

**ERROR ANALYSIS IN USING
CLITIZATION****Linguistics**

Keywords: Clitics, short forms of the verbs, personal pronouns, errors, etc.

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Abstract

To make this study as convenient as possible, I have approached it using a variety of research methods in order to make my point clear and concise. For a research to be appropriate and supportive to its aim, the author needs to provide enough data and analysis from various sources by exemplifying every major viewpoint regarding the topic. The research methods used in this diploma study are as follows: With the **descriptive** method I have attempted to describe systematically the phenomenon of clitization by providing information from various sources, be it books, research papers, etc. The main purpose of using this method was to describe what is prevalent with respect to the issue/problem under study, in a considerable amount of bibliography. The main emphasis with the **correlational** method was to discover or establish the existence of a relationship/association between two or more aspects of clitization. Finally, the **exploratory** method was used extensively by browsing various sites that deal with our subject in order to find and decide about what should be taken as a reliable source.

Introduction

Every aspect of grammatical analysis requires that we propose a specific approach in order to detect common patterns which will help us to better understand the problem at hand. As we are all aware, as we grow from child to adult, our language capabilities also pass through different stages of development that in the end we become more aware of language rules which in return help us to better articulate words. Clitics are some of the most unique language elements that require a more profound approach considering that it is very easy to mistake them as being affixes, thus resulting in various errors in their usage.

Our study will try to explain this subject by clarifying what clitics actually are? How they are formed? How they differ from other parts of speech or how they can interact with those parts? And, why we make certain errors while trying to pronounce them?

The study contains examples from other languages that are part of the English family, so we can make it easier to see where these languages differ in the field of clitics and where they can have some common aspects of Clitization.

I sincerely hope to have provided enough data and analysis to properly exemplify the subject matter, and believe it will be of benefit to anyone who wants to study English Grammar in general and Clitization in particular.

CLITICS, AN OVERVIEW

In English morphology and phonology, a *clitic* is a word or part of a word that is structurally dependent on a neighboring word (its *host*) and cannot stand on its own. A clitic is said to be "phonologically bound," which means that it is pronounced with very little emphasis, as if it were affixed to an adjacent word. Clitics are usually weak forms of functional elements such as auxiliaries, determiners, particles, and pronouns.

Examples and Observations of Clitics

Certain tensed forms of auxiliary verbs have, in addition to their weak forms, **clitic** versions, which merge phonologically with an adjacent word, their *host*. Thus, *we've* is pronounced like *weave*, and *he'll* like *heel*, while *I'm* rhymes with *time*, and so on. "The clitic forms of *am*, *have*, and *will* consist of a single consonant: /m, v, l/. In the case of *are*, it is not possible to give a satisfactory representation for the clitic itself, as the host + clitic combination may not be phonologically divisible into two corresponding parts."¹⁰

Clitics 's and 've

One interesting property of **clitics** that differentiates them from other affixes is that while an affix will be limited to attaching to a stem that is a particular type of lexical category, such as a verb, a clitic is not so limited. It can attach to entire phrases or even words with other clitics. Consider the English possessive clitic 's and verbal clitic 've in the following examples (which indicate things that can be said, even if they wouldn't necessarily be captured this way in orthography):

- The student's assignment
- The student of psychology's assignment
- The student that we invited's assignment
- The student dressed in red's assignment
- The student who went out's assignment
- The men's assignments have been done, but the women's've not."¹¹

Proclitics and Enclitics

There are instances where two words are combined without forming a compound in the usual sense. The negative word *not* and a relatively small number of frequently occurring words (mostly verbs) can be contracted and attached to other words. Usually, they are attached at the end as **enclitics**: *she's* (*she is* or *she has*), *don't* (*do not*). Occasionally they are **proclitics**: *d'you* (*do you*), *'tis* (*it is*). The combination of both types of **clitics** appears in *'t isn't*. Although they are not isolated orthographically or in other respects, we can regard these clitics as reduced forms of words."¹²

CLITICS AND AFFIXES

The distinction between **clitics** and affixes is naturally fluid: e.g. English *-n't* in *haven't* or *aren't* is a clitic by some criteria but has been claimed as an affix by others. So *to* is

¹⁰ Huddleston, R. and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002), *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, Cambridge University Press.

