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CLITICS THAT DON'T CLIMB

In this article the behavior of clitics in subject- versus object-control infinitival constructions is explained by arguing that the two constructions have different structures. I argue that object-control infinitival constructions are CPs, and are therefore structurally richer than subject-control infinitival constructions, which are TPs and do not involve a CP projection. This results in different behavior of the clitics in the two configurations.

1. Introduction

Croatian clitics are second-position elements – they occupy the second position in the clause (Franks and King 2000, Čavar and Wilder 1994, Halpern 1995, among others). The second position of the clitic(s) in an embedded clause is calculated relative to the first overt element in the minimal clause that contains them, as shown in (1).

(1) a) [Jan misli [da **ga** Hana poznaje __]]

Jan._{nom} thinks that him._{cl.acc} Hana._{nom} knows

‘Jan thinks that Hana knows him.’

b) *[Jan **ga** misli [da Hana poznaje __]].

Jan._{nom} him._{cl.acc} thinks that Hana._{nom} knows

However, in infinitival (e.g., subject control) configurations, pronominal clitics can climb into the matrix clause, as shown in (2b).

- (2) a) [Jan_i želi [PRO_i kupiti **ga** Hani ___]].
 Jan._{nom} wants PRO to-buy him._{cl.acc} Hana._{dat}
- b) [Jan_i **ga** želi [PRO_i kupiti Hani ___]].
 Jan._{nom} him._{cl.acc} wants PRO to-buy Hana._{dat}

Clitic climbing is not always equally felicitous (Aljović 2004): e.g., a clitic cannot easily climb across an interrogative word in the embedded clause, as in (3b–c).

- (3) a) [Janova prijateljica ne zna [kako **mu** pomoći]].
 Jan's friend._{fem} not knows how him._{cl.dat} to-help
 'Jan's friend doesn't know how to help him.'
- b) ^{???}[Janova prijateljica **mu** ne zna [kako ___ pomoći]].
 Jan's friend._{fem} him._{cl.dat} not knows how to-help
- c) ^{??*}[Janova **mu** prijateljica ne zna [kako ___ pomoći]].
 Jan's him._{cl.dat} friend.fem not knows how to-help

Another configuration in which clitic climbing is even more restricted is object control. In object control, clitics are strongly preferred to remain in the infinitival clause, as shown in (4)–(6).¹

- (4) a) [Jan uči Hanu_i [PRO_i precizno **ih** crtati]].
 Jan._{nom} teaches Hana._{acc} PRO carefully them._{cl.acc} to-draw
- b) ^{??}[Jan **ih** uči Hanu_i [PRO_i precizno crtati]].
 Jan._{nom} them._{cl.acc} teaches Hana._{acc} PRO carefully to-draw

¹ The ungrammaticality of examples in (4b) and (6) parallels the ungrammaticality of example in (ib) below, where the embedded clause is a CP headed by the complementizer *da* 'that', which is a more standard complement of object-control verbs in Croatian.

- (i) a. Jan uči Hanu da ih precizno crta ___.
 Jan teaches Hana._{acc} that them._{cl.acc} carefully draw._{3sg}
 'Jan teaches Jana to carefully draw them.'
- b. *Jan ih uči Hanu da precizno crta ___.
 Jan them._{cl.acc} teaches Hana._{acc} that carefully draw._{3sg}

- (5) [Jan_{nom} uči Flokija_i [PRO_i ponovno **im** vjerovati ___]].
 Jan._{nom} teaches Floki._{acc} PRO again them._{cl.dat} to-trust
- (6) */??[Jan_{nom} **im** uči Flokija_i [PRO_i ponovno vjerovati ___]].
 Jan._{nom} them._{cl.dat} teaches Floki._{acc} PRO again to-trust

