

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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**PERSONAL PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN OLD LITHUANIAN  
(16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES)**

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# PERSONAL PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN OLD LITHUANIAN (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES)

## INTRODUCTION

**The object of the research** is the first and the second singular personal pronominal clitics  $m(i)$ ,  $t(i)$  in Old Lithuanian texts (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries), the usage and changes of the usage of these forms.

**The aim of the research** is to describe the usage of the first and the second singular personal pronominal clitics  $m(i)$ ,  $t(i)$  in Old Lithuanian (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries). To achieve this aim, the following **tasks** were set: to collect material in order to have a full collection of pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries); to analyze pronominal clitics: to define the position of the clitics in relation to their host as well as their position in a clause; to examine the development of Old Lithuanian pronominal clitics and the changes of their usage.

The research is based on the descriptive **method**, because one of the main aims is to describe the pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries). The description of the pronominal clitics is not possible without an analysis, so based on an analytical method the constructions of the pronominal clitics are examined and the system of Lithuanian pronominal clitics is provided. The specific methods of analysis and description have been chosen according to typological parameters, also the researches of Slavic pronominal clitics allowed to choose proper criteria to identify and characterize the pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian.

The **material** of the research has been collected from the Lithuanian texts of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Printed books and electronical recourses were also used. The material is collected in the database, which offers opportunities to see different aspects: the pronominal clitics of all the periods (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries) in one table, the pronominal clitics of separate sources in one table, as well as the ability to filter the collected material by the appropriate grammatical indicators.

**The novelty and the relevance of the research.** A lot of facts about the first and the second personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian were provided by

Hermann (1926, 15–102), but not all sources were available at that time. This dissertation is the first systematic description of the first and the second singular personal pronominal clitics *m(i)* and *t(i)* of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries texts: the position of pronominal clitics is defined (in respect to a sentence and the host), the forms of pronominal clitics of the same text or a set of texts in the issues of different periods are discussed. The work is relevant as it presents analyzes of the clitics in the context of typological research and a series of new material from sources that were not available earlier.

**The following theses are to be defended:**

1. An unstable system of the first and the second person pronominal clitics is fixed in Old Lithuanian: above mentioned forms obey Wackernagel's Law (rarely), and are adjacent to a verb, when a verb is the first or not the first stressed word of a clause, rarely such forms are adjacent not to a verb form, which is not the first stressed word of a clause); the proclitic position is very rare.

2. The first and the second singular personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian, as well as in Slavic, show a strong tendency to follow a verb.

3. Pronominal clitics in the position between the verb prefix and the root increase gradually.

4. The first and the second person pronominal clitics, adjacent to a negative verb form, have not only the meaning of genitive.

5. Most commonly personal pronominal clitics are changed by the forms of stressed pronouns in the same text or a set of texts published in different periods, but they are used to create poetical texts.

**Review of previous research on personal pronominal clitics.** The number of the studies of clitics has been growing recently and their genetic direction becomes predominant. Germanic, Romance, and Slavic clitics are described in detail (Riemsdijk 1999), many of the individual studies are devoted to research the specific phenomena related to clitics (Zwicky 1977; Halpern, Zwicky 1996). Old writings, such as Spanish and Old Church Slavonic, Old Russian are also analyzed (Fontana 1993; Pancheva 2005; Migdalski 2006; Zalizniak 2008). Clitics receive attention not only due to the fact that they as a phenomenon can be analyzed from several perspectives of grammar, but also due to the fact that clitics of each language still show several features which are

characteristic only to the language or some languages and are not possessed by other languages.

One of the earlier trends of the studies of clitics is associated with traditional grammar, Indo-European linguistics and phonological characterization of clitics while the more recent studies give more special interest on the position of clitics in a sentence, their special syntax (Neon 2003, 326). These two trends are described by the definitions of prosodic and syntactic clitics found in literature: prosodic clitics are items that cannot form a phonological word without combining with other words (Halpern 1996, 432), syntactic clitics take syntactic positions that cannot be filled by non-clitic words.

The most famous representative of traditional or phonological clitics, Jacob Wackernagel (1892), established that the unstressed “small” words in many Indo-European languages hold the second position in a sentence i. e. after the first stressed word in a sentence. Basically, this is a phonological understanding of the phenomenon when clitics prosodically depend on the word to which they are adjacent, for example:

Lat. *Iuppiter =te dique perdant* Aulul. 658 (Wackernagel 1892, 410)  
'Jupiter cursed you'.

Modern studies of Romance and Slavic draw a different approach to clitics. First of all, here it comes to name pronominal clitics which syntactically behave very differently from their stressed counterparts, so the question of the special syntax of pronominal clitics comes in the first place. They become important not for the fact that they are unstressed elements, but the fact they can occur in the position where non-clitic elements never occur.

Pronominal clitics are classified as weak (clitic, bound forms) pronouns, while the accented pronouns are viewed as strong ones. These different forms of pronouns usually perform different grammatical and (or) discourse functions (Mühlhäusler 2001, 742–743), for example, in many Slavic languages personal pronominal clitics are unstressed, and their strong equivalents are used for emphasis in the initial position of a sentence, after prepositions, etc. (Franks, King 2000, 8). It should be noted that clitics of different languages are analyzed from a purely morphological (Anderson 2005), and phonological (Dixon, Aikhenvald 2002) perspective.

Clitics often is an object of grammaticalization studies because of their intermediate status between (independent) word and affix (Jeffers, Zwicky 1980). They represent different stages of grammaticalization (Spencer, Luís 2012, 3): a word > a clitic > an affix. Cliticization can be described as a continuous evolutionary sequence so clitics cannot be seen as a homogeneous class with fixed characteristics – until a word merges into morphology, it undergoes a number of gradual phonological and morphosyntactic processes that cannot be segmented into discrete units or groups. According to this view, various clitics can be like a transitional form between words and affixes (Schiering 2006, 29). Briefly hinting about Old Lithuanian pronominal clitics, it must be said that the fact, that they are adjacent to different parts of speech, clearly demonstrate cliticity, on the other hand, a lot of forms are adjacent to a verb, thus illustrating a phenomenon typical of affixes to attach to one particular host (e. g. Haspelmath, Sims 2010, 198).

Continuing with the Old Lithuanian pronominal clitics, the first one to give more examples of personal pronominal clitics of the Old Lithuanian writings was Bezenberger (1877, 165). The first and the second person pronominal clitics *mi* and *ti* in the Lithuanian and Slavic languages are noted by Delbrück (1900, 46). The most detailed examination of the first and the second person pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian texts was done by Hermann (1926). He provided much of the material from the texts of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Above mentioned work is important not only for the collected forms, but also because of some raised issues or stated facts which were not suggested in the subsequent literature citing Hermann's collected samples (for example, the fact that pronominal clitics in more than 80% are adjacent to a verb; indicated proclitic forms).

The fact that Herman's comprehensive data, however, requires a broader analysis draws Petit's attention. The author misses more detailed explanation on Wackernagel's Law and the position of clitics in a sentence. There is an important mentioned tendency, which the Baltic and Slavic languages have in common: pronominal clitics occur with a verb. According to Petit, the position of Wackernagel's Law in Indo-European languages is after the first stressed unit and Slavic enclitics can move from the first stressed unit further to the right till the place after a verb. Although it is true that such a restriction does not affect all enclitics (Petit 2010, 289–290). According to



the author, a rule can be formulated for the Baltic languages that clitics, especially pronominal, are adjacent to a verb, and the cases of these forms – pronominal clitics – found in the undisputable position of Wackernagel's Law are likely to be regarded as not inherited examples of Wackernagel's Law, but the influence of the Polish or the German languages (Petit 2010, 290–297).

