



# Reflexives in Czech from a Dependency Perspective

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# Introduction

- Ambiguity of reflexives  
 (Faltz, 1985, Geniušienė, 1987, Kemmer, 1993, Frajzyngier – Walker, 2000a, Frajzyngier – Walker, 2000b, König – Kokutani, 2006, Nedjalkov, 2007, König – Gast, 2008, Evans et al., 2011; in Czech: Panevová, 1999, 2001, 2008)
- Focus on those reflexives in Czech that form reflexive and reciprocal verbal and non-verbal structures
- Generating well-formed reflexive and reciprocal constructions with respect to **lexicon** and **grammar**
- Functional Generative Description (FGD)  
 (Sgall et al., 1986, Panevová et al., 1994)

# Outline

- Reflexives in FGD
  - Reflexive pronoun
  - Reflexive verb lemmas
  - Reflexive verb forms
- Reflexivity
  - Deep and surface structure
- Reciprocity
  - Deep and surface structure

# Reflexives in FGD

- Reflexives in Czech
  - Clitic forms: *se/si*
  - Long forms: *sebe/sobě/sebou*
- Classification of the reflexives in FGD based on their functions
  - ➔ functionally equivalent reflexives have the same status:
 

A. Reflexive pronoun	➔	both clitic and long forms
B. Parts of verb lemmas	}	clitic forms
C. Parts of reflexive verb forms		

# A. Reflexive Pronoun

- It has clitic forms *se/si* and long forms: *sebe/sobě/sebou*
  - Clitic forms change into long forms when stressed
- It fills one valency position of a predicate (V, N, Adj, Adv)
- It marks referential identity btw the filled position and another expression → reflexivity or reciprocity

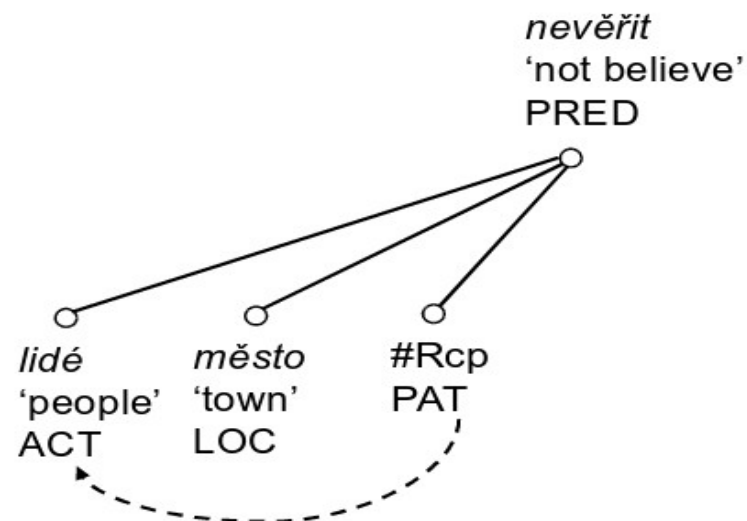
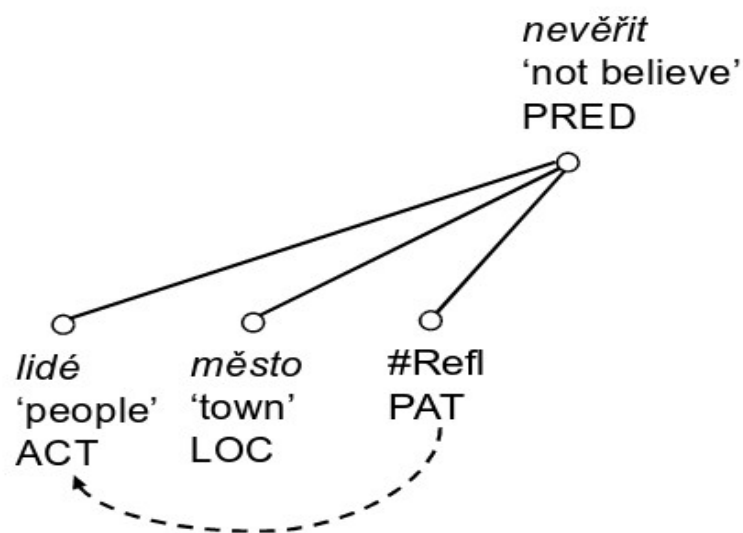
# A. Reflexive Pronoun

*věřit* 'to believe': ACT<sub>nom</sub> PAT<sub>dat,dcc</sub>

*Lidé ve městě si nevěří.*

People in town REFL<sub>clitic.dat</sub> not believe

'People in towns do not believe themselves // each other.'



