Personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16th–18th centuries)

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Personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16th –18th centuries)

Full form	Clitic form
duok **man**	*duok* **mi** / *duokim*
'give me'	'give mi'
duodu **tau**	*duodu* **ti** / *duoduot*
'I give you'	'I give you'

The process of clitic forms eliminating by generalization of the orthotonic variants is common for Old Lithuanian and East Slavonic (Holvoet 2011, 23).

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(16th–18th centuries)

Personal pronominal clitics in Slavic languages

Wackernagel's Law

Strong and weak clitics

Sentencial clitics – local clitics

Changes of use of personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian

Personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16th –18th centuries)

- Proto-Indo–European was a second position language and clitics tended to appear after the first stressed word in a sentence (Wackernagel 1892).

- 2P:

  – position after the first constituent (Hale 2007, 195);

  – the second position after the host (Petit 2008, 303).

Personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16ᵗʰ–18ᵗʰ centuries)

Slavic languages exhibit the tension between two tendencies:

– to observe Wackernagel's Law and hold the second position in a sentence / clause;

– to follow the word to which they relate most closely. Personal pronominal clitics, if they are not in the second position, occur almost always after the verb (Gribble 1988, 194–195; Migdalski 2006).

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Strong clitics (particles)

Weak clitics (pronominal clitics)

Old Russian:

 sentential → local clitics (Zaliznjak 2008)

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Old Lithuanian.

Personal pronominal clitics are considered to be enclitics
   (Zinkevičius 1981, 49). They obey the Wackernagel's Law and
   hold the second position in a sentence.

*Wiſur   =**mi**   wiłkay   apſpitá*   KN 17,2
Everywhere =1SG.ACC.CL   wolves   surrounded
'Wolves surrounded me everywhere'

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16th–18th c.

80 % – V=CL

*Atstok,   grischk,   ritoij   důsiů=**t***   Br ST, Sal 3,28

Go away, come back, tomorrow   give-FUT1SG=2SG.DAT.CL.

'Go away, come back, I will give you tomorrow'

*S u - ∫ p a u d – e = **m***   *ne meylingay*   KN 44,3

PRF-press-PST3=1SG.ACC.CL   not fondly

'Pressed me not fondly'

The first Lithuanian Grammar (Klein 1653):
pronominal clitics are used adjacent to the verb.

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80 % of pronominal clitics are adjacent to the verb, sometimes even if the verb is not the first word of the sentence.

Old Lithuanian, like Old Russian exhibit the same tendency:

- to observe Wackernagel's Law and hold the second position in a sentence / clause;
- to follow the word to which they relate most closely, in our case – a verb;
- sentential clitics → local clitics.

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II. Changes in the history of use of personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16ᵗʰ-18ᵗʰ centuries). Three stages.

1. Until the middle of 17ᵗʰ century **V=CL**

*Iſch-gielbeke=**m***   *nog*   *piktodeiu*   BPs 59,3

PRF-save.IMP.2SG=1SG.ACC.CL from   the bad ones

'Save me from the bad ones'

*bát dawe=**t*** [...]   MPs 8b,18

but gavePST3=2SG.DAT.CL

'but gave you'

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Iſchgielbekem

may also be interpreted as imperative 1pl 'let's save'

dawet

is homonymous with the indicative 2pl 'you gave'

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Homonymy of the forms was one of the reasons to change the
position of the pronominal clitic.

This tendency is observed in the Rėzas' psalter of the 17th century,
where forms of pronominal clitics were changed (Razanovaitė
2011, 185-195): **pref-root-cl → pref-cl-root**

*At-gaiwin-ke=**m***   *tawa*   *teiſibe* BPs 119,40 **(16th)**
PRF-revitalize-IMP.2SG=1SG.ACC.CL   your justice

$$\longrightarrow$$

*At=**mi**=gaiwin-k*   *tawo Teiſybé*   RPs 119,40 **(17th)**

PRF=1SG.ACC.CL=revitalize-IMP.2SG your justice

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2. From the **middle of the 17th** century pronominal clitics are distinguished by orthographic means:

- the pronoun is not integrated to it's host (doesn't form one word):

At-neſz-kit   =***mi***   [...] *patełe*   ChST, 1 Sam 536,14

PREF-bring-IMP.2PL =1SG.DAT.CL   female

'bring me his female'

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- the pronoun is distinguished using a dash:

ſmertis   ſu-***mi***-gaus   KlNG 409,6

death   PRF=1SG.ACC.CL=catch.FUT.3SG

'death will catch me'

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3. In the 18th century some forms, showing the disintegrating system, were recorded. Personal pronominal clitics show up in the proclitic position:

Mi=imk   *pats*   Katekizmas 1701, 135,11

1SG.ACC.CL=takeIMP.2SG yourself

'take me yourself'

*ir   iβ naujo   **mi**-dowanȯk*   Katekizmas 1701, 135,11

and newly   (=?)1SG.DAT.CL-present-IMP.2SG

'and re-present me'

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To sum up, the analysed Lithuanian texts of the 16th–18th centuries show noticeable changes with respect to their position and host.

- Some cases of WL position are also attested, but also there are pronominal clitics, which are adjacent to the verb, even if the verb is not the first word of the sentence; sentential clitics → local clitics.

- Until the middle of the 17th century the most frequent position is V-cl.

- The pronominal clitics are distinguished by orthographic means.

- In the 18th century pronominal clitics show up in the proclitic position, what demonstrates the disintegrating system.

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