Word order of reflexive *sě* in the finite VP in the Oldest Czech Bible

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Object of the research – reflexive *sě*

- exhibits the highest frequency out of all (en)clitic pronominal forms

- a form which developed into a stable (en)clitic during the development of the Czech language

- on the boundary between a pronominal form and a discrete morpheme

Aims

- analysis of word order of reflexive *sě* in a **finite verbal phrase**
  - ➢ historical development
  - ➢ influence of style
  - ➢ influence of rhythmic rules
  - ➢ influence od Latine pretext Vulgata

Language material

- first edition of the Old Czech Bible translation (from the half of 14th c)

- preserved in younger copies
  - ➢ *Olomouc Bible* (*Bible olomoucká*, 1417)
  - ➢ *Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible* (*Bible litoměřicko-třeboňská*, 1411–1414)

- edited by V. Kyas and his colleagues or followers (Kyas, ed. 1981, 1985, 1988; Kyas, Kyasová, Pečírková, eds. 1996; Pečírková et al., eds. 2009)

- analyzed books
  - ➢ New Testament: Gospels of Matthew (Mt) and Luke (Lk), Acts of the Apostles (Acts), Book of Revelation (Rev),
  - ➢ Old Testament: Book of Genesis (Gen, chapters 1–28), Book of Job (Job), Wisdom of Sirach or Book of Ecclesiasticus (Sir, only chapters 1–29), Book of Isaiah (Isa, chapters 14–40).

- Czech translation compared with the Latin pretext (Vulgata – BiblVulClem / BiblVul)

Traces of the original stressed nature of sě in the analyzed text

- *sě* in prepositional phrases with the prepositions *na, mezi, přěd, v, za*

(1) a. *I vecě k některým, ješto sami v sě ufáchu jako spravedlní...* BiblOl Lk 18,9

    b. *Dixit autem et ad quosdam qui in se confidebant tamquam iusti...* BiblVul

- it can be modified by the pronoun *sám*

(2) a. *Nebo co jest člověku prospěšno, že zíště vešken svět, a sám sě ztratí...* BiblOl Lk 9,25

    b. *... si lucretur universum mundum, se autem ipsum perdat...* BiblVul

- it can be coordinated

(3) a. *Jsi-li ty syn boží, uzdrav sám sě i ny!* BiblOl Lk 23,39

    b. *Si tu es Christus, salvum fac temet ipsum et nos* BiblVul

- position of sě immediately after the conjunction *a* ‚and' (only one example)

(4) a. *... aby jim otmlúvaje, sobě pomoci mohl a sě očistil z těch vin...* BiblLitTřeb Acts 25,16

    b. *... locumque defendendi accipiat ad abluenda crimina* BiblVul

(En)clitic properties of *sě*

- *sě* never occurs in clause-initial position (see Table 1 below),
- it does not follow an interjection

(5) a. *A aj, **učinila** mi sě stezka hojná...* BiblOl Sir 24,43
    b. *Et ecce factus est mihi tramis abundans,...* BiblVul

- it does not follow a vocative

(6) a. *Pane, **stalo** sě jest, jakož si rozkázal,...* BiblOl Lk 14,22
    b. *Domine, factum est ut imperasti,...* BiblVul

- it does not follow an apposition

(7) a. [*Hospodinu,* [*bohu tvému,*]] ***budeš** sě **modliti**...* BiblOl Mt 4,10
    b. *... dominum Deum tuum adorabis,...* BiblVul

- with just one exception, it does not follow the conjunctions *a* ‚and', *ale* ‚but', *i* ‚and'

(8) a. *... viechu větrové a* [*na ten dóm*] *sě **obořichu**, i pade,...* BiblOl Mt 7,27
    b. *... et flaverunt venti et inruerunt in domum illam...* BiblVul

- elision (haplology) of one out of two occurrences of sě (neslušie sě + ženiti sě):

