<u>* Lhe.</u>
	to whom gave-2S the book	-	* 3S.DAT(CL)
	'Who did you give the book to?'	-	cca: 'To him.'
Ctl	<u>A qui ho vas donar?</u>	-	<u>* Li</u>
	to who 3S(CL) Aux-2S give	-	* 3S.DAT(CL)
	'Who did you give it to?'	-	cca: 'To him.'
It(1)	<u>Chi hai visto?</u>	-	<u>* Lo.</u>
	whom have-2S seen	-	* 3SM.ACC(CL)
	'Who have you seen?'	-	cca: 'Him.'

Ihn den wir sehr schätzen.
 3SM.ACC, the-MS.ACC we very appreciate
 'Him we appreciate a lot.'

Dut(1): possible with floating quantifiers, see also 3.10.

* Ik zie mooie 'm. Ik zie ze allemaal.
 * I see beautiful 3SM.ACC(CL) I see them all

Eng It's him/*'m alone I saw.

Fr * Je seulement le vois.
 * I only 3SM.ACC(CL) see
 cca: 'I can see only him.'

Prt * Pobre de te!
 * poor of 2S(CL)
 cca: 'Poor of you!'

Ctl només tu * només et
 only you * only 2S(CL)

It(1) * Li due ho visti.
 * 3PM.ACC(CL) two have-1S seen
 cca: 'I have seen the two of them.'

SCr(1): CLs can be modified by a detached modifier.

Svetlana (*pijane) ih vidi pijane.
 Svetlana (*drunk) 3P.ACC(CL) sees drunk
 'Svetlana can see them drunk.'

Cz(1): only stranded modifiers. See also 2.3. (PART GEN(CL) + quantifier).

* Dal jsem prvnímu/tomu /jenom mu dárek.
 * gave Aux-1S(CL) first /that /only 3SM.DAT(CL) present
 cca 'I gave a present to the first/the/only him(person).'

Světlna (*opilé) je viděla opilé / všechny.
 Svetlana (*drunk) 3P.ACC(CL) saw drunk/ all.
 'Svetlana saw them drunk/ all of them.'

Slva: unless floating quantifier (see 2.3.) or stranded (?) modifier.

* Videl iba ho. Ona (*opité) je videla opité.
 * saw-he only 3SM.DAT(CL) She (*drunk) 3P.ACC(CL) saw drunk
 'He saw only him.' 'She saw them drunk.'

Rus(2) Dam tol'ko tebję /*tje.
 give-1S only 2S.DAT/*2S.DAT(CL)
 'I give (it) only to you.'

3.8. Can a weak subject pronoun appear in sentence initial topic position?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	o	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	±	-	-	i	i	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	-	i	i	i	i

Hng(4): see 2.1.

Ir: There are copular PRTs in the topicalised structures, but they cannot be followed by NOM(CL).

* Is sé Seán a cheannaigh an leabhar sin.
 * COPprt he(CL) Sean COMP bought the book that
 cca: 'It is John who bought that book.'

Brb: see 3.1.

Swd(1): when the distinction between a full pronoun and a weak pronoun is neutralized: a subject pronoun can occur here.

Jag kommer. [ja komer]
 I come
 'I'm coming.'

Ice Hann sá ég ekki.
 him saw I not
 'Him, I haven't seen.'

Grm S 'muß sein.
 3SN-must be-INF
 'It must be.'

Dut(3): subject pronoun ie (3rd,SM) cannot occur in this position, all other weak pronouns in Dut can be in subject position. See 2.1.

Eng You can't do that.
 [jð]

*You Mary thinks can do it.
 [jð]

Fr: no such position, unless CL left-dislocation. Then, no.

* Tu, maintenant, tu le vois.
 * 2S.NOM(CL), now 2S.NOM(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) see
 cca: 'It is you, now, who can see him.'

Ctl: there is no subject CL (or subject CL is a zero form).

It(2): impersonal si is assumed to occupy the INFL position in 2.2.

Grk: there is no subject CL.

all SLAVIC languages: there is no subject CL pronoun.

3.9. Can a weak (in) direct object pronoun appear in sentence initial topic position?
 a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	o	-	-	-	±	±	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	

Hng(4): singular direct object pronouns are dropped, indirect object pronouns behave like all other case-marked ones.

Wls * 'M gwelodd.
 * 1S.ACC(CL) saw-3S
 cca: 'He saw me.'

Ir: The PRT is sentence initial, but it can be followed by an ACC pronoun.

Is é Seán a cheannaigh an leabhar sin.
 COPprt 3SM.ACC Sean COMP bought the book that
 cca: 'It is John who bought that book.'

Hbr(1): only when a topic, then the pronoun is strong.

lo, natati matana
 to-him gave-1S present
 'To him I gave the present.'

Swd(1): it is not clear whether the pronoun is a real weak pronoun in this case. Frequent with 3S den, det, more questionable with other pronouns.

	<u>Det vet jag ingenting om.</u> it know I nothing about 'I don't know anything about it.'	
	<u>Den åt jag.</u> it ate I 'I ate it.'	<u>? Mej såg hon.</u> ? me saw she cca: 'She saw me.'
Ice	<u>Honum gaf ég bókina.</u> him gave I book-the.DAT 'I gave the book to HIM.'	<u>Hana gaf ég manninum.</u> it-F gave I man-the.DAT 'I gave THIS to the man.'
Grm	<u>* Es hat Hans schon immer haben wollen.</u> * he has Hans always have wanted cca: 'John has always wanted HIM.'	
Dut	<u>* 'M zag ik gisteren.</u> * 3SM.ACC(CL) saw I yesterday cca: 'I saw HIM yesterday.'	
Eng	<u>Him /*'M I gave it to.</u>	
Fr	<u>* Le, je le vois.</u> * 3SM.ACC(CL), I 3SM.ACC(CL) see cca: 'It's him, who I can see.'	
Prt	<u>*Lhe, (o Pedro) deu um livro.</u> *3S.DAT(CL) (the Pedro) gave-3S a book cca: 'To him, Pedro gave a book.'	
Ctl	<u>Ell / * El no el vaig veure.</u> Him / * 3SM.ACC(CL) no 3SM.ACC(CL) Aux-1S see 'Him I didn't see.'	
It(1): impossible e.g. in left dislocation contexts.		
	(2) <u>Lui /*Lo, Gianni l'ho incontrato.</u> 3SM.ACC/*3SM.ACC(CL), Gianni 3SM.ACC have-3S met 'Him, Gianni has met him.'	
Alb	<u>E pashë.</u> 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-I 'I saw HIM.'	
Mcd(2): there are CLs preceding the verb, but it is not clear whether they are in topic position.		
	<u>Mu go dade.</u> 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) gave-he 'He gave him/it to HIM.'	

- Blg(2)** Nego /*go vidjah včera.
 3SM.ACC/*3SM.ACC(CL) saw-I yesterday
 'I saw HIM yesterday.'
- Na nego /*mu napravih podarāk.
 3SM.DAT/*3SM.DAT(CL) made-I present
 'I made a present for HIM.'
- SCr(1)** * Ga je vidjela jučer.
 * 3SM.ACC(CL) be-3S(CL) saw-she yesterday
 cca: 'HIM she saw yesterday.'
- Cz** Tobě /*ti to nedám.
 you.DAT /*2S.DAT(CL) 3SN(CL) not-gave-1S
 'I won't give it to YOU.'

Some pronouns have the same weak and strong forms - those appear in the initial position. E.g. to (3SN.NOM/ACC)- see 2.2. Some CLs can also be preceded (in colloquial Cz) by a glottal stop only.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>To ti nedám.</u> | <u>'si myslím.</u> |
| 3SN.ACC(CL??) 2S.DAT(CL) not-give-1S | REFL think-1S |
| 'I won't give THIS to you.' | 'That's what I think.' |

- Slva** Jana /*Ma videl.
 Jano.ACC/*me.ACC(CL) saw-he
 'He saw Jano/me.'

- Rus(2)** Tebja /*Tja ja uže slyšal.
 2S.ACC/*2S.ACC(CL) I already heard
 'I have heard you already.'

- 3.10. Does your language have a construction in which the weak pronoun is related to a quantifier?**
a) yes, b) no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	o	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

- Bsq(2)** Mirenek denak ikusi gaitu.
 Mary all seen us-have
 'Mary has seen us all.'

Ir: NOM and ACC pronouns can be related to a quantifier, the progressive form CL cannot.

Chuaigh siad go leir go Meiriceá.
 went they all to America
 'They all went to America.'

Chonaic Máire iad go léir inné.
 saw Mary them all yesterday
 'Mary saw them all yesterday.'

* Tá sé á gcuardach go léir.
 * is he 3P look-for (verb. noun) all
 cca: 'He is looking for them all.'

Brb i -zra-tn Ahmed Kullu-tn.
 3SM(CL)-saw-CL Ahmed all -3PM(CL)
 'Ahmed saw them all.'

Swd(1) Maria såg dem inte alla.
 Maria saw them not all
 'Maria did not see them all.'

Grm - weil sie Maria alle gekannt hat.
 - because them Maria all known has
 '...because Maria has known them all.'

Dut(2) Karel kent ze allemaal.
 Karel knows 3P(CL) all.

Eng I gave them/'m all a book.

Fr Marie les a tous vus.
 Marie 3P.ACC(CL) has all seen
 'Mary has seen them all.'

Prt A Maria comprou-os todos.
 the Maria bought -3SM.ACC(CL) all
 'Maria bought them all.'

Ctl La Coia les ha vist(es) totes.
 the Coia 3P.ACC(CL) Aux-3S see all
 'Coia has seen them all.'

Spn Maria los ha visto a todos.
 Maria 3PM.ACC(CL) has seen to all-3PM.ACC
 'Maria has seen them all.'

- Maria le pedirá el libro a alguien.
 Maria 3-SM.DAT(CL) will-ask the book to someone.DAT
 'Maria will ask somebody for the book.'
- It(1)** Maria li ha visti tutti.
 Maria 3PM.ACC(CL) have seen all
 'Maria has seen all of them.'
- Rum(1)** Maria i -a văzut pe tot'i
 Maria 3P(CL)-has seen PRT all
 'Maria has seen them all.'
- Grk** I Maria tus exi (olus) di olus.
 the Maria 3PM(CL) has (all) seen all
 'Maria has seen them all.'
- Alb** Meri i pa të gjithë.
 Mery 3P(CL) saw all
 'Mary saw them all.'
- Mcd** Marija gi vide site.
 Mary 3P(CL) saw all
 'Mary saw them all.'
- Blg(2)** Maria gi vidja vsički
 Mary 3P(CL) saw all
 'Mary saw them all.'
- SCr(1)** Marija ih je (sve) vidjela (sve).
 Mary 3P(CL) Aux-3S(CL) (all.ACC) saw (all.ACC)
 'Mary saw them all.'

Cz: GEN(CL) is obligatory in NOM and ACC with indefinite quantifiers and cardinals higher than 4. With other quantifiers, in non.NOM Cases the GEN(CL) is optional. See also 2.3.

Bylo */nás pět/mnoho.
 was-3SN /1P.GEN(CL) five/many
 'There were five/many of us.'

Viděl */jich pět/mnoho.
 saw-3S /3P.GEN(CL) five/many
 'He saw five/many of them.'

Marie (je) už zná všechny.
 Mary [3P.ACC(CL)] already know-2S all.ACC
 'Mary already knows all of them.'

Slva: see also 2.3. above.

On ich už všetky videl.
 he 3P.ACC(CL) already all.ACC saw
 'He already saw all of them.'

Pol On ich już wszystkich widział.
 he 3P.GEN(CL) already all saw-3S
 'He has already seen them all.'

Rus(2): see 2.3. above.

3.11. Does a CL allow a Parasitic Gap (PG)?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	o	-	-	+	±	-	-	-	o	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

Ir: PGs do not seem to exist at all in Irish.

Brb t -sRa -tn bla ad-in -t -izar
 3SF(CL)-bought-3PM(CL) without-3PM-3SF-saw
 'She bought them without seeing them.'

Hbr(1) ?sefer ze, hixlateti lo l- haxzir-o -
 ?book this,decided-I not to-return-it -
 'I decided not to return this book -
- la-sifryia bli l-ikro.
 - to-library without to-read
 -to the library without reading it.'

Swd(1) Johan kastade den så snart han hade -
 Johan threw it as soon he had -
- läst den/(*) i papperskorgen.
 - read it /(*) in paper-basket
 'Johan threw it into the waste paper basket after reading it.'

Grm Er hat's [ohne () hinzusehen] getan.
 he has-it [without () at-to-look] done
 'He has done it without looking.'

Dut - dat ze 't zonder in te kijken teruggezet heeft.
 - that she 3SN.ACC(CL) without in to look back-put has
 '- that she put it back without looking.'

Eng: the CLs appear to be in argument positions in syntax.

Fr: unless below. ?? J'en ai présenté le copain à la copine.
 ?? I CL have presented the friend-M to the friend-F
 'I have introduced a friend to a friend.'

Prt * Vi -o na televisão sem reconhecer.
 * saw-I-3SM.ACC(CL) in television without to+recognise
 cca: 'I saw him on TV without recognising (him).'

Ctl Te l 'has de beure /e/ sensa abocar -la.
 you 3S.ACC(CL)'have of drink /e/ without spill-3S.ACC(CL)
 'You have to drink it without spilling (it).'

 * Te l 'has de beure /e/ sensa abocar /e/.
 * you 3S.ACC(CL)'have of drink /e/ without spill-/e/
 'You have to drink it without spilling (it).'

Spn: DAT CLs seem to license PGs - for some speakers.

 % Al millonario le vendieron la finca -
 % to millionaire 3SM.DAT(CL) sold the land -
 'They sold the land to the millionaire -

 - después de emborrachar.
 - after to-make-drunk
 - after making him drunk.'

It * Glieli dobbiamo far mettere /e/ nello -
 * 3SM.DAT/ACC(CL) must-3PM make put /e/ on-the -
 cca: 'They must put it/them on the -

 - scaffale invece di lasciare /e/ sul tavolo.
 - shelf instead of leaving /e/ on-the table
 - shelf instead of leaving it/them on the table.'

Grk * I Maria ta agorase [xoris na dokimasi.]
 * the Maria 3PN.ACC(CL) bought [without subj-PRT try]
 cca: 'Maria bought them without trying.'

 I Maria ta agorase [xoris na ta dokimasi].
 the M. 3PN.ACC(CL) bought [without subj-PRT 3PN.ACC(CL) try]
 'Mary bought them without trying them.'

Blg(2) * če tja go vārna, bez da beše procela.
 * that she 3SM.ACC(CL) return without to was read
 '- that she put it back without looking (at).'

- SCr(1)** Moramo ih vratiti na policu -
 must-we 3P.ACC(CL) to-return on shelf -
 'We must return them to the shelf -
- umjesto da ?ih /(*) ostavimo na stolu.
 - instead-of to 3P.ACC(CL) /(*) leave-we on table
 instead of leaving them on the table.'

It is also impossible with a PG in a relative clause.

- Knjige koje moramo vratiti na policu -
 books which.ACC must-we to-return on shelf -
 'books which we must return to the shelf -
- umjesto da ih /(*) ostavimo na stolu.
 - instead-of to 3P.ACC(CL) /(*) leave-we on table
 instead of leaving them on the table.'

Cz: marginal cases. No parasitic gaps with verbs. Maybe with verbal nominals, but verbal nominals do not require (and mostly do not allow) overt arguments.

