Cliticization of Serbian Personal Pronouns and Auxiliary Verbs

A Dependency-Based Account

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1. Overview of the Problem

(1) a. *Rekao sam mu.*
    tell-P.PART am to.him
    ‘I told him.’

b. *Njemu sam rekao.*
    ‘It is to him that I told.’
    (not to her)

c. *Jesam mu rekao.*
    ‘I did tell him.’
    (do not think I did not)

d. *Njemu jesam rekao.*
    ‘To him I did tell.’
    (but to her I did not)
What are the conditions licensing the cliticization of personal pronouns & auxiliary verbs in Serbian?

The framework:
Meaning-Text dependency syntax and morphology (e.g., Mel’čuk 1988, 1993).

Main source of data:
Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika
www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs
The operation whereby the inflectional value (= grammeme) CLITIC is assigned to a lexical item in the course of clause synthesis, is called cliticization.

Other uses of the term cliticization:
1) a diachronic process of becoming a clitic;
2) the operation of attachment of a clitic to its host.

Theoretical interest:
Cliticization involves interaction Semantic Structure ~ Communicative Structure; it is linked to other important phenomena: ellipsis, conjunction reduction.

Previous work:
Not abundant; see the paper.
Table 1: Full and clitic forms of some personal pronouns and auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>JA ‘I’</th>
<th>ON ‘he’</th>
<th>VI you [PL]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TONIC</td>
<td>CLITIC</td>
<td>TONIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC/GEN</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>njega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>meni</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>njemu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>mnom(e)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>njim(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>meni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>njemu</td>
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<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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BITI ‘be’ in the present, past tense aux.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TONIC</td>
<td>CLITIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jesam</td>
<td>sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jesi</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>jeste</td>
<td>je</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

HTETI lit. ‘want’ in the present, future tense aux.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hoću</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>hoćemo</td>
<td>čemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hoćeš</td>
<td>češ</td>
<td>hoćete</td>
<td>čete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hoče</td>
<td>če</td>
<td>hoće</td>
<td>če</td>
</tr>
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• Meaning-Text models: semantically-driven, dependency-based, synthesis-oriented stratificational models
• Cliticization happens in the transition “Surface-Syntactic Representation [SSyntR] ~ Deep-Morphological Representation [DMorphR]” of a clause
• The basic structure of the SSyntR: linearly non-ordered dependency tree; the basic structure of the DMorphR: fully ordered string

• Transition SSyntR ~ DMorphR:
  – comprises morphologization, including cliticization, linearization and prosodization
  – is driven by the communicative structure
Figure 1: SSyntSs of sentences (1a-c) with communicative information specified

(1a) Rekao sam mu.
(1b) Njemu sam rekao.
(1c) Njemu jesam rekao.

Figure 2: DMorphSs of sentences (1a-c)

(1a) REĆI_{(V)ACT.PART, SG, MASC} [BITI_{(V, aux)PRESENT, CLIT, 1, SG} ON_{CLIT, SG, MASC} CLIT.CLUSTER]
(1b) ON_{FULL, SG, MASC} [BITI_{CLIT, 1, SG} CLIT.CLUSTER] REĆI_{(V)ACT.PAST.PART, SG, MASC}
(1c) ON_{FULL, SG, MASC} BITI_{PRES, FULL, 1, SG} REĆI_{(V)ACT.PAST.PART, SG, MASC}
2. Factors relevant for the cliticization of Pron$_{PERS}$/V$_{AUX}$

Both communicative and syntactic/prosodic factors are relevant.

Three cases can be distinguished.
Case 1: A full form of a PRON/V_{(Aux)} is freely chosen to express a value of a communicative opposition

- The value **Focalized** (the marked value of the Focalization opposition) or the value **Emphatic** (the marked value of the Emphasis opposition).

(2) a. *Nije pričao meni, već drugovima.*
   ‘He was not telling [this] to me, but to [his] friends.’

   b. *Kad bi mu rekla da ga voli, on bi joj odgovarao: E, *jesi* teška guska!*
   ‘When she would tell him that she loved him, he would answer: Well, you ARE a silly goose.’

- The rhematic focus

(3) [**Kome kažeš?** ‘To whom are you telling (that)?’]

   a. *Njemu*
   ‘To.him.’

   b. *Kažem njemu / *#mu.*
   ‘I.am.telling’
Case 2: A full form of a PRON/V_{(Aux)} is imposed by syntactic/prosodic factors

1. Word order constraints are such that a PRON/V_{(Aux)} must be/preferably is clause-initial or immediately follows an internal prosodic break (i.e., it finds itself in a linear position unavailable for an enclitic).

(4) a. [Da li je slika kod vas? ‘Is (the) picture with you?’] 
   Jeste. 
   lit. ‘Is.’ = ‘Yes, it is.’

