

Auxiliary Clitics in Old Russian Chronicles

The paper focuses on the historical development of Old Russian (OR) auxiliaries, more precisely, clitic auxiliaries. Auxiliary clitics constitute a seemingly insignificant, but at the same time widely used part-of-speech category in OR.

The first and second person present tense forms of the be-auxiliary were used to compose the perfect tense in combination with the I-participle.

Jakobson (1935/1971) was the first linguist to draw attention to the clitic character of auxiliaries. These forms are identified as enclitics by Zaliznjak (2008) as well. Zaliznjak distinguishes eight classes of clitics, which appeared – at least in early Old Russian - in a fixed order. The auxiliary clitics in question are: есмь (есми), еси, есмъ (есме, есмо, есмы), есте, есвъ, еста.

Although these auxiliaries were recognized as enclitics by Zaliznjak, their morphological and syntactic behavior raise doubts about their full-fledged clitic status:

- morphologically these elements have clitic status only in auxiliary function. The distinction between independent and auxiliary forms is not always straightforward.
- frequent non-2P distribution of clitic auxiliaries (e.g. they tend to follow pronominal clitics)
- they occupy the rightmost position in clitic clusters

The goal of the present study is to investigate the categorial status of auxiliary clitics.

Consequently, the investigation focuses on:

- the position of clitic auxiliaries within the sentence and in relation to their hosts and other clitics
- clitic auxiliaries with subjects, especially pronominal ones
- the loss of auxiliary clitics in the language of chronicles.

The investigation of clitics is carried out in the texts of six Old Russian chronicles: the Primary Chronicle (12th c.), the Kievan Chronicle, the Galician Chronicle (early 13th c.), the Volhynian Chronicle (late 13th c.), the Suzdal Chronicle (14th c.) and the Novgorod 1st Chronicle, or Synod Scroll (15th c.).

The research is conducted by using the Russian National Corpus. Research in the corpus facilitates the quantitative and the distributional analysis of clitic auxiliaries, which facilitates the monitoring of diachronic changes as well.

Works cited

Jakobson, R. 1971/1935. Les enclitiques slaves. Selected writings, Vol. 2:16–22.

The Hague: Mouton.

Jung, H. 2020 The be-auxiliary's categorial status in Old Russian // *Studia Linguistica* 74(3) 2020, pp. 613–644

Zaliznjak, A. A. 2008: Зализняк, А. А. Древнерусские энклитики. Москва.