- Vrátil je /ty knihy na polici-
 returned-he 3P.ACC(CL) /the books on shelf -
- (verb) - aniž /místo aby je /(*) četl.
 - without/instead-of 3P.ACC(CL)/(*) read-PAST-3SM
- (v. noun) - bez čtení (*je /*nich /*knih)
 - without reading (3P-*ACC(CL)/*GEN(CL)/* books)
 'He returned them/the books to the shelf (without) reading (them/the books).'

Slva: perhaps with verbal nominals, not with verbs

- On ich kúpil bez čítania /* aniž čítal.
 he 3P.ACC(CL) bought without reading /* without read-PAST-3S
 'He bought them without reading them.'

Pol: marginally

- Położyłem go na półce zamiast zostawić na stole.
 put-I 3SN.ACC(CL) on shelf without leave-INF on table
 'I put in on the shelf instead of leaving it on the table.'

Rus: assuming weak pronouns are relevant here.

- On sjeł kašu? On jejo vybrosil vmesto togo, čtoby jest'.
 he eat cereal? he 3SF.ACC threw-away instead it that eat-INF
 'Has he eaten the cereal? He threw it away instead of eating it.'

3.12. Does your language have CL doubling?**a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
±	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	o	+	±	-	±	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	-	±	-	-	±

Hng: some verbal prefixes may be regarded as doubling (3). It occurs probably with oda (there). Also with sem (negative polarity item?) (4).

be-ment a kert - be
in-went the garden-in
'(He/she) went into the garden.'

Senki sem olvas semmi-t (sem).
no one neither reads nothing.ACC (neither)
'Nobody reads anything.'

Rá -bíz -om Kati-ra a gyereket.
on-3S-entrust-1S Kati-on the child.ACC
'I entrust the child to Kati.'

Kati-ra bíz -om (rá) a gyereket.
Kati-on entrust-1S (on) the child
'To KATI I entrust the child.'

Bsq(2): if agreement markers are CLs, then doubling happens when the argument NP is overt.

Zuk guri liburua eman di -gu-zu.
you us book given have-us-you
'You have given us the book.'

Wls: except in passives, whenever a head is preceded by a CL, it can be followed by an ordinary pronoun.

<u>Fe 'm gwelodd i.</u>	<u>ei dy ef</u>
PRT 1S saw-3S I	3SM house he
'He saw me.'	'his house'

Mae Gwyn wedi fy ngweld i.
is Gwyn after 1S see I
'Gwyn has seen me.'

Brb: with SUBJ and DAT CLs only.

i -ffeR Ahmed
3SM(CL)-went out Ahmed
'Ahmed went out.'

i -fa -as -t i Ahmed/urba
 3SM(CL)-gave-3SM.DAT(CL)-3S.ACC(CL) to Ahmed/a boy
 'He gave it to him/to Ahmed/to a boy.'

Hbr(1): doubling occurs with a possessive CL.

ze sifr-o Sel Dani
 this book-his of Dani
 'This is Dani's book.'

Swd Johan såg den uppenbarligen inte bilen.
 Johan saw 3SN.ACC(CL) apparently not car-the
 'Johan apparently did not see it/the car.'

Grm: only with the following example da ('there' with no location reading possible)

Da hat sie nicht mehr dran geglaubt.
 there has she not anymore therein believed
 'This she doesn't believe it any more.'

Dut: a possessive weak pronoun may double, see 3.13.(1).
 Westflemish has subject CL doubling (3).

Fr: not officially. Possible with possessives and postverbal subject (characteristic intonation) which do not seem to be dislocations.

Mon copain à moi il est grand.
 1S-POSS friend to mine he is tall
 'My friend (of mine) is tall.'

Je le ferai moi avant de partir.
 1S.NOM(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) do-FUT 1S before leaving
 'I will do it before leaving.'

Prt Dei -lhe o livro a ele.
 gave-1S-3S.DAT(CL) the book to 3SM
 'I gave him/the book to him.'

Ctl: see 2.1. and the following case of (optional) doubling with IO CLs. Also right- and left-detached phrases, which appear adjoined to the clause, must bind a CL copy: this configuration must not be mistaken for CL doubling.

(Li) vaig donar el didal a la dida.
 [3S.DAT(CL)] Aux-1S(CL) give the thimble to the nurse
 'I gave the thimble to the wet nurse.'

Spn: see 2.1/2.

It(1): doubling of an indirect object occurs marginally in the presence of a direct object CL.

Slva * Peter ho videl Jana.
 * Peter.NOM 3SM.ACC(CL) saw Jano.ACC
 cca: 'Peter saw Jano.'

Rus(2) not a standard doubling. Only right dislocated phrases may be doubled, divided by a pause and a comma. In questions the expletive (emphatic?) 3SN.NOM?ACC? eto (it) may cooccur with a Wh-word.

* Ja jejo sjel kašu.
 * I 3SF.ACC eat cereal.ACC
 cca: 'I eat it the cereal.'

Ja jejo sjel, kašu.
 I 3SF.ACC eat // cereal.ACC
 'The cereal, I eat it.'

Čto (eto) ty nesjoš?
 what (3SN) you bring
 'What's it, you're carrying?'

Kuda (eto) ty idjoš?
 when (3SN) you go
 'Where's it, you're going?'

3.13. If you answered (III.12) positively which CL may double?

- (a) nominal CL, (b) pronominal CL, (c) prepositional CL,
 (d) verbal CL, (e) adverbial CL, (f) possessive CL.

(only cases that appear are given below:)

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
Pron	?	o	+	+	i	o	-	i	i	i	i	+	+	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	?	i	i	?	
Poss	-	o	-	+	i	o	+	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-

Hng(4): a negation CL and pronominal-like items (P's?) may double. A case marked pronominal may double (probably).

Wls: see 3.12.

Hbr(1): see 3.12.

Dut(1): the doubling possible only in some dialects and allowed only with NP + CL-3SP + N.

Jan z'n broer vs
 Jan his-POS(CL) brother
 'Jan's brother'

* Mijn m'n zus
 * My-POS my-POS(CL) sister
 cca: 'My sister'

Fr: see 3.12.

Prt: see 3.12.

Ctl: see 2.1. and 3.12.

Spn: see 2.1/2.

It: see 3.12.(1)

Rum: see 3.12. and 3.15. (1)

Grk: (b) see also 3.1.

Tu iposxethika tu Petrou /? enos pedhiou-
 3S.DAT(CL) promised-1S the Peter.DAT/? a child.DAT
 'I promised to him/to Peter/? to a child'

Ton theoro ton Petro / * enan filo eskipno.
 3SM.ACC(CL) consider the Peter.ACC / * a friend clever
 'I consider Peter/*a friend clever.'

(f) with POSS CLs the more plausible analysis may be right dislocation (appositive: sharp intonational marked constructions, etc).

? Jemise [to potiri tu] ? tu Petrou.
 ? fill-IMP the glass 3SM.GEN # the Peter
 'Fill his/Peter's glass.'

Blg(2) Tjah gi običam.
 3P.ACC 3P.ACC(CL) love-1s
 'I love them.'

Vsičkite mu prijateli gi običam
 all his-POS(CL) friends 3P.ACC(CL) love-1S
 'I love all his friends.'

Rus(2) see 3.12. above

3.14. If your language has CL doubling of the type in (3.13a), is the double:

- (a) a pronoun, (b) a full definite NP,
 (c) a full indefinite NP, (d) an adverbial CL.

(only cases that appear are given below:)

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
pronoun	I	o	+	+	i	-	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	o
def. NP	I	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	o
ind. NP	I	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	-	±	i	i	i	i	o

Wls: see the examples in 4.12 and 4.15. with pronouns.

Brb: see 3.12.

It: the example in 3.12. is with +DEF NP.

Blg: indefinite NP must be 'specific'.

Rus(2): see 3.12. above.

- 3.15. If your language has CL doubling of the type in (3.13b), what is the function of the CL? (a) subject, (b) indirect object, (c) direct object, (d) prepositional object.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
subject	i	o	-	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	o	-	+	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-
IO	i	o	+	-	i	+	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	i	i	?
DO	i	o	+	+	i	-	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	i	i	?
prep.o.	i	o	-	?	i	-	i	i	i	i	o	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	i	-	i	i	?

Hng(4): cannot be answered given the options. See 3.13.

Brb: see 3.12.

Wls Dywedodd Emrys ei fod ef yn oer.
 said Emrys 3SM be he in cold
 'Emrys said he was cold.'

Mae Gwyn yn ei ddarllen ef.
 is Gwyn in 3SM read he
 'Gwyn is reading it.'

Grm: see 3.12.

Dut(3): concerns West Flemish.

Prt: (b) see 3.12. (c) Encontrei-os a eles.
 met-1S -3P.ACC(CL) to 3P.ACC
 'I met them.'

Ctl: see 2.1. and 3.12. (In)Direct object strong personal pronouns require CL doubling. Full NP IOs display optional doubling. Some dialects require it, others do not allow it at all, and a third group are characterized by rampant variability. CL doubling is not allowed with full NP DO in any other context.

Spn: see 2.1/2.

It(1): CL doubling of an indirect object only in the presence of a CL direct object, see (3.12).

Rum(1)(b) Îl dă fratelui său /lui o carte.
 3SM.DAT(CL) give-3S brother-the 3SM.DAT/3SM.DAT a book
 'He gave him=his brother a book.'

(c) Îl vede pe fratele său / el.
 3SM.ACC(CL) see-3S PRT brother-the his / 3SM.ACC
 'He/she can see him=his brother.'

Grk: With IO (DAT/GEN) a pronoun can double (in)definite NP. With DO (ACC) a pronoun can double only definite NP. See 3.13.

Rus (2): see 3.12. above.

3.16. Can the CL be present when the double has been questioned?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	o	-	+	i	+	-	i	i	i	o	+	-	i	i	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	?	i	i	-

Bsq(2): a wh-phrase is 3rd person and the 3rd person system has no pronominal CLs.

Wls Beth roedd Gwyn yn ei wneud?
 what was Gwyn in 3SM(CL) do
 'What was Gwyn doing?'

Brb: the DAT CL, however, changes its morphological form

ma mi-t -i -fa?
 who to-3SN(CL)-3SM(CL)-gave
 'To whom did he give it?'

Grm Wo hat er drüber gelacht?
 where (no location) has he thereabout laughed
 'What has he laughed at (it)?'

Prt * A quem lhe deste o livro?
 * to whom 3S.DAT(CL) gave-2S the book
 cca: 'Who did you give the book to?'

Ctl: in some dialects (see 3.15.).

A qui (li) vas donar el didal?
 to who [3S.DAT(CL)] Aux-2S give the thimble
 'Who did you give the thimble to?'

It(1) A chi gliel 'hai dato?
 to whom 3SM.DAT(CL)+3SM.ACC(CL)'have-2S given
 'Who did you give it to(him)?'

Rum(2): for indirect speech. ACC CL should be between que/qui and quel/lequel.

(1) cui îi dă cartea?
 who.DAT 3SM.DAT(CL) give-3S book-the
 'Who does he/she give the book to?'

Grk: only with partitive or D-linked wh-phrases and IO extractions (if those are examples of doubling).

* Pjon ton idhes?
 * who.ACC 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-2S
 cca: 'Who did you see (him)?'

Pjon apo tus filus su (ton) agapas perissotero?
 who.ACC of the friends your [3SM.ACC(CL)] love-2S most
 'Which of your friends do you love (him) most?'

? Pjanou (tu) iposxethikes ena taksidi stin Ameriki?
 ? who.DAT [3SM.DAT(CL)] promised-2S a trip to-the America
 'Whom did you promise a trip to America (to him)?'

Mcd Kogo go vidov?
 who.ACC 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-1S
 'Whom did I see?'

Komu mu reče?
 who.DAT 3SM.DAT(CL) aid-3S
 'To whom did (s)he say (it)?'

Blg: occurs only very rarely in colloquial language (1)(2).

(1)<coll> Na kogo mu se obadi?
 to-whom.DAT 3SM.DAT(CL) REFL called-2S
 'Who did you call?'

Cz: seems possible only with interrogative
 3SN.ACC?(WH) + deictic (expletive) 3SN.ACC?

Koho /Co jsi to /*ho /*ji viděl?
 who.ACC/what.ACC Aux-2S(CL) 3SN-(CL)/*2SM/F.ACC(CL) saw-SM
 'Who/What have you seen?'

Rus: see examples with nonthematic eto in 3.12.

4.A. POSITION

4.A. Does your language have weak pronouns that must attach to a host?

a) yes, b) no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
±	-	±	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

Hng(1,4): only rá whose status is uncertain is an exception. No weak pronouns.

Fin: however, it is claimed that the -han CL is historically related to (i.e. derived from) the 3S hän.

Brb: see 2.10

Ice: the pronouns tú (you-S) and pid (you-P) CAN cliticize to a host (vebr) in imperatives or interrogative clauses. The pronouns then change their spelling: pú (you-S) into -tu, -đu, -du, and pid (you-P) into -id. Eg.: kom+pú = komdu.

Grm: no phonological pro- or enclisis but there are strict adjacency requirements. The pronoun cannot be separated from either the complementizer or the finite verb in V2 configurations (exception the subject pronoun has to precede the object pronoun when both directly follow the complementizer).

Sie hat (*wahrscheinlich) es gestern verloren.
 she has (*probably) it yesterday lost
 'She probably lost it yesterday.'

- weil sie (*wahrscheinlich) es gestern verloren hat.
 - because she (*probably) it yesterday lost has
 '...because she probably lost it yesterday.'

Dut(1): (b) only for the subject CL ie-3SM.NOM.

Eng: though 2.NOM(CL) you does not need a host of particular category.

Prt(1): the position of CLs is often following the wh-word or complementizer. They 'move' to the front. The CLs, however, are not the 2nd position CLs, the restriction is better formulated as 'not first position'. With relation to the verb, CLs immediately precede or follow the verb. Some adverbs (esp. in Northern dialects) and NEG (in standard dialect) may interfere.

<u>Eu vi -o.</u>	<u>Quem o (ainda não) viu?</u>
I saw-3SM.ACC(CL)	who 3SM.ACC(CL) (yet not) saw
'I saw him.'	'Who (hasn't yet) saw him?'

Ctl: see e.g. 3.5.

It(2) Lo vedi?
 3SM.ACC(CL) see-2S
 'Do you see him?'

Cz: For weak pronouns/CLs see elsewhere. Moreover in archaic language 3S.ACC něho can cliticize on a preceding preposition in the form of -ň.

pro něho = proň
 for him.ACC

do něho = doň
 to him.ACC

Also že ('that') complementizer can cliticize on a preceding word. Furthermore Czech has negative (verbal) prefix, negative PRT, question particle(CL) -li, and prepositions are phonetic enclitics. See also 2.10. and 2.12.

Kdo-ž by to tušil
 who-that COND-CL it thought-3SM
 'Who'd have thought it'

vidět - nevidět
 see-INF - not-see-INF
 'to see - (not) to see'

Pol: Also - negative prefix (see 2.10.)
 - 3S.ACC(?) -ń after prepositions

do-ń
 to-3S
 'to him/her/it'

zza-ń
 from behind-3S
 'from behind him/her/it'

4.B. HOST CLITICS

4.B.1. If you answered (4.A) positively, to which element may a weak pronoun attach in your language?

a) verb, b) noun, c) adjective, d) preposition,
 e) complementizer, f) adverb, g) other.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
verb	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	+	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i
noun	i	i	-	+	-	-	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	i
adj	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	i
prep	i	i	-	-	-	+	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	i
compl	i	i	-	+	-	+	-	i	+	-	i	i	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	i
adv	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	i
other	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	i

Bsq: (1) answered 4.A.1. 'no' and continues with 4.C. using the term host. (2) Inflected verbs are hosts.

