

many of those interested, particularly outside the U.S., unable to keep in touch with current theoretical discussions in the field of generative grammar. This is especially unfortunate when one considers that the "initiated" afterwards regularly cite and argue against these unpublished works just as they do with other studies that have appeared in journals in the normal way.'

1. Enclitics. In Serbo-Croatian, there are parallel accented (full, long) and unaccented (enclitic, short) forms for auxiliary verbs, personal pronouns, and one participle. As will be seen from the examples, the enclitics generally appear in second place in their clause. (The Roman numerals (I, II, etc.) reflect their linear order in sentences to a certain extent.) The words in question are:

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
full:	hoću	hoćeš	hoće	hoćemo	hoćete	hoće
encl:	ću	ćeš	će	ćemo	ćete	će

This is accompanied either by an infinitive or by a clause consisting of the conjunction da 'that' + a verb in the present tense:

Ja ću čitati knjigu. = Ja ću da čitam knjigu.

I to read book pres.1 sg.

'I will read (a, the) book.'

Hoćeš li čitati knjigu? = Hoćeš li da čitaš knjigu?
Q

'Will you read the book?' pres.2 sg.

Hoću.

'(Yes,) I will.'

II. The conditional auxiliary.

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
full:	bih	bi	bi	bismo	biste	bi
encl:	bih	bi	bi	bismo	biste	bi

This is used with a verb form in -l- + gender endings (masculine singular -o; feminine -a, neuter -o, masculine plural -i, feminine -s, neuter -a).¹

Ja bih čitao knjigu, kad biste mi je dali.
m.sg. if me it gave m.pl.

'I would read the book if you gave it to me.'

Biste li je čitali?

'Would you read it?' (Plural or polite singular)

Bih.

'I would.'

ON THE PROBLEM OF ENCLITIC PLACEMENT IN SERBO-CROATIAN

Wayles Browne

0. Introduction. The following paper, although never published, has been circulating in various forms from 1966 on, and was one of the first to call attention to the problems posed by clitic-placement rules, problems which have been treated since by Ross, Naro, and Perlmutter in their theses, as well as by many others. One particularly weak point in it is the naive treatment of word-order rules. These are still a sore point in generative syntactic descriptions, but the rapprochement which has been taking place in recent years between generative grammarians and theme-rheme-structure theorists promises to contribute much to their understanding.

The data given are from the Novi Sad and Belgrade areas, but are valid for other regions as well, with minimal lexical and morphophonemic changes, except that the Croatian standard disfavours the future with auxiliary + da-clause. The paper does not deal with regional variations within the Serbo-Croatian area, nor with political questions of how many standards or variants there are or should be.

Labels like DI above NP, to identify the Dative of Interest, were introduced as an apparently necessary descriptive device. Since that time the question of labelled nodes has been debated, particularly in the context of Fillmore's Case Grammar. It still seems necessary to specify a certain NP as DI but the theoretical status of such labels remains an open question.

I have agreed to the paper's publication here, mindful of criticisms like that expressed by Milka Ivić:

...treba ovim povodom napomenuti da je uopšte velika šteta što mnogi avangardni radovi ove grupe lingvиста ostaju nestampani, umnoženi samo, obično na nekoj vrsti sapirografa, i razaslati u vrlo ograničenom broju primeraka odabranijem krugu stručnjaka; time mnogi zainteresovani, posebno van SAD, ostaju u nemogućnosti da se blagovremeno obaveste o aktuelnim teorijskim diskusijama u domenu generativne gramatike, što je tim nezgodnije kad se ima u vidu da "posvećeni" inače po pravilu posle navode te nepublikovane radove i polemišu sa njima isto kao i sa svim ostalim studijama koje se regularno objavljuju po stručnim časopisima. (Pravci u lingvistici, Second edition, Ljubljana 1969 [1970], p. 202-3.)

'We must note that it is a great pity all around that many pioneering works of this group of linguists [around MIT] remain unpublished. They are merely duplicated, generally on some kind of mimeograph, and sent around in a very limited number of copies to a select circle, thus leaving

	dative	genitive	accusative
full:	sebi	sebe	sebe
encl:	---	---	se

which replaces a noun-phrase (of any person and number) identical to the subject of the sentence.

VIII. li, an enclitic particle marking yes-no questions (occasionally other types). The corresponding full form is da li.

Čitaš li knjigu? = Da li čitaš knjigu?

'Are you reading the book?'

Da li ćeš da čitaš knjigu? = Hoćeš li da čitaš knjigu?
full encl

= Da li ćeš čitati knjigu? = Hoćeš li čitati knjigu?

'Will you read the book?'

Here the da does not seem to be the same as the conjunction da: one can use the conjunction in a question with or without a preceding question particle da li.

Da ti dam knjigu? = Da li da ti dam knjigu?

conj you I give conj

'Should I give you the book?'

There is a third da meaning 'yes', perhaps connected with da in da li.