   Cf. Da, kod nas _je_/ *jeste._
   lit. ‘Yes with us is.’

   b. On deluje pošteno. _Njemu se veruje i on je sad_ ...
      ‘He seems honest. To.him REFL trusts = He is trusted and he is now ...’

   c. Salinitet, ili slanoća, _jeste_/ *je_ količina soli u morskoj vodi.
      ‘Salinity, or saltiness, is the quantity of salt in sea water’.
Case 2: A full form of a PRON/V\(^{(Aux)}\) is imposed by syntactic/prosodic factors

2. Coordination

(5) a. Pričala je uz kafu, meni i mojoj supruzi, na kakve je sve prepreke ...
   ‘She was telling over coffee, to me and my wife, about the different obstacles …’

   b. Je li on član kluba ili nije?
   ‘Is he member of club or not.is?’ = ‘Is he or not a club member?’

3. Prepositions and conjunctions

(6) a. Mislim na nju.
   ‘I am thinking of her.’

   b. I baš zato što je to istina cela stvar i jeste tako smešna!
   ‘And precisely because this is true the whole thing and is so funny = is so funny in the first place.’
Case 2: A full form of a PRON/V_{(Aux)} is imposed by syntactic/prosodic factors

4. Presence of a specific dependent (pronouns only)
   (7) a. Pozovi baš njih!
      lit. ‘Invite precisely them!’
   b. Može samo meni nešto da se desi.
      ‘Can only to.me something that_{(Conj)} REFL happens’ =
      ‘Something can happen only to.me.’

5. Presence of a specific co-dependent (pronouns only)
   (8) a. Predstavi me/nas njemu.
      ‘Introduce me/us to.him’
   b. Predstavi *mu me/nas vs. Predstavi mu ga.
      ‘Introduce to.him me/us.’
      ‘to.him him’
Case 3: A clitic form of a PRON/V_{(Aux)} is chosen by default, i.e.,

if no communicative load is attached to it and no syntactic/prosodic factors are present which preclude cliticization.

(9) a. Na vreme ću vas ožnoviti.
   ‘On time FUT.1SG you to.notify.’ =
   ‘I will notify you in time.’

b. Da sam znala, ne bih vam ništa rekla.
   ‘That_{( Conj)} [I] am having.known, not [I] would to.you nothing having.said.’ =
   ‘Had I known, I wouldn’t have told you anything.’

c. –Poznata mi je ta priča.
   –Znam da ti je poznata.
   ‘Known to.me is that story.   [I] know that_{( Conj)} to.you is known.’ =
   ‘I know the story.’
   ‘I know that you do.’
Thus, in most cases, clitic and full forms of personal pronouns are in complementary distribution, and so are clitic and full forms of auxiliaries.

There are two types of situations in which this does not hold.

1. In some unmarked contexts, either a full or a clitic form is possible without any perceptible communicative difference:

   *Meni* fuller se čini da… ‘To.me [it] seem REFL that…’

   Čini *mi* clitic se da… ‘[It] seem to.me REFL that…’

2. Interchangeability of a full and a clitic form is possible in some neutralizing contexts

   • if the communicative load carried by a full form is also expressed by another clause element

     *Stvarno jeste* fuller tako ‘Really [it] IS like.that’

     Stvarno *je* clitic tako ‘Really [it] is like.that’

   • if the communicative load carried by a full form can alternatively be expressed by a lexical mean:

     *Jeste* fuller tako.

     Stvarno *je* clitic tako.
3. Cliticization Rules for Pron<sub>PERS</sub>/ V<sub>AUX</sub>

**Figure 3: Cliticization rule for personal pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SSynt-level</th>
<th>DMorph-level</th>
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<tr>
<td>( L(Pron.pers) )</td>
<td>( L(Pron.pers)CLIT )</td>
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</table>

**CONDITIONS**

L is NOT

1) communicatively marked
2) placed clause-initially or immediately after a clause-internal prosodic break
3) a member of the **coordinative** SSyntRel
4) the governing member of the **restrictive** SSyntRel
5) the dependent member of the **prepositional** or **conjunctional** SSyntRel
Figure 4: Cliticization rule for auxiliary verbs

SSynt-level \( L(V, \text{Aux}) \) \leftrightarrow \text{DMorph-level} \( L(V, \text{AUX})_{\text{CLIT}} \)

CONDITONS:
- \( L \) is NOT
- 1) communicatively marked
- 2) placed clause-initially or immediately after a clause-internal prosodic break
- 3) the dependent member of the \text{conjunctioinal} SSyntRel
4. Summary and Discussion

- The use of clitic forms of Serbian personal pronouns and auxiliary verbs is the default case, while using tonic forms requires additional conditions.

- Tonic forms are either freely chosen to express marked values of communicative oppositions or are imposed by specific syntactic configurations/prosodic environments.

- Tonic forms are more prominent morphologically and syntactically: they are full-fledged wordforms and full-fledged sentence elements, less restricted in their linear positioning. Thus, being tonic is a sort of a promotion. It is not surprising, then, that tonic forms appear under more involved conditions.

- To what extent are the conditions that license cliticization similar cross-linguistically? Are the factors identified above for Serbian 2P clitics applicable to clitics of other types?

- Given the fact that in some cases a full form of a pronoun/auxiliary is selected freely, to express a communicative opposition, is tonicity really (or only) a syntactic inflectional category?
5. References


Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika: www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs


