Interfaces

• Modular theories of grammar

• **Lexical Integrity Hypothesis**
  Words are syntactic atoms.

• Clitics are subject to syntactic rules, but are prosodically dependent on their hosts

• *Simple* clitics alternate with a full word, *special* clitics don’t
  
  The salesman I warned you about’s at the door.
  The salesman I warned you about’s sample case

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Clitics

• Clitics are much more promiscuous than affixes

• Clitics also rarely have lexical gaps or idiosyncrasies

• Syntactic rules don’t treat words+clitics as atomic units

• Phonological rules sometimes treat clitics as separate words

• English reduced auxiliaries are simple clitics, but the contracted *n’t* is an affix

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Verbal clitics

• Unstressed pronouns often become simple clitics

  *Chris saw him.*  [səhɪm / səm / som]

• In some languages, unstressed pronouns become verbal clitics (Romance languages, Basque)

  *Martina legge il libro.*
  M. reads the book
  ‘Martina reads the book.’

  *Martina lo legge.*
  M. **CLACC** reads
  ‘Martina reads it.’

  *Martina legge lo

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Verbal clitics

• Verbal clitics don’t occur where a free pronoun would

• Clitics must be adjacent to the verb

  *Martina lo rapidly legge*
  M. **CLACC** quickly reads
  ‘Martina reads it quickly.’

• Clitics occur in a fixed order (which is not the same as the usual word order)

  *Martina mi lo spedisce*
  M. **CLDAT CLACC** sends
  ‘Martina sends it to me.’

  *Martina lo me spedisce*
Verbal clitics

- Clitics can't be conjoined
  
  *Martina mi e lo conosce
  M.  CL.ACC and CL.ACC knows
  ‘Martina knows me and him.”

- Clitics can't have scope over a conjoined verb
  
  Giovanni la desidera e la cerca
  G.  CL.ACC desires and CL.ACC looks for
  ‘Giovanni desires her and looks for her.’

- Clitics don't form an independent prosodic domain
  
  *Martina ha lo letto
  M.  CL.ACC has read
  ‘Martina has read it.”

- The order of clitics is fixed by a template, much like we saw with position class languages like Swahili and Navajo
  
  \[
  \begin{array}{ccccccc}
  \text{I} & \text{II} & \text{III} & \text{IV} & \text{V} & \text{VI} \\
  \text{mi} & \text{ci} & \text{si} & \text{lo} & \text{si} & \text{ne} \\
  \text{ti} & \text{la} & \text{gli} & \text{li} & \text{le} & \text{le} \\
  \text{le} & \text{le} & \text{ci} & \text{vi} & \text{vi} & \text{vi} \\
  \end{array}
  \]

Verbal clitics

- Verbal clitics in Romance languages don't behave like independent words

- But, are they special clitics, or are they affixes?

- They are relatively selective about what they can attach to
  
  L'articolo gli sembra incomprensibile
  The-article CL.DAT seems incomprehensible
  ‘The article seems incomprehensible to him.’

*Un articolo gli incomprensibile
An article CL.DAT incomprehensible
‘An article incomprehensible to him’

Un articolo incomprensibile per lui
An article incomprehensible to him
Verbal clitics

- There are also portmanteau clitics, special co-occurrence restrictions, and phonological irregularities
- E.g., a first or second person accusative clitic can’t occur with a dative clitic
  *Martina gli mi presenta
  M. CL.DAT CL.ACC introduces
  ‘Martina introduces me to him.’
  Martina mi presenta a lui

Phonological idiosyncracies

- Ti or mi becomes te or me before a clitic in l- or n-
  *Martina *ti/te la spedirà
  M. CL.DAT CL.ACC will-send
  ‘Martina will send it to you.’

- Martina *mi/me ne spedirà molti
  M. CL.DAT CL.PART will-send many
  ‘Martina will send me many of them.’

Left detachment constructions

- Dormire, dormo benissimo
  sleep(INF) sleep.1sg very.well
  ‘As for sleeping, I sleep very well.’

- Vedere Martina, la vedo ogni giorno
  see(INF)-CL.ACC CL.ACC see.1sg every day
  ‘As for seeing her, I see her every day.’

