# Pronominal clitics and valency in Albanian: A computational linguistics perspective and modelling within the LAG-Framework<sup>1</sup>

Besim Kabashi

# 1. Theoretical aspects: Pronominal clitics and valency

When reading Albanian texts, elements like *e*, *i*, *ia* cannot be overlooked. If they immediately precede the verb or if they are part of the verb form in non-negated imperative sentences, they are instances of *trajtat e shkurtra të përemrave vetorë* [short forms of personal pronouns; Domi 1995; 1997]. Buchholz and Fiedler (1987) call them *Objektszeichen* [object signs], Kalluli (1995) names them *clitics*. Like Newmark, Hubbard, and Prifti (1982), we will use the term *pronominal clitics* (*pCls*).

# 1.1. Formal properties of pronominal clitics in Albanian

The following table gives an overview of the Albanian pCl forms:

Table 1. The personal pronouns in Albanian (left column) with their clitic forms (right column)

	1st Person			2nd Person				
	Sing	ular	Plur	al	Sing	ular	Plu	ral
Nom.	unë	-	ne	-	ti	-	ju	-
Dat.	mua	më	neve	na	ty	të	juve	ju
Acc.	mua	më	ne	na	ty	të	ju	ju

3rd Person

				Jiui	CISOII			
		Singular				Plural		
	Masc	uline	Femi	nine	Mascu	lline	Femi	nine
Nom.	ai	-	ajo	-	ata	-	ato	-
Dat.	atij	i	asaj	i	atyre	u	atyre	u
Acc.	atë	e	atë	e	ata	i	ato	i

PCls in Albanian indicate the person and number of the respective objects of the verb. They occur in dative and accusative case: dative pCls can be combined with accusative pCls. In most cases this results in *amalgamated forms* (*crasis*). For example  $m\ddot{e}$  and e amalgamate to ma. The combination of na with e, i, or u does not involve amalgamation but *concatenation*, in which case the dative precedes the accusative: na e, na i, and na u.

There are two morphosyntactic types of pCls: bound and free. *Bound forms* occur within positive (non-negated) imperatives after the verb stem (*enclitic position*). In the plural they appear between the verb stem and the suffix *ni*, cf. the following example:

Example 1. Pronominal clitics as bound forms<sup>2</sup>

(1)		sill	$V_{Stem}$	No pCl; Sg;	'bring'
	a.	sille	$V_{Stem}+pCl_{A}$	$pCl_A, Sg;$	'bring it'
	b.	sillma	$V_{Stem} + pCl_{D+A}$	$pCl_{D+A}$ , Sg;	'bring me it'
	c.	sillni	$V_{Stem}+ni$	No pCl; Pl;	'bring'
	d.	silleni	$V_{Stem} + pCl_A + ni$	$pCl_A, Pl;$	'bring it'
	e.	sillmani	$V_{Stem} + pCl_{D+A} + ni$	$pCl_{D+A}, Pl;$	'bring me it'

In cases with negation particles, pCls cannot occur as bound forms, e.g. Mos e sill! ['(You: Sg) do not it bring!', i.e. 'Do not bring it!'] and Mos e sillni! ['(You: Pl) do not it bring!', i.e. 'Do not bring it!']. As free forms, pCls always precede the finite verb (proclitic position). Word order in Albanian is relatively free. Therefore, both subject and objects may appear in front of the verb complex, which allows for a large number of different sentence patterns for a given verb; the order of elements within the verb complex is fixed. If all of these elements occur, they are in the following sequence: negation, future marker/modal verb, subjunctive particle, pCls, finite and non-finite verb. The subject can be deduced from verb inflection and thus be left out.

PCls in Albanian appear either in addition to objects in the sentence (*object doubling*) or they replace objects in the sentence, so that the objects themselves can be left out (*object elimination*).

# 1.2. Object doubling

The following example (2b) shows the doubling of the accusative object:

Example 2. Accusative object doubling<sup>4</sup>

(2)	S+V

Ne	shohim.
Subject:	Verb: Itr
N Pl1	Pl1 Ind Prs Act Nad
we	see
'We (are able to) see	

S+V+O<sub>A</sub>

I	1		
a. Ne	shok	im	studentët/ata.
	Verb:	Tr	O: A
			A Pl3 M
We	see		the students/them

S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V+O<sub>A</sub>

b.	Ne	i	shohim	studentët/ata.
		pCl: A Pl3		
	we	them	see	the students/them

<sup>&#</sup>x27;We see the students/them.'

The following example shows the doubling of dative (3, 3a, and 3b) and accusative objects (3a and 3c).

