From pronouns to agreement: diachrony and typology of pronominal clitics

Michael Cysouw
Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig
21 September 2004

(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.  \textit{av-on}  ma-\textit{n}i-\textit{š}  vo\textit{ğ\text{"a}nd-\textit{a}şon-e}  
\hspace{0.1cm} 3SG.PRON-PL 1SG.PRON-ACC send-3PL-AUX  
‘They sent me.’

b.  \textit{tə}  mə-\textit{n}i  kon\text{"o}  bagam-\textit{e}  kard-e  
\hspace{0.1cm} 2SG.PRON 1SG.PRON-ACC where love-2SG make-AUX  
‘Where did you fall in love with me?’

c.  \textit{de}  čič-\textit{e}  epis\text{"ı}-\textit{a}?  
\hspace{0.1cm} 2SG.PRON  what-2SG tie up-PERF  
‘What did you tie up?’

d.  čay  long-on-\textit{əm}  epis\text{"ı}-\textit{a}  
\hspace{0.1cm} 3SG.POSS  leg-PL-1SG tie up-PERF  
‘I tied up his leg.’

e.  albahal-\textit{əm}  tifang  ba  po  pek\text{"o}rni  
\hspace{0.1cm}  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. \textit{na-kanre-i} Amir loka-ku  
\textbf{3ERG-eat-3ABS NAME banana-1POSS}

‘Amir ate my banana.’

b. Amir \textit{ang-kanre-i} loka-ku  
\textbf{NAME VOICE-eat-3ABS banana-1POSS}

‘(It is) Amir (who) ate my banana.’

c. lokaku \textit{na-kanre} (Amir)  
\textbf{banana-1POSS 3ERG-eat NAME}

‘(It was) my banana he (Amir) ate.’

d. \textit{manna} Baco’ , \textit{suang-a} \textit{na-tulung}  
\textbf{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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
<td>(n)áñi ...-né, ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SG</td>
<td>iyé    ...-ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG</td>
<td>ínyí    ...-inyí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
<td>xɔxɔi   ...-xɔxɔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PL</td>
<td>ñtáí    ...-táí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PL</td>
<td>ísi     ...-ísí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the independent pronoun is used for emphasis, this independent pronoun \textit{precedes} the verb, and the subject suffix is \textit{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 \textit{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. \textit{nani} \textit{á-bwaxa}  
\textbf{1SG.PRON 1SG-dig}

‘I (emphatic) am digging’

b. \textit{á-bwaxa-ni}  
\textbf{1SG-dig-1SG}

‘I (normal) am digging.’
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.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Innovation 1:</th>
<th>clitics on auxiliary</th>
<th>clitics on first constituent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilinara</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>always on first constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngarinyman</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>negation, focus, ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djaru, Gurindji</td>
<td>regularly</td>
<td>negation, WH-pronouns, focus, ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbara</td>
<td>(almost) always</td>
<td>(very rarely first constituent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) **Djaru** *(Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)*

(Tsunoda 1981: 125, 256)

**Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):**
- after conjunction *panga*
- 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-IDUEXCL  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 lot I left at VRD.’

b. *yirrap-ma=rna-yina wart ka-nya murla-ngkurra*
   ‘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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mudbara</th>
<th>optional in imperative/hortative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilinara, Djaru, Gurindji</td>
<td>always in imperative/hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malngin (Western Gurindji)</td>
<td>in imperative/hortative, future and past irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) **Mudbarra (Ngumpin, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)**

(McConvell 1980: 90)

*yali-ma pupa-ma wara nay-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  kütab-om  iływ
1SG.PRON book-1SG buy.PAST
```

‘I bought the book.’

**Lari: verbal prefixes**

```
mæ  kêtab  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.’

**References**