- *Vedere Martina, la vedo ogni giorno
  see(INF) M. CL.ACC see.1sg every day
  ‘As for seeing Martina, I see her every day.’

Verbal clitics

- Verbal clitics look like agreement markers in many respects
- But, verbal clitics are (usually) in complementary distribution with lexical arguments
  *Martina gli dà un libro a Paolo
  M. CL.DAT gives a book to Paolo
  ‘Martina gives him a book to Paul.’

- Right dislocation constructions are an exception
  Martina gli parla, a Paolo
  M. CL.DAT speaks to Paolo
  ‘Martina speaks to him, to Paolo.’
Special clitics

• Special clitics often attach to the verb
• They also sometimes appear in a fixed position in the sentence
• Second position clitics (Serbo-Croatian)

Marija-mu-je 
Maria.NOM-to.him-AUX gave 
book.ACC
‘Maria gave him a book.’

Njemu-je
Marija dala
knjigu
‘Maria gave HIM a book.’

Clitics

• Simple clitics are placed in the sentence following syntactic rules, but attached phonologically to an adjacent word (Stray Adjunction)
• Special clitics regularly show up in a few positions
• Klavans (1982) proposes a classification of special clitics using three features:
  • Initial vs. Final
  • Before vs. After
  • Enclitic vs. Proclitic

This generates the following typology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Initial Before Enclitic</td>
<td>Kwakwala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Initial Before Proclitic</td>
<td>Greek article</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Initial After Enclitic</td>
<td>Ngiyambaa enclitics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Initial After Proclitic</td>
<td>Tepecano an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Final Before Enclitic</td>
<td>Nganhcara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Final Before Proclitic</td>
<td>Sanskrit pre-verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Final After Enclitic</td>
<td>Spanish pronominal clitics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Final After Proclitic</td>
<td>Greek negative ou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clitics

- Klavan’s typology makes sense of why Wackernagel’s position would be so salient: Initial + After + En/Proclitic
- Some possible problems
  - Types 6 and 8 are only marginally attested, perhaps due to a preference for enclitics
  - Types 4 and 5 are very marginally attests
  - Variation in what counts as second position

Clitics

- Halpern (1995) instead explains second position clitics as prosodic inversion
- Clitics are always final or initial, and can be enclitics or proclitics
- Clause-initial enclitics become second position clitics when something moves before it to become a host, either syntactically or phonologically

Clitics

- Klavans tries to preserve second position by reference to discontinuous constituency
- But there is no evidence that that+book isn’t a constituent in Serbo-Croatian:
  
  Ovu knjigu-sam kupio
  this book-AUX bought
  ‘I bought this book.’

  Ovu-sam knjigu kupio
  *Ovu-sam kupio knjigu

Clitics

- Special clitics look a lot like phrasal affixes
- Classical Tibetan nominalizer -pa

  saṃsrayas-kyis tīhos bṣad
  buddha-ERG dharma.ABS tell
  ‘The Buddha taught the dharma.’

  saṃsrayas-kyis tīhos bṣad-pa-kyis dgeslo myapam-las ndas
  buddha-ERG dharma.ABS tell-NOM-ERG monk.ABS suffering-ABL pass
  ‘The monk entered nirvana because of the teaching of the dharma by the Buddha.’
Clitics

- Tibetan -pa can take scope over a coordinate clause
  
  ltaba yans-śiŋ spyodlam ḏib-pa-r mdzod
  view vast-CONJ conduct precise-NOM ADV cause
  ‘Make your view broad and your practice precise.’

- Tibetan -pa is also used to form relative clauses and complement clauses

- More like English that than English -ing

We’ve seen examples of phrasal Item-and-Arrangement morphology. What about phrasal Item-and-Process?

- Stress in Tongan falls on the penultimate syllable

- Except, Tongan definitive accent

  kuo maumau ‘a e sālioté
  PAST broke ABS ART cart-DEF
  ‘The cart is broken.’

  kuo maumau ‘a e sāliote ‘a Feletí
  PAST broke ABS ART cart GEN Fred-DEF
  ‘Fred’s cart is broken.’