Many other authors, who mentioned pronominal clitics (Palionis, 1967; Zinkevičius 1981; Schmalstieg 1988; Rosinas 1988, 1995, 2009; Ambrazas 2006), relied on the material provided by Hermann. It should be noted that more detailed studies have not been performed – depending on the material provided by Hermann, it was indicated that most of pronominal clitics occur with a verb, also with other parts of speech. It was noted that some things still need to be explored (Palionis 1967, 117). Ambrazas made a review of pronominal clitics in the aspect of syntax (2006, 83–87). Rosinas wrote about the origin of the personal pronominal clitics of the Baltic languages (1988, 159–160, 1995).

As it can be seen from the above provided review, there is much said about the origin of the pronominal clitics, about the position of these forms in relation to their hosts, however, it does not focus more on their position in a sentence. It happens partly due to the fact that the accentological criterion cannot be applied while analyzing the texts of Old Lithuanian (Petit 2010, 263) – most of the texts are unstressed. The situation is different in researching modern languages – the cases of the usage of ungrammatical clitics are easily verifiable, and it cannot be done when describing the material of old texts. In addition, the written language is usually purified, so it is difficult to judge the living usage (Fontana 1993, 11). According to Zalizniak, two aspects need to be distinguished in terms of the enclitics – the phonetic and the syntactical. Of course, the phonetic features are crucial as enclitic concept is based specifically on them. However, a specific syntactic behaviour is also characteristic to enclitics, i.e. their place in a phrase is meant by strict rules. Therefore, an enclitic can be recognized in a text even when the phonetic side is not available – when, let's say, we have an unstressed old language text (Zalizniak 2008, 6–9).

## PRINCIPLES OF THE DESCRIPTION

The forms of the personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian texts are analyzed in accordance with some criteria identifying and characterizing clitics (e. g. Aikhenvald 2002; Riet Vos 1991–1995). One of the aims is to define clitics position in relation to their host as well as their position in a clause. The position of personal pronominal clitics also often depends on their host's grammatical form. The criteria chosen to identify and characterize clitics allow to evaluate the personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian texts systematically.

**Host's grammatical form.** Pronominal clitics position in a sentence, depending on the phonological factors or host's grammatical features can be fixed, but clitics can go freely as well. The fixed position of a clitic may be: 1) a position independent of host's grammatical class, 2) a position, dependent on host's grammatical class. In the first case clitic occupies a fixed position in a sentence, regardless his host, for example, WP clitics can be adjacent to any the first stressed word of a sentence. In the latter case, the position of clitics depends on the host's grammatical class. Clitics can be adjacent to any part of speech, but cases when clitics are adjacent exclusively to the verb are known (Riet Vos 1991–1995, 6; Aikhenvald 2002, 45). For example, in Romance languages pronominal clitics always precede the finite verb, but follows the imperative. There are clitics without an appointed place in a sentence. They are adjacent to their host, depending on the type of discourse, or other conditions (Riet Vos 1991–1995, 5–7; Aikhenvald 2002, 45–46).

**The position of a pronominal clitic in respect of the host.** Considering the position of a pronominal clitic in respect to the host, it is important whether it is adjacent to a verb or another part of speech. If the verb form has a prefix, there are two possibilities: the pronominal clitic intervenes in the morphological structure of the word – between the prefix and the root (a) or is adjacent to the end of the word (b). If the pronominal clitic is adjacent to a not prefixed verb form or to another part of speech, then its position is usually at the end of the word. It is usually noted in literature that the forms that are adjacent to the prefixed verb form, often occur between the prefix and the root (Zinkevičius 1981, 49; Ambrazas 2006, 83).

**Position of a pronominal clitic in a sentence.** The initial starting point to determine the position of pronominal clitics is the Law stated by Wackernagel. It states that a clitic occurs after the first stressed word in a sentence (Wackernagel 1892). Analyzing the position of clitics in detail, it is convenient to have a concept of a clause alongside to the concept of a sentence. Zalizniak, who analyzed the old Russian pronominal clitics, considered a clause to be in such cases (Zalizniak 2008, 12–15):

a) a basic sentence – acting alone or as a complex part of a sentence (if there is a conjunction, it is considered to be a part of the sentence it precedes) (comp. Holvoet, Judžentis 2003, 102, 116);

b) homogeneous predicates have separate clauses (e.g., *Ярополкъ же постояѣ нѣсколко днии оу Чернигова и възвратисѣ в Києвъ и распусти воѣ* (Zalizniak 2008, 14) there are three clauses: 1) Jaropolk ... stood for a while ... 2) and returned to Kijev 3) and released the soldiers);

c) predicatives also (e.g., *старѣ есмь и боленѣ* (Zalizniak 2008, 14) make two clauses: 1) *I am old* 2) and ill);

d) homogeneous infinitives (e.g., *не могоу ити изъ отчиныъ своѣѣ и со братьѣю своєю разоитисѣ* (Zalizniak 2008, 14) make two clauses: 1) I cannot leave out... 2) and part from...);

e) combination consisting of infinitive and participle (comp. Holvoet, Judžentis 2003, 120).

The fronted addressees and the stress of dependent words (particles, conjunctions) at the beginning of a clause are a few more important things to discuss, in order to determine the beginning of a clause.

There are cases, when pronominal clitics are adjacent not to the stressed word, but occur in a group of proclitics and enclitics. Unlike enclitics, a group of proclitics and enclitics can also occur at the beginning of a phrase. It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that a proclitic can directly connect with an enclitic, in the absence of accented independent word (Zalizniak 2008, 8). It was found that the particles of Old Lithuanian texts (*tik, tiktai, vėl, jau, vos, gi, ne, te, gu*) can occur in a group of proclitics and enclitics. The following types of groups are distinguished (Ambrazas 2006, 93) in direction of consolidation of enclisis (from proclitics (a) and enclitics (e)):

- a) interrogative particles *er, ar, bau, biau, bes*;
- b) adverbial particles *dar, tik, tiktai, vėl, jau, vis*;
- c) negative particle *ne* and optative particle *te*;

d) *mi* and *ti* and the formant *si*, which has an origine of the clitic reflexive pronoun, is always enclitic and have a post-position after the accented words and clitics, except for the *gi*;

- e) particles *gi, gu*.

There are also instances observed where a pronominal clitic occurs in a clause which has a fronted addressee (from only one or a few words), and a pronominal clitic is adjacent to the following stressed word, for example:

*Wiefchpatie rodike=m kielius tawa* BPs 25,4 ‘show me’

Lord show=1.CL.DAT paths yours

‘Lord, show me your paths’;

*Wanduo iz fžona duokie=m gražibe* SG I 147,6 ‘give me’

Water from the side give=1.CL.DAT beauty

‘Water from the sides, give me beauty’.

These examples show that a verb form with adjacent clitic occurs after the fronted addressee consisting of one or a few words. Theoretically, according to Wackernagel's Law a clitic should go after the first stressed word which is the addressee or the first part of it in the cases referred to. It is found, however, that, for example, in the Old Novgorod Russian fronted long constituents (fronted vocatives, fronted addressees, fronted topicalized & focalized constituents and fronted long initial constituents consisting of more than one accented word form) move the location of clitics to the right. Similar mechanisms are observed in other second position languages (Zimmerling 2010, 22). Based on the foregoing statements, it is considered that in the clauses having an addressee of Old Lithuanian texts, the place of a clitic is also countable from the accented word form following the addressee. For example, *Wiefchpatie rodike=m kielius tawa* BPs 25,4 ‘show me’. In this case, it is considered that a clitic consistently follows the verb form, which is the first accented word in a clause.

