Diachrony of cliticization patterns in Slavic

Krzysztof Migdalski (University of Wrocław, migdalski@yahoo.com)
Hakyung Jung (Seoul National University, hakyungj@snu.ac.kr)

Goals

► To show that pronominal clitics (X⊙) were degrammaticalized into weak pronouns (XP) in Slavic languages and illustrate the degrammaticalization process.
► To explain what triggered the degrammaticalization of pronominal clitics in Slavic.

I. Degrammaticalization of clitics

1.1. Grammaticalization

○ Grammaticalization is the change of a lexical item to a grammatical one, and a grammatical item to a more grammatical one (Meillet 1912, Kuryłowicz 1975), accompanied by its phonological and semantic weakening (Heine and Reh 1984).


(1) Cline of grammaticality (Hopper and Traugott 2003:7)
content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix (> Ø)

○ Economy Principle of grammaticalization

□ Head preference principle (change of XP to X⊙): merge externally rather than internally (van Gelderen 2004: “Be a head”).
□ Upwards Reanalysis: grammaticalization is a change “up the tree” (Roberts and Roussou 2003).
□ Late Merge: Merge costs less than Move since Move implies Merge. Merge as late/high in the structure as possible (van Gelderen 2008).

1.2. Degrammaticalization of clitics: the X⊙ to XP change

Just like in grammaticalization, the constructional identity of the degrammaticalized item is preserved, within an ambiguous context which allows for reanalysis (Norde 2009: 8; cf. Haspelmath 1999, van Gelderen 2011 for grammaticalization).

As other changes, degrammaticalization is also triggered by a change(s) in the same linguistic system.

We specifically focus on the “X₀ to XP” change, i.e., the reverse of the directional “XP to X₀” change.

Proposal (1): We claim that the change of pronominal clitics into weak pronouns in Slavic instantiates degrammaticalization as a change of X₀ to XP. Clitics’ dual status as X₀/XP (Chomsky 1995: 249) provides an adequate condition for reanalysis.

II. Assumptions about tense and cliticization

2.1. TP is not a universal projection

- Bošković (2012a): languages without the DP layer do not project TP. Bošković observes a number of systematic differences between languages with and without TP:
  - The lack of subject expletives in TP-less languages.
  - Nominative is the default case in TP-less languages, accusative in the TP-languages.
  - Lack of subject-object extraction asymmetries.
  - TP-less languages do not show Sequence of Tense.


- The relationship between the presence of TP and cliticization patterns:
  - Chomsky (1995: 249): clitics are ambiguous categories sharing XP and X₀ properties, which move from argument XP positions within VP and adjoin to T₀.
  - Uriagereka (1995): clitics must move out of VP, as they are inherently referential, given Diesing’s (1992) Mapping Hypothesis.
  - Nash and Rouveret (2002): clitics need to be licensed by adjoining to a category endowed with active φ-features, i.e. T₀.
  - Two proposal by Bošković (2012b) relate clitic adjunction to T to PF requirements:
    (i) clitics are D-heads. A general property of functional heads is that they cannot be stranded. Hence, they require a specifier or a complement, or they need to assume a head-adjunction configuration. Clitics may circumvent being stranded by incorporating into the V/T complex. In this way they are also able to check case through incorporation;
    (ii) verb-adjacent clitics are D+pro complexes (as in Jaeggli 1986, Sportiche 1996, Franco 2000). Pro needs to be licenced; this can be done through verbal morphology,
similarly to the way subject pro is licensed in null-subject languages like Spanish. Hence, the D-clitics in the form of the D+pro complex must move to V+T.

An example of a derivation of verb-adjacent cliticization in Bulgarian:

(2) a. Azim ja preporučjavam.
   I themDAT herACC recommendISG
   “I am recommending her to them.”

b. [TP Az [T < imDAT> + < ja ACC> + T] … [VP V tij]]

- **Observation**: in some Slavic languages, pronominal clitics shifted from verb-adjacency to second position (2P), see section 2.5. The change was contemporaneous with the loss of morphological tense distinctions and is analyzed as the loss of TP in Migdalski (2013). Once T is lost, there is no suitable head for pronominal clitics to adjoin to and they raise to separate maximal projections in 2P.

**Proposal (2)**: We show that the weakening/loss of T may also give rise to the degrammaticalization of pronominal clitics into weak pronouns, as evidenced by diachronic data from Old Polish (section 3.3) and Old Russian (section IV). The process is also taking place synchronically in Macedonian (section 3.2).

