

MORPHOLOGY AFTER SYNTAX: PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN ROMANCE

by

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(1984)

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

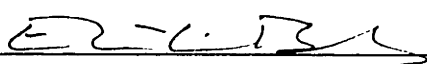
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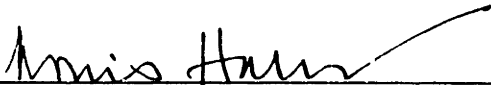
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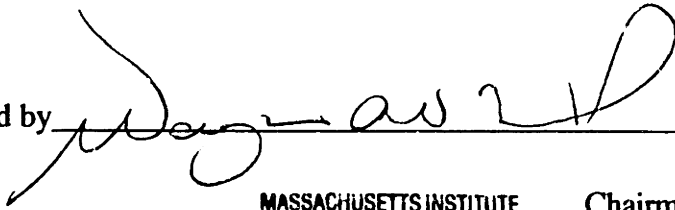
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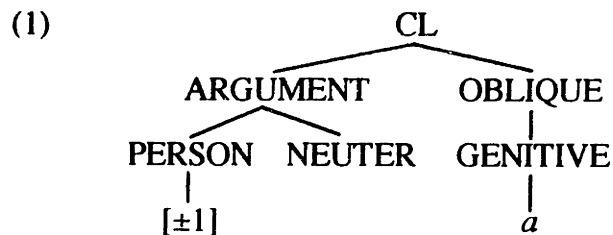
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is primarily concerned with non-transparent output forms in Romance pronominal clitic combinations. The position is taken that pronominal clitics constitute hierarchical structures of morphological features. Each clitic is a subset of the structure shown below:



In addition, clitics might contain an Agreement node, dependent on the most specific node dominated by [ARGUMENT], with the privative features [feminine] and [plural].

It is assumed, with Kayne (1975) and later work, that pronominal clitics are generated in argument position at D-structure, and are adjoined to an Infl node by S-structure. S-structure contains fully specified syntactic feature matrices, as argued for in Lumsden (1987). The morphological structures schematized in (1) are created in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology Component (cf. Halle (1989a,b) and related work). Within the Morphology Component, morphological rules might alter, in certain contexts, the original structure assigned to a specific clitic. In this fashion most non-transparent forms are derived, predicting that an important subset of the non-transparent output forms will have the same surface form as other clitics of the language instead of becoming an arbitrary

phonological sequence.

The surface order of clitics is established in the Morphology Component through the mapping to a template. Some other non-transparent forms are obtained at this point, when two clitics (or morphological features) compete for the same slot. Since only one of them can be mapped, the other one simply does not surface.

Phonological information, not present in the syntax, is introduced within the Morphology Component by spell-out rules, providing the input to PF, which deals only with phonological processes.

The type of account presented in this dissertation voids the need for filters that rule out sequences of phonologically identical sequences, criticized often in the literature.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the framework to be developed in later chapters. Assumptions and the basic mechanisms are laid out, and some specific examples are discussed. The appendix to this chapter contains arguments against a syntactic approach to clitic order and other facts related to clitic combinations. The arguments are drawn largely from Catalan.

Chapter 2 constitutes a detailed analysis of the clitic system of Barceloní, a dialect of Catalan. This dialect contains a considerable number of non-transparent forms. In Barceloní a very clear distinction is made, in terms of morphological behavior, between [PERSON] clitics (that is first person, second person, and reflexive or impersonal clitics) and other clitics. This split is manifested also in other phenomena which are analyzed in later chapters.

Chapter 3 contains analyses of phenomena from other dialects and languages which further illustrate the framework proposed. First, the clitic system of Valencian (another dialect of Catalan) is compared to the system of Barceloní. The second section is devoted to the differences between impersonal and reflexive clitics in Italian. Finally, an important part of this chapter is devoted to the Spurious *se* Rule of Spanish, and its consequences in several dialects.

Chapter 4 constitutes a description of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, which forces a direct object to be third person in the presence of a dative. This constraint is claimed to be universal, and some language-specific strategies to avoid it are examined.

Chapter 5 contains some concluding remarks, including some directions for further research.

Thesis Supervisor: Morris Halle

Title: Institute Professor

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This dissertation would have never been written if Mike Kenstowicz, on my dissertation committee, had not convinced me to look at the pronominal clitics of my own language. He was right in thinking that this topic could satisfy at least partially my curiosity about certain areas of the grammar. His help has always been extremely valuable to me, since I first met him in my first year in the United States, at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

One of the comments that Morris Halle, my thesis advisor, made to me in one of our appointments triggered the view later developed in this dissertation. Even though I have sometimes been puzzled by his comments and questions, I often realized later how important they were. His contributions to this thesis are so fundamental that it was hard to acknowledge them in footnotes. Morris is also ultimately responsible for the great time I had here. This department is what it is thanks to him, and it is a great department, in my opinion.

Once I read somewhere that nothing bad had ever been said about Ken Hale, and now I understand why. Moreover, I have never met anyone with such intuitions about language. I have benefited tremendously from his insights.

The other two members of my thesis committee, Jim Harris and Alec Marantz, have helped me until the last minute, in the middle of August, when everybody should have been on vacation. Jim, besides correcting my bad style in English, often reminded me about facts concerning Romance languages that I had totally forgotten. I also enjoyed the multiple discussions we have had in my four years here, in which I learned not to miss a step in the argumentation (he wouldn't let me). The only thing I regret about Alec is that I did not meet him until my last year at MIT. As should be obvious from the text that follows these acknowledgements, his influence in this dissertation has been considerable. I also want to thank him for a wrist pad that saved my back in the last weeks of tedious revising.

Richie Kayne sent me detailed comments on drafts of the first two chapters, and he did not mind spending more than one hour on the phone answering my questions on a subject that he knows better than anybody else. David Pesetsky has never let me down when I needed his help, in spite of his tight schedule.

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Rolf Noyer, my officemate, Michael Hegarty, one of my classmates, and Sabine Iatridou and Chris Tancredi, my housemates, have seen every single stage that my dissertation has gone through, and they always patiently listened to my complaints when nothing seemed to work, making the appropriate comments at the right time. To them I want to add Phil Branigan, who often helped me with his wide knowledge of the literature. I learned many things about morphology (and also about phonology) from my conversations with Rolf, and I hope he teaches me many more with his forthcoming dissertation. I also want to thank him for proofreading the first chapter.

Andrea Calabrese, Andrea Moro and Graziella Saccon convinced me that the pronominal clitic system of Italian is much more complicated than it appears at first sight.

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I know I am omitting many names. Some of them will appear in footnotes. Some others will have to remain in my memory.

Finally I want to thank my parents, Maria Alsina i Dachs and Francesc Bonet i Armengol, for their unconditional support. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my grandfather, Josep Alsina i Bofill, who first introduced me to the mysteries of language with his lively conversations, and who would have been a linguist if medicine had not existed.

Ziezo!

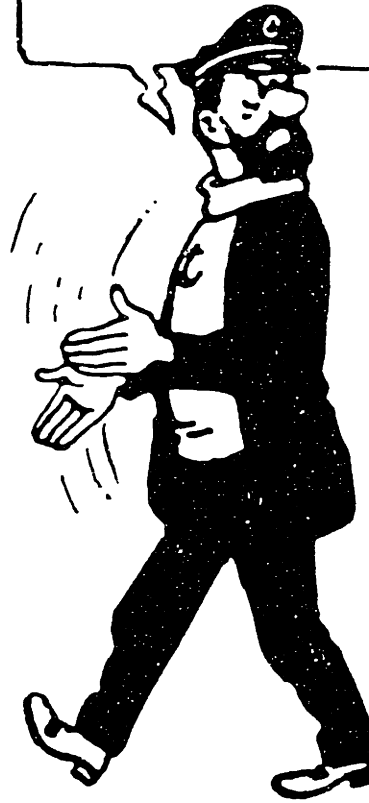


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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Romance pronominal clitics have been the object of many studies in generative grammar. The main topic of discussion has always been their syntactic nature, covering issues like their base position, their climbing properties, or their relation to Case and θ -roles.

This thesis is mainly concerned with combinations of clitics, not with the relation between clitics and their host, or the exact nature of cliticization (for this aspect, see Zwicky (1977), or Klavans (1982), among others). Two questions need to be addressed in this respect: 1) What determines the surface order of clitics? 2) How should one account for non-transparent surface outputs, and for cooccurrence restrictions in clitic combinations? The first of these two questions is discussed at length in Perlmutter (1971), and subsequent work. In that study the claim is made that it is impossible to account for clitic order with syntactic transformations, and that linear order should be determined through filters or templates, which operate at the output of the syntax. In the appendix to this chapter it will be shown that, under a slightly different syntactic framework --that of Principles and Parameters (see Chomsky (1981) and subsequent work)-- it is still the case that the linear order of pronominal clitics cannot be determined solely on the basis of syntax.

The first part of the second question, however, has hardly received any attention in the literature. It has been observed that, in certain combinations, one of the clitics involved does not surface with the same

phonological form it has in isolation or in other combinations. These facts have usually been accounted for with the use of rules like the ones exemplified in (1), below. These rules, however, fail to capture an important generalization: the phonological output of the rule always coincides with an independently existing clitic.

