

On the word order of the enclitic pronominal forms "mi, ti, si, ho, mu" in the Bible of Kralice (1579–1594)

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Notes

Research project (2017–2019)

- analysis of Czech pronominal (en)clitics
- supported by GAČR GA17-02545S, 2017–2019
- research team:

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Aims

- analysis of pronominal (en)clitics dependent on a finite verb
 - ✓ historical development,
 - ✓ influence of style,
 - ✓ influence of rhythmic rules,
 - ✓ influence of Latin and Greek pretext.

Object of research

- pronominal “stable” (en)clitics („stálé příklonky“)

mi ‘me’

ti ‘to you’

si ‘to myself’ / ‘to yourself’ etc.

sě (> *se*) ‘myself’ / ‘yourself’ etc.

tě ‘you’

ho ‘him’

mu ‘to him’

- heterogeneous class

- different origin

- different functional morphology

- the lecture focused only on

mi, si, ti, ho, mu

Older Czech enclitics

A. "sentence" enclitics, e. g. archaic enclitic forms:

li, si/s, tě/ti/t', *že/ž*

B. "word" enclitics:

1. pronominal forms

mi, si, ti; ho, mu, sě (> se), tě

2. preterite auxiliary forms

Sg 1Ps <i>nesl <u>jsem</u></i>	2Ps <i>nesl <u>jsi</u> / s</i>
'I carried'	'you carried'

3. conditional auxiliary forms

Sg 1Ps <i>nesl <u>bych</u></i>	2Ps <i>nesl <u>by</u></i>
'I would carry'	'he would carry'

Word-ordering of “word” (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.

In our lecture, the word-order positions II. and III. are called “non-postinitial positions”.

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

Demonstrated by Ertl's (1924) examples (or by their particular variants)
containing following phrases:

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

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

rázem = ‘suddenly’

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:
 - (1) a. [rázem] se [starý strom] [v zahradě] [**skácel**]
b. [v zahradě] se [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:
 - (1) c. [[Byv podťat.] [rázem] se [starý strom] [v zahradě] [**skácel**]]
‘The tree having being cut,...’
be_{TRANSGRESSIVE.NOM.SG.M.} cut_{PART.PAS.PRAET. NOM.SG.M.}
 - d. [[Když byl podťat.] [rázem] se [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.)
(1) e. [starý]₁ se₂ [strom]₁ [rázem]₃ [**skácel**]₂ [v zahradě]₄
 - b) after the first modified phrase (so-called 2D position – Halpern 1995) shown in ex. (1f.)
(1) f. [starý strom]₁ se₂ [rázem]₃ [**skácel**]₂ [v zahradě]₄

Ad II. contact position

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

(2) a. [starý strom]₁ [*skácel se*]₂ [v zahradě]₃ [rázem]₄ – medial postverbal p.
b. [starý strom]₁ [v zahradě]₂ [rázem]₃ [*skácel se*]₄ – final p.

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

(2) c. [starý strom]₁ [rázem]₂ [se skácel]₃ [v zahradě]₄ – medial preverbal p.
d. [starý strom]₁ [v zahradě]₂ [rázem]₃ [se 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 (en)clitics usually claim that this position depends on discourse factors (Franks – King 2000: 112–114)

(3) [starý strom]₁ [rázem]₂ se [v zahradě]₃ [*skácel*]₄

Language material: analysed text – *Bible of Kralice* (1579–1594)

- six volumes of the *Bible of Kralice* were published between 1579 and 1594
- this new biblical translation was initiated by Jan Blahoslav
- unambiguous identification of the pretexts for the new translation of *Kralice Bible* is a difficult task
- the main pretext for the *New Testament* of the *Kralice Bible* was Beza's Greek-Latin edition from 1588–1589 (Kyas 1997, p. 191)
- according to V. Kyas (1997, p. 191) and R. Dittmann (2012) the pretext for *Old Testament* was the Latin translation by Tremellius and Junius (1576–1579)
- the data collected from the critical edition *Bible kralická šestidílná – kompletní vydání s původními poznámkami*. Praha: Česká biblická společnost, 2014

Language material: analysed text – *Bible of Kralice* (1579–1594)

➤ New Testament:

- Gospels of Matthew (Mt)
- Gospels of Luke (Lk)
- Acts of the Apostles (Acts)
- Book of Revelation (Rev)

➤ Old Testament:

- Book of Genesis (Gen)
- Book of Job (Job)
- Wisdom of Sirach // Book of Ecclesiasticus (Sir)
- Book of Isaiah (Isa)

Results

	initial pos.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
<i>mi</i>	0	260	34	4	14	312
<i>si</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ti</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ho</i>	0	301	22	7	35	365
<i>mu</i>	0	184	21	6	8	219
Σ	0	745	77	17	57	896

Table 1 Clausal positions of (en)clitics – significant differences in the distribution of the investigated forms.

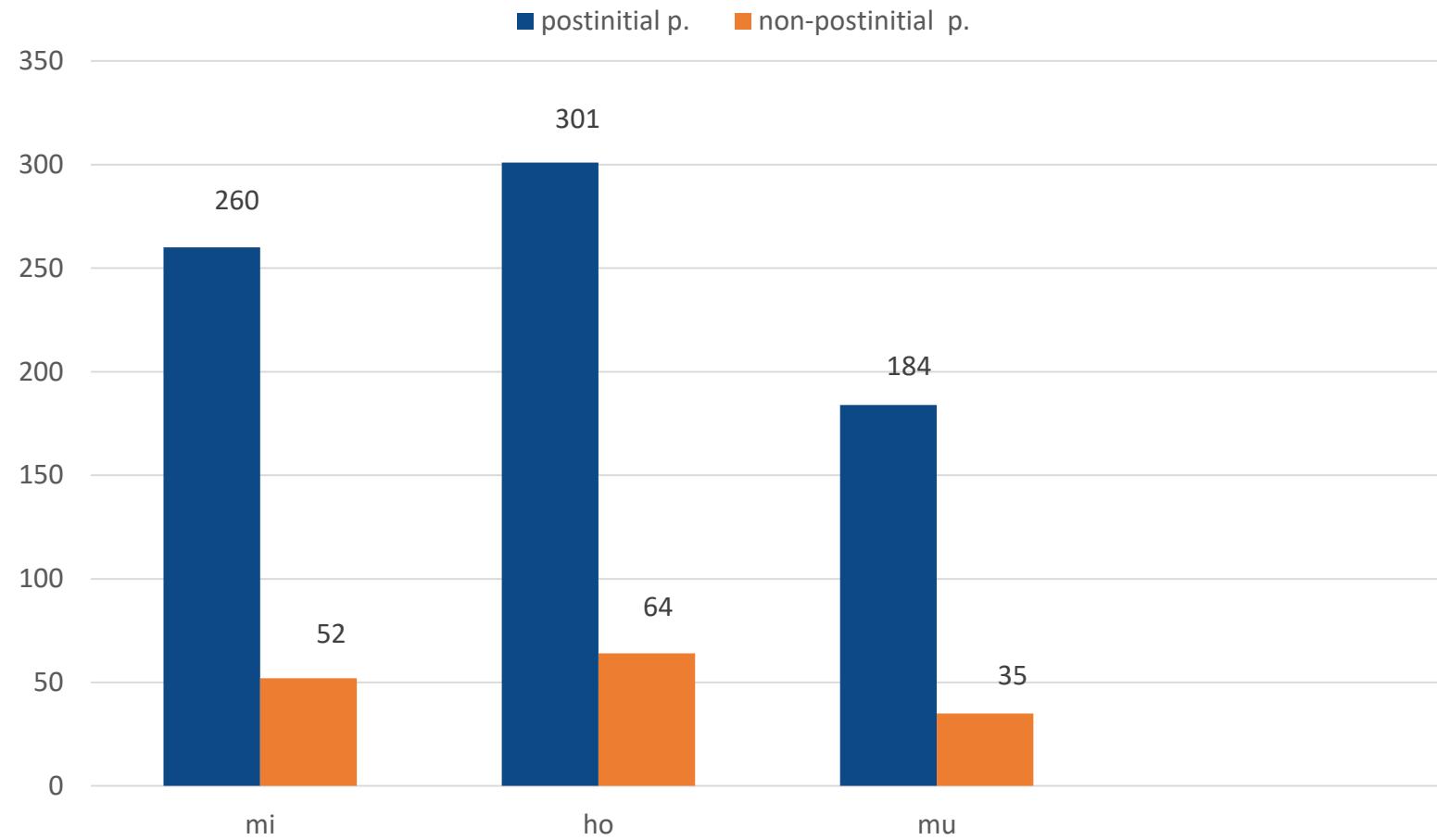


Figure 1 Frequency of the clausal positions of *mi*, *ho*, *mu*.

Results I

- there is no evidence in the *Bible of Kralice* for the *ti* and *si* forms
- the absence of *si* is already mentioned in the secondary sources (Gebauer 1896 p. 527; Havránek 1928, p. 100; Vážný 1964, p. 121)
- the absence of *ti* is surprising – reduced form *t'* instead of *ti*?
- the research in the *Bible of Olomouc* has shown that only a small number of the *t'* forms is pronominal
- most examples of *t'* are in fact enclitic particles *ti/tě/t'*
- research of this phenomenon in the *Bible of Kralice* needs to be conducted

Results II

- there is no evidence for the initial position
- the most frequent position in the clause is the postinitial position
- the frequent postinitial position is the primary position for all of the analysed forms
- there is far less evidence for medial, prefinal and final positions

Ambiguous examples of postinitial positions

- a large number of examples are ambiguous: the verb occupies the initial position → enclitic is both postinitial and postverbal

(2) g. [*skácel se*]₁ [*starý strom*]₂ [*v zahradě*]₃ [*rázem*]₄ – postinitial and postverbal p.

- these examples were excluded from the analysis

	initial pos.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
<i>mi</i>	0	115	34	4	14	167
<i>si</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ti</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>ho</i>	0	87	22	7	35	151
<i>mu</i>	0	38	21	6	8	73
Σ	0	240	77	17	57	391

Table 2 Clausal positions of (en)clitics – without the ambiguous examples with postinitial and postverbal positions.

