

Cliticization in English

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1. Introduction:

This paper deals with cliticization in English which can be considered a new process. This paper includes a full identification for the term clitic and how this word is a grammatically independent and phonologically dependent one, and the process of reduction of the function words is called Cliticization, (Katamba, 1989: 174) . Schiering (2006: 11) states that the study of cliticization has its origins in the traditional of Greek grammarians, who used the term to refer to words which have no accent and which cause a secondary accent to be laid on the last syllable of the word which they follow. It has been analogously applied to a number of Latin particles which show a comparable phonological behaviour and have served as clitics ever since. The types of cliticization will be introduced in this paper. Besides, the auxiliary reduction and negative contraction will be included in this paper. Moreover, after identifying the term cliticization, this paper will answer the

following three questions: Why does cliticization occur? When is cliticization allowed? Where is cliticization allowed?

2. What is Cliticization:

Before defining the process of cliticization, there is a couple of keywords should be identified. The first word is the most important one which is *clitic*. Clitic means an unstressed particle which is attached to a host. (Katamba, 1989: 173).

Crystal (2003: 76) and Matthews (2007: 59-60) state that clitic is a term used in grammar to show the form that resembles a word (particle); but this word cannot stand alone as a normal utterance, which is phonologically dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a construction. The second one is the word *host*. Katamba (1989: 173), Crystal (2003: 221) and Matthews (2007: 178) show that the host is word or phrase to which an affix or clitic is phonologically attached, see the following example:

He is	→	He's
is not	→	isn't

The word *he* is the host for 's and *is* is the host for *not*.

So, by adding the clitic to its host we can get a process. This process is called cliticization. Cliticization is " the process of

adding a clitic to its host". (Kim, 1999: 430). Many linguists promote the definition for the process cliticization. Since this process is highly related to syntax but the term cliticization is a new one and it is stated by the modern linguists. Kelly (2000: 113) states that this process occurs when two words are combined to the text that the two are pronounced as one word or one syllable. He adds that this process becomes a common one in the written and spoken language. Cliticization is "a process by which one word attaches itself in a leech-like fashion to another" (Radford, 2004: 94-5). Carr (1993: 113) also has another identification for this process. He states that there is a type of boundary 'half-way' between a morpheme boundary and a full word boundary. Cliticization is the process often used by linguists to denote such forms. Kenstowicz (2008: 643) explains that in cliticization the words are monosyllabic ones. They cannot stand alone as phonological words, and he calls them *prosodic dwarfs*.

Therefore, there is a contraction when the clitic is attached to its host and there will be a reduction in these words. This reduction or contraction is called cliticization, see the following examples:

Host	Clitic	Cliticization
I	am	I'm

You	are	You're
Can	not	Can't
Would	have	Would've

Now, the following three questions should be raised. Why does cliticization occur? When is cliticization allowed? Where is cliticization allowed?

The answer for the first question is that in English there are some rules against the pronunciation of the function words. So, cliticization occurs to minimize the pronunciation of the function words. Some function words are reduced to unstressed weak forms and are cliticized to their hosts. The auxiliary verbs are considered function words and they are cliticized directly to their hosts. For example *have* becomes 've when it is attached to a host. (Kim, 1999: 430-1)

The answer for the second question (where is cliticization allowed?) is that cliticization occurs when function words are unstressed. The clitics are by their nature are unstressed weak elements. Therefore, cliticization occurs when they are unstressed and stress is a major factor in cliticization, e.g.

a- Mary is a good at hockey, and Jean is good at volleyball.

b- Mary is good at hockey, and Jean's good at volleyball.

It can be noticed that the auxiliary *is* is a function word and in the same time is unstressed so it is contracted. The same thing may occur in the examples following that the word *good* can be contracted. But here the auxiliary reduction is not allowed, e.g.

a- Mary is good at hockey, and Jean is _____ at volleyball.

b- *Mary is good at hockey, and Jean's _____ at volleyball.

Cliticization is allowed where a host and a clitic are in separate intonational phrases, even though they are adjacent. This is the answer for the third question. (Ibid: 432-5)

3. Types of Cliticization:

There are two types of cliticization; proclitic and enclitic. They are identified as follows:

3.1. Proclitic:

This type of cliticization is not common. Proclitic identifies the clitics "those linked to the word following". This means the clitic lies before the word. (Matthews, 2007: 59). Katamba (1989:174) also says that proclitic is a clitic which is attached to the beginning of the word. As it has been explained, this kind of cliticization is not common like the second one. Proclitic is commonly used in literature, specially in drama and poetry. Example on this type, the phrase *It is* is cliticized onto *'tis* in such a case.

