From pronouns to agreement:
diachrony and typology of pronominal clitics

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(1)   **Northern Talyshi (Northwest Iranian, Indo-European; Azerbaijan)**
       (Schulze 2000: 35 ex. 25a, 37 ex. 28, 55 ex. 80, 53, ex. 72f)

       Floating clitics:
       Ergative enclitic person marker can occur on the verb, see (a), or on a preverbal nominal part of complex predicates, see (b), but the most commonly on the preverbal element, marking focus on this element, see the question-answer pair (c, d). Incidentally, the clitic is also found on the first element of the clause, see (e).

     a.   *av-on*   *mʎ-ni-š*   *voğānd-ʎšon-e*
          3SG.PRON-PL 1SG.PRON-ACC send-**3PL**-AUX
          'They sent me.'

     b.   *tʎ*   *mʎ-ni*   *konžo*   *bagam-ʎ* *kard-e*
          2SG.PRON 1SG.PRON-ACC where   love-**2SG**   make-AUX
          'Where did you fall in love with me?'

     c.   *de*   *čič-ʎ*   *epišt-a?*
          2SG.PRON   what-**2SG**   tie up-PERF
          'What did you tie up?'

     d.   *čay*   *lʎng-on-ʎm*   *epʎšt-a*
          3SG.POSS   leg-PL-**1SG**   tie up-PERF
          'I tied up his leg.'

     e.   *albahal-ʎm*   *tifang* *ba*   *po*   *pekʎrn-i*
          this moment-**1SG** rifle   to   down   take up-AOR
          'In this moment I took up the rifle from below.'

(2)   **Konjo (South Sulawesi, Austronesian; Indonesia)**
       (Friberg 1996: 141-2 exs. 10-12, 151 ex. 47)

       Non-obligatory affixes:
       Obligitory cross-reference between verb and following noun phrases, see (a). In contrast, topicalised noun phrases in preverbal position do not get cross-reference, see (b, c). A preposed element with cross-reference on the verb is possible, though only if it is 'outside' the regular sentence structure, see (d).

     a.   ***na**-kanre-**i***   *Amir*   *loka-ku*
          3ERG-eat-**3ABS** NAME banana-1POSS
          'Amir ate my banana.'

b. *Amir   ang-kanre-**i**   loka-ku*
   NAME   VOICE-eat-**3ABS** banana-1POSS
   '(It is) Amir (who) ate my banana.'

c. *lokaku   **na**-kanre   (Amir)*
   banana-1POSS   **3ERG**-eat   NAME
   '(It was) my banana he (Amir) ate.'

d. *manna   Baco'   ,   suang-a   **na**-tulung*
   even   NAME   BREAK   often-1ABS   **3ERG**-help
   'Even Baco', he often helps me.'

(3) **Lotuho (Southern Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan; Sudan)**
   (Tucker & Bryan 1966, 469-70; Muratori 1938: 72, 174)

Subject suffixes and independent pronouns identical:

	Pronoun	Suffix
1 SG	(n)ánɪ	…-nɛ, nɪ
2 SG	íyé	…-iɛ
3 SG	ínyí	…-ɪnyɪ
1 PL	xɔ́xɔɪ	…-xɔxɔɪ
2 PL	ítáɪ́	…-tai
3 PL	ìsɪ̀	…-ɪsɪ

If the independent pronoun is used for emphasis, this independent pronoun *precedes* the verb, and the subject suffix is *not* used. This complementary distribution of independent pronoun and suffixal pronoun indicates recent cliticization of the independent pronoun. In the other Nilotic languages, that are regularly VSO (i.e. all except Bari), the independent pronoun *follows* the verb for emphasis. Maybe this emphatic construction with the pronoun following has become unmarked in Lotuho, leading to an eventual cliticization. (Note: The occurrence of a pronominal suffix leads to the unusual fact that the same referent is refered to twice on the same predicate, as there is also a subject prefix.)

a. *nanɪ   á-ɓwaxa*
   1SG.PRON   1SG-dig
   'I (emphatic) am digging'

b. *á-ɓwaxa-nɪ*
   1SG-dig-1SG
   'I (normal) am digging.'

(4) **Southwestern Iranian, Indo-European**
   (M. Dabir Moghaddam 2004, p.c.)

Naini: preverbal enclitics
   *me   kutab-**om**   iriy*
   1SG.PRON   book-**1SG**   buy.PAST
   'I bought the book.'

Lari: verbal prefixes

> *mæ*   *ketab*   ***om**-se*
> 1SG.PRON   book   **1SG**-buy.PAST
> 'I bought the book.'