(1) a. Spanish Spurious *se* Rule (Perlmutter (1971), p. 22 (10))

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Dative} \end{array} \right] & & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{array} \right] & & \\ 1 & & 2 & \rightarrow & se, 2 \end{array}$$

b. Italian *si* → *ci* Conversion (Wanner (1977), p. 117 (26))

$$si \ si \rightarrow ci \ si$$

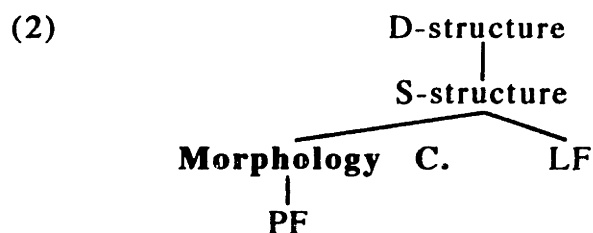
In (1a), the form *se*, which replaces the third person dative clitic, has the same phonological form as the reflexive or impersonal clitic. In (1b), the output form *ci* coincides phonologically with the first person plural clitic and with the locative clitic. In the formulation of the rules in (1) it is only a coincidence that the output clitics have the same phonological form as other clitics in the language. Nothing in the formalism would prevent the appearance of a sequence like *pa* or *den* in the output. Throughout this thesis other similar examples will be presented in which the output form is another clitic of the language in question. These facts are easily captured within the framework proposed in this thesis. As will be seen, it is actually impossible to account for a random output like *pa* or *den*, unless some stipulations are added to the system. In the main part of this chapter

I will sketch the framework to be developed in this dissertation. With respect to cooccurrence restrictions, I will argue that some of them are accounted for by what I call morphological rules, others being the product of more general constraints. In section 1.4 of this chapter I discuss several previous accounts of the issues addressed above.

One remark I should make at this point is that this thesis does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the pronominal clitics of the Romance languages. Rumanian, for instance, is not mentioned. Moreover I do not attempt to account for the clitic order of Italian, which is not at all a simple matter, and about which it is practically impossible to find any systematic descriptions. Even though I refer to several Romance languages, my main source of data is Catalan.

1.1. Assumptions

The model of the grammar I will assume in this thesis is basically the one proposed in Chomsky (1981) and subsequent work, with one major difference: between S-structure and PF there is an intermediate component, which, following Halle (1989a,b), I will call the Morphology Component. The organization of the grammar is given in (2), below:



In the model proposed here, PF deals strictly with phonology. It does not have all the properties attributed to it in Aoun *et al.* (1987), or similar work. Some of the issues that are dealt with in the Morphology Component are the ones mentioned earlier: the linear order among pronominal clitics and the occurrence of non-transparent forms in certain combinations. The internal organization of the Morphology Component with respect to pronominal clitics is the main focus of research in this thesis.

With respect to the syntax of clitics, I will assume the theory put forward in Kayne (1975) and subsequent work. According to this theory, most pronominal clitics are generated in argument position at D-structure, and are placed in Infl by S-structure, via head-to-head movement. This assumption is not crucial for the proposal made here. What is crucial is that the clitic be coindexed with an empty category in argument position, as will be shown later. Even though Kayne (1990) assumes that clitics always adjoin to the left of a head, this type of movement will be shown not to be enough to predict the linear order among clitics in most cases. Linear order is determined in the Morphology, in the present proposal.¹

With Lumsden (1987), I assume that by S-structure syntactic feature matrices are fully specified. Within the present theory, for instance, at that level a language that makes a morphological distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person is not any different, in that respect, from a

¹ This view is consistent with the position taken in Marantz (1984, 1988), according to which linear order is not established in the syntax, where only hierarchical relations are relevant.

In Kayne's theory (see, for instance, Kayne (1990)), the relative order between the clitics and the verb is derived syntactically: proclitics are the result of adjunction of the clitic(s) to the verb. With enclitics, the verb has moved beyond Infl, where the clitics are adjoined.

language that does not. The morphological "impoverishment" that languages manifest in many areas is determined in the Morphology Component.

Phonological information is not present in the syntax. This is also the view held in Pranka (1983), for instance, and it is also consistent with the phonology-free syntax advocated in the work by Pullum and Zwicky (see, for instance, Zwicky (1969) and Zwicky & Pullum (1986)). Within the present framework, all phonological information is introduced via spell-out rules late in the Morphology Component and provides the input to PF.²

The Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (cf. Lapointe (1980), e.g.) is not assumed in this thesis. Pronominal clitic clusters often surface as portmanteau forms, and are also subject to syncretism. Nevertheless, this is all derived in the Morphology Component, between S-structure and PF. Each pronominal clitic is generated as an independent head by the syntax, and is subject to movement. Clitics get together by syntactic movement; they are not base-generated as clusters at D-structure.³

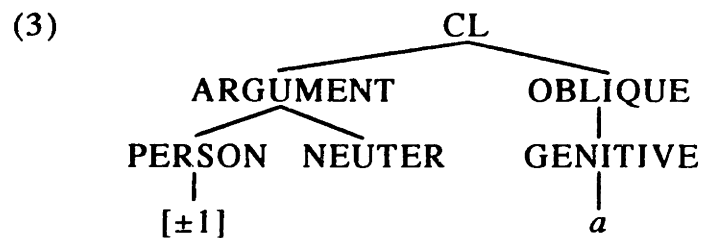
² This view is very different from the one taken in Bromberger & Halle (1989) and Halle (1989a,b). In their work a distinction is made between abstract morphemes and concrete morphemes. Abstract morphemes, but not concrete morphemes, lack a phonological matrix in the syntax. These differences are not relevant to the subject under consideration here.

³ Zwicky and Pullum propose an interface component which roughly accomplishes the same tasks as the Morphology Component advocated here. Because they assume the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, this component would be located between the lexicon and D-structure, in Principles and Parameters terms.

1.2. The Proposal

1.2.1. Morphological Structures

In the previous section, I mentioned my assumption that S-structure contains fully specified syntactic feature matrices. However, this information is not entirely preserved in the Morphology Component. Syntactic feature bundles are mapped into the Morphology Component as hierarchical feature structures.⁴ Some of the features are not mapped. My claim with respect to the pronominal clitics of Romance is that each clitic is mapped onto a structure drawn from the structure shown below:⁵



In addition, the clitics that project the node [ARGUMENT] (or [ARG]) can be specified for gender or number, in both cases through a privative feature: [feminine] or [plural], respectively. These two features are dominated by the node Agreement (Agrt). Agreement is not an identifying

⁴ Alternatively, one could say that the syntax also contains (much richer) hierarchical feature structures, which are pruned in the Morphology Component. I will not pursue this idea here. I assume that morphological features do not necessarily correspond to syntactic features, even though this is usually the case. See, for instance, my comments on the mapping of first person below in the text.

The idea that the set of features contained in the syntax is not necessarily identical to the set of features contained in the morphology is not assumed in work like Anderson (1989).

⁵ I owe to Alec Marantz the "feature-geometry" version of morphological features presented here.

property of clitics, and, as I will argue later, it is attached to the last node --the most specific node-- dominated by [ARG]. Reasons for the privative nature of [plural] and [feminine] will be given throughout this thesis. Now let us say only that there is no evidence at all for the presence of 'masculine' or 'singular'. The feature *a*, dominated by [GENITIVE] is discussed below.

The morphological structure above, as will be shown, also reflects markedness relations: the more complex in number of nodes the structure of a clitic is, the more marked it is.

In spite of the "phonological" appearance of the structure in (3), one should not compare it too closely with the feature geometry proposals in Mascaró (1983), Clements (1985), or Sagey (1986), for instance. In the present proposal, the nodes written in uppercase are defining properties of the clitics, while the information in lowercase refers to the agreement features (or other types of features) that the clitics can have in addition. The main purpose behind the structure in (3) is to reflect hierarchical relations as well as markedness.

Finally, I should say that names like [ARGUMENT] or [GENITIVE] should not be identified with their homonyms in syntax, even though they often bear some relation to them. The features I use are morphological features, not syntactic features.

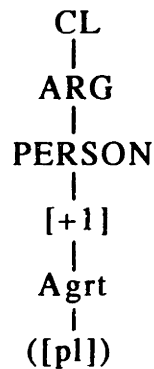
1.2.2. The Mapping from S-Structure to the Morphology

In order to illustrate how clitics are mapped onto the Morphology I include

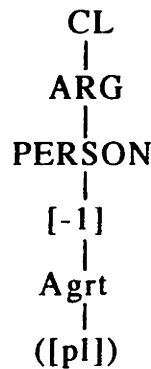
in (4) the morphological structure of the Catalan clitics, which are exemplified and discussed below. This mapping will be practically identical for the other Romance languages, but not necessarily for languages of a different family:⁶

(4) The morphological structure of Catalan clitics:

a. 1st person



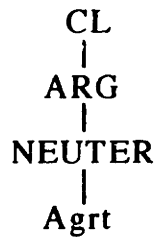
b. 2nd person



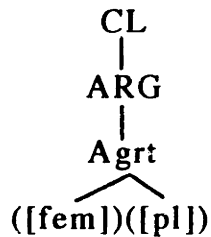
c. Impersonal/reflexive...



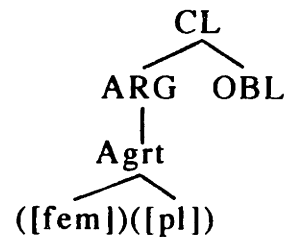
d. Neuter



e. 3rd person acc.



f. 3rd person dative



⁶ Not all the possible combinations of features are attested in the chart in (4). For instance, there is no combination [ARGUMENT],[GENITIVE]. Moreover the clitics that project the node [PERSON] never project [OBLIQUE] in addition. I have included in (4) only the information I had evidence for. One should expect that the combinations not present in (4) exist in other languages.

(4) g. Locative,... h. Partitive,... i. Ablative

CL
|
OBL

CL
|
OBL
|
GEN

CL
|
OBL
|
GEN
|
a

All clitics specified in the syntax as first or second person are mapped onto (4a) and (4b), respectively. It does not matter whether in the syntax these clitics are anaphors or pronominals, accusative or dative, arguments or non-arguments (as ethicals, e.g.). These distinctions are relevant to the syntax, not to the Morphology. Moreover, even if the first or second person clitic are related to a feminine referent, no feature [feminine] is mapped onto the Morphology, in Romance languages. The impersonal / reflexive clitic has no specification beyond [PERSON]; that makes it less marked than first or second person.

In this account, first person, second person, and the reflexive / impersonal clitics, namely the clitics that project the node [PERSON], form a natural class. Not only do these three clitics behave alike with respect to Recoverability (see section 1.2.4 in this chapter), but also they pattern together in many other ways, as will become clear in later chapters.