¹¹ Byrd, D. and Toben H. Mintz (2010), *Discovering Speech, Words, and Mind*. Wiley-Blackwell.

¹² Greenbaum, S. (1996); *The Oxford English Grammar*; Oxford University Press.

the boundary between clitics and full words: e.g. unstressed *to* is a clitic, by some relevant criteria, in *I have to* [haftə] *go*.¹³

Controversies with Clitics

In phonology, the prosodic structure of **clitics** is much debated. Mostly, clitics are prosodically deficient in that they fail to meet prosodic minimality conditions. For instance, unlike prosodic words, clitics need not consist of a full vowel. Moreover, clitics often exhibit different phonological behavior from other categories.¹⁴

From a morphological point of view, it is questionable whether a distinct morphological category of clitics is linguistically desirable beyond a purely descriptive means. In recent analysis, it has been proposed to accommodate clitics in one of the categories 'word' or 'affix'.¹⁵

The syntactic status of clitics is no less controversial. As for pronominal clitics, one of the main problems is whether they are arguments as proposed by Kayne (1975) and many others, or whether they are functional heads as proposed by, e.g., Sportiche (1996).¹⁶

TYPES

- Bound forms, like affixes
- Clitics attach to a host

–host+clitic = clitic group (phonological domain)

- Different types of clitics

–Syntactic positioning

- simple clitics
- special clitics

–second position clitics

–verbal clitics

–Position of attachment, to left or right of host

- host=*enclitic*
- *proclitic*=host¹⁷

Simple clitics

- can appear in the same syntactic position as a corresponding free form
- occupy the normal syntactic position for a word of their category

¹³ Matthews, P.H. (1997). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford University Press

¹⁴ Gerlach, B. and Grijzenhout, J. (2000). *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*. John Benjamins

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Various authors (2011). *Clitics*, Brochure.

English auxiliary verbs

- Many have full and contracted forms

-is, 's
-are, 're
-am, 'm
-has, 's
-have, 've
-had, 'd
-would, 'd
-will, 'l¹⁸

Some have only full form

-may
-might

Some have full and “reduced” forms

*-could *ʊ+, could *ə+*
-should [ʊ], should [ə]
*-can [æ], can *ə+*
*-must *ʌ+, must *ə]* ¹⁹

SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF ENGLISH CLITICS

English main vs. auxiliary verbs

- Some forms of main verb *to be* have contracted forms

-He is tall. He's tall.
-I am tall. I'm tall.
-You are tall. You're tall.
-My friends are tall. My friends're tall.

- No contracted form

- They required that he be tall.
*- They were tall. *They're tall.*

- Main verb *have* lacks contracted form, only reduced form *həs+, *həv+

*- He has two sisters. *He's two sisters. (*iəz+)*
*- I have two sisters. *I've two sisters. (*əjəv)]²⁰*

¹⁸ Various authors (2011). *Clitics*, Brochure.

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Various authors (2011). *Clitics*, Brochure.

English auxiliary and clitics

- Contracted and full forms occur in same syntactic position
 - I've never gone. (I have never gone.)
 - Tamara's going. (Tamara is going.)
 - Even the Queen of England's going. (Even the Queen of England is going.)
 - I'd've known it when I'd seen it. (I would have known it when I had seen it.)
- Contracted forms considered simple clitics (syntactic entities, but bound forms)²¹

Freedom of host selection

- Auxiliary clitic /z/ (3sg present form of *be*)
 - Host = N: *The cup's in the garbage.*
 - Host = V: *The cup you broke's in the garbage.*
 - Host = Adv: *The cup you broke yesterday's in the garbage.*
 - Host = P: *The cup you drank out of's in the garbage.*
- Affix /z/ pl.
 - Host = N: *The cups are in the garbage.*
 - Host = V: **The cup you brokes are in the garbage*
 - Host = Adv: **The cup you broke yesterdays are in the garbage.*
 - Host = P: **The cup you drank out ofs are in the garbage.*²²

Clitic-host combinations

- Supposed to be unrestricted
- Contracted auxiliaries
 - attach at the end of any subject NP
 - pronoun specific combinations; but for both full and clitic forms
- I am/'m
- he, she, it- is/'s
- you, we, they, y'all- are/'re²³

²¹ Various authors (2011); *Clitics*, Brochure.