Wls: see 3.15, 3.16.

Ir: the pronominal forms do not need to attach to an (overt) host. The objects in progressive constructions must appear immediately to the left of the verbal noun (not tensed verb).

Tá sé á (*cinnte) cuardach.
is he 3SF (*certainly) look-for(verb.noun)
'He is (certainly) looking for her.'

- Brb**
- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| (a) | <u>zri-R -t</u>
saw-1S(CL)-3SM.ACC(CL)
'I saw him.' | (d) | <u>ddaw -as</u>
under-3SM.ACC(CL)
'Under him' |
| (e) | <u>ur -ssin-R is -t -i -zra</u>
not-know-1S(CL) whether-3SM.ACC(CL)-3SM(CL)-saw
'I don't know whether he saw him.' | | |

Hbr(1): (a) to verbs, preferably non-finite verbs, see 2.2.
(b) see 2.12., (d) see 2.2.

- Dut(1):**
- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (a) | V-in-C (1) | <u>Komt- ie morgen?</u>
comes-he.NOM(CL) tomorrow
'Will he come tomorrow?' |
| (e) | COMP-CL | |
| | <u>- dat -ie /of -ie morgen komt.</u>
- that-he.NOM(CL)/whether-he.NOM(CL)tomorrow comes
'- that/whether he comes tomorrow.' | |

Eng

<u>I gave 'm to her.</u> 3SM.ACC(CL)	<u>I gave it to 'm yesterday.</u> 3SM.DAT(CL)
---	--

Fr: see 2.1.

Prt(1):(a) see 4.1. where CL forms a unit with the verb in cases of enclisis. When CL precedes the verb no strict adjacency is required and it is hard to decide which item is the 'host' of the CL;(d) NEG (2) see 4.1. and below.

Ela diz que te não viu.
she says that 2S.ACC(CL) not saw-3S
'She says that she didn't see you.'

Ctl: see e.g. 3.5.

- It**
- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| (a) | see 4.A.1 | (b) | <u>Che libri?</u>
Which books? |
|-----|-----------|-----|-----------------------------------|

- (c) Che strano!
How strange!
- (f) Ec- comi.
Here I am
- Rum** (a) O vede.
3SF.ACC(CL) see-3S
'He/she can see her.'
- (b) frumuset,ea-i
beauty-the+3S-POSS(CL)
'his/her beauty'
- (c) frumoasa -i t,ară
beautiful-the+3S-POSS(CL) country
'his beautiful country'
- (d) împotriva -mi
against-the+1S.DAT(CL)
'against me'

Mcd: (a) verbal, pronominal, interrogative PRT, (b) article, preposition, interr. PRT, (c/f) interrogative PRT.

- Blg** (a) Dal sâm mu go.
gave Aux(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)
'I gave him/it to him.'
- Včera sâm ti ja dal.
yesterday Aux(CL) 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) gave
'Yesterday I gave it to you.'
- (b) dobrite mi /ti /mu prijateli
good-the my/your/his friends
'My/your/his (etc) good friends.'

SCr(1) Serbo-Croatian CLs are fixed position CLs, so the 'host' here can be interpreted as 'the first element of the sentence'.

- (a) Vidim ga.
see-1S 3SM.ACC(CL)
'I see him.'
- (b) Marija ga vidi.
Mary 3SM.ACC(CL) sees
'Mary sees him.'
- (c) Lijepa ga Marija vidi.
beautiful 3SM.ACC(CL) Mary see
'Beautiful Mary sees him.'
- (d) *U ga sobi Marija vidi.
*in 3SM.ACC(CL) room Mary sees
cca 'Mary sees him in the room.'

- (e) Znam da ga Marija vidi.
know that 3SM- Mary sees
'I know that Mary sees him.'
- (f) Sada ga Marija vidi.
now 3SM.ACC(CL) Mary sees
'Now Mary sees him.'
- (g) Ona ga vidi.
she 3SM.ACC(CL) see
'She sees him.'

Cz: If 'host' = 'the first constituent/V/*VP/C'. See also 4.A. and 4.C.

- (a) Viděl jsem ho.
saw-2S Aux-2S(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)
'I saw him.'
- (b) Petr ho viděl.
Peter 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-SM
'Peter saw him.'
- (c) Zelenou jsem si tu kravatu nebral.
green Aux-1S(CL) REFL(CL) the tie not-took
'I haven't taken the GREEN tie.'
- (d) Pro-ň se to nehodí.
for-3SM.ACC(CL) REFL(CL) it.ACC not-match
'It doesn't suit to him.'
- (e) Chci, aby-s mu to dal.
want-2S so-that-2S 3SM.DAT(CL) it.ACC gave-SM
'I want you to give it to him.'
- (f) Včera jsem mu to dal.
yesterday Aux-1S(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) it.ACC gave-SM
'Yesterday I gave it to him.'
- (g) Kam-s mu to dal?
where-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) it.ACC gave-SM
'Where did you give it to him?'

Pol: and if negative PRT ni- is a CL, then it may attach to noun or to adverb.

<u>Widzę go często.</u>	<u>ni-kogo</u>	<u>ni-gdzie</u>
see-1S 3SM.ACC(CL) often	no-one	no-where
'I often see him.'		

4.B.2. Does the weak pronoun precede its host?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	±	+	-	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	+	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	+	-	-	-	-	-	i

- Bsq(1):**
- a) NEG, EPIST, bait- Vinfl
 - b) Vinfl COMP, Y/N CL, -a
Vmain AuxCL
XP (postposition) (right margin)
 - (2) ABS - V root - DAT, ERG

Wls: CLs precede nonfinite verbs and nouns, they follow a complementizer. Where a preceding element ends in a vowel, preverbal and prenominal CLs normally attach to that element.

Gwerthodd Emrys ei dy.
sold Emrys his house
'Emrys sold his house'

Aeth Emrys i 'w dy.
went Emrys to his house
'Emrys went to his house.'

Mae Gwyn wedi fy ngweld i.
is Gwyn after 1S see I
'Gwyn has seen me.'

Roedd Gwyn yn awyddus i'm gweld.
was Gwyn in eager to 1S see
'Gwyn was eager to see me.'

Ir: see 4.B.1.

Brb: see 4.B.1.

Ice Ert þú / Ertu að fara?
are-2S you / are-2S-2S to leave-INF
'Are you leaving?'

Eng: see 4.B.1.

Fr: mostly. See 2.1. Complications in imperatives and for subjects in questions.

Prt: see 4.B.1.

Ctl: weak pronouns precede finite forms (proCLs). They follow infinitives, gerunds, and imperatives (enclitics). The 'SIMPLE PAST' Aux and infinitive sequence can be a host for either proCLs or enclitics (see 3.4.)

- Spn:**
- (a) it precedes a finite verb
 - (b) it follows a non-finite verb

lo woy a comer
3SN.ACC(CL) will-1S to eat
'I will eat it.'

woy a comer -lo
will-1S to eat -3SN.ACC(CL)
'I will eat it.'

It(2): preverbal with tensed verbs, noun and adjective, postverbal after infinitives and adverb.
See 4.1.

Gianni vuole veder -lo.
Gianni wants see-INF+3SM.ACC(CL)
'Gianni wants to know it.'

Rum(1,2): CL - V
N/A/P - CL
see 3.B.1. (1)

Grk: CL - V-fin,
V-imp/ger - CL
N/P - CL

To _____ exo katalavi.
3SN.ACC(CL) have-1S understood-PART
'I have understood that.'

Exe _____ to katalavi.
have-2S-IMP CL understood-PART
'Understand it!'

? Exontas _____ to katalavi.
? having-GER 3SN.ACC(CL) understood-PART
cca 'Having it understood...'

Katalavenontas _____ to.
understanding-GER CL
'understanding it...'

<u>To _____ katalava.</u>	<u>Katalave _____ to.</u>
3SN.ACC(CL) understood-1S	understand-IMP 3SN.ACC(CL)
'I understand it.'	'Understand it!'

To oreo (-mu) _____ vivlio (mu).
the nice[+1S.GEN(CL)] book [+1S.GEN(CL)]
'The nice book of mine.'

*To oreo-mu _____ vivlio-mu.
*the nice+1S.GEN(CL) book+1S.GEN(CL)
cca 'The nice book of mine.'

PREP: Greek has prepositions which combine with other prepositions. GEN CLs can resume the whole PP selected by these prepositions.

Epano s' tin epifania.
over P' the surface.ACC

Epano tis.
over 3SF.GEN(CL)

* Epano tin epifania.
* over the surface.ACC

Blg(2): the positions of the verbal CLs are constant for all persons except 3S. The pronominal CLs seem to follow always the finite verb, they may occur before e (X (ste) mu go e V). When the CL is inside a noun it can optionally precede a combination of a definite article and a numeral or an adjective.

Gledal sãm (mu) dvata (mu) filma.
 watched Aux-1S(CL) [3SM-POS(CL)] two-the [3SM-POS(CL)] films.
 'I watched the two films of his.'

Cz: See 4.B.1.

Pol Wczoraj widziałem go.
 yesterday saw-1S 3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I saw him yesterday.'

4.B.3. Can a weak pronoun appear incorporated in its host, as in Prt? a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	+	-	-	-	-	i	-	-	o	i	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	+	i	+	i

Bsq(2): If inflection is a CL, then the CL can be followed by some other inflectional morphology.

ikusi z -intu -da -n
 seen you-have-me-PAST
 'I saw you.'

Wls: arguably: inflections on finite verbs and prepositions should be seen as incorporated CLs. They appear when finite verbs and prepositions are followed by a pronoun (which may be null) just as CLs appear before a non-finite verb and a noun when they are followed by a pronoun (which may be null).

Gwelodd/*gwelsan y bechgyn Megan.
 saw /*saw-3P the boys Megan
 'The boys saw Megan.'

Gwelsan/*gwelodd (nhw) Megan.
 saw-3P /*saw (they) Megan
 'They saw Megan.'

Soniodd Emrys wrth/*wrthi Megan.
 talked Emrys to /*to-3SF Megan
 'Emrys talked to Megan.'

Soniodd Emrys wrthi /*wrth (hi).
 talked Emrys to-3SF/*to (she)
 'Emrys talked to her.'

Prt(1): Incorporation is a part of 'schooled' (taught) registers (a remnant of Old Portugal?). Illiterate people and children (as well as the Asturian dialect which lacks written form at all) use only the form without 'mesoclisism', i.e.

ver -á -me
see+FUT-3S+1S.ACC(CL)
'he will see me'

(2) ver -me -á
see+1S.ACC(CL)+FUT-3S
'he will see me'

Ctl La canatarem.
3S.ACC(CL) sing-FUT-1SM
'We'll sing it.'

* Cantar-la-em.
* sing-CL-FUT-1SM

Spn: in non-finite clauses and commands.

Estudia -te -lo para mañana!
study-IMP-2S(CL)-3SN.ACC(CL) for tomorrow
'Study it for tomorrow!'

Grk: CLs may interfere between FUT/MOD PRTs only, but these elements do not inflect.

Alb Tregomëni!
tell-2S-IMP+1S.DAT(CL)
'Tell me!'

Cz: See 4.B.1.

4.B.4. If there are more weak pronouns at the same time do they have to appear at the same side of the host? (cluster)?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	-	-	-	-	±	i	+	i	i	i	-	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i

Bsq(2): see 4.2.

Wls: no CL clusters. A host can never bear more than one CL.

Ir: clusters are not possible.

Hbr(1): Nothing can intervene where the ? mark is used below.

Dani šalax ? l-a ? 9ot-am
Dani sent to-her ACC-them
'Dani sent them to her.'

Nor Ga 'n 'a 'n ikke?
gave'he'3SF.DAT'3SN.ACC not
'Didn't he give it to her?'

Ice: there are never more pronouns in these constructions.

Dut(1): there is only one subject CL relevant.

Eng: there are no CL clusters. But see 3.2.

Fr Je me l 'y mènerai, -
 I 1S(CL)3SM(CL)'there(CL) bring-FUT -
 'I'll bring him there just for me, -
 - rien que pour le plaisir.
 - nothing only for the pleasure
 - just for my pleasure.'

Prt(2) Não me ofereceu.
 not 1S.DAT(CL)+3SM.ACC(CL) offered-3S
 'He didn't offer it to me.'

 * Não me ofereceu -o.
 * not 1S.DAT(CL) offered-3S+3SM.ACC(CL)
 cca :He didn't offer it to me.'

Ctl Se me n 'hi va posar.
 REFL(CL) 1S(CL) CL CL Aux-3S(CL) put
 'It gathered on it.' (e.g. dust on my dress)

 * Se me va posar-n'hi.
 * REFL(CL) 1S(CL) Aux-3S(CL) put CL CL

Spn: see e.g. 4.3.3.

It(2): only if loro (3P) is a CL is it then possible to have CLs at both sides of a host.

Voglio dar -glie -lo.
 want-1S give-INF+3SM.DAT(CL)+3SN.ACC(CL)
 'I want to give it to him.'

 * Gli voglio dar -lo.
 * 3SM.DAT(CL) want-1S give-INF+3SN.ACC(CL)
 cca 'I want to give it to him.'

Lo diedi loro.
 3SN.ACC(CL) gave-1S 3P.DAT(CL?)
 'I gave it to them.'

Rum(1): with the exception given below in (i).

t,i l -a dat
 2S.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)-has given
 'he/she has given it/him to you'

 (i) t,i -am dat -o
 2S.DAT(CL)+have given+3SF.ACC(CL)
 'he/she has given it/her to you'

Grk: potential exception: negated gerunds.

* Min fige.

* not(CL) leave-IMP
cca 'Don't leave!'

Den -tha - tu -to doso.
not(CL)-FUT(CL)-3SM.DAT(CL)-3SN.ACC(CL) give-1S
'I will not give it to him.'

Min(n) ginontas tu -to.
not(CL) giving-GER 3SM.DAT(CL)+3SN.ACC(CL)
'Not giving it to him...'

Cz: if they belong to the same verb (or with modal+infinitive) then yes:
Qprt - Aux - REFL - DAT - ACC.

On by mu ho chtěl (*ho) dát (*ho).
He [Aux-COND+3SM.DAT+3SM.ACC]-CLs wanted(*ACC-CL) give (*ACC-CL)
'He would like to give him/it to him.'

Slva: COND Aux - PAST Aux - REFL - DAT - ACC

Pol: CLs may appear on two different hosts.

Móglbym mu wtedy przedstawić go na przyjęciu.
could-I 3SM.DAT(CL) then introduce 3SM.ACC(CL) at party
'I could introduce him to him at the party.'

4.B.5. Do the weak pronouns have a fixed order in such a cluster?

a) yes, b) no.

4.B.6. If you answer (4.B.5) positively, which is the fixed order of the CLs in a cluster?

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	+	o	i	+	+	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	i

Bsq(2): there is a fixed order of 'CLs' in the inflected verb. (Apparently they may also be separated, RV).

ABS - V root - DAT - Mod - ERG - Tense.
agreement - V root - agreement - marker - agreement - marker.

Brb: grammatical function influences the position: SUB - DAT - direct OBJECT

Nor: IO - DO. See 4.B.5.

Fr ne - [me, te, se] - lui - le - y - en

Il	me	le				donne.
Il		le	lui			donne.
Il			lui	en		donne.
Il		l'		y		donne.
Il				y	en	donne.
he.NOM	me	him	him.DAT	there	en(CL)	gives
'He gives me/him to me/him (there).'						