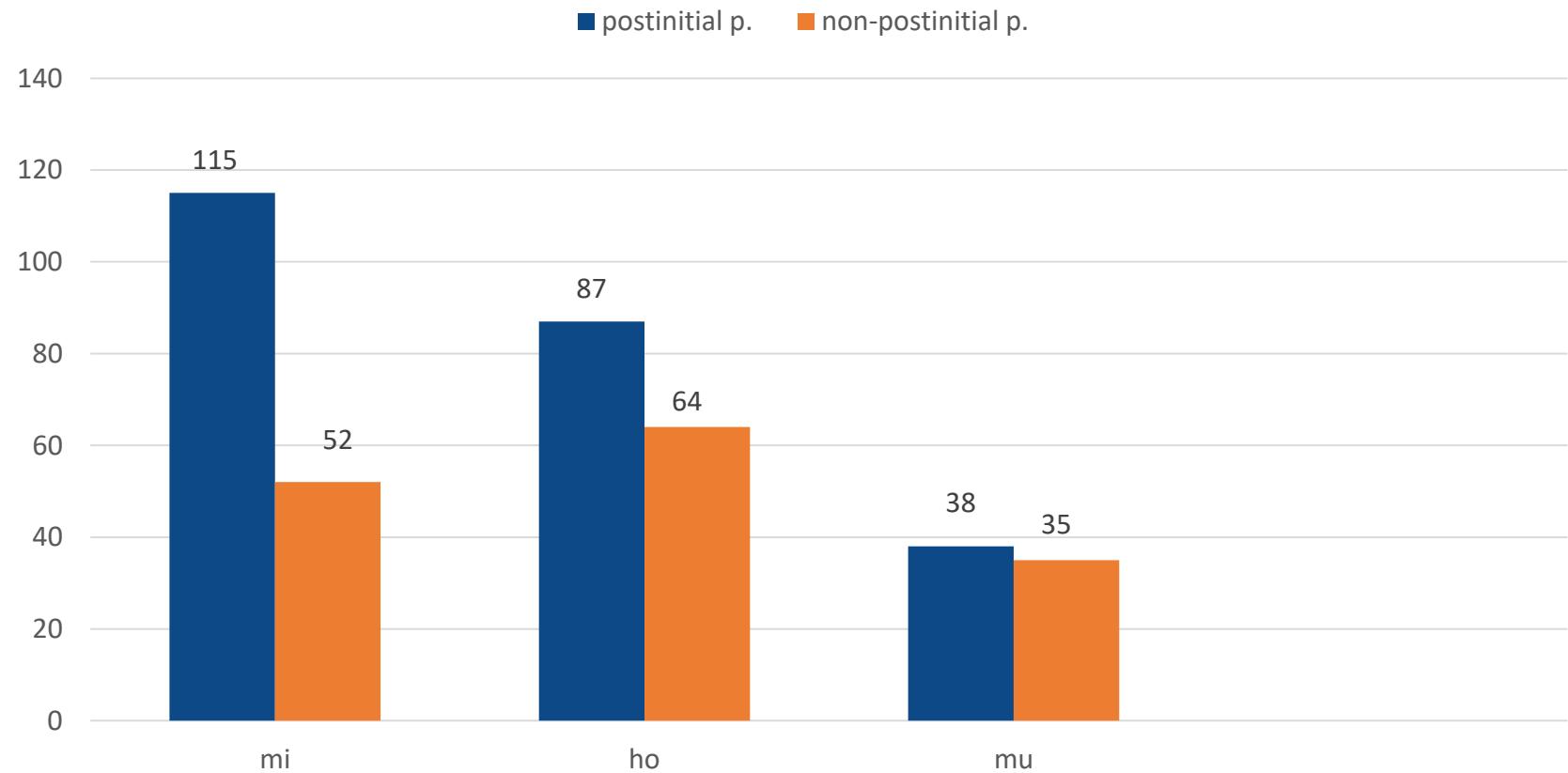


Figure 2 Frequency of the clausal positions of *mi*, *ho*, *mu* – without the ambiguous examples with postinitial and postverbal positions.

The mutual position of pronouns and verbs in non-postinitial positions

- the frequent **postinitial** position competes with a less frequent **contact position** (VA)
- the dominant position is **contact postverbal** position
- the medial isolated position is rare (no more than 2 examples of *mi*)

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated
<i>mi</i>	4	42	0	2
<i>si</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>ti</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>ho</i>	15	47	2	0
<i>mu</i>	19	15	1	0
Σ	38	104	3	2

Table 3 The position of the investigated forms and their superordinate verb in the non-postinitial positions.

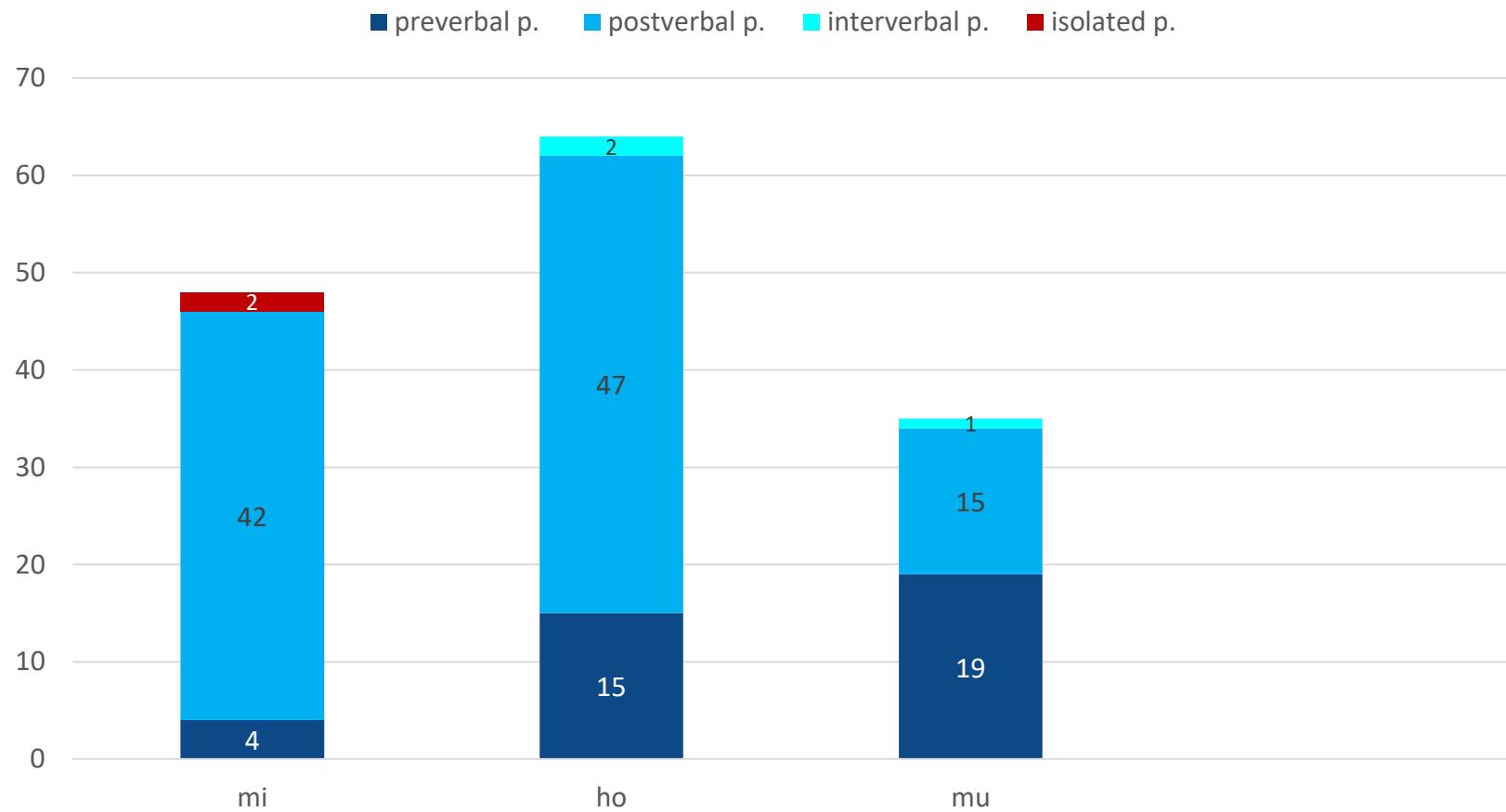


Figure 3 The position of the investigated forms and their superordinate verb in the non-postinitial positions.

Interpretation of the observed word-order positions

Tables 1 and 2 manifest the developmental competition of 2P and VA word-ordering of Czech (en)clitics.

The postinitial position is the basic (neutral) word order position of the Old Czech (en)clitics, whereas the contact position is a less frequent position motivated by:

1. style,
2. rhythmic rules,
3. pragmatic or textual factors, esp. by information structure,
4. Latin and Greek pretext.

Impact of these factors is examined in the distribution of the forms *mi* and *sě*.

Influence of style

The frequency of *mi*, *ho*, *mu* in analyzed Bible books show differences in frequency of individual clausal positions which could be motivated by style.

In particular, there are significant differences in the frequency of contact position variants.

	initial p.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
Gen	0	86	10	3	4	103
%		83,50	9,71	2,91	3,88	
Job	0	39	4	0	5	48
%		81,25	8,33		10,42	
Sir	0	10	2	0	0	12
%		83,33	16,67			
Isa	0	29	7	1	2	39
%		74,36	17,95	2,56	5,13	
Mt	0	29	2	0	0	31
%		93,55	6,45			
Lk	0	18	4	0	1	23
%		78,26	17,39		4,35	
Acts	0	26	5	0	0	31
%		83,87	16,13			
Rev	0	23	0	0	2	25
%		92,00			8,00	
Σ	0	260	34	4	14	312

Table 4 Frequency of the clausal positions of *mi*.

Tested by the χ^2 -test

Results: $\chi^2 = 21.32$, p-value < 0.41

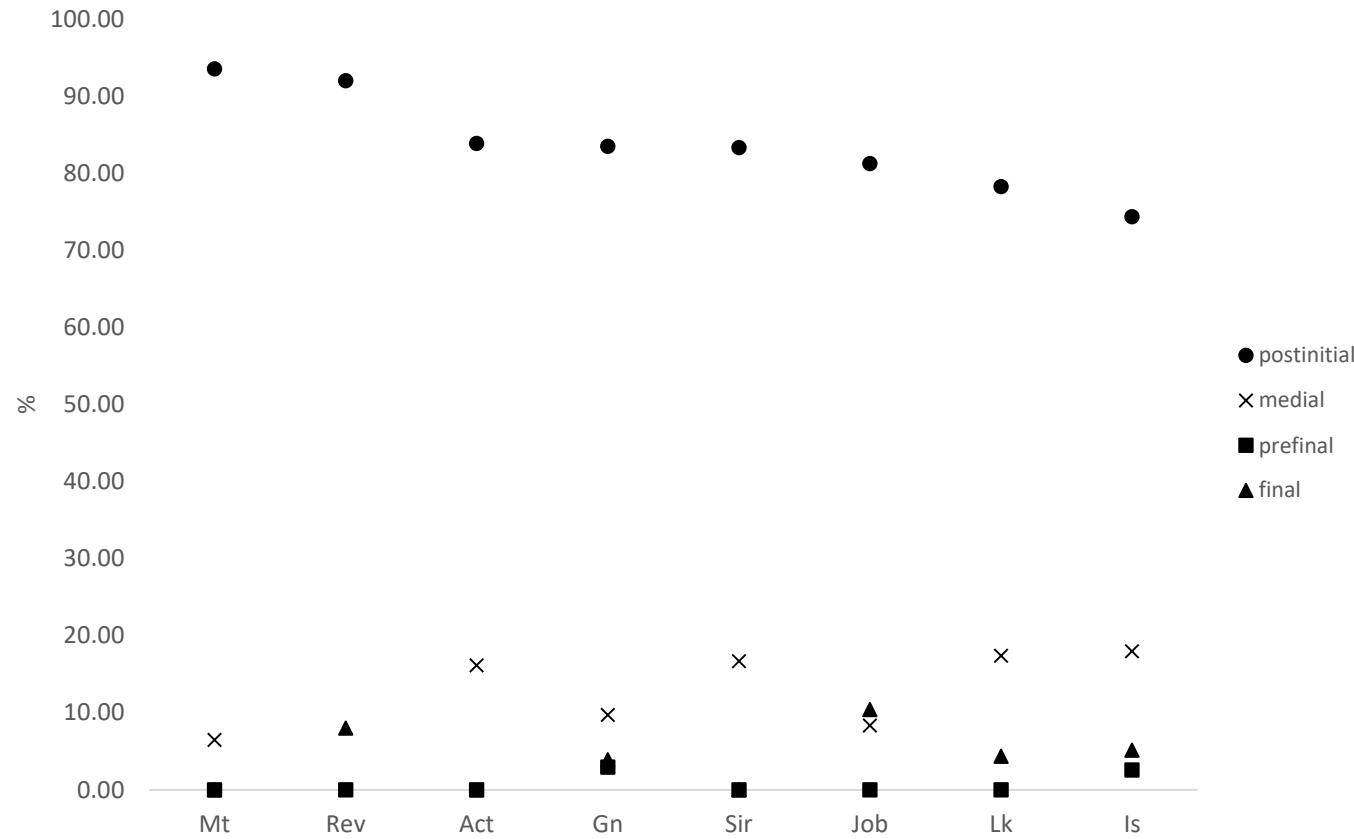


Figure 4 Proportions of clausal positions of *mi*. The books are ranked in descending order of post-initial position.