²² Ibid

²³ Ibid

Trigger alternations

- Affixes may trigger ‘morphophonological or suppletive’ alternations in base
 - *knife, knives*
 - *specific, specificity*
 - *logic, logician*
- Clitics do not
 - *the knife’s not missing*²⁴

OTHER ISSUES

Many of the problems with clitics are essentially phonological in nature (how to get the phonology to treat two or more elements that appear distinct from the point of view of grammatical structure as one unit). The study of clitics was quickly complicated, however, by the suggestion that the same elements that displayed this anomalous phonological behavior also had specific, idiosyncratic syntactic properties. Jakob Wackernagel (1982)²⁵ proposed, following Delbruck (1878)²⁶, that the unstressed clitics of the oldest Indo-European languages (and thus, proto-Indo-European) occurred systematically after the first word of the sentence, regardless of their grammatical function.²⁷

This notion of a special syntax for clitics later became part of the very definition of “clitic” for some linguists, and much of the literature presumes that designating something as a clitic entails special behavior both in the phonology and in the syntax.

It is nonetheless useful to disentangle two distinct dimensions of “clitic” behavior, the phonological and the morphosyntactic, which turn out to be logically (and empirically) orthogonal. In the context of the present study, we are focused almost exclusively on the phono-logical aspects of clitic behavior, and references to “clitics” are to elements that display the relevant phonological properties (without regard to whether they display unusual syntactic distribution).²⁸

As a starting point, we can ask which elements we ought to consider as clitics from such a perspective. The notion of clitic in traditional grammar is that of a “little” word, and in particular one that does not bear an independent accent but rather leans accentually on an adjacent word. The proposal that clitics are always unaccented, however, is problematic.²⁹

The property of being a clitic in this sense, then, is not necessarily a characteristic of a lexical item, but rather of a phonological form which can realize that lexical item.

²⁴ Various authors (2011); *Clitics*, Brochure.

²⁵ Wackernagel, J. (1982). *Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. Indo-germanische Forschungen*

²⁶ Delbruck, B. (1878). *Syntaktische Forschungen, vol. 3: Die altindische Wortfolge aus dem catapathabra mana.*

²⁷ Anderson, S. R. (2010). *Clitics*, Yale University.

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Ibid

The same item may well have both clitic and non-clitic forms. The classic example of this is the case of the auxiliary verbs in English: many of these have both full, non-clitic forms (*is, has, had, would, will, etc.*) and clitic forms (*s, 'd, 'll, etc.*). From the grammar point of view, these are essentially free variants. If a reduced (clitic) form is chosen to lexicalize the auxiliary in a given sentence, however, this may result in prosodic ill-formedness, as a consequence of the impossibility of incorporating the prosodically deficient item into the overall sound structure of the sentence in a well-formed way. Apart from these differential phonological effects, however, the reduced and unreduced auxiliaries are instantiations of the same grammatical element.³⁰

HOW DO CLITICS DIFFER FROM AFFIXES – A DETAILED VIEW? THE MAIN REASON FOR ERRORS?

Although the characterization of clitics as prosodically deficient grammatical elements appears to capture the phonological dimension of their behavior, it does not pick them out uniquely in grammatical structure. With relatively few exceptions, the affixes found within words as formal markers of derivational and inflectional structure also lack an autonomous organization into prosodic constituents at or above the level of the *Phonological Word* (Pword), and the question naturally arises of how clitics and affixes are to be distinguished.³¹

The classic characterization of the issues involved is provided by the widely cited work of Zwicky & Pullum (1983), who enumerate a number of differences between clitics and affixes in defense of their analysis of English *-n't* as the realization of an inflectional category of modals and other auxiliary verbs rather than as a clitic.³²

- a. Clitics have a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts; affixes a high degree of selection.
- b. Affixed words are more likely to have accidental or paradigmatic gaps than host+clitic combinations.
- c. Affixed words are more likely to have idiosyncratic shapes than host+clitic combinations.
- d. Affixed words are more likely to have idiosyncratic semantics than host+clitic combinations.
- e. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but not groups of host+ clitic.
- f. Clitics, but not affixes, can be attached to material already containing clitics.³³

These points can be illustrated, following Zwicky & Pullum (1983), by the contrasts in between English clitic auxiliaries (e.g. *'s* 'is, *has'*, *'d* 'would') and the element they argue is an inflectional affix, *n't* 'NEG'.

