

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:

Obligatory 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)áni	...-nɛ, nɪ
2 SG	íyé	...-iɛ
3 SG	ínyí	...-inyɪ
1 PL	xóxoɪ	...-xoxoɪ
2 PL	ítái	...-tai
3 PL	ìsì	...-isi

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 referred to twice on the same predicate, as there is also a subject prefix.)

- a. *nani 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 present*
 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 constituent
Bilinará	never	always on first constituent
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 *ɲara* ‘possible’
- after negation *wagura*, see example below
- after WH-pronouns
- after focused NP (only rarely found)

wagura-ɲija ɲara-man-inura ɲura 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 jaj-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-(ya)
 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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