Prt: see 3.2. (1) - DAT ACC / * ACC DAT see 4.B.5 (1,2)
 - REFL - DAT (2)

Não mo / * o me ofereceu.
not 1S.DAT(CL)+3SM.ACC(CL)/ * 3SM.ACC(CL) 1S.DAT(CL) offered
'He didn't offer it to me.'

Dedicou -se -lhe de corpo e alma.
devoted-3S+3S-REFL(CL)+3S.DAT(CL) of body and soul
'He devoted himself to it with all his soul.'

Ctl: the standard view states the order (person plays an important role):

REFL - 2p.(CL) - 1p.(CL) - 3.DAT(CL) - 3.ACC(CL) - en - hi

Se te la hi van endurar.
REFL 2S(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) CL Aux-3P(CL) take-away
'They took it away (to somewhere) on me.'

Some dialects substitute the hi CL for the DAT CL (the resulting ACC - DAT order is required for two NP objects as well).

<u>Li</u>	<u>'l</u>	<u>donem.</u>	>	<u>L</u>	<u>'hi</u>	<u>donem.</u>
3S.DAT(CL)	3S.ACC(CL)	give-1S		3S.ACC(CL)	CL	give-1S
'We give it to him.'						

There are other variants depending on dialects, registers and CL functions. Therefore, alternatively, the relationship between syntactic constituents and the morphemes in the CL string could be established by means of morphophonological rules.

es	- et/us	- em/ens	- l/ho	- z	- en	- hi
REFL	- 2p.(CL)	- 1p.(CL)	- 3p.(CL)	- pl.	- CL	- CL

Spn: - DAT ACC

Se lo (*se) he dado.
 3S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) [*3S.DAT(CL)] have given
 'I have given it to him/her.'

It: - DAT ACC
 - DAT 1,2,3 (even REFL) }
 - LOC } 3ACC/ ne
 - si ne
 - CL si

Rum: (1) - DAT - ACC
 (2) - both ACC - DAT and DAT - ACC order is possible
 - ACC(CL) and DAT(CL) = Pron) within the limits given by the order:
 - Comp - Neg - Pron - Adv - Aux(Perf)
 - Neg(Pron) - Aux - Adv - Aux(Perf) - V(Pron)

Grk: DAT(GEN).ACC. Except a very few imperatives. See 3.2.

<u>Su -to -ipa.</u>	<u>*To-su-ipa.</u>
2S.DAT(CL)+3SN.ACC(CL)+said	*ACC.DAT
'I told you this'	

Alb: - DAT ACC/REFL
 - DAT + ACC form a cluster,

1S	<u>më</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>ma</u>	/	<u>m'i</u>
2S	<u>të</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>ta</u>	/	<u>t'i</u>
3S	<u>i</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>ia</u>	/	<u>ia</u>
1P	<u>na</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>na e</u>	/	<u>na i</u>
2P	<u>ju</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>jua</u>	/	<u>jua</u>
3P	<u>u</u>	+	<u>e / i</u>	=>	<u>ua</u>	/	<u>ua</u>

Mcd: - Aux/Q/Condit - DAT - ACC/REFL

Blg(1): - DAT ACC
 - NEG ARG Q
 - Q ARG

SCr(2) - Aux/COND - DAT - GEN/ACC - REFL - root je (be)

Cz: - Q PRT-Aux-REFL(DAT/ACC)-non-arg.DAT - DAT - ACC/GEN-(Adv)

Já jsem se ti jí tu musel omluvit!
 I [Aux-1S REFL.ACC 2SF.DAT-purpose 3SF.DAT]-CLs here-CL? must apologise
 'Imagine, here I had to excuse myself to her.'

There are, however, some co-occurrence restrictions: For non-REFL argument DAT and ACC the order DAT - ACC is obligatory and they can co-occur, but if non-REFL.DAT is present, non-REFL.ACC cannot be 1st or 2nd person (with the exception of the combination of 1S/P.DAT mi/nám and 1S/P.ACC which is still acceptable).

Pak mě/tě/ho /ji /nás/vás/je představil.
then 1S/2S/3SM/3SF/1P /2P /3P.ACC(CL) introduce
'Then he introduced me/you/him/her/us/them.'

Pak mi/ti/mu/jí/nám/vám/jim ho /ji /je představil.
then 1S/2S/3SM/3SF/1P/2P/3P.DAT(CL) 3SM/3SF/3P.ACC introduce
'Then he introduced him/her/them to me/you/him/her/us/them.'

Pak mi/?nám *mě/tě/*nás/vás představil.
then 1S/?1P.DAT(CL) *1S/2S/*1P/2P.ACC(CL) introduce
'Then he introduced *me/you/*us to me/?us.'

* Pak ti/mu /jí /vám/jim mě/tě/nás/vás představil.
* then 2S/3SM/3SF/2P /3P.DAT(CL) 1S/2S/1P/2P.ACC(CL) introduce
cca 'Then he introduced me/you/us/you to him/her/you/them.'

Slva: see 4.B.4.

Pol Przedstawilem (mu) go (mu)...
introduced-1S [3SM.DAT(CL)] 3SM.ACC(CL) [3SM.DAT(CL)]
'I introduced him to him.'

Przedstawię (ci) go (? ci) ...
introduce-1S [2S.DAT(CL)] 3SM.ACC(CL) [2S.DAT(CL)]
'I will introduce him to you.'

4.B.7. If you answered (4.B.5) positively, does the grammatical function of the CL influence its position in the cluster?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	±	±	-	I	-	i

Ctl: see 4.B.6.

SCr(1): the case is relevant. E.g. DAT comes in the same place in the cluster, no matter whether it is an indirect object or an ethical dative.

- 4.B.8. Are there case restrictions that influence the position of the CL in the cluster?**
(If there are other restrictions, please describe them).
 a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	o	o	i	i	-	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	i	i	i	-	o	i	i	+	+	+	-	i

- 4.B.9. What is the position of the reflexive CL (if your language has one) in a CL cluster?**
 a) precedes the other CLs (cluster initial),
 b) intermediate position (cluster internal),
 c) follows the other CLs (cluster final),
 d) the position depends upon its grammatical function.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
init	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	-	-	-	i	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
int	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	+	-	%	-	-	+	i	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
fin	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
GF	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	-	+	+	+	i	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

Fr: see 5.6.

Prt(1): REFL (DAT) CLs are allowed only when selected by verbs. If they are possible, they precede ACC CLs and cannot combine with DAT CLs. But see 4.B.6.

Eu ofereci-me um livro.

I offered-1S-REFL(CL) a book

'I offered myself a book.'

Eu apresentei -me a ele.

I introduced-1S+REFL(CL) to him

'I introduced myself to him.'

* Eu apresentei -me -lhe /*lhe -me.

*I introduced -1S+REFL(CL)+3SM.DAT(CL)/*3SM.DAT(CL)+1S-REFL(CL)

cca 'I introduced myself to him/to him myself.'

Ctl: in some dialects REFL can be preceded by a 1st or 2nd person CL.

(Se) me (*se) n'hi (*se) va posar.

(REFL) 1S(CL) (*REFL) CL CL (*REFL) Aux-3S(CL) put

'It gathered on it.'

It(1) Se lo e' comprato.

REFL.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) is bought

'he has bought it for himself'

Gli si e' presentato.
 3SM.DAT(CL) REFL.ACC(CL) is introduced
 'he has introduced himself to him'

Rum(1) S,i l -a amintit.
 REFL.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)+has recalled
 'He has recalled it himself.'

I se spune Maria.
 3S.DAT(CL) 3S-IMPERS.REFL(CL) calls Maria
 cca 'She is called Maria.'

Blg(2): REFL CLs obey the rules for weak pronouns.

Kupuva si se.
 buy-3S REFL.DAT(CL) REFL.ACC(CL)
 'One buys it for oneself.'

With POSS si (REFL-CL) movement is optional. When two DAT CLs occur - one reflexive and another non-reflexive - the reflexive can be interpreted only as a POSS - (their ordering is optional).

Daj (mi) si (mi) knjigata!
 give-IMP [1S.DAT(CL)] REFL=POSS(CL) [1S.DAT(CL)] book-the
 'Give me my book!'

Cz: after Aux(CL), preceding the other pronominal CLs, see also 4.B.5. and 4.B.6.

Včera jsem si ho nachystal.
 yesterday [Aux-1S REFL.DAT 3SM.ACC]-CL prepared
 'I prepared it (for) myself yesterday.'

Ten dopis by se ti nenapsal sám.
 the letter [Aux-3S REFL.ACC 2S.DAT]-CL not-wrote-3S alone
 'The letter wouldn't write for you by itself.'

Slva: after Aux and before all other pronoun forms.

SCr: the REFL-CL has to precede the bare root je (be).

Pol Podoba (mu) się (mu).
 likes 3SM.DAT(CL) REFL.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL)
 'He likes him/it.'

Czy podoba (ci) się (?ci)?
 whether likes [2S.DAT(CL)] REFL.ACC(CL) [2S.DAT(CL)]
 'Do you like him/it?'

Rus On (tje) sja _____ (*tje) ne dast v obidu.
 he (CL) REFL.ACC(CL) (*CL) not give in offence
 'He didn't let you offend him.'

4.B.10. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in a declarative main clause?
a)yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	+	+	±	-	i	-	i	i	i	-	-	+	±	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	±	±	±	+	i

Bsq: The answers are missing, but other answers show that both positions are available (2) and ABS precedes the verbal root, DAT and ERG follow the root and precede Tense (1).

Wls: only non-finite verbs can bear CLs and they are preverbal whatever the sentence type. CLs can appear before a finite verb if they are attached to the clause-initial PRT.

Ir: Tá sé á cuardach.
 is he 3SF look-for(verb.nominal)
 'He is looking for her.'

Brb: indirect and direct object CLs are postverbal. Subject CLs are both preverbal and/or postverbal (see below):

1S:	----R	1P:	n----
2SM:	t---t	2P:	t---mt
3SM:	i----	3PM:	----n
3SF:	t----	3PF:	----nt

Ice: CL doesn't appear in a declarative main clause.

Dut: the subject CL, which is a host CL, is postverbal when the verb is in COMP (V2).

Morgen komt -ie.
 Tomorrow comes-3SM.NOM(CL)
 'He comes tomorrow.'

Eng: see 4.B.1. OBJ(CL) is postverbal. Subject(CL) is attached to a finite verb or Aux/Mod as proCL.

Fr: see 5.6.

Prt(1): (a) with 'non-referential' QP subject, in a negative declarative, and with preverbal focused elements.

Alguém / Ninguém me ajudou.
 someone/ nobody 1S.ACC(CL) helped-3S
 'Somebody/Nobody helped me.'

O João não me ajudou.
 the Joao not 1S.ACC(CL) helped-3S
 'Joao did not help me.'

Só o João me ajudou.
 only the Joao 1S.ACC(CL) helped-3S
 'Only Joao helped me.'

(b) with 'referential' NP subject (1) and in a positive declarative (2).

Eu vi -o.
 I saw-3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I saw 3SM.'

O João ajudou-me.
 the Joao helped-1S.ACC(CL)
 'Joao helped me.'

Ctl: finite verbs take proclitics, infinite, gerunds and imperatives take enclitics.

La conec.
 3SF.ACC(CL) know-1S
 'I know her.'

* Conec- la.
 * know -1S 3SF.ACC(CL)

It(1) Gianni lo ha letto.
 Gianni 3SM.ACC(CL) has read
 'Gianni has read it.'

Rum(1) O vede.
 3SF.ACC(CL) see-3S
 'He/she can see her.'

Grk: see 4.B.2.

Cz: The form of the verb is irrelevant. CLs follow the initial constituent (with the exception of VP), complementizer, or any form of the verb.

Pol Opisałem ci już wszystko.
 described-1S 2S.DAT(CL) already all
 'I've already described all to you.'

4.B.11. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in a YES/NO question?**a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	+	+	i	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	±	±	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	i	i	i	-	i

Bsq(2): ABS - V root - DAT - Mod marker - ERG - Tense.**Wls:** only non-finite verbs can bear CLs and they are preverbal whatever the sentence type.

Ir An bhfuil sé á cuardach.
 Q is he 3SF look-for(verb.noun)
 'Is he looking for her?'

Hbr(1) ha-'im racita lir'ot -o?
 Q wanted-2S see-INF+him
 'Did you want to see him?'

Ice Kemurđu á morgun?
 come-2S-2S on tomorrow
 'Will you come tomorrow?'

Dut(1): the subject CL, which is a host CL, is postverbal when the verb is in COMP (V2). See 4.B.1.

Eng Do you like them/'m?
 (CL) (CL)

Fr: object - V - subject le vois tu?
 3SM.ACC(CL) see you
 'Do you see him?'

Prt:(a) non-referential QP subject(1), negative clause (2).

Alguém o viu /* viu o?
 someone 3SM.ACC(CL) saw /* saw 3SM.ACC(CL)
 'Did anyone see him?'

O João não a viu / * viu a?
 the Joao not 3SF.ACC(CL) saw / * saw 3SF.ACC(CL)
 'Didn't Joao see her?'

(b) referential NP subject (1), positive clause (2)

O Pedro viu-o / * o viu?
 the Pedro saw-3SM.ACC(CL) / * 3SM.ACC(CL) saw
 'Did Pedro see him?'

Ctl: finite verbs take proCLs, infinite, gerunds and imperatives take enclitics.

Que la coneixes? *...coneixes-la?
 Qpart(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) know-2S * know-2S -CL
 'Do you know her?'

It(1) L 'ha letto?
 3SM.ACC(CL)'has read
 'Has he read it?'

Rum(1) t,i l -a dat?
 2S.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)+has given
 'Has he/she given it to you?'

Grk Ton -idhes?
 3SM.ACC(CL)+saw-2S
 'Did you see him?'

Blg(2): depends on the position of V: preverbally if V is not in sentence initial position, otherwise postverbally.

Utre šte si mu dal li večne knjiga?
 tomorrow will you(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) given Q(CL) already book-the
 'Will you have already given him the book tomorrow?'

Vidja li ja včera tvojo prijateljko?
 saw-you Q(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) yesterday your friend
 'Did you see your friend yesterday?'

Pol Czy opisałem ci już wszystko?
 Q described-1S you.DAT(CL) already everything
 'Have I already described everything to you?'

4.B.12. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in a main clause wh-question?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	+	+	o	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	-	i	

Bsq(2): ABS - V root - DAT - Mod marker - ERG - Tense.

Wls: only non-finite verbs can bear CLs and they are preverbal whatever the sentence type.

Ir Cathain a raibh sé á cuardach.
 when COMP was he 2SF look-for(verb.noun)
 'When was he looking for her?'

Cá bhfuil sé á cuardach?
 where is he 3SF look-for(verb.noun)
 'Where is he looking for her?'

Hbr(1) matai racita lir'ot -o?
 when wanted-you to-see-3SM(CL)
 'When did you want to see him?'

Ice Hvert ertu að fara?
 where-to are-2S-2S to leave
 'Where are you leaving?'

Dut(1) Wat zegt-ie?
 what says-he.NOM(CL)
 'What does he say?'

Eng What did you give them/'m?
 (CL) (CL)

Fr Quand le vois tu?
 when him see you
 'When did you see him?'

Prt(2) Onde a viste?
 where 3SF.ACC(CL) saw-2S
 'Where did you see her?'

Ctl: finite verbs take proclitics, infinite, gerunds and imperatives take enclitics.