(5)   **Padoe (Bungku-Tolaki, Austronesian; Indonesia)**
      (Vuorinen 1995: 107 ex. 54, 109 ex. 66)

The ergative person markers are found as prefixes, but as enclitics after initial *ako*
('because'), *ba* ('if', 'when'), *ka* ('so that'), *la* (negation), *aambo* ('not yet')

   a.   *umari*   *sie*   ***ku**-nahu-o*
          finish   that   **1SG**-cook-3SG
          'After that I cooked it.'

   b.   *la-**ku***   *to'ori-o*   *name-no*
          NEG-**1SG**   know-3SG   name-3SG.POSS
          'I do not know his name.'

(6)   **Cypriot Greek (Greek, Indo-European; Cyprus)**
      (Terzi 1999)

Unmarked position of reduced pronoun is postverbal (a, b), preverbal/second position:
– after factive complementizer *pu*
– after subjunctive marker *na*
– after sentential negation *en*, see (c)
– after wh-pronouns *pjos* "who", *ti* "what", see (d)
– after focused initial constituents, see (e)

   a.   *poli*   *anthropi*   *panda*   *kamnoun*   ***to***   *sosta*
          many   people   always   do.3PL   **it**   correctly
          'Many people always do it correctly.'

   b.   *touto*   *to*   *vivlio*   *dose*   ***tou!***
          DEM   ART   book   give.IMP   **3SG.DAT**
          'Give this book to him!'

   c.   *en*   ***ton***   *iksero*
          NEG   **3SG.ACC**   know.1SG
          'I don't know him.'

   d.   *pjos*   ***ton***   *idhe?*
          who   **3SG.ACC**   saw
          'Who saw him?'

   e.   *tuto*   *to*   *vivlio*   ***su***   *edhoken*   *i*   *Maria*
          DEM   ART   book   **2SG.ACC**   gave.3SG   ART   name
          'THIS BOOK Mary gave to you.'

(7)   **European Portuguese (Romance, Indo-European; Portugal)**
     (Madeira 1992; Barbosa 1996; Rouveret 1999)

     Unmarked position of clitics is postverbal, though preverbal:
     – in embedded clauses: after complementizer *que* "that"
     – after indefinite subjects: *ninguém* "no one", *alguém* "someone, see (c)
     – after quantified subject: *todos [X]* "all X", *poucos [X]* "few X", see (b)
     – after NPs with focus particle: *só [X]* "only X", até [X], "even X", see (d)
     – after preverbal adverbials : *já* "already", *nunca* "never"
     – with sentential negation *não*
     – after focussed constituents, see (d)
     – after initial WH-pronouns: *quem* "who", *onde* "where", *que* "which", *o que* "what"

     a.   *os   rapazes   ajudaram-**me***
          ART   boys   help.3PL.PAST-**1SG.ACC**
          'The boys helped me.'

     b.   *todos   os   rapazes   **me**   ajudaram*
          all   ART   boys   **1SG.ACC**   help.3PL.PAST
          'All the boys helped me.'

     c.   *alguém   **me**   ajudou*
          someone   **1SG.ACC**   help.3SG.PAST
          'Someone helped me.'

     d.   *até   o   Pedro   **me**   deu   uma   prenda*
          even   DEM   name   **1SG.DAT**   give.3SG.PAST   ART   present
          'EVEN PEDRO gave me a present.'

(8)   **Ngumpin languages (North-central Australia)**

     A: Original pattern was second position cliticization
     B: Innovation 1: pronominal clitics are added to a base ('auxiliary') forming an
         independent word. This word occurs in various positions, though it appears to favour
         first or second position.
     C: Innovation 2: pronominal clitics are added to verb, independent of the position of the
         verb in the sentence

Innovation 1:	clitics on auxiliary	clitics on first constiuent
Bilinara	never	always on first consituent
Ngarinyman	never	negation, focus, ...
Djaru, Gurindji	regularly	negation, WH-pronouns, focus, ...
Mudbara	(almost) always	(very rarely first constituent)

(9) **Djaru (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**
(Tsunoda 1981: 125, 256)

Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):
– after conjunction *œaŋga*
– after modal adverb *ŋara* "possible"
– after negation *wagura*, see example below
– after WH-pronouns
– after focused NP (only rarely found)

*wagura-**lija***	*ŋara-man-inura*	*ŋura*	*gaarara*	*ganimbara*
NEG-**1DU.EXCL**	know-PAST-NARR	camp	east	down creek

'We did not know the camp east down the creek.'