### 2.2. Cliticization patterns in Slavic

- **Verb-adjacent clitics in Bulgarian and Macedonian**

  (3) a. Vera mi go dade včera
      Vera meDAT itCLACC gave3SG yesterday
      “Vera gave it to me yesterday”

b. *Vera mi go včera dade.  (Bg/Mac, Franks and King 2000: 63)

- **Wackernagel/2nd position (2P) clitics in Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Czech, Slovak** – they can be separated from the verb (see 4); are not selective about the category of the preceding element (see 5) which can be both a head or an XP as long as they are syntactic constituents (see 6); possible in both matrix and embedded clauses (see 7).

  (4) Vi ste mu je nesumnjivo predstavili juče
      you beAUX2PL himDAT herACC undoubtedly introducePART.M.PL yesterday
      “You undoubtedly introduced her to him yesterday”  (S-C, Bošković 1997:148)

  (5) a. Zoran mi stalno kupuje knjige
      Zoran meDAT constantly buys books
      “Zoran is constantly buying me books”

b. Stalno mi kupuje knjige Zoran

c. Knjige mi Zoran stalno kupuje

d. Kupuje mi stalno knjige Zoran  (S-C, Franks 1998)
(6) a. Zanimljive knjige mi stalno kupuje Zoran
   interesting books me\textsubscript{DAT} constantly buys Zoran
   “Zoran is constantly buying me interesting books”

   b. Zanimljive mi knjige stalno kupuje Zoran   \textit{(S-C, Franks 1998)}

(7) Stefan kaže da mu je knjigu Ana dala
   Stefan says that him\textsubscript{DAT} i\textsubscript{SAUX} book\textsubscript{ACC} Ana give\textsubscript{PART.F.SG}
   “Stefan says that Ana gave him a book”   \textit{(S-C, see Franks 1998)}

   o Old Russian: 2P (with exceptions) \textit{(Zaliznjak 2008)}

(8) a. ože mi sę jeste jali pomogati...
   as me\textsubscript{CL.DAT} self\textsubscript{CL.ACC} BE\textsubscript{2PL} take\textsubscript{PART.PL} help\textsubscript{INF}
   “Since you undertook to help me...”   \textit{(OR, IL 1149, 140, Zaliznjak 2008: 35)}

   b. poklanju ti sę
   bow you\textsubscript{CL.DAT} self\textsubscript{CL.ACC}
   “I bow to you.”   \textit{(OR, BBL No. 907, 11\textsuperscript{th}-12\textsuperscript{th} cc., Zaliznjak 2004: 255)}

   o Old Church Slavonic (OCS): operator clitics in 2P, pronominal clitics verb-adjacent (see Pancheva 2005)

(9) Elisaveti že isplálni sę vrêmę roditi ei.
   Elizabeth CONJ fulfilled REFL time give-birth\textsubscript{INF} her\textsubscript{DAT}
   I rodi snę
   and gave-birth son\textsubscript{ACC}
   “And it was time for Elizabeth to have her baby, and she gave birth to a son.”
   \textit{(OCS, Luke 1: 57, Pancheva et al 2007)}

   ► The two cliticization types (verb-adjacent vs. 2P) differ not only with respect to the position of clitics in the clause structure but in relation to the type of movement the clitics undergo. Verb-adjacent clitics adjoin to a single head, whereas 2P clitics raise to separate specifiers (Stjepanović (1998), Bošković (2001), (2002)).

   □ Ellipsis

   o A higher part of a 2P clitic “cluster” may be deleted under VP ellipsis in Serbo-Croatian.

(10) a. Mi smo mu ga dali,
    we are\textsubscript{AUX} him\textsubscript{DAT} him\textsubscript{ACC} give\textsubscript{PART.M.PL}
    a i vi ste mu ga dali.
    and also you are\textsubscript{AUX} him\textsubscript{DAT} him\textsubscript{ACC} give\textsubscript{PART.M.PL}
    “We gave it to him, and you did, too.”

   b. Mi smo mu ga dali, a i vi ste mu ga dali, (takodje).

   c. *Mi smo mu ga dali, a i vi ste mu ga dali, (takodje).   \textit{(S-C, Stjepanović 1998)}

   o No part of a clitic cluster may be deleted in Bulgarian or Macedonian.
(11) a. *Nie sme mu go dali, i vie ste
    we be_{AUX,1PL} him_{DAT} it_{ACC} give_{PART,PL} and you be_{AUX,2PL}
    mu go dali (šuštō).
    him_{DAT} him_{ACC} give_{PART,PL} too
    “We gave it to him, and you did too”
    b. *Nie sme mu go dali, i vie ste mu go dali (šuštō)
    c. *Nie sme mu go dali, i vie ste go mu dali (šuštō) (Bg, Bošković 2002: 331)

- Clitic climbing

- Clitic climbing in S-C is possible out of subjunctive clauses but not out of indicative complements (cf. 12/13).