2. Use of enclitic and full forms

The full forms of the auxiliaries, as can be seen from the examples, are used sentence-initially in yes-no questions and affirmative answers, and in affirmations contrasting to some previous or possible denial; also when there is no convenient "second" place to put an enclitic in, as in such a sentence as

[Jedna od mogućnosti o kojima smo razgovarali]_{NP}
one of possibilities about which talked

jeste [da prodam kuću]_S
full that I sell house

'One of the possibilities which we've talked about is that I sell the house.'

Here the bracketed NP is very long and has no convenient break; da prodam kuću is a subordinate clause, and into these no enclitic of the main clause can be introduced. (But many speakers nowadays can use the enclitic je even after a long phrase like that in the example.)

The pronoun full forms are used for contrast and emphasis:

SLAVIC SYNTAX

III. The past-tense auxiliary.

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
full:	jesam	jesi	jest(e)	jesmo	jeste	jesu
encl:	sam	si	je	smo	ste	su

This goes with the -l- verb form; it is also the present tense of the copula.

On je čitao knjigu. = Čitao je knjigu.

he

'He has read the book.'

Jè li čitao knjigu?²

'Has he read the book?'

Jeste, čitao je knjigu.

'Yes (he has), he has read the book.'

Ja sam pesnik.

'I am a poet.'

Jesi li pesnik?

'Are you a poet?'

Jesam.

'Yes, I am.'

Jesam pesnik.

'I am a poet (though you doubt it).'

IV. The dative personal pronouns.

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg. m/n	3 sg. f.	1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
full:	meni	tebi	njemu	njoj	nama	vama	njima
encl:	mi	ti	mu	joj	nam	vam	im

Cf. the first example under II.

V. The genitive personal pronouns.

	1 sg.	2 sg.	3 sg.	1 pl.	2 pl.	3 pl.
full:	mene	tebe	njega	nje	nâs	vâs
encl:	me	te	ga	je	nas	ih

VI. The accusative personal pronouns. The forms are the same as V., except the 3rd person singular feminine: full nju, enclitic je.³ Cf. examples of je under II. above (knjiga 'book' is feminine).

VII. se, which is both a) an enclitic marker used with certain "reflexive" verbs and b) the enclitic accusative of the reflexive pronoun

Da dam knjigu tebi?
'Should I give YOU the book?'

and when there is no place for an enclitic:

Kome? Meni?
'To whom? To me?'

Njoj, koja ..., dao je knjigu.
'To her, who ..., he gave a book.'

After prepositions, pronouns take full forms.⁴

The nominative pronouns

1 sg. 2 3 m. 3 f. 3 n. 1 pl. 2 3 m. 3 f. 3 n.
ja ti on ona ono mi vi oni one ona

have only full forms, but they are generally omitted when used as subjects, since the verbal endings make clear the person and number. They are used, like other full forms, for emphasis or contrast, and also to provide a "first" place to put enclitics after. Thus, in the first example under I., ću might stand after čitati (with contraction to čitaju), but not in or after the clause da citam, so that with the clause we must use ja: Ja ću da citam knjigu. (Another possibility would be to put knjigu first: Knjigu ću da citam. = Knjigu ću citati.)

The negative particle ne 'no, not' is normally⁵ put right before the finite verb (that having person endings) of its clause. Ne and the verb are incorporated into the same accentual word. With the auxiliaries, the contrast between full and enclitic is lost; the forms that appear are those of the enclitics, but we get a full, accented word, not bound to second position: neću, nećeš, neće..., ne bih, ne bi, ne bi (one word, in spite of the spelling) ... nisam, nisi, nije...

Serbo-Croatian is a language with "free word order", which means that the major constituents of a clause can appear in various orders, depending on emphasis and context. The parts of an NP generally do not get separated from the head N, although they can appear in various positions within the NP; but the VP can be broken up, so that a sentence like

Peter čita knjigu danas.
Peter reads book today

can be put in 4.3.2.1 = 24 possible orders. The rigid treatment of the enclitics sharply contrasts with this great freedom. They must come all together, however many there are in the clause, and in the following order:⁶

VII---I/II/III---IV---V---VI/VII---je
li aux. verbs det. gen. acc./se one aux.
(except je)

The group of enclitics may have more than one possible position in the clause, but all the possibilities come under the general statement "second place". It may come after the first accented word:

Taj mi je pesnik napisao knjigu.
that encls poet wrote
'That poet wrote me a book.'

Or after the first accented constituent (here, an NP or an adverbial):

[Taj pesnik]_{NP} mi je napisao knjigu.
[Ove godine]_{Adv} mi je taj pesnik napisao knjigu.
this year

Or after the first accented word or constituent after a pause (shown here by a comma):

Ove godine, taj mi je pesnik napisao knjigu.
Ove godine, taj pesnik mi je napisao knjigu.

In all these instances it must precede the main verb (defined as referring to the -l- form in the past, and the infinitive or clause used with ću). It may also come immediately after this verb (not however after the da clause):
Ove godine taj pesnik napisao mi je knjigu, but not *... napisao knjigu mi je.

In clauses introduced by a conjunction or relative, however, the enclitics must follow immediately:

Čitao sam da je ove godine taj pesnik napisao knjigu.
'I have read that that poet has written a book this year.'