(10) **Gurindji (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**
(McConvell 1996: 308-309, 318-319)

Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):
– after subordinator/complementizer *nyamu*
– after sentential negation *kula*
– after initial wh-pronouns
– after contrastive focus on first constituent, see (b)
– in swearing (not-literal conservative utterances)

a. *yirrap-ma* *ngu=**rna-yina*** *parik* *wanyja* *VRD-la*
   one mob-TOP   AUX=**1SG.S-3PL.O** leave   leave.PAST VRD-LOC
   'One lot I left at VRD.'

b. *yirrap-ma=**rna-yina*** *wart* *ka-nya* *murla-ngkurra*
   one mob-TOP=**1SG.S-3PL.O** back   take-PAST here-all
   'THE OTHER LOT I brought back here.'

(11) **Ngarinyman (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**
(My analysis of fieldnotes kindly made available to me by E. Schulze-Berndt)

Conservative cliticization on first constituent in the following. Otherwise enclitic to the verb:
– after negations
– after initial full pronouns
– after initial demonstratives
– after focussed NP (only rarely found)
– after modal adverb *ngaja* 'maybe'
– after *dumaji* 'too much' (a Kriol word)

Innovation 2:	verb attracts clitics:
Mudbara	optional in imperative/hortative
Bilinara, Djaru, Gurindji	always in imperative/hortative
Malngin (Western Gurindji)	in imperative/hortative, future and past irrealis
Ngarinyman	always, except in negation, focus etc.

(12) **Mudbarra (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**
(McConvell 1980: 90)

> *ɣali-ma*   *pupa-ma*   *wara*   *œaŋ-ka-**li***
> that-TOP   fire-TOP   care   see-IMP-**2P**
> 'You lot watch out for that fire.'

(13) **MALNGIN (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**
(McConvell 1980: 92)

> *kayira*   *yan-ku-**lu**-(ŋa)*
> north   go-GUT-**3P**-(DOUBT)
> 'They will (possibly) go north.'

(14) **UDI (Lezgian; Caucasus)**

Udi (Harris 2000: Ch. 3, 6) is exceptional among other Lezgian languages in having clitics (cf. Haspelmath 1993). Udi adds clitics either on (in!) the verb or on the preverbal constituent.

The default position is on the verb. But enclitics are attached on preverbal constituent after:
– negative particle (in some conditions postverbal), see (a)
– questioned constituent
– other focused constituents, see (b), (c), (d)

> a.   *nana-n*   *te-**ne***   *buɣab-e*   *p'a*   *ačik'alšey*
>   mother-ERG NEG-**3S**   find-AOR   two   toy.ABS
>   'mother did not find two toys'

> b.   *äyel-en*   *p'a*   *eš*   *a-**ne**-q'-e*
>   chiled-ERG   two   apple   take-**3S**-take-AOR
>   'the child took two apples'

> c.   *äyel-en*   *p'a*   *eš-**ne***   *aq'-e*
>   chiled-ERG   two   apple-**3S**   take-AOR
>   'the child took TWO APPLES'

> d.   *äyel-en-**ne***   *aq'-e*   *p'a*   *eš-n-ux*
>   chiled-ERG-**3S**   take-AOR   two   apple-OBL-DAT
>   'THE CHILD took two apples'

However, verbs in the imperative, future II and subjunctive attract the clitics also in those circumstances (Harris 2000: 118)

     e.   *baba-n*   *eš*   *nut*   *eč-al-le*   *k'wa*
          father-ERG   apple.ABS   NEG   bring-FUT-**3S**   house.DAT
          'father will not bring apples to the house'

(15) **SULEIMANIYE KURDISH (Iranian, Iraq)**
     (Edmonds 1955: 497-499; McCarus 1958: 104; MacKenzie 1961: 78; Bynon 1979: 216 ff.)

     The clitic is attached to the verb, but in transitive clauses the enclitic is found attached to the first word, though not all words can function as hosts. Possible hosts:
     – negation, see (a)
     – WH-pronouns, see (b)
     – adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, preverbs can function as hosts (focus?), but not subject, prepositional phrases, interjections, conjunctions, see (c)

     a.   *war-tan*   *nagirt*   *(leman)*
          NEG-**2S**   obtain   (from us)
          'you did not obtain is (from us)'

     b.   *cón-tan*   *zaní*
          how-**2S**   know
          'how did you know?'

     c.   *márek-im*   *kʉšt*
          snake-**1S**   kill
          'I killed a snake'

(16) **SANDAWE (Khoisan ??, Tanzania)**

     In the realis (the situation in the irrealis is much more complicated), the pronominal clitic is attracted to the focus, see (a) (Elderkin 1986; 1991; Eaton 2001; 2002). The WH-pronoun also appears to attract the clitic, see (b). The situation with negation and imperatives is unclear in the sources.

