Towards a typology of pronominal cliticization

Michael Cysouw
Zentrum für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS)
cysouw@zas.gwz-berlin.de

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1 introduction

This is part of an investigation into pronominal clitics, which attempts to unravel the grammaticalisation of verbal person agreement from erstwhile free independent pronouns (cf. Givón 1976)

There is a massive literature on pronominal clitics, though it almost exclusively deals with a single language (preferably European). A thorough typological investigation is still missing.

There are three big questions, I will here only talk about the third:

- Why do some languages have pronominal clitics and other not?
- In languages that have pronominal clitics: why do they occur in a particular sentence and not in another sentence?
- If a clitic occurs in a sentence: where does it occur?

Simplified drastically, there are two positions for pronominal clitics in a sentence:

- Wackernagel’s 2nd position (after first word, after first syntactic constituent, or after first phonological unit)
- Verb adjacent (preverbal, postverbal, or enclitic to the preverbal constituent)

I will here present various languages that use more than one position for their pronominal clitics, depending on the kind of sentence. I will argue that the host depends, in these languages, on the information structure of the sentence.

Pronominal clitics themselves are highly topical (given, old, expected) information. In search for a host to attach onto, these clitics are in these languages drawn to the contrary element in the sentence. The hosts often represent highly focal (new, unexpected) information.
2 Some European languages

In Standard Romance languages (Spanish, French, Italian), but also in standard Greek, Albanian (Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 450), and Macedonian (Franks & King 2000: 82-85) the unmarked position of pronominal object clitics is preverbal, except in non-finite verb forms like imperatives (though not always in negative imperatives), infinitives and gerunds.

(2.1) **Italian**

a. Gianni lo ha letto
   NAME 3SG.MASC.ACC has read
   ‘Gianni has read it.’

b. mangia-lo!
   eat-3SG.MASC.ACC
   ‘eat it!’

Some languages, areally at the fringes, have a different distribution of pronominal object clitics:

(2.2) **Cypriot Greek** (Terzi 1999)

Unmarked position of reduced pronoun is postverbal, as shown in (a) and (b), though preverbal/second position occurs:
- after factive complementizer *pu*
- after subjunctive marker *na*
- after sentential negation *en*, see (c)
- after WH-pronouns *pjos* “who”, *ti* “what”, see (d)
- after focused initial constituents, see (e)

a. poli anthropi panda kamnoun to sosta
   many people always do.3PL it correctly
   ‘Many people always do it correctly.’

b. touto to vivlio dose tou!
   DEM ART book give.IMP 3SG.DAT
   ‘Give this book to him!’

c. en ton iksero
   NEG 3SG.ACC know.1SG
   ‘I don’t know him.’

d. pjos ton idhe?
   who 3SG.ACC saw
   ‘Who saw him?’

e. tuto to vivlio su edhoken i Maria
   DEM ART book 2SG.ACC gave.3SG ART NAME
   ‘THIS BOOK Mary gave to you.’
(2.3) **European Portuguese** (Madeira 1992; Barbosa 1996; Rouveret 1999)

Unmarked position of clitics is postverbal, though preverbal position occurs:
- in embedded clauses: after complementizer *que* “that”
- after indefinite subjects: *ninguém* “no one”, *alguém* “someone, see (c)
- after quantified subject: *todos [X] “all X”, poucos [X] “few X”, see (b)
- after NPs with focus particle: *só [X] “only X”, até [X], “even X”, see (d)
- after preverbal adverbials: *já* “already”, *nunca* “never”
- with sentential negation *não*
- after initial WH-pronouns: *quem* “who”, *onde* “where”, *que* “which”, *o que* “what”
- after focussed constituents, see (d)

\[a.\] os rapazes ajudaram-me  
ART boys helped.3PL-1SG.ACC  
‘The boys helped me.’

\[b.\] todos os rapazes me ajudaram  
all ART boys 1SG.ACC helped.3PL  
‘All the boys helped me.’

\[c.\] alguém me ajudou  
someone 1SG.ACC helped.3SG  
‘Someone helped me.’

\[d.\] até o Pedro me deu uma prenda  
even DEM NAME 1SG.DAT gave.3SG ART present  
‘EVEN PEDRO gave me a present.’