Example 3. Object doubling in dative and accusative<sup>5</sup>

(3) S+pCl<sub>D</sub>+V+O<sub>D</sub>+O<sub>A</sub>

Ne	и	dhamë	studentëve/atyre	librat/ato.
Subject:	pCl: u	Verb: Tr	O: D	O: A
N Pl1	D Pl3	Pl3 Ind Aor Act Nad	D Pl3	A Pl Det
we	them	gave	the students/ them	the books/ them

<sup>&#</sup>x27;We gave the students/them the books/them.'

 $S+pCl_{D+A}+V+O_D+O_A$ 

~	P - D A .	OD OA			
a.	Ne	иа	dhamë	studentëve/atyre	librat/ato
	we	pCl: <i>u+i</i> D Pl3 + A Pl3 them +	gave	the students/	the books/
	'We gave the students/them the books/them.'				

Sentence (3) has two objects, one in dative and one in accusative case, and one pCl in dative case, which doubles the dative object. Whenever the verb has a dative valency, the dative pCl cannot be left out, regardless of the presence of a dative object in the sentence. In sentence (3a), both objects are doubled by means of the respective pCls. Only one object is doubled by the amalgamated pCl in sentences (3b) and (3c). Object doubling is also possible in imperatives, e.g. *Sillma librin*! ['Bring+me+it the book!', 'Bring me the book!'], i.e. doubling of accusative object.

When the verb has a first or second person accusative or dative object, the pCls of the first and second person cannot be omitted, e.g. *Studentët të kuptojnë ty*. or *Studentët të kuptojnë*. ['The students understand you']. The form \**Studentët kuptojnë ty*. is ungrammatical.

# 1.3. Object elimination

If a pCl occurs, the corresponding object can be left out. This phenomenon has been called *Objektseliminierung* [object elimination] by Buchholz (1977), and Buchholz and Fiedler (1987). As there is no established English term, we will use the term *object elimination* as a translation of *Objektseliminierung*. Example sentences where the objects are left out are (3b) and (3c). A sentence consisting only of pCl(s) and verb can be syntactically well-formed, cf. sentences (4a) and (4b) in the following example, where the subject is optional.

# Example 4. Object elimination

(4)	$*S+V+O_D+O_A$			
	*Ne _	dhamë	studentëve/atyre	librat/ato.
	we	gave	the students/them	the books/ them
	*'We gave _ the	students/ther	n the books/them.'	

S+p(	$Cl_A+V$			
b.	Ne	i	shohim	
		them	see	
	'We s	see them.'		

The following patterns<sup>8</sup> are possible for doubling and elimination of accusative complements: S+V+O<sub>A</sub> (object without pCl), S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V+O<sub>A</sub> (object doubling) and S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V (object elimination). For dative complements, the following patterns apply: S+pCl<sub>D</sub>+V+O<sub>D</sub> (object doubling) and S+pCl<sub>D</sub>+V (object elimination). As shown in the examples above, these patterns can be combined with each other.

# 1.4. Pronominal clitics as valency fillers

Sentences (3b-c) and (4a-b) show the ability of pCls to function as *valency* fillers, as they can replace objects. The grammatical information of the pCl is sufficient to fill the valency of the verb; only the lexical content is missing, which has to be recoverable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context. Thus, if pCls occur, objects can be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical.

If objects are left out, the omission of pCls leads to the selection of a different valency pattern. This can (but does not have to) indicate the use of the verb in a different sense, cf. the difference of valency and meaning between sentences (2) and (2a), (2) and (2b), as well as in the following example adapted from Buchholz, Fiedler, and Uhlisch (1993):

Example 5. Different patterns/meanings of the verb flas<sup>9</sup>

(5)	S+V		
		Ai	flet.
		Subject:	Verb: Itr
		N Sg3 M	Sg3 Ind Prs Act Nad
		Не	speak
		'He speaks.'	

$S+pCl_D+V+O_D$						
a.	Ai	i	flet	atij.		
		pCl: D Sg3	Verb: Tr	O: D D Sg3 M		
	He	him	scold	him		
	'He scol	'He scolds him.'				
$S+pCl_D+A+V+O_D+O_A$						
b.	Ai	ia	flet	atij	një	libër.
		pCl: D Sg3 + A Sg3				A Sg1 M Undet
	He	him + it	promise	him	one	book
'He promises him a book '						