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated		Σ
Gen	3	13	0	1	17	
%	17,65	76,47		5,88		
Job	0	9	0	0	9	
%						
Sir	0	2	0	0	2	
%						
Isa	0	7	0	0	7	
%						
Mt	0	2	0	0	2	
%						
Lk	1	3	0	0	4	
%						
Acts	0	4	0	1	5	
%						
Rev	0	2	0	0	2	
%						
Σ	4	42	0	2	48	

Table 5 The position of *mi* and its superordinate verb in the non-postinitial positions.

	initial p.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
Gen	0	68	11	2	16	97
%		70,10	11,34	2,06	16,50	
Job	0	39	4	1	0	44
%		88,64	9,09	2,27	0	
Sir	0	36	1	1	3	41
%		87,80	2,44	2,44	7,32	
Isa	0	12	0	0	2	14
%		85,71			14,29	
Mt	0	40	4	1	2	47
%		85,11	8,51	2,13	4,25	
Lk	0	63	1	1	9	74
%		85,14	1,35	1,35	12,16	
Acts	0	40	1	1	3	45
%		88,89	2,22	2,22	6,67	
Rev	0	3	0	0	0	3
%						
Σ	0	301	22	7	35	365

Table 6 Frequency of the clausal positions of *ho*.

Tested by the χ^2 -test

Results: $\chi^2 = 64.22$, p-value <0.001

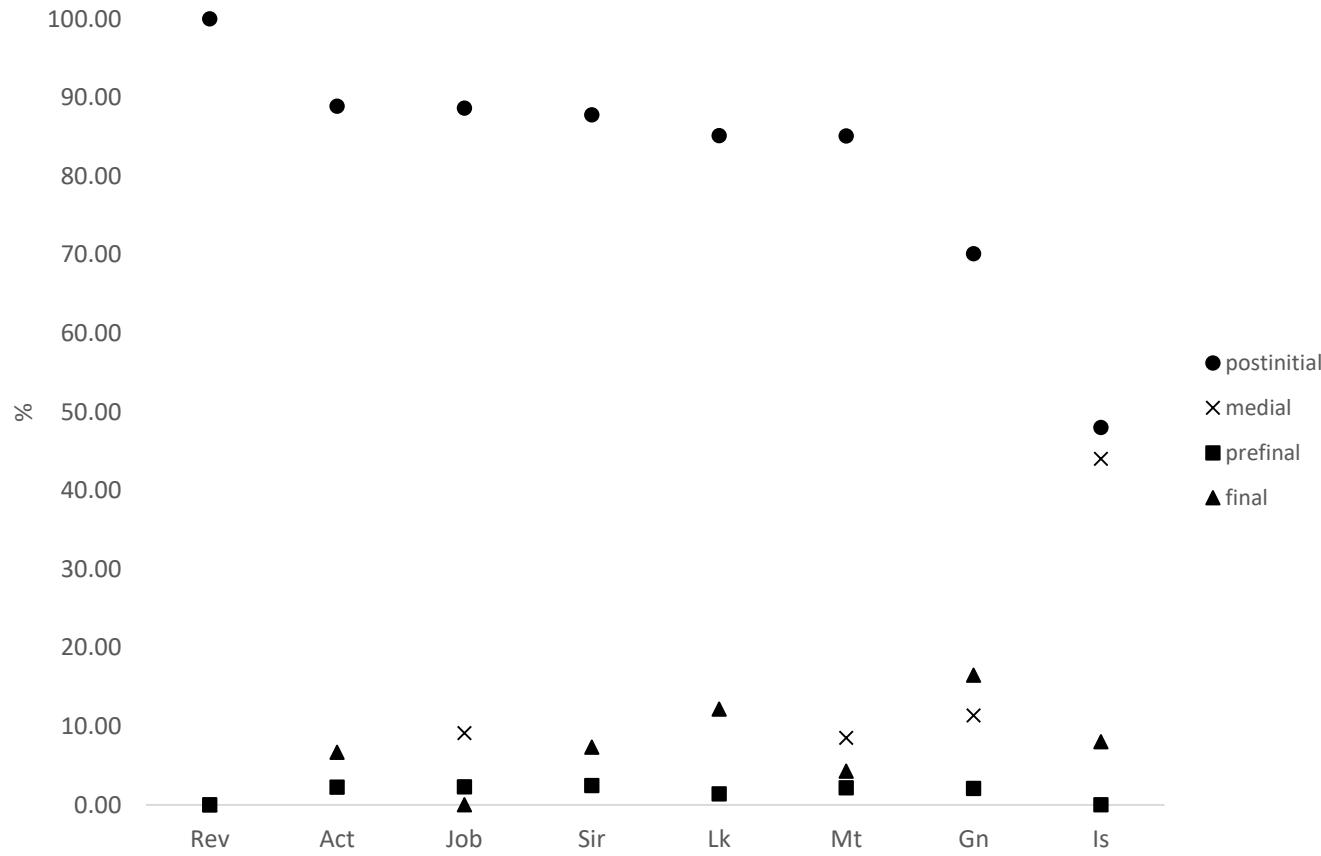


Figure 5 Proportions of clausal positions of *ho*. The books are ranked in descending order of post-initial position.

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated		Σ
Gen	2	27	0	0	29	
%	6,90	93,10				
Job	0	4	1	0	5	
%						
Sir	0	4	1	0	5	
%						
Isa	0	2	0	0	2	
%						
Mt	2	5	0	0	7	
%						
Lk	10	1	0	0	11	
%	90,90	9,10				
Acts	1	4	0	0	5	
%						
Rev	0	0	0	0	0	
%						
Σ	15	47	2	0	64	

Table 7 The position of *ho* and its superordinate verb in the “non-postinitial” positions.

	initial p.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
Gen	0	89	13	6	0	108
%		82,41	12,04		5,55	
Job	0	14	1	0	0	15
%		93,33	6,67			
Sir	0	10	2	0	0	12
%		83,33	16,67			
Isa	0	3	0	0	0	3
%						
Mt	0	38	4	0	5	47
%		80,85	8,51		10,64	
Lk	0	20	1	0	3	24
%		83,33	4,17		12,5	
Acts	0	10	0	0	0	10
%						
Rev	0	0	0	0	0	0
%						
Σ	0	184	21	6	8	219

Table 8 Frequency of the clausal positions of *mu*.

Tested by the χ^2 -test

Results: $\chi^2 = 27.11$, p-value <0.1

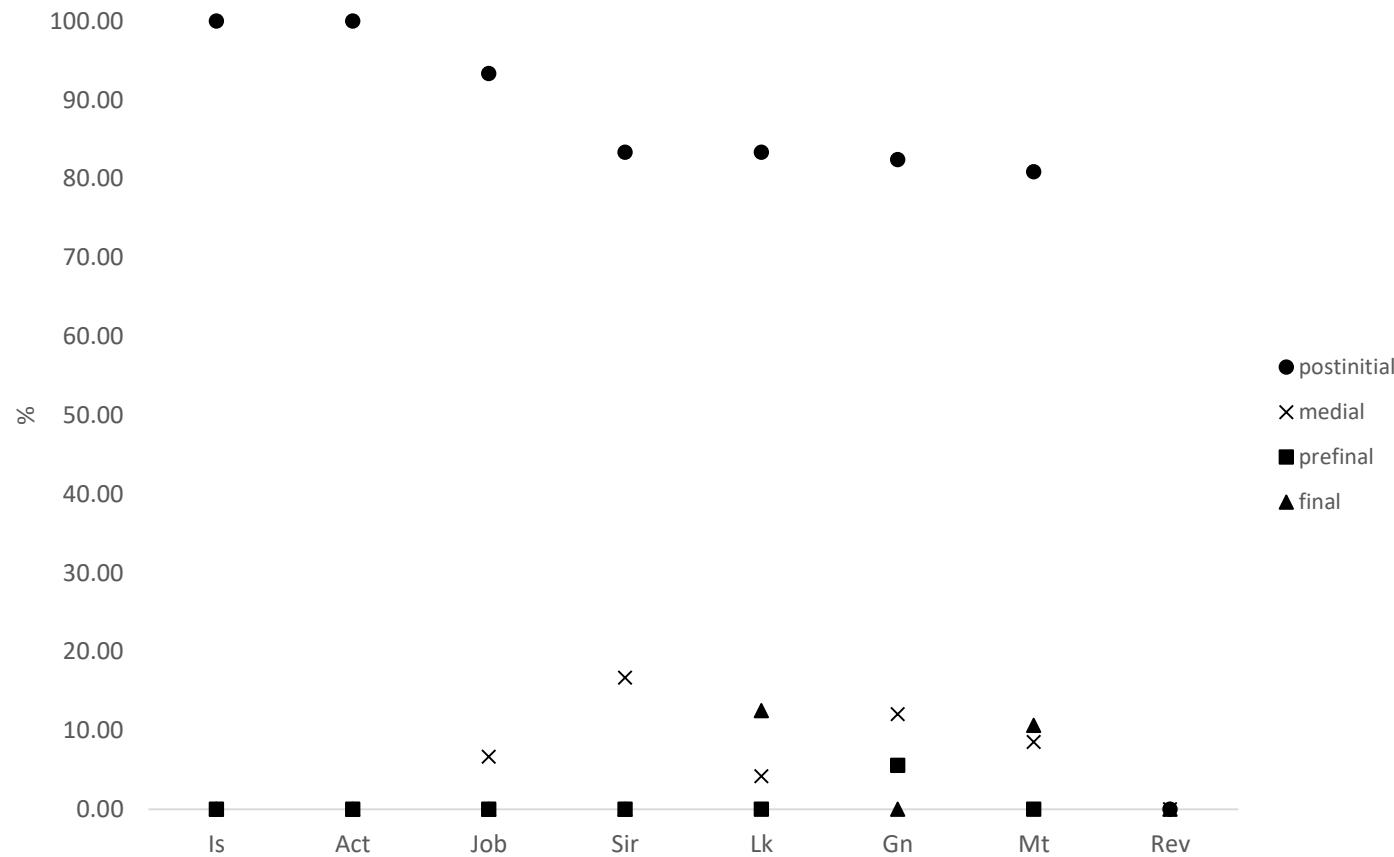


Figure 6 Proportions of clausal positions of *mu*. The books are ranked in descending order of post-initial position.

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated		Σ
Gen	19	0	0	0	0	19
%	100,00					
Job	0	1	0	0	0	1
%						
Sir	0	2	0	0	0	2
%						
Isa	0	0	0	0	0	0
%						
Mt	0	9	0	0	0	9
%						
Lk	0	3	1	0	0	4
%						
Acts	0	0	0	0	0	0
%						
Rev	0	0	0	0	0	0
%						
Σ	19	15	1	0	0	35

Table 9 The position of *mu* and its superordinate verb in the “non-postinitial” positions.

	initial p.	postinitial p.	medial p.	prefinal p.	final p.	Σ
Gen	0	243	34	11	20	308
%		78,90	11,04	3,57	6,49	
Job	0	92	9	1	5	107
%		85,98	8,41	0,94	4,67	
Sir	0	56	5	1	3	65
%		86,15	7,69	1,54	4,62	
Isa	0	44	7	1	4	56
%		78,57	12,50	1,80	7,13	
Mt	0	107	10	1	7	125
%		85,6	8,00	0,80	5,60	
Lk	0	101	6	1	13	121
%		83,47	4,96	0,83	10,74	
Acts	0	76	6	1	3	86
%		88,37	6,98	1,16	3,49	
Rev	0	26	0	0	2	28
%		92,86			7,14	
Σ	0	745	77	17	57	896

Table 10 Frequency of the clausal positions of *mi*, *ho*, *mu*.