Notice that first person plural is morphologically defined as [+1] plus the monovalent feature [plural]. However, it is generally acknowledged that first person plural does not contain more than one speaker (cf. Benveniste (1966), Zwicky (1977), or Noyer (1991b), among others). First person plural contains the speaker and any combination of addressees and third persons. Moreover, Romance languages do not make a morphological distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. In

Romance, what counts for the mapping onto the Morphology is the presence of a first person, which is mapped onto [+1]. The rest of the person information is captured with the feature [plural].

(4d), the neuter clitic, generally lacks Agt features because the syntax never provides it with this type of specification. However, this does not imply that [NEUTER] is incompatible with agreement in principle.

Evidence in this respect is provided in chapter 3. Mapped onto (4d) are sentential complements which function as direct objects, and certain types of predicates, among others. [NEUTER] does not have a distinct spell-out in many languages. In these languages it takes the same phonological form as bare [ARGUMENT] (the feature that dominates [NEUTER], that is, third person). In the examples below, I illustrate some of the uses of the neuter clitic, which in Catalan is spelled out as *ho* /u/. In (5a) *ho* is related to a sentential complement, while in (5b) it is related to the predicate of a small clause:

- (5) a. No ho saps, que ha dimitit?
not neut. know(2nd), that has resigned
'you don't know that s/he resigned?'
b. Sí que ho és (feliç)
yes that neut. is (happy)
's/he IS (happy)'

I should say that I use the name [NEUTER] only because it is the term used for this clitic in the traditional literature. [NEUT] does not have a relation to gender. In most Romance languages, nouns divide only into two genders (with no further classification), and the [NEUTER] which defines one of the pronominal clitics has nothing to do with them.

Third person is mapped onto the Morphology as [ARGUMENT] (see

(4e)), or [ARGUMENT], [OBLIQUE] (see (4f)), depending on its syntactic Case. Notice that third person does not project the more specific feature [PERSON]; it is even more unmarked than the reflexive or impersonal clitic. It has been observed very often that third person behaves very differently from first and second person, and it has been claimed that third person is not really 'person' (see, for instance, Benveniste (1966), or Jakobson (1956/1971)). Throughout this thesis evidence will be presented which supports this view, and justifies the absence of the node [PERSON] in the characterization of third person.

Third person is very often (not to say always) the "unmarked" person, not only in pronouns, but also in verbal systems. It often reflects the lack of agreement. One example from Catalan that shows the "default" character of third person elsewhere in the language is provided by the construction called ARB impersonal SE in Mendicoetxea & Battye (1991), that is the impersonal *se* construction where the object does not agree with the verb. As shown in (6a), absence of agreement between the verb and the object results in the "default" third person marking on the verb. (6a) can be contrasted with (6b), an example of the ARB passive SE construction, in which the verb does agree with the object. The two sentences are synonymous:⁷

- (6) a. Es triarà els representants a la reunió
 imp. will-choose-3rd the representatives at the meeting
 'the representatives will be chosen at the meeting'

⁷ In Catalan, the ARB impersonal SE construction can only be used if the object is animate. When the object is inanimate, only ARB passive SE is possible (i.e. agreement with the object). As shown by (6b), ARB passive SE can also be used with animates.

- (6) b. *Es triaran els representants a la reunió*
imp. will-choose-3rd-pl the representatives at the meeting
'the representatives will be chosen at the meeting'

Notice that in (6a) the object is plural and the verb is singular. This asymmetry reflects the lack of agreement between the verb and the object, as well as the "default" character of 'singular'.

(4g), the oblique, corresponds to locatives, inanimate datives, and predicates in cases of secondary predication, among others. It is also related to certain kinds of PPs. Inanimate datives have been a center of debate in the literature on Catalan (as described in Rigau (1982), for instance). Because inanimate datives have the same phonological form as locatives, in many dialects of Catalan, it has been suggested that they are true locatives syntactically (cf. Solà (1973), for instance). Rigau (1983), however, presents several arguments, involving coordination and wh-movement, among others, which show that inanimate datives behave syntactically like any other datives in the language. I assume that Rigau's conclusions are correct and that, syntactically, there is no difference between animate and inanimate datives. The differences lie in the mapping from the syntax to the Morphology. In some dialects, while animate datives are mapped onto the structure in (4f), inanimate datives are mapped onto the structure in (4g). Recall that S-structure contains fully specified syntactic feature matrices, and therefore a specification for animacy is also present.

The examples in (7), below, illustrate some of the uses of the [OBLIQUE] clitic (in Catalan spelled out as *hi* /i/). In (7a) the oblique clitic is related to an inanimate dative, in (7b) to a locative, in (7c) to an

adjective in an inchoative construction, and in (7d) to a PP:⁸

- (7) a. No hi he donat cops, a la taula
not obl. have(1st) given hits, to the table
'I didn't knock on the table'
b. Hi aniré demà, a Sabadell
obl. will-go(1st) tomorrow, to Sabadell
'I will go to Sabadell tomorrow'
c. No és cínic, però s'hi tornarà
not is cynical, but inh-refl obl. will-become(3rd)
'he is not cynical, but he will become (cynical)'
d. Amb la Roser, hi parlaré demà
with the Roser, obl. will-talk(1st) tomorrow
'I will talk to Roser tomorrow'

(4h), the genitive, corresponds to indefinite objects, complements of quantifiers, and PPs headed by the preposition *de*, among others. These cases are illustrated in (8a-c), respectively (the genitive clitic is spelled out as *en* /*n*/ in Catalan):

- (8) a. De pomes, no en vull
of apples, not gen. want(1st)
'I don't want (apples)'
b. De pomes, en vull tres
of apples, gen. want(1st) three
'I want three apples'
c. Que n'han parlat, de mi?
that gen. have(3rd-pl) talked, of me
'Did they talk about me?'

[GEN] has in addition a feature *a* when it corresponds to a syntactic ablative, as shown in (4i). As will be shown in later chapters, this

⁸ Throughout this dissertation I often use left or right dislocation constructions in the examples in order to illustrate the types of phrases the clitics are related to. These dislocated phrases are old information (in the case of Clitic Left Dislocation) or afterthoughts (with right dislocation). However, these differences are not reflected in the English translation for convenience.

additional specification that [GENITIVE] receives when it corresponds to an ablative plays a crucial role in some cases. One example of this use of the genitive is given below:

- (9) Del calaix, n'he tret dos jerseis
 from-the drawer, gen. have(1st) taken-out two sweaters
 'I took two sweaters from the drawer'

In some sense, bare [OBLIQUE] is the "unmarked" locative. In Catalan, as shown in the examples below, [OBLIQUE] (spelled out as *hi* /i/) can be either directional ((10a)), or purely locative ((10b)), while *en* /n/, as a locational clitic, can only be ablative:

- (10) a. A Reus, hi anirem demà
 to Reus, *hi* will-go(1st-pl) tomorrow
 'we will go to Reus tomorrow'
 b. En aquesta casa, hi viu un amic meu
 in this house, *hi* lives a friend mine
 'a friend of mine lives in this house'

At this point it is worth mentioning a goal present in much syntactic work, which is captured under the present proposal. Even though *en* and other clitics can appear in many different positions in a sentence, the general intuition is that, at some level, all the instances of *en* are one and the same object. Elliott (1986) and Bartra (1987), for example, try to unify the treatment of *en* syntactically, by claiming that *en* always receives the same syntactic Case (an odd conclusion, sometimes, given the very different environments to which *en* can be related). Similar concerns underlie the studies on the impersonal / reflexive *es* (cf. Manzini (1986) or Cinque (1988), for instance). In this thesis I assume that *en* does not

indicate the presence of one single Case, but can represent different syntactic objects. The level at which all the instances of *en* are the same is the Morphology Component, in which all the instances of *en* are defined by the node [GENITIVE] (and in some cases also *a*). Morphological [GENITIVE] is not coextensive with syntactic genitive (which is a subset of the former). The same point can be made about the reflexive or the impersonal, or other clitics.⁹

There are languages / dialects that do not have on the surface the clitics corresponding to (4g), the oblique, and (4h,i), the genitive. Such an example is Spanish. In some other cases, only a specific use of one of the clitics is absent (as happens in dialects of Catalan or Italian, for instance, with respect to the genitive clitic). Following a suggestion by Alec Marantz, I will assume that the syntax generates the same clitics for all languages. However, in some cases certain clitics fail to be mapped onto the Morphology. Catalan and Spanish are identical syntactically with respect to locative clitics. Nevertheless, while these clitics are mapped onto the Morphology in Catalan, the mapping fails to apply in Spanish.¹⁰

The proposal just sketched concerning syntactic clitics allows, for instance, for a unified treatment of the Clitic Left Dislocation construction. Analyses like Cinque (1990) or Iatridou (1990b) propose that in this construction, a left dislocated phrase is coindexed with a clitic, which, in turn, is coindexed with a small *pro* in argument position. The clitic is

⁹ I will not attempt in this thesis to show exactly how the mapping to the Morphology works for clitics like *en*. This is not at all a trivial enterprise, and much more needs to be known first about the syntactic features which characterize all instances of *en*.

¹⁰ In terms of acquisition, one could assume that the unmarked setting implies no mapping to the Morphology. Only positive evidence triggers it.

claimed to license the presence of the small *pro* in these approaches. Below I give examples from Catalan (in (11)) and Spanish (in (12)) with left dislocated constituents associated with a direct object. As shown by the examples, the presence of the clitic is mandatory:¹¹

- (11) a. *Les sabates, les ficaré a l'armari*
 the shoes(fem), 3rd-acc-pl-fem will-put(1st) in the closet
 'I will put the shoes in the closet'
 b. **Les sabates, ficaré a l'armari*
- (12) a. *Los zapatos, los meteré en el armario*
 the shoes, 3rd-acc-pl will-put(1st) in the closet
 'I will put the shoes in the closet'
 b. **Los zapatos, meteré en el armario*

When the left dislocated phrase is a locative argument (with verbs like *put*), the presence of a clitic is still necessary in Catalan. In Spanish there is no overt clitic corresponding to the locative phrase. The construction, however, is still possible. This is illustrated in (13), for Catalan, and in (14) for Spanish):¹²

- (13) a. *A l'armari, hi ficaré les sabates noves*
 in the closet, *hi* will-put(1st) the shoes new
 'I'll put the new shoes in the closet'

¹¹ A left dislocated phrase is interpreted as old information. (11b) and (12b) would be grammatical only if the preposed phrase were interpreted as having contrastive focus. They are ungrammatical on the intended reading as old information. The contrastive focus interpretation is also associated with a very specific intonational pattern: the whole sentence, after the focused element, is pronounced in a steady low pitch. This is not the case with left dislocated elements. As I said earlier, this difference between old and new information is not reflected in the translations for convenience.