(2.4) **Megleno Romance** (Barbosa 1996: 12-15, citing Campos)

In most situations full object pronouns are used. Reduced object pronouns occur:
- after subordinators/complementizers: complementizer *ca* “that”, relative pronoun *tsi* “who”, conditional *ácu* “if”, temporal/causal adverb *con* “when”, causal adverb *ca* “because”
- after subjunctive *si*, future marker *si*
- after negation *nu*
- after emphatic subjects (focus?)

(2.5) **Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Preverbal Clitics</th>
<th>Postverbal Clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian, Spanish, French</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypriot Greek</td>
<td>negation, WH-pronouns, focus, clause linkers</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Portuguese</td>
<td>negation, WH-pronouns, focus, clause linkers, adverbs of time indefinites, quantifiers</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 Pama-Nyungan languages
(for various surveys, see Capell 1967; Wurm 1969; Capell 1972; Dixon 1980: Ch. 11.3; 2002: Ch. 8)

Strictly syntactically organised cliticization in various forms:


B: Sometimes subject clitic on second position, object clitic on verb, e.g. **NHANDA** (Blevins 2001: 79-88)

C: Sometimes strictly verbal enclitics, e.g. **BIRI** (Terrill 1998: 25-27), **BARADHA** (Terrill 1998: 75-76)

D: Slight variation on verbal enclitics: enclitics to constituent preceding the verb, except in sentences with only a verb, as there is nothing preceding the verb. **KUGU-NGANHCARA** (Smith & Johnson 2000: 398-402)

Some other languages show interesting complications:

3.1 Ngumpin languages (North-central Australia)

A: Original pattern was second position cliticization

B: Innovation 1: pronominal clitics are added to a base (‘auxiliary’) forming an independent word. This word occurs in various positions, though it appears to favour first or second position.

C: Innovation 2: pronominal clitics are added to verb, independent of the position of the verb in the sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clitics on auxiliary</th>
<th>other hosts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngarinyman, Bilinara</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djaru, Gurindji</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbara</td>
<td>(almost) always</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.1.1) **DJARU** (Tsunoda 1981: 125, 256)

Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):
– after conjunction **da่da**
– after modal adverb **ara** “possible”
– after negation **wagura**, see example below
– after WH-pronouns
– after focused NP (only rarely found)

**wagura-lija**  **da่ra-man-inura**  ** subur gaarara ga nimbara**

**NEG-1DU.EXCL**  know-PAST-NARR  camp  east  down creek

‘We did not know the camp east down the creek.’
(3.1.2) **Gurindji** (McConvell 1996: 308-309, 318-319)

Conservative cliticization on first constituent (not on auxiliary):
- after subordinator/complementizer nyamu
- after sentential negation kula
- after initial WH pronouns
- after contrastive focus on first constituent, see (b)
- in swearing (not-literal conservative utterances), see (c)

a. *yirrap-ma ngu=* *rna-yina* *parik* *wanyja* *VRD-la*
   one mob-TOP AUX=1SG.S-3PL.O leave leave.PAST VRD-LOC
   ‘One lot I left at VRD.’

b. *yirrap-ma=* *rna-yina* *wart* *ka-nya* *murla-ngkurra*
   one mob-TOP=1SG.S-3PL.O back take-PAST here-ALL
   ‘THE OTHER LOT I brought back here.’

c. *mirnti* *kartak-marraj=* *pa-n*
   anus receptacle-LIKE=LINK-2S
   ‘You have an anus like a billy can! (swearing at someone)’
   (when an auxiliary would be used, it would be intended literally)

ad C: Verb attracts clitics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngarinyman</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mudbara</td>
<td>optional in imperative/hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinara, Djaru, Gurindji</td>
<td>always in imperative/hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malngin (Western Gurindji)</td>
<td>in imperative/hortative, future and past irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.1.3) **Ngarinyman** (McConvell 1996: 305)

*karnyi* *yi* *pina-ngka*
wood-1SO give-IMP
‘give me a piece of wood’

