# The order of genitive and accusative clitics in Czech

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### Outline

- Introduction
- Clitics and other pronouns
- Construction 1: Genitive subject extraction
- 4 Construction 2: Accusative-genitive ditransitives
- Discussion

#### Introduction

Czech pronominal "second-position" clitics follow set order: REFL-DAT-ACC (cf. Franks & King, 2000, p. 105):

(I) Já jsem **se mu ho** ne-odvážila dát. I PST. ISG REFL. ACC him. DAT it. ACC NEG-dared give. INF 'I didn't dare to give it to him.' (cf. Veselovská, 1995, p. 273)

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(I) Já jsem **se mu ho** ne-odvážila dát. I pst.isg refl.acc him.dat it.acc neg-dared give.inf 'I didn't dare to give it to him.' (cf. Veselovská, 1995, p. 273)

Genitive clitics are much rarer and follow datives:

(2) Můj život má právě tolik smyslu, kolik **mu**my life has just as.much meaning.GEN how.much it.DAT **ho** dám.
it.GEN give.1SG
'My life has just as much meaning as I give it.' (SYNV11)

#### Genitive and accusative clitics

Sentences with both genitive and accusative clitics are rare, their order is disputed

- Veselovská (1995), Toman (1999): GEN-ACC order standard
- Lenertová (2004): ACC-GEN order required
- Franks and King (2000), Hana (2007): preferences vary, judgements strained, combination perhaps ungrammatical

Similar reports for South Slavic languages! (Browne, 2004; Franks & King, 2000)

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Issues with previous claims:

- Based on small numbers of sentences/judgements
- Often fail to account for important syntactic factors

#### Overview

I present corpus studies of two constructions with GEN and ACC clitics:

- Both orders occur: grammatical to at least some speakers (though rare)! (contra Franks & King, 2000)
- Order heavily dependent on syntactic factors: merged order and person
- Sporadic GEN-ACC order with cases flipped (the argument expected to have ACC instead has GEN)

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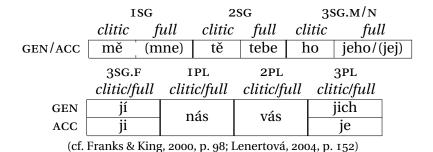
#### Conclusion:

• Suggestive of some *grammatical* pressure preferring GEN-ACC order, like DAT-ACC preference but weaker (cf. Tabachnick, 2024; Toman, 1999)

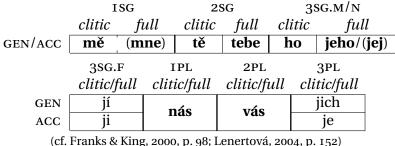
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## Genitive and accusative pronouns



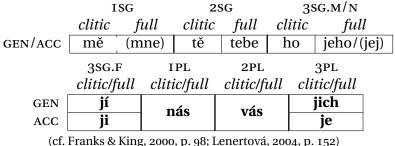
## Genitive and accusative pronouns



#### Widespread genitive-accusative syncretism

- 3SG.F distinction neutralized for some, usually to jí (Hana, 2007, p. 78), though generally retained in writing
- Syncretic clitics glossed from context: | *ho* = him.gen or him.acc
- Non-syncretic clitics glossed with underline: | *jich* = them.gen

## Genitive and accusative pronouns



#### Widespread clitic-full pronoun syncretism

- Possibility: full pronoun "masquerading" as clitic at end of cluster (see Franks & King, 2000, p. 108)
- Full pronouns are usually focused and in different positions
- Doesn't seem to be a major factor in my studies

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Numbers  $\geq$  5 and other quantifiers take *genitive* complements, which can extract and cliticize:

(3) Petr **jich** nalezl tehdy pět.
Petr.nom them.<u>GEN</u> found.m.sg then five
'Petr found five of them at that time.' (Toman, 1986, p. 131)

When extracted from the subject, this clitic can cooccur with a direct object clitic:

(4) Navštívilo jich ho jen pár.
 visited.n.sg them.<u>GEN</u> him.ACC only couple
 'Just a couple of them visited him.' (Toman, 1999, p. 205)

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## Previous reports

- **Toman (1999, p. 205)**: Prefers GEN-ACC order, but judgements "perhaps" not "relatively stable"
- Franks and King (2000, p. 108): Both orders marked %, three speakers varied ("both orders pretty bad", AG "only possible order", GA "relatively OK")
- Hana (2007, p. 113): Both orders found in corpus, "The
  judgements are largely speaker dependent, some speakers
  judging both orders as incorrect or marginal."