¹² The standard tests for Clitic Left Dislocation apply to locative phrases related to an argument position. (13) and (14) cannot be interpreted as a different construction.

(13) b. *A l'armari, ficaré les sabates noves

(14) En el armario, meteré los zapatos nuevos
in the closet, will-put(1st) the shoes new
'I'll put the new shoes in the closet'

A syntactic approach to the difference between (13) and (14) would have to claim that, while the presence of a clitic is necessary to license a small *pro* in most cases, in certain cases (like (14)) this requirement does not hold. It is not clear why this should be the case, nor what this stipulation would follow from. Under the view held in this thesis, no odd stipulations have to be made about the syntax of Spanish as opposed to the syntax of Catalan. Spanish, like Catalan, has a (syntactic) clitic that licenses the small *pro* in locative argument position. The only difference between Catalan and Spanish is that the syntactic locative clitic in Spanish does not have a correlate in the Morphology, and therefore can never surface phonologically. In Catalan, on the other hand, the syntactic locative clitic is mapped onto a morphological structure specified as [OBLIQUE] (the structure represented in (4g), above), which is later spelled out as *hi* (/i/).

In this thesis, as I have mentioned before, I assume the theory of clitics advocated by Kayne, which is not the one presented above. Kayne would most probably assume that in Clitic Left Dislocation, the clitic is generated in argument position, as in other cases. The same argument holds, however, because Kayne would have to assume that in Spanish, instead of a clitic, a small *pro* is generated in the locative argument position, thus creating an asymmetry between the syntax of Catalan and the syntax of Spanish in this respect.

As a matter of fact, the question about locative clitics (and also genitive

clitics) in Spanish is more general than I have presented it up to this point. The issue concerns all cases where a locative phrase is subcategorized for, and is not instantiated phonologically. Generally it is assumed that in languages without an overt locative clitic a small pro is generated in such positions. However, there is a very small step between a position that argues for a small pro, and a position that argues for a clitic lacking a morphological (and hence phonological) correlate. Other cases where the presence of a small pro has been argued for raise the same question, and this would include the small pro in subject position in Null Subject languages. I leave this topic for further research.

1.2.2.1. On the Mapping of Reflexives

In this section I illustrate in more detail how the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology works. The points I will make here about reflexives can be extended to other aspects of morphology as well.

The table below illustrates the form reflexives take in several languages, as affixes or clitics. 'i.' stands for 'invariant', while 'spec.' means that in that particular case the reflexive has a specific form. The question mark in the sixth column represents a logical possibility, but I have not yet been able to find a language with those characteristics.

(15)

	Russian	Papago	Walbiri	St. Cat.	Piedmont.	?	Valencian
1st sg.	i.	spec.	spec.	spec.	spec.	spec.	spec.
pl.	i.	spec.	i.	spec.	i.	spec.	i.
<hr/>							
2nd sg.	i.	i.	i.	spec.	spec.	spec.	spec.
pl.	i.	i.	i.	spec.	spec.	i.	i.
<hr/>							
3rd sg.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.
pl.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.	i.

While Russian has only one form for the reflexive, Standard Catalan has specific forms for the first person and second person clitics, in the singular and the plural. No language makes a distinction between singular and plural in the third person.

An important question that arises with the data in (15) is the following: when singular and plural behave differently, why is plural the one which always results in an invariant form? In terms of markedness, the problem might look more puzzling: if the invariant form appears always in the unmarked third person, why is it that it also tends to appear in the marked plural, while the unmarked singular takes a specific form?

Before I address this question within the present framework, I would like to discuss a proposal made in Burzio (1988), to account for the facts illustrated in (15). His proposal involves a different view of Binding Theory from the one assumed in more standard Principles and Parameters approaches to this theory.

According to Burzio (1988), the standard principles of Binding Theory are purely empirical generalizations. I repeat in (16) below his statement

of the principles (= his (1)):

- (16) a. An anaphor must be locally bound
- b. A pronoun must not be locally bound
- c. An R-expression must not be bound

He proposes that the principles in (16) derive from the principle in (17) (his (2)):

(17) *Morphological Economy* (ME)

A bound NP must be maximally underspecified

And he adds to this the following hierarchy in terms of feature specification (his (3)). Anaphors are featureless, while R-expressions are fully specified. Pronouns are in between:

- (18) a. anaphor
- b. pronoun
- c. R-expression

(17) and (18) force the selection of a reflexive, if the language has one, in the relevant contexts. When there is no reflexive available, the language uses a pronoun instead. Under Burzio's view, then, the forms for first and second person in the column corresponding to Catalan in chart (15) are not reflexives, but pronouns (they cannot be reflexives because reflexives are featureless). With respect to the fact that, in many cases, plural has an invariant form while singular has a specific form (cf. Walbiri, Piedmontese or Valencian in (15)), Burzio has to conclude that plural is less marked than singular.

In addition to the odd conclusion that plural is more unmarked than singular, when crosslinguistic evidence shows overwhelmingly the

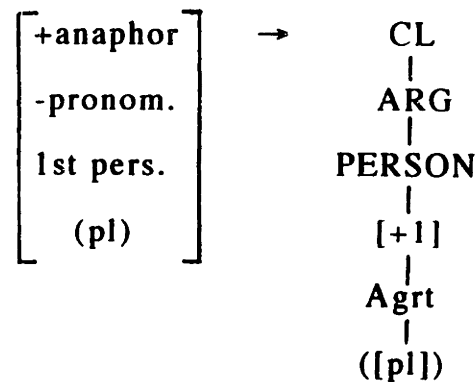
opposite, Burzio's approach faces a very important problem, which boils down to a violation of the Elsewhere Condition (Pāṇini, Kiparsky (1982)), given that the least specified item (the featureless reflexive), has to be chosen first, over more specified forms. The problem is to determine when a language will not have a reflexive for a specific form. It is impossible to make use of, or license, the featureless item unless reference to specific features is made. For instance, one has to know that the reflexive will be used in Papago in all cases, except when the antecedent is first person.

It seems to me that it makes more sense to view the invariant forms as the default case, the elsewhere option. In my proposal, the differences between Papago and Catalan, to give an example, have nothing to do with Binding Theory. It is not the case, then, that Catalan has a reflexive only for third person. The differences among languages are mainly determined in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology. Below I give the default mapping for reflexives:

$$(19) \quad \text{Default mapping: } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{anaphor} \\ -\text{pronom.} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{CL} \\ | \\ \text{ARG} \\ | \\ \text{PERSON} \end{array}$$

In Russian, only (19) will be operative. For Papago, which has specific forms for the first person, an additional mapping will take place. This mapping is shown in (20):

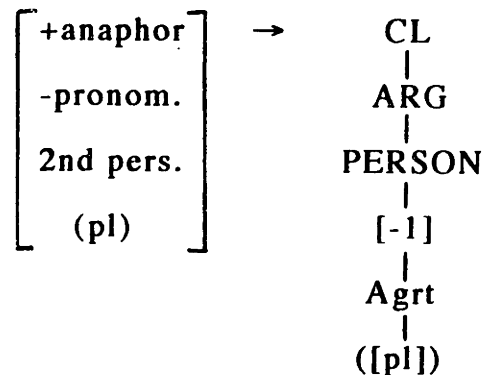
(20) Mapping for 1st person:



By the Elsewhere Condition, the mapping in (20) will have precedence over the default mapping (19). (19) will affect all the forms not affected by (20).

Catalan needs an additional mapping for second person, which is given in (21):

(21) Mapping for 2nd person:



Again, by the Elsewhere Condition, (21) will take precedence over (19).^{13,14}

¹³ The syntactic features I give on the left of the arrow in (19)-(21) might not be the most adequate, especially given the observations I made earlier on inclusive vs. exclusive first person, among others. I use them only for convenience.

¹⁴ It is true that a combination of a first person plus a second person cannot be

There are still some cases in the chart in (15) that need to be accounted for, namely the cases where the singular presents a specific form while the plural corresponding to the same person has the invariant form (cf. the first person in Walbiri, or the first and second person in Valencian). My claim with respect to these cases is that they have nothing to do with the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology, but they are obtained within the Morphology Component itself through morphological rules. I address this issue below.

1.2.3. Morphological Rules

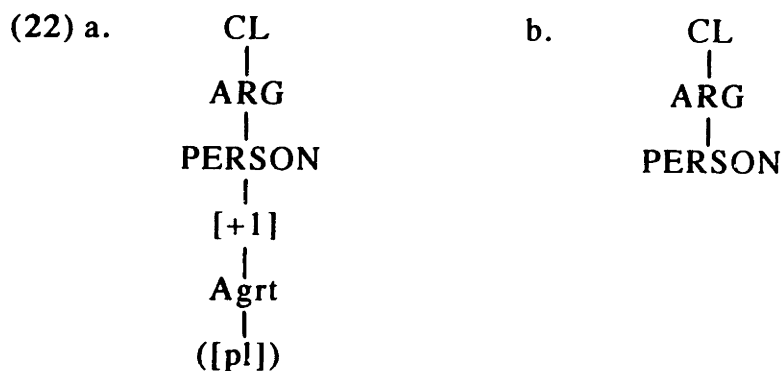
Morphological rules operate on morphological structures like the ones exemplified in (4). As in phonology, these rules perform insertion, delinking and association operations.¹⁵ Moreover, I will assume that morphological rules are never feature-changing.¹⁶ In their appropriate morphologically interpreted as second person plural. I assume that the mapping from the syntax to the morphology follows a markedness hierarchy: more marked elements have, in the mapping, precedence over less marked elements. In this universal hierarchy, which might or might not be encoded in the syntactic feature organization, first person ranks higher than second person.

