Cliticization of Serbian Personal Pronouns and Auxiliary Verbs

A Dependency-Based Account

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1. Overview of the Problem

CLITIC

(1) a. *Rekao* **sam mu**.

tell-P.PART am   to.him

'I told him.'

b. **Njemu sam** *rekao.*

TONIC

'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 ciitic 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

	JA 'I'		ON 'he'		VI you [PL] '	
	TONIC	CLITIC	TONIC	CLITIC	TONIC	CLITIC
NOM	**ja**	——	on	——	v**i**	——
ACC/GEN	m**e**ne	me	nj**e**ga	ga	v**as**	vas
DAT	m**e**ni	mi	njemu	mu	v**a**ma	vam
INSTR	mn**o**m(e)	—	nj**i**m(e)	—	v**a**ma	—
LOC	m**e**ni	—	njemu	—	v**a**ma	—
VOC	—	—	—	—	v**i**	—

BITI 'be' in the present, past tense aux.			
SG		PL	
TONIC	CLITIC	TONIC	CLITIC
1	j**e**sam	sam	j**e**smo	smo
2	j**e**si	si	j**e**ste	ste
3	j**e**ste	je	j**e**su	su
HTETI lit. 'want' in the present, future tense aux.			
1	h**o**ću	ću	h**o**ćemo	ćemo
2	h**o**ćeš	ćeš	h**o**ćete	ćete
3	h**o**će	će	h**o**će	će

- 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*
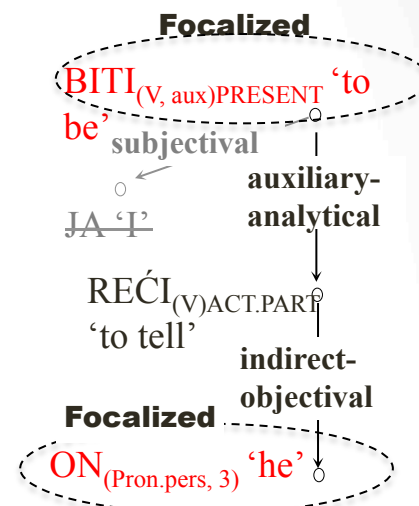 – is driven by the **communicative structure**

Figure 1: SSyntSs of sentences (1a-c) with communicative information specified
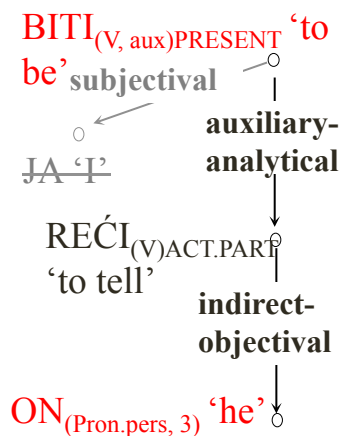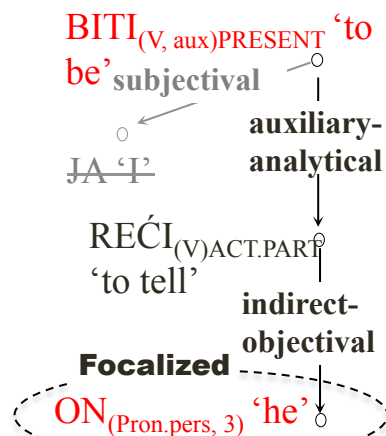
(1a) *Rekao sam mu.* (1b) *Njemu sam rekao.* (1c) *Njemu jesam rekao.*

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

REĆI$_{ACT.PAST.PART, SG, MASC}$ [BITI$_{PRES, CLIT, 1, SG}$ ON $_{CLIT, SG, MASC}$]$_{CLIT.CLUSTER}$
(1a)

ON$_{FULL, SG, MASC}$ [BITI $_{CLIT, 1, SG}$]$_{CLIT.CLUSTER}$ REĆI $_{ACT.PAST.PART, SG, MASC}$
(1b)

ON$_{FULL, SG, MASC}$ BITI $_{PRES, FULL, 1, SG}$ REĆI$_{ACT.PAST.PART, SG, MASC}$
(1c)

2. Factors relevant for the cliticization
of $\text{Pron}_{\text{PERS}}/\text{V}_{\text{AUX}}$

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, <u>**meni** </u> i mojoj **supruzi**, na kakve je sve prepreke ...*

        'She was telling over coffee, to me and my wife, about the different

           obstacles …'

    b. <u>**Je** </u> li on član kluba <u>ili</u> **nije**?