Clitic climbing is standardly seen as evidence for “restructuring” (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, 1983, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004, Cinque 2004, Rizzi 1978). According to Grano (2015: 11), “[r]estructuring is a phenomenon whereby apparently bi-clausal structures act as transparent domains for ordinarily clause-bound processes.” Such processes are e.g., clitic climbing, licensing of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) by the matrix negation, and long passive, to name but a few. Current analyses of restructuring configurations (Cinque 2004, Picallo 1990, Rochette 1988, 1990, Rosen 1989, 1991, Wurmbrand 2001, Zagona 1982) all propose that the embedded infinitival clause is structurally “poor”, i.e., that it lacks the domain which is targeted by operations that are indicative of restructuring, such as clitic climbing or long passives. On some analyses, the structure is viewed as monoclausal throughout the derivation (Cinque 2004, Picallo 1990, Rochette 1988, 1990, Rosen 1989, 1991, Wurmbrand 2001, Zagona 1982), as in (7b).

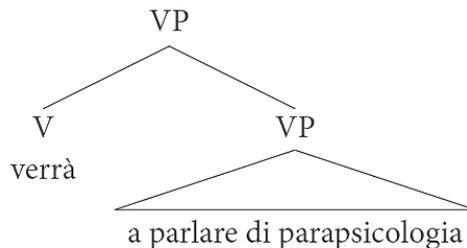
- (7) a) Piero **ti** verrà a parlare di parapsicologia. *Italian*

Piero you will-come to speak of parapsychology

‘Piero will come to talk to you about parapsychology.’

(Rizzi 1978: 113)

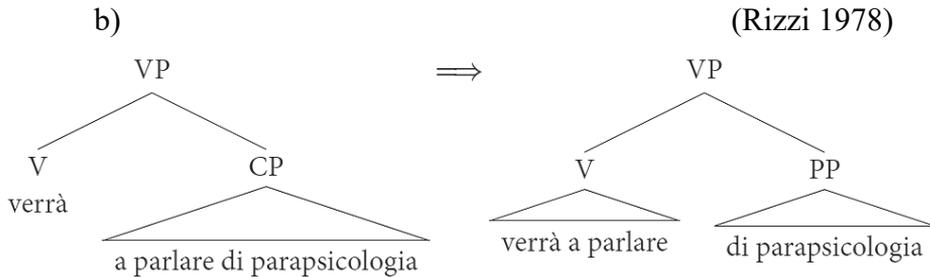
b)



(Wurmbrand 2001)

Some analyses, on the other hand, propose that the structure is bi-clausal until some operation renders it monoclausal in the course of the derivation (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, Evers 1975, Kayne 1989, Rizzi 1978, Roberts 1997), as in (8b).

- (8) a) Piero **ti** verrà a parlare di parapsicologia. *Italian*
 Piero you will-come to speak of parapsychology
 ‘Piero will come to talk to you about parapsychology.’
 (Rizzi 1978: 113)



For the purposes of this paper, it is not important which one of the two families of analyses of restructuring is correct. What matters is that restructuring configurations typically allow clitic climbing – in fact, clitic climbing is one of the diagnostics for restructuring configurations. However, clitic climbing, as we have seen in (4)–(6) above, is absent from object control configurations. Various analysis have been proposed to explain why object control, unlike subject control configurations, do not allow restructuring. Kayne (1989) analyzes restructuring in terms of Infl (I/T) raising: The embedded Infl raises to the matrix one. For Kayne, Infl is coindexed with its specifier, so in cases of subject control, the matrix Infl is co-indexed with the controller, and the embedded Infl with PRO. Since the controller and PRO bear the same index, no contradiction obtains when the embedded Infl raises to the matrix clause: the Infl from the embedded clause bears the same index as the matrix subject, as shown in (9).

- (9) [Subj_i INFL_i [PRO_i t_i ...]]
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In object control, PRO is coindexed with the object of the matrix clause, not the subject. Thus, when the embedded Infl raises to the matrix one, the index on the matrix Infl and the index on its subject do not match, as in (10). Thus, restructuring is not allowed.