3.2. Enclitic:

It is the most proper type of cliticization. Enclitics mean those clitics are linked, phonologically, to the word preceding (Matthews, 2007: 59). The clitic that is attached to the end of a word is called *enclitic*. For example *not* is a separate word in *she is not* but it will be enclitic in *she isn't*. (Katamba, 1989: 174)

Further examples should be noticed:

He is	→	He's
You are	→	You're
You are not	→	You aren't
I am	→	I'm

However, there are some restrictions for such kind of cliticization. Though the speaker can say *you're not* and *you aren't*, s/he cannot say *I'mn't* even if s/he can say *I'm not*. Such a cliticization is unusual. So, the speaker should be consistent in some cliticizations because there are some homophones and this will lead to misunderstanding. When the speaker says *she've*; this, of course, does not mean the English word *sheeve*. (Radford, 2004: 95)

The English auxiliary *have* is pronounced /əv/ during the process of cliticization. The word *of* has the same

pronunciation, which is /əʊ/. Cliticization in words like the following will make confusion for the beginners in learning English and even the native children, e.g.

could have	→	could've
should have	→	should've

The listener will have misunderstanding as *could of* or *would of* in the above cliticization. Thus the speaker should be consistent. (Kelly, 2000: 113)

4. Cliticization by Using an Apostrophe:

The elements that show the process of cliticization are two, auxiliary reduction and negative contraction, and both of them are marked, in cliticization, by using apostrophe. They are grouped as follows:

4.1. Auxiliary Reduction:

Since the auxiliary is a weak form, the reduction in normal speech is common. The auxiliary `reduction is mostly applied on the following; *to have*, *to do*, and *to be*. (Akmajian, et.al., 1995: 90)

Is and *has* are reduced to /z/, *would* and *had* are reduced to /d/, *have* is reduced to /v/, *am* is reduced to /m/, *are* is reduced to /r/, and *will* is reduced to //.

There is a restriction in the reduction of *will*, *have*, *am* and *are*, notice the following examples:

a- *John and you've got a lot in common.

b- *The players've been taken to the hotel.

c- *Ali'd like to be an ambassador of Iraq.

Auxiliary reduction does not apply to these forms when the host is not a pronoun, i.e. in such a case there should be a pronoun to be attached to the clitic. (Kim, 1999: 436-7)

Now, only *have*, *do* and *be* will be discussed because they have the most common cliticization in auxiliary reduction.

A- Have:

Radford (2004: 99-100) points out the uses of *have* fall into three classes: perfective *have*, the main verb *have* in its central sense of possession, and the main verb *have* in various restricted idiomatic usages. Forms of the perfective *have* is contracted freely, forms of *have* in its central senses is not normally contracted and the forms of *have* in its special senses is not contracted at all.

See the following examples:

a. They've seen a ghost. (*perfective have*)

b. *They've their car served regularly. (*causative have*)

c. She'd three students walk out on her. (*experiential have*)

In the first example, *have* is immediately adjacent to *they*, but *have/had* in the examples following are separate from *they/she*. One may face a problem in contracting the perfective *have* because it is positioned differently, depending on whether it follows a modal verb or not.

Examples:

They have seen a ghost. → They've seen a ghost.

They could have seen her. → *They could've seen her.

The position of perfective *have* in the first sentence is different from the position of the second one. as it has been said before, cliticization is a process used to minimize the pronunciation of the function words. Therefore perfective *have* is a function word and it is contracted to 've /v/. But the causative or experiential *have* is a content word and cannot be cliticized.

(Kim, 1999: 439)

B- Do:

Consider the difference in the following examples:

1. a. Who does that kind of work?

b. *Who's that kind of work?

2. a. What does that mean?

b. What's that mean?

The main verb *do* in (1) does not allow contraction, while the auxiliary *do* in (2) does. Thus, *does* in (1) is not adjacent to *who* to be cliticized. On other hand, in (2) *does* is adjacent to *what* and can be cliticized. The same thing with *have*, if *do* is a content word it will be stressed then cannot be cliticized. But if *do* is a function word it will be cliticized. (Radford, 2004: 140-1)

C- Be:

Kim (1999: 440) states that the verb *be* may be cliticized onto its host whether it is used as a main verb or an auxiliary verb. This is because both the main verb *be* and the auxiliary *be* is usually unstressed, unless it is emphasized. e.g.

He is coming.	→	He's coming.
He is criticized	→	He's criticized.
He is young	→	He's young.
John is reading the book	→	John's reading the book.
They are playing	→	They are playing.
I am writing	→	I'm writing.

4.2. Negative Contraction:

The negative contraction usually occurs in the enclitics. The contracted form of the negative *not* is *n't* as in the following examples:

- I did not say that. → I didn't say that.
- I will not go to college → I won't go to college.

The contraction of *not* is preferable when *not* is unstressed, but when *not* is stressed for emphasis, the contracted form is not required. e.g.

- I did not say that.