## Corpus

- SYNv11 corpus from the Czech National corpus (Křen et al., 2022)
- Heavily weighted towards journalistic texts
- Only texts marked as written in Czech (no translations)
- Size:  $\sim$ 5.9 billion words

## Search parameters

- Sequences of two genitive or accusative clitics
- Some clitics excluded for giving too many false positives
  - mě, jí, je
- Crucial: included 3PL.GEN *jich*, by far the most common subject complement

#### Data

- Initial search: 1198 sentences
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- 330 target sentences with GEN quantity complement and ACC direct object clitics
- By comparison: 15,183 hits for sequence mu ho (him/it.DAT him/it.ACC)

#### **Basic results**

Both orders are well-attested ...

	orde	r
GA	AG	% GA
145	185	43.9%

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Both orders are well-attested ... but largely vary by person!

person			orde	r
GEN	ACC	GA	AG	% GA
3	1/2	37	175	17.5%
1/2	3	20	2	92.9%
3	3	88	8	91.7%
total		145	185	43.9%

- When both clitics are 3, strong preference for GEN-ACC order
- Strong preference for 1/2 clitics to precede 3 as known from DAT/ACC combinations cross-linguistically (e.g. Béjar & Rezac, 2003) and in Czech (Sturgeon et al., 2011) (Person Case Constraint)

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- (5) 'He has several operations behind him and ...' spousta **jich ho** ještě čeká. lots them.<u>GEN</u> him.ACC still wait 'many more of them await him.'
- (6) 'He only trusted a couple of doctors ...'
  i když ho jich prohlížela celá řada.
  even when him.ACC them.GEN examined whole row
  'even though a whole series of them examined him.'

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However, this construction doesn't appear in other positions – non-clitic reading likely unacceptable.

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#### Both of the ACC 3-GEN 1/2 sentences have adjacent quantifiers

(7) ... jakmile **ho** [**nás** pět] nahraje, už je to Limetal. as soon as it.ACC us.GEN five play already is it Limetal '... as soon as the five of us play it, it's Limetal.'

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(8) [Nás sedm] pak v květnu letělo na Bali us.GEN seven then in May flew.N.SG to Bali 'The seven of us then flew to Bali in May.'

(SYNvii)

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(SYNvii)

## **Summary**

Attested tokens show variable resolution of two often competing pressures:

- GEN extracted from subject > ACC object: usually (but not always) observed
- 1/2 > 3: usually (but not always) triumphs over the case/argument order

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A few verbs, most commonly *zbavit* 'rid', take ACC patient and GEN theme:

(9) Zbavili Alenu občanství. rid.m.pl Alena.ACC citizenship.GEN 'They stripped Alena of her citizenship.' (Franks & King, 2000, p. 108)

(9) shows the default merged order of arguments ACC > GEN (Franks & King, 2000, p. 109; cf. Dvořák, 2010)

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(9) shows the default merged order of arguments ACC > GEN (Franks & King, 2000, p. 109; cf. Dvořák, 2010)

Both arguments can cliticize (at least for some speakers):

(10) Nakonec **ji ho** zbavili. finally her.<u>ACC</u> him.GEN rid.M.PL 'They finally rid her of him.' (Lenertová, 2004, p. 154)

# Previous reports

- **Lenertová (2004, p. 154)**: ACC-GEN usually required, with one exception
- Franks and King (2000, pp. 108–9): speakers preferred ACC-GEN "to the limited extent that they could provide judgments at all", "very strained", "suggests that simultaneous realization of both accusative and genitive clitics is simply not grammatical"

### Search parameters

- Sequences of two genitive or accusative clitics
- With a form of *zbavit* (PERF) or *zbavovat* (IMPF) 'rid'  $\leq$  4 words away
- Filtered out more common reflexivized and passive forms

#### Data

- Initial search: 322 sentences
- Manually coded
- 197 target sentences with both arguments of *zbavit* cliticized

# Are speakers avoiding GEN+ACC clitic combinations?

If so, both arguments of *zbavit* should cliticize less often than other ditransitives.

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				both	% both
merged order	ī	verb	total	clitics	clitics
ACC-GEN	zbavit	ʻrid'	111063	322	0.29%
ACC-DAT	svěřit	'entrust'	78 898	913	1.16%
ACC-DA1	podřídit	'subordinate'	13219	23	0.17%
DAT-ACC	poskytnout	'provide'	768 027	2661	0.35%
DAT-ACC	darovat	ʻgift'	112153	1253	1.12%
inclu	dec falce pocitiv	es ditransitive type	s from Dvořá	k (2010)	

includes false positives, ditransitive types from Dvořák (2010)

Depends on the verb – rates for *zbavit* are within the range of others, no clear evidence for avoidance

### **Basic results**

Overwhelming majority: 1/2 patient (ACC) and 3 theme (GEN)

Strong preferences for 1/2-3 and patient-theme

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per	son		01	rder
GEN	ACC	GA	AG	flipped GA
3	1/2	I	160	I
1/2	3	0	0	I
3	3	2	26	6

- Strong preferences for 1/2-3 and patient-theme
- When both clitics are 3, strong preference for patient-theme order, with *both* case orders:
  - canonical: ACC patient, GEN theme
  - flipped: GEN patient, ACC theme

## Third-person only

When both clitics are 3, strong preference for patient-theme order

person		order			
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(II) 'Your loved ones will be under tension, ...'
zbavte **je ho**.
rid.IMP.2PL them.ACC it.GEN
'relieve them of it.'