- (10) [Subj_i INFL_k obj_k [PRO_k t_k ...]]


Cinque (2004) derives the absence of restructuring in object control configurations from the semantics of the matrix verb. Following his earlier work (Cinque 2001, 2002), he notes that restructuring is only possible if the matrix verb is either a *modal*, an *aspectual*, or a *motion* verb, as shown by Italian examples in (11)-(13), adapted from Cinque (2004).

- (11) **Lo**_i volevo vedere t_i in quello stato. *modal*
 him._{acc} wanted._{1sg} to-see in that state
 ‘I wanted to see him in that state.’
- (12) Non **vi** smette a importunare. *aspectual*
 Neg you._{acc} stops to bother
 ‘He doesn’t stop bothering you.’
- (13) **Lo** vengo a prendere domani. *motion*
 it._{acc} come._{1sg} to fetch tomorrow
 ‘I come to fetch it tomorrow.’

Cinque proposes that modal, aspectual, and motion verbs are exactly those that semantically match the content of a certain functional head (e.g., Mod_(volitional) or Asp_(terminative/prospective/completive)). Such verbs can behave as regular lexical verbs, and take a full CP complement, as in (14a), or they can behave as functional verbs (on a par with auxiliaries or modals) and take a smaller, VP complement, as in (14b).

- (14) a) [_{VP} V_{restr.} [_{CP} ...]]
 b) [_{FP} V_{restr.} [_{VP} ...]]

For Cinque, thus, the absence of restructuring in object control sentences is a consequence of the fact that no verb with an object control complement can function as a functional verb.

If object control sentences do not (or cannot) involve restructuring, then they involve full clausal structure (CP) in the embedded clause, so the absence of clitic climbing in sentences like (4)–(6) is expected. In the remainder of the paper, we will see independent evidence, coming from anaphor binding, in support of the claim that, unlike sentences involving subject control, which are TPs or perhaps vPs, as in (15), sentences involving object control are full-fledged CPs, as in (16). It is therefore not surprising that object control infinitivals do not allow clitic climbing.

(15) [Jan_i želi [_{TP/vP} PRO_i kupiti Hani **poklon**]].

Jan._{nom} wants PRO to-buy Hana._{dat} present

‘Jan wants to buy Hana a present.’

(16) [Jan uči Flokija_i [_{CP} C⁰ [_{TP} PRO_i ponovno vjerovati **ljudima**]]].

Jan._{nom} teaches Floki._{acc} PRO again to-trust people._{dat}

‘Jan is teaching Floki to trust people again.’

2. Croatian subject *versus* object control

In this section, we will see that embedded infinitival clauses that involve object control are headed by C, while embedded infinitival clauses that involve subject control are not. The argument will proceed as follows: we will first see evidence coming from depictives (secondary predicates) that Croatian infinitival embedded clauses in object control configurations are CPs. We will then turn our attention to the infinitivals in subject control configurations; I will present evidence suggesting that they are not CPs, but TPs (or vPs). The contrast in clitic climbing between the two configurations thus follows from the internal syntax of infinitival complements of matrix subject/object control verbs.

2.1. Case on PRO in object control constructions

Depictives or secondary predicates always agree in case (as well as number, person, and gender) with the phrase they are predicated of. In (17) below, we see a subject depictive, while in (18) we see an object depictive.

- (17) Nenad je gledao film pijan.
 Nenad._{nom} Aux watched movie drunk._{nom}

‘Nenad watched the movie drunk.’

- (18) Nenad je vidio Teu pijanu /**pijana*.
 Nenad._{nom} Aux seen Tea._{acc} drunk._{acc/*nom}

‘Nenad saw Tea drunk.’ (Tea is drunk.)