³⁰ Anderson, S. R. (2010); *Clitics*, Yale University.

³¹ Anderson, S. R. (2010). *Clitics*, Yale University

³² Zwicky, A. M. and Geoffrey K. P. (1983). *Cliticization vs. inflection: English n't*; Language Magazine

³³ Anderson, S. R. (2010). *Clitics*, Yale University

a. These clitic auxiliaries can attach to words of any class that happen to fall at the right edge of the preceding constituent; *n't* can only be added to finite forms of auxiliary and modal verbs.³⁴

b. Combinations of clitic auxiliaries with preceding material are limited only by the possibilities of the syntax; some combinations of modal plus *n't* do not exist (e.g. **mayn't*, **amn't*) while one (*ain't*) does not correspond to a specific non-negative form.

c. Combinations of host plus clitic auxiliary are governed by the regular phonology of English as seen for instance in regular plurals and past tense forms with the endings /z/ and /d/; forms such as *don't*, *won't*, *can't* and *shan't* bear idiosyncratic relations to their non-negative counterparts.³⁵

d. Clitic auxiliaries make the same syntactic and semantic contribution to a sentence as full forms; auxiliaries in *n't* can have idiosyncratic semantics (thus, in *you mustn't go* the negation is within the scope of the modal, while in *you can't go* the modal is in the scope of negation).

e. Clitic auxiliaries do not move together with their host (thus, a question corresponding to *I think John's at the door* is *Who do you think's at the door?* and not **Who's do you think at the door?*) while the negated auxiliaries move as a unit (the question corresponding to *I haven't any more bananas* is *Haven't you any more bananas?* and not **Have youn't any more bananas?*).

f. While clitics can be added to other clitics (*I'd've done better if I could've*), *n't* cannot (thus, *I wouldn't do that if I were you* cannot be expressed as **I'dn't do that if I were you*).³⁶

Let us assume, then, that lexical elements appear in the input to the phonology with a certain amount of prosodic organization, and that non-clitics differ from clitics in that only the former are lexically organized into PWords. Clitics and non-clitics alike must be organized into *Phonological Phrases* (PPhrases) and perhaps higher levels of prosodic structure, though that is of less importance for present concerns.³⁷

This phrasing can be regarded as being projected at least in part from syntactic structure, but the question remains of how prosodically deficient material is related to adjacent PWords within this overall organization.

The categories of prosodic structure are generally assumed to be related in a hierarchical fashion, with syllables constituting Feet, which are parts of PWords, which are in turn grouped into PPhrases, etc.

The **Prosodic Hierarchy**: < Foot < PWord < PPhrase < IntPhrase. . .³⁸

³⁴Anderson, S. R. (2010); *Clitics*, Yale University

³⁵Ibid

³⁶Ibid

³⁷Anderson, S. R. (2010); *Clitics*, Yale University

³⁸Ibid

Clitics	Affixes
Freedom of host selection	No freedom of stem selection
Possible freedom of movement	No freedom of movement
Less prosodically integrated	More prosodically integrated
May be outside the domain of a phonological rule	Within the domain of a phonological rule
Do not trigger/undergo morphological or suppletive alternations	May trigger/undergo morphological or suppletive alternations
Clitic-host combinations do not have idiosyncratic meanings	Affix-base combinations may have idiosyncratic meanings
Do not have arbitrary gaps	May have arbitrary gaps

Table 1. Comparing Clitics and Affixes

The common thread that runs through these criteria is that affixes are associated with words and hence with the kinds of idiosyncrasies to which words are subject. Clitics, however, are associated with phrases and hence show the kind of regularity and well-behavior that we more usually associate with syntax.³⁹

Of course, this is just an approximate way of thinking of this difference: there are properties of words that are very regular, while there are also irregularities, exceptions and idioms in syntax. But the general trend is clear: idiosyncrasy and exceptionality is more typical of words than of phrases.