(12) a. Milan kaže da ga vidi
    Milan says that him_{ACC} sees
    “Milan says that he can see him”
    b. *Milan ga kaže da vidi

(13) a. Milan želi da ga vidi
    Milan wishes that him_{ACC} sees
    “Milan wishes to see him”
    b. ?Milan ga želi da vidi (S-C, Progovac 1993)

- Verb-adjacent clitics in Bg may never raise from an embedded clause to the main clause.

(14) a. Manol iska da go vidi
    Manol wish_{3SG} that him_{ACC} see_{3SG}
    “Manol wishes to see him.”

(15) a. Manol kazva če go vižda
    Manol say_{3SG} that him_{ACC} see_{3SG}
    “Manol says that he can see him.”
    b. *Manol go kazva če vižda (Bg, Migdalski 2006: 217)

- The syntactic differences between the two cliticization patterns indicate that the switch from verb-adjacency into 2P cliticization also involves a reinterpretation of head movement as XP-movement.

2.3. Tense & Aspect Marking in Slavic

- In contemporary Slavic, unambiguous tense morphology exists only in Bulgarian and Macedonian, which still use simple past tenses, the aorist and the imperfect, in addition to the complex tense formed with the l-participle and the auxiliary “be.”
(16) a. Včera pročetoč knigata (Bg, aorist, perfective aspect)  
    yesterday read_{AOR.1SG.PRF} book-the  
    “I read the book yesterday and finished it.”  
  b. Včera četoč knigata (Bg, aorist, imperfective aspect)  
    yesterday read_{AOR.1SG. IMPRF} book-the  
    “I was reading the book yesterday”

(17) a. Včera četjač knigata.  
    yesterday read_{IMP.1SG.IMPRF} book-the  
    “I was reading the book yesterday” (Bg, imperfect tense, imperfective aspect)  
  b. Vsči di, pročetjač edna kniga  
    every day read_{IMP.1SG.PRF} one book  
    “I used to read a whole book every day” (Bg, imperfect tense, perfective aspect)

(18) Az sům čel knigata  
    I be AUX.PRES.1SG readPART.F.SG book-the  
    “I have read the book (they say)” (Bg)  
	o Other Slavic languages have lost the simple past tenses and use complex tenses formed  
with the auxiliary “be” (marked for imperfective aspect) and the l-participle (tenseless,  
non-finite) as the main verb to mark past events. Russian further lost the auxiliary.

(19) a. Ja sam čitanu knjigu  
    I be_{AUX.PRES.1SG} readPART.M.SG book  
    “I (have) read the book” (S-C)  
  b. Ja čital knigu  
    I read PART.M.SG book (R)

2.4. Tense & Aspect Marking in Old Church Slavonic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE/ASPECT</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG PRESENT</td>
<td>nesětъ</td>
<td>ponesětъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG AORIST</td>
<td>nese</td>
<td>poneše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG IMPERFECT</td>
<td>nesěaše</td>
<td>ponešěaše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG FUTURE II</td>
<td>bōdetъ nesъtъ</td>
<td>bōdetъ ponesъltъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG PERFECT</td>
<td>nesъtъ jestъ</td>
<td>ponesъltъ jestъ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG PLUPERFECT</td>
<td>bě nesъltъ</td>
<td>bě ponesъltъ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(the verb něsti ‘to carry’ in different tenses in OCS, see Van Schooneveld 1951: 97)

Chart (20) shows that in OCS forms of the aorist and the imperfect tense could both be  
marked for perfective/imperfective aspect. Perfective forms of the imperfect tense or  
imperfective forms of the aorist were less common, but possible. These are still very  
productive in contemporary Bulgarian.

2.5. Diachronic patterns of cliticization and tense marking in Slavic
Observation: pronominal clitics in some Slavic languages shifted from verb-adjacency to second position (2P). The change was contemporaneous with the loss of morphological tense distinctions (see Migdalski (2013)) and is analyzed here as the loss of TP.