Tested by the χ^2 -test

Results: $\chi^2 = 45.2$, p-value <0.004

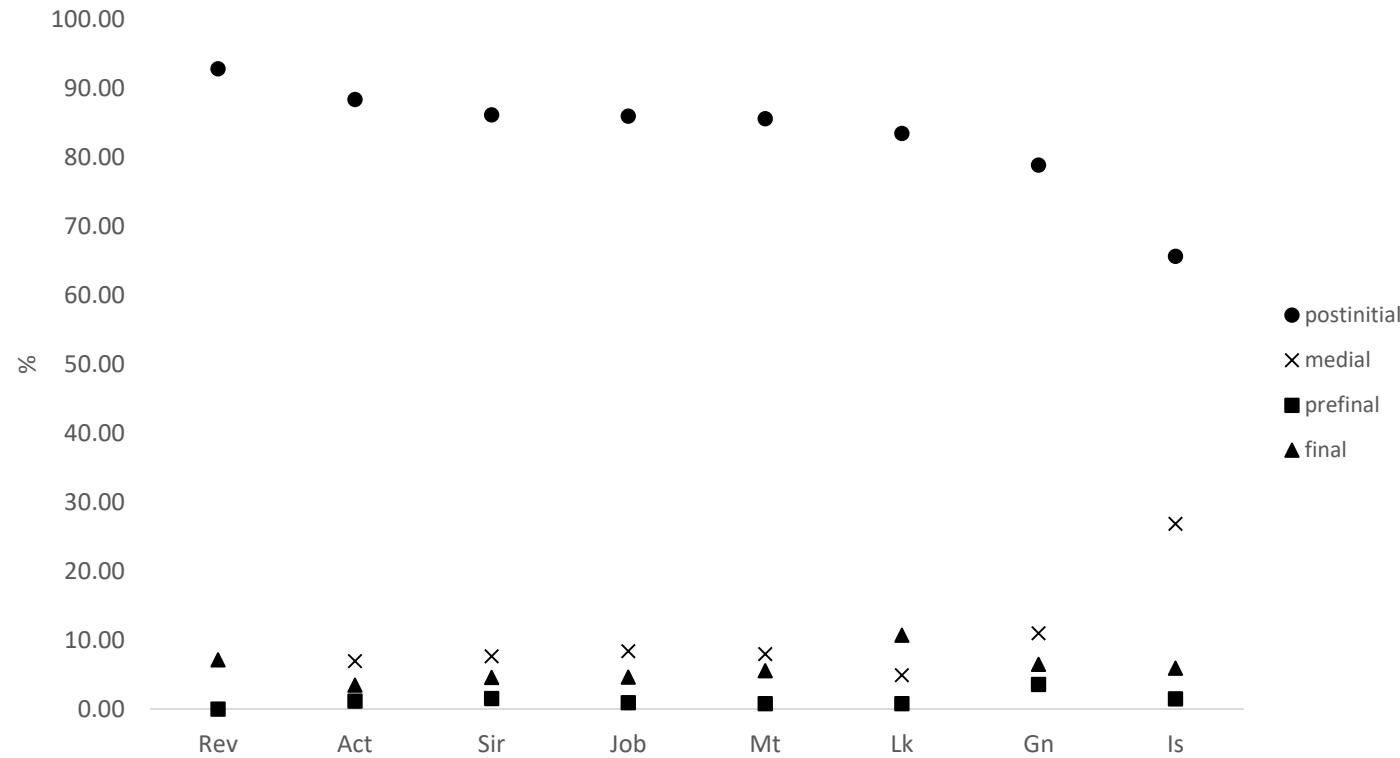


Figure 7 Proportions of clausal positions of *mi*, *ho*, *mu*. The books are ranked in descending order of post-initial position.

	contact – preverbal	cont. – postverbal	cont. – interverbal	isolated		Σ
Gen	24	40	0	1	65	
%	36,92	61,54		1,54		
Job	0	14	1	0	15	
%		93,33	6,67			
Sir	0	8	1	0	9	
%						
Isa	0	9	0	0	9	
%						
Mt	2	16	0	0	18	
%	11,11	88,89				
Lk	11	7	1	0	19	
%	57,90	36,84	5,26			
Acts	1	8	0	1	10	
%						
Rev	0	2	0	0	2	
%						
Σ	38	104	3	2	147	

Table 11 Frequency of the clausal positions of *ho, mi, mu* in the “non-postinitial” positions.

Tested by the χ^2 -test

Results: $\chi^2 = 37.72$, p-value <0.009

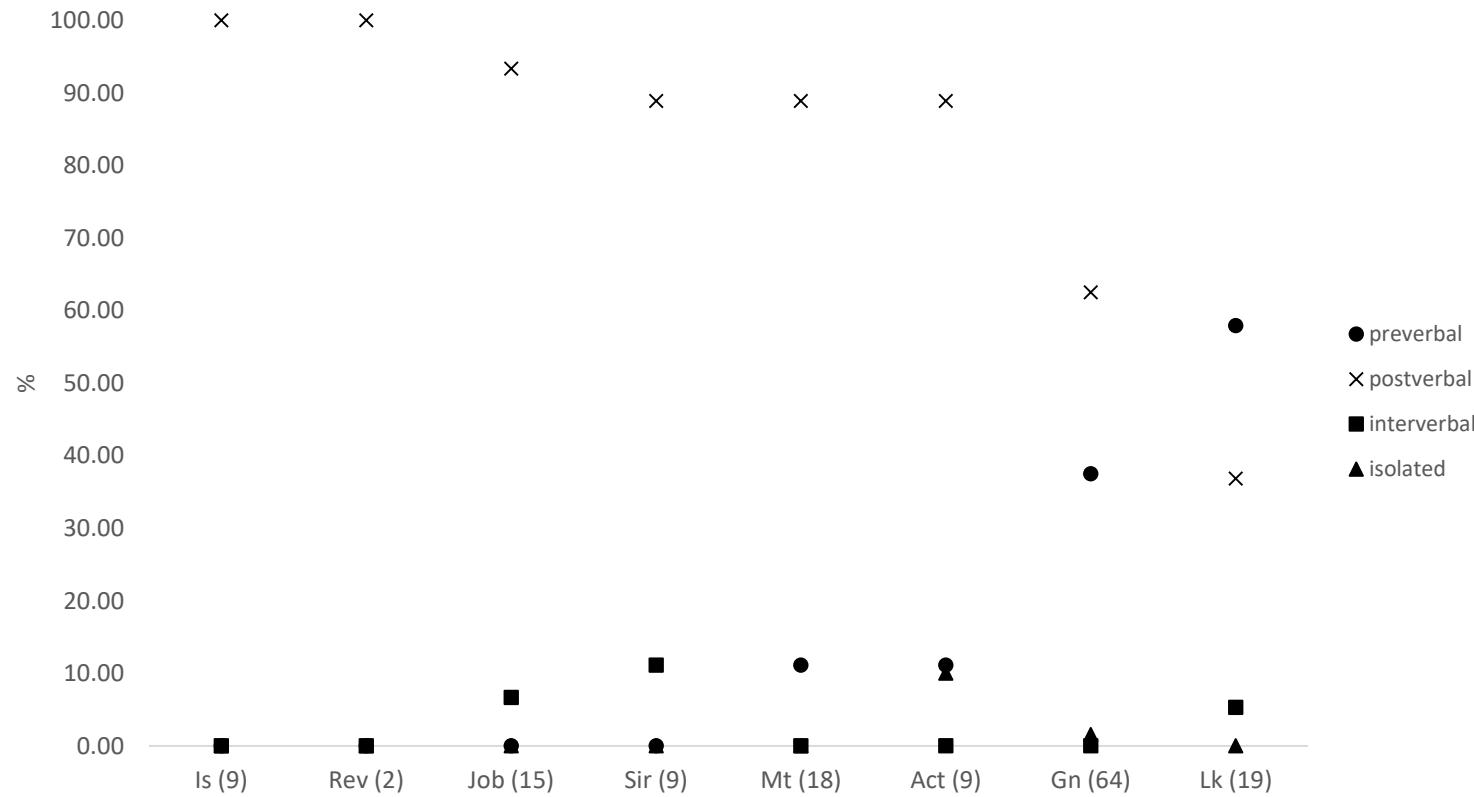


Figure 8 Proportions of positions of *mi, ho, mu* and its superordinate verb in the non-postinitial positions (the books are ranked in descending order of postverbal position).

Influence of the rhythmic rule I

- if a phrase is long, then it is followed by a pause
- an enclitic cannot be placed after a pause
- if the first phrase is long, then it is followed by a pause, and so the enclitic cannot be placed in the second position
- therefore it has to be placed after a shorter word or phrase in the middle or at the end of a clause
- (this mechanism is sometimes characterized as a *heavy constituent constraint* (Radanović Kocić 1996: 435) or as a *clitic third* rule (Franks, King, 2000: 229); a similar prosodic rule has been already formulated by Ertl 1924)

- (2) a. # 'starý 'strom # 'skácelse # 'vzahradě (#) 'rázem # – medial postverbal p.
b. # 'starý strom # 'vzahradě (#) 'rázem # 'skácelse # – final p.
c. # 'starý strom # 'rázemse 'skácel (#) 'vzahradě # – medial preverbal p.
d. # 'starý 'strom (#) 'vzahradě # 'rázemse 'skácel # – prefinal p.

a pause

' a word stress

The distribution of prosodic units in the Old Czech is hypothetical!

Influence of the rhythmic rule III

- hypothesis

The longer the first phrase of the clause, the lower probability of the occurrence of the enclitic after this phrase.

Influence of the rhythmic rule II

We have examined two issues:

- the average length of the initial phrase in the postinitial positions of *mi, ho, mu* (L_iP),
(1) a. [rázem] se [starý strom] [v zahradě] [skácel]
g. [v zahradě] se [skácel] [starý strom] [rázem]
- the average length of the initial phrase in the non-postinitial positions of *mi, ho, mu* (L_iN),
(2) a. [starý strom]₁ [skácel se]₂ [v zahradě]₃ [rázem]₄
b. [starý strom]₁ [v zahradě]₂ [rázem]₃ [skácel se]₄
c. [starý strom]₁ [rázem]₂ [se skácel]₃ [v zahradě]₄
d. [starý strom]₁ [v zahradě]₂ [rázem]₃ [se skácel]₄

The length of the phrase is measured by the number of 1. letters, 2. words.

