

November 1, 2005

CLITICIZATION

1. MORPHO-PHONOLOGICAL CLITICS

Consider first English **reduced forms** holding of inflection and negation:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------------|-----|---|
| (1) | a. | John's (been) here. | a'. | John is / * was / has (been) here. |
| | b. | John's reading the book. | b'. | John is / * was reading the book. |
| (2) | a. | He'd bought the book (if...). | a'. | He had bought the book (if...). |
| | b. | He'd like to buy the book. | b'. | He would like to buy the book. |
| (3) | a. | I'm / You're / We're... | a'. | I am / You are / We are ... |
| | b. | They'll go to the beach. | b'. | They will / * shall go to the beach. |
| | c. | I've *(got) the time. | c'. | I have (got) the time. |
| (4) | a. | John isn't going anywhere. | a'. | John is not going anywhere. |
| | b. | They aren't here yet. | b'. | They are not here yet. |
| | c. | *I'mn't / amn't interested. | c'. | I'm / am not interested. |
| | d. | %I / ... / They ain't here here. | d'. | I / ... / They are not here. |

Some contractions are possible, others aren't (a **lexical constraint?**). Are these clitics?

- (5) *Phonological dependence on adjacent words* (Aronoff & Fudeman 2005: 35)

Clitics (from Classical Greek klinein 'to lean') are grammatical words that are unable to stand on their own phonologically, but must instead lean on another adjacent word. They must be incorporated into the prosodic structure of another word.

But the definition in (5) also includes **other prosodically independent words**, such as determiners and prepositions.

- (6) a. a beer, **an** apple, **the** book, **the** answer...
b. **on** Friday, **from** here, **to** there, **of** power...

Looking at clitics from a syntactic point will refine this view. The remainder of today's class will deal with a brief overview of different **types of clitics** and various **clitic-related phenomena** across a number of related as well as **unrelated languages**.

2. SYNTACTIC CLITICS

Inflectional clitics can have properties beyond simple contraction (though they might turn out inflectional after all...). Take, for example, **auxiliary clitics** in Slavic.

- (7) a. Pisao **sam** pismo. *Serbo-Croatian*
 write.SG.M AUX.1SG letter
 'I wrote a letter.'
- b. Juče **ste** čitali knjigu.
 yesterday AUX.2PL read.PL.M book
 'Yesterday you read a book.'
- c. Ovu knjigu **smo** već čitali.
 this book AUX.1PL already read.PL.M
 'We have already read this book.'

These languages also have **pronominal clitics**, that is, (heavily) reduced forms of personal pronouns, for example — just as Modern Greek has too (see next class?).

- (8) a. Mi **smo mu je** predstavili juče. *Serbo-Croatian*
 we AUX.1PL 3SG.DAT.M 3SG.ACC.F introduced yesterday
 'We introduced her to him yesterday.'
- b. Toj **ja** vidja včera. *Bulgarian*
 he 3SG.F saw yesterday saw 3SG.F yesterday
 'He saw her yesterday.'
- b'. Vidja **ja** včera. *Bulgarian*
 saw 3SG.F yesterday
 'S/he saw her yesterday.'
- c. Często **go** spotykam. *Polish*
 often 3SG.M meet.1SG
 'I often meet him.'

• 2nd position clitics (P2): "Wackernagel position"?

- (9) a. [Taj pesnik] **mi je** napisao knjigu. *Serbo-Croatian*
 that poet 1SG AUX.3SG write book
 b. [Taj **mi je** pesnik] napisao knjigu.
 that 1SG AUX.3SG poet write book
 'That poet wrote me a book.'
- (10) a. Knjigu **ću** čitati. *Serbo-Croatian*
 book 1SG.AUX read.INF
 'I'll read THE BOOK.'
 'It's the book I'll read.'
- b. Čitaću knjigu
 read-1SG.AUX book
 'I'll read the book.'