The first criterion states that affixes are choosy about the kinds of hosts they attach to, while clitics are not. We have referred to this lack of selectivity on the part of clitics as promiscuous attachment. Affixes usually attach just to a particular word class, and often only to specific subclasses of that word class.⁴⁰

Thus, it's impossible to inflect, for example, a Spanish noun as though it were a verb and vice versa, and it's impossible to give a 3rd conjugation Spanish verb exactly the same inflections as a 1st conjugation verb. Moreover, derivational affixes are also very selective. In some cases, the selectivity can be accounted for in terms of meaning, but very often specific affixes select specific types of base to attach to. For instance, the English suffix *-ness* attaches to a great many adjectives to give a nominal meaning 'name of the property denoted by Adjective'.⁴¹

But this suffix isn't used with certain adjectives, such as *sincere* (*sincer-ity*) or *warm* (*warm-th*). True clitics typically don't exhibit this selectivity. We've seen a variety of examples of this in a variety of languages (for example, the English possessive 's).⁴²

One important aspect of the syntax of pronominal clitics is their relation to agreement morphology (which often arises from the grammaticalization of clitic structures, of course).

³⁹ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012); *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁴⁰ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012); *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Ibid

For this reason, it will be necessary to review some of the key aspects of agreement against the background of clitic morphosyntax.⁴³

We will not try to summarize the various theoretical approaches to agreement (an excellent source for such information is Corbett 2006)⁴⁴ but rather we will point up those properties of agreement systems, especially the non-canonical agreement systems, that are most relevant for comparison with clitic systems, drawing preliminary comparisons with clitic systems. These comparisons will be expanded in the following section.

As we know pronouns are function words that typically reflect grammatical, morphosyntactic properties such as person, number and gender (as well as case, definiteness and a host of other properties). Now, when a pronoun such as English *she* picks up the referent of another noun it can be thought of as being the target of a special kind of agreement relation.

*The doctor walked in. She was wearing a white coat.*⁴⁵

We should point out that it is a little difficult to provide an exhaustive or completely coherent ‘typology’ of theoretical approaches to the problem of clitics. In part this is because different authors sometimes mean different things by ‘clitic’, so that the empirical bases are not always comparable. In part the difficulty is that a number of approaches adopt several different perspectives on clitics, treating them as properties of the interface between phonology, morphology and syntax (what Franks and King 2000 refer to as ‘mixed approaches’).⁴⁶ Finally, it is not entirely straightforward to identify a particular kind of approach with a particular theoretical model of grammar. This is particularly true where theorists deploy the machinery of Optimality Theory (OT).

A number of authors have made theoretical proposals that rely on clitics falling into discrete types, so we return to the question of what a typology of clitics might look like. We then briefly consider very general models of clitics as interface phenomena before looking in more detail at the way that clitic systems have been handled in morphological theory and in the three principal models of syntax.⁴⁷

When we consider the simple/special clitic distinction, it turns out to be difficult to find a set of clear-cut criteria that will reliably differentiate the two types. The problem is with the notion of syntactic distribution. The distribution of a simple clitic is typically determined in part by phonological factors such as sentence prosody (phrasal stress and emphasis) and pragmatic factors such as topic/focus articulation (itself often expressed in terms of prosody). At the same time, clitics often have phonological attachment properties of their own. In particular, we often find that a set of clitics is exclusively suffixing (enclitic) or prefixing (proclitic).⁴⁸

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Corbett, G. G (2006). *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

⁴⁵ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012); *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁴⁶ Franks, Steven, and King, Tracy Holloway (2000). *A Handbook of Slavic Clitics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁷ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012). *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁴⁸ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012). *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

More often than not clitics are enclitic. It's extremely hard to find good examples of pure proclitics. Anderson's (2005) survey of clitics only mentions proclitics twice, for instance, and he gives no examples of pure proclisis. But this means that the set of linear positions open to any clitic, even a simple one, is likely to be different from the set of positions open to a full-form corresponding word. An obvious example of this is provided again by the English auxiliary clitics. These are exclusively enclitic. However, English has an auxiliary verb fronting process which puts a finite auxiliary at the very beginning of a clause, in order to form questions and so on: *Is Harriet a linguist? Are you joking?*⁴⁹