The role of pCls in the context of valency is different from the substitution of objects by pronouns, despite the fact that the pCls are short forms of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns, however, offer a more precise description of case and number (first and second person plural) and gender (third person singular) than pCls. First of all, the position of the pronoun is the same as the position of the object if a pronoun substitutes the object. A pCl has a fixed position in the verbal complex, regardless of the position of the object it replaces. While pronouns always replace objects, pCls are capable of either eliminating or doubling the objects they refer to. The appearance of the dative pCl is obligatory while the substitution of the dative object by pronouns is optional. The substitution of objects by pronouns does not change the structure of the sentence (which means the sentence matches to the same pattern), i.e. the O<sub>A</sub> is only realized by a pronoun instead of a noun phrase, but the pattern S+V+O<sub>A</sub> remains the same. If a pCl appears, however, the pattern is changed, e.g. from S+V+O<sub>A</sub> to S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V+O<sub>A</sub> or to S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V. As shown above, pCls and pronouns can (and in some cases must, cf. section 1.2.) occur together in a sentence.

As the dative pCl cannot be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical, it always shares the dative valency slot with the dative object if the object is present. The pCl fills the valency slot itself, if the dative object is eliminated. In the case of the accusative, there is one more option: the object alone fills the valency slot of the verb, the object and pCl share the valency slot, or the pCl alone fills the valency slot. Thus in this analysis, there is a minimum number of required complements of 1 and a maximum number of required complements of 2 for the dative and the accusative valency slot (by analogy to Herbst et al. [2004], where the minimum and maximum valency of each verb is indicated); cf. the patterns S+V+O<sub>A</sub>, S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V and S+pCl<sub>D</sub>+V for minimum, and S+pCl<sub>A</sub>+V+O<sub>A</sub> and

S+pCl<sub>D</sub>+V+O<sub>D</sub> for maximum complements.

The fact that the dative pCl is obligatory even if the dative object is also present can be accounted for using the concept of structural necessity presented by Herbst (1999), which means that it is obligatory only on the syntactic level, not as a lexical property. As pCls can be correctly predicted by a set of rules, they are no idiosyncratic properties of lexical units and thus need not be specified in the valency frame of a lexical unit. It is enough to specify valency slots such as dative or accusative. Object doubling is always optional on the syntactic level; here semantic factors (needed for lexical content) as well as pragmatic factors (emphasis) decide whether doubling takes place or not. Additional functions and properties of pCls will not be discussed here.<sup>10</sup>

The properties of the pCl in the context of valency can be summarized as follows: in case of object elimination, the pCls indicate the verb valency and function as valency fillers, whereas in case of object doubling, both pCls and objects share the valency slot of the verb.

## 2. Practical aspects: The computational model

The formalism used in the following computational model is Left Associative Grammar (LAG). 11 LAG was developed as a formalism for the SLIM (Surface compositional Linear Internal Matching) language theory intended to model and reconstruct natural language communication on a computer.

#### 2.1 The formalism

The formalism works according to the principle of possible continuations whereby every grammar rule concatenates the sentence start read so far with the next word. The result of this concatenation becomes the new sentence start to be concatenated with the next word again; this procedure is repeated until the end of the input is reached. For example the input a b c d is parsed in the steps  $a+b \rightarrow ab$ ;  $ab+c \rightarrow abc$ ;  $abc+d \rightarrow abcd$ , summarized as  $(((a+b)+c)+d) \rightarrow abcd$ . Ambiguities are handled by tracing several derivation paths in parallel. The most varied sentence types can be modeled with linear effort regarding complexity and parse time, because only the possible continuations matter in each LAG rule.

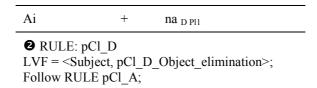
### 2.2. An example

Below, an algorithm for the treatment of dependencies between verb, pCls and objects is outlined using the sentence *Ai na i dha librat*. ['He gave us the books']. <sup>12</sup> It starts with the first word form and the matching rule *Subject* (start rule).

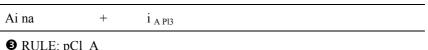
Ai<sub>N Sg3 M</sub>

• RULE: Subject
LVF = <Subject>;
Follow RULE pCl\_D;

The subject is added to the list of valency fillers (LVF). In case of an omitted subject, the algorithm starts with the next rule, i.e. the parser searches for a rule with a matching start pattern. *Follow* means continuations, i.e. the next applicable rule, in this case  $pCl_D$ . When reading a word form, information required for recognition of the verb complex and for dealing with valency and congruency is provided by the lexicon or a morphological analysis component.

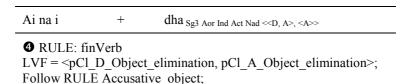


pCl\_D is added to the LVF and labeled Object\_elimination because the dative object can be left out. Since at this point it is not clear yet whether the actual pattern is elimination or doubling, the modification of the attribute to pCl\_D\_Object\_doubling can be done when a matching object is encountered. If no matching object is found, the attribute is just left at the value set here. Here, two non-amalgamated (concatenated) pCls are used to demonstrate the canceling (filling) of valencies (valency slots). Amalgamated pCls have to be analyzed in the morphology component.