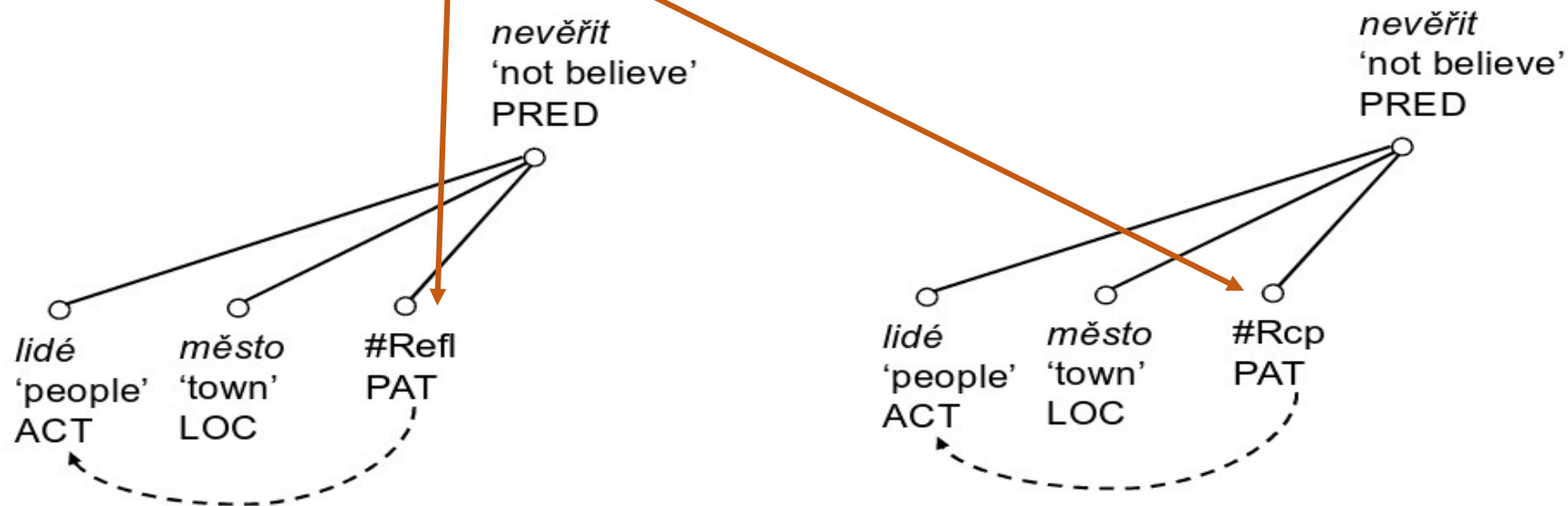
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## B. Reflexive Verb Lemmas

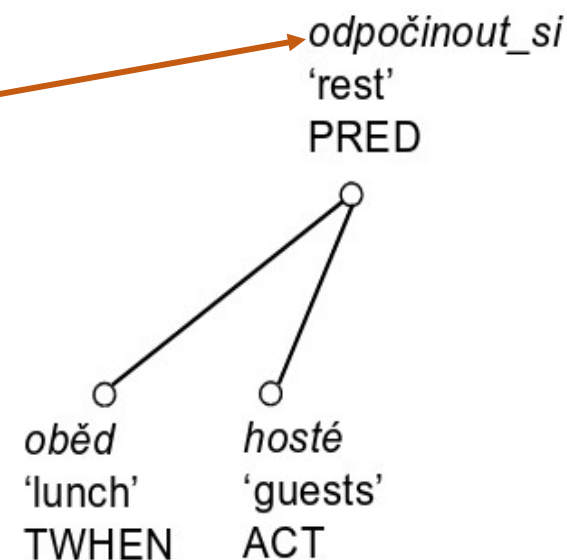
- Only clitic forms *se/si*
- It does not fill a valency position of a predicate
  - Reflexive tantum verbs (inherently reflexive verbs)  
e.g., *blížít se* 'to approach', *odpočínout si* 'to have a rest'
  - Derived reflexive verbs  
e.g., *budit se* 'to wake up' ← *budit* 'to wake', *pomáhat si* 'to help each other' ← *pomáhat* 'to help'