¹⁵ In phonology, the distinction is made sometimes between deletion and delinking (see, for instance, Archangeli & Pulleyblank (forthcoming), or Mascaró (1986)). Delinking, as opposed to deletion, leaves a feature floating, which can occasionally be relinked by later operations. Throughout this dissertation I assume that features are subject to delinking with final deletion due to Stray Erasure. As will be shown in chapter 3 this position is necessary to account for some of the consequences of the Spurious *se* Rule in some dialects of Spanish.

¹⁶ Halle (1989b) claims that agreement is a feature-filling process, agreement rules taking place in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology. However, his readjustment rules (equivalent in most cases to my morphological rules) can be feature-changing, as

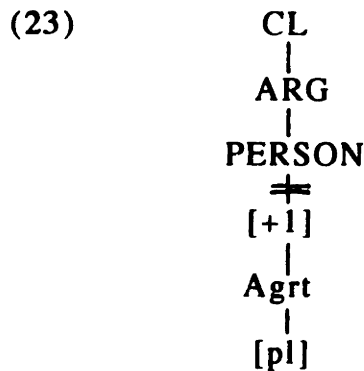
formulation, the Spurious *se* Rule (in (1a)) or the *si* to *ci* Rule (in (1b)) are instances of morphological rules. These two rules are discussed in detail in chapter 3. One consequence of the very nature of morphological rules is that they will always give as a result an independently existing clitic. Sequences like *pa* or *den* will never be possible, unless the language has those sequences as the spell-out of independent clitics.

Now we can address again the case of the reflexives, specifically the cases where the plural is an invariant form, while the singular of the same person has a specific form. I will illustrate this point with Walbiri, where all the forms but the first person singular are invariant. Walbiri has the mapping rule in (20), as well as the default rule (19). After the mapping has taken place, Walbiri will have the following two structures corresponding to reflexives:



That is, first person reflexives will be mapped onto the structure in (22a). All the other reflexives will be mapped onto (22b) by default. So, at this stage the only difference between the first person plural and the first person singular is the presence or absence of the feature [plural]. The opposed to what I am claiming in the text.

invariant form that the first person plural surfaces as is obtained through the morphological rule in (23):



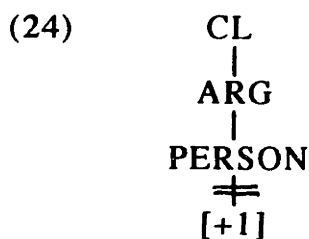
As can be seen in (23), the rule deletes the first person specification together with [plural], giving as a result a structure identical to the default form in (22b). The presence of the (more specific) feature [plural] is necessary for the rule to apply.¹⁷

I made the observation earlier that, while one finds invariant forms in the plural when the singular of the same person has a specific form, it is never the case that one finds the reverse situation. That is, it is never the case that the singular has an invariant form while the plural has a specific

¹⁷ An alternative to saying that Agreement is attached to the most specific node dominated by [ARGUMENT] would be to say that Agreement is invariably attached to [ARGUMENT], as I assumed in earlier stages of this dissertation. With this assumption it would be more difficult to account for the rule in (23): delinking [+1] would not completely solve the problem because there would still be a feature [plural] attached to Agreement. A different process would have to delete this specification. With the assumptions made in the text, this problem does not arise, because the feature [plural] is deleted together with [+1]. However, as will be shown in chapter 3, it is necessary to resort to an incompatibility between Agreement features and [PERSON] to account for some facts concerning the Spurious *se* Rule of Spanish. This incompatibility could account for the loss of [plural] in the case the position were taken that the Agreement node is directly dominated by [ARGUMENT].

form. Within the present proposal, not only are the existing forms predicted, but it is also impossible to derive the non-existent forms. Precisely because of the possible presence of [plural] versus the impossible presence of singular (which does not exist as a feature), it is possible to account for these cases.

As in phonology, morphological rules include only relevant information. Rules will affect those sequences that contain **at least** the features mentioned by the rule. The morphological rule in (23) will affect those instances of first person that are also plural, and only those. Singular forms will not be affected by the rule because they do not have the feature [plural]; they will surface with a specific form. The next question that needs to be answered is how it is that this system cannot derive the non-existent invariant singular forms (with a plural specific form). In order to derive an invariant singular form, the rule in (23) would have to be modified as shown in (24):



That is, in order to derive an invariant singular form, the feature [plural] has to be absent. But then the problem is to avoid having the rule apply to plural forms as well. Plural first person clitics will have the same structure as in (24) (before the delinking) plus the feature [plural]. Therefore they should also be subject to (24). The conclusion is, then, that it is

impossible to derive an invariant singular form while keeping a specific plural form.

Notice that the account presented above makes crucial use of the marked character of [plural]; its mere presence in the structure (as opposed to the absence of singular) indicates its marked character. There is no need to stipulate, as in Burzio's account, that only in the case of reflexives is plural the unmarked option. It is predicted in this system that only the most specific forms can be simplified in marked forms. In the case presented above first person has the marked (not default) mapping. Between the two possibilities in the marked form (singular and plural), only the more specific can be simplified (the one containing the feature [plural]).

Going back to more general issues concerning morphological rules, it has often been observed that languages avoid sequences of phonologically identical clitics. Perlmutter (1971), however, gave convincing arguments against a constraint ruling out such sequences. His main argument had to do with the fact that sometimes the clitics are not completely identical phonologically, but only partially identical, and it would be very difficult to capture the extent to which the resemblance is significant. In the present approach, there is no general ban against identical phonological forms. The changes that affect clitics in certain combinations are due to morphological rules coming into play. In some cases, because of the operation of these rules, phonologically identical sequences are avoided. In other cases, however, the same morphological rule can be affecting clitics which would not clash phonologically if the rule did not apply. This point will be illustrated at length in the next chapter. Most of the morphological rules to be considered do have a dissimilatory effect, but the

dissimilation is at the morphological level, not the phonological level.

1.2.4. On Recoverability

Pronominal clitics are often subject to changes in certain combinations. Sometimes they acquire the form of other clitics and sometimes they do not surface. However, not all the clitics behave alike in this respect. There is a clear difference between first person, second person and the reflexive/impersonal, on the one hand, and all the other clitics, on the other (that includes the third person clitics, the neuter, the oblique and the genitive). While the latter are subject to all sorts of modifications, the former are subject to very few changes.

In (25), below, an example is given from dialects of French, where in a combination of two third person clitics, the one corresponding to the accusative does not surface. Nevertheless the sentence is fine ((25b) can be compared to (25a), which is the Standard French version of the same sentence):

- (25) a. Je le lui donnerai (Standard French)
I 3rd-acc 3rd-dat will-give(1st)
'I will give it to him/her'
b. Je lui donnerai (dialects of French)
I 3rd-dat will-give(1st)
'I will give it to him/her'

(26), below, constitutes a slightly different example: one of the clitics which in isolation surfaces as *ne* (see (26a)) appears (optionally) as *ci* when in combination with another *ne* (see (26c)). (26b) shows the other

instance of *ne* in isolation):

- (26) a. *Ne sono usciti due uomini* (Standard Italian. Data from
gen. are(3rd-pl) come-out two men Saccon (1988))
'two men came out from there'
b. *Ne sono usciti due dal cinema*
gen. are(3rd-pl) come-out two from the movie theater
'two of them came out from the movie theater'
c. *Ce ne sono usciti due*
obl. gen. are(3rd-pl) come-out two
'two of them came out from there'

(25) and (26), then, are examples in which a clitic is either not present on the surface ((25b)), or shows up with a different form than the expected one ((26c)). The sentences, however, are fully grammatical, and there is no difference in the interpretation of the sentences (it is clear that in (25) there is a third person direct object, and in (26), an ablative argument).

The behavior shown by third person or ablative clitics is never found with first person, second person or impersonals / reflexives. These three clitics, which share the feature [PERSON], always have to surface in one way or another. Below I give an example from Catalan which illustrates this different behavior. (27a) is ungrammatical because of a universal constraint that does not allow a combination of first and second person clitics when the verb is ditransitive.¹⁸ In these cases it is not possible to simply omit one of the clitics, as we saw in (25). This is shown in (27b,c). The only way out is to express one of the objects not as a clitic but as a strong pronoun (as in (27d)):

¹⁸ The description of the environment is not quite accurate. A better description can be found in chapter 4, devoted to this constraint, which I call the **me lui/I-II* Constraint.

- (27) a. *te'm van recomanar
 2nd-acc 1st-dat recommended
 'they recommended you to me'
 b. *Et van recomanar
 'they recommended you to me'
 c. *Em van recomanar
 'they recommended you to me'
 d. Et van recomanar a mi
 2nd-acc recommended to me
 'they recommended you to me'

Throughout this thesis other examples will be discussed which illustrate the same point shown in (27).

It seems, then, that [PERSON] clitics must be recoverable. (27b,c) are ungrammatical because the information provided by the missing clitic is not recoverable. The clitics in (25) and (26), on the other hand, do not project the feature [PERSON], and therefore are not subject to recoverability.

Below I state this generalization on recoverability (see (28a), together with the definition of 'recoverable' (in (28b):

- (28) a. The features of a [PERSON] clitic must be recoverable
 b. A feature is recoverable if, after being suppressed, it is still instantiated (realized) in the syntactic chain the clitic belongs to

As a shorthand, I will refer to clitics being recoverable, meaning that their features are.