Čitao sam o pesniku koji je napisao knjigu ove godine.
about who
'I have read about a poet who has written a book this year.'

The unaccented conjunctions i 'and, also' and a 'and, but' do not allow the enclitics after them, however. All 'but' and pa 'and, and so' may be either way: accented and immediately followed by enclitics, or unaccented so that the enclitics follow the rules above.

3. Phrase structure

We will give a simplified set of phrase-structure rules, avoiding many of the complications and controversial points in the theory of deep structure, in order to show more clearly the operation of the rules for enclitic placement. Since adverbials have nothing particular to do with enclitics, except insofar as they may be moved to the front of a clause thus giving the enclitics a place to hang on to, we will simply let them depend from S:

- (1) S → (Conj) (Question) (Neg) (DI) NP VP (Adv) (Adv) ...
 (2) DI → NP

The noun phrase dominated by DI (for "dative of interest") is put into the dative case by the case-assignment rules; it denotes a person who is represented as somehow involved in the action or state, whether to his benefit or detriment. I can see no reason to tie it more closely to one part of the S than to another.

The dative of interest can contain a possessor or even a relative clause:

Mojoj sestri_{dat} je crkla još jedna krava.

my sister died more one cow

'Another cow died on my sister.'

Tom nesretnom seljaku_{dat} o kome smo razgovarali
 that unfortunate peasant about whom talked

crkla je još jedna krava.

'Another cow died on that unfortunate peasant we talked about.'

It is clearly different from the indirect object (usually also in the dative), since the two can occur side by side in the same clause.†

- (3) VP → {
 [V (S) (NP (NP))] }
 [Copula NP]

Following Lakoff (1965, Appendix A), we regard adjectives as a variety of verb before which the copula is inserted automatically. This view is confirmed nicely by the existence of adjectives which, like verbs, take objects:

On je dužan sekretarici_{dat} jednu marku_{acc}.

he owing secretary one mark

'He owes the secretary one (German) mark.'

Studenti su žedni nauke_{gen}.

students are thirsty knowledge

'Students are eager for knowledge.'

and complement sentences:

Ja sam siguran da su studenti žedni nauke.

am sure

'I am sure that students are eager for knowledge.'

The two parenthesized NP's in (3) represent the direct and indirect objects respectively. The free word order in the Serbo-Croatian sentence marks the relative positions of the two objects in the deep structure; one can say, with direct before indirect,

On daje hranu_{acc} životinjama_{dat}.

Gives food animals

'He gives food to the animals.'

or

On daje životinjama hranu.

But two arguments can be put forward in favor of the treatment proposed, one general and the other specific. First, we want to say that the contextual restrictions between the verb and the direct object are the same for a verb that takes both objects (like *give*) as they are for an ordinary transitive verb; while the direct object must be present if the indirect object is to be there at all. (In such examples as 'He gives generously to the poor,' or its Serbo-Croatian equivalent, we will claim that an indefinite direct object is present in the deep structure but deleted in the surface structure.)

Second, the behavior of verbs with the two objects in nominalizations argues for a closer connection of the verb with the direct object than with the indirect object in Serbo-Croatian.⁸

daje hranu životinjama ⇒ davanje hrane_{gen} životinjama

'the giving of food to the animals'

is completely parallel to

hrani životinje_{acc} ⇒ hranjenje životinja_{gen}

'feeds the animals' 'the feeding of the animals'

But we do not have

daje životinjama hranu ⇒ *davanje životinjama hrane

'*the giving to the animals of food'

- (4) NP → Determiner N (Possessive) (S)

- (5) Possessive → S

Possessive will develop to a clause with *imati* 'have', and from this to various other constructions. Such an analysis takes care of the very similar co-occurrence restrictions and semantic relations that exist between subject and object of *have*, on the one hand, and between possessor and possessed, on the other. (It will be noticed that arguments of this sort do not necessarily depend on details of any particular language: there need not be a verb *have*, a periphrasis will do as well. This leads us to believe them universal, insofar as they are correct.) The clause can transformationally reduce to (a) a possessive, formed with a suffix from an unmodified noun; (b) a noun (with, obligatorily, some sort of modifier) in the genitive; (c) a word or phrase (commonly a personal pronoun) in the dative. (a) is usually put before the N, by the same

rule as applies to attributive adjectives coming from a reduction of a *koji je* ('which is') clause; (b) generally remains in place after N, while type (c) may stay in place, move to outside the NP:

moj^oj sestri^{dat}...na koleno
 MY sister ON knee
 'on my sister's knee'

or, if it is an enclitic, move through the clause to the position occupied by other enclitics.⁹

(6) Conjunction → *da*, *što*¹⁰, *ako* 'if', ...

We might also say that Conjunction develops into Relative, since these subordinators are mutually exclusive with Relative and share with it the obligatory enclitic placement noted under "Use of enclitics and full forms".