Depictives can also appear in subject control infinitival clauses, as seen in (19). In (19), the depictive *triježan* ‘sober’ is predicated of the PRO subject of the embedded clause. Given that depictives always agree in case with the phrase they are predicated of, the case form of the depictive is informative of the case born by the null PRO subject of the infinitival clause (Landau 2008): it shows that PRO bears nominative case.

- (19) Nenad želi [**PRO** stići kući **triježan**.]
 Nenad._{nom} wants [**PRO** come home **sober**._{nom}]

‘Nenad wants to come home sober.’

The same is true of object control constructions: the depictive predicated of PRO appears in the nominative case, even though the controller of PRO bears a different case: accusative in (20) and dative in (21).

- (20) Hana uči **Jana**_i PRO_i hodati **bos** /**bosog* po staklu.
 Hana teaches **Jan**_{i acc} PRO_i to-walk **barefoot**_{nom} /**barefoot*_{acc} on glass

‘Hana is teaching Jan to walk barefoot on glass.’

- (21) Hana pomaže **Janu**_i PRO_i hodati **bos** /*bosom po staklu.
 Hana helps **Jan**_{i,dat} PRO_i to-walk **barefoot**_{nom} /*barefoot_{dat,m} on glass
 ‘Hana is helping Jan to walk barefoot on glass.’²

Landau (2008, 2015) develops a theory of control on which control is a consequence of the *Agree* (feature sharing) relation that is established between PRO and its controller, which is also responsible for the case marking on PRO. This relation may be established in two ways depending on the featural composition of the embedded C. Landau’s arguments proceed as follows: he first shows, with the data from Russian, that the depictive predicated of PRO in an object control construction may appear in the case of the controller, as in (22a), or it may bear an independent case (dative), as in (22b).

- (22) a) Ona poprosila **ego** ne ezdit’ tuda **odnogo** zavtra.
 she asked **him**_{acc} not-to-go there **alone**_{acc} tomorrow
 ‘She asked him not to go there alone.’
 b) Ona poprosila **ego** ne ezdit’ tuda **odnomu** zavtra.
 she asked **him**_{acc} not to-go there **alone**_{dat} tomorrow
 ‘She asked him not to go there alone.’

Landau (2008) takes the embedded infinitival clause in Russian object control to be invariably a CP, but the C may either be endowed with ϕ -features: [+ ϕ] or not: [- ϕ]. He proposes that if C is [- ϕ], then the matrix functional head that agrees with the controller (*v* in (22)), also agrees with PRO (which always has

² A reviewer notes that examples (20) and (21) are marginal and unusual and wonders what form the depictive would appear in if the object controller were feminine, as in (i). He/she states that in such a configuration the sentence sounds degraded irrespective of the form of the depictive, but indicates a slight preference for the form of the depictive that agrees in case with the object. I agree with the reviewer that the examples are marked, but it is not uncommon for most interesting discoveries about a grammar to be made precisely by examining such examples. My own intuition is that examples like (i) are no different from the ones in the text, i.e., that the depictive should bear nominative case here as well.

(i) Jan uči Hanu hodati bosa /*bosu po staklu.
 Jan_{nom} teaches Hana_{acc} to-walk barefoot_{no m} /*barefoot_{acc} on glass
 ‘Jan teaches Hana to walk barefoot on glass.’

φ -features), as in (23). Since in (23) both PRO and its controller agree with the same functional head (the matrix v), both are assigned the same case. Landau (2008, 2015) calls this scenario *PRO-control*, which results in *Case transmission* – the case on PRO is “transmitted” from the controller, resulting in (22a).

$$(23) \quad [_{CP} \dots v \dots DP \dots [_{CP} C_{[-\varphi]} [_{TP} PRO_{[+\varphi]} [_{T'} T VP]]]]$$

If, on the other hand, C is $[+\varphi]$, the matrix v agrees with the controller, as well as with the $[+\varphi]$ bundle on the embedded C (since it is the closest φ -bearing goal). Independently of this relation, in the embedded clause, PRO enters Agree relation with C, agreeing with the same $[+\varphi]$ bundle which the matrix functional head has agreed with. In this case, the agreement between the controller and PRO is less direct: the controller agrees with v , v agrees with C, C agrees with PRO, as shown in (24).