- All Slavic languages except Bg/Mac have lost the aorist and the imperfect. In languages other than Bg/Mac, temporal distinctions are marked exclusively via aspectual morphology.
- In Old Russian manuscripts the imperfect was completely lost in the 13th c; the aorist in the 15th-16th c. However, in manuscripts of colloquial nature, the imperfect and the aorist were practically out of use in the 12th c. (Uspenskij 1987: 144-151). This indicates that TP was lost before the 12th c. in Old Russian.
- In Czech both tenses were lost during the 14th c, so the decline coincided with the loss of verb-adjacent clitics (see Stieber 1973).
- In Old Slovene aorist was already limited to certain verb forms (Vaillant 1966: 60). This fact ties in with the occurrence of Wackernagel pronominal clitics in The Freising Manuscripts, the oldest Slovene text from the 10th-11th century.
- In S-C the aorist is still “taught” at schools, but it is restricted to certain dialects, mostly in Montenegro, where it is still used by modern fiction writers (cf. Lindstedt 1994: 39). Notably, pronominal clitics did not consistently appear in second position as late as in the 19th century in Serbian, in particular in Montenegrin dialects.

III. Degrammaticalization of clitics into weak pronouns in WSI and SSI

The loss of TP may have two consequences for cliticization: (i) a shift to 2P, or (ii) reinterpretation of clitics as weak pronouns, as exemplified by Old Polish, Macedonian, and Old Russian.

3.1. Properties of weak pronouns in Modern Polish

Syntactically, weak pronouns display characteristics typical of XP-nominals (see Rappaport (1988), Witkoś (1998), Franks & King (2000), Cetnarowska (2003)).

- Both Dat-Acc and Acc-Dat orders are possible (cf. 21); they depend on the requirements of theme-rheme articulation (Cetnarowska (2003)).

(21) Tomek w końcu go jej /jej go/ wypożyczył
Tomek in end ACC herDAT herDAT ACC lendPART.M.SG
“Tomek eventually lent it to her.” (Polish)

- No requirement of adjacency to an element of a specific category or other pronominal forms (cf. 22).

(22) Jan mu wczoraj chciał go wypożyczyć a nie sprzedać
Jan himDAT yesterday wanted ACC lendINF and not sellINF
“Jan wanted to lend it to him rather than sell it yesterday” (Polish)
More robust scrambling possibilities

(23) a. Często (go) spotykam (go) na ulicy
    often himACC meetPRES.1SG himACC on street
    “I often meet him in the street”

b. Spotykam go
    “I meet him (regularly)” (see Spencer 1991: 367–368)

3.2. Emergence of weak pronouns in Macedonian

Bulgarian allows the aorist and imperfect tenses to be combined with both perfective and imperfective aspect forms. The tense system of Macedonian is more restricted: the aorist is the default past tense for perfective verbs whereas the imperfect is the default past tense for imperfective verbs (imperfects are formed from perfective verbs when the future particle ke is used with them). This is a very recent development, as until the middle of the 20th c., Macedonian allowed imperfective verbs in aorist (Friedman 2002: 267).

The gradual reduction of the tense system in Macedonian seems to coincide with the modification of its cliticization patterns. Macedonian has verb-adjacent clitics on a par with Bulgarian, but in non-verbal predicates (APs, NPs, and passive participles) clitics occur in 2P (see (24)). However, Korubin (1974), Tomić (1997, 2000) and Baerman & Billings (1998) point out that recently some dialects of Mac started to permit clitics clause-initially in passive participle/AP predicates (cf. (25a) and (26a)). Moreover, some speakers allow clitic placement below 2P (cf. (25b) and (26c)) in these contexts. We suggest that this means that the clitics in non-verbal predicates are being reinterpreted as weak pronouns. We take the fact that the process co-occurs with a recent impoverishment of tense distinctions in Macedonian to be significant and we suggest that the process be linked to a (gradual) loss of T0, which precludes head-adjunction of clitics, and leads to their reinterpretation as weak pronouns.