(7) Question → *li*, *da*¹¹, *zar* 'can it really be that ...', ... It will be noted that I have made no provision for a node Auxiliary. The forms of the copula used as auxiliaries for the past tense, and the forms *bih*, *bi*, etc. (morphologically related to *bi-*, the infinitive stem of the copula), are introduced before the *-l-* form in the same way as is the copula before adjectives; the conditional is a feature on the verb form, not a separate node. Indeed, the *-l-* form is morphologically an adjective. It agrees in gender rather than in person, and like the English past participle of some intransitive verbs, it can by a minor rule (a rule limited to certain lexical items) come to modify a noun:

Borci su pali. ⇒ pali borci
 warriors fell fallen warriors

Nor should the future-tense marker be assigned a separate node in the deep structure of the simple clause. Insofar as *ću* etc. can be followed by either a clause or an infinitive, it is exactly like such an undoubted verb as *žele-* 'wish, desire'. We have sentences

(8) (Ja) želim da mu ga dam.
 I SG him it give
 'I want to give it to him.'

(9) Želim mu ga dati. = Ja mu ga želim dati.
 infin.
 'I want to give it to him.'

just like

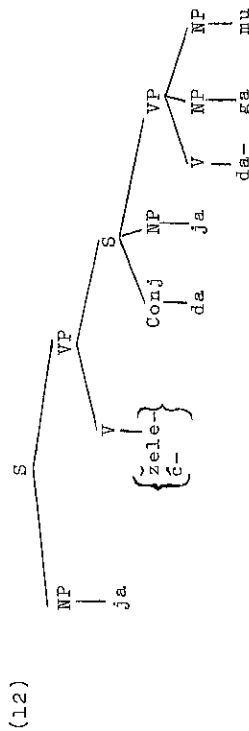
(10) Ja ću da mu ga dam.

'I'll give it to him.'

(11) Ja ću mu ga dati. (= *Daću mu ga*: contraction of *dati* and *ću*.)

'I'll give it to him.'

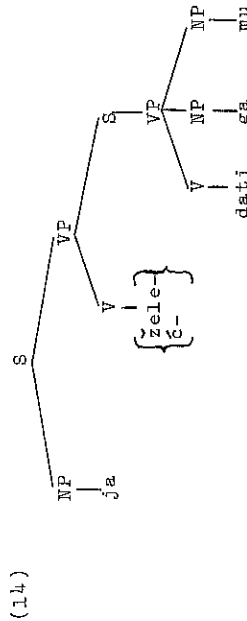
Accordingly, we assign the same underlying structure in both instances:



When the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are identical, as they are in (12), a transformational rule

(13) NP V *da* NP V
 1 2 3 4 5 ⇒ optionally
 1 2 2 ∅ ∅ 5+infin

can delete the repeated subject and the subordinating conjunction, turning the lower verb into an infinitive:



According to Ross's Node Deletion Principle ("pruning"),¹² the lower node S in (14) is "pruned", so that one VP comes directly under the other. The result is exactly right, as is seen from the fact that the pronoun enclitics in (8) and (10) come after the *da* introducing their own subordinate clause, but in (9) and (11) they are placed after the first stressed element of the main clause, together with the enclitic *ću* that was in the main clause from the start of the derivation.

The syntactic difference between *želim* and *ću*, then, is merely that the first allows subordinate clauses with non-identical subjects:

Želim da mu ga oni daju.
 they give

'I want them to give it to him.'

while the second is exceptional in that the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are required to be identical, as with attempt and try in English.¹³ They do not occupy different nodes (say, V for zelim but Auxiliary for ću) in the tree structure; to claim that they did would require several extra nodes (including an extra S) in the phrase-structure rules, as well as an extra transformation (or at least an extra part of (13)) to get the proper structure.

4. Case assignment

In the above discussion, nouns and pronouns have been tacitly assumed to be in the proper cases. A few words, however, should be said about the rules for assigning cases, for otherwise the treatment of the direct and indirect objects may not be properly understood. It is by no means always true that the first or only object of a verb is in the accusative; some verbs demand the instrumental, like those meaning 'control, rule over, govern'; others take the genitive, or the dative, or any of the cases with a preposition (e.g. liči-na + accusative, 'resemble'). These cases or phrases cannot, in general, be identified with other constituents of the sentence than objects. Thus, an instrumental object demanded by a particular verb may co-occur with, and is thus shown to be different from, an instrumental adverbial: it is possible to 'rule over one's land with an iron hand'.

Of the verbs taking two objects, the first is generally in the accusative, but the second need not always be in the dative. We have, for example,

Oslobodi nas acc nesreće^{gen} ! or Oslobodi nas od nesreće^{gen} !
 free us misfortune
 'Free us from misfortune!'

Support for calling the genitive and preposition + genitive objects indirect objects is found in their omissibility. We can have Oslobodi nas!, but we cannot omit the accusative objects while leaving the others (except insofar as we can delete an indefinite object of transitive verbs in general).