- (11) a. Zemi **ja!** *Macedonian*
 take it
 'Take it!'
- b. Zemajcí **mu go**, počna da bega.
 taking 3SG.DAT it began COMP run
 'Taking it from him, he began to run.'
- c. **Mi** najde brat mi.
 1SG.ACC found brother 1SG
 'My brother found me.'
- (12) a. Tóma-**lo!** *Spanish*
 take-it
 'Take it!'
- b. Tomando-**lo**, salió corriendo.
 taking-it went.out.3SG running
 'Taking it, he ran out.'
- c. **Me** encontró mi hermano. c'. Mi hermano **me** encontró.
 1SG found 1SG brother my brother 1SG found.3SG
 'My brother found me.' 'My brother found me.'

- clitic cluster: we often find a fixed order of the players involved

- (13) *li* (Q) > AUX > DAT > ACC > REFL > *je* (AUX.3SG) *Slavic*

Pronominal clitics are well studied, especially cliticized forms of **personal pronouns functioning as arguments**. They can be readily found in Romance varieties as well:

- (14) a. Pierre **les** a lus. *French*
 Pierre 3PL has read
 'Pierre has read them.'
- b. Non far**lo!** *Italian*
 NEG do.INF.3SG
 'Don't do it!'
- c. A Maria deu-**lhe** o que? *Portuguese*
 the Maria gave-3SG the what
 'What did Maria give (to) him?'
- b'. Non **lo** fare!
 NEG 3SG do.INF
- c'. O que **lhe** deu a Maria?
 to whom 3SG gave the Maria
- (15) a. Via-**me.** *Portuguese*
 saw-me
 'S/he saw me.'
- b. **Me** veía. *Spanish*
 me saw
 'S/he saw me.'

- (16) a. Não **o** tenho. *Portuguese*
 NEG 3SG have.1SG
 'I don't have it.'
- b. Quando **o** vendem?
 when 3SG sell.3PL
 'When are they selling it?'
- c. O armazém onde **os** compra.
 DET shop where 3PL buy.3SG
 'The shop where s/he buys them.'
- (17) a. Três homens **se** sentaram à mesa. *Portuguese*
 three men REFL sit to table
- b. À mesa sentaram-**se** três homens.
 to table sit-REFL three men
 'Three men sat down at the table.'
- (18) Mostra-**no-los-á**. *Portuguese*
 show-1PL-3PL-FUT.3SG
 'S/he will show it to us.'

In addition, Slavic languages have a (more or less obligatory) **question morpheme** *li* (= marking interrogative clauses) which bears the classic characteristics of a clitic:

- (19) a. [Na étom]_ω **li** zavode on rabotaet? *Russian*
 in this Q factory he works
 'Is it in THIS FACTORY / THIS factory / this FACTORY that he works?'
- b. *Na étom zavode **li** on rabotaet?
- (20) a. DAde **li ti go**? *Bulgarian*
 gave.FOC Q you.DAT it.ACC
 'Did she/he give it to you?'
- b. Ne **ti li go** DAde?
 NEG you.DAT Q it.ACC gave.FOC
 'Did she/he give it to you?'

So, how can we **define clitics** beyond their prosodic deficiency?

(21) *Syntactic properties of clitics* (Kayne 1989)

- i. a clitic is one word long
- ii. a clitic never bears stress
- iii. a clitic cannot be coordinated
- iv. a clitic must be adjacent to its host (= nothing can intervene)
- v. syntactic processes that affect heads can affect host and clitic as well

3. CLITIC PHENOMENA

Topicalization in English is quite simple: take the constituent you want to topicalize and front it. In many languages, this is achieved via so-called **clitic left dislocation**:

- (22) a. [A se stessa], Maria non **ci** pensa. *Italian*
of herself Maria NEG PART think.3SG
‘Herself, Maria doesn’t think of [her].’
- b. [A su hijo] ninguna madre desea que se **lo** regañe. *Spanish*
ACC her son no mother desires that SE 3SG.M scold
‘Her son, no mother desires that someone scold [him].’
- c. [Nadia] Ju ʔaalət-**la** l-mʕallme? *Lebanese Arabic*
Nadia what said.3SG.F-3SG.F.DAT the-teacher
‘Nadia, what did the teacher say to [her]?’