The last thing to discuss is the scope of a pronominal clitic. The clitics which are adjacent to the end of a word, e.g.

*Sákay=mi* LK 89,30

Tell=1SG.DAT.CL

‘You tell me’;

*pamefũ=t* BST Ez 32,4 ‘I will lose you’

lose=1SG.ACC.CL

‘I will lose you’

may eventually become affixes (cf. Lith. reflexive morpheme), in particular attention should be paid to the last two examples that show more typical signs of verbs – when the word morphophonological structure is exposed (changing the morpheme of time and person). But in addition to these examples very clear examples of morphemic structure from Old Lithuanian texts are captured – when a clitic occurs between the prefix and the verb root:

*pa=mi=rodik* RPs 25,4 ‘show me’

PREF=1SG.DAT.CL=show

‘show me’.

Taking it into account, only the recent cases in this work are considered as examples of word internal clitic and it is believed that the usage of pronominal clitics, which are adjacent to the end of the preceding word does not allow saying that these forms are real affixes. Further in the work a word internal clitic always means only a clitic between the prefix and the verb root.

Having defined the limits of a clause and having judged the possible position of a clitic in a clause as well as its relationship with the verb form, analyzing the Old Lithuanian texts, the following possible types of the positions of the form of a personal pronominal are appointed:

1. Word internal clitic (*pa=mi=rodik* RPs 25,4 ‘show me’

PREF=1SG.DAT.CL=show).

2. Wackernagel’s Law clitics:

2.1. where the first stressed word in a clause is not a verb:

2.1.1. and a verb follows a clitic ( $\bar{V}^1=cl-\bar{V}$ )

(*Wifur =mi wilkay apfpitá* KN 17,2

Everywhere =1SG.ACC.CL wolves surrounded

‘Wolves surrounded me everywhere’);

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<sup>1</sup> Not a verb.

2.1.2. and not a verb follows a clitic ( $\bar{V}=cl-V$ )

(*Akis =mi iβtekieia* KN G 8,36

Eyes=1.SG.DAT trickle

‘my “eyes” trickled’);

2.2. where the first stressed word in a clause is a verb ( $V=cl$ )

(*Sufpaude=m* *ne meylingay* KN 44,3

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

‘Pressed me not fondly’).

3. A clitic follows the verb, which is not the first stressed word in a clause

( $\_V=cl^2$ )

(*Atstok, grischk, ritoij dūsiū=t* BrST, Sal 3,2

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

‘Go away, come back, I will give you tomorrow’).

4. Proclitic-enclitic group ( $Pro=cl$ )

(*Tene =mi=gi negandiná* MP 159,1

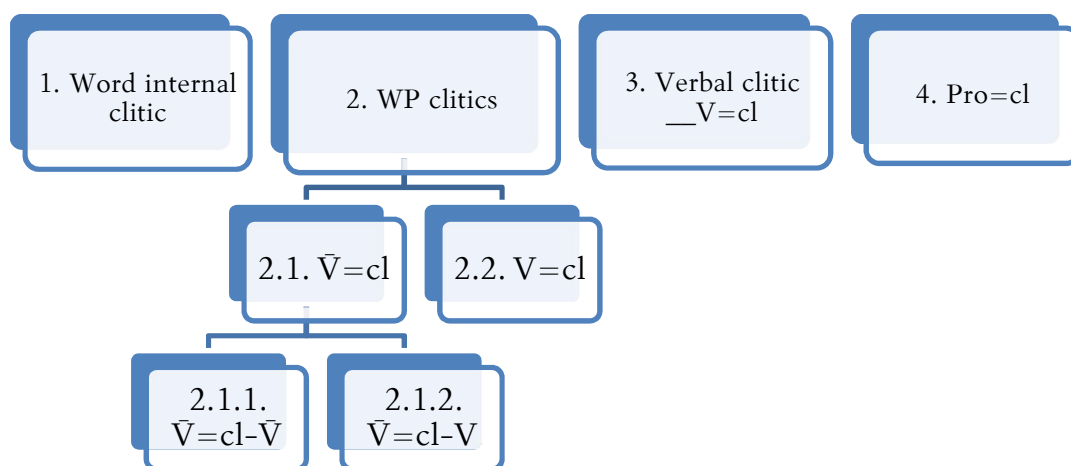
Let not=1SG.ACC.CL=PARTICLE

‘Let nobody scare me’).

The following scheme shows the types of the position of the forms of the personal pronominal clitics of the Old Lithuanian.

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<sup>2</sup>  $\_$  means ‘not in the beginning of a clause’.



$\bar{V}$  – not a verb

V – a verb

cl – a clitic

\_\_ – not in the beginning of a clause

**Scheme 1.** Types of the position of the pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian.

As it can be seen from the given types, a few basic groups of pronominal clitics can be distinguished: word internal clitic, WP clitics, clitics, adjacent to a verb and the proclitic-enclitic group. In some cases the position of pronominal clitics in a clause can be twofold, for example, the types 2.1.2 and 2.2 could be also regarded as examples of clitics adjacent to a verb.

**Cases (genitive, dative, accusative).** It is known that in the Old Lithuanian texts the first and the second person pronominal clitics are used in the meaning of dative, accusative and genitive (after negation) (Zinkevičius 1981,49; Rosinas 1995,10). The above mentioned forms do not differentiate declensional values –  $m(i)$ ,  $t(i)$  can be used in the meaning of dative, accusative and genitive. The form is decided only according to the host:

dat. *Dūke=m*                      *lofka ūcheme cziēfe* BGD 75,14 ‘give me grace this time’  
 give=1SG.DAT.CL    grace this time

acc. *Imke=m*                      *Rankafna tawa* BGD 92,16 ‘take me in your hands’  
 take=1SG.ACC.CL in hands your

As it can be seen from examples above, dative and accusative forms cannot be doubted. It is much more difficult to deal with pronominal clitics in terms of the

genitive case. The examples of the usage of these forms in literature are reported in accordance with the general rule that negative verbs govern genitive

(e. g. *nei=mi=korok* BrP II 304,7 ‘do not punish me’ (Zinkevičius 1981, 49)

PRF=1SG.GEN.CL=punish)

although it is known that in the Old Lithuanian texts negative verbs also govern accusative though less than genitive (Ambrazas 2006, 232). It is observed that not all pronominal clitics that are adjacent to a negative verb can be only seen as genitives (Razanovaitė 2011, 187). So genitive pronominal clitics should be interpreted with caution. Such obscure cases where the form can be taken as accusative, and as genitive were found in most studied sources<sup>3</sup>.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

1 716 forms of the first and the second person singular pronominal clitics were found in the target sources, there were recorded 1 611 forms of the first person singular pronominal clitics (1 184 times recorded not shortened form *mi* and 427 – *m*). 105 times pronominal clitic represents the second person singular form: *ti* – 41 time, *t* – 58 and *te* – 6 times.

When evaluating the usage of the first and the second person pronominal clitic, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the host of a pronominal clitic is very often imperative (slightly more than 49% of all cases (the verb and not the verb forms)), to which only the first, but not the second person pronominal clitic can be adjacent. Excluding the above mentioned imperative forms, it is seen that the preponderance of the first person forms is no longer as great, but still significant (904 : 105, i.e., the form of the second person makes nearly 12 %).

The first person shorter forms are used more in the sources of the sixteenth century (85% (328) – *m* and 15% (56) *mi*), the preponderance of unshortened forms is bright in the texts of the seventeenth century (90% (844) : 10% (90)), and in the eighteenth century unshortened forms make 97% (283) and the shortened ones make only 3% (9).

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<sup>3</sup> The truth is, there is not much data, only one or a few examples, and it cannot be affirmed firmly, but the provision that pronominal clitics attaching the negative verb forms can be accusative, remain important.