The accusative, then, is the normal case for the direct object; scattered individual verbs and certain stutable classes of verbs take other cases instead. The dative case, likewise, seems to be the normal one for the indirect object. We can express these results in rules by employing the concept of markedness, as elaborated for syntactic rules by Lakoff (1965): ordinary verbs taking an object are unmarked, and follow the ordinary case-assignment rule, while a certain number of verbs are marked and must undergo one or another special case-assignment rule. Some of these verbs are so marked because of their meanings or other properties, while others are merely exceptions. The case-assignment rules should be part of the transformational cycle, since other rules which are clearly in the cycle depend on them. (In the theory of the transformational cycle, it is supposed that all the rules belonging to the cycle apply to a subordinate S, for instance the lower S in (12), and then they all apply to the next higher S, and so on.)

The passivization rule, for example, must be a cyclic rule, since a rule - e.g. (13) - can require identity between the subject of the higher clause and the subject of the lower one, and this lower subject may represent the deep-structure object which the passivization rule has put into subject position. Thus,

Kuća će biti prodana.
 house be sold
 'The house will be sold.'

is derived by (13) from a structure whose lower S is

Kuća je prodana.
 'The house is sold.'

which in its turn must come from a deep structure in which kuća is the direct object of prod- 'sell'. But it is a fact that passivization can apply only to objects which are in the accusative; the obvious way to account for this is to have the rules assign the case before the passivization operates.

Inherently-reflexive verbs may take any case except the accusative, perhaps most typically the genitive. There seem to be no verbs which would take two objects in addition to the reflexive particle; this might be interpreted to mean that the reflexive particle represented a real direct object which is required to be identical to the subject, while the other object would be an indirect object. On the other hand, a leading Yugoslav syntactician, M. Ivić (1961-62), shows in an article applying the transformational methods of Harris and Worth that there exist ambiguities between V + se (a verb which has the reflexive pronoun as its direct object) and the same lexical item appearing as an inherent or transformationally-derived reflexive verb (which she writes V_{se}, thus treating the presence of the marker se as an inherent property of the V). For example, brije se 'He shaves himself' = brije sebe, vs. brije se (*sebe) kod berberina 'He gets shaved at the barber's'.

5. The enclitic-placement rules

A feature [+ full] will be used to characterize the verbs, pronouns, and particle listed above (I - VIII). The value of this feature is partly dependent on conditions of contrast and emphasis, and partly free, i.e. specifiable to give stylistic or free variants. We may consider all other words to be specified [+ full] by a markedness principle (that is, the normal value for this feature is plus).

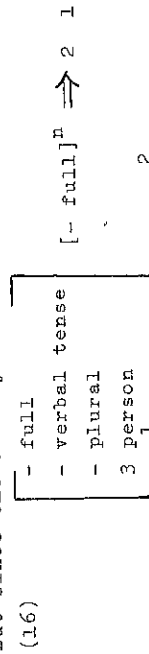
In each separate clause the enclitics must be gathered up, arranged in their proper order, and put in one of the admissible positions. If we wish to have this gathering take place within the transformational cycle, we must leave the copula where it is, hanging from VP or V; for otherwise the rule (13) would not be able to find it in order to turn it into an infinitive when operating on the next higher clause, and as a result we would not get sam converted into the infinitive biti. Now, of course, we want je, the 3rd

person singular copula, to be convertible into biti too; but the arranging rule must put *je* after the other enclitics, even though the rest of the copula forms precede the pronoun enclitics. This suggests that the arranging rule, or at least a part of it, must be post-cyclic, even though, like the transformational cycle, it operates on the clauses one by one.

It is not clear at present whether the part of the rule that orders the pronouns after the verbal enclitics, which is shown combined with the gathering rule in (15), must be considered post-cyclic.

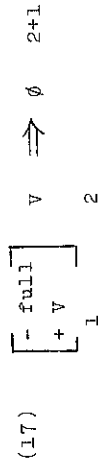


But since the closely associated

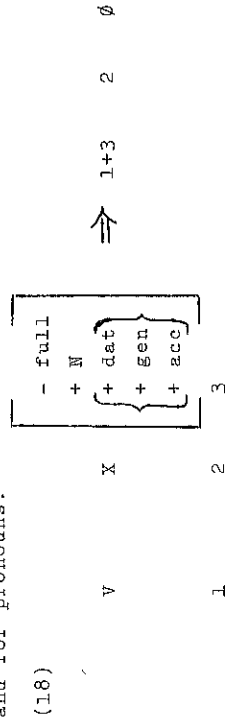


(the rule putting *je* last in order) is post-cyclic. (15) certainly can be also. (It is interesting that (16) moves only *je*, which is the least marked of all the verbal forms, if, as is likely, the 3rd person is to be considered the unmarked one.)