## B. Reflexive Verb Lemmas

- Only clitic forms *se/si*
- It does not fill a valency position of a predicate
  - Reflexive tantum verbs (inherently reflexive verbs)
  - Derived reflexive verbs

*Po obědě si hosté odpočinuli.*  
 After lunch REFLclitic guests rested  
 'Guests had a rest after the lunch.'



- Represented as a part of verb lemmas in lexicon



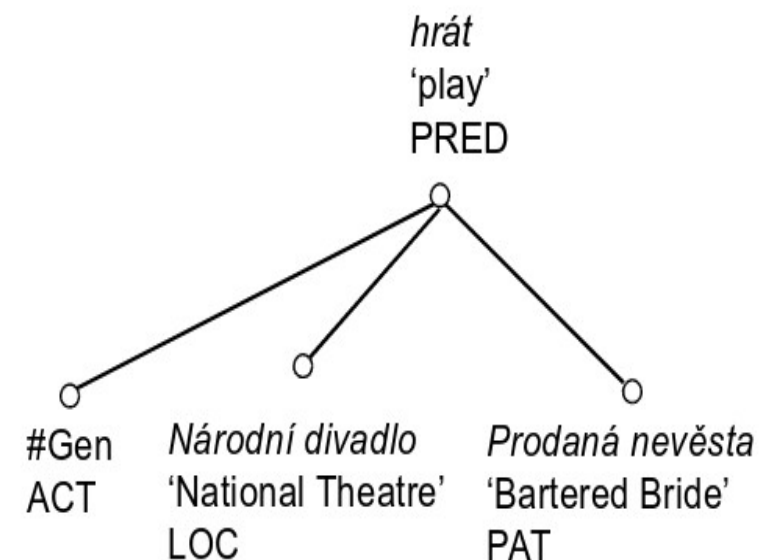
## C. Reflexive Verb Form

- Only the clitic form *se*
- Voice marker: deagentive and dispositional diatheses (middle alternation)
  - Shift of ACT from subject of a verb

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*V Národním divadle se hrála Prodaná nevěsta.*  
 In National theatre REFLclitic played Bartered Bride  
 'The Bartered Bride was played in the National Theatre.'



- Syntactic changes represented by formal rules in grammar
- Applicability captured in lexicon with individual verbs

# Reflexivity

- Two semantic participants with a single referent
- Reflexive pronoun
- Morphosyntactic operation of reflexivization applied to a valency frame of a predicate (V, N, Adj, Adv)

- a. *Marie se pořád jen lituje.*  
 'Mary feels sorry for herself all the time.'
- b. *Mariina lítost nad sebou*  
 'Mary's sorrow for herself'
- c. *necitlivý k sobě*  
 'insensitive to herself/himself'
- d. *necitlivě k sobě*  
 'insensitively to herself/himself'

# Reflexivity

- Two semantic participants with a single referent
- Reflexive pronoun
- Morphosyntactic operation of reflexivization applied to a valency frame of a predicate
  - Regular morphosyntactic patterns captured by formal rules in grammar
  - Applicability provided with each relevant verb in lexicon

# Reflexivity in Deep Structure

- Number and type of valency complementations preserved
- Mapping of semantic participants onto valency complementations preserved
- Two semantic participants refer to a single referent → coreference