(9) a. [*Když jest taká věc mezi mužem a mezi ženú,*] ***neslušie** sě **ženiti**...* BiblOl Mt 19,10
    b. *Si ita est causa homini cum muliere, non expedit nubere*... BiblVulClem

Word-ordering of pronominal (en)clitics in historical Czech (Ertl 1924, Kosek 2011)

I. postinitial position (2P)

II. contact or verbal adjacent (VA) position

III. position of an (en)clitic in the middle of a clause without contact with its syntactically superordinate item – medial isolated position

Demonstrated by Ertl´s (1924) examples (or by their particular variats) containing four following constituents:

starý strom = ‚old tree‘
    (*old*$_{NOM.M.SG}$ *tree*$_{NOM.M.SG}$)

rázem = ‚suddenly‘

*skácel **se*** = ‚fell‘
    (*fall*$_{PART.PRET.ACT.M.SG}$ + REFL$_{ACC}$)

v zahradě = ‚in the garden‘
    (*in garden*$_{LOC.F.SG}$)

Ad I. post-initial position(s) (2P)

1. This position is common in clauses whose first phrase consists of one word:

   (10) a. [rázem] <u>se</u> [starý strom] [v zahradě] [**skácel**]

       b. [v zahradě] <u>se</u> [starý strom] [**skácel**] [rázem]

2. If a matrix clause is preceded by a transgressive phrase (ex. (1c.)) or an embedded clause (ex. (1d.)) , then the (en)clitic is placed after the first accented word / phrase in the matrix clause:

   (10) c. [[Byv podťat,] [rázem] <u>se</u> [starý strom] [v zahradě] [**skácel**]]

       'When the tree was cut,... '

       be_{TRANSGRESSIVE.NOM.SG.M.} cut _{PART.PAS.PRAET. NOM.SG.M.}

       d. [[Když byl podťat,] [rázem] <u>se</u> [starý strom] [v zahradě] [**skácel**]]

       'When the tree was cut,... '

       COMPL be_{PART.PRAET.NOM.SG.M.} cut _{PART.PAS.PRAET. NOM.SG.M.}

Ad I. post-initial position(s) (2P)

3. If the first phrase of a clause is modified, then the (en)clitic can appear:

a) after the first stressed word (so-called 2W position – Halpern 1995) shown in ex. (1e.)

(10) e. [*starý strom*]$_1$ <u>*se*</u>$_3$ [*rázem*]$_2$ [***skácel***]$_3$ [*v zahradě*]$_4$

b) after the first modified phrase (so-called 2D position – Halpern 1995) shown in ex. (1f.)

(10) f. [*starý*]$_1$ <u>*se*</u>$_3$ [*strom*]$_1$ [*rázem*]$_2$ [***skácel***]$_3$ [*v zahradě*]$_4$

Ad II. contact position:

a) postposition (postverbal position) of an (en)clitic after his syntactically superordinate item (= regent of the clitic):

(11) a. [*starý strom*]$_1$ [**skácel** <u>*se*</u>]$_2$ [*v zahradě*]$_3$ [*rázem*]$_4$ – medial postverbal p.

b. [*starý strom*]$_1$ [*v zahradě*]$_2$ [*rázem*]$_3$ [**skácel** <u>*se*</u>]$_4$ – final p.

b) anteposition (preverbal position) of an (en)clitic after his regent:

(11) c. [*starý strom*]$_1$ [*rázem*]$_2$ [<u>*se*</u> **skácel**]$_3$ [*v zahradě*]$_4$ – medial preverbal p.

d. [*starý strom*]$_1$ [*v zahradě*]$_2$ [*rázem*]$_3$ [<u>*se*</u> **skácel**]$_4$ – prefinal p.

Ad III. medial isolated position

- Position in the middle of a clause without contact with its regent.
- Scholars analyzing Modern Czech clitics usually claim that this position depends on discourse factors (Franks – King 2000: 112–114).