(24) a. *Petko tatko mi e
    Petko father meDAT is

b. *Mi e tatko
    meDAT is father

c. Petko mi e tatko
    Petko meDAT is father
    “Petko is my father”

d. Tatko mi e
    father meDAT is
    (Mac, Tomić 2000: 295; Bošković (2001: 255))

(25) a. Mil si mu /OK in some dialects/for some speakers: %Si mu mil
dearM.SG be2SG himDAT
    “He likes you”

b. Petko sekogaš mi e mil
    Petko always meDAT be3SG dearM.SG
    “Petko is always dear to me”
    (Mac, cf. Franks & King 2000: 86)
(26) a. \%\mu e rečeno da bide točen poveče pati him\textsubscript{DAT} be\textsubscript{3SG} tell\textsubscript{PASS} to be\textsubscript{SUBJ} punctual more pati “He was told to be punctual more than once”
b. Rečeno \mu e da bide točen poveče pati (Mac, Tomić 2000: 296)
c. Na Petrelu (\mu e) od strana na komisijata (\mu e) to Peter\textsubscript{DAT} him\textsubscript{DAT} be\textsubscript{3SG} from side of commission-the him\textsubscript{CL} be\textsubscript{3SG} poveče pati (\mu e) rečeno da bide točen more times him\textsubscript{DAT} be\textsubscript{3SG} tell\textsubscript{PASS, N} to be\textsubscript{SUBJ 3SG} punctual “Peter was more than once told by the commission to be punctual” (Tomić 2000: 299)

○ Bošković (2001: 254-264) suggests that Macedonian is in an intermediate stage between a language with verb-adjacent and 2P clitics. It seems to us though that in the contexts described above the clitics become weak pronouns and their strengthening gives rise to more robust scrambling possibilities. Our hypothesis is in addition supported by the Bulgarian counterpart of (26c) given in (27), which shows that Bulgarian requires the pronominal forms to be adjacent to the passive participle.

(27) Na Petr\mu e kazvano mnogo p\v{u}ti ot strana na komisijata to Peter him\textsubscript{DAT} is tell\textsubscript{PASS, N} many times from side of commission-the da b\v{u}de točen to be\textsubscript{SUBJ, 3SG} punctual “Petr\v{u}r was told by the commission to be punctual many times”

3.3. Emergence of weak pronouns in Old Polish

In Old Polish texts we observe a gradual strengthening of pronominal forms, coupled with the decline of the aorist and imperfect.

*Holy Cross Sermons (Kazania Świętokrzyskie)*

○ The oldest prose text in Polish dating from the late 13\textsuperscript{th}/early 14\textsuperscript{th}, aimed at the educated public. It contains a number of verb forms in the aorist and the imperfect, but they are less common than the compound tense formed with the \textit{l}-participle and the auxiliary BE. Clitics tend to appear in 2P, but they are on the way to become reinterpreted as strong pronouns

青蛙 Examples of aorist and imperfect forms

(28) a. jemuż biesz imię Symeon, święty, prawdziwy, bogobojny him\textsubscript{DAT} + FOC be\textsubscript{3SG} IMP name Simon holy true God-fearing “His name was Simon, holy, true, God-fearing” (Sermon III, *On St. Michael’s Day*)
b. *pośpieszychą* się do kościoła na modlitwę przed Boga wszemogącego
*hurry*<sub>3PL.AOR</sub> REFL to church to prayer because God Almighty
i *poczęcią* się modlić
*start*<sub>3PL.AOR</sub> REFL pray<sub>INF</sub>
“They hurried to church for a prayer to God Almighty, and they started to pray”
(Sermon VI, *The Cleansing Of The Blessed Virgin Mary*)

- Pronominal clitics are rare and they tend to occur in 2P; in some instances they can be
analyzed as both 2P and verb-adjacent at the same time, but there are also clear cases of
verb-adjacency (see 29d).

(29) a. a *togodla ji* we złe chustki ogarnęła
and therefore *him<sub>ACC</sub>* in bad cloth *wrap<sub>PART.F.SG</sub>*
“and therefore she wrapped him in bad cloth”  (Sermon III, *On St. Michael’s Day*)
b. Należy *ji*, prawi, pieluszkami ogarniętego *nappies<sub>INST</sub>* wrapped and in cribs laid
“They found him wrapped in nappies and laid in cribs”  (Sermon III, *On St. Michael’s Day*)
c. owa *ji* pirzwej widział *Habraham*
so *him<sub>ACC</sub>* first *see*<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> *Abraham*
“So he was first seen by Abraham”
d. iż *czego jim* dojść, nie pamiętać
*that what<sub>GEN</sub>* *them<sub>DAT</sub>* *obtain<sub>INF</sub>*, NEG *remember*<sub>3PL.PRES</sub>
“that they don't remember what they should obtain”
(Sermon II: *On St. Catherine's Day*)

- Pronominal clitics may occur after a preposition.