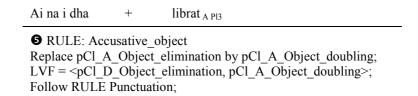


LVF = <Subject, pCl\_D\_Object\_elimination, pCl\_A\_Object\_elimination>; Follow RULE finVerb;

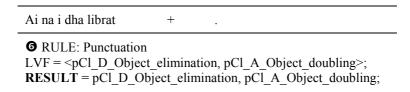
pCl A is added to the LFV just like pCl D in the previous rule, also with the Object elimination label.



The verb is read in and checked for agreement with the subject. The subject valency in LVF is canceled, the pCls, however, remain in the LVF because they can share their valency slot with an object and thus cannot be canceled before the respective object has been read or the sentence is finished. Because pCls always precede the verb, a (minimum) valency pattern that selects one or more of the possible lexical readings can be already constructed at this point.



An accusative object is read in and modifies the pCl A Object elimination entry in the LFV to pCl A Object doubling.



The end of the sentence has been reached, the result is in LVF: object doubling for accusative and object elimination for dative.

Only the path that actually parses this sentence is shown above; other possible pathes were left out. After various rule applications, several continuations (parallel paths) would be possible and would have to be tried out by the algorithm. For example, after the rule *finVerb* the sentence may continue with punctuation, dative object, accusative object, a preposition, an adjunct etc.

As demonstrated in the example model, valencies can be canceled immediately when a potential valency filler has been read. Another possibility is end canceling, where the properties of all word forms read are collected in attribute-value matrices and are not canceled until a punctuation mark signals the end of the sentence. This has the advantage of transparency when handling constructions such as subclauses with the verb in final position, but one disadvantage is that ungrammatical constructions may not be rejected before they have been completely parsed.

When reading amalgamated pCl word forms such as ma, ta, t'ia etc., it is important to read and process the individual parts of the morphosyntactic information, e.g. ma ( $m\ddot{e}_{D \, Sg1} + e_{A \, Sg3}$ ). In this way, an amalgam can replace one object (object elimination) and double another at the same time, cf. sentences (3b) and (3c).

The following figure shows an example of a morphological analysis of the imperative one-word-sentence *sillmani*. As shown under the *Clitic* attribute, the enclitic form ma has been recognized as an amalgam of  $m\ddot{e}$  and  $e^{13}$ 

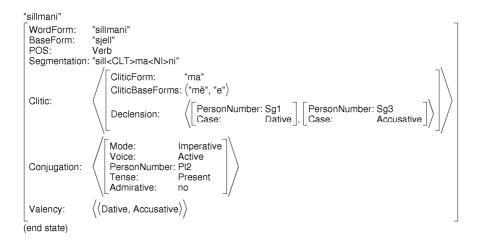


Figure 1. Morphological analysis of the word form sillmani from Kabashi (2003)

Here, valencies from the corresponding attribute are canceled with the matching cases from the clitic attribute *Declension*. It is necessary to check the information of lexical entries and morphological analysis to be able to select or construct the correct valency pattern, particularly with regard to the pCls that may be used with a verb. Information on possible valency patterns of a verb comes from its lemma in the base-form lexicon.

Figure 2 shows the result of syntax analysis and valency handling of the sentence Ai na i dha librat. treated above. The dative object is missing there, cf. the FilledValencyFromObjects attribute. A dative object was expected according to the verb's valency pattern but was not present. A dative pCl was found and thus the sentence can be analyzed as well-formed, cf. the FilledValencyFromClitics and the DativeSlot attributes. On the other hand the fact that both an accusative pCl and an accusative object are found, leads to object doubling, cf. the corresponding attributes, FilledValencyFromObjects and AccusativeSlot. The Index attribute indicates the position of a word form in the analyzed sentence. The actual pattern is derived from the attributes Clitic D, Clitic A, Verb, and Object A. The Meaning attribute contains the meaning of the verb in the currently selected pattern.

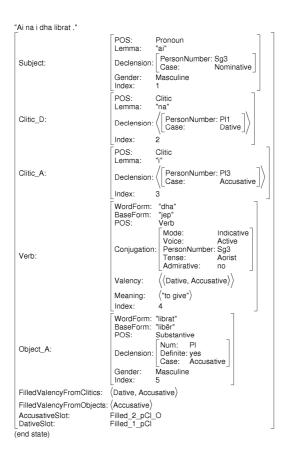


Figure 2. Syntactical analysis of the sentence Ai na i dha librat.