$$(24) \quad [_{CP} \dots v \dots DP \dots [_{CP} C_{[+\varphi]} [_{TP} PRO_{[+\varphi]} [_{T'} T VP]]]]$$

Landau refers to the scenario in (24) as *C-control*, which results in *Case independence*: since the PRO and the controller agree with different functional heads, they end up having different cases. This is what we see in (22b).

Recall from (20) and (21) above that in Croatian object control sentences, PRO always bears nominative case, while the controller bears either accusative or dative. In other words, in Croatian object control, we observe case independence. In Landau's terms, this means that in Croatian object control constructions, we have C-control: PRO always agrees with C and thus never bears the case of the controller (accusative or dative); instead, its nominative is an instance of independent case.

Given that, in contrast to Russian, in Croatian there is no optionality as to the case on PRO – it always has to be nominative – there is no reason to assume that there are two kinds of C in Croatian (with and without φ -features). Instead, we can assume that in Croatian there is lexically only one (null) C and that one carries φ -features: $C_{[+\varphi]}$. In object control configurations the matrix v always agrees with C, which in turn agrees with PRO and the result is case independence. By parity of reasoning, whenever we observe case transmission, which is indicative of PRO-control – Agree relation in which PRO agrees with the functional head in the matrix clause that also agrees with the controller – the structure may be assumed not

to contain C. Since PRO control never obtains in object control cases, we might wonder whether it arises in subject control cases. This is what we turn to next.

2.2. Case on PRO in subject control constructions

Landau reports that in Russian, unlike object control constructions, which allow for both case transmission and independent case on PRO, subject control constructions obligatorily feature case transmission: depictives in the infinitival clause in subject control can only bear nominative, the case of the controller, as shown in (25).

- (25) **Ona** sobiralas' putešestvovat' **odna** /*odnoj v Japonii.
she_{nom} planned to-travel **alone**_{nom} /*alone_{dat} in Japan
 'She planned to travel alone in Japan.'

The absence of independent case in Russian subject control indicates the absence of C-control (since C-control results in dative being assigned). Thus, in Russian subject control, the case on PRO is the result of PRO-control. In subject control, Croatian patterns with Russian: PRO necessarily bears nominative, as indicated by the obligatory nominative on the depictive in the infinitival clause in (26).

- (26) **Nenad** želi stići kući **triježan**.
Nenad_{nom} wants come home **sober**_{nom}
 'Nenad wants to come home sober.'

Note, however, that the nominative on PRO in Croatian subject control cases can be a consequence of PRO-control, as it is in Russian, or of C-control since in Croatian, the independent case is nominative, not dative. In the next section, where I discuss anaphor binding in Croatian control configurations, we will see evidence that the nominative on PRO in subject control cases is a consequence of PRO-control, rather than of C-control.

2.3. Anaphor binding in Croatian control

Croatian possessive, subject oriented anaphor *svoj* 'self's has to be bound by the local nominative subject, as we see in (27); it cannot be bound by a long-distance

nominative subject, as shown in (28), nor can it be bound by a non-nominative subject, as shown in (29).³

(27) **Ja** volim **svoj** posao.

I_{nom} love self's job

'I like my job.'

(28) Vid_i tvrdi [da **ja**_i volim **svoj**_{j/i} posao].

Vid claims that I_{nom} love self's job

'Vid claims that I like my job.'

(29) ***Meni** se sviđa **svoj** posao. (from Bailyn (2007), judgment mine)

me._{dat} refl. pleases self's job

'I like my job.'

The anaphor is licensed in subject control configurations, but not in object control configurations.⁴ This is illustrated in (30) and (31).

