

Diachronic Investigation of Clitics

What evidence can Caucasian Albanian provide for the development of hierarchical, grammatically-determined clitic positions in Udi?

Udi and Caucasian Albanian

In **Udi** (NE Caucasian family) person markers (PMs), e.g. =zu (=1sg) in (1) occur in various sentential positions [2], depending on the morphological form of the verb and pragmatic structure of the sentence.

- (1)    xorag        box-al=**zu**  
         food.ABS   boil-FUT=**1sg**  
         ‘I will cook some food’Udi [2]

A recently published collection of 7th c. Biblical translations [1] provides a new corpus of **Caucasian Albanian (CA)**, an ancestor of Udi with similar PMs, e.g. =z(ow) (=1sg) in (2).

- (2)    zow=al    vas        ow-k’a-Ø=**z(ow)**  
         I=&        to.you   word-say-PRS=**1sg**  
         ‘I also say to you’(Mt 16:18)    CA [1]

We compare PM constraints in CA with some of those in Udi to learn more about how such a system might develop.

Clitic Positions in Udi

- In Udi, PMs are observed in four basic positions:
- enclitic to the verb (as in 1)
  - enclitic to material outside of the verb
  - between verbal prefixes and the verb root
  - within the verb root
- These positions are governed by hierarchical rules [2], including:
- RULE 1:** If a verb stands in the future II, subjunctive I/II, or the imperative, the PM must be enclitic to the verb.
- RULE 2:** Otherwise, if there is a focused constituent, the PM must be enclitic there, with highest priority for **(a)** negation, then **(b)** questioned items, then **(c)** other focus.

Clitic Positions in CA

- In CA, we only find three possible PM positions:
- enclitic to the verb (as in 2)
  - enclitic to material outside of the verb (3)
  - between verbal prefixes (*ta*, *away*) and the verb root (4)
- (3)    te=**ne**    išow=al    â~a-xoc    mowç~r-he-y  
         NEG=**3**   anyone=&   them-ABL.I   clean-be-PST  
         ‘and no one of them was cleansed’(L 4:27)
- (4)    ta=qa=**n**-dağe-y        viçiy-e        viçiy-ex        owp̣-a  
         away=OPT=**3**-give-PST   brother-ERG   brother-DAT.III   death-DAT.I  
         ‘brother will deliver brother to death’(Mt 10:21)

Unlike Udi, there are no examples of PMs within the verb root in CA.

Going forward, we compare the patterns observed for verbal enclitic and non-verbal positions in CA to the Udi rules.

Rule 1: Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) Restrictions

In CA, TAMs corresponding to those in Udi’s Rule 1, including the present and imperative, are only observed with PMs enclitic to the verb.

- (5)    owkal    sowmown    in’a-ih-a-Ø=**nown**        viçiy-exol  
         go.IMP   first        peaceful-be-IMP=**2PL**   brother-SUPERESS.III  
         ‘first, go be reconciled with your brother’(Mt 5:24)

Thus, CA seems to display a version of Udi’s Rule 1.

REFERENCES

[1] Gippert, Jost, Wolfgang Schulze, Zaza Aleksidze & Jean-Pierre Mahé. 2008. *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai*. Turnhout: Brepols.

[2] Harris, Alice C. 2002. *Endoclititics and the Origins of Udi Morphosyntax*. Oxford University Press.

Rule 2a: Negation

With non-Rule 1 TAMs like the optative, PMs occur on the negator.

- (6)    ma=qa=**ṿ**a        etowaxay    qüwe-he-y    â~ax~c  
         PROHIB=OPT=**2PL.DAT.I**   therefore   afraid-be-PST   them-ABL.I  
         ‘therefore do not be afraid of them’(Mt 10:26)

However, in negated Rule 1 contexts like imperatives, the PM is restricted to verbal enclitic position.

- (7)    ma        qüw-biya-Ø=**nan**    â~ax-oc  
         PROHIB   afraid-do-IMP=**2PL**   them-ABL.I  
         ‘do not be afraid of them’(Mt 10:28)

All of this greatly resembles the pattern seen in Udi.

Rule 2b: Content Questions

In contrast to observed behavior with negation, and the rule in Udi, in non-Rule 1 content questions, PMs are permitted (8), but not required (9) to cliticize to the questioned item.

- (8)    hašow=**ne**    hâya=hē        ihesown-aḫ    beši  
         who=**3**        believe=IMPF   hearing-DAT.III   US.GEN  
         ‘who has believed hearsay of us?’(J 12:38)
- (9)    i    haçin    axay-he-y=**ne**    powl-mowḫ    vē  
         how   open-be-PST=**3**   eye-PL        you.GEN  
         ‘how did your eyes open?’(J 9:10)

Moreover, PMs can occur on the questioned item even with Rule 1 TAMs like the present, unlike Udi, where Rule 1 has no exceptions.

- (10)    hašow=**ne**    bal'-aha-Ø    zow    n=aha-Ø=**zow**=al    bal'  
         who=**3**        ill-be-PRS   1SG   NEG=be-PRS=**1sg**=&   ill  
         ‘who is ill and I am not ill too?’(Cor II 11:29)

Rule 2c: Other Focus

As in Udi, PMs may appear enclitic to contrastively focused items.

- (11)    ...    bân'i=qa=**n**=o-ow        çî-pe-y  
                         great=OPT=**3**=3SG.M-DAT.I   name-LV-PST  
         ‘[he will be called the least...] he will be called great’(J 9:3)

Again, rule ordering admits exceptions where clitics occur on a contrasted item despite negation, and possibly present tense (12).

- (12)    ...    te    de-ya        o-ya=**ne**    bow-Ø=en'e  
                         NEG   father-GEN   he-GEN=**3**   be-PRS=COND  
         ‘[it is not his sin,] nor is it his father’s’(J 9:3)

Summary: PM Position in Udi vs. CA

PMs are enclitic to:

Udi	Rule 1	Else	CA	Rule 1	Else
Pos.	Verb	-	Pos.	Verb	-
Neg.	Verb	NEG	Neg.	Verb	NEG*
Content Q.	Verb	Q Word	Content Q.	Verb*	Q Word*
Focus	Verb	Focus	Focus	Verb*	Focus (*?)

(\* = exceptions observed)

Conclusions

- The development of Udi PM positions went through an earlier stage (CA) without the possibility for clitics within the verbal stem.
- Prior to Udi’s strict hierarchy of PM positions, non-verbal positions were licensed but not required by negation, questions, and focus.
- This suggests a **diachronic development from preference among possibilities to grammatical requirements**.
- Among CA’s non-verbal hosts, behavior is most orderly for negation, which may explain that rule’s relative priority in Udi.