The stress in the above sentence means the speaker wants to emphasize that he *did not* say that. Therefore, when certain parts in a sentence are highlighted with a stress, the sentence will be split into more intonational boundaries. The same thing with the negative form. When the negative form is stressed, the negative form should be separated from the auxiliary, i.e. the word will not be cliticized onto its host. e.g.

- She is not studying.

(Kim, 1999: 442-4)

Zwicky and Pullum (1983: 506-8) claim that English *n't* is an inflectional affix as opposed to a reduced form of *not* derived

via cliticization. However, following through on the implications of this claim actually yields a new way to frame one of the main puzzles it purports to solve . The incompatibility of *n't* and reduced auxiliaries/ modals rather than an explanation for that puzzle. Zwicky and Pullum assumed that if *n't* is indeed an inflectional affix, then on the model of the grammar, negative and non-negative auxiliaries/modals should exist alongside one another in the lexicon. Take *has* and *hasn't* in the following sentences as examples.

- a. He has seen the light.
- b. He hasn't seen the light.

Zwicky and Pullum have set a table for all the auxiliary negative as follows:

No.	Auxiliary Verb	Transcription	Auxiliary after Cliticization	Transcription
1.	Do	/du/	Don't	/dɒnt/
2.	Does	/dʌz/	Doesn't	/dʌznt/
3.	Did	/did/	Didn't	/didnt/
4.	Have	/hæv/	Haven't	/hævnt/
5.	Has	/hæz/	Hasn't	/hæznt/
6.	Had	/hæd/	Hadn't	/hædnt/
7.	Can	/kæn/	Cannot Can't	/kænət/ /kænt/
8.	Could	/kud/	Couldn't	/kudnt/
9.	May	/mei/	-----	-----
10.	Might	/mait/	Mightn't	/maitnt/
11.	Shall	/ʃæl/	Shan't	/ʃænt/

12.	Should	/ʃʊd/	Shouldn't	/ʃʊdn̩t/
13.	Will	/wɪl/	Won't	/wɒnt/
14.	Would	/wʊd/	Wouldn't	/wʊdn̩t/
15.	Dare	/deə/	Daren't	/dernt/
16.	Must	/mʌst/	Mustn't	/mʌsn̩t/
17.	Need	/ni:d/	Needn't	/ni:d̩nt/
18.	Ought	/o:t/	Oughtn't	/o:t̩nt/
19.	am	/æm/	-----	-----
20.	is	/ɪz/	isn't	/ɪzn̩t/
21.	was	/wʌz/	Wasn't	/wʌzn̩t/
22.	were	/wə/	Weren't	/wɜ:nt/
23.	-----	-----	ain't	/eɪnt/

5. Properties of Clitics:

Clitics of English have some properties that are summarized as follows:

1. The first and the most important feature of clitic is the lack of independence. A clitic attaches to an adjacent word, known as its *host*. Orthographic conventions treat clitics in different ways: Some are written as separate words, some are written as one word with their hosts, and some are attached to their hosts, but set off by punctuation (a hyphen or an apostrophe, for example).
2. One common approach is to treat clitics as words that are prosodically deficient: they cannot appear without a host, and they can only form an accentual unit in combination with their

host. The term "**postlexical clitic**" is used for this narrower sense of the term.

3. They cannot be integrated into standard discourse without being bound to some other form.

4. They often have grammatical rather than lexical meaning.

5. They usually attach to the edges of words, outside of derivational and inflectional affixes.

6. Often attach to several syntactic categories of words such as head noun, non-head noun, preposition, verb, or adverb.

(www.wikipedia.org)

6. Distinction between Clitics and Affixes:

The distinction between the affix and the clitic is sometimes not easy to make, as clitics also have some characteristics of affixes. Here is a table that compares and contrasts clitics and affixes:

Clitic	Affix
Functions above the word level syntactically and on the word level phonologically.	Functions on the word level syntactically and phonologically.
May attach to words belonging to a variety of syntactic categories.	Attaches to words belonging to a single syntactic category.
May attach to words or	Attaches to single words.

whole phrases.	
Occurs at the edge of a word.	May occur within or at the edges of a word.

(Zwicky and Pullum, 1983: 506-10)

7. Conclusion:

It can be concluded that cliticization can belong to the approaches of syntax, morphology and phonology. From the syntactic view point, the clitic which is attached to its host can be considered as a phrase as in *he's clever*. Morphologically, this phrase will be converted from two words into one as in *he is clever* is cliticized into *he's* which is treated as one word, i.e. the word boundary is concealed. Phonologically, the pronunciation of the clitic that is attached to its host will be changed as in the above example /hi iz/ will be /hi:z/. Another important thing is that the auxiliary reduction and negative contraction can be treated as subclass of the general process that is called cliticization.

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