(12) [*starý strom*]$_1$ [*rázem*]$_2$ <u>*se*</u> [*v zahradě*]$_3$ [**skácel**]$_4$

Hypotheses

- dominance of the **postinitial position** in general

- **non-postinitial positions** motivated by contact word-ordering

- the higher frequency of the **contact word-ordering** is influenced by style

- the **longer** the phrase, the lower probability of occurrence of the enclitic after this phrase

- the higher frequency of the **contact position** is influenced by Latine pre-text

Results

	initial pos.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
Gen	0	180	16	4	5	205
%	**0**	**87.80**	**7.80**	**1.95**	**2.44**	
Job	0	215	35	13	18	281
%	**0**	**76.51**	**12.46**	**4.63**	**6.41**	
Sir	0	197	57	15	9	278
%	**0**	**70.86**	**20.50**	**5.40**	**3.24**	
Isa	0	151	35	4	5	195
%	**0**	**77.44**	**17.95**	**2.05**	**2.56**	
Mt	0	205	42	12	6	265
%	**0**	**77.36**	**15.85**	**4.53**	**2.26**	
Lk	0	345	22	10	8	385
%	**0**	**89.61**	**5.71**	**2.60**	**2.08**	
Acts	0	304	40	4	6	354
%	**0**	**85.88**	**11.30**	**1.13**	**1.69**	
Rev	0	83	15	1	6	105
%	**0**	**79.05**	**14.29**	**0.95**	**5.71**	
Σ	0	1680	262	63	63	2068

Table 1 Frequency of the clausal positions of *sě*

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated	∑
Gen	6	17	2	0	25
%	**24.00**	**68**	**8.00**	**0**	
Job	11	49	3	3	66
%	**16.67**	**74.24**	**4.55**	**4.55**	
Sir	19	55	3	4	81
%	**23.46**	**67.90**	**3.70**	**4.94**	
Isa	2	34	8	0	44
%	**4.55**	**77.27**	**18.18**	**0**	
Mt	15	41	2	2	60
%	**25.00**	**68.33**	**3.33**	**3.33**	
Lk	11	27	2	0	40
%	**27.50**	**67.50**	**5.00**	**0**	
Acts	8	41	0	1	50
%	**16.00**	**82.00**	**0**	**2.00**	
Rev	2	19	1	0	22
%	**9.09**	**86.36**	**4.55**	**0**	
∑	74	283	21	10	388

Table 2 The position of *sě* and its superordinate verb in the "non-postinitial" positions

Interpretation of the observed differences in frequency

Presented data show that *sě* has status of an (en)clitic word:

- no example of the initial position

- most frequent position is the postinitial position

Both tables also manifest the developmental competition of 2P and VA word-ordering of Czech (en)clitics (finished in 20th century).

2P is the basic (neutral) word order position of Old Czech (en)clitics, whereas VA is a less frequent position motivated:

1. by style,

2. by rhythmic rules,

3. by pragmatic or textual factors, esp. by informational structure

4. by Latine pretext (?).