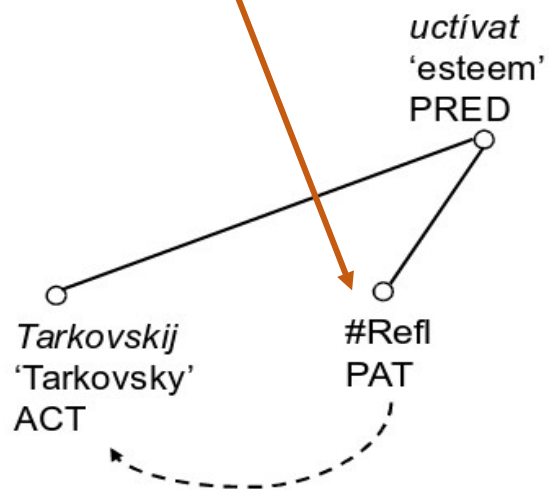
# Reflexivity in Deep Structure

*uctívat / uctít* 'to respect': ACT<sub>1</sub> PAT<sub>4,dcc</sub>

'Cognizer' → ACT

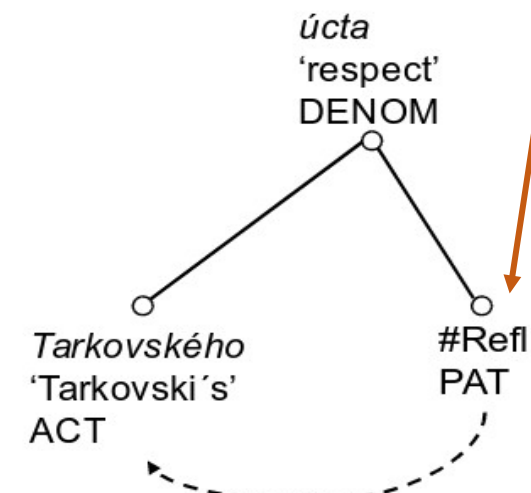
'Evaluatee' → PAT

*Tarkovskij se (sám) uctíval.*  
 Tarkovsky REFLclitic.acc (alone) respected  
 'Tarkovsky honored himself.'



*úcta* 'respect': ACT<sub>2,pos</sub> PAT<sub>k+3</sub>

*Tarkovského úcta k sobě*  
 Tarkovsky's respect to REFLlong.dat  
 'Tarkovsky's respect for himself'



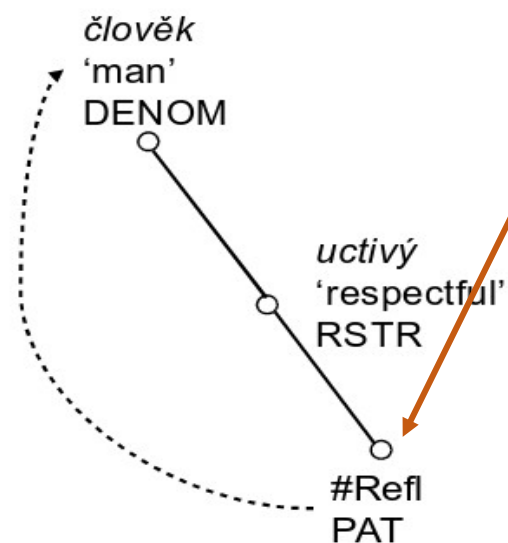
# Reflexivity in Deep Structure

*uctivý* 'respectful': PAT<sub>k+3</sub>

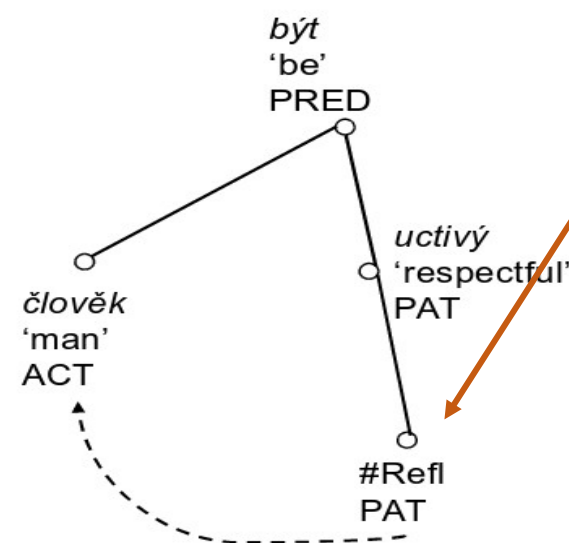
'Cognizer' → outside Adj (its governor, or ACT of copula verbs)

'Evaluatee' → PAT

člověk *uctivý* (sám) k *sobě*  
 man respectful (alone) to REFL<sub>long.dat</sub>  
 'a man respectful to herself/himself'



Člověk je *uctivý* (sám) k *sobě*  
 man is respectful (alone) to REFL<sub>long.dat</sub>  
 'A man is respectful to herself/himself.'