(30) a. Sam, prawi, *przez mię* przysiągł jeśm
*He say*<sub>3SG.AOR</sub> without *me swear*<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> *be*<sub>1SG</sub>*
“He said that he has swore without me…”  (Sermon III, *On St. Michael’s Day*)
b. dam was wrogom waszym i *w jich włodanie*
give *you<sub>PL</sub>* enemy<sub>DAT</sub> your and in *their rule*
“I will give you to your enemies, to their rule”  (Sermon III, *On St. Michael’s Day*)

- A relatively frequent usage of strong pronominal forms even with apparent no semantic
or pragmatic motivation.

(31) Tako nagle *sirce jego jemu* doradzi
such suddenly *heart his him advise*<sub>3SG.AOR</sub>
“Suddenly his heart advised to him…”  (Sermon IV, *The Christmas Sermon*)

*Queen Sophia's Bible/Sárospatak Bible (Biblia Królowej Zofii)*

- The first complete Bible translation into Polish (1433– 1455).

- Strong forms of pronouns are strongly preferred; they are juxtaposed together with
weak forms in the same pragmatic/semantic contexts
a. Tegdy wziął Pan Bog człowieka i postawił jį w raju
then took God manACC and put himACC in paradise
rozkoszy, aby działał a ostrzegał jego. I przykazał jemu...
blissGEN so-that worked and protected himACC and commanded himDAT
“The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take
care of it. And the Lord God commanded him.”
\hfill (Genesis, 2:15-16)

b. uczyniły jemu wspomożenie podobne k niemu
make himDAT helper similar to himDAT
“(Let us) make a helper suitable for him.”
\hfill (Genesis, 2:18)

- Weak (clitic) pronominal forms do not need to be in 2P; strong forms have the same
distribution as the clitic forms.

(33) a. I przywiódł je przed Adama, aby je opatrzył
and brought themACC before Adam so-that themACC saw
a jimiona jim dał
and names themDAT give
“He brought them to the man to see what he would name them”
\hfill (Genesis, 2:19)

b. Nazwał jest Adam jimiona jich wszelikiemu stworzeniu zwierzęcemu
namePART.M.SG isAUX Adam names themGEN all beings animal
“Adam gave names to all the livestock.”
\hfill (Genesis, 2:20)

Gniezno Sermons (Kazania Gnieźnieńskie)

- They date back to the early 15th c., aimed at the common public.

- Pronominal clitics are considerably more common than in Holy Cross Sermons and
Queen Sophia's Bible. They do not need to be verb-adjacent or in 2P.

(34) a. a w swem siercu jest jich on był żałował
and in his heart isAUX themACC he bePART.M.SG repentPART.M.SG
“and he had repented of them in his heart”

b. iżbychom się my jich teże dopuścili
that+beCOND.1PL REFL we themACC also commitPART.M.PL
“So that we would also commit them”

c. iże gdyż jį chcą zabić
because when himACC wantPL killINF
“because when they want to kill him”

d. i na wiarę krześcijańską jest jį on był nawrócił
and to faith Christian isAUX himACC he bePART.M.SG convertPART.M.SG
“and he had converted him to the Christian faith”

e. A gdyż więc oni są mu to byli uczynili,
and when so they areAUX himDAT it bePART.M.PL doPART.M.PL
tedy więc potem oni są jį byli ścicili
then so afterwards they areAUX himACC bePART.M.PL hangPART.M.PL
“And when they had done that to him, they had afterwards hanged him”

- Frequent use of ethical datives, which occur in 2P
SUMMARY: Pronominal forms in the most archaic Polish texts target 2P. These texts contain remnants of the simple past tenses, aorist and imperfect. Subsequent and less formal texts display an increasingly higher number of strong pronominal forms.

IV. Degrammaticalization of clitics into weak pronouns in Old Russian

4.1. The Old Russian (OR) clitic system (the 11th-15th cc.)

- Old Church Slavonic texts suggest that verb-adjacent cliticization was the predominant pattern in early Slavic. In Old Russian we observe a shift from verb-adjacent clitics to 2P clitics and then to weak pronouns.