     a.   *nam*   *hótshò-sà*   *à:mè*
          NAME   what-**3FS**   break
          'what did Nam break?'

     b,   *nam*   *sómbá*   *úte-sà*   *thìmè*
          NAME   fish   yesterday-**3FS**   cook
          'Nam cooked the fish YESTERDAY'

(17) **Gᴜᴛᴏʙ (Munda, India)**
(Zide 1997: 317-323)

Subject marking enclitic to the verb, see (a), except enclitic to these preverbal constituents:
– some WH-pronouns *ũdoj* "when", *monoʔ* "where", *maŋ* "why", see (B)
– some adverbs *eke* "here", *aʔ* "now", *begi* "quickly", *dapre* "afterwards"

a.   *jom-lai*   *bu-oʔ-**NIŋ***
     NAME-ACC   beat-PAST-**1S**
     'I will beat up Jomʼ

b.   *NIŋ*   *ũdoj-**NIŋ***   *sorpei-oʔ-beʔ-tu*
     1S.PRON   when-**1S**   hand over-PAST-AUX-FUT
     'When will/do I hand over (the girl to the tiger)?ʼ

(18) **Sᴀɴᴛᴀʟɪ (Munda, India)**
(Neukom 2001: 113-114, 146-150)

Unmarked position of person marking is on the preverbal constituent (including negation, see (a)), except when there is no preverbal constituent, see (b), and in imperatives, see (c).

a.   *ba-**ko***   *badae-a*
     NEG-**3P**   know-IND
     'they don't knowʼ

b.   *met-a-pe-kan-a-**œ***
     say-APPL-2SO-IPFV-IND-**1S**
     'I tell youʼ

c.   *masɛ*   *mitʼ*   *gh₍ri*   *dʉhʉ-œĩ̃g-eœ-**pe**!*
     PTCL   one   moment   put down-litle-1SO-**2P**
     'put me down for a momentʼ

(19) **Sᴏɴᴏʀᴀ Yᴀqᴜɪ (Uto-Aztecan, Mexico)**

Second position clitics, except in imperatives, in which the verb attracts the clitics (Dedrick & Casad 1999: 242, 60, 92, 98).

a.   *túʼuli-s-**eʼe***   *ʻáa*   *híʼohte*
     pretty-ADV-**2S**   able   write
     'you can write beautifullyʼ

b.   *kát-**te***   *bit-wa-k*
     NEG-**1P**   see-PASS-PRF
     'we were not seenʼ

c.   *haí-sa-**te**   'án-nee*
     how-Q-**1P**   do-FUT
     'what shall we do?'

d.   *bín-a'abo*   *katé-**'em***
     this direction-here come-**2P**
     'You (plural), come here!'

(20) **PÁEZ (Isolate, Colombia)**
     (Gerdel 1976, Jung 1989, Rojas Curieux 1991, Nieves Oviedo 1991)

'An important feature of certain discourse and paragraph types is the front-shifting of the subject referent clitic whose function within the clause is to indicate person, number, and gender. In that the usual order of clause constituents is SOP, the predicate normally occurs finally with the subject referent in final position following that verb. However, on the event-line in Narrative and in Expository (Activity subtype) Discourse the subject referent may shift forward giving *prominence* to whatever clause level tagmeme it is attached to (it is phonologically bound). … The phenomenon of front-shifting does not occur when the future tense or imperative is used. It may occur in direct quotes, but does not occur in background or secondary infromation.' (Gerdel, 1976: 269-270)

Some examples from Nieves Oviedo (1991: 129):

a.   *mis'-a*   *carlos-a's*   *wa'k'-**ku-k***
     cat-3?   NAME-OBJ   bite-**REC.PAST-3SG**
     'El gato mordió a Carlos.'

b.   *mis'-**ku-k***   *carlos-a's*   *wa'k'*
     cat-**REC.PAST.3SG** NAME-OBJ   bite
     'Fue el gato el que mordió a Carlos.'

c.   *mis'-a'*   *carlos-a's-**ku-k***   *wa'k'*
     cat-3?   NAME-OBJ-**REC.PST-3SG** bite
     'Fue a Carlos a quien mordió el gato.'

d.   *yat-te-**ku**-k*   *mis'-a'*   *Carlos-a's*   *wa'k'*
     casa-INES-**REC.PAST-3SG**cat-3?   NAME-OBJ   bite
     'Fue en la casa donde el gato mordió a Carlos.'

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