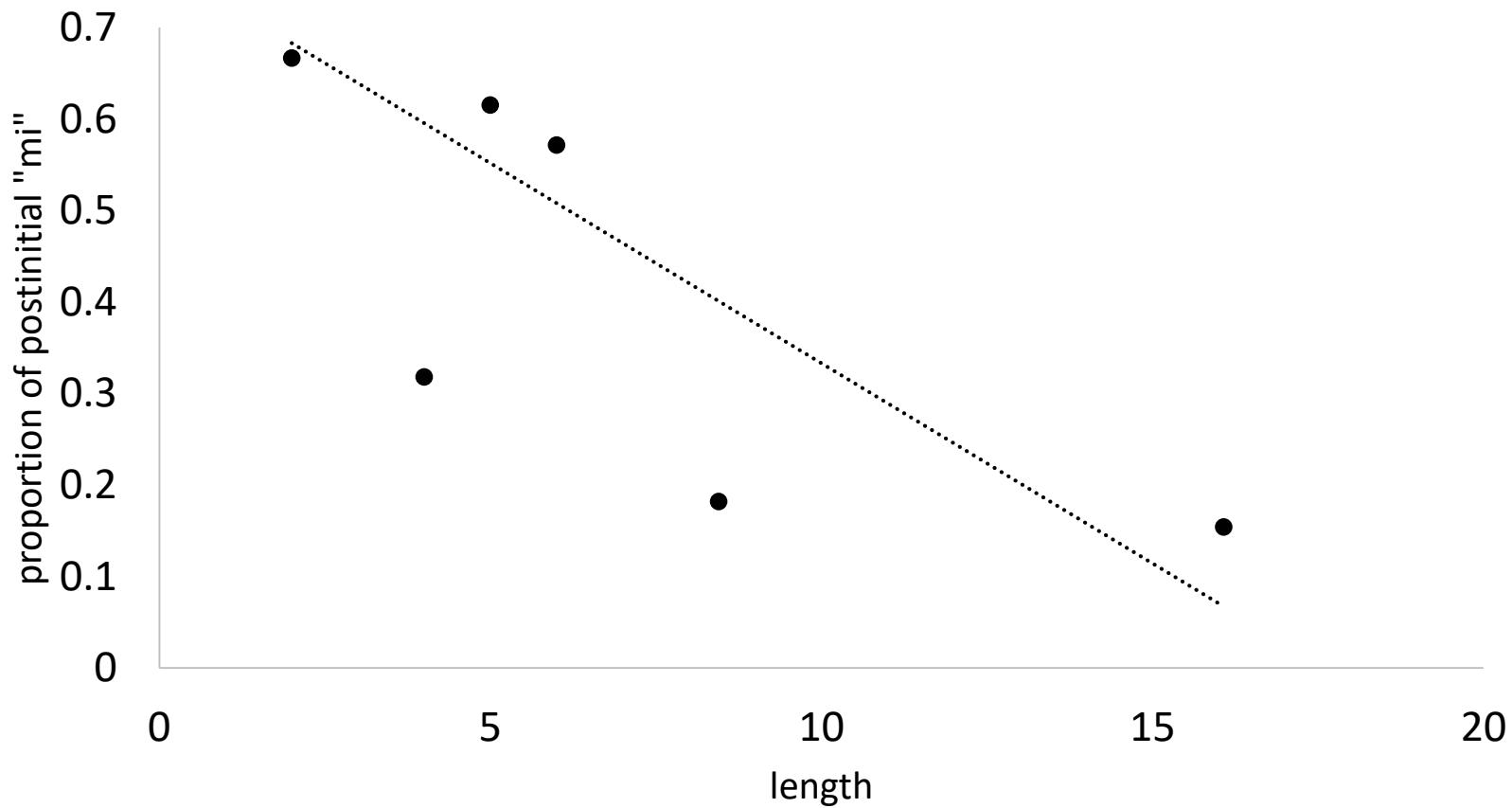


Figure 11 Proportions of postinitial *mi* – letters

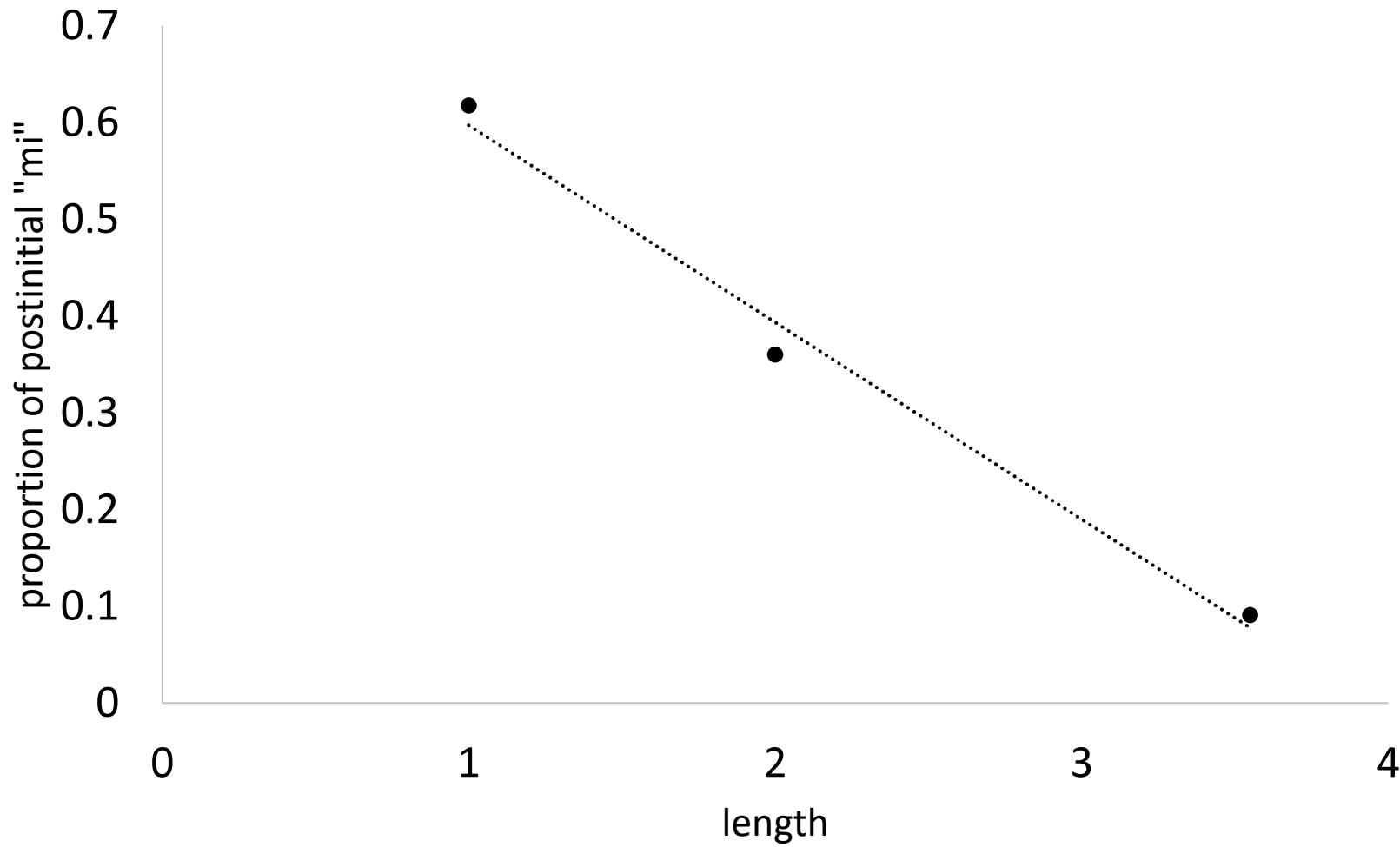


Figure 12 Proportions of postinitial *mi* – words

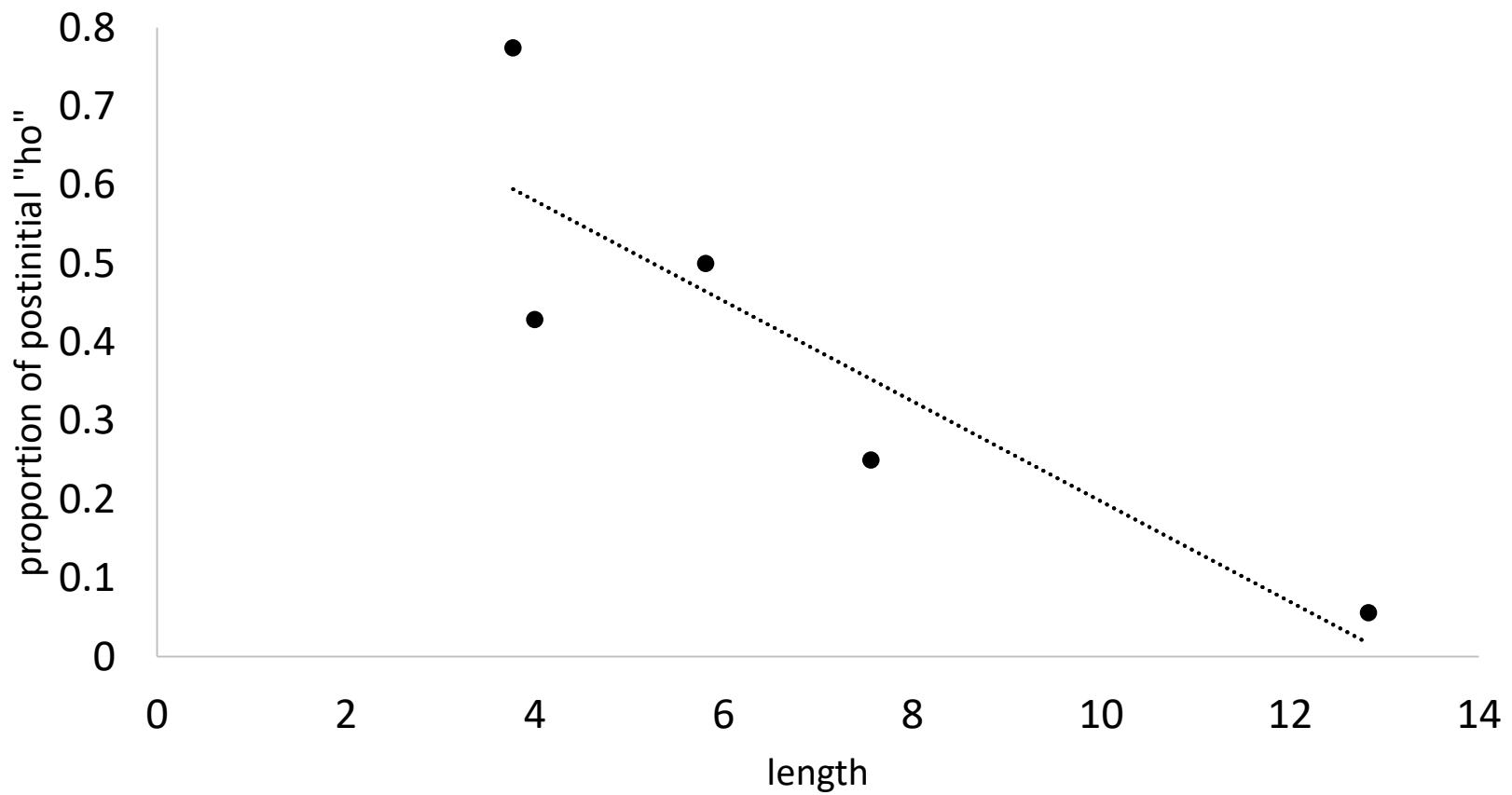


Figure 15 Proportions of postinitial *ho* – letters

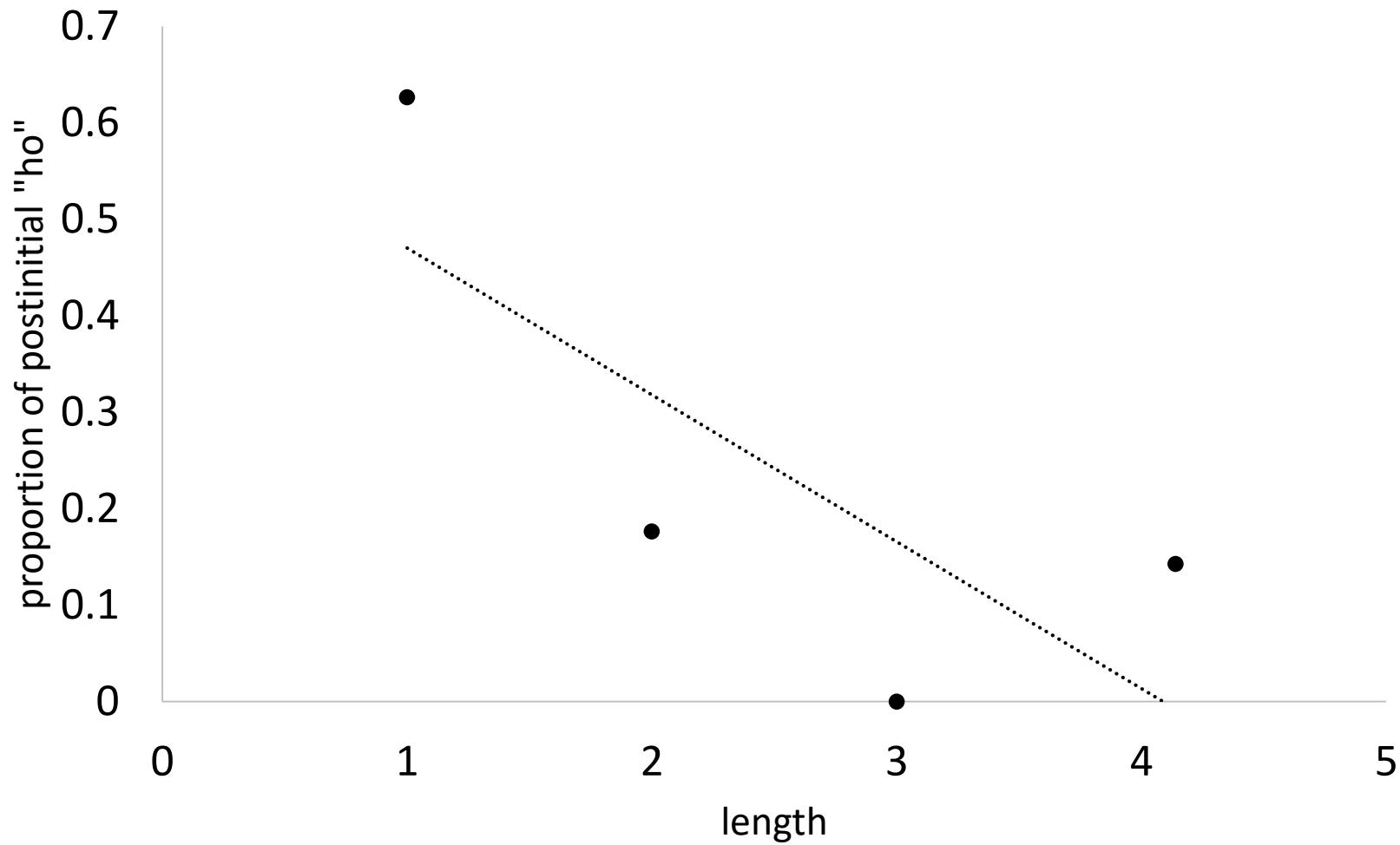


Figure 16 Proportions of postinitial *ho* – words

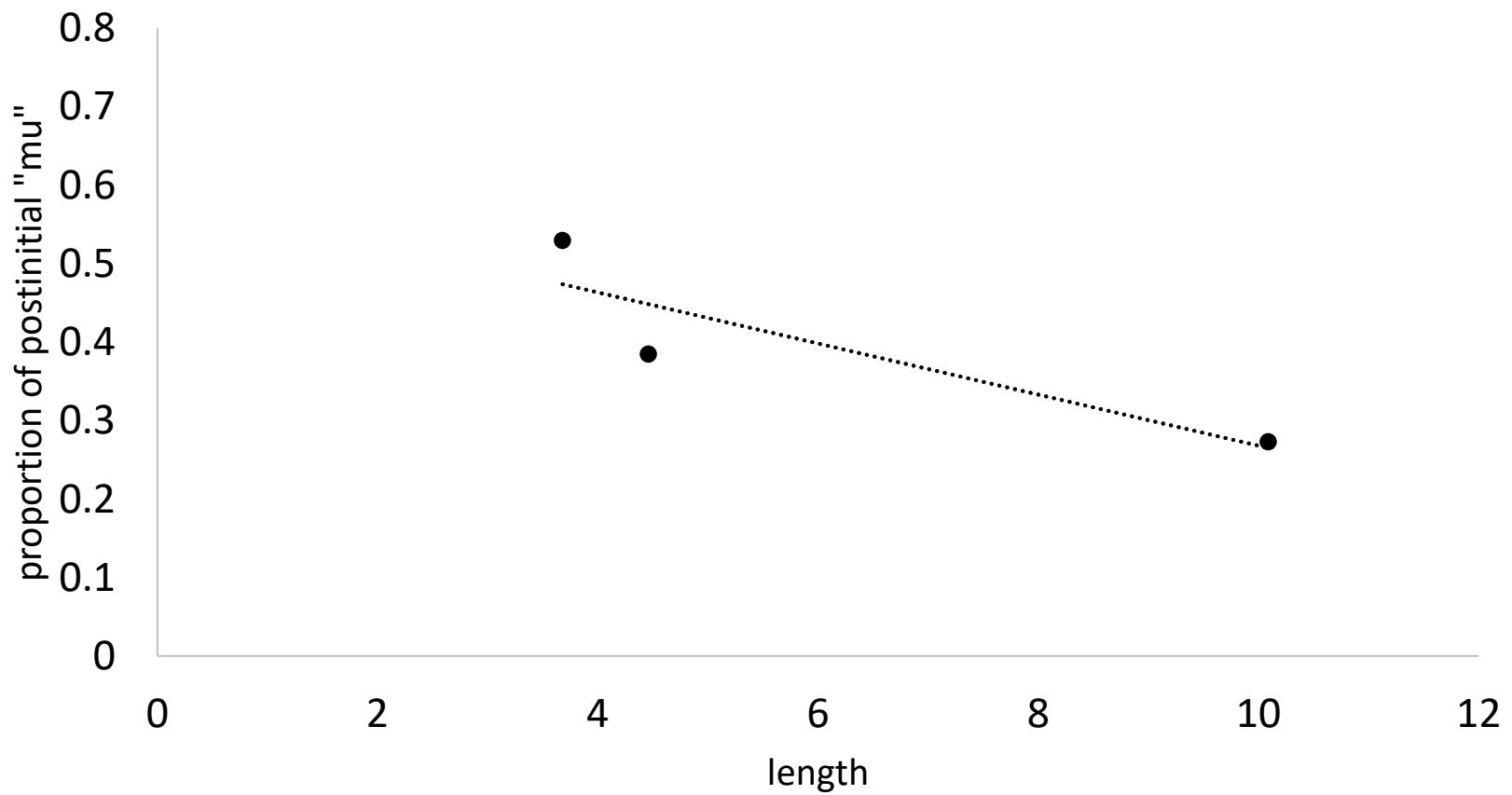


Figure 19 Proportions of postinitial *mu* – letters

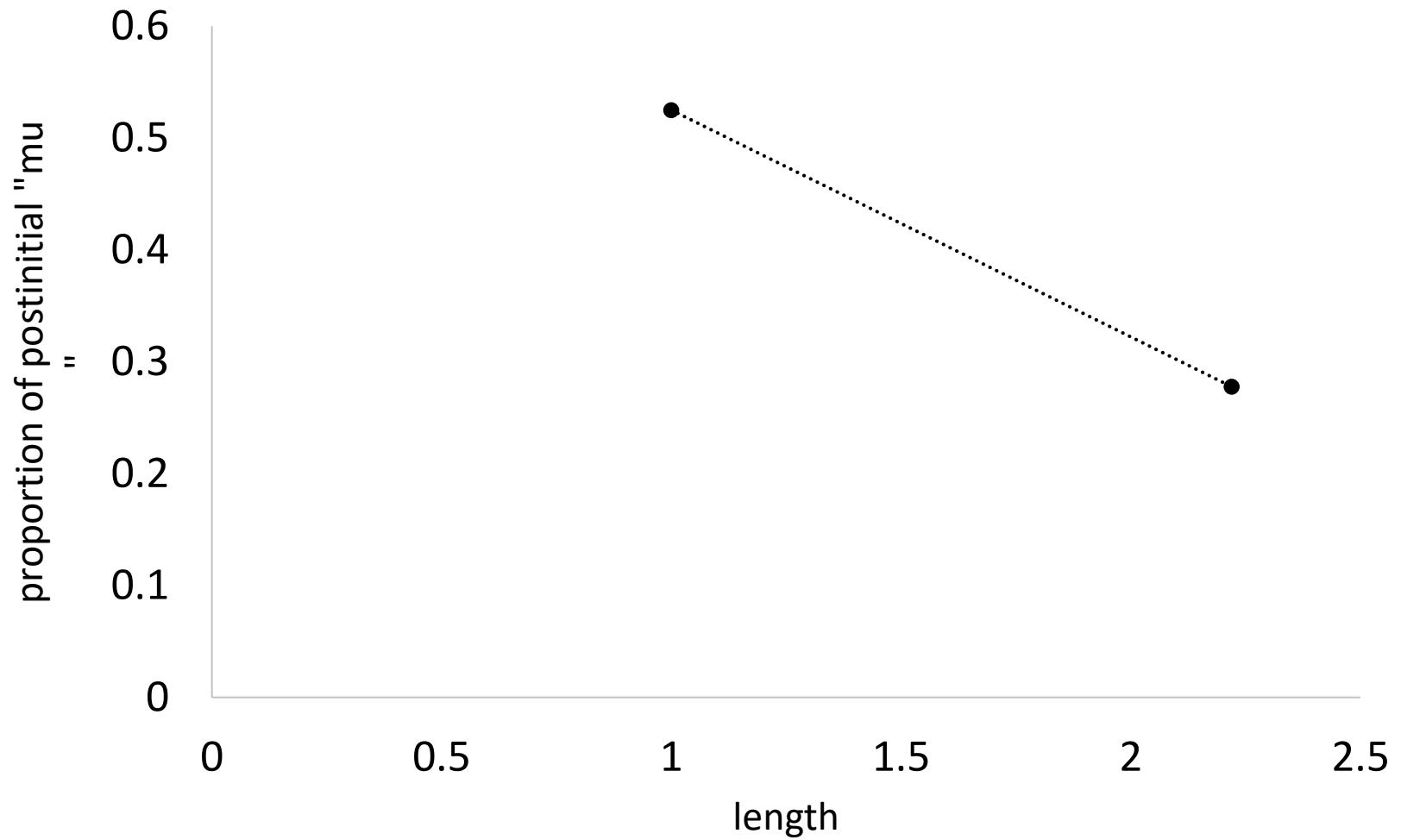


Figure 20 Proportions of postinitial *mu* – words

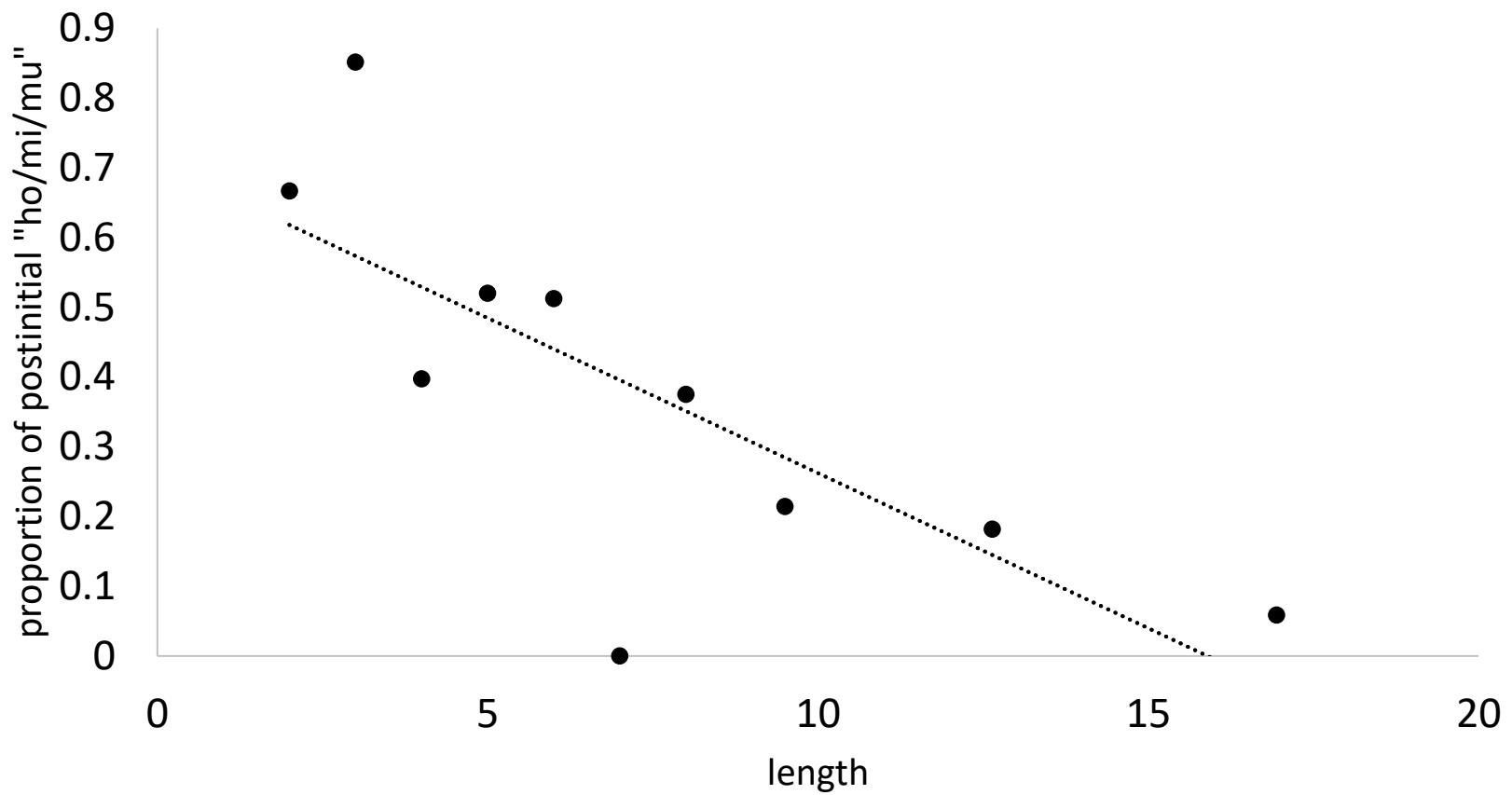


Figure 23 Proportions of postinitial *mi*, *ho*, *mu* – letters, Pearson's correlation: $r = -0,76$, $p\text{-value} = 0,01$

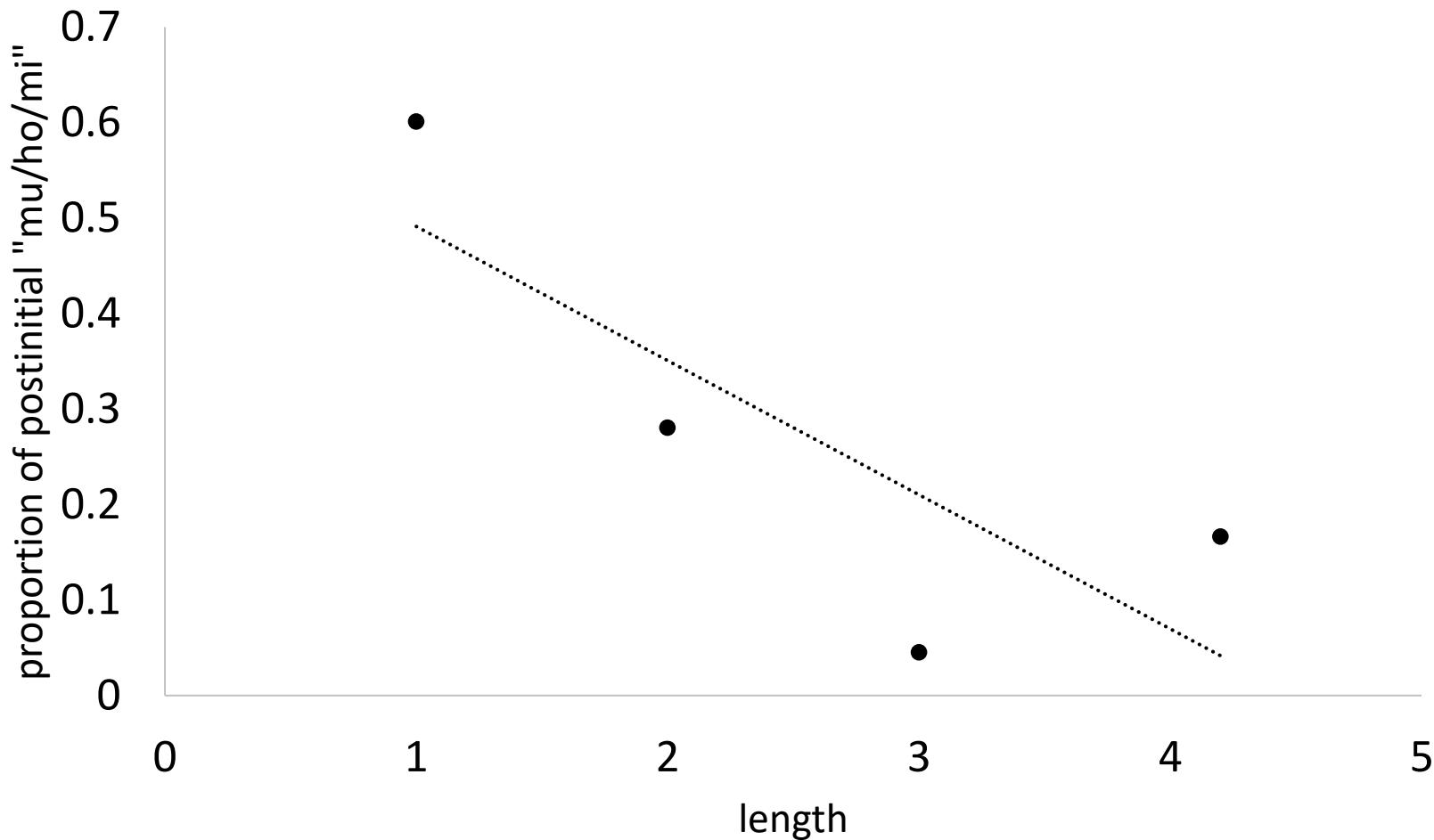


Figure 24 Proportions of postinitial *mi*, *ho*, *mu* – words, Pearson's correlation: $r = -0,81$, $p\text{-value} = 0,19$

Violation of the 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):

- (4) a. [tedy] [jeden z Starců] **dí mi**, Neplač, Aj svítězilť Lev, ten kterýž jest z pokolení Júdova, kořen Davidů, aby otevřel tu knihu, a zrušil sedm pečetí jejich. BiblKral, Rev 5,5
- b. [Tum] [unus ex Senioribus illis] **dicit mihi**, Ne fletō: ecce, vicit Leo ille ex tribu Iuda, stirps illa Davidis, ut aperiat librum, & solvat septem eius sigilla. B₁₅₈₈L ibid.
- c. καὶ [εἴς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων] **λέγει μοι**, Μὴ κλαῖε· ἴδοὺ ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ὥν ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδα, ἡ ρίζα Δαθίδ, ἀνοίξαι τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ λῦσαι τὰς ἐπτά σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ. B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