- 2P system: In the earliest OR texts (the 11th-12th cc.), 2P pronominal clitics are prevalent in the order of DAT-ACC:

(36=8)a. ože mi sę jeste jali pomogati...
   as meCL.DAT selfCL.ACC AUX2PL takePART.PL helpINF
   “Since you undertook to help me...”
   (OR, Hypatian Chronicle 1149, 15th c., Zaliznjak 2008: 35)

b. poklanjuši ti sę bow youCL.DAT selfCL.ACC
   “I bow to you”                   (OR, BBL No. 907, 11th-12th cc., Zaliznjak 2004: 255)

► But distributions as weak pronouns are also observed from the earliest time:

- ACC clitic in the PP as the object of a preposition:

(37) za tę golovy svoi sylkadyuæemy
   for youCL.ACC headACC.PL ownACC.PL lay down1PL
   “We bow down to you”
   (OR, Hypatian Chronicle 1177, 15th c., Zaliznjak 2008: 36)

- Zaliznjak (2008: 36) contends that pronominal clitics combined with prepositions are residues from the preceding, prosodically independent stage (38a). However, the only possible observation is that the string <P+reduced form> reflects an intermediate stage between a full-fledged clitic stage and a weak pronoun stage. It is equally possible that clitics in PP were the first signal of the weakening of their clitichood (38b).

- Janin and Zaliznjak (1993: 289) observe that certain proclitics could also function as hosts for enclitics (ex. ne li jesi daly). Prepositions are proclitics, and the combination of a preposition and a weak pronoun/clitic constitutes a prosodically independent phonetic unit.
In the string <P+reduced form> it is ambiguous whether the reduced form was prosodically dependent or not, but it clearly occupied an argument position as the object of the preposition. This ambiguity must have preconditioned the reanalysis of the reduced form as a pronoun.

Thus, a hypothesis to put the PP stage in the chain of changes from clitic to pronoun (38b) is just as possible as the opposite direction (38a):

(38)  

a.  pronoun  →  P + reduced form  →  clitic
b.  clitic  →  P + reduced form  →  pronoun (√)

Pronominal clitics in non-2P

(39)    a  sę  ego  zaprīť
and  self_{CL,ACC}  him_{ACC}  shut_{3SG}
“And … locks himself up”1

(OR, Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova, No. 28, 1190-)

Violations of cluster ordering rule

(40)    i  jęła  jesmo  sę  jemu  po ruku
and  take_{PART,F,SG}  AUX_{1SG}  self_{CL,ACC}  him_{DAT}  for hand

In OR, the relative order of pronominal clitics and the be-auxiliary was DAT-ACC-AUX (Cf. Modern SSl: AUX 1/2/3P-DAT-ACC-AUX3S). The example in (40) shows that this ordering rule began to be violated in the 13th-century OR.2

The diachronic process of the loss of pronominal clitics can be formulated based on the data from Birchbark letters in Old North Russian from the 11th-15th centuries in (41-43). During the same period, the 2P distribution was coexistent, with a decline toward the 15th century.

(41)    12th c.-13th c.: pronominal clitics occurred after prepositions.
postryčty  uźť  na  meę  i  na  moe  deti
provoke_{3SG}  already  against  me_{CL,ACC}  and  against  my  children_{ACC}
“(He) then provokes against me and against my children”

(BBL No. 831, mid-12th c., Zaliznjak 2004: 302)

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1 The interpretation of this data is not clear due to the co-existence of the ACC reflexive clitic and the ACC pronoun. However, the position of the clitic clearly deviates from the 2P pattern.

2 Zaliznjak (2004:393) assumes that this example shows a micro-dialectal tendency to shift the clitic ordering DAT-ACC-AUX to AUX-DAT-ACC, which modern South Slavic languages have.
(42) late 13th c.-15th c.: clitics occurred in non-2P positions.

a. a na koni prišili mi v grivni serebra
and for horses sendIMV meCL.DAT two grivna silver
“And for horses send me 2 grivnas of silver” (BBL No. 775, late 13th c., Ibid. 502)

b. tako prišli mi colověkь
Thus sendIMV meCL.DAT manACC
“Our thus send me a man” (BBL No. 43, late 14th c., Ibid. 651)

(43) late 14th c.: full forms began to replace clitics in fixed expressions.

a ježo tobě sȩ klaneju
and INOM youDAT selfCL.ACC bow1SG
“And I bow to you” (BBL No. 186, late 14th c., Ibid. 618)

o The sentence in (43) was formulated based on the template ježo tiCL sęCL klaneju, from which the clitic ti was replaced by the full form tobę (Zaliznjak 2004: 618). This indicates that the distribution rules of pronominal clitics were destroyed and that the use of clitic forms became no more than conventional.

o From the process in (41-43), we may suggest that a 2P system (which was arguably preceded by a verb-adjacent system) coexisted with or developed into a weak pronoun system. The string <# V+mę> must have also been reanalyzed as <#V+męWP>.

o It has been reported that the ACC reflexive clitic sę tended to follow verbs more often than other enclitics (Janin and Zaliznjak 1993: 169, Zaliznjak 2008: 292). We take this phenomenon as an indication that the clitic sę came to occupy the object DP position as a weak pronoun.