As we have said, in the final derived structure the enclitics come obligatorily after Conjunction if any, otherwise either after the first stressed (= non-enclitic, hence unaffected by gathering) constituent or after the main verb. One of the conditions on the free-word-order rule is that it may never put the main verb of a clause before a Conjunction, although other elements can be moved out to precede the Conjunction with which their clause begins. We will take advantage of this limitation by attaching the gathered enclitics after the main verb, thus a) putting them in one of their possible surface-structure positions and b) ensuring that they, too, never get moved to before Conjunction. The gathering rule for verbal enclitics will read:

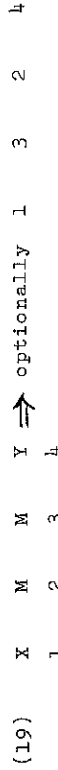


and for pronouns:

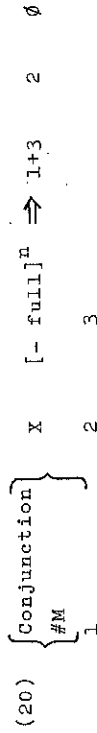


This notation means that the rule places the dative enclitic after the verb, and then the genitive enclitic after the verb (which now includes the dative), etc. Rule (18) may need an extra branch to pick up dative enclitics from the dative of interest or from the subject NP, or this might be done by another rule preceding (18), depending on what the limitations in fact are. If it is indeed possible to have sentences with more than one dative enclitic — I have some examples with datives of interest, but some grammarians claim that the dative of personal pronouns has turned into a mere device for enlivening speech — then (18) will not work properly as it is formulated above.

Rule (18) is followed in order by (17) and (16). Then comes the free-word-order rule, possibly in a form like that proposed by Ross (op. cit.):



where X, Y may be null; M stands for any major constituent, including Conjunction; if 2 = Conjunction, then 3 ≠ V or VP. Rule (19) is clearly repeatable, since just one permutation of major constituents is not enough to get very many of the possible arrangements of any reasonable-sized clause. (19) must follow (16), since otherwise the enclitics would still be representatives of the categories N and NP and as such liable to be moved. Following (19) we have the final enclitic-placement rule:



(obligatory for the first branch, optional for the second). In order to account for the phenomenon, mentioned under "Use of enclitic and full forms", that the enclitics follow the first constituent after a pause in the sentence, a rule must be introduced before (20) — as part of (19)? — which will optionally pull an M out of the clause entirely; that is, to before the clause boundary, noted # in (20). As with (19), neither the V nor the VP may be so moved; it follows from the present treatment that the enclitics are not in danger of being moved out either.

There are special ordering rules for relative and question words, which seem partly similar to certain rules of English, but these have not been studied here in detail.

There is a limitation on (18), (19), and (20) that has so far been taken for granted: they can act only within a single clause at a time. They cannot break up a subordinate clause, but only move elements around it; nor can they deal simultaneously with elements of a clause and of its superordinate clause. No easy way to state such conditions on post-cyclic rules is provided in the present transformational formalism; perhaps, as Chomsky (1965, 126) argues, "Grammatical transformations do not seem to be an appropriate device for expressing the full range of possibilities for stylistic inversion". But it is interesting to note some analogies that these very late ordering rules show with

ordinary syntactic transformations: some are optional and others obligatory; they have an order among themselves; finally, they operate on only one clause at a time but can act on all the clauses of a sentence one by one, which suggests some sort of cycle principle for them too.

Notes

¹Note that l + o / — # (l becomes o at the end of a word), hence čitao for masculine singular. Accent marks like ˆ for long falling accent and ˘ for short falling accent, though not usually written, will be used here when needed to distinguish full forms from enclitics.

²Whenever li, see below, follows it, je is used as the 3rd singular full form.

³ju when the 3rd singular auxiliary form je follows it.

⁴Except for certain optional accusative forms not relevant here. For the instrumental and locative cases, only full forms exist.

⁵Even when contrasted items show that some other element than the verb is being negated: Ne čitam knjigu, već časopis. 'I'm not reading a book but a magazine.'

⁶se je usually becomes se (the vowel may be long: sě). This is the order usually given by grammars, but further research is needed on the relative positions of V, VI, and VII. No verb with se can have an accusative object, so that VI and VII would seem to be mutually exclusive; but, as will be seen, it is possible for the enclitics which in the deep structure belong to one clause to be put into another, superordinate clause, and thus such encounters can in principle occur.

⁷I am indebted to R. Bugarski for confirming these and other examples.

⁸I am grateful to E. Klima for suggesting that I examine nominalizations, and to R. Maglič for this example and for confirming — or rejecting — some of the other ones cited.

⁹There seem to be some restrictions on pulling enclitics out of NP's: the dative pronouns dominated by Possesive may sometimes stay where they are, and when a clause dominated by a subject or object NP reduces to an infinitive phrase, its enclitics need not always move out into the clause above. Cf.

Opasno je nasloniti se na vrata. (sign in bus)
dangerous to lean on doors

where nasloniti se na vrata is the subject NP;

...navesti jedno značilo bi obavezati se na navodjenje
to cite one mean to bind oneself to citing of many
mnogih.

'To cite one (opinion) would mean having to cite many.'
(P. Ivić)

where obavezati se na navodjenje mnogih is the object of značilo bi. But enclitics do come out of complements which are reduced (see below).

¹⁰That, introducing complements of words denoting feelings, e.g. 'glad that...', 'sorry that...', 'to regret that ...', 'excuse me for...!'