(3.1.4) **Mudbara** (McConvell 1980: 90)

a. *yali-ma* *pupa-ma* *wara* [da]-ka-li
   that-TOP fire-TOP care see-IMP-2P
   ‘you lot watch out for that fire’

b. *yali-ma-li* *wara* [da]-ka-li *pupa-ma*
   that-TOP-2P care see-IMP-2P fire-ma
   ‘you lot watch out for that fire’ (=a)

(3.1.5) **Malngin** (McConvell 1980: 92)

*Kayira* *yan-ku-lu-* *[da]*
north go-GUT-3P-(DOUBT)
‘they will (possibly) go north’
3.2 Kulin languages (West Victoria, Southern Australia)

A: Original pattern was second position cliticization
B: Innovation: verb became regularly placed in first position, with the clitic attached.
   Only a few kind of other elements could be placed in first position instead of the verb, viz. negative words, interrogative pronouns, and place/time adverbs

(3.2.1) Wembawemba, Wergaia, Madimadi (Hercus 1986: 50, 56-59, 92, 135-137)

‘It is a basic principle of Wembawemba that whenever words of the second class are used, that is interrogatives, negatives and demonstrative adverbs of time and place, they must take the position of the head word, which is otherwise generally occupied by the verb. The head word is the most strongly accented and important part of a sentence and the subject marker [enclitic] is normally transferred from the verb to it.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>dagina-nda ginmer bembeŋug bĩlu djeligdjelig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hit-1S DEM children stick.INSTR yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I hit these children with a stick yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>gumba-nda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sleep-1S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>wemba-nda gumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEG-1S sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I’m no sleeping’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.2.2) Wathwurrung (Blake et al. 1998: 77-80)

‘[enclitics] occur on the first word … in the clause. Wathwurrung is a verb-first language, but the negative word and various interrogative words usually occur in the first position and attract enclitic pronouns.’

(3.2.3) Woiwurrung (Blake 1991: 73-77)

‘However, it is likely that the bound pronouns could attach to the first word or phrase in the clause … Consider, for instance, the apparently inflected negative form [only one instance given] and interrogative forms [also only one instance given].’

(3.2.4) SUMMARY clitics not on the verb with:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woiwurrung</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun (only few cases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wathwurrung</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wembawemba</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun, time/place adverbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Various Pama-Nyungan languages (in South-Central Australia)

A: Clitic is attached to the verb, independent of its position in the sentence.
B: A few initial elements attract the clitic: mainly negative word and interrogative pronouns, incidental place/time adverb.

(3.3.1) Arabana-Wangkangurru (Hercus 1994: 264-266)
‘… the pronoun is enclitic to the verb, and the whole expression forms a unit … The verb need not necessarily be in a sentence initial position to attract an enclitic pronouns. … Apart from being enclitic to the verb, personal pronouns can be enclitic to the negative particles malyka/maltya and panta “failed to”, but only when these are in sentence-initial position. … The only other word which, when sentence initial, could attract an enclitic was minha “what”.

a. waru nhanhi-k’-athu
   long ago see-PAST-1S.ERG
   ‘long ago I saw it’

b. minha’-npa wangka?
   what-2S language
   ‘What language (i.e. “nationality”) are you?’

(3.3.2) Yura Languages (Hercus 1994: 265-266)
‘The languages … belonging to the Yura group, notably Kuyani, … have bound pronouns, particularly pronoun subject froms enclitic to verbs. They also make an optional use of bound forms following the initial word in a sentence, particularly if that is a negative or an interrogative.

(3.3.3) Southern Bagandji (Hercus 1982: 156-167)
‘… the bound personal pronouns in Southern Bagandji are normally atttached to the verb … This affixation takes place regardless of what position the verb occupies within the sentence. The only major exception is: when an interrogative adverb begins a sentence the bound personal pronouns are attached to that adverb.’

(3.3.4) Yuwaalaraay (Williams 1980: 51-53)
‘The bound pronoun forms attested in Yuwaalaraay occur almost exclusively on … the negative and interrogatives. … Both of these are sentence initial morphemes. … One instance of [initial] … expression of … place has also been noted. … There are instances of bound pronouns on morphemes [almost exclusively verbs] which are not sentence initial.’