³ An anonymous reviewer disagrees with the claim that *svoj* is nominative-oriented, citing examples like (i), where *svoj* is bound by a non-nominative possessor and (ii), where it is bound by a dative constituent. My intuition, as reflected in the text, is that (i) and (ii) are ungrammatical unless the anaphor *svoj* is substituted with the pronoun *njegov* 'his' or the non-anaphoric element *vlastiti* 'own' (which would also improve example (29) in the main text). Thus, binding of *svoj* by a non-nominative phrase seems to be a point of variation among Croatian speakers, as indicated by the percent sign (%) in (i) and (ii).

(i) %Svi su se divili Janovoj_i brizi za svoje_i roditelje.
all Aux refl. admired Jan's._{dat} concern for self's parents
'Everyone admired Jan's concern for his parents.'

(ii) %Svakome je svoje selo milo.
everyone._{dat} Aux self's village dear
'Everyone holds dear his/her own village.'

⁴ Both anonymous reviewers for *Rasprave* question the ungrammaticality of (31). One of them simply expresses doubt that (31) is ungrammatical under both readings (when *svoj* is bound by *Jan* and also when it is bound by *Vid*). The other states that there seem to exist three different groups of Croatian speakers (possibly correlated with factors such as age and/or origin): those who, like him/herself, find the example grammatical if *svoj* is bound by *Jan*, those who find it grammatical if *svoj* is bound by *Vid* and those who, like myself, find it ungrammatical under either reading. I would like to thank the reviewers for their remarks and note that there indeed seems to exist considerable variation among native speakers of Croatian. Judgments of examples like (31) possibly dovetail with judgments of examples like those in footnote 3, as well as (i) below, where *svoj* is coreferential with the matrix subject in an object control configuration. The reviewer who suggested examples in the previous footnote also finds grammatical example (i), which sounds pretty degraded to my ear.

- (30) **Vid_i** želi PRO voziti **svoj_i** auto. Subject control: ✓ *svoj*
 Vid_{i,nom} wants PRO to-drive self's_i car
 'Vid_i wants to drive his_i car.'
- (31) ***Vid_i** uči **Jana_j** PRO voziti **svoj_{i,j}** auto. Object control: *x svoj*
 Vid_{nom} teaches Jan_{acc} PRO to-drive self's car
 'Vid_i is teaching Jan_j to drive his_{i,j} car.'

In both subject and object control configurations, PRO bears nominative and in both configurations it is local to the anaphor, so the contrast between (30) and (31) cannot be explained by positing the absence of local nominative in object control. However, we know that in object control cases, the nominative on PRO is an independent case: case assigned to PRO as a consequence of its agreement with the embedded C, as opposed to matrix T. Suppose that anaphor binding in Croatian is sensitive to the source of the nominative on the binder: only those local nominative binders that have undergone *Agree* with a T can bind the anaphor.⁵ The ungrammaticality of (29), for example, supports this claim: the non-nominative subject has presumably not agreed with T and therefore cannot bind *svoj*. If this conjecture is on the right track, (31) is ungrammatical for the same reason: the PRO subject has not agreed with T, but with C, and therefore cannot bind the anaphor. The grammaticality of (30), where the anaphor is bound by PRO, suggests that in subject control constructions, the nominative on PRO is

(i) %Odvjetnik_i ga_j je pustio [PRO_j čekati u svom_i uredu oko četvrt sata].
 lawyer him_{acc} Aux left wait in self's office around quarter hour._{gen}
 'The lawyer left him to wait in his office around a quarter of an hour.'

Given the variation among speakers, the analysis in the text can only capture the grammar of those who share the judgments reported in the article (which reflect my own intuitions and intuitions of eleven native speakers I consulted).

⁵ A reviewer notes that if binding of *svoj* is indeed sensitive to the source of the nominative on the local subject, example (i) is mysterious since it does not involve any agreement between the T and the subject, as indicated by the infinitival verbs *voziti* 'to drive' and *trošiti* 'to spend'.