These fronted auxiliaries can't be replaced by clitics because the clitic would have no leftward host. Actually, we've also seen that matters are more complex than this, since even when there is a potential host, a fronted auxiliary has to be in its full form: **But's Harriet a linguist?* This means that we will sometimes find that a given clitic is impossible in certain syntactic contexts simply because there's no way to realize the clitic prosodically.⁵⁰ In purely phonological/prosodic approaches clitics are regarded as phonologically aberrant words, and clitic placement is defined in terms of phonological phrasing. There is often a complex interaction between prosodic conditioning and information structure (topic/focus articulation). For instance, in defining 'second position' with respect to a prosodic phrase, we may wish to ignore a clause-initial topicalized phrase in computing the domain for second-position placement.⁵¹ In syntactic approaches, clitics are treated as a kind of function word (often as 'functional heads'). In transformational models, such as the Principles and Parameters model, they are moved from canonical argument/adverb positions in the syntax to their eventual resting places. Clitic positions therefore have to be defined in terms of syntactic positions.⁵²

As with phonological approaches, there are several senses in which we can speak of morphological approaches to clitic systems. The strongest sense of morphological approach is that in which all or a substantial number of clitic systems are treated as morphological phenomena, to be handled by the morphological component. This is the notion of clitics as 'phrasal affixes', as advocated most consistently by Stephen Anderson. We will call this the 'phrasal affix' class of models. In a phrasal affix model, clitics are regarded as aberrant affixes whose placement is determined with respect to non-morphological hosts (fully inflected words, edges of phrases, edges of prosodic categories). The details and specifics of such approaches depend on the approach to morphology generally.⁵³

The dominant approach to inflectional morphology within morphology as a subdiscipline is probably the inferential-realizational approach as advocated by Anderson (1992), Aronoff (1994), Corbett and Fraser (1993), Stump (2001), Zwicky (1985b) and many

⁴⁹ Anderson, S. R. (2005); *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁵⁰ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012); *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Anderson, S. R. (2005); *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

others.⁵⁴ The model of morphology impacts considerably on how we look at clitics, so it will be necessary to devote a little attention to models of morphology.⁵⁵

IMPORTANCE OF HOSTS AND HOST WORDS IN DETECTING ERRORS

As I hinted earlier, we also need to define the relationship between a clitic and the word to which it is affixed, its 'host'. In terms of morphology, it is part of the host - in short, cliticization constitutes a major mismatch between syntactic words and morphological word-forms. There are a number of reasons for believing that the clitic is part of its host, rather than remaining as a separate word form which happens to be next to the host:

- The phonology treats it just like an affix within the host. This is particularly clear with 'Z', which behaves phonologically just like the suffix {Z} in plural nouns and singular verbs. This similarity is as expected if its whole is an ordinary example of {Z} and is therefore morphologically integrated with the host.
- In some cases, there are interactions of form between the clitic and its host. This is easily illustrated from the possessive 'S because this interacts with a preceding plural suffix: *my father's mother* but *my parents' mothers*. In short, when the host already contains {Z}, the {Z} of the possessive merges with it. This would follow naturally from a general ban on two examples of the same suffix in a single word-form.
- Some of these interactions are irregular and must be stored. The irregularity is more characteristic of patterns found within words than between words, and indeed is more characteristic of inflections than of clitics. For example, the reduced auxiliaries of English have some irregular forms which are used only after specific pronouns (e.g. *you're*). We shall return to these and other examples below.⁵⁶

We must therefore assume that a clitic has an identifiable host, and that its own whole is integrated into a word-form which includes that of the host. What exactly is the relationship between the clitic and its host? Take *my father's mother*, for example. Traditionally the host is the full word to which the clitic is attached - in this case, *father*; but in that view, the clitic is still separate from its host rather than part of it. There are two ways to integrate the clitic morphologically with the host:

- The clitic is a part of the full word's whole, so the whole of *father* is not just {father}, but {father's}, containing the forms {father} and {s}.
- The clitic and the full word are both part of a larger word, so FATHER and 'S are both parts of a larger word FATHER'S, whose whole combines their respective wholes.⁵⁷