<u>Qui la coneix?</u>	<u>* Qui coneix -la?</u>
who 3S.ACC(CL) know-3S	* who knows -3S.ACC(CL)
'Who knows her?'	

It(1) Quando l 'ha letto?
 when 3SM.ACC(CL)'has read
 'When did he read it?'

Rum(1) Cine t,i l -a dat?
 who 2S.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL)+has given
 'Who has given it to you?'

Grk Pote ton -idhes?
 when 3SM.ACC(CL)+saw-2S
 'When did you see him?'

Blg(1) Kakvo mu dade?
 what 3SM(CL) gave-3S
 'What did you give him?'

Pol: preverbal, if the verb is the last word, postverbal, if the verb is not the last word.

colloq.: Kiedy go widziałeś?
 when 3SM.ACC(CL) saw-2S
 'When did you see him?'

Kiedy widziałeś go z dziewczyna?
 when saw-you 3SM.ACC(CL) with girl
 'When did you see him with a girl?'

4.B.13. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in a positive imperative?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	i	+	o	-	i	-	-	i	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	±	i	i	-	i

Bsq(2): ABS - V root - DAT - Mod marker - ERG - Tense.

Wls: Imperatives do not take CLs.

Ir Bígí á cuardach.
 be-2P-IMP 3SF look-for(verbal noun)
 'Be looking for her!'

Hbr: CLs do not occur with imperatives (2).
 Nonfinite verbs can be used as imperatives: then V - CL (1).

Ice Komdu hingađ.
 come-2S here
 'Come here!'

Dut(1): a subject CL cannot be used in imperatives.

Eng Give him/'m it!

Fr Regardes-le!
 look -him
 'Look at him!'

Prt(2) Come -o!
 eat-2S+3SM.ACC(CL)
 'Eat it!'

Ctl	(* Te la) Menja -te -la! (* CL CL) eat-IMP-2S+2S(CL)+3S.ACC(CL) 'Eat it!'	
Spn	Dá -me -lo! give-IMP+1S.DAT(CL)-3SN.ACC(CL) 'Give me that!'	
It(1)	Mangia-lo! eat -3SM.ACC(CL) 'Eat it!'	
Rum(1)	Scrie -mi! write-IMP+1S.DAT(CL) 'Write me!'	Cites,te - l ! read-IMP+3SM.ACC(CL) 'Read it!'
Grk	Mila mu! talk-IMP 1S.DAT(CL) 'Talk to me!'	
Blg(1)	Napiši go! write-IMP 3SN.ACC(CL) 'Write it!'	

SCr(1): CLs follow the first element, which may be a verb.

Pol	Daj mu tę książkę! give 3SM.DAT(CL) the book.ACC 'Give him the book!'
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**4.B.14. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in a negative imperative?
a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	±	i	+	o	-	i	-	i	i	i	i	-	±	+	+	-	±	+	+	+	-	+	±	i	i	-	i

Bsq (2): ABS - V root - DAT - Mod marker - ERG - Tense.

Wls: imperatives do not take CLs.

Ir	Ná bígí á cuardach. not be-2P-IMP 3SF look-for(verb.noun) 'Don't be looking for her!'
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Hbr(1): see 4.B.13. Only when nonfinite verbs are as imperatives: neg V - CL. Less good in negative imperatives.

Ice: CL cannot be attached to a verb in a negative imperative (moreover the verb is infinite)

Ekki (*þú) fara
not (*you) leave
'Don't leave!'

Dut: the subject CL cannot be used with imperatives.

Eng Don't give him/'m it!

Fr: regional variation.

<u>Ne le regardes pas!</u>	<u>Regardes-le pas!</u>
not him look not	look -him not
'Don't look at him!'	'Don't look at him!'

Prt(2) Não o comas!
not 3SN.ACC(CL) eat-2S
'Don't eat it!'

Ctl: a negative imperative is expressed through a subjunctive form, which behaves like a finite form.

No te la mengis (*-te-la).
not 2S(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) eat-subject-2S (* CL CL)
'Don't eat it!'

Spn No me lo des!
not 1S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) give
'Don't give it to me!'

It(1): inflected imperative: NEG V CL
infinitival imperative: NEG CL V / NEG V CL

Non fate -lo!
not do-2P-3SM.ACC(CL)
'Do not do it!'

Non lo mangiare!
not 3SM.ACC(CL) eat-2S
'Don't eat it!'

Non mangiar-lo!
not eat-INF+3SM.ACC(CL)
'Don't eat it!'

Rum(1) Nu -mi scie!
not-1S.DAT(CL) write-INF
'Don't write me!'

Nu-l citi!
not-3SM.ACC(CL) read-INF
'Don't read it!'

Grk: true imperatives cannot be negated, the subjunctive is used instead, the CL than precedes.

Na min mu milas!
subject-PRT not(CL) 1S.DAT(CL) talk-2S
'Don't talk to me!'

Blg(1) Ne go _____ piši!
 not 3SM.ACC(CL) write-IMP
 'Don't write it!'

SCr(1): CLs follow the first element. It may be a negated verb.

Pol Nie słuchaj go!
 not listen 3SM.DAT(CL)
 'Don't listen to him!'

4.B.15. If the CL is attached to the verb, is it preverbal in an 'absolute construction' e.g. gerund, infinitive?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	o	o	i	o	-	i	-	i	i	i	i	-	+	±	-	-	-	±	-	+	-	±	i	i	i	-	i

Bsq(2): ABS - V root - DAT - Mod marker - ERG - Tense.

Wls: only non-finite verbs can bear CLs and they are preverbal whatever the sentence type (not clear whether this construction exists).

Ir: no tense involves Aux and participle

Dut: no subject CL in this construction.

Eng Without knowing them/'m well...

Fr: in infinitives (see also 2.11) and gerunds.

Le regardant, John...
 him looking John
 'Looking at him, John...'

Prt: (a) when the verb is preceded by a preposition (then both proclisis or enclisis are possible)
 (1). When the verb is negative (2).

(1) sem o saber / sabê -lo
 without 3SN.ACC(CL) know-INF/ know-INF+3SN.ACC(CL)
 'without knowing it'

- (2) Não o sabendo ...
not 3SN.ACC(CL) knowing
'Not knowing it...'

(b) when there is no preposition with the verb, only enclisis is possible (1). When the verb is positive (2).

Sabendo o, ... / * o sabendo ...
knowing 3SN.ACC(CL) / * 3SN.ACC(CL) knowing
'Knowing it, ...'

Ctl (*Ho) Sabent -ho el Pau, ja ho sap tothom.
(*CL) knowing-3S(CL) the Pau already 3S(CL) knows everybody
'If Pau knows it, everybody knows it.'

Spn: see 4.B.16-17.

It(1)	<u>Senza saper -lo...</u> without know-INF+3SM.ACC(CL) 'Without knowing it...'	<u>Saputo-lo...</u> known -3SM.ACC(CL) 'Knowing it...'
--------------	--	--

Rum: preverbal with infinitives, postverbal with gerunds.

fără a -l primi, ...
without to+3SM.ACC(CL) receive-INF
'without receiving it...'

Văzîndu - l, am fugit.
see-GER+3SM.ACC(CL) have-1S run-away
'Seeing it/him, I ran away.'

Grk: see also 3.2.

Min kserontas-to, i sintrofia mu...
not knowing +3SN.ACC(CL) the company my...
'Not knowing it, my company...'

Alb: after PRT, but preceding the verb.

Mcd Zemajk mu go, počna da bega.
taking 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) began-3S COMP run-3S
'Taking it away from him, (s)he began to run.'

Blg(2) Bez da go znae, mojat prijatel...
without to 3SM.ACC(CL) know-3S my friend
'Without knowing him, my friend...'

Pol Widzac go, ...
see(ger) 3SM.ACC(CL) ...
'Seeing him, ...'

4.B.16. If there is an Aux and a main verb (participle) in the sentence, where does the CL appear?

- a) pre-Aux, b) post-Aux,
c) pre-participle, d) post-participle.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+ A	i	i	i	-	i	i	+	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	i	i	i	+	i
A +	i	i	i	-	i	i	-	i	-	+	i	i	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	i	i	i	+	i
+ P	i	i	i	+	i	i	-	i	-	+	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	i	i	i	+	i
P +	i	i	i	-	i	i	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	i	i	i	+	i

Bsq(2): ABS- V root - DAT - Mod - ERG - Tense (See also 4.B.2.)

It is not clear whether the Agreement markers can be attached to participles.

Wls: where an Aux and a main verb appear, the CL is attached to the main verb. There is no CL climbing.

Gwnaeth (*ei) Emrys ei daro.
did (*3SM-CL) Emrys 3SM-CL hit
'Emrys hit him.'

Ir: no such constructions.

Ice Ærlardu ad fara?
shall-2S to leave
'Will you leave?'

Dut: in main clauses when the verb is in COMP the subject CL follows the Aux.

Dat boek heeft-ie gelezen.
that book has -3SM.NOM(CL) read
'He has read that book.'

Eng: for CL PRTs see 2.10/11.

I have given him/'m it already.

Fr Jean l 'a vu
Jean 3SM.ACC(CL)'has seen
'Jean has seen him'

Prt: CL is always attached to the Aux, following or preceding it (1,2). Depends on the element preceding it (1).

Não me tinha ajudado.
not 1S.ACC(CL) had-3S helped
'He hadn't helped me.'

Tinha -me ajudado.
 had-3S+1S.ACC(CL) helped
 'He had helped me.'

Ctl: participle is not a host for CLs in any context.

No te l' has menjat (*-te-la).
 not 2S(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) Aux-2S eat (* CL CL)
 'You haven't eaten it.'

Spn (a)(c) La he empujado (*la)
 3SF.ACC(CL) have pushed-1S-[*3SF.ACC(CL)]
 'I have pushed her.'

(b)(d) Habiendo(la) empujado(la)
 having - [3SF.ACC(CL)] pushed - [3SF.ACC(CL)]
 '(I) having pushed her'

It(2) Gianni lo ha visto.
 Gianni 3SM.ACC(CL) has seen
 'Gianni has seen him.'

Rum(1)(a)	<u>ne -a văzut</u>	(d)	<u>a văzut-o</u>
	1P.ACC(CL)+has seen		has seen +3SF.ACC(CL)
	'he/she has seen us'		'he/she has seen her'

Grk To ixa fantasti.
 3SN.ACC(CL) had-1S imagined-PART
 'I had imagined it.'

Mcd(2): could also be post Aux (b)

Jas sum ti go dala.
 I Aux-1S(CL) 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) given
 'I have reportedly given it to you.'

Blg: both positions are available.

The examples of (2) suggest that CLs occur right adjacent to Aux.

SCr(2): attached to first constituent of the sentence.

Pol Jutro (go) będzie (go) wieszać (go) na haku.
 tomorrow (him/it-CL) will-1S (CL) hung (CL) on hook
 'Tomorrow I will hang it on the hook.'

4.B.17. If there is an Aux and a main verb (gerund) in the sentence, where does the CL appear?

- a) pre-Aux, b) post-Aux,
c) pre-gerund, d) post-gerund.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+ A	i	i	i	-	-	i	+	i	-	o	i	I	-	-	i	+	+	+	+	i	-	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i
A +	i	i	i	-	+	i	-	i	-	o	i	I	+	-	i	+	-	-	-	i	+	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i
+ G	i	i	i	+	+	i	-	i	-	o	i	I	-	-	i	-	-	-	-	i	-	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i
G +	i	i	i	-	-	i	+	i	+	o	i	I	-	+	i	-	+	+	+	i	-	o	o	i	i	i	i	o	i

Bsq: ABS - V root - DAT - Mod - ERG - Tense.

It is not clear whether the Agreement markers can be attached to gerunds.

Wls: see 4.B.16. No difference between infinite verbs.

Ir: see all the data above concerning the objects in progressive constructions:

Aux - CL - V(verbal noun).

Dut(1): only (?) in main clauses, when the verb is in COMP.

In de stad is-ie iets drinken.
in the city is-he.NOM(CL) something drink-INF
'He is drinking something in the city.'

Eng I am giving him/'m it tomorrow.

Prt: CL is always attached to the Aux, following or preceding it (1,2). Depends on the element preceding it (1).

Não os vou lavando
not 3P.ACC(CL) go-1S washing
'I won't wash them...'

Vou -os lavando
go-1S+3P.ACC(CL) washing
'I'll wash them (by the way).'

Ctl: either proclitics on the Aux or enclitics on the gerund.

(L') estic coneixent(-la).
[3S.ACC(CL)] be-1S knowing [3S.ACC(CL)]
'I'm getting to know her.'

Spn (los) estoy arreglando(los)
[3P.ACC(CL)] am-PRES-1S repairing [-3P.ACC(CL)]
'I am repairing them.'

It(1) Lo _____ sto leggendo. Sto leggendo-lo.
 3SM.ACC(CL) am reading am reading -3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I am reading it.' 'I am reading it.'

(2) Avendo-lo _____ letto, Gianni fu felice.
 having-3SM.ACC(CL) read Gianni was happy
 'Having read it, Gianni was happy.'

Grk: not fully acceptable, however.

Exontas-to _____ fantasti...
 having -3SN.ACC(CL) imagined
 'Having imagined it...'

4.B.18. If there is an Aux and a main verb (infinitival) in the sentence, where does the CL appear?

- a) pre-Aux, b) post-Aux,
 c) pre-infinitival, d) post-infinitival.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+ A	i	i	i	-	o	i	-	i	-	-	i	i	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	i	o	o	+	i	i	i	-	i
A +	i	i	i	-	o	i	-	i	-	+	i	i	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	i	o	o	-	i	i	i	+	i
+ I	i	i	i	+	o	i	-	i	-	+	i	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i	o	o	-	i	i	i	+	i
I +	i	i	i	-	o	i	+	i	+	-	i	i	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	i	o	o	-	i	i	i	+	i

Bsq: no such construction.

Wls: see 4.B.16. There is no difference between infinite verbs.

Hbr(1): see 4.B.12.

Ice: see 4.B.11-14.

Dut: when the Aux is in COMP (V2 structure) (1).

Een boek wil -ie _____ lezen.
 a book wants-3SM.NOM(CL) read
 'He wants to read a book.'

Eng He is to give them/'m the letter tomorrow.

Fr Marie va y _____ voir Jean...
 Marie will there(CL) see Jean
 'Mary will see Jean there.'

Prt: all Aux+INF form 'CL climbing' environment. CLs can be attached both to the Aux and the verb (1,2)

- (1) (a) Estou-te a dar isto.
be-1S+2S.DAT(CL) to give this
'I am giving this to you.'
- (b) Não te estou a dar isto.
not 2S.DAT(CL) be-1S to give this
'I am not giving this to you.'
- (d) (Não) Estou a dar -te isto.
(not) be-1S to give-2S.DAT(CL) this
'I am (not) giving this to you.'

Ctl: either proclitics on the Aux or enclitics on the infinitive.

(La) vaig conèixer(-la).
[3S.ACC(CL)] Aux-1S know-INF [3S.ACC(CL)]
'I knew/met her.'

Spn (lo) he de intenar (lo)
[3SN.ACC(CL)] have-1S to try [-3SN.ACC(CL)]
'I have tried it.'

It: with restructuring verbs positions (a) and (d) are allowed (1). Position (b) is used when the Aux is infinitival (2).