#### 3. Conclusion

Acting as object substitutes (object elimination), pronominal clitics determine the verb's valency and assume the role of valency fillers. They play an important role in distinguishing between various possible valency frames of a verb and thus between different meanings. In the case of object doubling, they merely function as semantic and pragmatic markers for their respective object.

PCls supply grammatical information that can be very useful both in natural language communication as well as in natural language processing, e.g. for processing discontinued sentences during turn-taking in dialogue analysis.

In spite of the treated phenomenon's complexity, an efficient implementation of a parser is possible using the LAG formalism. As shown in the algorithm, canceling (filling) of verb valencies (valency slots) is easily solved despite the multitude of possible combinations and the consequently large number of sentence patterns.

#### **Notes**

- 1. For comments on the draft of this paper I would like to thank Jörg Kapfer, Matthias Bethke, and Peter Uhrig (all Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg). Only the properties relevant to verb valency and computational modeling will be treated here. For further information on pronominal clitics left out here, see Buchholz (1977), Buchholz and Fiedler (1987), Domi (1995; 1997), Kallulli (1995), and Newmark, Hubbard, and Prifti (1982).
- 2. Here, the following abbreviations are used: A=Accusative, D=Dative, pCl<sub>D+A</sub>= Amalgam of pCl<sub>D</sub> and pCl<sub>A</sub>, Pl=Plural, Sg=Singular, and V=Verb. Forms like *silleni* have alternatives in the form *sillnie*.
- 3. In subjunctive clauses, pCls are positioned after the subjunctive and future particles and precede the finite verb. In this case the pCl can be combined with these particles in one word, e.g. the amalgam *t'i* consisting of the subjunctive particle *të* and the pCl *i*.
- 4. Act=Active, Ind=Indicative, Itr=Intransitive, M=Masculine, Nad=Not admirative, N=Nominative, O=Object, Prs=Present, S=Subject, and Tr=Transitive.
- 5. Aor=Aorist (definite past), and Det=Determined.
- 6. An exception is the reflexive use of verbs, e.g. Ai  $e_{(pCl: A)}$  lavdëron  $vetën_{(O: A, Reflexive)}$  ['He (him) praised himself.', i.e. 'He praised himself.'], vs. Ai e lavdëron. ['He (him) praised.', i.e. 'He praised him.'].
- 7. This term is described in Buchholz and Fiedler (1987) as *Vertretung des Objekts* (which might be translated as *object replacement* or *object substitution*).

- 8. As we focus on the influence of pronominal clitics on verb valency, only direct and indirect objects (without prepositions) are treated here.
- 9. Undet=Undetermined. Other patterns of the verb flas, e.g. pCl(s) + flas + preposition, and other meanings not presented in Buchholz, Fiedler, and Uhlisch (1993) are not treated here. For more patterns/meanings cf. Kostallari (1980), where the pattern/meaning from sentence (5b) is marked as a dialect form. Cf. also Qesku (1999). Toçi (2002) does not list this pattern.
- 10. Buchholz and Fiedler (1987: 445-446) have described a group of verbs which cooccur with "pleonastisch' verwendete Objektszeichen" ["pleonastically used" pronominal clitics]. These pCls are "nicht ... systematisch aus einem zur Grundstruktur gehörenden dir[ekten] Obj[ekt] ableitbar" [not derived in a systematic way from a direct object belonging to the base structure]. Thus sentences in which only one dative pCl would be expected can have two pCls or an amalgamated one consisting of a dative and an accusative pCl, like for example  $Ia_{(pCl: D+A)}$   $hipi_{(V)}$   $kalit_{(O: D)}$ . ['He mounted the horse']; in this example the subject is left out. These verbs cooccur only with specific lexical entries (and so they must be marked in the lexicon to be considered during automatic syntactic and semantic analysis). According to Buchholz and Fiedler (1987: 445), this group contains, among others, the following verbs: arrin, del, fillon, hipën, hyn, kërcen, mbath, merr, nis, pëlcet, shtron, and thotë.

PCls can also occur as ethical datives, cf. Buchholz and Fiedler (1987: 447–448). In this case, the verb valency must be treated differently as well.

- 11. For the formal definition of LAG see Hausser (1992; 2001a).
- 12. The version illustrated here is only a simple LAG. Information about valency in Database Semantics (DBS) can be found in the article Handling valency and coordination in database semantics by R. Hausser in this volume. For information on DBS see Hausser (2001b).
- 13. During the syntactic analysis both pCls would fill the corresponding attribute in the sentence structure while reading the verb.

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