SUMMARY: The loss of prosodic dependence of reduced forms helps us to understand why pronominal clitics, unlike operator clitics, disappeared from OR. By the change of pronominal clitics to weak pronouns, the dual system of full-clitic forms became unmotivated, and full forms were generalized in every position.

4.2. The loss of TP in OR

o In spoken OR, the imperfect and the aorist were out of use at latest in the 12th c. (Issatschenko 1983: 355-356, Uspenskij 1987: 144–151). This indicates that TP was lost before the 12th c. in OR.

o In OR manuscripts from the 11th c., the stage preceding the 2P system is not attested, while OCS features verb-adjacent clitic distribution. If we assume that Slavic dialects maintain a high degree of homogeneity in the period of OCS cannon (9th c.), we can posit a verb-adjacent system for the prehistoric period of East Slavic.

▶ Due to the early loss of TP in OR, pronominal clitics could not raise to T0 as X0s but remained as XPs in argument positions, either resulting in 2P clitics or turning themselves into weak pronouns.
Toward the 15th century, the 2P system in OR became increasingly unstable and clitics gradually disappeared from written materials by the 15th century.

4.3. The l-perfect auxiliary (byti) as subject pronoun

Auxiliaries with person feature as well as D-feature, which originally merged in T\(^0\), were reanalyzed as pronominal subjects located in Spec,AGRsP, triggering agreement on finite verbs (Zaliznjak 2004, Kwon 2009, Jung 2013).

\[(44)\]
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{povestouju, čtò jsemь nyně na dorogu jexati xoščü} \\
& \quad \text{tell}_{1\text{SG}} \text{ comp } \text{BE}_{1\text{SG}} \text{ now on road } \text{go}_{\text{INF}} \text{ want}_{1\text{SG}} \\
& \quad \text{“I tell you that I will leave now”} \\
& \quad \text{(OR, Pskovian Chronicle III, 16th c., Zaliznjak 2004: 179)} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{a ženy ne viděľь jesi budešь vь sně} \\
& \quad \text{and woman}_{\text{GEN}} \text{ NEG see} \text{PART,M,SG } \text{BE}_{2\text{SG}} \text{ will be2.SG in dream} \\
& \quad \text{“And you will not have seen a woman in a dream”} \\
& \quad \text{(OR, Kirik’s Queries, mid-12th c., Ibid.)} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{a togo žь jesmi ne znaju, ou kogo kupiłь} \\
& \quad \text{and that particle } \text{BE}_{1\text{SG}} \text{ NEG know}_{1\text{SG}} \text{ from whom } \text{buy} \text{PART,M,SG} \\
& \quad \text{“And I don’t know from whom I bought”} \\
& \quad \text{(OR, Pskov judicial charter, 15th c., Ibid.)}
\end{align*}

○ This change instantiates the reverse of van Gelderen’s Subject Agreement Cycle (2011) and thus formulates the X\(^0\) to XP degrammaticalization.

\[(45)\] adapted from van Gelderen 2011: 42, Figure 2.1.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Auxiliaries are intrinsically pronominal containing referential features (including D-feature). In OR, the stage in (45b), in which the pronominal auxiliary merged in T\(^0\), reverted to (45a), in which the pronominal auxiliary was located in the subject position (but in Spec,AGRsP, not in Spec,TP). This change was triggered by the loss of V-to-T movement in Russian, which we suggest is due to the loss of TP (Jung 2013; cf. Kwon 2009).
\end{itemize}
V. Conclusions

► The Macedonian, Old Polish, and Old Russian data provide empirical evidence against the idea of the irreversibility of grammaticalization, the historical directionality of pronoun weakening cycle (pronoun > clitic > verbal clitic), and universal directionality of language change.

► The degrammaticalization of pronominal clitics into weak pronouns was triggered by the loss of TP, which is indicated by the loss of inflected tense category such as aorist and imperfect. Verb-adjacent clitics shifted to 2P clitics and/or was subject to the weakening of their clitichood. This process can be traced based on the changes of their distributional patterns.

REFERENCES