(i) Voziti svoj auto znači ne trošiti pare na taksi.
 to-drive self's car means not to-spend money on cab
 'Driving one's car means not spending money on a cab.'

The reviewer is absolutely correct – the grammaticality of (i) is unexplained by the analysis presented in the paper. At this moment, I am unable to account for the example in (i) and although I find its well-formedness very intriguing, I must leave the issue for further work.

transmitted from the controller: both agree with the matrix T. Thus, we have evidence that subject control in Croatian is PRO-control.

3. Back to control and clitic climbing

Recall from 2.1. above that PRO-control in Croatian does not involve embedded C: Croatian null C is lexically [+φ] and is simply absent in PRO-control. This means that in subject control configurations, the embedded infinitival clause is not a CP, but rather a TP (or perhaps even a vP). On the other hand, the embedded infinitival clause in object control configurations is a CP (since in these constructions, PRO agrees with the local, phi-feature bearing C). Therefore, it is not surprising that object control does not allow clitic climbing: this is because the embedded infinitival is a CP and CPs independently disallow clitic climbing. Consequently, the ungrammaticality of (6), repeated here as (32), has the same underlying cause as the ungrammaticality of (33), which more transparently involves an embedded CP, as indicated by the presence of the complementizer *da* ‘that’ which introduces the clause.

(32) */?[?][Jan **im** uči Flokija_i [PRO_i ponovno vjerovati __]].

Jan._{nom} them._{cl.dat} teaches Floki._{acc} PRO again to-trust

Int: ‘Jan teaches Floki to trust them again.’

(33) */?[?][Jan **im** uči Flokija [da *pro* ponovno vjeruje __]]

Jan._{nom} them._{cl.dat} teaches Floki._{acc} that *pro* again to-trust

Int: ‘Jan teaches Floki to trust them again.’

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I presented evidence for different structural make up of infinitival complement clauses in Croatian subject and object control constructions, which I argued is responsible for the difference in clitic climbing possibilities in the

two constructions. Evidence for the different structures came from the binding of the possessive anaphor *svoj* ‘self’s’, which is licensed in subject, but not in object control structures, despite the fact that a local nominative binder (PRO) is available in both. Subject control structures were shown to lack the CP layer in the infinitival clause, which makes them transparent to clause-bound processes, such as clitic climbing. Object control configurations, on the other hand, were shown to be headed by a null complementizer, which makes them opaque to clitic climbing.

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Klitike koje se ne penju

Sažetak

Hrvatske klitike zauzimaju drugo mjesto u rečenici (Franks i King 2000, Čavar i Wilder 1994, Halpern 1995, među ostalima). Klitike u zavisnoj rečenici ne podižu se u glavnu, već se njihovo mjesto računa u odnosu na minimalnu surečenicu koja ih sadržava. U infinitivnoj konstrukciji sa subjektnom kontrolom, međutim, zamjeničke se klitike mogu podignuti u glavnu rečenicu, u kojoj zauzimaju drugo mjesto. S druge strane, podizanje klitika nije uvijek dopušteno (Aljović 2004). Na primjer, u infinitivnim konstrukcijama s objektnom kontrolom klitike (osobito dativne klitike) sklonije su ostati u infinitivnoj rečenici. U ovom radu iznijet će se argumenti u prilog tvrdnji da se klitike u ova dva tipa infinitivnih konstrukcija ponašaju različito zbog toga što te dvije konstrukcije imaju različite strukture: infinitivne konstrukcije s objektnom kontrolom imaju kompletnu rečeničnu strukturu (CPs), dok su one sa subjektnom kontrolom vremenski izrazi (TPs).

Ključne riječi: penjanje klitika, hrvatski jezik, infinitivne konstrukcije, subjektna kontrola, objektna kontrola

Keywords: clitic climbing, Croatian language, infinitival constructions, subject control, object control