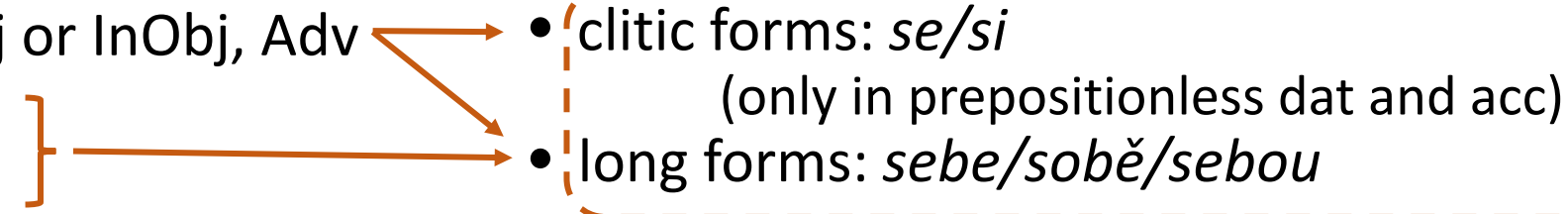




# Reflexivity in Surface Structure

- Two surface positions provided by coreferring valency complementations:

## 1. Reflexive pronoun

- V: DObj or InObj, Adv
  - N: Attr
  - Adj: Adv
- 
- clitic forms: *se/si*  
(only in prepositionless dat and acc)
  - long forms: *sebe/sobě/sebou*

## 2. Its antecedent

- V: Sb
- N: Attr (corresponding to Sb with V)
- Adj: governor or ACT of copula V

# Reciprocity

- Semantic relation of mutuality btw two (sporadically three) semantic participants of a predicate (V, N, Adj, Adv)
- Reflexive pronoun (the expression *jeden druhý* 'each other')
- Morphosyntactic operation of reciprocalization applied to a valency frame of a predicate

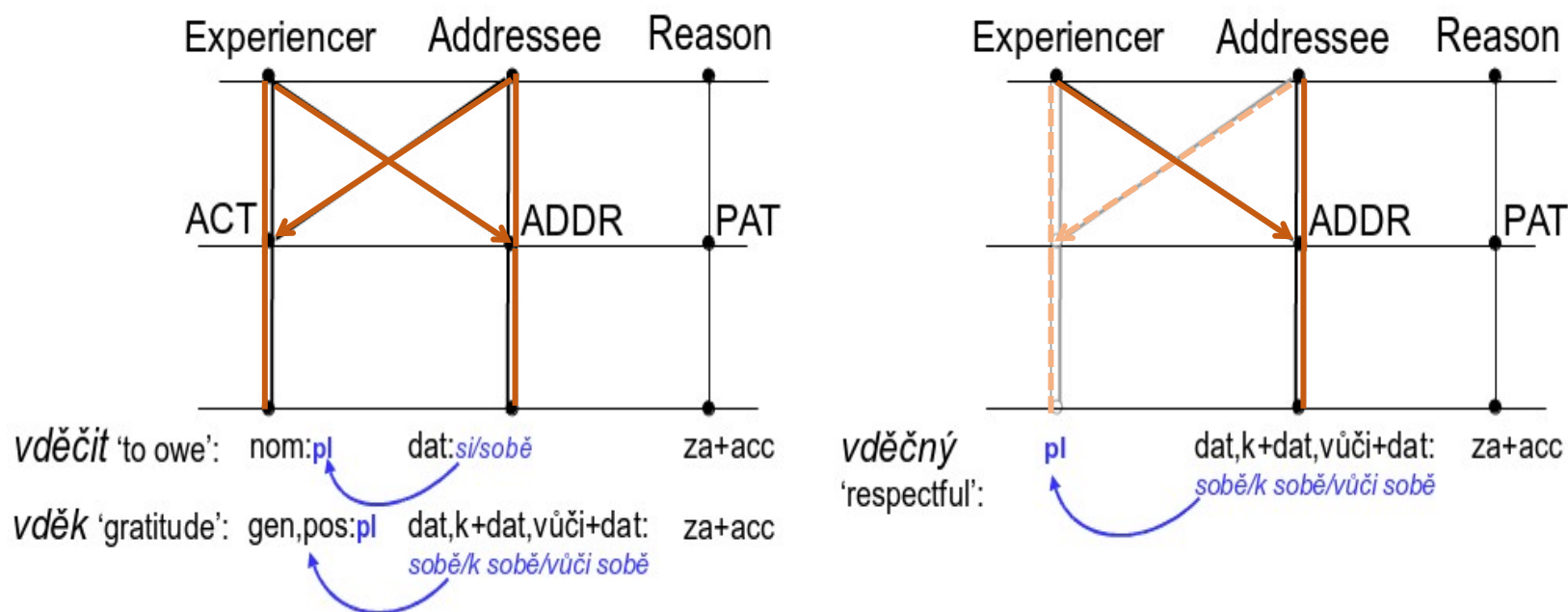
- a. *Petr a Pavel si /sobě (navzájem) vyhrožovali.*  
'Peter and Paul threatened each other.'
- b. *obava přátel o sebe (navzájem)*  
'friends' fear for each other'
- c. *lhostejní k sobě navzájem*  
'indifferent to each other'
- d. *daleko od sebe*  
'far from each other'

