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*   *mə-ni-š*   *voğānd-**əšon**-e*
        3SG.PRON-PL   1SG.PRON-ACC   send-**3PL**-AUX
        'They sent me.'

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

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

   d.   *čay*   *ləng-on-**əm***   *epəšt-a*
        3SG.POSS   leg-PL-**1SG**   tie up-PERF
        'I tied up his leg.'

   e.   *albahal-**əm***   *tifang*   *ba*   *po*   *pekərn-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	ítáí	…-tai
3 PL	ˋɪsɪ̀	…-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) **Cypriot Greek (Greek, Indo-European; Cyprus)**
(Terzi 1999)

Unmarked position of reduced pronoun is postverbal (a, b), though preverbal/second position occurs:
– 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.'

(5) **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.'

(6) **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)

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

Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):
– after conjunction *ɲaŋga*
– 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.'

(8) **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.'

(9) **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 situations. 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

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

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

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

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

(12) **Southwestern Iranian, Indo-European**
    (M. Dabir Moghaddam 2004, handout)

    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.'

(13) **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.'

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