These data are relevant to the position of the pronominal clitics in respect of their host. Excluding the cases when the form of a pronominal clitic intervenes in a morphological structure of a word (as in this case the form is always unshortened), in the sixteenth century the unshortened forms make up to 1.2% (4), in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – 86% (549) and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – 85% (51). Of course, a large part of these forms of the seventeenth century consists of the data from the translation of the Chilinskis' Bible, in which, with the exception of three samples, pronominal clitics are written separately from the host form (83.4% (533) of all cases of this century). According to the sources of all the ages, a total of unshortened forms that do not intervene in a morphological structure of the word make 58.8% (604 forms out of 1 027).

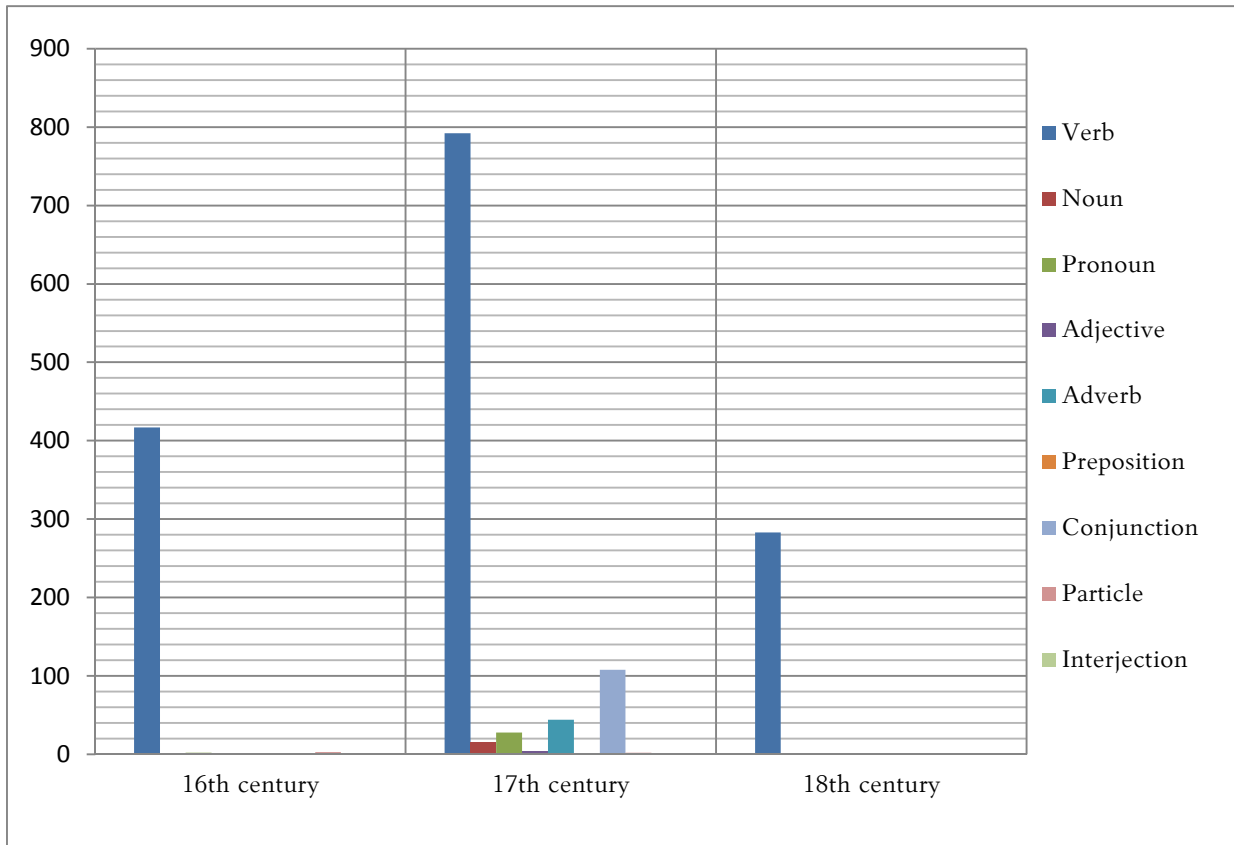
### **The host of the pronominal clitic**

In the sixteenth century the most frequent host of the pronominal clitics is the verb (83.9% of all forms). Even 82.5% (350) of the cases are imperatives, few forms (14% (60)) are adjacent to the present tense form and rarely they are adjacent to the subjunctive (0.9 % (4)) and the forms of future tense (0.7%) (3). There were found a few cases where a clitic was adjacent to particles (the conjunction, the interjection) and the pronoun (a total of 7 samples).

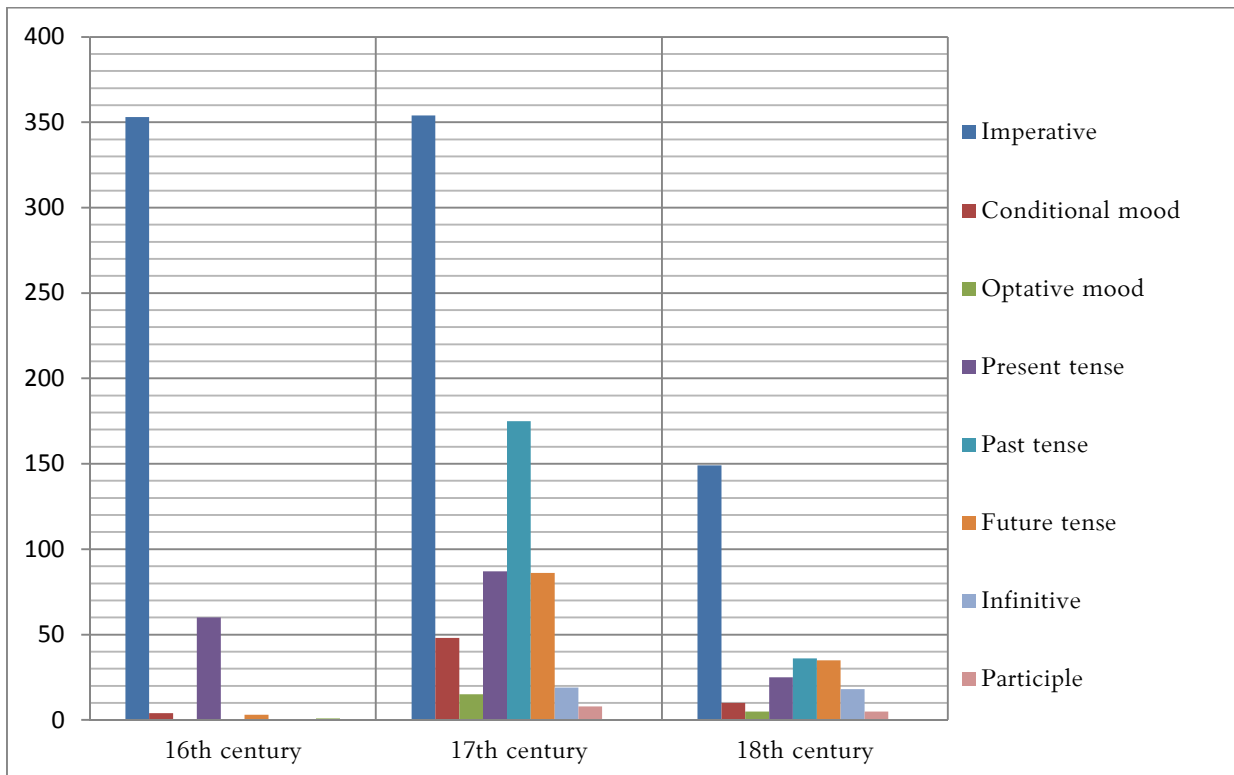
In the seventeenth century the majority (79.5% (792)) of pronominal clitics are adjacent to the verb as well (imperative mood (35.5% (354)), a past tense (17.5% (175)), present and future tenses each make 8.7% (87 : 86), and others). It should be noted that, especially in the “Knyga nobažnystès” and in the Chilinskis' Bible pronominal clitics are adjacent to a different host (not just the verb moods, different tenses, but also the noun, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, the preposition, the particle, and the conjunction).

