

# Full valency and the position of enclitics in the Old Czech

Radek Čech

Pavel Kosek

Ján Mačutek

Olga Navrátilová

# Development of the Czech pronominal (en)clitics

- supported by the national project (GAČR GA17-02545S)
- analysis of enclitics from 14th century to 20th century
- word order
- Biblical texts

# Enclitics

- language units that are phonetically dependent on preceding word
- but no syntactic relationship between enclitic and preceding word (to which it is connected phonetically) is necessary
- form
  - discrete morpheme
  - auxiliary verb
  - pronoun

[Co] sě tobě vidí, Šimone?

what<sub>NOM</sub> REFL<sub>ACC</sub> you<sub>3.DAT.SG.</sub> see<sub>3.PS.SG.PRAES</sub>

‘What is thy opinion, Simon?’

Bible olomoucká (BiblOl) Mathew 17,24

# Enclitics (in verb finite phrase) in Contemporary and Old Czech

- Contemporary Czech
  - relatively stable position = after the first phrase of clause (from the first half of 20. century)
- Old (and Middle) Czech
  - word order variation

# Word order of enclitics in Old Czech

## 1. the postinitial position (the Wackernagel's Law )

[I][E][ ]\*

[*toho věku*] *sě* *jemu porodil Isák*

*that*<sub>GEN.F.SG</sub> *age*<sub>GEN.F.SG</sub> REFL<sub>ACC</sub> *him*<sub>DAT.M.SG</sub> *born*<sub>PART.PRET.ACT.NOM.SG.M</sub> *Isaac*<sub>NOM.M.SG</sub>

‘And as Abraham was a hundred years old, his son Isaac was born to him.’

BiblO1 Genesis 21,5

# Word order of enclitics in Old Czech

## 2. the non-postinitial position

[I][ ]\*[E][ ]\*

*[Volanie Sodomských a Gomorrejských] rozmnožilo sě jest*

outcry<sub>NOM.N.SG</sub> sodom<sub>ADJ.GEN.M.PL</sub> and gomorrha<sub>ADJ.GEN.M.PL</sub> multiply<sub>PART.PRET.ACT.N.SG</sub> REFL<sub>ACC</sub>  
be<sub>AUX.PRET.3.SG</sub>

‘The cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is multiplied’

BiblOl Genesis 18,20

# Research questions

- are there any regularities in a word order distribution of enclitics in Old Czech?
- how are particular word order positions connected to other language properties?
- style
- length of initial phrase
- groups of particular enclitics behave differently

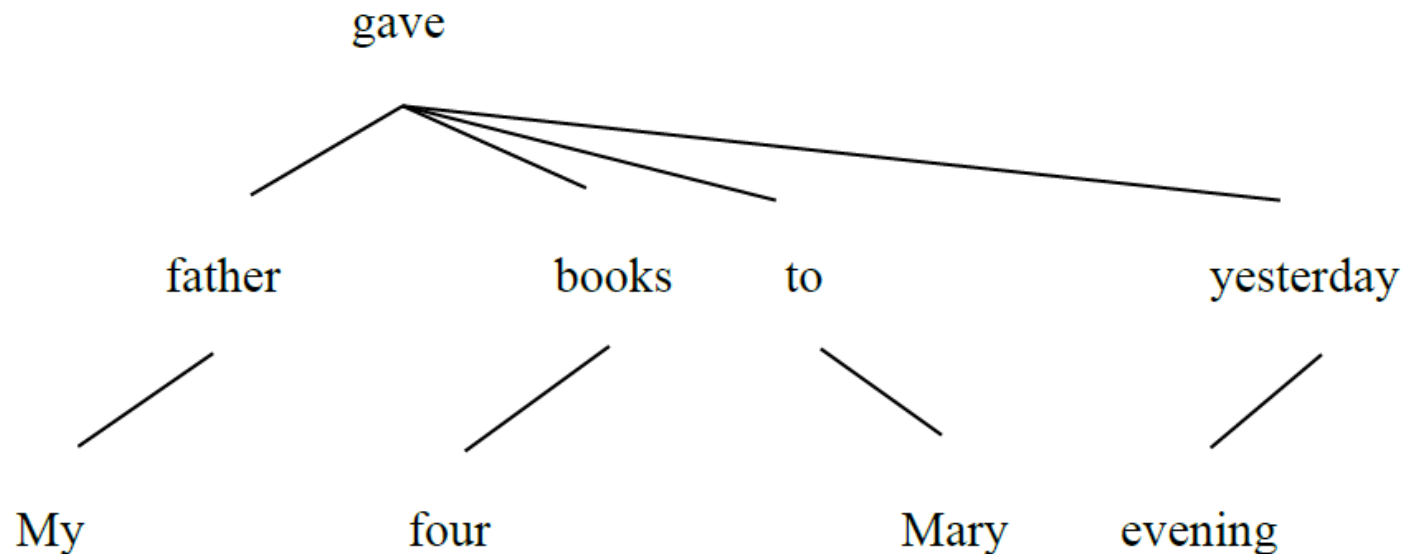
# Hypothesis

*The higher the full valency of the predicate,  
the lower the probability of the occurrence of the enclitic  
after the initial phrase of the clause.*