It is very rarely the case that [PERSON] clitics are subject to a morphological rule. One example, however, was given earlier: when reflexives show up with an invariant form in the plural but with a specific form in the singular, the invariant form is obtained via a morphological rule that delinks the person specification ([±1]). In spite of the deletion of [±1], this feature is still recoverable from the verbal form, which is

coindexed with the reflexive, both becoming part of the same syntactic chain. A more specific example, from Valencian, will be discussed in chapter 3. See also the next section for the role of syntactic chains in spell-out.¹⁹

¹⁹ Richard Kayne pointed out to me a case which at first sight seems to be a violation of the recoverability generalization for [PERSON] clitics. Consider the following sentence from Catalan (the same point can be made with respect to other languages with an [OBLIQUE] clitic):

- (i) No penso **en tu**; ara i no **hi** pensaré mai
 not think(1st) in you now and not *hi* will-think(1st) ever
 'I don't think of you now and I won't ever think of you'

In the first part of the conjunct the boldfaced phrase contains a second person pronoun. In the second part of the conjunct, however, there is only a clitic *hi*, which is not marked for person. The absence of second person marking in the clitic is what causes the problem. This problem, though, is only apparent: the clitic *hi* is not coindexed with the pronoun itself, but with the PP. *Hi* is in this case a pro-PP, in Kayne's (1975) terms.

One might try to argue that the preposition in the first part of the conjunct is not a real preposition but a Case marker. I do not think this is true. Bartra (1987) gives some facts concerning extraction which might provide a test for distinguishing real prepositions from Case markers. While Case markers would allow long extraction, prepositions would not. With constructions like the one exemplified in (i), long extraction is impossible. In (ii) I give two examples that exemplify this point. In (iia) the several instances of *de* would be Case markers. In (iib) *en* would be a real preposition. The first example is taken from Bartra (1987). In both cases I mark the clitic *en* in boldface:

- (ii) a. De la beata, **en** conservem un tros de la vora de l'hàbit de monja
 of the devout-woman, *en* keep(1st-pl) a piece of the seam of the dress of nun
 'we keep a piece of the seam of the devout-woman's habit'
 b. *De l'OTAN, **en** pensaré en la sortida
 of the NATO, *en* will-think(1st) in the exit
 'I will think of the exit from NATO'

The second *en* in (iib), after the verb, is then a preposition. This construction is the same

1.2.5. On Spell-Out

The spell-out of morphological structures operates late in the Morphology Component, and is the input to phonology. Spell-out rules, then, operate after morphological rules. In Spanish, for instance, the change of the third person dative clitic to a form that looks like the reflexive (the Spurious *se* Rule), is done through a morphological rule which makes the structure of the third person identical to the reflexive. Spell-out rules give this newly created form the phonological matrix corresponding to the reflexive.

In the generalization in (28), I mention syntactic chains as the domain in which a clitic is recoverable. In the proposal put forward here, syntactic chains are considered a single object. If, for some reason, a clitic cannot be spelled out as such (in the head of the chain), its features will be spelled out as a strong pronoun in the foot of the chain by a language-particular rule. In these cases, the morphological structure corresponding to the clitic is deleted. It is actually not enough to say that the "conflicting" clitic is simply spelled out elsewhere. The problem is not the phonological form but the morphological structure. This is why the morphological structure of the clitic has to be deleted. Chapter 4 contains a discussion about the differences between the presence or absence of a morphological structure and the presence or absence of phonological information. This discussion is related to the issue of zero morphemes. Also in chapter 4, another strategy to overcome the **me lui/I-II* Constraint will be considered which also involves the manipulation of the morphological structure of one of the

as the one used in (i), where the preposition is missing. The clitic in (i) is coindexed with the whole PP, not with the phrase corresponding to the pronoun. Therefore, no recoverability issue arises.

conflicting clitics. In this case, however, only part of the structure is deleted. An example where a clitic is spelled out as a strong pronoun was given in the previous section (see example (27d)). Below I give an example from Spanish where the same constraint --the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, discussed in chapter 4-- applies:

- (29) a. **Me le recomendaron*
 1st-acc 3rd-dat recommended
 'they recommended me to him/her'
- b. *Me recomendaron a él*
 1st-acc recommended to him
 'they recommended me to him/her'

The **me lui/I-II* Constraint, which is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (29a), basically disallows the presence of a third person clitic which does not correspond to the direct object, with ditransitive verbs. In these cases one of the clitics (here the third person clitic) is spelled out in argument position (see (29b)). So, my claim is that the two clitics are generated by the syntax as such, and adjoin to Infl. Only then is the conflict created. I do not assume, as would most syntactic theories probably, that the strong pronoun in (29b) is generated as such in argument position. In chapter 4 I provide some evidence for the approach pursued here.

A chain, then, usually receives a spell-out in the head (clitics always having precedence over strong pronouns). If this is impossible for some reason, the spell-out is done in the foot of the chain. Presumably spell-out would never occur in intermediate steps in the chain. Because the conflicts which motivate the spell-out in the foot of the chain arise in clitic combinations, spell-out in an intermediate step would be impossible

because the trace left there would not correspond to a specific clitic but to the clitic cluster, or to the clitic-V cluster.

In section 2, I said that the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology is governed by the Elsewhere Condition. This condition is also relevant for spell-out rules. When two spell-out rules affect the same type of elements, but one of them is more specific than the other, the more specific rule applies first, blocking the application of the other rule. Below I give an example of the operation of this condition. The rules given in (30) account for the allomorphy found in first person clitics in Standard Catalan:

- (30) a. [+1] → /n/ / [plural]
 b. [+1] → /m/

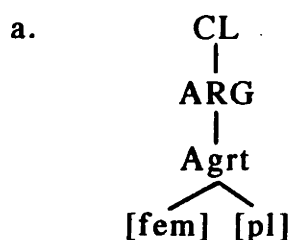
The input of the rule in (30a) is identical to (30b), except for the presence of the feature [plural] in the context of the rule. This makes (30a) more specific, and therefore it applies first. The first person plural form /nz/ is obtained after the feature [plural] has been spelled out (see the paragraph below). The first person singular surfaces as /m/ (I am abstracting away from epenthesis, a purely phonological process). If the Elsewhere Condition were not assumed, the wrong derivations could be obtained in certain cases. If, with first person plural clitics, the less specific rule (30b) applied first, nothing would prevent the form */mz/ from surfacing. This would result from the spell-out of [+1] as /m/ (rule (30b) plus the regular spell-out for the feature [plural]).²⁰

²⁰ The form /mz/ does actually exist in some dialects. These dialects, according to my account, simply lack the more specific rule (30a). What I say in the text holds for Standard Catalan, which presents the allomorphy mentioned with first person clitics.

In the unmarked case, the Agreement features [feminine] and [plural] will be spelled out in the same way they are spelled out elsewhere in the language. I follow Harris (1991a,b), for the spell-out and linearization of Agreement features. Even though the account by Harris addresses specifically agreement in Spanish, his point can be made also for Catalan. Harris (1991a,b) argues that the final vowel found mainly in nouns and adjectives is not the direct spell-out of 'masculine' or 'feminine', but it is the exponent of a declensional class. He also argues against a binary feature for syntactic gender; he assumes [feminine] (in his terms *f*) to be a privative feature. Items with the feature [feminine] are redundantly assigned to the form-class *la* (in Eastern Catalan this marker is spelled out as a schwa).²¹

Below I give an example from Catalan where the standard spell-out rules for [feminine] and [plural] apply. The structure in (31a) corresponds to the third person accusative feminine plural clitic. In (31b) I give the spell-out rule for [ARGUMENT], the most specific node corresponding to the third person, and in (31c) I give the spell-out rules for [plural] and for the form-class *la*, redundantly assigned to [feminine] (the second-to-last rule in (31c):

(31) Accusative third person feminine plural: /ləz/



²¹ The reverse is not true: not all the words with with form-class *la* are [feminine].

(31) b. [ARGUMENT] → /l/

c. [plural] → /z/

[feminine] →]a

]a → /ə/

The rules in (31c) are very general to Catalan, and not just specific to clitics. Clitics are affected by these rules presumably at the same point they apply to other items in the language. The relative order between the spell-out of [plural] and the spell-out of the form-class, in Harris' approach, is determined by a certain class of linearization rules. I do not have anything to say in this regard.

1.2.5. On Linearization

One of the main issues addressed in Perlmutter (1971) was the mechanism by which clitics are linearly ordered among each other. His position was that a transformational approach to clitic order was not adequate, and that clitic order had to be determined by means of a filter or template. This approach to clitic order is basically maintained in the present proposal (see the appendix to this chapter for some discussion of the topic).²²

Linearization is performed in the Morphology Component. However, given

²² It might be the case that, for some languages, clitic order is determined directly by the syntax (one possible candidate could be Italian). However, this position would be very difficult to maintain for languages like Catalan (the high number of necessary stipulations would make it very suspicious), where clitics always occupy a fixed position regardless of their function or their relative ordering with respect to the verb.

that the overall proposal defended here is more complex than Perlmutter's, additional questions arise. Among others are the following: a) If linearization is late, does it operate on morphological structures, or on phonological material (that is, before or after spell-out rules)? b) Does linearization apply at the same point in the Morphology Component for all languages, or is it parameterizable? My answer to the first question will be that late linearization operates after morphological rules but before spell-out rules (which provide the input to phonology). The answer to b) will be that linearization seems to be parameterizable: it applies either as late as possible or as early as possible, within the Morphology Component.

Barceloní provides evidence for late linearization, while early linearization seems to be required for Valencian. I will not go over the arguments here because it is necessary to take into account many details of the clitic systems of these dialects in order to have the arguments go through. The evidence concerning late linearization can be found in chapter 2, while the evidence for early linearization is given in chapter 3.

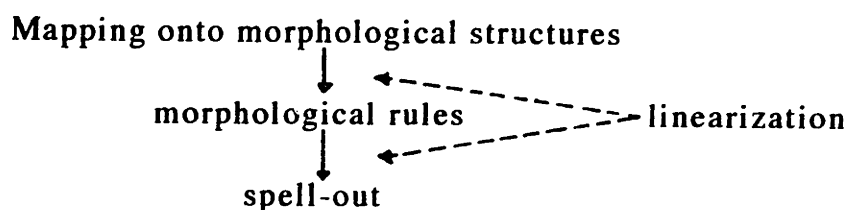
1.3. Some Conclusions

At the beginning of section 1, I mentioned my assumption that the syntax provides fully specified syntactic feature matrices (see Lumsden (1988)). However, surface (phonological) forms do not reflect such a rich variety. Moreover, languages vary considerably in terms of the features they express morphologically. The morphological "impoverishment" that languages show on the surface is mainly achieved in two steps: 1) failure in

the transfer of features from S-structure to the Morphology (e.g. [plural] in the mapping of third person reflexives); 2) "disregard" of certain features by the spell-out rules (this is the case of the feature [NEUTER] in Spanish clitics). Other means of "getting rid" of features are: 3) deletion by morphological rules, and 4) spell-out as zero.