(3.3.5) Summary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Clitics not on the verb with:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Bagandji</td>
<td>initial WH-pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabana-Wangkangurru</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuyani</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun, other words (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuwaalaraay</td>
<td>initial negation, WH-pronoun, place adverb (one instance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Munda languages

Subject marking either enclitic on the verb or enclitic on the preverbal constituent, though the exact conditions vary between the various languages. If the verb is the only constituent, it will always get the clitics (for a survey, see Pinnow 1966: 156-168; Bhattacharya 1975: 144-147).

(4.1) GUTOB (Zide 1997: 317-323)

Subject marking enclitic to the verb, see (a), except enclitic to these preverbal constituents:
– some WH-pronouns *uʤo* “when”, *muno* “where”, *mə* “why”, see (B)
– some adverbs *eke* “here”, *a* “now”, *begi* “quickly”, *dapre* “afterwards”

a. *jom-lai* bu-o-NI
   NAME-ACC beat-PAST-1S
   ‘I will beat up Jom’

b. NI uʤo-NI sorpei-o-bel-tu
   1S.PRON when-1S hand over-PAST-AUX-FUT
   ‘When will/do I hand over (the girl to the tiger)’

(4.2) KHARIA (Peterson in press)

Subject marking enclitic to the verb, see (a), except with a sentential negation: the negative word is placed preverbally and attracts the person marking clitic, see (b). Apparently not with question words, see (c).

a. *am-bar* hoka-te yo-te-bar
   2-2.HON 3S-OBL see-PAST-2.HON
   ‘you (polite) saw him/her’

b. *am-bar* hoka-te um-bar yo-te
   2-2.HON 3S-OBL NEG-2.HON see-PAST
   ‘you (polite) did not see him/her’

c. *ho* danote igu-ga tar-o-gur-e-ni
   DEM demon how-FOC kill-CAUS-fall-IRR-EXCL
   ‘How will we kill that demon?’
(4.3) **Bhumij** (Ramaswami 1992: 128-132, 143-151)

Enclitics appear to be rather free to attach to the verb, see (a), or to the preverbal constituent, see (b), though preverbal negation, see (c) and imperative verbs, see (d) always attract the clitic.

\[\begin{align*}
a. & \quad ai\-h\-ta\-ke \quad lel\-li\-a\-i \\
& \quad 1\text{S.PRON} \quad man\text{-ACC} \quad see\text{-PAST-IND}\-1\text{S} \\
& \quad \text{‘I saw a man’} \\
b. & \quad ai\-mara\-daru\-i \quad lel\-ked-a \\
& \quad 1\text{S.PRON} \quad big \quad tree\-1\text{S} \quad see\text{-PAST-IND} \\
& \quad \text{‘I saw a big tree’} \\
c. & \quad ka\-i \quad sen\-a \\
& \quad \text{NEG}-1\text{S} \quad go\text{-IND} \\
& \quad \text{‘I shall not go’} \\
d. & \quad dayakate \quad ai\-ke \quad madal\-rase \quad om\-a\-i\-me \\
& \quad \text{please} \quad 1\text{S.PRON-ACC} \quad apple\text{-juice} \quad give\text{-IND}-1\text{SO}-2\text{S} \\
& \quad \text{‘please give me apple juice’}
\end{align*}\]

(4.4) **Santali** (Neukom 2001: 113-114, 146-150)

Unmarked position of person marking is on the preverbal constituent (including negation, see (a)), except when there is no preverbal constituent, see (b), and in imperatives, see (c).

\[\begin{align*}
a. & \quad ba\-ko \quad badae-a \\
& \quad \text{NEG}-3\text{P} \quad know\text{-IND} \\
& \quad \text{‘they don’t know’} \\
b. & \quad met\-a\-pe\-kan\-a\-\bar{a} \\
& \quad \text{say\text{-APPL}-2SO-IPFV-IND}-1\text{S} \\
& \quad \text{‘I tell you’} \\
c. & \quad mas\-mit’ \quad gh\-ri \quad d\-h\-\bar{a}\-e\-\bar{a}\-pe! \\
& \quad \text{PTCL} \quad one \quad moment \quad put\text{-down}-litle-1\text{SO}-2\text{P} \\
& \quad \text{‘put me down for a moment’}
\end{align*}\]