- (1) (a) Lo voglio leggere.
3SN.ACC(CL) want-1S read-INF
'I want to read it.'
- (2) (b) Gianni è felice di aver-lo fatto.
Gianni is happy to have -3SM.ACC(CL) done
'Gianni is happy to have done it.'
- (1) (d) Voglio legger - lo.
want-1S read-INF+3SN.ACC(CL)
'I want to read it.'

Rum(1)(a) Îi pot spune tot.
3s.DAT(CL) can-1S tell everything
'I can tell him/her everything.'

(d) see 3.16. (2)

Blg(2): no special infinitive constructions, only when containing da functioning as infinitives and infinitival clauses. The verbs in them get person and number specifications.

Iskam da sme im go kazali večē.
want-1S to Aux-1P(CL) 3P.DAT(CL) Aux.ACC(CL) said already
'I want us to say it to them already.'

Pol: (b)(c) coll. speech: post-Aux/pre-Infinitive
(d) formal speech: post-Infinitive

Mógłbym mu pomóc.
could-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) help
coll: 'I could help him.'

Mógłbym pomóc mu.
could-1S help 3.DAT(CL)
formal: 'I could help him.'

4.C. FIXED POSITION CLITICS

4.C.1. If the CLs in your language must appear in a fixed position, which is the fixed position?

- a) sentence initial, behind the first word,
- b) sentence initial, behind the first constituent,
- c) sentence final, before the last word,
- d) sentence final, before the last constituent,
- e) between the complementizer and the subject,
- f) between the subject and before sentence adverbs,
- g) in another position, namely.

(only relevant cases are given below)

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
a) SI	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	-	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	+	+	i	+
b) SI	-	+	-	i	-	i	i	-	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	+	+	i	-
e) CS	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	+	i	o	-	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	+	-	-	i	-
f) SA	-	-	-	i	-	i	i	+	i	o	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	-
g)	+	-	+	i	+	i	i	+	i	o	-	-	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	+	+	i	-	-	-	i	-

Hng: left adjacent to finite verb; verbs with prefixes undergo inversion; this refers to CL nem (1). Historically it refers to CL e. See e.g. for e (2)(3) and neg (1).

- (1) Mari (*nem) el ment. Mari nem ment el.
Mari (*not) away went Mari not went away
'Mari has (*not) left.' 'Mari hasn't left.'

Fin: CLs attach to the right edge of the first constituent: Wackernagel position. The only exception is -kin, see 2.10/11.

Bsq: see comment 4.B.2.

Ir: NOM and ACC pronouns occupy the position of subject and object NPs. The CLs show, however, a tendency to a clause final position, where they may precede adjuncts.

Chonaic mé Seán /eisean /é i nDoire inné.
saw I Sean /him(emph) /him(CL) in Derry yesterday
'I saw Sean/him in Derry yesterday.'

Chonaic mé i nDoire inné *Seán /*eisean /é
 saw I in Derry yesterday *Sean /*him(emph)/him(CL)
 'I saw Sean/him in Derry yesterday.'

Swd(1): (e) between the complementizer and the subject: REFL, and IO CL in V2 sentences.

Varför beter sej Johan så konstigt?
 why behaves REFL(CL) Johan so strangely
 'Why does John behave so strangely?'

Nu uppmanar oss regeringen att dra åt svängremmen.
 now urges us(CL) government-the to tighten belt-the
 'The government urges us to tighten the belt.'

* Hon säger att sej Johan beter konstigt.
 * she says that REFL(CL) Johan behaves strangely
 cca 'She says that John behaves strangely.'

(f) the distinction between e and f is neutralized in a subject-initial V2 sentence. In a non-subject initial V2 clause a do pronoun cannot precede the subject.

<u>Johan såg dej verkligen inte.</u>	<u>* Såg dej Johan verklingen inte.</u>
Johan saw you really not	* saw you Johan really not
'John didn't see you really.'	

Jag undrar om kanske Johan/HAN/*han inte vill komma.
 I wonder whether perhaps Johan/HE /*he(CL) not wants-to come
 'I wonder whether John perhaps doesn't want to come.'

Grm: see 4.A.1.

Dut: The distinction disappears in subject initial V2 sentences. Non subject in V2 environment: direct object CL cannot appear preverbal in a main clause. A subject CL may occur there, except ie. Otherwise it appears: right adjacent to COMP, left adjacent to SentAdverbs. There is a contrast between subject and object CLs: declarative main clause: position suCL: CL COMP, except for ie-3SM) and when nothing else precedes the verb position of a CL: (f) or V su CL/ V CL * V Adv CL

main clause YES/NO quest.:	(f) (V in COMP)
main WH question:	(f) (V in COMP) or V in COMP su CL
embedded clause:	(f) COMP suCL or COMP su CL

- dat ik ('t 'm) gisteren (?t'm) gegeven heb.
 - that I [3SN.ACC 3SM.DAT]-CL yesterday (?CL CL) given have
 '... that I gave it to him yesterday.'

Alb: before the inflected verb.

Mcd: before the main verb tensed or otherwise.

SCr: if there is a COMP: must be COMP CL.

Lijepa (ih) Svetlana (ih) vidi.
 Beautiful [3P.ACC(CL)] Svetlana [3P.ACC(CL)] see
 'Beautiful Svetlana can see them.'

Sutra ih (vidi) Svetlana (vidi).
 tomorrow 3P.ACC(CL) (see) Svetlana (see)
 'Svetlana can see them tomorrow.'

- da ih Svetlana vidi.
 - that 3P.ACC(CL) Svetlana see
 '... that Svetlana can see them.'

Cz: CLs appear after the first constituent (with the exception of VP), after a verb (regardless its form), or after a complementizer. CLs can be 'third', if embedded with complementizer že (that). Examples see 4.B.1.

Brzy [*jsem mu] ráno jsem mu pak -
 early [*CL CL] morning [Aux-1S 3SM.DAT]-CL then -

- [*jsem mu] zavolal [*jsem mu] do práce -
 - [*CL CL] called [*CL CL] into work -
 'Then, early in the morning I called him at work - '

- že (jsem ho) včera (jsem ho) viděl (*jsem ho).
 - that [Aux-1S 3SM.ACC]CL yesterday (CL CL) saw (*CL CL)
 '... that I saw him yesterday.'

Slva: roughly second constituent.

- že (Jano) ho (Jano) videl.
 - that (Jano.NOM) 3SM.ACC(CL) (Jano.NOM) saw
 '... that Jano saw him.'

Rus(1): (a) by and li in some constructions (e.g. optatives but not conditionals).

Ušel (*on) by on skorej.
 leave-OPT (he) CL he sooner
 'Let him leave soon.' (It'd be nice if he left soon.)

Esli (on) by (on) skorej ušel.
 if (he) Aux-COND(CL)(he) sooner leave
 'If he left soon.'

Weak pronoun CLs: not in standard Rus where strong pronouns are homonymous with the weak forms. The non-standard Rus CLs mentioned in 2.1., i.e. 2S CLs tja, tje are fixed position CLs following (a) verb, (b) noun, (c) adjective, (d) adverb, or (e) noun+PRT (PRT can interfere).

- (a) Dat' tje d'eňeg?
to-give 2S.DAT(CL) money.GEN
'Should I give you money?'
- (b) Maša tja videla.
Mary 2S.ACC saw-PAST-3SF
'Mary saw you.'
- (c) Xorošuju tje rabotu dali.
good.ACC 2S.DAT work.ACC gave-PAST-3P
'They gave you good work.'
- (d) Gd'e tja ždat'?
where 2S.ACC(CL) to-wait
'Where should I wait for you?'
- (e) Ja 'ž tja prosila...
I ' PRT 2S.ACC ask-PAST-1SF
'I asked you... (, didn't I?)'

4.C.2. In which position is the CL in a declarative main clause?

For **Hng, Fin, Bsq, Ir, Swd, Dut, Mcd, SCr, Cz, Slva, Rus** see answers to 4.C.1.

Hng(1): e and nem is left adjacent to finite verb, can be separated by adverbials: subject (*NEG) adv NEG V PRT.

Mari (tegnap /innen /gyorsan) nem ment el.
Mari (yesterday/from-here/fast) not went away
'Mari didn't leave yesterday/from here/fast.'

Swd(1):

V-main subject DO-CL SentAdvP (V in COMP)

V-Aux Vmain CL (V in COMP)

COMP REFL/IO-CL subject or COMP subject REFL/IO-CL SentAdvP

COMP subject

Uppenbarligen såg Johan dej inte.
apparently saw Johan you not
'Apparently John didn't see you.'

Uppenbarligen beter sej J. konstigt.
 apparently behaves REFL(CL) J. strangely
 'Apparently John behaves strangely.'

Far: Subj-Vfin-CL-neg or XP-Vfin-subjCL-neg

Grm: after the tensed verb or the Aux in periphrastic tenses

Dut: CL follows the tensed verb, when the verb is in COMP (1) parenthetical material can marginally separate the verb and the CL (3).

(2) We gaan naar huis. * Ie gaat naar huis.
 we go to home * he goes to home

(2) Ik heb 't 'm gisteren gegeven.
 I have 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) yesterday given
 'I gave it to him yesterday.'

4.C.3. In which position is the CL in a YES/NO question?

For **Hng, Fin, Bsqr, Ir, Swd, Dut, Alb, Mcd, SCr, Cz, Slva, Rus** see answers to 4.C.1.

Hng(1): left adjacent to the verb and sentence initial, si, left Vfin: nem V prt, Vfin Q.

Nem ment el Mari?
 not went away Mari
 'Hasn't Mary left?'

Swd(1): Subj do-CL SentAdvP or V2 io/refl-CL subj.

Såg Johan dej verkligen inte?
 saw Johan you really not
 'Did Johan really not see you?'

Beter (sej) Johan (sej) alltid så där?
 behaves [REFL(CL)] Johan [REFL(CL)] always so there
 'Does Johan behave always like that?'

Far: Vfin - subj - CL - neg

Grm: after the subject Hast du es gesehen?
 have you 3SN.ACC(CL) seen
 'Have you seen it?'

Dut(2):(f) (V in COMP), or after the subject.

<u>Gaan we naar huis?</u>	<u>Gaat ie naar huis?</u>
go we to home	goes he to home
'Do we go home?'	'Does he go home?'

Heb ik 't _____ 'm _____ gisteren gegeven?
 have I 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) yesterday given
 'Did I give it to him yesterday?'

SCr(1): CLs follow the interrogative COMP da li and interrogative CL PRT li follows the initial verb.

Q-CL Da li ih _____ (vidi) Svetlana (vidi)?
 Q 3P.ACC(CL) (see) Svetlana (see)
 'Does Svetlana see them?'

Vfin-CL Vidi li _____ ih _____ Svetlana.
 see Q(CL) 3P.ACC(CL) Svetlana
 'Does/whether Svetlana see them.'

Cz: No difference required between YES/NO question and affirmative (intonation suffices).

Dal _____ jsi _____ mu _____ to?
 gave-you [Aux-2S 3SM.DAT 3SN.ACC]-CL
 '(Did) you give it to him.?'

Ty / Včera _____ jsi _____ mu _____ to _____ dal?
 you/ yesterday [Aux-2S 3SM.DAT 3SN.ACC]-CL gave
 '(Did) you give it to him yesterday./?'

Slva: No difference between affirmative and interrogative.

Rus(1): - V li(CL) X.

4.C.4. In which position is the CL in a main clause wh-question?

For **Hng, Fin, Bsq, Ir, Swd, Dut, Alb, Mcd, SCr, Cz, Slva** see answers to 4.C.1.

Hng: nem has to be left adjacent to the finite verb and right adjacent to the wh-word.

Ki (*tegnap) nem ment el?
 who (*yesterday) not went away
 'Who didn't leave (yesterday)?'

Swd(1): subject V refl-CL or V refl-CL subject

Far: WH - Vfin - subject - CL - neg

Grm: after the subject.

Wo hast du es gesehen?
 where have you it seen
 'Where have you seen it?'

Dut(2): COMP CL : (V in COMP) or V in COMP subject CL

Wat heeft ie gekocht?
 what has 3SM.NOM(CL) bought
 'What has he bought?'

indir. - wat of ie gekocht heeft.
 - what whether 3SM.NOM(CL) bought has
 '... what he has bought.'

SCr: (Wh-word CL X). Wh-word CL seems to be better than wh-phrase CL. COMP CL.

Kada ih vidi Svetlana?
 when 3P.ACC(CL) see Svetlana
 'When does Svetlana see them?'

Koje si studente (?si) vidjela?
 which Aux-2S(CL) students [?Aux-2S(CL)] seen
 'Which students did you see?'

Cz: WH element counts as the first constituent = CLs follow.

Kterou (*jsi) knihu /Co jsi přinesl?
 which.ACC[*Aux-2S(CL)] book.ACC/What.ACC Aux-2S(CL) brought
 'Which book/What did you bring?'

Slva Kedy / Kdo ho videl?
 when / who 3SM.ACC(CL) saw
 'Who saw him?'/ 'When did he see him?'

Rus(2): WH by(CL) X

Čto by ty sdjelał na jeho mjestje?
 what Aux-PRT(CL) you have-done on his place
 'What would you have done if you were him?'

4.C.5. Is the CL in a positive imperative preverbal?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	-	o	i	i	i	i	-	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	±	-	i	±	±	±	i	i

Fin: see 2.10/11. and 4.C.1.

Kysy-i -n tunne-t -ko Liisa-a
 ask -PRET-1S know-1S-Q(PRT-CL) Lisa

Swd(1): V - subject-CL (often but not necessarily phonologically weak) The position of the subject may vary. It cannot precede the verb.

CL = REFL/IO: V2 CL SentAdvP
V2 subject CL

Stanna du här!
stay you here
'Stay here!'

Ha (du) den alltid i fickan!
have (you) it always in pocket-the
'Have it always in your pocket!'

Far: Imperative - CL - ADV

Grm Nimm es!
take-IMP it
'Take it!'

Dut: subject CLs do not occur in imperatives (1)(2). If the imperative has a 3rd person subject, which is marginally possible, the object CL follows the subject (3).

Geef 't 'm!
give 3SN-AC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL)
'Give it to him!'

Helpt (*'m) iemand 'm toch!
help (*CL) someone 3SM.ACC(CL) emph. part.
'Somebody help him!'

Alb: preceding the verb or postattached to the verb.

Mcd: V-main CL.

SCr: after the first word, which may be a verb.

Zaboravite ih!
forget-IMP 3P.ACC(CL)
'Forget them!'

Odmah ih zaboravite!
immediately 3P.ACC(CL) forget-IMP
'Forget them at once!'

Cz: after the first constituent (may be a verb).

Dej mu to!
give-IMP 3SM(CL) 3SN(CL)
'Give it to him!'

Ty / Hned mu to dej!
you/immediately 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) give-IMP
'Give it to him (immediately)!'

Slva: see 4.C.1.

4.C.6. Is the CL in a negative imperative preverbal?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+	o	o	i	i	i	i	-	i	o	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	±	-	i	±	±	±	i	i

Hng(1): negation CL: left adjacent to finite verb and in initial position.

Ne menj el!
 not go-IMP away
 'Don't go away!'

Swd(1): between V and NEG.

Lägg den inte på marken!
 put it not on ground-the
 'Don't put it on the ground!'

Far: Imperative - CL - Neg

Grm Nicht es verschenken!
 not it give-away
 'Don't give it away!'

Dut: no subject CLs in imperatives (1)(2).

- V - CL - NegAdvP

Geef 't 'm niet!
 give 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) not
 'Don't give it to him!'

Waag 't niet!
 dare 3SN.ACC(CL) not
 'Don't you dare!'