In the eighteenth century, as well as in other sources, the mentioned forms are used with the verb (294 out of 295 forms), of which slightly more than 50% (149) – imperatives, but there are pronominal clitics which are recorded adjacent to other forms of the verb (conditional mood, optative mood, present tense, past tense, future tense, infinitive), and the adverb.

The summarised data of the distribution of the grammatical features of the host in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries can be seen in the diagrams 1 and 2.



**Diagram 1.** The distribution of the host according to the parts of speech in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.



**Diagram 2.** The distribution of the host as a form of the verb in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

It is interesting that in the texts of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries 87.6% of the hosts are the verb forms and even a little more than 49% of all cases (not a verb and verb forms) are imperatives. Although there is no direct coincidence, it should be noted that there is some connection with the Roman languages, where clitics follow verbs in the imperative or gerund forms, but precede verbs in other forms (finite forms) (Spencer 2010, 358–359).

### **The position of pronominal clitics in regard to their host**

In the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries when a pronominal clitic is adjacent to a prefixed verb (951), most cases are registered in the morphological structure of a word (578 examples, it is more than 60% of possible cases where a clitic is adjacent to a prefixed verb), but attention is drawn to the fact that the usage of these forms in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> century is different. In the sixteenth century these forms accounts for only slightly more than 28% (52), then the share is increasing: in the seventeenth century it makes 57% (295), and in the eighteenth century – 90% (233). The literature indicates that a pronominal clitic “often intervenes between the prefix and the root” (Ambrazas 2006, 83), but, as it can be seen from the data, this usage prevailed gradually.

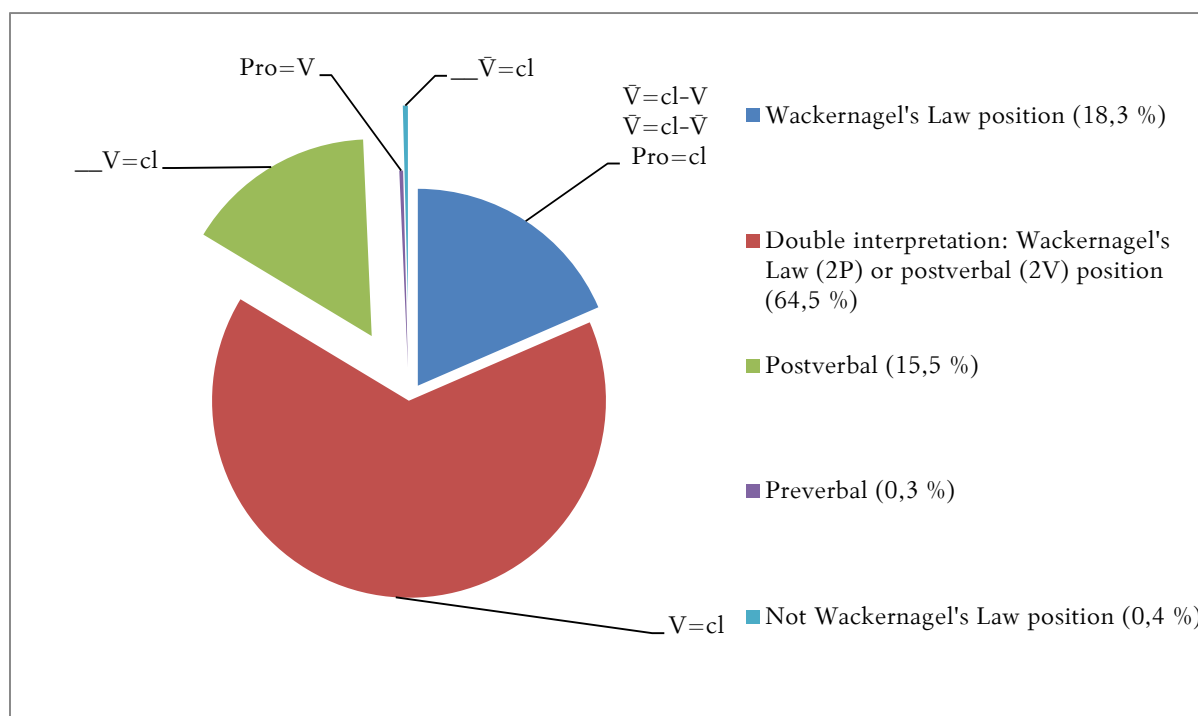
In the remaining cases 556 times (32.4%) pronominal clitic is adjacent to the end of the verb without a prefix, and 214 times (12.4%) it follows other parts of speech.

The forms of 3 pronominal clitics used in the Catechism of 1701 are particularly interesting. They were recorded in the position of a proclitic: CL-RADIX and CL-PRAEFA-RADIX. There were no more such cases in other sources. Comparing to forms of pronominal clitics fixed in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, their use in the position of a proclitic clearly shows instability of the system of the forms of pronominal clitics.

### **The position of pronominal clitic in a sentence**

Pronominal clitics in a clause mainly are adjacent to the verb, which is the first accented word of a clause (V=cl) (741 sample, 64.5%), and which is not the first accented word of a clause (\_\_\_V = cl) (178 examples, 15.5%). There are very few forms

recorded which were adjacent not to the first stressed word of a clause, which is not the verb form (5 samples, 0.4%). A significant part is made by the forms of pronominal clitics which are adjacent to the first stressed word of a clause which is not a verb but the verb form goes after it ( $\bar{V}=cl-V$ ) (144 cases, 12.6%). It should be noted that the forms are known from the seventeenth century and only one example was recorded in the sources of the eighteenth century. 55 times (4.8%) the mentioned forms follow the first stressed word of a clause and not a verb form goes after it ( $\bar{V}=cl-\bar{V}$ ). In the group of proclitics and enclitics there were found 11 samples (0.9%) and 3 exclusive (0.3%) cases of usage recorded in the Catechism of 1701 where a pronominal clitic is in a preverbal position, see diagram 3.



**Diagram 3.** The distribution of pronominal clitics position in a sentence

The data given in the picture 3 show that WP forms in the texts of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries constitute more than 18%, double interpretation forms make 64.5%. The postverbal position is recorded in more than 15% and the preverbal position in 0.3% of cases. There were 0.4% of cases recorded as not Wackernagel's Law position when a clitic is adjacent not to the verb form, which is not the first stressed word of a clause.

If the pronominal clitics which intervene in the morphological structure of a word are added to this figure (578 samples) it is seen that there are 87.6% of pronominal clitics attaching the verb in the writings of the sixteenth–eighteenth century.

It is observed that personal pronominal clitics, if they are not in the second position, almost always occur after a verb (Gribble 1988, 194–195). Old Church Slavonic is considered to be a language which has traditionally been analyzed as a language obeying Wackernagel's Law (Lunt 2001, 77), however, it exhibits the tendency of pronominal clitics to stay adjacent to a verb (Migdalski 2006, 167–169). So the same phenomenon is observed in Old Lithuanian – although the pronominal clitics in the Old Lithuanian texts are considered to be enclitics (Zinkevičius 1981, 49), i. e. obeying the Wackernagel's Law and holding the second position in a sentence, it should be noted that most of the pronominal clitics tend to stay adjacent to a verb, even if the verb is not the first word of a clause.