Influence of the style

Tested by the χ^2-test (Snedecor – Cochran, 1989)
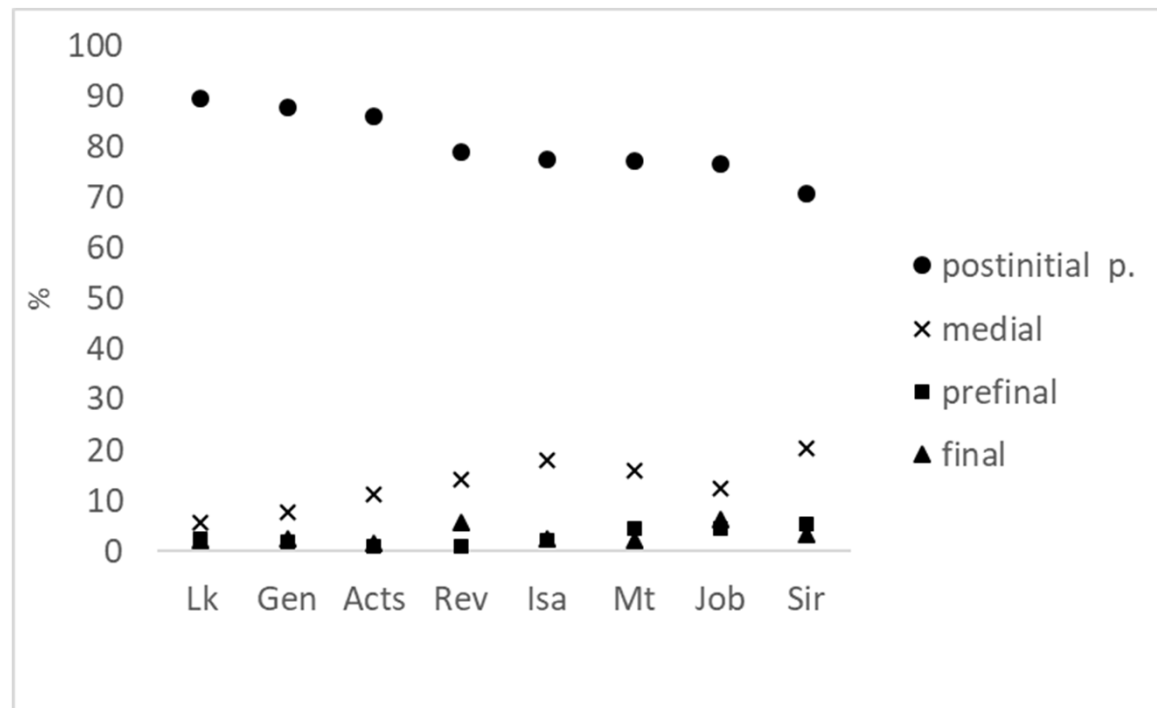Results: χ^2 = 83.712 , p-value < 0.001

Figure 1 Proportions of positions of (en)clitics in selected books of the first Czech Bible translation. The books are ranked in descending order of post-initial position.

Influence of rhythmic rule I

Among the cases of "non-postinitial" presented in Table 2, the postverbal position dominates.

This observation seems to be related to the fact that there are very few documented 2D and 2W positions of *sě*.

Both 2D and 2W positions represent two strategies for placing the (en)clitic in the postinitial position when the first phrase consists of two and more words.

	Gen	Job	Sir	Isa	Mt	Lk	Acts	Rev	∑
2W	1	4	0	0	0	1	4	0	**10**
2D	1 (3)	3 (6)	0 (4)	1 (1)	0 (1)	0 (1)	2 (3)	2	**9 (19)**

Table 3 Examples of 2W a 2D position
(The data quoted in brackets are ambiguous, e. g. (11a.) a [*na ten dóm*] *sě obořichu* which can be classified both as a postinitial and as a prefinal position.)

Influence of rhythmic rule II

- if a phrase is long, then it is followed by a pause,

- an enclitic can not be placed after a pause,

- therefore it has to be placed after a shorter word / phrase in the middle or in the end of a clause

- (this mechanism is sometimes characterized as *heavy constituent constraint* (Radanović Kocić 1996: 435) or as rule *clitic third* (Franks, King, 2000: 229); a similar prosodic rule has been already formulated by Ertl 1924).

(11) a. # ´starý ´strom # ´skácel<u>se</u> # ´vzahradě (#) ´rázem # – medial postverbal p.
  b. # ´starý strom # ´ vzahradě (#) ´rázem # ´skácel<u>se</u> # – final p.
  c. # ´starý strom # ´rázem<u>se</u> ´skácel (#) ´vzahradě # – medial preverbal p.
  d. # ´starý ´strom (#) ´vzahradě # ´rázem<u>se</u> ´skácel # – prefinal p.

a pause

´ a word stress

The distribution of prosodic units in Old Czech is hypothetic!