2. Clauses with an (en)clitic after a long phrase (to avoid the final position) demonstrated by ex. (5a):

- (5) a. Obrátils mi se v ukrutného nepřítele: [sílou ruky své] **mi odporuješ**. BiblKral, Job 30,21
- b. Convertis te in crudelem contra me: pro robore manus tuae intestinum odium exerces adversum **me**.

Influence of Latin and Greek pretext?

- the analysed text of the New Testament of the *Bible of Kralice* was compared with the Greek-Latin text by Theodor Beza *Testamentum novum, sive novum foedus Jesu Christi...* (1588–1589)
- the analysis included all contact positions
- the analysis included the (en)clitic *tě*
- the analysis dealt with the mutual position of the (en)clitic and his regent and with the position of the (en)clitic in the clause
- other differences (e.g. only a single expression instead of a phrase) are irrelevant
- the comparison of the Old Testament with the Latin translation by Tremelius-Junius needs to be conducted

mi, ho, mu, tě – Latin and Greek equivalents

- *mi* – *mihi, μοι/έμοι* ‘me’
- *mu* – *eo, αὐτῷ* ‘to him’
- *ho* – *eum, αὐτὸν* ‘him’
- *tě* – *te, σε* ‘you’

There were distinguished 5 following possible variants:

- BiblKral = L = G

the word order of the enclitic in the *Bible of Kralice*, the Latin and the Greek text is identical

- (BiblKral = L) ≠ G

the word order of the enclitic is the same in the *Bible of Kralice* and the Latin text, whereas the Greek text has a different word order

- (BiblKral = G) ≠ L

the word order of the enclitic is the same in the *Bible of Kralice* and the Greek text, but it is different in the Latin text

- BiblKral ≠ (G = L)

the word order of the enclitic is the same in the Latin and Greek pretexts, but different in the *Bible of Kralice*

- BiblKral ≠ G ≠ L

the word order of the enclitic is different in each of the three texts