(4.5) **Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Clitic on Preverbal Constituent</th>
<th>Clitics on Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gutob</td>
<td>WH-pronouns, time/place adverbs</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharia</td>
<td>negation</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhumij</td>
<td>negation, unmarked (focus?)</td>
<td>imperatives, unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santali</td>
<td>negation, unmarked</td>
<td>imperatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Iranian languages

A:  Iranian had originally Wackernagel-type object clitics: **Middle Persian/Parthian** (Boyce 1964; Brunner 1977)
B:  Some Modern Iranian languages have retained them: **Ossetic** (Abaev 1964: 126-127), **Pashto** (Tegey 1978; Roberts 2001)
C:  Most modern Iranian languages lost them, or have them affixed on the verb.

Some languages are inbetween second position and verbal enclitics:

(5.1) **Persian** (Majidi 1990: 119, 123)

Enclitic to the verb, see (a), though in colloquial usage attached to an intial WH-pronoun, see (b):

a.  *mî-bin-ad-am*
    DUR-see-3SG.NOM-1SG.ACC
    ‘He sees me’

b.  *kojâj-at*  
    *dârd*  
    *mî-kon-ad*
    where-2SG.ACC  
    pain  
    DUR-make-3SG
    ‘Where do you have pain?’ (colloquial)

(5.2) **Suleimaniye Kurdish** (Edmonds 1955: 497-499; McCarus 1958: 104; MacKenzie 1961: 78; Bynon 1979: 216 ff.)

The clitic is attached to the verb, but in transitive clauses the enclitic is found attached to the first word, though not all words can function as hosts. Possible hosts:
- negation, see (a)
- WH-pronouns, see (b)
- adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, preverbs can function as hosts (focus?), but not subject, prepositional phrases, interjections, conjunctions, see (c)

a.  *war-tan*  
    *nagirt*  
    *(leman)*
    NEG-2S  
    obtain  
    (from us)
    ‘you did not obtain is (from us)’

b.  *côn-tan*  
    *zani*
    how-2S  
    know
    ‘how did you know?’

c.  *márek-im*  
    *kus raping*
    snake-1S  
    kill
    ‘I killed a snake’

(5.3) **Northern Talysh** (Schulze 2000: 55, 53)

Enclitic most commonly on the preverbal element, marking focus on this element, see (a), (b). Incidentally, the clitic is also found on the first element of the clause, see (c).

a.  *de*  
    *cic-e*  
    *epist-a?*
    2SG.PRON  
    what-2SG  
    tie up-PERF
    ‘What did you tie up?’
b. *cay leng-on-*em epest-a
   3SG.POSS leg-PL-1SG tie up-PERF
   ‘I tied up his leg.’

c. *albahal-*em tifang ba po pekeru-i
   this moment-1SG rifle to down take up-AOR
   ‘In this moment I took up the rifle from below.’

(5.4) **Southern Tati** (Yar-Shater 1969: 155-157)
Appears to be highly alike to the neighbouring Northern Talysh.

(5.5) **Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Clitics on First Constituent</th>
<th>Clitics on Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>WH-pronoun (colloquial)</td>
<td>unmarked enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suleimaniye Kurdish</td>
<td>negation, WH-pronoun, focus(?)</td>
<td>unmarked enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Talysh, Southern Tati</td>
<td>focus (?)</td>
<td>on preverbal focus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 **Udi (Lezgian, Caucasus)**