¹¹Perhaps, instead of optionally deleting da, it would be better to allow a choice in rule (6) between da and another subordinator (complementizer) which will result in an infinitive. A rule like (13) will still be needed to get the proper structure. Note that not all upper verbs permit (13) to operate: e.g. Smatram da sam pesnik, 'I consider that I am a poet', but not *Smatram biti pesnik.

¹²An embedded node S is deleted unless it dominates both NP and VP." Ross 1965.

¹³Thus we do not have in English *I tried that they get arrested, but only I tried to have them arrested, where the subject, in deep structure, of the causative verb have is I. See Lakoff 1965, V-3 to V-5. [In §6 of published version.]

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[See also: Browne, E. Wayles. "Srpskohrvatske enklitike i teorija transformacione gramatike" (Serbo-Croatian enclitics and the theory of transformational grammar). Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku 11, 25-29. Novi Sad, 1968.

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RELEVANCY MARKING IN POLISH COMPLEMENTS*

Robert A. Rothstein

The idea that a sentence may contain other sentences is not a new one. Indeed it was part of traditional grammatical analysis, as we see from the following remark by Jan Łos (from the 1923 collective grammar of the Polish language [Benni et al.: 390-1]):

KaŹde pojęcie, oznaczone przez wyraz, moŹna wyrazić przez zdanie. Oprócz wiêc orzeczenia czasownikowego [...] moŹemy kaŹdy człon zdania prostego wyrazić przez całe zdanie [...].

Any concept denoted by a word can be expressed by a sentence. Thus except for the verbal predicate...we can express any constituent of a simple sentence by means of a whole sentence...

It remained, however, for generative grammar to focus attention on this notion, to formalize it and to see in this recursive property of "self-embedding" the source for the creativity and open-endedness of natural languages.

It was natural, therefore, that among the early dissertations written in the framework of transformational generative grammar were studies dealing with the kind of embedding known as complementation--in English (Rosenbaum 1965, published as Rosenbaum 1967) and Polish (Rothstein 1966). Complementation has continued to interest syntacticians and subsequent work, especially Comrie 1971, Brecht 1972 and Bresnan 1972, has introduced important correctives to the sorts of analyses proposed earlier. A number of problems remain still unresolved, chief among them being what Rosenbaum called "identity erasure," later known as "Equi-NP-Deletion."

Having explained intuitions about the "subjects" of complements by postulating the presence of actual subjects in the deep structure, Rosenbaum and later authors proposed to account for the absence of these subjects in the surface structure by means of a deletion transformation. Rosenbaum observed that the deleted noun phrase (the underlying subject) is always identical to some noun phrase that does occur in the surface structure: either the matrix subject or the matrix object. Thus in

- (1) Jan lubi czytać na głos.
'John likes to read aloud.'

the deleted subject of czytać is identical to the subject of (2) Jan prosił Marię czytać mu na głos.
'John asked Mary to read aloud to him.'

the deleted subject of czytać is identical to the object of prosić.

SLAVIC TRANSFORMATIONAL SYNTAX

*Edited by Richard D. Brecht and
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Introduction by Horace G. Lunt*

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FOREWORD

Native grammarians have written voluminously about the syntax of Russian and the other Slavic languages, in descriptive, comparative, and historical terms. They have provided abundant and varied materials and offered fascinating insights for the reader to ponder. Yet even the most diligent investigator often finds it impossible to discover the underlying assumptions and the guidelines of the methodologies utilized in many of these works. The strangely organized masses of data overwhelm the student, while the underlying syntactic structures remain elusive.

This volume is a series of attempts to examine Slavic syntax—on the basis of facts which are mostly well known—and a conscious effort to keep in mind a whole model of language while elucidating some portion of the system. The authors by no means agree on the details of the model or the form of every assumption, and many of their procedures and conclusions are tentative and controversial. Readers will surely find much that is refreshing and illuminating in these pages, but also vagueness and contradictions that should stimulate new formulations and investigations. One welcomes the publication of these essays, both those that have been known but not easily available and those that are really new and have been spared the long period of quasi-underground existence hidden behind the dubious label “to appear.” One hopes that this is but the beginning of serious and fruitful study of the neglected field of Slavic syntax in the English-speaking world.

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EDITORS' PREFACE

The purpose. This anthology presents a selection of papers on Slavic syntax written within the framework of "transformational-generative" theory, an approach that has led to a dramatic growth of linguistic scholarship in the past two decades. Two of the most stimulating aspects of this recent work are the emphasis on universal grammar (based on contrastive studies) and the strong theoretical bias of the investigators as they test new or widely accepted claims about the nature of human language itself.

The purpose of this anthology has been twofold: to make Slavic data and its theoretical implications available to linguists developing theory on the basis of other languages, and to make recent developments in syntactic theory more accessible to Slavists accustomed to other approaches. We have included for each of these separate audiences material redundant for the other: for the non-Slavist, all examples are transliterated, glossed, and supplied with grammatical information. For the Slavist unfamiliar with the terminology and style of argumentation, each term is defined in at least one of the papers and background is provided in copious footnotes.