Mcd: V-main CL.**SCr**: usually after negation+imperative; if the first word is not negation+imperative the CL comes after the first word (1). After the negative word, which is not a CL (2).

Ne zaboravite ih nikako!
 not forget-IMP 3P.ACC(CL) in-no way
 'Don't forget them anyway!'

Nikako ih ne zaboravite!
 in-no-way 3P.ACC(CL) not forget-IMP
 'Don't forget them anyway!'

Cz: after the first constituent, which may be Neg verb as well. Also see 4.C.1.

Nedávej mu to!
not-give-IMP 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL)
'Don't give it to him!'

Ty/ Ted' mu to nedávej!
you/now 3SM(CL) 3SN(CL) not-give-IMP
'Don't give it to him(now)!'

Slva: 4.C.1.

**4.C.7. Is the CL in an 'absolute construction' (e.g. gerund, infinitive) preverbal?
a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+	o	o	i	i	i	i	-	i	o	i	+	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	o	o	i	±	±	o	o	o

Hng(1): neg-CL prefix may intervene: Neg Pref Vinf. The Vinf has to be final.
See also 4.C.1.

gyorsan nem be menni (*gyorsan)
quickly not into go-INF (*quickly)
'not to go in quickly'

Wls: only non-finite verbs bear CLs, these precede whatever the sentence type is.

Swd(1): following the verb, as in all infinitive constructions.

Utan att veta det, ...
without to know it
'Without knowing it...'

Grm: to the right of C.

ohne es zu wissen
without it to know
'Without knowing it.'

Dut(3): introducing word CL te Vinf; it precedes sentence adverbials.

Om 't 'm bij een volgende gelegenheid te geven.
3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) at a next occasion to give
'- to give it to him at a next occasion.'

SCr(1) Videći ih, otvorio sam vrata.
see(ADVEB) 3P.ACC(CL) opened Aux-1S(CL) door.ACC
'Seeing them, I opened the door.'

Cz: see 4.C.1. Only with participles which are today used marginally. Deverbal nouns allowing argument or reflexive CLs are mentioned in 5.7.

Ušklíbaje se Petrovi, odešel.
laughing(participle) REFL(CL) Peter.DAT left-3SM
'Laughing at Peter, he left.'

Odešel, Petrovi se ušklíbaje.
left-3SM Peter.DAT REFL(CL) laughing(participle)
'He left laughing at Peter.'

4.C.8. May subject or (temporal) sentence adverb intervene between a CL and the element to which it has to be adjacent?

a) yes, b) no.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
sub.	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	+	i	o	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	i
adv.	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	+	i	o	-	-	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	-	-	i	-	-	-	i	i

Hng(1): nothing can intervene between a neg part and Vfin in neutral sentences. For subject see 4.C.1. For adverbs compare 4.C.2. and the following (which is, however, OK with focussed reading).

* Mari nem tegnap / innen ment el.
* Mari not yesterday / from-here went away
cca 'Mari didn't leave yesterday/from here.'

Bsq(1): nothing can intervene between: inflection - complementizer, epistemic PRT - inflection, emphatic PRT - inflection. Epistemic PRTs are the only elements that can intervene between the negation PRT and the inflected forms: neg quot V.

ez omen daki hori
not EPIST-QUOT knows that
'Apparently he does not know that.'

Ir: no adjacency requirement.

Swd(1): the subject may (and often must) intervene between a weak object pronoun and V-in-C (hence it does not have to be adjacent to V-in-C) (1). Certain dialects (and idiolects) allow phonologically weak pronouns inside strings of sentence adverbs.

% Johan såg uppenbarligen dej inte.
% Johan saw apparently you not
'Johan did not see you, apparently.'

Grm: if the subject is a pronoun. - weil sie es mag.
 - because she it likes
 '...because she likes it.'

Dut: difficult to say. Sometimes parenthetical material occurs between an object CL and the negation element niet (3).

There may nothing stay between a subject CL and its host (2).

*Is gisteren ie gekomen?

*is yesterday he(CL) come

cca 'He comes yesterday.'

*.DAT gisteren ie is gekomen

*-that yesterday he(CL) is come

'...that he comes yesterday.'

SCr: CL must be adjacent to the first element of the sentence.

The * example shows CLs becoming the third.

* Svetlana sutra ih vidi.

* Svetlana tomorrow 3P.ACC(CL) see

cca 'Svetlana can see them tomorrow.'

Cz: no adjacency requirement stated with respect to the verb.

Slva: as far as the CLs remain the second, i.e. 'adjacent' to the first constituent, there is no further adjacency requirement with respect to verb.

Rus(2): only short adverbs and modal PRTs can intervene between the first word and the (non-standard) CL.

See 4.C.1(e).

5. MOVEMENT

- 5.1. Does your language have CL climbing as in Italian, where the CL sometimes does not appear next to the verb which selects it?
a) yes, b) no

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
±	-	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	o	-	+	±	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

Hng: only (3) states (with no example) that there is object agreement climbing, which is obligatory and looks like CL climbing.

Bsq(1): only marginally: inflectional elements corresponding to embedded verb arguments turn up on the main (inflected) verb.

konta-tze-ra n - oa-zu
tell.NOM-to 1ABS-go-2DAT
'I am going to tell you'

Grm - weil es sie der Lehrer hat schreiben lassen
- since 3SN.ACC(CL)3SF.ACC(CL) the teacher has write let
'... because the teacher let her write it.'

Dut(3) Ik heb 't Piet zien doen.
I have 3S.ACC(CL) Piet see-INF do-INF
'I saw Piet do it.'

Fr Béatrice le fera rediger à l'auteur.
Beatrice 3SM.ACC(CL) let-FUT edit to the-author
'Beatrice will let the author edit it.'

Prt(2) Posso -te ajudar.
can-1S+2S.ACC(CL) help-INF
'I can help you.'

Ctl (Ho) has tornat a fer(-ho).
[3S(CL)] Aux-2S return to do [-3S(CL)]
'You have done it again.'

Spn las quiero convencer
3P.ACC(CL) want-1S convince-INF
'I want to convince them.'

It(1) Gianni l 'ha fatto spedire a Maria.
Gianni 3SM.ACC(CL) has made send-INF to Maria
'Gianni has made Maria send it.'

Rum(2): only in Aux constructions.

- (1) Îi pot spune tot.
 3S.DAT(CL) can-1S tell everything
 'I can tell him all.'

Grk: with the exception of Aux constructions, as shown in e.g. 4.16.

Mcd: no infinitive; Aux + pron. CL stay with their host; in questions they move along with it. Q: always after the questioned word/ phrase, which occurs in Topic Position.

Blg: Refl.DAT-POSS(CL) climbs out of DP.

Ivan (si) ja prodade kustata (si).
 Ivan[REFL.DAT-POSS 3SF.ACC]-CL sold house REFL.DAT-POSS(CL)
 'Ivan sold his house.'

SCr(1) Htela sam ti ga dati.
 wanted-I be-1S(CL) you.DAT(CL) it.ACC(CL) to-give
 'I wanted to give it to you.'

Cz Marie mu ho chce koupit.
 Mary 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN/M.ACC(CL) want-3S buy-INF
 'Mary wants to buy it for him.'

Slva Já mu ho chcem kúpiť
 I 3SM.DAT(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) want buy-INF
 'I want to buy it for him.'

Pol Mógłbym mu wtedy pomóc
 could-I 3 SM.DAT(CL) then help-INF
 'I could help him that time.'

Rus(2) On tje ne chočet pomoč.
 he 2S.ACC(CL) not wants help-INF
 'He doesn't want to help you.'

5.2. If your language has CL climbing, does it appear in the context of:

- (a) causative verbs, (b) modal verbs,
(c) aspectual verbs, (d) other verbs e.g.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
causat.	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	?	-	-	-
modals	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	?	i	-	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	+
aspect.	i	i	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	?	i	-	+	+	+	+	-	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	+	-
other	i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	+	i	-	+	-	-	+	-	i	i	i	i	+	+	-	-	-

Hng(3): 'object agreement climbing' works with all control verbs, marginally even with intransitives and raising verbs.

Bsq(1): not the same sort of climbing, but the AGR-marker of an embedded verb may climb to a main verb. It occurs marginally with aspectual verbs. With aspectual ari (to be engaged doing something) modal verbs nahi (want) and behar (need).

ema-te - n ari n - a -tza-io
give.NOM-in 1ABS-PRES-be - 3DAT
'I am giving it/them to him/her.'

eman nahi d - izk- io - t
give want 3ABS-PL- 3DAT-1ERG
'I want to give them to him/her.'

- with control verbs and marginally even with intransitive and raising verbs. There is also perhaps (very substandard) verbal prefix climbing (e.g. of the plural marker tza).

konta-tze - ra n - oa -tza
tell - NOM-to 1ABS-go-PL
'I am going to tell them (those things).'

Grm (a) see 5.1.

(b) - weil es der Paul verkaufen will.
- because 3SN.ACC(CL) the Paul sell wants
'...because Paul wants to sell it.'

(c) - weil es Rita beginnt zu verstehen.
- because it Rita starts to understand
'... because Rita starts to understand it.'

Dut(3)(a) Ik heb 't Piet laten doen.
I have 3SN.ACC(CL) Piet let-INF do-INF
'I let Piet do it.'

- (b) CLs can move to the left out of the complement of these verbs but so can full NPs (scrambling + verb raising),
 (d) ECM verbs, see 5.1.

Fr: see 5.1.

Prt(1): tentar (try), querer (want), desejar (desire).

Spn (c) Os prometo contestar el sábado.
 2P.DAT(CL) promise-1S answer-INF on Saturday
 'I promise to answer you on Saturday.'

(a) Lo hizo venir
 3SM.ACC(CL) made-1S come-INF
 'I made him come.'

(b) Te debo pagar a tiempo.
 2S.DAT(CL) must-1S pay-INF in time
 'I must pay you in time.'

It (a) La fece piangere.
 3SF.DAT(CL) made-3S cry-INF
 'He made her cry.'

(b) Lo può leggere.
 3SM.ACC(CL) can-3S read-INF
 'He can read it.'

(c) Lo cominciò a comprare.
 3SM.ACC(CL) began-3S to buy-INF
 'He began to buy it.'

(d) e.g. motion and perception verbs (1)(2).

Gianni lo va a vedere.
 Gianni 3SM.ACC(CL) goes to see-INF
 'Gianni goes to see him.'

La vide piangere.
 3SF.DAT(CL) saw-3S cry-INF
 'He saw her cry.'

Rum(1): (b) see 5.1.

(a) Îl fac să plece.
 2SM-(CL) let that continue-subject-3S
 'I let it continue.'

SCr(1): (a) there is a somewhat restricted causative construction ne dam ('not give' = not permit) which appears only under certain (not clear) conditions; (d) emotion verbs.

- (a) Ne dam mu je dirati.
not give-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SF.ACC(CL) touch-INF
'I do not allow him to touch her.'
- (b) Ja ti ga mogu dati.
I 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) can give-INF
'I can give it to you.'
- (c) Ja ti ga počínjem plaćati.
I 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) start-1S pay-INF
'I am beginning to pay it to you.'
- (d) Ja ti ga se bojím dati.
I 2S.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) REFL(CL) fear-1S give-INF
'I am afraid to give it to you.'

Cz: with infinitival complements only. Always best with weak to ('it').

- (b) Marie mu ji / to musí kupovat.
Marie 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SF/ N.ACC(CL) must-3S buy-INF
'Marie must buy her/it for him.'
- (c) Marie mu ji / to přestane kupovat.
Marie 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SF/ N.ACC(CL) stop-3S buy-INF
'Marie will stop buying her/it for him.'

(d) e.g. the verbs of motion běžet (run), chodit (go), etc. To some extent (colloquial?) also the direct object (demonstrative) weak pronoun to ('it') of the infinitives following the verbs of perception and persuasion e.g. vidět ('see'), nutit ('make sb do st'- causative?) may climb: ECM verbs, see 5.6.

- (d) Marie mu ji / to chodí kupovat.
Marie 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SF/ N.ACC(CL) go-3S buy-INF
'Marie goes to buy it/her for him.'
- Marie ho (*ji/to) viděla/nutíla kupovat (ji/to).
Mary 3SM.DAT [3S*/F/N.ACC(CL)] saw /made-3SF buy-INF (CL)
'Mary saw/made him buy her/it.'

Pol (c) Ja go zaczynam robić.
I 3S.ACC(CL) start-1S do-INF
'I start to do it.'

Rus (2): see 5.1.

- 5.3. If you answered (5.1) positively: When there are more CLs selected by the verb in the embedded clause do they all have to move to the highest clause?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
o	i	o	i	i	i	i	i	o	i	-	±	i	+	±	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	i	i	+	+	+	-	-

Grm - weil es der Lehrer sie hat schreiben lassen.
- because 3SN.ACC(CL) the teacher 3SF.DAT(CL) has write let
- because the teacher let her write it.'

Dut(3): the climbing is optional, but the CLs are hard to separate.

Ik heb (?t) Piet 't 'r zien geven.
I have (?CL) Piet 3SN.ACC(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) see-INF give-INF
'I saw Piet give it to her.'

Fr: except special cases * Je lui ai fait le voir.
* I him have made it see
'I've made him see it.'

Prt (1) Não te quero apresentá -la.
not 2S.DAT(CL) want-1S present-INF+3SF.ACC(CL)
'I do not want to present her to you.'

(2) * Quero - te mostrá - la.
* want-1S+2S.DAT(CL) show-INF+3SF.ACC(CL)
cca: 'I want to show her to you.'

Ctl (Te la) vull prendre (-te-la).
[2S(CL) 3S.ACC(CL)] want-1S take-away [-CL CL]
'I want to take it away from you.'

* Te vull prendre -la.
* La vull predre -te.
* CL want-1S take-away-CL
cca: 'I want to take it away from you.'

Spn: see 4.16.

It(2) Te lo vorrei insegnare.
2S.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) like-1S teach-INF
'I like to teach it to you.'

* Ti vorrei insegnar -lo.
* 2S.DAT(CL) like-1S teach-INF+3SM.ACC(CL)
cca: 'I like to teach it to you.'

Rum(1) I -l pot spune.
 3S.DAT(CL)+3SM.ACC(CL) can-1S tell
 'I can tell it to him.'

SCr(1) * Ja ti mogu dati ga.
 * I 2S.DAT(CL) can-1S give-INF 3SN.ACC(CL)
 cca 'I can give it to you.'

Cz and Slva: see 5.1/2.

Pol: ACC CL may remain downstairs.

Móglbym mu go wtedy przedstawić.
 could-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SM.ACC(CL) then introduce
 'I could introduce him to him that time.'

? Móglbym mu wtedy przedstawić go.
 ? could-1S 3SM.DAT(CL) then introduce 3SM.ACC(CL)
 'I could introduce him to him that time.'

5.4. Can a CL move across a lexical complementizer?

a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	o	-	-	-	i	-	-	-	-	-	i	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Bsq(1) * Liburuak irakur d -it -za -te -n nahi d -it -u -t.
 * books read 3ABS-PL-Aux-3ERG-COMP want 3ABS-PL-root-1ERG
 'I want them to read them=the books.'

Dut(3): acceptable only with om (for) complementizer and only for the speakers who accept scrambling of the full NP across om (for) as well.

.DAT ik dat boek /t geprobeerd heb om te lezen.
 -that I that book /3SN.ACC(CL) tried have for to read
 '- that I tried to read the book/it.'

Fr * Je le pense que je veux.
 * I it think that I want
 cca: 'I think that I want it.'