- all of the variations can be found in the analysed text

I. BiblKral = L = G

- the word order of the enclitic in the *Bible of Kralice*, the Latin and the Greek text is identical
- this type is the most frequent one

(6) a. [Opět] **pojal ho** d'ábel na hůru vysokou velmi, a ukázal mu všecka království světa, i slávu jejich (...) BiblKral, Mt 4,8

b. [Rursum] **assumit eum** diabolus in montem sublimem valde, & ostendit ei omnia regna mundi, & gloriam eorum (...) B₁₅₈₈L ibid.

c. [Πάλιν] **παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν** ὁ διάβολος εἰς ὅρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν, καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν (...) B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

II. (BiblKral = L) ≠ G

- the word order of the enclitic is the same in the *Bible of Kralice* and the Latin text, whereas the Greek text has a different word order

(7) a. *Když pak jdeš s protivníkem svým k vrchnosti na cestě, přičině se o to, aby byl zproštěn od něho, aby snad netáhl tebe k soudci: a soudce dal by tebe biřici, a [biřic] vsadil by tě do žaláře.* BiblKral, Lk 12,58

b. *Enimvero dum abis cum adversario tuo ad magistratum, da operam in via ut libereris, ab eo: ne pertrahat te ad iudicem, & iudex tradat te exactori, & [exactor] coniiciat te in carcerem.* B₁₅₈₈L ibid.

c. ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγεις μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου σου ἐπ' ἄρχοντα, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δὸς ἔργασίαν ἀπηλλάχθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, μήποτε κατασύρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν, καὶ ὁ κριτής σε παραδώσει τῷ πράκτορι, καὶ [ὁ πράκτωρ] σε **βάλλῃ** εἰς φυλακήν.
B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