The organization of the Morphology Component is given below:

(32) Morphology Component



1.4. Comparison with Previous Accounts

I will include here two sections. One of them addresses the proposal put forward in Perlmutter (1971). The other one is centered around several articles on French clitics that appeared in *Linguistic Analysis* in the mid 70's to the early 80's. I do not intend the discussion to be exhaustive.

1.4.1. Perlmutter (1971)

Perlmutter claims that the surface order of clitics cannot be determined by syntactic transformations. The clitics of Spanish and French seem to be arranged by person, not by their syntactic role. Clitic order is determined by a surface structure constraint, a positive filter stating the order in which

clitics have to appear on the surface. The idea is very similar in spirit to the notion of template, commonly used in studies on languages like Navajo or Walbiri, for instance, even though template morphology does more work than the simple statements that Perlmutter proposes. For some discussion on this issue, see Simpson & Withgott (1986), for instance.

Among other evidence against a syntactic approach to clitic order and cooccurrence restrictions, Perlmutter discusses the fact that even though the syntax could generate an impersonal clitic and a reflexive clitic, the two are incompatible. I repeat below his examples (61), from Spanish (here (33)) and (62) (here (34a,b)), to illustrate this point:

- (33) Cuando come, Manfredo se lava las manos antes
when eats, Manfredo *se* washes the hands beforehand
'when he eats, Manfredo washes his hands beforehand'
- (34) a. *Cuando se come, se lava las manos antes
when *se* eats, *se* washes the hands beforehand
'when one eats, one washes one's hands beforehand'
b. *Cuando se come, se se lava las manos antes

In (33) *se* is a reflexive (dative of inalienable possession). The same construction is used in the main clause in (34). In (34), and as shown by the embedded clause, the subject is impersonal, and is also represented by *se*. In the main clause the two instances of *se* conflict, causing the ungrammaticality of the sentence. The presence of the two instances of *se*, one for the impersonal, and one for the reflexive, does not improve the sentence. In Perlmutter's approach, phrase structure rules and transformations do not block the generation of the two *se* in (34b). The sentence is ruled out because the surface structure constraint only allows one *se*.

In a different section, Perlmutter argues against filters ruling out sequences of phonologically identical clitics. For him the two instances of *se* generated in situations like (34) are in some sense the same object. The sentence is ruled out because there is only one position for *se*, not because there is an input sequence *se se* violating some phonological restriction. Moreover, a phonological filter would be very difficult to maintain because in some cases of cooccurrence restriction the phonological identity is only partial. I already included some comments on this issue earlier. This point will become especially clear in the next chapter, where several similar cases are discussed.

I share with Perlmutter the belief that the surface order of clitics cannot be accounted for by the syntax (at least in many cases). The same conclusions hold with respect to phenomena like the Spurious *se* Rule: for him (and for me), the rule itself accounts both for the non-occurrent sequences and for the output form; the rule is not syntactic in nature, either. However, Perlmutter does not devote much attention to the Spurious *se* Rule itself, the only example he has of a non-transparent surface form (he is more interested in the arguments this rule can generate against transformational approaches). As I pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the formulation he gives of the Spurious *se* Rule (see (1a)) is not adequate in the sense that it does not capture the fact that the output form is another clitic of the language. My belief is that phenomena like the Spurious *se* Rule are crucial to a better understanding of clitics and their internal structure, and this is what is emphasized in the present proposal.

A specific set of cooccurrence restrictions is accounted for in Perlmutter (1971) by a nonglobal constraint. This constraint is what I call the **me*

lui/I-II Constraint, a constraint that forces a third person clitic to be the direct object with ditransitive verbs, when a clitic for the indirect object is also present. Other linguists have tried to incorporate this constraint into the rest of their language-specific account of clitic order (see, for instance, Wanner (1977), for Italian). In spite of the fact that Perlmutter does not address the nature of the constraint, his position in separating it from other aspects of clitic combinations is right. In chapter 4 I argue that this constraint is not just some weird phenomenon that one finds sporadically in languages, but it is a universal constraint. Language-particular approaches to it, then, are not adequate.

In summary, Perlmutter's proposal is very simple: the syntax generates a set of clitics. In some of the combinations, one of the clitics adopts a different shape. Once this is done, a positive output filter determines what the correct surface order of the clitics is. One of the questions that arise in Perlmutter's proposal is why the output filters make use of different types of information, as illustrated below. (35) is the chart that Perlmutter gives for Spanish:

(35) *se* II I III (=Perlmutter (1971), p.45 (86))

While *se* clearly refers to phonological content, the rest makes reference to person, that is morphological information. In the present proposal this mixed type of information is never used. The templates that determine the linear order of the clitics make use, in all the cases considered here, only of morphological information. At that point phonological information is not available because spell-out has not applied yet.

In Perlmutter's proposal, the competition between two clitics for a

particular slot accounts for most cooccurrence restrictions: the assignment of a clitic to a specific slot prevents the assignment of another clitic to the same slot, causing the sentence to be ruled out. In the theory being developed here, this is not always the case. When the competing clitics are [PERSON] clitics, one of them is spelled out in the foot of the chain, while the other one is spelled out as a clitic. The competition itself, then, does not necessarily result in ungrammaticality. With non-[PERSON] clitics the competition for a single slot has a different effect. As will be shown in chapter 2, in these cases one of the clitics occupies the slot and the other one simply does not surface. No ungrammaticality results. As can be seen, then, the proposal made here is fairly more complicated than Perlmutter's, and, as will be shown, it is justified by the complexity of the data considered in this dissertation.

1.4.2. Emonds (1975), Herschensohn (1980), Burston (1983)

The three articles I will comment on here are all specifically on French (mainly Standard French), a language that usually does not allow more than two object clitics at a time. Many of the points these articles make would not hold for other Romance languages.

Emonds (1975) is a reply to Perlmutter's position that clitic order cannot be derived transformationally. I will not dedicate much space to his proposal because it is difficult to translate into Principles and Parameters terms, and therefore difficult to compare to my claims and assumptions. Emonds proposes an alternative to clitic order within a structure-preserving

framework. In this framework there are three basic types of transformations: root transformations (which insert material into a position directly dominated by a root S, that is the main S, or an S dominated by another S), structure-preserving transformations (movement or insertion into an already existing position) and local transformations (which only affect adjacent nodes). Phrase structure rules generate two slots next to the verb for clitics. *y* (my [OBLIQUE]) and *en* (my [GENITIVE]) can only occupy the second slot (which he labels CL, the name that characterizes *y* and *en*). The first slot (labeled PRO) is filled by a structure-preserving transformation which moves the pronominal clitics from their base argument position. Two additional local rules take care of the rest (the right positioning of third person direct object clitics, and the order that clitics show in positive imperatives).

Even though Emonds claims that his approach is syntactic, notice that it is very similar to a templatic approach, given that he has to postulate the existence of two slots next to the verb (and moreover these slots are given ad hoc morphological labels). In a Principles and Parameters approach, slots of this type are not syntactic objects. Postulating the existence of two slots next to the verb would be equivalent, I think, to saying that adjunction to an Infl head can only take place twice. Moreover, these positions would have to have a specific label. In other words, it seems to me that the proposal by Emonds is nothing else but a templatic approach in disguise. Needless to say, the proposal by Emonds would be clearly insufficient to account for non-transparent forms like the one created by the Spurious *se* Rule in Spanish.

Herschensohn (1980) is an attempt to overcome some of the flaws of Emonds, while keeping the same basic approach. However, she includes

some assumptions that make her proposal closer to the one argued for in this dissertation. For one thing, she makes a clear distinction between phonological realization and syntax. Unlike many other linguists, she does not assume that clitics are derived from strong pronouns or the other way around. At D-structure (in my terms) there are only morphosyntactic features. The particular phonological realization depends on the position of the relevant element at S-structure, and on stress. In addition, she tries to refine the system of morphosyntactic features suggested in Emonds (1975). In this respect, however, there is not much resemblance between her suggestions and the system of features proposed here.

Burston (1983), on the other hand, puts all the emphasis in the feature makeup of clitics, similarly to the proposal being made in this thesis. According to him, this is at the base of an adequate account of clitic order and cooccurrence restrictions in French. He, then, rejects a purely syntactic account. Even though Burston is not very explicit about it, one must assume that he proposes a templatic approach to clitic order, which would presumably operate after S-structure. Burston assumes that clitics have inherent positively specified features, plus underspecified features (Case being one of them), which get a positive or negative value contextually. These features are not organized hierarchically, do not have any explicit relationship to markedness, and are mainly based on semantic considerations. They do not quite match the features I propose. For him, clitics are divided into two major classes: [+nominal] (which includes my [PERSON] clitics plus the third person accusative), and [+prepositional] (which includes the third person dative, my bare [OBLIQUE] and my [GENITIVE]). [+nominal] clitics precede [+prepositional] clitics, in the

unmarked case. This pattern would not hold for Valencian, for instance, where the third person dative clitic ([+prepositional]) precedes the [+nominal] clitics. Moreover, in his proposal [PERSON] clitics (that is, first person, second person and the reflexive / impersonal), and the third person dative clitic share the inherent feature [+I] (for "Individuation"). He tries to account for the **me lui*/I-II Constraint by saying that two [+I] clitics cannot cooccur. Unfortunately, this is too strong a proposal because the combinations he is trying to rule out are fine as long as one of the clitics is, for instance, an ethical dative.

Even though Burston's proposal has many interesting aspects, it is insufficiently developed to account for facts more complex than the ones he discusses for French.

1.5. Organization of the Rest of this Thesis

Chapter 2 contains a detailed study of the clitic system of Barceloní, a dialect of Catalan (my own native dialect). When clitics combine in Barceloní, a variety of non-transparent forms arise. The proposal sketched in this chapter receives strong support from the data which will be discussed in the next chapter. Additional machinery will have to be introduced in order to account for all the facts.