# Full valency (FV)

- is a reaction to the absence of reliable criteria for distinguishing obligatory arguments (complements) and non-obligatory arguments (optional adjuncts), see (Čech et al. 2010)
- all directly dependent units of the predicate which occur in the actual language usage comprise its full valency frame



# Full valency & word order of enclitics

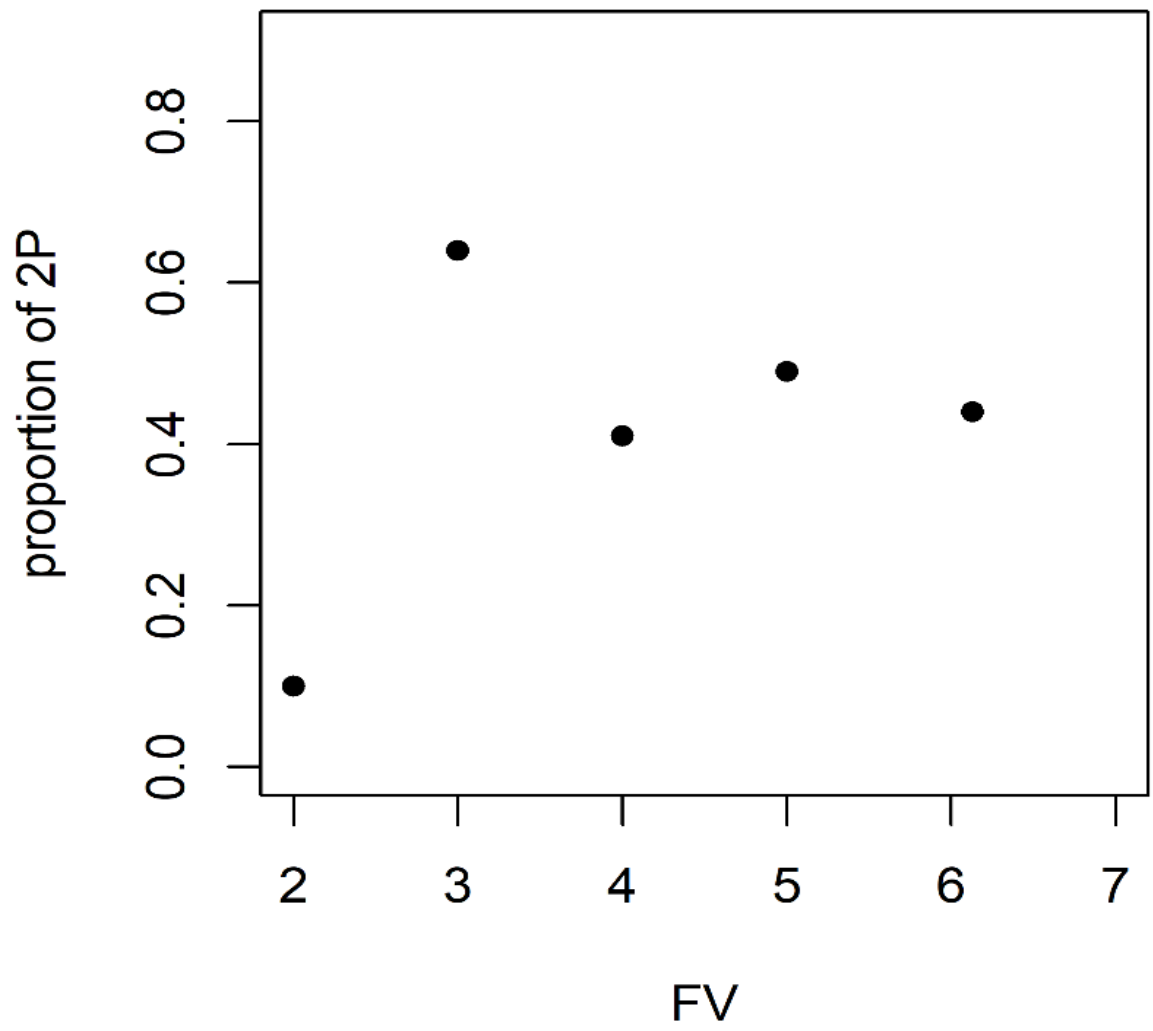
- higher FV of the predicate → higher complexity of the clause
  - (at least at this level of the syntactic tree, i.e. at the root of the clause and its direct dependents)
- the higher complexity of the clause → increasing the probability that the Wackernagel's Law (i.e. occurrence of the enclitic in postinitial position), is “violated”