# Reciprocity

- Two groups
  - **Lexical reciprocal predicates:** semantic trait of mutuality in lexical meaning  
e.g., *debatovat* 'to debate', *dohodnout se* 'to agree'
  - **Syntactic reciprocal predicates:** without this trait, but they allow mutuality  
e.g., *děkovat* 'to thank', *budit* 'to wake up'
- Morphosyntactic operation of reciprocalization applied to a valency frame of a predicate
  - Lexical reciprocal predicates: optional
  - Syntactic reciprocal predicates: obligatory
  - Regular morphosyntactic patterns captured by formal rules in grammar
  - Applicability provided with each relevant verb in lexicon

# Reciprocity in Deep Structure

- Number and type of valency complementations preserved
- Complex mapping of semantic participants onto valency complementations
  - Two semantic participants, referring to distinct referents, symmetrically mapped onto valency complementations → coreference



# Reciprocity in Deep Structure

*vděčit* 'to owe': ACT<sub>1</sub> ADDR<sub>3</sub> PAT<sub>za+4,dcc</sub>

*vděk* 'gratitude': ACT<sub>2,pos</sub> ADDR<sub>3,k+3,vůči+3</sub> PAT<sub>za+4,dcc</sub>

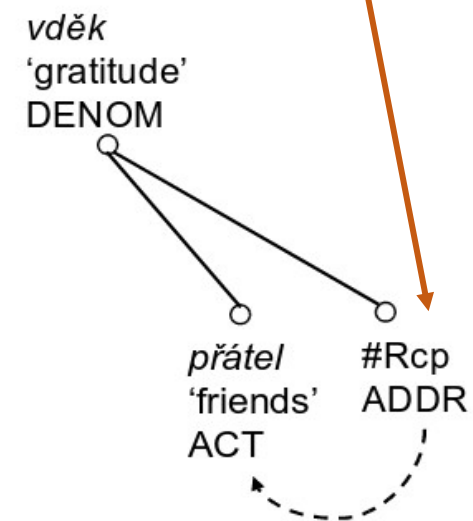
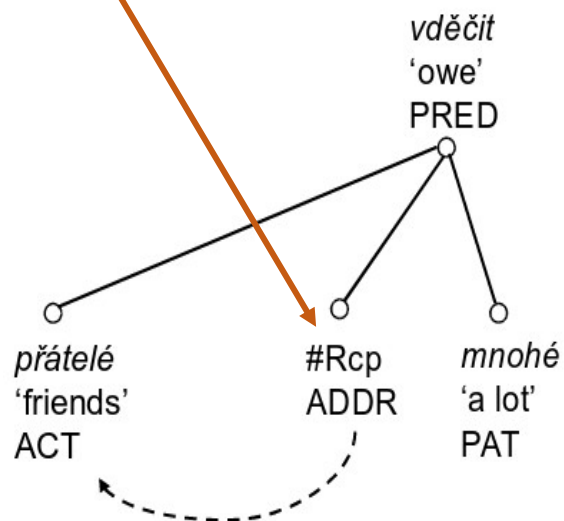
'Experiencer' → ACT

'Addressee' → ADDR

'Reason' → PAT

*Přátelé si* (vzájemně) *vděčili za mnohé.*  
 friends REFL<sub>clitic.dat</sub> (mutually) owed for a lot  
 'Friends owed each other a lot.'