Udi (Harris 2000: Ch. 3, 6) is exceptional among other Lezgian languages in having clitics (cf. Haspelmath 1993). Udi adds clitics either on (in!) the verb or on the preverbal constituent. The default position is on the verb. But enclitics are attached on preverbal constituent after:
– negative particle (in some conditions postverbal), see (a)
– questioned constituent
– other focused constituents, see (b), (c), (d)

a. *nana-n te-ne bubab-e p’a acik’alsify*
   mother-ERG NEG-3S find-AOR two toy.ABS
   ‘mother did not find two toys’

b. *äyel-en p’a es̱ ne-q’-e*
   chiled-ERG two apple take-3S-take-AOR
   ‘the child took two apples’

c. *äyel-en p’a es̱ ne aq’-e*
   chiled-ERG two apple-3S take-AOR
   ‘the child took TWO APPLES’

d. *äyel-en-ne aq’-e p’a es̱tux*
   chiled-ERG-3S take-AOR two apple-OBL-DAT
   ‘THE CHILD took two apples’

However, verbs in the imperative, future II and subjunctive attract the clitics also in those circumstances (Harris 2000: 118)

e. *baba-n es̱ nut ecuul-le k’wa*
   father-ERG apple.ABS NEG bring-FUT-3S house.DAT
   ‘father will not bring apples to the house’

**Summary**

<table>
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<th>Clitics on Verb</th>
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<td>Udi</td>
<td>negation, WH-pronoun, focus</td>
<td>unmarked, imperative, irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7 Sandawe (Khoisan)

In the realis (the situation in the irrealis is much more complicated), the pronominal clitic is attracted to the focus, see (a) (Elderkin 1986; 1991; Eaton 2001; 2002). The WH-pronoun also appears to attract the clitic, see (b). The situation with negation and imperatives is unclear in the sources.

\[ a. \] nam hótshò-sà à:mè
\[ \text{NAME what-3FS break} \]
\[ \text{‘what did Nam break?’} \]

\[ b. \] nam sòmbá úte-sà thìmè
\[ \text{NAME fish yesterday-3FS cook} \]
\[ \text{‘Nam cooked the fish YESTERDAY’} \]

**SUMMARY** enclitic on focus, WH-pronouns

8 Sonora Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan)

Second position clitics, except in imperatives, in which the verb attracts the clitics (Dedrick & Casad 1999: 242, 60, 92, 98).

\[ a. \] tú’uli-s-e’e ‘áa hi’ohte
\[ \text{pretty-ADV-2S able write} \]
\[ \text{‘you can write beautifully’} \]

\[ b. \] kát-te bit-wa-k
\[ \text{NEG-1P see-PASS-PRF} \]
\[ \text{‘we were not seen’} \]

\[ c. \] hai-sa-te ‘án-nee
\[ \text{how-Q-1P do-FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘what shall we do?’} \]

\[ d. \] bín-a’abo katé-'em
\[ \text{this direction-here come-2P} \]
\[ \text{‘You (plural), come here!’} \]

**SUMMARY** enclitic on first constituent enclitic on verb

| Sonora Yaqui | unmarked | imperative |
9 Focus hierarchy of clitic attraction

Summary of clitic-variation: Focus Hierarchy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cliticization away from verb</th>
<th>Strongest non-verb focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negation, WH-pronouns</td>
<td>inherent focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focused NPs</td>
<td>intended focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause linkers, Adverbs of time/place</td>
<td>stage setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite/quantified NPs</td>
<td>sentence operators (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... (?)</td>
<td>unmarked sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis, Future</td>
<td>focus on verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative/hortative</td>
<td>strong focus on verb</td>
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<thead>
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<th>Cliticization on the verb</th>
<th>Strongest verb focus</th>
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</table>

If there is some flexibility for the placement of pronominal clitics, they will be attached to the most focal element in the clause. As a pronominal clitic is highly topical (non-focal) marker, this combination is a juncture of opposites: the less focal element binds itself on the most focal element.

Most languages only use the extremes of the focus hierarchy: either only the strongest verb focus (imperative) has a special clitic placement or the strongest non-verb focus (sentential negation, WH-pronouns) has a special clitic placement. Some languages move further on the hierarchy, from either side.

Probably, there is a grammaticalisation cline, on which the patterns described in this paper represent the first stage:

Pragmatic host attachment (onto focus)

Syntactic host attachment (onto a position)

Morphological host attachment (onto a word-class ~ ‘agreement’)
10 References