# Third-person only

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person			order			
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3	3	2	26	6		

- (II) 'Your loved ones will be under tension, ...'
  zbavte **je ho**.
  rid.IMP.2PL them.ACC it.GEN
  'relieve them of it.'
- (12) 'They gave an ex-mayor a position for mayors. ...' Museli jí ho zbavit. had.PL it.GEN him.ACC rid.INF 'They had to strip him of it.'

person			order			
GEN	ACC	GA	AG	flipped GA		
3	3	2	26	6		

Recall: most clitics are syncretic in GEN and ACC, except:

- 3SG.F: GEN jí, ACC ji
- 3PL: GEN *jich*, ACC *je*

These clitics sometimes appear with the "wrong" case:

- (13) '... her face is adorned by a real pig's snout. ...'

  Zbavit **jí** (ji) **ho** může jen opravdová láska. rid.INF her.<u>GEN</u>! it.ACC! can only true love 'Only true love can rid her of it.'
- (14) 'They always come to the operation with great fear. ...'

  Na vás je, abyste **jich** (je) **ho** zbavili.

  on you.pl is COND.2Pl them.<u>GEN</u>! it.ACC! rid.INF

  'It's your job to rid them of it.'

### Are these examples really meaningful? Objections:

- Maybe this is neutralization of 3SG.F ji (ACC) and ji (GEN) (cf. Hana, 2007, p. 78)
- A large corpus always has some typos, copyediting errors, etc.

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	clitic		
canonical case	ji	jí	
accusative (ji)	1	5	
genitive ( <i>jí</i> )	1	57	

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  - Greater use of jí for canonical ACC than expected
  - Also occurs with 3PL je (ACC)  $\rightarrow jich$  (GEN)

	clitic		ci	litic
canonical case	ji	jí	je	jich
accusative (ji, je)	1	5	2	2
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- A large corpus always has some typos, copyediting errors, etc.
  - This is a rare construction, and flipped case clusters make up a sizable proportion

## **Summary**

Attested tokens show variable resolution of *four* often competing pressures:

- 1/2 > 3: (essentially) always holds
- patient > theme: usually wins out
- GEN > ACC: sometimes wins over argument order
- case assignment: occasionally sacrificed to align argument and case orders

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- GEN/ACC combinations are robustly, if quite rarely, attested (contra Franks & King, 2000)
- In two constructions, we see variation in clitic order to satisfy multiple pressures:
  - Person Case Constraint (1/2 > 3)
  - patient > theme in ACC-GEN ditransitives
  - GEN > ACC

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- In two constructions, we see variation in clitic order to satisfy multiple pressures:
  - Person Case Constraint (1/2 > 3)
  - patient > theme in ACC-GEN ditransitives
  - GEN > ACC
- The GEN-ACC order preference is much weaker than the DAT-ACC order preference
  - Clash with PCC often leads to ungrammaticality, though ACC-DAT order to satisfy PCC is sparsely attested (Sturgeon et al., 2011)
  - DAT-ACC order fully trumps patient-theme order for ACC-DAT ditransitives (Dvořák, 2010; Tabachnick, 2024)

# The GEN-ACC preference

#### Is it really there?

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 Widespread syncretism in GEN-ACC clitics - e.g. perhaps syncretic clitics can "count" as one or the other case as needed

# The GEN-ACC preference

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### Why is it weaker than the DAT-ACC preference?

 Widespread syncretism in GEN-ACC clitics - e.g. perhaps syncretic clitics can "count" as one or the other case as needed

### Why is it there at all?

- The source must be some grammatical mechanism enforcing DAT>ACC, DAT>GEN, and GEN>ACC
- This DAT-GEN-ACC order aligns with the case containment hierarchy independently proposed to account for morphological syncretism (Caha, 2009)
- Proposal (cf. Tabachnick, 2024): case-based template enforced by clitic probe that attracts clitics in this case order

### Future work

- Experimental testing of the relative strength of the different factors
- Extension to other second-position clitic languages
  - Franks and King (2000, pp. 29, 45): ACC-GEN order claimed for Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian
  - Browne (2004): Judgements are mixed, speakers tend to avoid
  - Preliminary corpus study in Slovenian shows similar patterns as Czech

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