Prt(1): see 3.9. which, however, is better analyzed as a kind of topicalization. Standard CL climbing over a complementizer is not possible.

* Queres -lhes que dê o quê?
 * want-2S+3P.DAT(CL) that give-subject-1S the what
 cca: 'You want that I give them what?'

Ctl (*La) vull que (la) vegis.
 [*3S.ACC(CL)] want-1S that [3S.ACC(CL)] see-subj-2S
 'I want you to see it.'

Spn * Gianni los quiere que Maria vea.
 * Gianni 3P.ACC(CL) wants that Maria see-subject
 cca: 'Gianni wants so that Maria see them.'

It * Gianni li vuole che (Maria) veda.
 * Gianni 3PM.ACC(CL) wants that (Maria) see-subject
 cca: 'Gianni wants so that Maria see them.'

Blg(2) Ivan (*go) iska Maria da (go) vidi.
 Ivan (*CL) want-3S Maria to [3SM.ACC(CL)] see-3S
 'Ivan wants Maria to see him.'

Ivan (*gi) smjata će Marija e (gi) vidjala.
 Ivan (*CL) thinks that Marija Aux-3S(CL)[3P.ACC(CL)] seen
 'Ivan thinks that Maria saw them.'

SCr(1) Ivan (*ih) želi da (ih) Marija vidi.
 Ivan (*CL) want-3S that [3P.DAT(CL)] Mary see-3S
 'Ivan wants Mary to see them.'

Cz Já (*mu ho) chci, aby mu ho koupil.
 I (*CL,CL) want-1S so-that 3SM.DAT(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) bought-3S
 'I want him to buy it for him.'

Slva Ja (*mu ho) chcem aby mu ho dal.
 I (*CL CL) want-1S so-that 3SM.DAT(CL) 3S.ACC(CL) gave-3S
 'I want him to give it to him.'

Rus Ja (*tja) choču, čtob tja ne zamjetili.
 I (*CL) want so-that 2S.ACC(CL) not noticed-3P
 'I want you not to be noticed by anybody.'

5.5. Can a CL move across an embedded wh-phrase?
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	-	-	i	-	±	±	-	+	-	i	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-

Bsq(1): none of the described verbs takes an interrogative complement.

Grm * - weil es Willi gefragt hat wer gekauft hat.
 * - because 3SN.ACC(CL) Willi asked has who bought has
 cca: '...because Willi asked who has bought it.'

Prt(1): marginally.

- (1) Não te saberei que dizer.
 not 2S.DAT(CL) know-FUT-1S what say-INF
 'I don't know what to tell you.'
- (2) * Não o sei como fazer.
 * not 3SM.ACC(CL) know-1S how do-INF
 cca: 'I don't know how to do it.'

Ctl No (*la) sé qui (la) va fer.
 no [3S.ACC(CL)] know-1S who [3S.ACC(CL)] Aux-3S do
 'I don't know who did it.'

Some particular constructions, however, display a very idiosyncratic behavior and allow climbing over a wh-element.

No (et) sabria quê dir (-te).
 not [2S(CL)] know-COND-1S what tell [-2S(CL)]
 'I wouldn't know what to tell you.'

Spn * No te sabré qué decir.
 * not 2S.DAT(CL) know-COND-1S what say-INF
 'I wouldn't know what to say to you.'

It Non ti saprei che dire.
 not 2S.DAT(CL) know-COND-1S what say-INF
 'I don't know what to say to you.'

Blg(2) * Ne e ti znael kakvo da kaže.
 * not Aux-3S(CL) 2S.DAT(CL) known what to say-INF
 cca 'He didn't know what to say to you.'

SCr(1) Ne znam (*ti) što (ti) reći.
 not know-1S [*2S.DAT(CL)] what [2S.DAT(CL)] tell-INF
 'I don't know what to tell you.'

Cz Jan (*to) vyzvídal, komu (to) dát.
 John (*CL) wondered, who.DAT [3SN.ACC(CL)] give-INF
 'John wondered who to give it to.'

Slva Ja (*mu ho) viem, ako (mu ho) opraviť.
 I (*CL CL) know, how [3SM.DAT 3SM.ACC]-CL repair-INF
 'I know how to repair it for him.'

Rus(2) Ja (*tja) znaju, kak (tja) zvat'.
 I (*CL) know how [2S.ACC(CL)] call-INF
 'I know how to call you (= your name).'

5.6. Can a CL move across an embedded subject in a CL climbing environment?
 a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
i	i	-	i	i	i	i	i	-	i	-	+	+	i	±	-	+	-	+	-	i	-	o	-	±	-	-	-	-

Grm: see 5.3.

Dut(3): see 5.3.

Ctl Hi faré anar la Txell.
 CL do-FUT-1S go the Txell
 'I will make Txell go there.'

Hi faré guardar les joguines a la canalla.
 CL do-FUT-1S store the toys to the kids
 'I will make the kids store the toys there.'

It(1) Ci faccio andare Gianni.
 there(CL) make-1S go-INF Gianni
 'I make Gianni go there.'

Ci faccio parlare Gianni.
 with-3SM(CL) make-1S speak-INF Gianni
 'I make Gianni speak with 3SM.'

(b) when the CL is subcategorized (2).

Feci scrivere a Maria una lettera per Gianni.
 made-1S write-INF to Maria a letter for Gianni
 'I made May write a letter for Gianni.'

* Gli feci scrivere a Maria una lettera.
 * 3SM.DAT(CL) made-1S write-INF to Maria a letter
 'I made May write a letter for him.'

Fr: yes with non-argument CLs, no with argument CLs.

Cela y fera aller Jean.
that CL let-FUT go Jean
'That will make John go there.'

* Jean y fera comparer cette sonatine à Paul.
* Jean CL has compared that sonatine to Paul
cca: 'Jean will make Paul compare that sonatine to it.'

Prt(1): if subject gets oblique case (see 5.1) it is possible. Not with subject in NOM.

(2) * Mandei -a os alunos escreverem.
* made-1S+3SF.ACC(CL) the pupils write-INF
cca: 'I made the pupils write it.'

SCr(1): less favoured; but it seems to be OK with some CLs.

Pomagao sam (?ga) Marku graditi (ga).
helped Aux-1S(CL) (?CL) Marku.DAT build-INF [3SN.ACC(CL)]
'I helped Marko to build it.'

Pomagao sam mu ga graditi.
helped Aux-1S(CL) 3SM.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) build-INF
'I helped him to build it.'

Cz: in the ECM structures the trace (?) of the CL 'subject' (and with some speakers (in coll. speech) also a full NP subjects) can be crossed by the 3SN.ACC(CL) to.

On tě (to /?ho) viděl (?to /?ho) kupovat (to/ho).
He 2S.DAT(CL) [3SN/?M.ACC(CL)] saw (?CL N/M) buy-INF (CL N/M)
'He saw you buy it/him.'

On (to /*ho) viděl Janu (?to /?ho) kupovat (to/ho).
He [3SN/*M.ACC(CL)] saw Jana.DAT (?CL N/M) buy-INF (CL N/M)
'He saw Jane buy it/him.'

**5.7. If your language allows deverbal NPs containing CLs,
is it possible to move the CL to another position in the sentence?
a) yes, b) no.**

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	i	-	i	i	i	-	o	o	o	-	-	±	i	-	i	i	o	o	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-

Hng(4): if rá is a CL then no (compare with 3.12.).

a gyerek-nek Kati-ra való rá -bíz -ás -a
 the child.DAT Kati-on be(PART) on-3S-entrust.NOM-POS-3S
 'the entrusting of the child to Kati'

* a gyerek-nek rá való bíz -ás -a Kati-ra
 * the child.DAT on-3S be(PART) entrust.NOM-POS-3S Kati-on
 cca: 'the entrusting of the child to Kati'

Dut(3): depends on the island character of the containing NP.

*Ik zag er gisteren de bescherming van de bevolking /e/ tegen.
 *I saw CL yesterday the protection of the people /e/ against
 cca: 'Yesterday I saw the protection of the people against it.'

Ik heb er een boek over in de winkel zien liggen.
 I have CL a book about in the shop see-INF lay-INF
 'I saw a book about it lay in the shop'

Fr: no, except POSS CLs which may be taken as moved to a high position in the DP.

Ctl: Catalan does not allow CLs within deverbal NPs.

SCr(1): ACC and GEN CLs in a deverbal noun are (*); DAT marked CLs are very rare and stylistically marked (!), they follow the noun directly.

* Davanje ga Marku.
 * giving 3SN.ACC/GEN(CL) Marek.DAT
 cca 'the giving of it to Marek'

! Davanje im hrane nije zabranjeno.
 ! giving 3P.DAT(CL) food not-be-3S forbidden
 'the giving of food to them is not forbidden'

Cz: see also 5.8. But verbal nominals with possible objects are very rare and not used.

Dnes (*se) ho dívání se nebaví.
 today [*PART(CL)] 3SM.ACC(CL) watching PART(CL) not-enjoy
 'Today he does not enjoy the watching.'

Rus(2): the CLs appear only in non-standard language where verbal nouns are not used.

- 5.8. If your language allows deverbal nouns containing CLs, is it possible to move the CL to another position inside the deverbal noun?**
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
-	i	-	i	i	i	-	o	o	o	-	-	-	i	o	i	i	-	o	i	o	-	o	-	-	-	o	-	o

Hng: see 5.7.

Dut * De bescherming er gisteren /e/ tegen.
 * the protection CL yesterday /e/ against
 cca: 'the protection against it'

Ctl: Ctl does not allow CLs within deverbal NPs.

SCr: the DAT CL must follow the deverbal noun directly (1).

Cz to (*mu) stálé (*mu) dávání mu otázek
 the (*CL) constant(*CL) giving 3SM.DAT(CL) questions.GEN
 cca: 'the constant asking him of questions'

Slva: judgments too murky.

Pol Zniszczenie go nastąpiło wczoraj.
 destruction his(CL) took-place yesterday
 'His/Its destruction happened yesterday.'

- 5.9. Can a CL escape from the element which selects it?**
a) yes, b) no.

H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
+	i	-	i	i	i	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	±	±	+	+	+

What is the selecting head (in case 10.9.a. 'yes')
(a) verb, (b) preposition, (c) adjective, (d) noun.

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
verb	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	i	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	i	-	+	+	i	+	+
prep.	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	+	i	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	i	i	-	-	-	i	-	-
adjec.	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	+	-	i	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	i	i	-	+	+	i	-	-
noun	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	-	-	i	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	i	i	+	+	-	i	-	-

Bsq: see 5.1., 5.2.

Grm: (a) see 5.1-3., (b) e.g. da CL see 3.12.

- (c) - weil ihm der Johann nicht treu geblieben ist.
 - because 3SM.DAT(CL) Johann not faithful stayed is
 '...because Johann did not remain faithful to him.'

Dut(2): although the verb is separated from the trace by a negative adverb. (The example of (2) suggests that the verb escapes and not the CL!)

Zei ik 't niet.
 Say I 3SN.ACC(CL) not
 'I don't say so.'

Jan rekent er niet op.
 Jan counts there(CL) not up
 'Jan doesn't count up there.'

CLs move to the positions of object CLs specified before (3)

Ik heb 't niet gedaan.
 I have 3SN.ACC(CL) not done
 'I haven't done it.'

Ik heb er niet over gesproken.
 I have there(CL) not spoken
 'I didn't speak ???'

Fr (a) see 5.15-18.

(b) Je lui tire dessus.
 I him shoot on
 'I shoot at him.'

(c) Je lui suis reconnaissant.
 I him am thankful
 'I am thankful to him.'

(d) Je lui fait confiance.
 I him make trust(noun)
 'I trust him.'

Ctl: see 5.1. i.e. CL climbing. Otherwise no. However, it is unclear what 'the selector' is of, e.g. adjuncts or secondary predicates.

Spn: see 5.1-2.

It(1)(a) see 5.2.

- (b) Gianni gli cadde addosso.
Gianni 3SM.DAT(CL) fell against
'Gianni fell against him.'

Rum(1)(a) see 5.1.

- (b) Îi sînt împotriva.
3S.DAT(CL) am-1S against
'I am against it.'
- (c) Îmi / mi - este util.
1S.DAT(/CL)+ is useful
'It is useful for me.'
- (d) Îmi aștept fratele.
1S.DAT(CL) wait-1S brother-the
'I wait for my brother.'

Grk: see 4.2.

Blg(2): not when selected by a verb.

* Ne znam dali im go včera Ivan dade.
* not know-I Q 3P.DAT(CL) 3SN.ACC(CL) yesterday Ivan gave
cca 'I don't know if Ivan gave it to them yesterday.'

SCr(1)(a) Jučer ih je Svetlana vidjela.
yesterday 3P.ACC(CL) Aux-3S(CL) Svetlana seen
'Yesterday Svetlana saw them.'

A CL may escape to a certain extent from a predicative adjective. A GEN CL cannot escape from an noun, a DAT CL can.

- (c) Taj mu je čovjek privržen.
this.NOM 3SM.DAT(CL) Aux-3S(CL) man.NOM attached-SM.NOM
'This man is close/loyal to him.'

Privržen mu čovjek ne bi tako postupio.
attached 3SM.DAT(CL) man.NOM not Aux-COND-3S so acted
'A man loyal to him wouldn't act like that.'

- (d) Vidio ti je sestru.
seen 2S.DAT/POS(CL) Aux-3S sister.ACC
'He saw your sister.'

Razumijem joj odanost.
understand-1S 3SF.DAT/POS(CL) devotion.ACC
'I understand her devotion (* devotion to her)'

Cz: if the 'selecting head' is a verb/adjective then the CLs become the '2nd constituent' regardless the position of the verb/adjective. For (a) see 4.C.1. and (d) see 5.7/8.

- (c) Potom mu samozřejmě museli být všichni vděční.
 then 3SM.DAT(CL) obviously must be-INF all grateful
 'Then, obviously, all of them had to be grateful to him.'

**5.10. If you answered one of the items of (5.9) positively,
 where does the CL move to?
 (a) to the verb, (b) after 1st word/constituent, (c) other**

	H	F	B	W	I	B	H	S	N	I	F	G	D	E	F	P	C	S	I	R	G	A	M	B	S	C	S	P	R
	n	i	s	l	r	r	b	w	o	c	a	m	u	n	r	r	t	p	t	u	r	l	c	l	C	z	l	o	u
verb	+	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	-	-	i	+	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	i	-	-	-	-	+	-
2nd	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	+	-	i	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	i	-	+	+	+	+	+
other	-	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	o	i	i	-	+	i	-	+	-	-	-	-	o	o	i	+	-	-	-	-	-

Hng(4): in a postverbal position. Refers probably to rá: right adjacent to verb.

Grm: CLs move to the Wackernagel position (to be the second constituent of a clause).

Dut(2): to a position left of VP or further (if the CL is an object CL), it is not clear where exactly. The same answer holds for the position of a CL selected by a preposition.

Fr: see 5.9.

Prt(2): CL moves to the front, following the wh-word or complementizer.

Ctl/Spn/It: to the higher verb. See 5.1. and 5.3.-9.

Grk: see 5.1. and 4.2.

Blg(2): in an noun: the POSS CL may move to a cluster initial position attached to the verb.

Daj si mi ja knjigata!
 give REFL/POS(CL) me.DAT(CL) 3SF.ACC(CL) book-the.ACC
 'Give me my book!'

SCr(1): see 4.C.1. and 5.9.c/d.

Cz: see 5.9.

Rus(1,2): see 4.A.1. and 4.C.1.