The material discussed in this part suggests that both the second position and the verbal clitics existed – unstable system is fixed, as a transitional period to the formation of more uniform and stable usage of the forms. The truth is that some cases of preverbal positions and the examples, where a pronominal clitic is adjacent not to the first stressed word of a clause, and which is not a verb form, reinforce the impression of the disintegration of the system.

As it was mentioned above, the first and the second person pronominal clitics tend to stay adjacent to a verb (even if the verb is not the first word of a clause), so pronominal clitics defy the phonological feature – to go in the second position in a sentence. But it is also interesting that attaching the verb forms they do not show a vivid distribution with the corresponding accented forms of the pronoun. The only tangible motivated usage can be seen only in poetry texts.

### **Cases (genitive, dative, accusative)**

In the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries 994 forms of pronominal clitics have dative meaning, 678 – accusative. As it was mentioned above, the meaning of the pronominal clitic case is not always clear (43). Although it is not possible to identify precisely the meaning of these forms, it is essential that pronominal clitics adjacent to a negative verb form are not only genitives.

## **Pronominal clitics of the same text or a set of texts in the editions of different periods**

One of the most promising ways to review the evolution of pronominal clitics is to compare the editions of the same text or a set of texts of different periods. The need of similar studies, where possible interaction of the use of the pronominal clitics in different editions would be explained, was alluded by Palionis (1976, 117). The Psalter, Slavocinskis' and "Balsas širdies" hymn books, Jaknavicius' Gospels, and the hymn books of Klein's tradition could be separately discussed in this aspect from the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

One of the main trends is the change of the position – the end of the word → morphological structure of a word (12 such cases were recorded in the Psalter, edited by Reza; the position of a pronominal clitic was changed 5 times in the editions of Klein's hymn book). Quite a lot of cases were registered when the forms of pronominal clitics were rejected. There were 140 forms of pronominal clitics recorded in the Psalter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and only 15 were left after Reza's warding in the edition of the seventeenth century, and there is only one form left in the Psalter's edition of the eighteenth century. Only two forms of the second person remained out of the 13 pronominal clitics in the hymnal of 18<sup>th</sup> century (1726), which was based on Slavocinskis' hymnal (1646) (and these were probably left because of the lack of understanding, cf. the mentioned wrong edit of the second person pronominal clitic *te*). On the other hand, it should be noted that pronominal clitics in the Hymnal of Klein's tradition are not only taken over from the previous editions, but are also used in the new accompanying texts.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. In Old Lithuanian texts the first person singular pronominal clitics are used most commonly (1 611), the second person singular pronominal clitics are used incomparably less (105). The frequency of the first person singular pronominal clitics is related to the fact that the host of a pronominal clitic is very often imperative (slightly more than 49% of all cases (the verb and not the verb forms)), to which only the first, but not the second person pronominal clitic can be adjacent.

2. In Old Lithuanian texts shortened and not shortened forms of the first and the second person singular pronominal clitics are used (1184 times recorded not shortened form *mi* and 427 – *m*; : *ti* – 41, *t* – 58 and *te* – 6). The frequency of the not shortened forms partly is determined by the personal pronominal clitics position in relation to its host – only not shortened forms are fixed between the verb prefix and the root (33.8% (580)). Besides that, a large part of these forms of the seventeenth century consists of the data from the translation of the Chilinskis' Bible, in which, with the exception of three samples, pronominal clitics are written separately from the host form (31.% (533)).

3. In the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries 994 forms of pronominal clitics have dative meaning, 678 – accusative. Almost in all the sources there were cases detected where pronominal clitics are adjacent to a negative verb form, in that case clitic can be either of genitive or accusative meaning, i.e. unambiguously should not be evaluated as having the genitive meaning (a total of 43 forms).

4. 6 main types of the pronominal clitics position can be distinguished: (1) word internal clitic – between the prefix and the verb root; (2) the Wackernagel's Law position clitics: (2.1) when the first accented word in a clause is not a verb (2.1.1) and not a verb form occurs after the clitic ( $\bar{V}=cl-\bar{V}$ ); (2.1.2) and the verb form occurs after the clitic ( $\bar{V}=cl-V$ ); (2.2) when the first word in a clause is a verb ( $V=cl$ ); (3) the clitics which are adjacent after the verb form, which is not the first accented word in a clause ( $\_V=cl$ ); (4) the group of proclitics and enclitics ( $Pro=cl$ ).

There were two cases found that do not fall in the classification: a) pronominal clitic which is adjacent not to the first stressed word of a clause, which is not a verb; b) preverbal position ( $cl=V$ ).

4.1. There are more than 60% of the examples of pronominal clitics in the morphological structure of a word. The usage of these forms is different in the sources of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> century – they are gradually increasing: in the sixteenth century these forms accounts for only slightly more than 28%, in the seventeenth century there are more than 57% of such cases, and in the eighteenth century there are already 87.6%.

4.2. The Wackernagel's Law position forms in the writings of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries constitute more than 18%, the forms that can be seen in two ways constitute 65.3%. More than 15% of the cases were found in postverbal position and 0.3% – in preverbal position. 0.4% of the forms do not follow the first stressed word of a clause, which is not a verb:

	Wackernagel's Law position	Double interpretation	Postverbal position	Preverbal position	Not Wackernagel's Law position
16 <sup>th</sup> c.	1,2% (7)	87,8% (323)	11% (42)	-	-
17 <sup>th</sup> c.	29,3% (206)	52,6% (371)	17,4% (123)	-	0,7% (5)
18 <sup>th</sup> c.	1,5% (1)	73,5% (47)	20,3% (13)	4,7% (3)	-

5. The provided data show that the second position, and the verbal clitics existed in the old Lithuanian writings – unstable system is fixed, as a transitional period to the formation of more uniform and stable usage of the forms. Several cases of preverbal positions and the examples when the pronominal clitic is adjacent not the first stressed word of a clause, which is not the verb form, reinforce the impression of the disintegration of the system.

6. Similarly to the Slavic languages pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian tend to stay adjacent to a verb (87,6% of all the cases (of which – 49% are imperative forms)).

In the sixteenth century the most frequent host of the pronominal clitics is the verb (83.9% of all forms). There were found a few cases where a clitic was adjacent to particles (the conjunction, the interjection) and the pronoun (a total of 7 samples).

In the seventeenth century the majority (79.5% (792)) of pronominal clitics are adjacent to the verb as well. It should be noted that, especially in the “Knyga nobažnystės” and in the translation of the Chilinskis’ Bible pronominal clitics are adjacent to a different host (not just the verb (ChB – 72%, KN – 71%), but also the



noun, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, the preposition, the particle, and the conjunction (ChB – 18%, KN – 29%).

In the eighteenth century, as well as in other sources, the mentioned forms are used with the verb (294 out of 295 forms).

7. Several trends are observed in editions of the same text or a set of texts of different periods:

7.1. One of the main cases of edit is the pronominal clitics position change: the end of the word → morphological structure of the word (12 such cases were found in the Psalter prepared by Reza (17<sup>th</sup> c.), comparing it with Bretkunas' text (16<sup>th</sup>c.); the position of pronominal clitic was changed 5 times in the editions of Klein's hymn book).

7.2. There were examples stated where the pronominal clitics were denied. Only 15 forms of pronominal clitics were left in Reza's version published in 1625 from the former 140 forms of pronominal clitics in the manuscript of Bretkunas' Psalter (1580), and in the Psalter of 1728 there was only one form left. Only two forms of the second person were left from the 13 pronominal clitics in the 1726 hymnal written on the base of Slavocinskis' Hymnal (1646) (most probably they were left unconsciously).

