

DISCOURSE ENCLITICS IN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

a corpus-based comparison with Ancient Greek

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INTRODUCTION

Since Klavans (1985) it is customary to classify enclitic particles based on their relationship with their phonological and syntactic hosts. This allows to distinguish between:

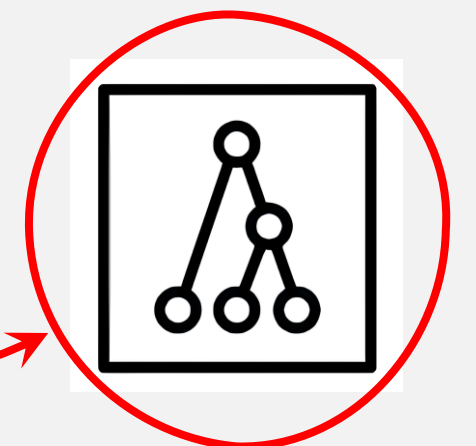
- **P2 enclitics**, which obey Wackernagel's law and thus adhere to a phonological host in second position that need not coincide with the syntactic host.
- **word enclitics**, which are always prosodically attached to their syntactic host.

Following the taxonomy proposed for Old Russian in Zaliznjak (2008) and adapted by Zimmerling & Kosta (2013) it is possible to outline three sets of enclitic particles for OCS: discourse particles, copula forms and pronominal clitics.

P2 enclitics	Discourse particles: <i>že, bo, li</i>
Word enclitics	Present tense forms of the copula <i>byti</i>
Hybrid enclitics	Dative and accusative forms of personal pronouns
TAXONOMY OF OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC ENCLITICS	

MATERIALS & METHODS

- Focus on P2 discourse enclitics
- Old Church Slavonic version of the Gospel of Matthew from *Codex Marianus* (XI AD)
- Compared with the Ancient Greek version of the same gospel (I-II AD)
- Using the parallel treebank PROIEL (Haug & Jøhndal 2008) through its online interface *Syntacticus*
- In a contrastive approach combining quantitative and qualitative analysis.



RESULTS

- While *že* and *bo* tend to match specific discourse particles of Ancient Greek, *li* displays a more complex pattern. Not all its occurrences function as enclitic particles: it works as a P2 enclitic when marking interrogative stance but behaves proclitically when translating the Ancient Greek disjunctive conjunction *ἔ*. As question-marking enclitic, *li* has no equivalents in Ancient Greek.
- In Old Church Slavonic no clitic can break phonological words consisting of syntactically bound items while this is by all means possible in Ancient Greek. This is exemplified in the sentences below, where *že* does not break the preposition-NP sequence and *bo* follows the negation-verb cluster.

DISCOURSE PARTICLE	TOKENS	MAIN EQUIVALENT	OTHER EQUIVALENTS
ŽE	365	<i>dé</i> (90% occ.)	<i>oûn, kaí</i>
BO	108	<i>gár</i> (89% occ.)	<i>dé</i>
LI enclitic	59	† question marker	<i>ašte li = èàn dé</i> hypothetical
LI proclitic	54	<i>é</i> (98% occ.)	†

OCS *otŭ dñii že ioana krŭstiteľě* AG *apò dè tôn hēmerôn Iōannou toŭ baptistoŭ*
 from day:GEN.PL PTC John:GEN.SG baptist:GEN.SG from PTC ART:GEN.PL day:GEN.PL John:GEN.SG ART:GEN.SG baptist:GEN.SG

‘From the days of John the Baptist [until now]’ (Mt. 11.12)

OCS *ne pridŭ bo pravedñnikŭ prizŭvatŭ* AG *ou gár êlthon kalésai dikaiŭs*
 NEG come:AOR.1SG PTC righteous:GEN.PL.M call:SUPN NEG PTC come:AOR.1SG call:INF.AOR righteous:ACC.PL.M

‘I did not come to call the righteous’ (Mt. 9.13)

CONCLUSION

- Old Church Slavonic is attested much later than Ancient Greek, the *Codex Marianus* (XI AD) being one of the earliest documents in the language.
- Based on a parallel corpus, the above analysis compared two Indo-European languages at two different stages of their development (I-II vs. XI AD).
- The later attested language displays stronger restrictions to enclitic placement: P2 enclitics can occur inside clause constituents but cannot break phonological words of syntactically bound items → such findings can corroborate existing evidence on the increasing **configurationality** of IE languages (cf. Hewson 1997).

Essential literature

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