*vděk přátel k sobě* (navzájem)  
 gratitude of friends to REFL<sub>long.dat</sub> (mutually)  
 'gratitude of friends to each other'



# Reciprocity in Deep Structure

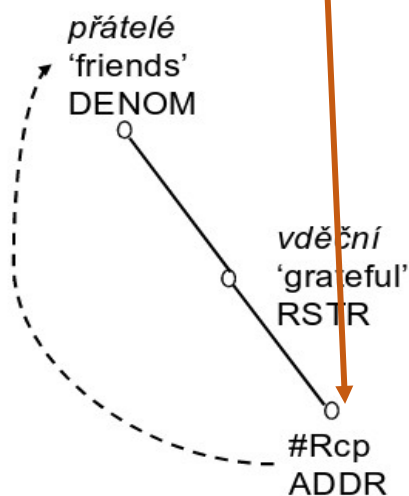
*vděčný* 'to grateful': ADDR<sub>dat,vůči+dat</sub> PAT<sub>za+acc,dcc</sub>

'Experiencer' → outside adj (its governor, or ACT of copula verbs)

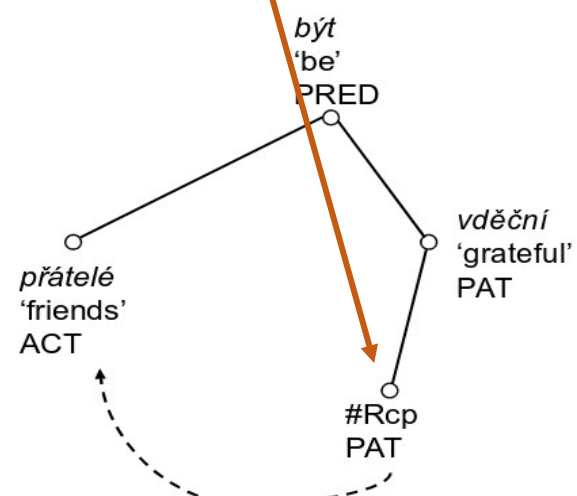
'Addressee' → ADDR

'Reason' → PAT

*přátelé vděční sobě (navzájem)*  
 friends grateful REFL<sub>long.dat</sub> (mutually)  
 'friends grateful to each other'



*Přátelé jsou si / sobě (navzájem) vděční.*  
 friends are REFL<sub>clitic/long.dat</sub> (mutually) grateful  
 'Friends are grateful to each other.'



# Reciprocity in Surface Structure

- Two surface positions affected by reciprocalization
  - With V and N, provided by their valency complementations
  - With Adj,
    - one provided by their valency complementation
    - one represented by their governor, or ACT of copula verbs

# Reciprocity in Surface Structure

- Two surface positions affected by reciprocalization:

## 1. More prominent surface position

- V: Sb, DObj
  - N: Attr (corresponding to Sb or DObj with V)
  - Adj: governor or ACT of copula V
- pluralized  
(plural N, coord, collective N)

## 2. Less prominent surface position

- V, N, Adj ... s+Instr: deleted
- V: } clitic forms of reflexive pronoun: *se/si*
- Adj: } (only in prepositionless dat and acc)
- N: } long forms of reflexive pronoun: *sebe/sobě/sebou*



# Conclusion

- Reflexives in Czech with V, N and Adj, with emphasis on the reflexive pronoun
- Reflexivity and reciprocity
- Analysis in the Functional Generative Description
- Both grammar and lexicon necessary
- Ambiguity of reflexive and reciprocal constructions:
  - The same pair of valency complementations involved in reflexivity and reciprocity
  - The more prominent position is represented by Sb with V (by corresponding Attr with N and Adj)
  - The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is plural



Thank you for your attention!  
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