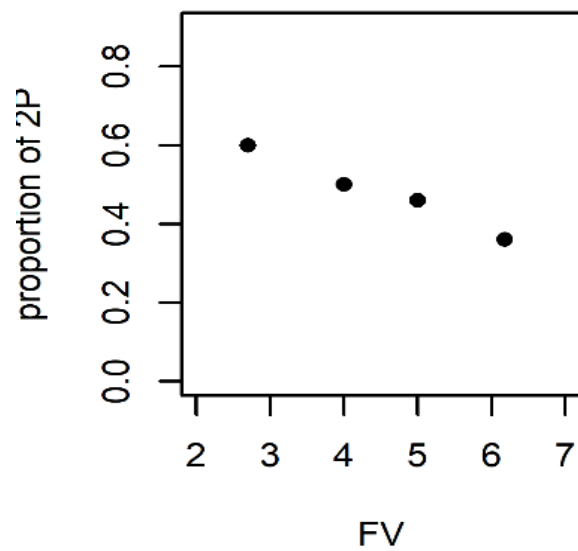
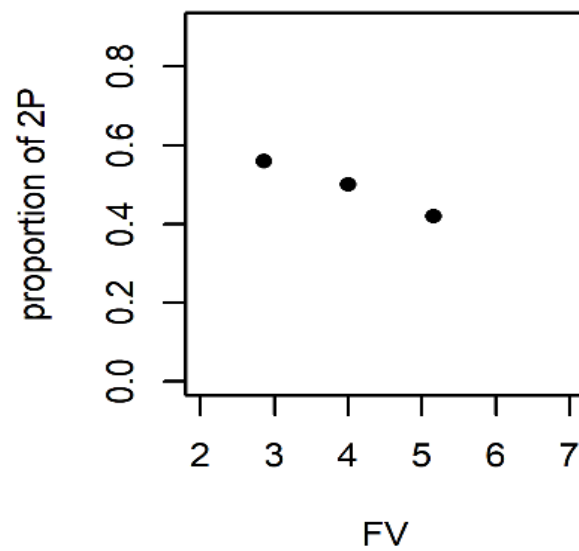
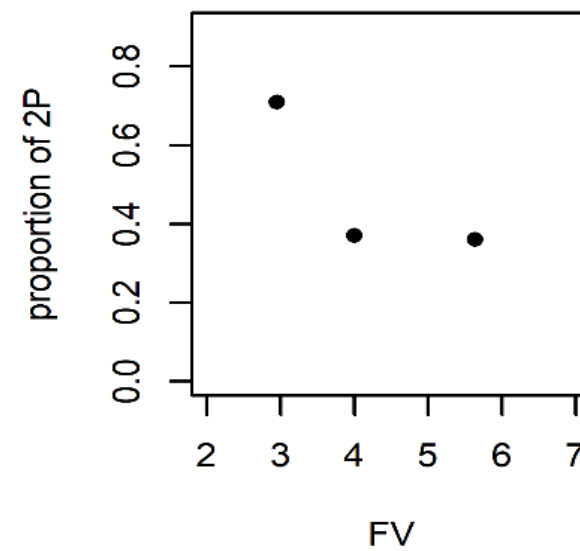
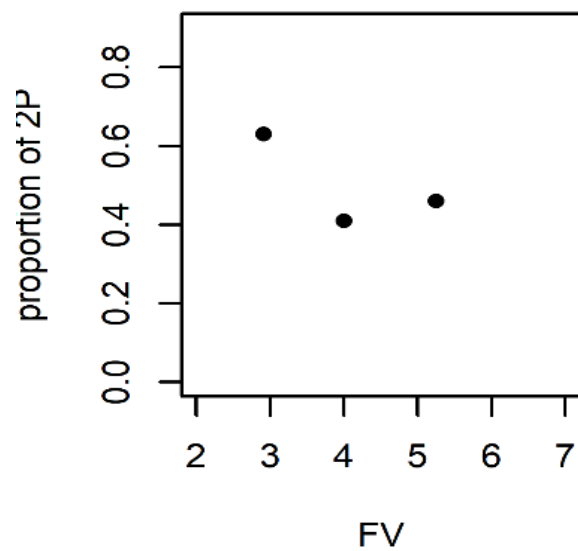
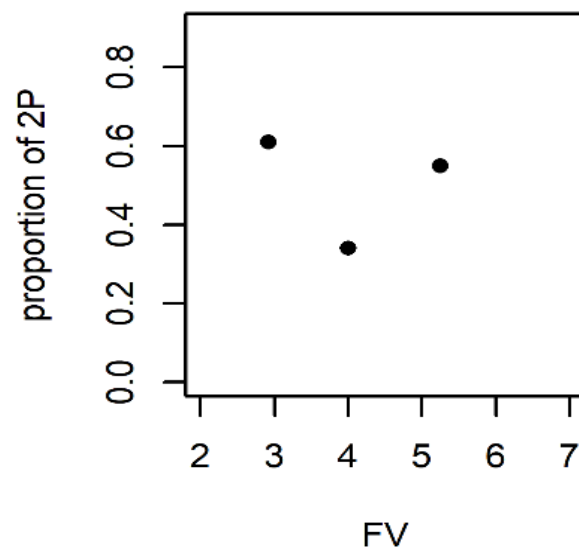
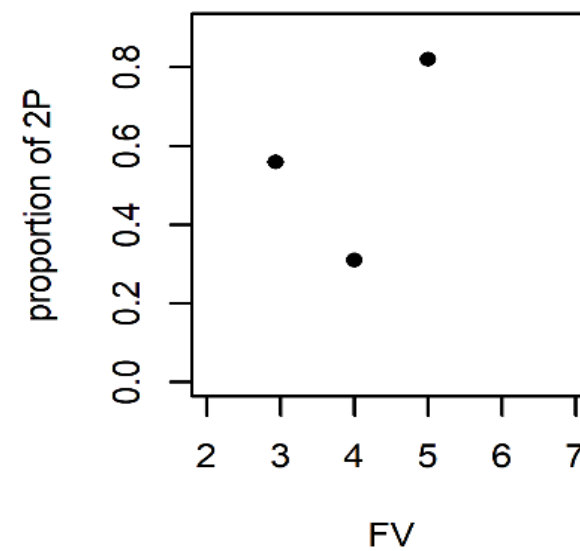
# Language material