It may be that each solution can be justified in some circumstances, but for the following reasons the second solution seems preferable for the data I am aware of:

- If the clitic was part of the full word's form, combinations like *children's* (as in *the children's parents*) would be problematic, because they would contain a sequence of two suffixes combined at the same level. In general, English words do not allow this

⁵⁴ Spencer, A. and Luis, A. R. (2012); *Clitics – An Introduction*; Cambridge University Press

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Hudson, R. (2001); *Clitics in Word Grammar*, Routledge

⁵⁷ Hudson, R. (2001); *Clitics in Word Grammar*, Routledge

-there are no words whose inflection combines two suffixes (with the possible exceptions of *isn't* and *hasn't*).

- Clitics almost always combine with the entire whole of the full word - i.e. they are outside the inflections rather than mixed up with them. For example, in French when clitic pronouns follow the verb they follow all of its inflectional suffixes (e.g. *Donnezle-moi!*, 'Give me it!', where *donnez* contains the 2nd plural inflectional suffix {ez}).

This ordering suggests that the clitics are sisters of the full word, rather than parts of it.

- The second solution parallels the structures that we saw earlier for compound words, in which the word FIELD-MOUSE contains the words FIELD and MOUSE.⁵⁸

In conclusion, then, a clitic and the full word on which it 'leans' are both part of a larger word; so, in *my father's mother*, there is a larger word *father's* which contains two words: the full word *father* and the clitic 's'.⁵⁹

EIGHT PROPERTIES AND OTHER ERROR ASPECTS FROM DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

Following Hyman (2001), prototypical stress systems can be characterized by eight properties. First, the distribution of stress is usually culminative, i.e. there can only be one primary stress per word. Second, words constitute the lexical domain for stress placement. Third, the prototypical function of stress is demarcative in that it imposes a metrical structure at the left or right edge of a constituent. Fourth, stress is prototypically realized in a complex manner combining pitch, duration, and intensity.⁶⁰

Fifth, stress has a non-contained effect on phonology, i.e. the presence or absence of stress can affect segmental or tonal phonology. Sixth, stress is often affected by syllable weight, such that long vowels or closed syllables attract stress (Hyman 1985). Seventh, stress is often strongly integrated into the grammatical system of languages. Finally, stress rules differ from segmental rules in being hierarchically ordered (see also Hyman 1977 and Bybee et al. 1998).⁶¹ Previous studies on clitic production lead to the following generalizations: The data collected so far for all of these languages allow for some conclusions to be drawn regarding the nature of the problems in the acquisition of clitics. First, when children omit clitics, they do not do so because of the phonological deficiency of these forms. As shown in Jakubowicz et al. (1998)⁶², children omit accusative clitics in French but do not omit determiners with the exact same phonological form. Clitics are phonologically similar across languages, yet they are omitted only in some of the clitic languages.⁶³

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Hyman, L. M. (2001); "Tone Systems." In: Haspelmath, Martin et al. (eds.)

⁶¹ Bybee, J. & Paul H. (eds.) (2001); *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*, Typological Studies in Language

⁶² Jakubowicz et al. (1998); *Determiners and clitic pronouns in French-speaking children with SLI*, Language Acquisition

⁶³ Various authors (2015); *A Cross-Linguistic Study of the Acquisition of Clitic and Pronoun Production*; Routledge Online

Second, the rate and nature of clitic omission may be language-specific. For this reason, it is important to determine in which languages clitics are actually omitted, and at what rate. Take Spanish, for instance: while some authors claim that there is very little or no omission of clitics in the language, others contend that there is some, although the variety of Spanish examined in the two studies is not the same; the former is a study of continental Spanish and (i) Children omit clitics in some languages.⁶⁴

Broadly speaking, clitic omission up to at least 4 or 5 years is found to different extents for Catalan (European) Portuguese, French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as bilingual Spanish in contact with Basque.⁶⁵

In other languages, such as (Standard Modern) Greek, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, and possibly Spanish, children were found not to omit clitics from age 2.⁶⁶