Influence of rhythmic rule III

We have examined three parameters:

- the average length of the initial phrase in the postinitial positions of *sě* (L_iP)

- the average length of the initial phrase in the "non-postinitial" positions of *sě* (L_iN)

- the average length of the phrase that immediately precedes *sě* in the clauses with "non-postinitial" positions of *sě* (L_nN).

The length of the phrase has been measured by the <u>number of letters</u>.

Influence of rhythmic rule – results

	Lk	Sir	Isa	Gen	Mt	Rev	Act	Job	Σ
L_iP	6.94	6.41	6.23	5.91	5.58	5.45	5.4	4.9	**5.8**
L_iN	9.1	9.02	10	10.45	11.01	10.01	9.96	8.02	**9,5**
L_nN	5.75	6.52	8.18	6.48	6.23	7.77	7.06	6.74	**6.8**

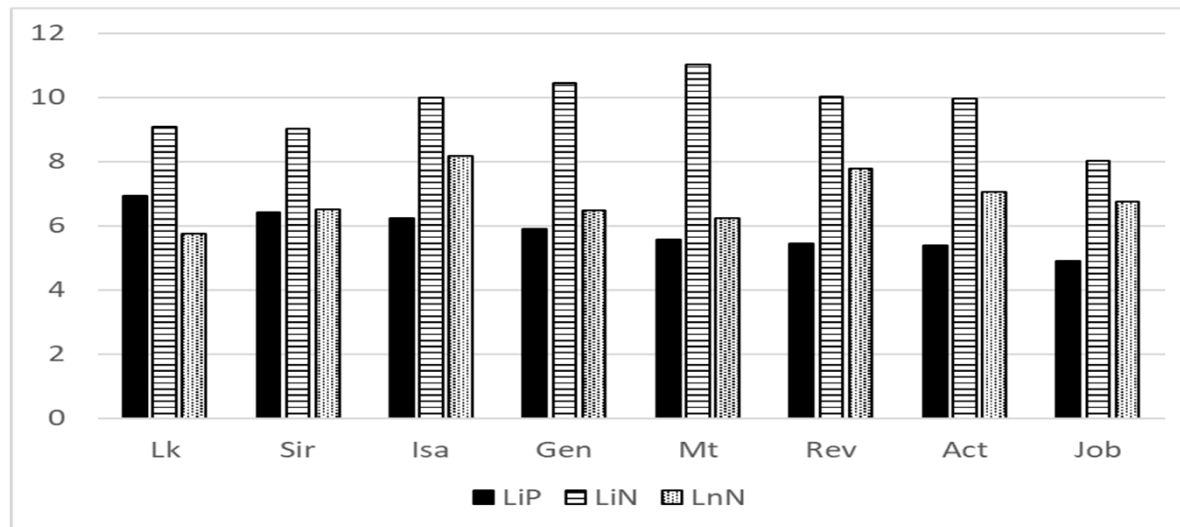**Table 4** Average length of analyzed phrases

Figure 2 Average length of phrases presented in Table 4.

Violation of rhythmic rule

The rhythmic rule should be understood as a tendency rather than as a law.

There are several examples that violate this rule:

1. Clauses that contain a short word in the first position (motivated by information structure):

(13) a. .... *a vstana beřiž sě k Labanovi, bratru mému, do Aram a tu přebudeš několik časóv s ním,* [***ažť***][*zatiem*] *sě* ***uspokojí*** *hněv bratra tvého* BiblOl Gen 27,43–44

   b. *... donec* *requiescat* *furor fratris tui...* BiblVul

(14) a. *Vše, cožkoli die Sára, poslušen buď jie,* [***nebo***][*po Izákovi*][*tvé siemě*] *sě* ***rozplodí*** BiblOl Gen 21,12

   b. *... quia in Isaac* *vocabitur* *tibi semen...* BiblVulClem

2. Clauses with an (en)clitic after a long phrase (to avoid the final position) demonstrated by ex. (14a) [*tvé siemě*] *sě* or (8a):