III. (BiblKral = G) ≠ L

- in contrast to the previous the word order of the enclitic is the same in the *Bible of Kralice* and the Greek text, but it is different in the Latin text

(8) a. A [pakli] [ruka tvá pravá] **horší té**, utniž ji, a vrz od sebe. Nebo užitečněji jest tobě, aby zahynul raději jeden oud tvůj, nežli by všecko tělo tvé uvrženo bylo do pekelného ohně. BiblKral, Mt 5,30

b. *Et, [si] [dextera tua manus] facit ut tu offendas, excinde eam, & abiice abs te. Expedit enim tibi ut pereat unum ex membris tuis, ac non totum corpus tuum coniiciatur in gehennam.*

B₁₅₈₈L ibid.

c. καὶ [εἰ] [ἡ δεξιά σου χεὶρ] **σκανδαλίζει σε**, ἔκκοψον αὐτὴν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ. συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῆ εἰς γέενναν. B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

IV. BiblKral ≠ (L = G)

- the word order of the enclitic is the same in the Latin and Greek pretexts, but different in the *Bible of Kralice*

(9) a. [Všecky věci] **dány sou mi** od Otce mého: a žádnýť nezná Syna, jediné Otec, aniž Otce kdo zná, jediné Syn, a komuž by chtěl Syn zjeviti. BiblKral, Mt 11,27

b. [Omnia] **mihi tradita sunt** a Patre meo: & nemo novit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quisquam novit nisi Filius, & cuicunque voluerit Filius retegere. B₁₅₈₈L ibid.

c. [Πάντα] **μοι παρεδόθη** ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

V. BiblKral ≠ L ≠ G

- the word order of the enclitic is different in each of the three texts
- this type is rare

(10) a. *A on odpověděv, řekl Otcí, Aj tolik let sloužím tobě: a nikdý sem přikázání tvého nepřestoupil: [a však] [nikdý] si mi **nedal** ani kozelce, abych také s přáteli svými vesel pobyl.* BiblKral, Lk 15,29

b. *Ipse vero respondens dixit patri, Ecce, tot annos servio tibi, nec unquam mandatum tuum sum transgressus, [nec] [unquam] **dedisti mihi** hoedum, ut cum amicis meis oblectarer.* B₁₅₈₈L ibid.

c. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ, Ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον, καὶ έμοι [οὐδέποτε] **ἔδωκας** ἔριφον ἵνα μετὰ τῶν φίλων μου εὔφρανθῶ. B₁₅₈₈G ibid.

- we analysed the examples of the type (BiblKral ≠ (G = L)): 10 examples
- and we compared these examples with the text of Blahoslav's NT₁₅₆₈
- in 9 cases out of ten the *Bible of Kralice* is the same as Blahoslav's New Testament from 1568
- it is evident that some of Blahoslav's interpretations were used in the New Testament of the *Kralice Bible* (e. g. Dittmann 2012)

- (11) a. *Aj pravím, způsobím to, žeť přijdou a budou se klaněti před nohama tvýma, a poznajíť, [že] sem [já] **tě miloval**.* BiblKral, Rev 3,9
- b. *ecce, inquam, faciam ut ipsi veniant & adorent ante pedes tuos, & sciant [quod] [ego] **dilexi te**.* B₁₅₈₈L ibid.
- c. *iδοὺ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἔξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, καὶ γνῶσιν [ὅτι] [ἔγὼ] **ἥγάπησά σε**.* B₁₅₈₈G ibid.
- d. *Aj způsobím to, žeť přijdou a budou se klaněti před nohama tvýma a poznajíť, [že] sem [já] **tě miloval**.* NT₁₅₆₈ ibid.

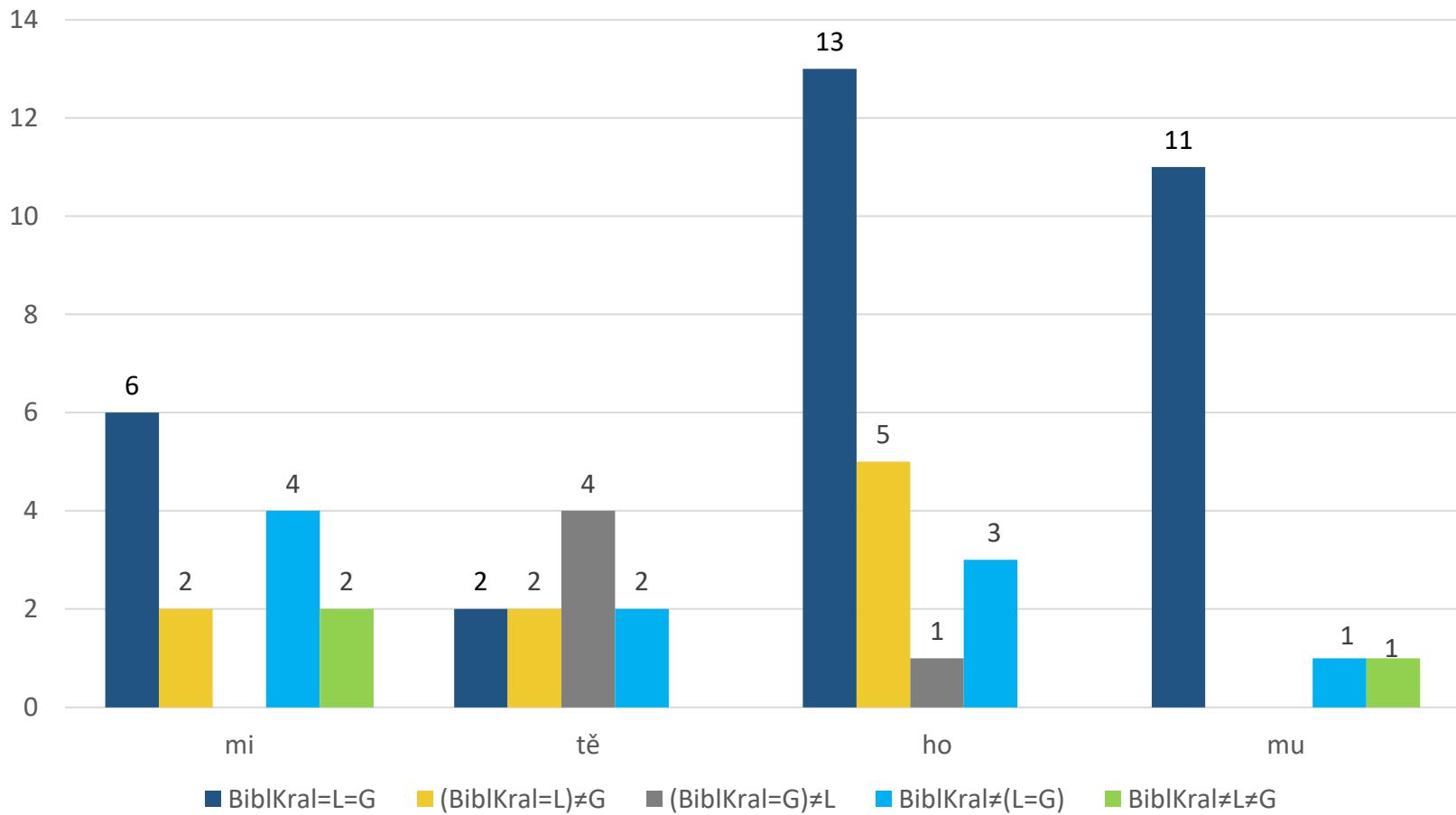


Figure 25 The comparison with the Greek-Latin pretext

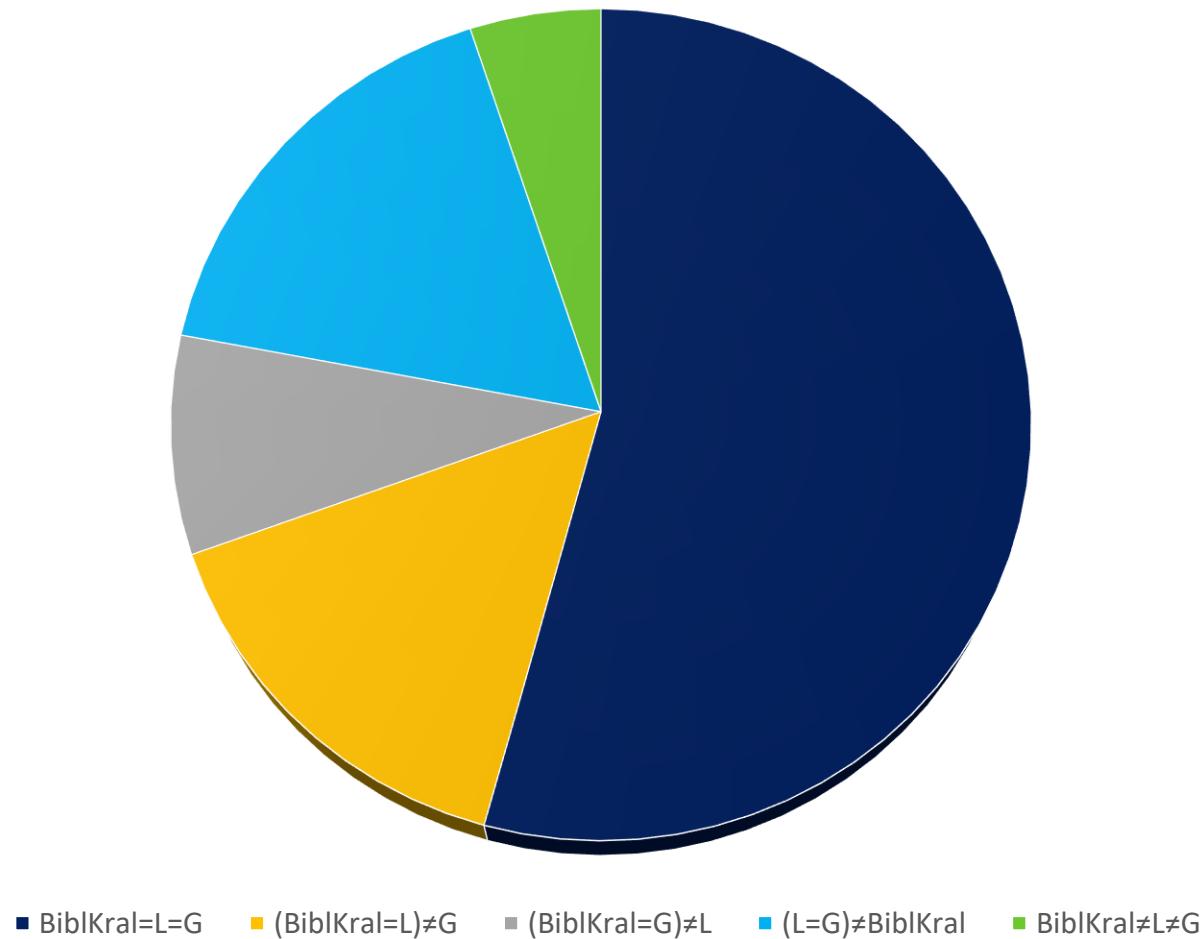


Figure 26 The comparison with the Greek-Latin pretext – for all of the pronominal forms

Conclusions

- The pronominal enclitic forms appear in both postinitial and non-postinitial positions.
- The non-postinitial positions are motivated by the contact word-ordering.
- The examples of the medial isolated position are almost absent.
- The postinitial position is the basic (neutral) word order position of the Old Czech (en)clitics, whereas the contact position is less frequent.
- The contact position is motivated by:
 - style,
 - rhythmic rule,
 - Latin/Greek pretext.

Thank you!

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