7.3. Exclusively in the editions of Klein's hymn book pronominal clitics are not only taken over from the earlier texts, but are also used in the newly added hymns. This suggests that these forms of pronominal clitics were appropriate in creating that kind of texts.

# LIETUVIŲ SENŪJŲ RAŠTŲ KLITINIAI ĮVARDŽIAI (XVI–XVIII a.)

## Reziumė

Disertacijos **objektas** — lietuvių XVI–XVIII a. raštų vienaskaitos pirmojo, antrojo asmens klitiniai įvardžiai  $m(i)$  ir  $t(i)$ , šių klitikų vartoseną ir jos pokyčius.

Darbo **tikslas ir uždaviniai**. Darbo tikslas — aprašyti pirmojo, antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių  $m(i)$  ir  $t(i)$  vartoseną lietuvių XVI–XVIII a. tekstuose. Keliami uždaviniai: sudaryti išsamų lietuvių kalbos XVI–XVIII a. raštų klitinių įvardžių sąvadą; remiantis surinkta medžiaga, analizuoti klitinių įvardžių formas, apibrėžti jų poziciją sakinyje ir poziciją žodžio, prie kurio šlyja klitinis įvardis, atžvilgiu; apžvelgti lietuvių kalbos klitinių įvardžių raidą, vartosenos pokyčius.

Disertacijoje remiamasi deskriptyviniu **metodu**, nes vienas iš tyrimo tikslų — aprašyti klitinius įvardžius XVI–XVIII a. lietuvių kalboje. Klitinių įvardžių aprašas negalimas be analizės, todėl taikant analitinį metodą tiriamos konstrukcijos, kuriose vartojamas klitinis įvardis, pateikiama lietuvių kalbos klitinių įvardžių sistema. Aprašymo ir analizės metodika pasirinkta atsižvelgiant į tipologinius klitikų parametrus, taip pat svarbūs slavų klitinių įvardžių tyrimai, leidę nustatyti reikiamus kriterijus ir lietuvių senųjų raštų analizei.

**Medžiaga** rinkta iš lietuvių XVI–XVIII a. tekstų (žr. 8 dalį „Šaltiniai“). Naudotasi ir išlikusiais paminklais, ir elektroniniais ištekliais. Medžiaga sukaupta duomenų bazėje, kurios teikiamomis galimybėmis ją galima matyti įvairiais pjūviais: visų laikotarpių (XVI–XVIII a.) klitinių įvardžių formas vienoje lentelėje, atskirų šaltinių klitinių įvardžių lytis, taip pat galimybė surinktą medžiagą filtruoti pagal reikiamus gramatinius rodiklius.

**Darbo naujumas**. Daug faktų apie lietuvių kalbos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinius įvardžius yra pateikęs Hermannas (1926, 15–102), tačiau jam buvo prieinami ne visi šaltiniai. Disertacijoje pirmą kartą sistemiškai aprašomos XVI–XVIII a. raštų vienaskaitos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių  $m(i)$  ir  $t(i)$  formos: apibrėžiama klitinių įvardžių pozicija (sakinio ir žodžio, prie kurio šlyja, atžvilgiu), aptariamos

klitinių įvardžių formos to paties teksto ar tekstų rinkinio skirtingų laikotarpių leidimuose. Darbas aktualus ir tuo, kad jame klitikai analizuojami tipologinių tyrimų kontekste, pateikiama nemažai naujos medžiagos iš anksčiau neprieinamų šaltinių.

### **Disertacijos sandara**

1. Įvadas.

2. Antrojoje dalyje kalbama apie klitiko sąvoką, tipologinius jų parametrus ir tyrimus. Lietuvių senųjų raštų klitiniai įvardžiai apžvelgiami baltų kalbų kontekste, pateikiamos lietuvių senųjų raštų asmeninių klitinių įvardžių tyrimų ir XVII—XIX a. lietuvių kalbos gramatikose, kuriose kalbama apie minėtas formas, apžvalgos.

3. Trečiojoje dalyje skiriami Wackernagelio dėsnio ir veiksmožodiniai klitikai, nustatomi lietuvių kalbos senųjų raštų pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių pozicijos sakinyje tipai.

4. Ketvirtoji dalis — tiriamaoji. Joje pagal nusistatytus kriterijus analizuojamos lietuvių kalbos senuosiuose raštuose užfiksuotos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių formos. Atskirai aprašomos XVI, XVII ir XVIII a. šaltiniuose rastos formos, po šio aprašo apibendrinami visų šaltinių duomenys.

5. Penktojoje dalyje įvertinamos klitinių įvardžių lytys to paties teksto ar tekstų rinkinio skirtingų laikotarpių leidimuose.

6. Šeštojoje dalyje pateikiamos išvados.

7. Darbas turi priedą (septintoji dalis), aštuntojoje ir devintojoje dalyse duodami šaltinių ir literatūros sąrašai.

### **Ginamieji teiginiai**

1. Lietuvių senuosiuose raštuose fiksuojama nestabili pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių sistema: šios formos randamos ir Wackernagelio dėsnio pozicijoje (retais atvejais), ir šlyja prie veiksmožodžio, kai jis yra pirmasis ir ne pirmasis kirčiuotas klauzos žodis, retai tos formos jungiasi prie ne veiksmožodžio formos, kuri nėra pirmasis kirčiuotas klauzos žodis; pavieniais atvejais galima tų formų proklizė.

2. Lietuvių senuosiuose raštuose vienaskaitos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitiniai įvardžiai taip pat, kaip ir slavų kalbose, rodo stiprią tendenciją eiti greta veiksmožodžio lyčių.

3. Lietuvių senuosiuose raštuose klitinių įvardžių formų, įsiterpusių tarp veiksmožodžio priešdėlio ir šaknies, daugėja palaipsniui.

4. Vienaskaitos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitiniai įvardžiai, šlyjantys prie neigiamosios veiksmožodžio formos, nėra tik genityvo reikšmės.

5. To paties teksto ar tekstų rinkinio skirtingų laikotarpių leidimuose klitinių įvardžių formų palaipsniui atsisakoma, tačiau kartais dar gali būti pavartojamos ir kuriant naujus eiliuotus tekstus.

### **Tyrimo rezultatai ir išvados**

1. Dažniausios XVI—XVIII a. lietuvių raštuose yra vienaskaitos pirmojo asmens klitinių įvardžių formos (1 611), antrojo asmens formos vartotos nepalyginamai rečiau (105). Vienas iš faktorių, lėmusių pirmojo asmens formų gausą yra tai, kad labai dažnai jų šeimininkas yra veiksmožodžio liepiamosios nuosakos forma (kiek daugiau nei 49 % visų atvejų (veiksmožodžio ir ne veiksmožodžio formų)), prie kurios gali būti jungiama tik pirmojo, bet ne antrojo asmens įvardžio forma.

2. Vartotos ir sutrumpėjusios, ir nesutrumpėjusios pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių lytys (1 184 kartus forma *mi* ir 427 — *m*; *ti* — 41, *t* — 58 ir *te* — 6). Nesutrumpėjusių formų dažnį lemia ir jų pozicija šeimininko atžvilgiu — įsiterpdamos tarp veiksmožodžio priešdėlio ir šaknies tos formos visada yra nesutrumpėjusios (iš viso tokiais atvejais jos sudaro 33,8 % (580)). Be to, beveik visada nesutrumpėjusios formos vartojamos ir daugiausiai klitinių įvardžių formų turinčiame Chilinskio Biblijoje vertime, kur tos formos rašomos atskirai nuo veiksmožodžio ar kitų lyčių (31 % (533)).