    'Is INTERR he member of.club or not.is?' = 'Is he or not a club member?'

    c. *Bio **sam** i **jesam** potpuno svestan svojih postupaka.*

3. Prepositions and conjunctions

    'Having.been am and am = I was and still am completely aware or my

(6) a. *Mislim na$_{(Prep)}$ **nju**.*

    'I am thinking of her.' actions.'

    b. *I baš zato što je to istina cela stvar i$_{(Conj)}$ **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 <u>baš</u> **njih**!*
        lit. 'Invite precisely them!'

       b. *Može <u>samo</u> **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 <u>me/nas</u>*   vs. *Predstavi <u>mu ga</u>.*
       '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** obavestiti.*
 '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***_{FULL} *se čini da*… 'To.me [it]seem REFL that_(Conj)
…'

2. Interchangeability of a full and a clitic form is possible in some
   *Čini **mi**_{CLITIC} se da* … '[It] seems to me REFL that_(Conj) …'
neutralizing
   contexts

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

> *Stvarno **jeste**_{FULL} tako* 'Really [it] IS like.that'
> *Stvarno **je**_{CLITIC} tako* 'Really [it] is like.that'
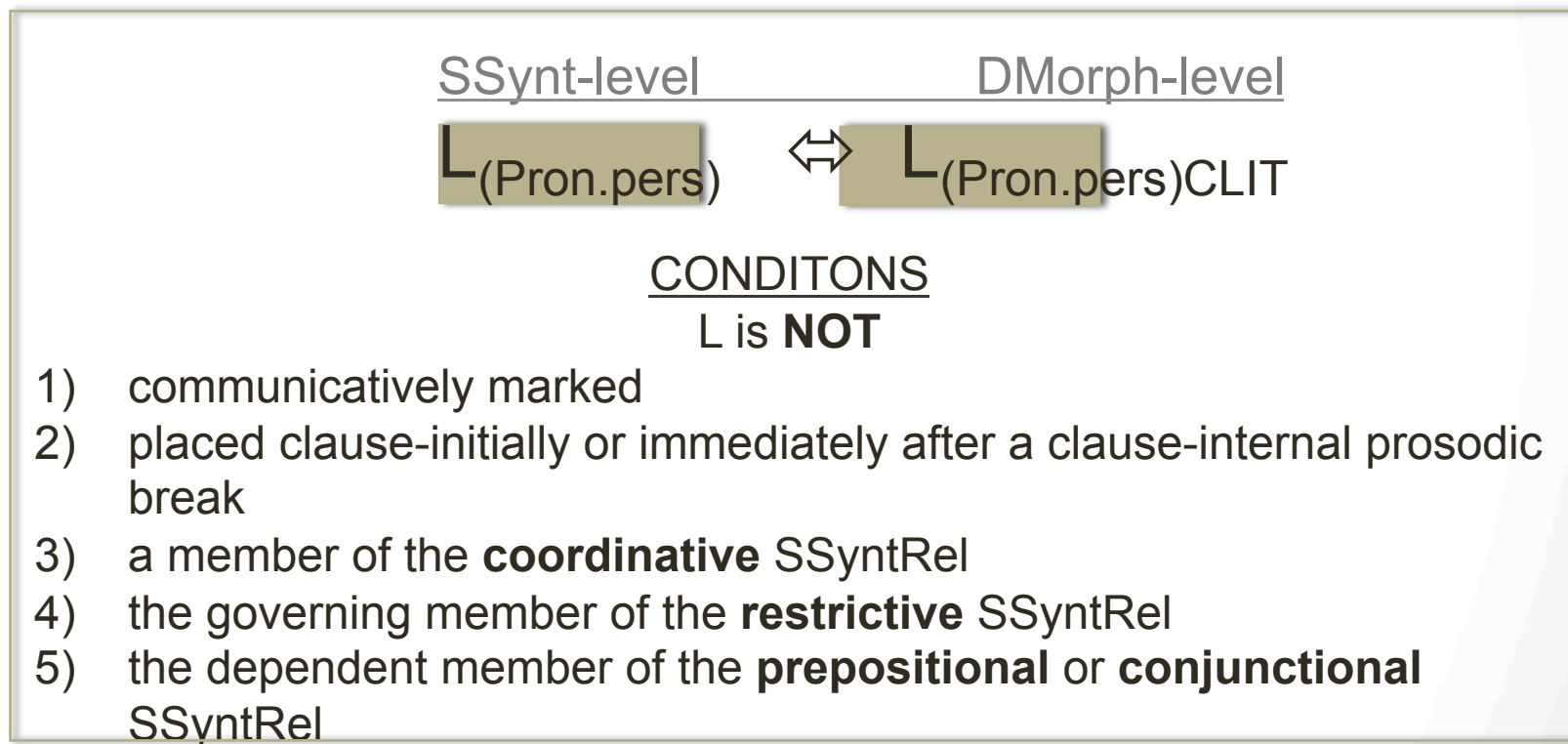
- if the communicative load carried by a full form can alternatively be
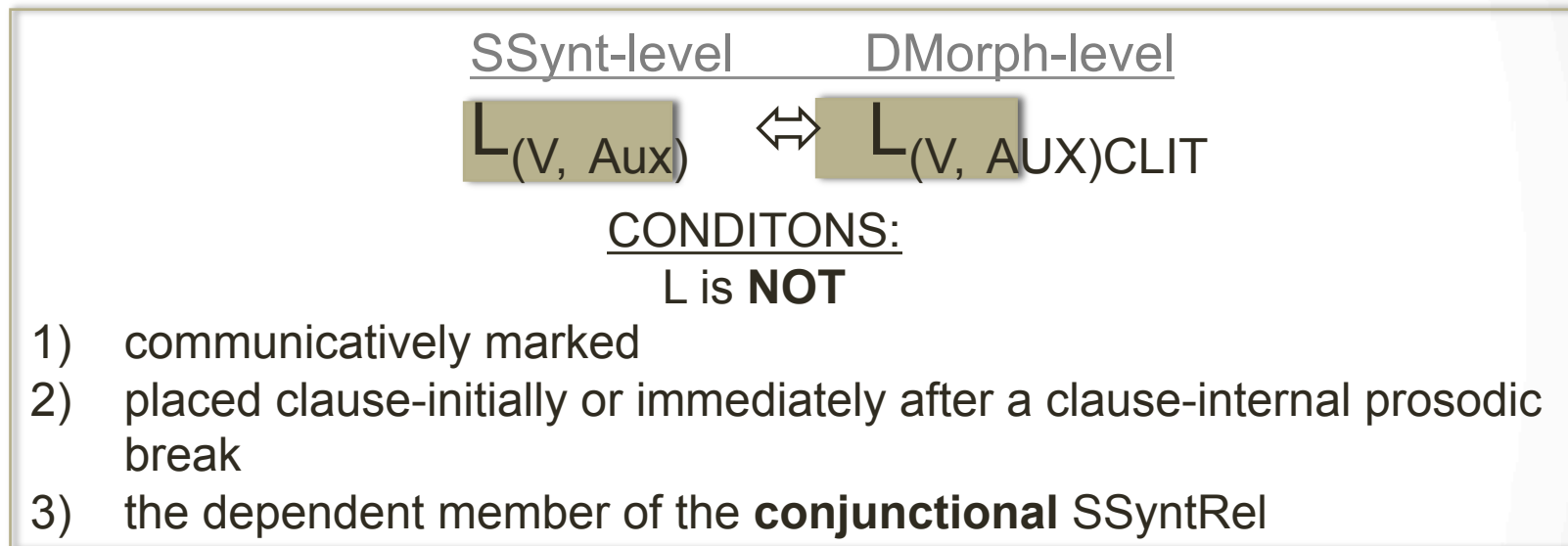 expressed by a lexical mean:

> *Jeste*_{FULL} *tako.*
> *Stvarno **je**_{CLITIC} tako.*

3. Cliticization Rules for Pron$_{PERS}$/V$_{AUX}$

Figure 3: Cliticization rule for personal pronouns

<u>SSynt-level</u>   <u>DMorph-level</u>

L$_{(Pron.pers)}$ ⟺   L$_{(Pron.pers)}$CLIT

<u>CONDITONS</u>
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   DMorph-level

$$L_{(V, Aux)} \Leftrightarrow L_{(V, AUX)}CLIT$$

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 **conjunctional** 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?

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