There is, of course, much interesting work that is not represented in this anthology. Because of strict limitations on time, final size and cost, we decided to limit our search for papers to the U. S., Canada and Great Britain. Rather than a large number of short papers, we decided to have a smaller number of studies, making space available for full and explicit presentation of data, for detailed argumentation and explanatory footnotes, even though this meant covering a smaller number of topics. We have tried to achieve, with a rather small sampling, a collection representative of current work in Great Britain and North America, complementing collections published recently in Europe. The volume could easily have been much larger, but that would have further delayed its appearance and raised its price. A fuller picture of activity in Slavic transformational linguistics throughout the world will be found in the bibliographical project by Auswaks, Comrie and Susser (to appear as a volume of Michigan Slavic Publications), which covers a much wider range of work and assumes a much broader definition of the term "transformational."

The format. In the interests of accessibility, we decided to ask the authors to submit camera-ready copy of the final versions, sacrificing uniform style and appearance to promptness and low cost. While this results in a few minor inconsistencies (for instance, we left the choice of British or American spelling and other conventions of style up to the individual authors) a great deal of care has been taken to provide mutually intelligible papers. We have tried to avoid references to unobtainable works. In some cases references are made to relatively inaccessible dissertations, but the papers citing them make available for the first time and in condensed form some updated results

of dissertation research. Works marked as "forthcoming" or "to appear" are complete or under final revision and are quite certain to appear in the near future. All examples are not drawn directly from widely accepted written sources are modeled on or reduced from attested sentences and have been checked with several native informants. There will always be disagreements, and we do not claim that all examples are natural or stylistically impeccable, or even likely to be uttered, but we do guarantee that all examples are grammatical at least for some native speakers if used in appropriate context. Quoted material preserves the typographical and other conventions of the originals. Each paper is accompanied by a full list of references; names and addresses of all contributors are listed for the convenience of scholars wishing to establish direct communication.

Arrangement of papers. The papers are arranged in order of accessibility to the uninitiated reader. The first section, Overview, contains papers by Susser and Klenin detailing the evolution of this particular approach to grammar in North America, Europe, and the Soviet Union. The second section, Early papers, opens with Klima's 1963 review of Galkina-Fedoruk's *Bezlitnyye predlozhenija*, reprinted with the permission of Mouton Publishers from *JSLP* VI. This brief review remained for some time one of the richest of the questions raised by Klima have found answers in more recent work, others are still as fresh and challenging as they were ten years ago. Next we make available three widely quoted works that have so far existed only in a few duplicated copies. Wayles Browne's 1966 paper on enclitics in Serbo-Croatian has had theoretical repercussions in a number of recent published and unpublished works, some of which are listed in his bibliography. The selection from Rothstein's pioneering 1966 dissertation on Polish complements, also frequently quoted, fills a gap in the published histories of the problem of complement subject deletion (see the references in Rothstein's paper). Channon was probably the first to apply Fillmore's Case Grammar theory to a Slavic language; the 1969 paper included here is frequently referred to, particularly in studies devoted to -SJA in Russian.

The seven papers grouped together under the title Recent developments provide a sampler of current work. Several apply transformational theory to classical Slavic problems. Babby proposes a new look at parts of speech. Comrie discusses the development of the "second dative" in Russian (and the analogous construction in Polish) and proposes an explanation of the contemporary construction. Timberlake draws on dialectological scholarship in discussing the "objective nominative" in North Russian (a construction that has sometimes been equated with the English constructions like "John is easy to please", illuminating some aspects of "impersonal sentences." Chvany's paper examines the consequences of a transformational-generative theory for the lexical entries of Dolzen and related words, comparing this theory with traditional approaches. Brecht reexamines the traditional view that the infinitive specifies no grammatical categories and explores the distribu-

tion of infinitive complements in Russian, Latin and English. Andreyevsky points out previously unnoticed distinctions in two nearly synonymous expressions and briefly notes some problems these distinctions raise for theory. All these scholars, even as they demonstrate the heuristic power of the theory as a tool of analysis, also test theoretical claims against Slavic data and raise questions or propose refinements in what is essentially a Chomskyan framework. The one exception is Miller, who takes a new look at the dative in Russian, introducing a far more abstract approach: this "localistic" theory is spiritual kin to "generative semantics." We regret that we were unable to find more applications of "generative semantics" approaches in time to include them in this collection.

Acknowledgments. The debt that modern linguistics owes to the Prague School has already been widely acknowledged by generative phonologists. The present papers on the syntax and semantics of Slavic languages begin to acknowledge the similar debt owed by specialists in these areas to the rich heritage of the Prague School and, in particular, to Roman Jakobson. We are grateful to Professor Ladislav Matejka of the University of Michigan, General Editor of *Michigan Slavic Publications*, for his assistance in including this volume in the series of *Michigan Slavic Contributions*. We thank Professors Horace G. Lunt of Harvard University and Morris Halle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for their support and encouragement of this undertaking. The editors hope that the papers included in this volume will stimulate work that will supersede the analyses presented here. The sooner this book brings about its own obsolescence, the more successful it will be.

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