3. XVI—XVIII a. šaltiniuose datyvo reikšme vartojamos 994, akuzatyvo — 678 klitinių įvardžių formos. Beveik visuose šaltiniuose aptinkama atvejų, kai klitiniai įvardžiai, šlyjantys prie neigiamųjų veiksmožodžio formų, gali būti arba genityvo, arba akuzatyvo reikšmės, t. y. vienareikšmiškai nevertintini kaip genityvo reikšmės (iš viso 43 tokios formos).

4. Skirtini 6 pagrindiniai lietuvių kalbos vienaskaitos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinio įvardžio formos pozicijos tipai: (1) žodžio morfeminėje struktūroje — tarp veiksmožodžio šaknies ir priešdėlio; (2) Wackernagelio dėsnio pozicijos klitikai: (2.1) kai pirmasis kirčiuotas klauzos žodis nėra veiksmožodis (2.1.1) ir po klitiko eina ne veiksmožodžio forma ( $\bar{V}=cl-\bar{V}$ ); (2.1.2) ir po klitiko eina veiksmožodžio forma ( $\bar{V}=cl-$

V); (2.2) kai pirmasis klauzos žodis yra veiksmažodis (V=cl); (3) po veiksmažodžio formos, kuri nėra pirmasis kirčiuotas klauzos žodis (\_\_\_V=cl); (4) proklitikų ir enklitikų grupėje (Pro=cl).

Taip pat galimi 2 reti atvejai: a) kai klitinė įvardžio forma šlyja ne po pirmojo kirčiuoto klauzos žodžio, kuris yra ne veiksmažodžio forma; b) preverbalinė klitinio įvardžio pozicija (cl=V).

4.1. Žodžio morfeminėje struktūroje yra daugiau nei 60 % klitinių įvardžių pavyzdžių (iš visų galimų). Tokių atvejų skaičius XVI, XVII ir XVIII a. šaltiniuose skiriasi – palaipsniui jų daugėja: XVI a. šios formos tesudaro kiek daugiau nei 28 %, XVII a. – daugiau nei 57 % atvejų, o XVIII a. – jau 87,6 % atvejų.

4.2. Wackernagelio dėsnio pozicijos formos XVI–XVIII a. raštuose sudaro daugiau nei 18 %, dvejopai galimos vertinti formos – 65,3 %. Postverbalinėje pozicijoje rasta daugiau nei 15 %, preverbalinėje – 0,3 % atvejų. 0,4 % formų eina ne po pirmojo kirčiuoto klauzos žodžio, kuris yra ne veiksmažodžio forma:

	Wackernagelio dėsnio pozicija	Dvejopa interpretacija	Postverbalinė pozicija	Preverbalinė pozicija	Ne Wackernagelio dėsnio pozicija
XVI a.	1,2 % (7)	87,8 % (323)	11 % (42)	-	-
XVII a.	29,3 % (206)	52,6 % (371)	17,4 % (123)	-	0,7 % (5)
XVIII a.	1,5 % (1)	73,5 % (47)	20,3 % (13)	4,7 % (3)	-

5. Teikiami duomenys rodo, kad lietuvių senuosiuose raštuose egzistavo ir antrosios pozicijos, ir veiksmažodiniai klitikai – fiksuojama nestabili sistema, tarsi pereinamasis laikotarpis, po kurio galėtų susiformuoti vienodesnė ar stabilesnė minėtų formų vartoseną. Keli preverbalinės pozicijos atvejai ir pavyzdžiai, kai klitinė įvardžio forma šlyja ne po pirmojo kirčiuoto klauzos žodžio, kuris yra ne veiksmažodžio forma, sustiprina nestabilios sistemos įspūdį.

6. Panašiai, kaip ir slavų kalbose, lietuvių kalbos senuosiuose raštuose klitiniai įvardžiai rodo stiprią tendenciją eiti greta veiksmažodžio lyčių (87,6 % atvejų). Atkreiptinas dėmesys į polinkį šiuos klitikus vartoti su liepiamosios nuosakos formomis (daugiau nei 49 % visų šeimininkų (veiksmažodžio ir ne veiksmažodžio formų) atvejų).

XVI a. klitinių įvardžių formų šeimininkas dažniausiai yra veiksmažodžio forma (83,9 % atvejų). Kelis kartus klitikas šlyja prie dalelytės, jungtuko, interjekcijos ir įvardžio *tasai* (iš viso 7 pavyzdžiai).

XVII a. taip pat daugiausiai (79,5 % atvejų) klitinių įvardžių šlyja prie veiksmažodžio lyčių. Atkreiptinas dėmesys į tai, kad „Knygos nobažnystės“ ir Chilinskio Biblijos vertimo klitiniai įvardžiai linkę šlyti prie įvairesnių šeimininkų (ne tik prie veiksmažodžio (ChB — 72 %, KN — 71 %), bet ir daiktavardžio, įvardžio, būdvardžio,rieveksmio, prielinksnio, dalelytės, jungtuko (ChB — 18 %, KN — 29 %)).

XVIII a., klitinės įvardžių formos išskirtinai jungiasi prie veiksmažodžio (294 iš 295 atvejų).

7. To paties teksto ar tekstų rinkinio skirtingų laikotarpių leidimuose pastebėtos kelios tendencijos:

7.1. Vienas iš pagrindinių redagavimo atvejų yra klitinio įvardžio pozicijos keitimas: žodžio galas → žodžio morfeminė struktūra (12 atvejų Rėzos psalmyne (lyginant su Bretkūno tekstu); 5 kartus klitinio įvardžio pozicija keista Kleino giesmyno leidimuose (RG ir ŠG)).

7.2. Užfiksuota pavyzdžių, kai klitinių įvardžių formų atsisakoma. Iš 140 Bretkūno psalmyno rankraštyje buvusių formų Rėzos leidime jų belieka 15, o 1728 m. psalmyne — tik viena lytis. Slavočinskio giesmyno pagrindu parengtame „Balso širdies“ giesmyne iš 13 klitinių įvardžių formų liko tik 2 antrojo asmens lytys (greičiausiai ir jos paliktos nesąmoningai).

7.3. Išskirtinai Kleino giesmyno leidimuose klitinių įvardžių formos ne tik perimamos iš ankstesnių tekstų, bet vartojamos ir naujai pridėtose giesmėse. Iš to galima spręsti, kad tokiems tekstams kurti šios formos buvo parankios.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF DISSERTATION

Razanovaitė Aukšė 2010, Apie lietuvių senųjų raštų atoninę įvardžio formą *te*, *Baltistica* 45(2), 261–264.

Razanovaitė Aukšė 2011, Klitinių įvardžių formos Mažosios Lietuvos XVI– XVIII a. Psalmynuose, in Jowita Niewulis-Grablunas, Justyna Prusinowska, Ewa Styczyńska-Hodyl (eds.), *Perspectives of Baltic Philology 2*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Rys, 185–195.

Razanovaitė Aukšė 2013, Lietuvių vienaskaitos pirmojo ir antrojo asmens klitinių įvardžių formos XVI a. raštuose, *Baltistica* 48(2), 245–268.

## CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DISSERTATION

*Apie atoninę participinio įvardžio formą te ‘tave’*. 11-th International Congress of Baltistics “Past, present and future of the Baltic languages”, September 27-30, 2010.

*Klitiniai įvardžiai Mažosios Lietuvos XVI–XVIII a. psalmynuose*. International conference “Perspectives of Baltic Philology II”, Poland, Poznań, May 20–21, 2010.

*Personal pronominal clitics in Old Lithuanian*. International linguistic summer school Academiae Grammaticorum Salensis, Lietuva, Salos, July 29–August 4, 2012.

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