- the *Olomouc Bible* (Bible olomoucká, BiblOl) and one book (Acts) from *Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible* (Bible litoměřicko-třeboňská, BiblLitTřeb)
- the beginning of 15th century
  - however, it is considered to be copied from missing older translation from 1360
- one of the oldest Old Czech **prose** texts
- Old Testament:
  - Genesis (Gen), Isaiah (Is), Job (Job), Ecclesiastes (Ecc)
- New Testament:
  - Gospel of St. Matthew (Mt), Gospel of St. Luke (Lk), Acts (Act), and Revelation (Rev)

# Results

<b>FV</b>	<b>2P</b>	<b>non-2P</b>	<b>proportion of 2P</b>
2	2	18	0.1
3	133	75	0.64
4	81	117	0.41
5	47	49	0.49
6.13	14	18	0.44



**Act****Lk****Mt****Gen****Job****Ecc**

$VF_{Act}$	$2P_{Act}$	$non-2P_{Act}$	proportion of $2P_{Act}$	$VF_{Lk}$	$2P_{Lc}$	$non-2P_{Lk}$	proportion of $2P_{Lk}$
2	2	18	0.1	2.86	20	16	0.56
3	133	75	0.64	4	18	18	0.5
4	81	117	0.41	5.16	8	11	0.42
5	47	49	0.49				
6.13	14	18	0.44				
$VF_{Mt}$	$2P_{Mt}$	$non-2P_{Mt}$	proportion of $2P_{Mt}$	$VF_{Gen}$	$2P_{Gen}$	$non-2P_{Gen}$	proportion of $2P_{Gen}$
2.95	15	6	0.71	2.91	20	12	0.63
4	7	12	0.37	4	13	19	0.41
5.64	5	9	0.36	5.25	11	13	0.46
$VF_{Job}$	$2P_{Job}$	$non-2P_{Job}$	proportion of $2P_{Job}$	$VF_{Ecc}$	$2P_{Ecc}$	$non-2P_{Ecc}$	proportion of $2P_{Ecc}$
2.92	23	15	0.61	2.93	34	27	0.56
4	11	21	0.34	4	12	27	0.31
5.25	11	9	0.55	5	9	2	0.82

# Conclusions

- the hypothesis is not falsified for “narrative“ books
- the hypothesis is falsified for “poetic“ books
  - the poetic character of texts → a border condition which restricts the validity of the hypothesis
- the hypothesis is falsified for a mixture of texts



Thank you!