(8) a. *... **a** [na ten dóm] **sě obořichu**,...* BiblOl Mt 7,27

Influence of Latin pretext I

Only in several cases, the position of the reflexive corresponds with the clausal positions of following Latin items:

A. Latin personal pronouns *se, te*

(15) a. *... věrně pravi vám, že **opáše** sě káže jim za stuol siesti...* BiblOl Lk 12,37

    b. *... quod praecinget se...* BiblVul

(16) a. *Viz, aby nikomému nepravil, ale jdi **a ukaž** sě kněží a ofěruj dar,...* BiblOl Mt 8,4

    b. *uide nemini dixeris sed uade ostende te sacerdoti et offer munus...* BiblVul

B. Latin auxiliary verb?

(5) a. *A aj, **učinila** mi sě stezka hojná...* BiblOl Sir 24,43

    b. *Et ecce factus est mihi tramis abundans,...* BiblVul

(17) a. *A [v ten čas] **narodil** sě jest Mojžieš, jenžto byl vzácen bohu...* BiblLitTřeb Acts 7,20

    b. *Eodem tempore natus est Moses, et fuit gratus Deo:...* BiblVulClem

Influence of Latin pretext II

But in most cases, the positions of Old Czech *sě* is <u>not influenced</u> by the Latin Vulgata:

a)The Latin pronoun / auxiliary and *sě* are placed in different clausal positions:

(18) a. *... a dáno jest jemu, aby <u>sě</u> **přikryl** čamlat stkvúcí bielý* BiblOl Rev 19,8

    b. *et datum est illi ut <u>cooperiat</u> <u>se</u> býssinum splendens et candidum* BiblVul

(19) a. *A to <u>sě</u> vše **stalo** proto, aby sě naplnilo slova proroka Izaiáše v sedmé kapitole, jenž praví a řka takto:* BiblOl Mt 1,22

    b. *hoc autem totum <u>factum est</u> ut adimpleretur id quod dictum est a domino per prophetam dicentem...* BiblVul

b) There are not Latin pronoun / auxiliary in Vulgata that would be translated by *sě* or by a reflexive verb, e. g. *budeš sě modliti – adorábis* in ex. (7a.,b.), *sě uspokojí – requiescat* in (13a.,b.) or *sě rozplodí – vocabitur* (14a.,b.)

Latin pretext	Old Czech *sě*	Gen	Sir	Mt	Zj	∑
pronoun	identical clausal position	**4**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**26**
	%					**6,5**
	different clausal position	0	5	11	3	19
	%					4,8
periphrastic verb forms	identical clausal position	**21**	**1**	**0**	**17**	**39**
	%					**9,8**
	different clausal position	10	3	2	11	26
	%					6,5
synthetic verb forms		64	83	77	61	285
	%					71,2
no Latin form		1	1	2	1	5
	%					1,2
∑		100	100	100	100	400

Table 5 Latin pretext translated by the reflexive pronoun *sě* or by the reflexive verbal form – **first 100 examples**

Latin pretext	Old **Czech** *sě*	Gen	Sir	Mt	Zj	∑
pronoun	identical clausal position	**1**	**8**	**0**	**5**	**14**
	%					**7,5**
	different clausal position	1	0	0	0	1
						0,5
periphrastic verb forms	identical clausal position	**6**	**3**	**12**	**1**	**22**
	%					**11,7**
	different clausal position	0	3	5	3	11
	%					5,9
synthetic verb forms		17	66	42	13	138
	%					73,4
no Latin form		0	1	1	0	2
	%					1,5
∑		25	81	60	22	188

Table 6 Latin pretext translated by the reflexive pronoun *sě* or by the reflexive verbal form – „non-postinitial positions"

Conclusions

- *sě* keeps some rests of an original stressed word

- overwhelming majority of examples shows its (en)clitic status

- as an (en)clitic, it appears in both postinitial and contact positions (and their variants)

- 2P position is the basic position

- VA position motivated by
  - ➢rhythmic rules
  - ➢style

- the influence of Latin pretext is on a low level

Thank you!

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