Another phenomenon is **clitic doubling**, where the clitic doubles/ is doubled by DP.

- (23) a. **Lo** vimos a Juan. *Spanish*
3SG.M saw.1PL A Juan
‘We saw Juan.’
- b. Juan **le** regaló un caramelo a María.
Juan 3SG gave a candy A María
‘Juan gave a candy to María.’
- c. *(**Le**) duele la cabeza a María.
3SG hurts the head A María
‘The head hurts María.’

- (24) **Kayne-Jaeggli Generalization** (Kayne 1975; Jaeggli 1982, 1986)
Clitics absorb Case and the object must be Case-marked by the preposition.

- doesn’t hold in: Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek

- (25) a. **Mi** ja dadoa smetka-ta. *Macedonian*
1SG.DAT 3SG.ACC(F) gave.3SG bill-DET
‘He gave me the bill.’
- b. Nemu **mu go** dadov.
to-him 3SG.DAT 3SG.ACC(M) gave.1SG
‘It was to him that I gave it.’
- (26) a. žéna-ta b. žená-ta **ti** *Macedonian*
wife-DET wife-DET 2SG
‘the wife’ ‘your wife’

Zwicky (1977) also presents a number of tests to **dissociate clitics from affixes**:

- i. *ordering*
- ii. *internal sandhi*
- iii. *bound vs. free*
- iv. *construction with affixes*
- v. *immunity to ellipsis*
- vi. *stress*

Some **theoretical issues** concern the following points (van Riemsdijk 1998):

- i. *syntax vs. lexicon, movement vs. base-generation, derivation vs. representation*
- ii. *the X-bar status of the clitic*
- iii. *the domain of the clitic-source dependency*

Klavans (1982) addresses some further **interface issues**:

- clitics have a double status: syntactic and phonological

Clitics are affixes which (usually) **attach to phrases**, not words...

(28) the King of Spain's daughter

...and there are **three parameters of position**:

- i. *initial / final: syntactically*
· cliticizes to 1st / last element of phrase
- ii. *after / before: syntactically*
· appears after / before the relevant element
- iii. *enclitic / proclitic: phonologically*
· attaches to element on its left / right

(29) a. She'd seen it. [ʃi:d]
b. Tom and she'd seen it. [ʃi:əd]

Possibly another theoretical issue (Spencer 1991): **cliticization vs. agreement**.

- i. *French clitics are pronouns (arguments)*
- ii. *complementary distribution with full NPs/DPs*
- iii. *clitic doubling: what does the preposition really do? [animacy / case?]*

(30) a. Yo **las** lavé todas. Spanish
I 3PL.F washed.1SG all.F.PL
'I washed them all (inanimate).'

- b. Yo **las** lavé a todas.
 I 3PL.F washed.1SG A all.F.PL
 'I washed them all (animate).'

- question: is *las* AGR in the inanimate example but ARG in the animate example?
- problem: clitic climbing usually assumed to be a test (AGR climbing doesn't exist)

- (31) a. Quiero ver-**te**. Spanish
 want.1SG see-2SG

- b. **Te** quiero ver.
 2SG want.1SG see
 'I want to see you.'

- (32) a. Nik [zu ikusi] nahi zait-**u-t**. Basque
 1SG-ERG 2SG.ABS see want AUX-2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG
 'I want to see you.'

- b. Nik [etxera joan] nahi d-**u-t** / *Ø-naiz.
 1SG.ERG house.to go want AUX-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG / *AUX-1SG.ABS
 'I want to go home.'

- (33) a. Njũchi zi-ná-lúm-a alenje. Chicheŵa
 bees SUBJ-PAST-bite-INDIC hunters
 'The bees bit the hunters.'

- b. Njũchi zi-ná-**wá**-lúm-a alenje.
 bees SUBJ-PAST-OBJ-bite-INDIC hunters
 'The bees bit them, the hunters.'

- open: this and many other issues (*subject vs. object clitics, pronominal tripartition...*)

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