Children tend to place their clitics in the correct position from the onset of clitic production. For instance, Guasti (1994)⁶⁷ shows that Italian children place clitics preverbally in declarative sentences, but postverbally in imperative and nonfinite contexts in a target-like way. Similar findings have been reported for other languages in which proclisis is the dominant pattern for clitic placement. As for predominantly enclitic languages, such as European Portuguese and Cypriot Greek, children are known to make placement errors, generalizing the postverbal position for clitics arguably beyond age 3 and a half.⁶⁸ In a few different places now, we've seen errors that children make during acquisition that seem to be based on a problem with *pragmatics* rather than with *syntax*. In Albanian, the success with the dative clitics and with the topical accusatives indicates that the children basically have the syntax down. The fact that they double the clitic with accusative objects too often appears to come down to them taking too many things to be "topics."⁶⁹ In the following diagrams we will display data from a research based on using clitics in Albanian which compares the correctness between children of different ages and adults:

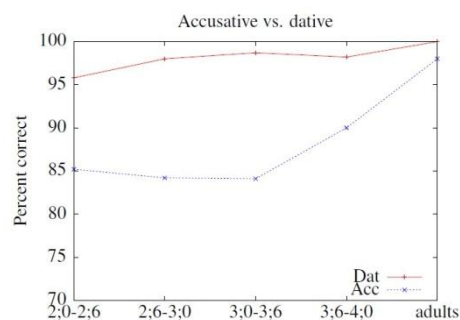


Fig. 1 Accusative and Dative Clitic Usage⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Various authors (2015); *A Cross-Linguistic Study of the Acquisition of Clitic and Pronoun Production*; Routledge Online

⁶⁵ Ibid

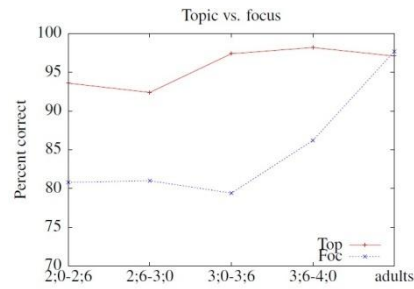
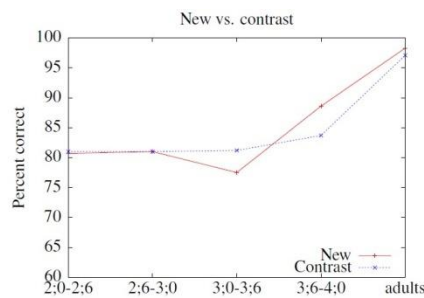
⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Guasti, M. T. (1994); *Verb syntax in Italian child grammar: Finite and nonfinite verbs*; Language Acquisition

⁶⁸ Various authors (2015); *A Cross-Linguistic Study of the Acquisition of Clitic and Pronoun Production*; Routledge Online

⁶⁹ Kapia, E. (2010); *Clitics in Albanian*; CAS LX 500

⁷⁰ Kapia, E. (2010); *Clitics in Albanian*; CAS LX 500

Fig. 2 *Topic and Focus Clitic Usage*⁷¹Fig. 3 *New and Contrast Clitic Usage*⁷²

CONCLUSION

To properly explain something, we need to give enough examples to support our goal so that the reader will have an overview and, at a certain degree, properly grasp the subject matter based on what he/she has been offered. This is exactly what I have tried to do in this diploma study; to evaluate clitics as language elements which require deep understanding of their linguistic nature, be it from phonological or morphological point of view.

Being multifaceted in nature, clitics are often hard to articulate and even distinguish from other parts of speech, especially affixes. The examples we have provided I hope to have explained these issues, which I believe all of us who speak English at a given time or place, are facing quite often.

My conclusion is that if we learn about the nature of these speech elements and if we try to speak more often in the target language, it will certainly be a lot more easy to not commit errors, at least not errors that are highly detectable and can be an obstacle to properly understand what someone is saying.

I don't suggest to have touched every detail pertaining the problem, given the time and scope of the research, however I hope to have paved a way for further research, especially in relation to Albanian cliticization, which I think will be a very beneficial asset in language

⁷¹Ibid

⁷²Kapia, E. (2010); *Clitics in Albanian*; CAS LX 500

analytics, mainly for the fact that personally, I found very little resources dealing with the mentioned problem.

However, it may be in the future, I, for myself, can easily say that my timereading about clitics was well spent and very interesting indeed.

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