Chapter 3 is a collection of further evidence from other dialects / languages. Valencian is discussed in comparison to Barceloní. I discuss only one aspect of clitic combinations in Italian: the difference between impersonal *si* and reflexive *si*, a distinction that is not present in any

other Romance language, to the best of my knowledge. The last section of chapter 3 is devoted to the Spurious *se* Rule of Spanish and some facts associated with it. These facts, which appear as very mysterious under certain more standard approaches to clitic combinations, receive a fairly natural account in the present framework.

Chapter 4 is devoted to what I call the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, which basically forces the presence of a third person direct object clitic / agreement marker when combined with a first or second person indirect object clitic / agreement marker. This constraint has been noted for several languages. My claim is that it is universal in character, and that at least some of the strategies languages use to overcome it are to be located in the Morphology Component. My intention with this chapter is more to stimulate further research on the topic, rather than to explain a constraint that still remains mysterious to me.

Chapter 5 contains concluding remarks and speculations. One of the issues I do not consider at all is the case of subject clitics, common in certain northern Italian dialects. A more complete proposal cannot ignore them. Even though this thesis focuses on the pronominal clitics of Romance, pronominal clitics are basically sets of ϕ -features (that is Case, person, number, gender, and others), and therefore one would expect to find similarities between the behavior of pronominal clitics and that of agreement markers, for instance. These are some of the aspects which are discussed in this last chapter.

In the appendix to this first chapter, I present some of my reasons for rejecting an entirely syntax-based approach to clitic order and other matters.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1:

ON SYNTACTIC APPROACHES TO CLITIC ORDER

There are two main theories of the nature of clitics within a Principles and Parameters framework. One of them is the line pursued in Borer (1984, 1986), and related work (starting with Rivas (1977)), while the other one has been advanced by Kayne (1975), and later work. Under the former view, clitics are generated directly in Infl, and are coindexed with a small pro in argument position (in the general case). In some sense, pronominal clitics are not different from agreement markers. Under the latter view, which I assume in this thesis, clitics are in most cases generated in argument position. They move to Infl via head-to-head movement by S-structure. While it is not too difficult a task to see the predictions that Kayne's theory makes with respect to clitic order, the theory pursued by Borer and others does not make any such claims (their concern being mostly the relation between clitics and Case or theta roles). For this reason, I will limit myself to consider a Kayne type approach in this appendix.

Here I will present some of my reasons for not assuming a syntactic approach to clitic order. There is no question that other aspects of clitic combinations cannot be accounted for syntactically, especially if one wants to assume a maximally general approach to syntax. Two types of evidence against a syntactic approach to clitic order will be given, one concerning dialectal variation, and one concerning the different uses of clitics. With

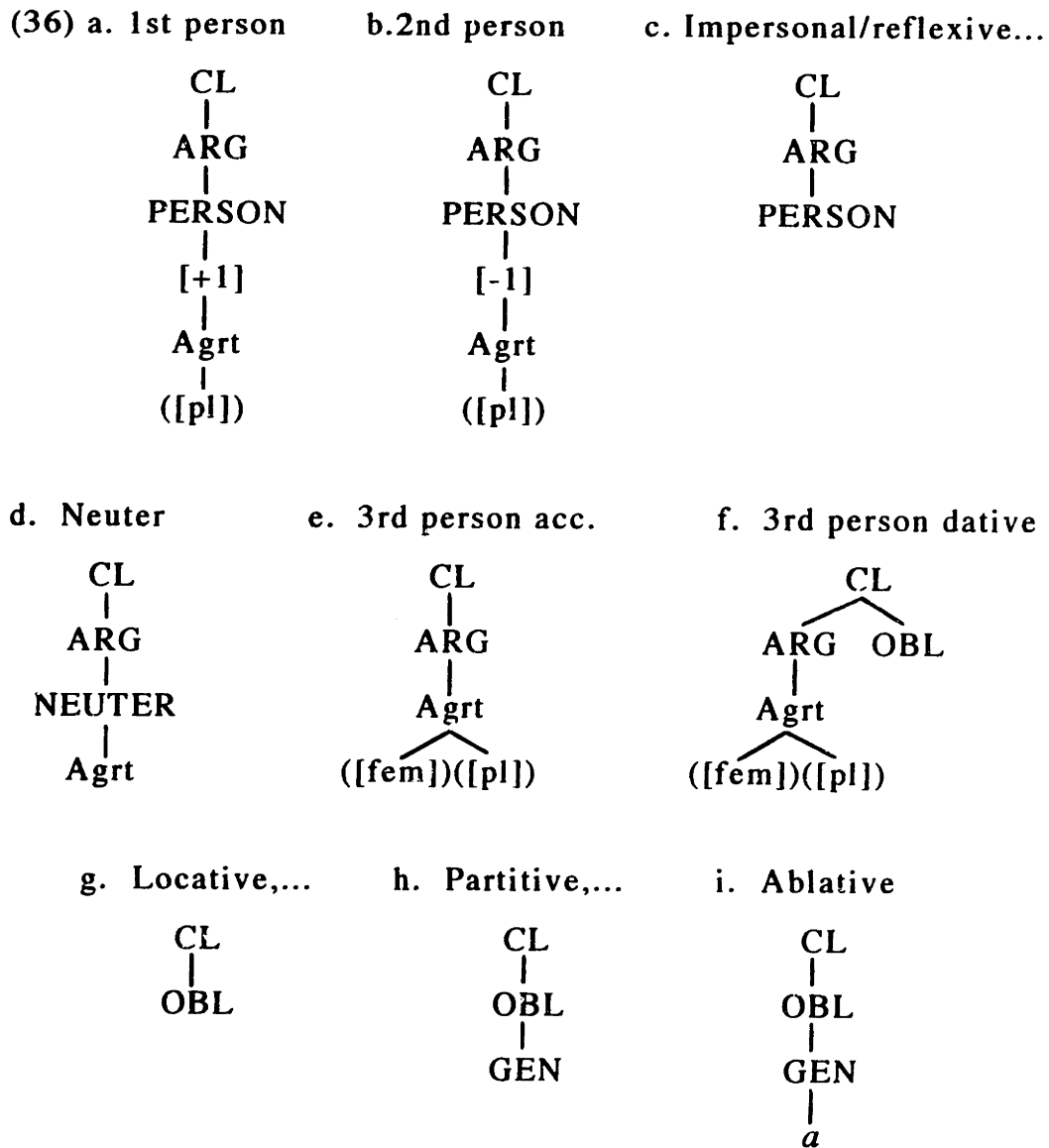
respect to the former I will show that while the order of clitics might vary significantly across dialects, this does not seem to correlate with significant differences in the syntax. With respect to the latter, I will show that, at least in some of the Romance languages, specific clitics occupy a specific position within the clitic cluster regardless of their syntactic function. I will also argue that there is no evidence for a more indirect impact of the syntax on clitic order. With respect to this aspect I will briefly discuss the approach developed in Noyer (1991a).

1.1. Pronominal Clitics and Their Uses

In Modern Greek pronominal clitics are only of two types, genitive and accusative (the morphological genitive corresponds both to a syntactic genitive and to a syntactic dative). There are no reflexive or adverbial clitics. For Modern Greek, and other languages with a very limited number of pronominal clitics, it would not be difficult to try to derive the order genitive-accusative found on the surface directly from the syntax. But when one takes into consideration the much more complex pronominal clitic system of Romance languages, for instance, a syntactic account of clitic order for these languages is definitely obscured. Most of the facts I will discuss here are exemplified with Catalan, but the same would hold for most other Romance languages.²³ The repertoire of clitics of Standard

²³ Spanish has fewer clitics than Catalan, French or Italian, and therefore slightly fewer problems arise. Spanish lacks an [OBLIQUE] clitic (French *y*, Italian *ci*) and the [GENITIVE] clitic (French *en*, Italian *ne*).

Catalan, which is very similar to that of French or Italian, was given earlier in the main part of this chapter (see (4)).²⁴ I repeat that chart below as (36).



The first and second person clitics, as opposed to the third person clitics,

²⁴ Here I will mention only the aspects of this clitic system relevant for the present purposes. A detailed study of Barceloní, one of the dialects of Catalan, can be found in chapter 2.

kave always the same shape independently of the Case they receive (accusative or dative). In addition, Catalan has an impersonal or third person reflexive *es* (/s/) (morphologically bare [PERSON]), an [OBLIQUE] clitic *hi* /i/ and a [GENITIVE] clitic *en* (/n/). Moreover, as opposed to Italian and French, Catalan has a specific spell-out *ho* (/u/), which corresponds to the morphological structure defined as [NEUTER]. Below I exemplify and discuss one by one the different uses these clitics can have. I will later show that, on the surface, clitics are not arranged according to their use or function, as one would expect if syntax affected clitic order.

1.1.1. Pronominal Clitics as Arguments

The most widely discussed clitics of the literature are the ones which correspond to accusative and dative arguments. I exemplify them below with a first person clitic /m/ and a third person clitic /l/ (accusative) or /li/ (dative). Clitics appear in boldface. In (37) the Case is accusative, in (38), dative.

- (37) a. L'home **m'**acusa
 the man 1st-acc accuses
 'the man accuses me'
- b. L'home **l'**acusa
 'the man accuses him/her'
- (38) a. L'home **m'**ha donat un llibre
 the man 1st-dat has given a book
 'the man has given me a book'
- b. L'home **li** ha donat un llibre
 'the man has given him/her a book'

However, examples of arguments other than accusative or dative are not taken often into consideration in the literature. For instance, the verbs *anar* 'to go' or *treure* 'to take out from' also require a locative argument (allative and ablative, respectively). Two examples are given below. The most common form of Past Tense in Catalan consists of an auxiliary plus the infinitival form of the verb.

- (39) a. *Hi /i/ vaig anar*
 loc. I went
 'I went there'
- b. *N'he tret un jersei*
 ablat. have(1st) taken-out a sweater
 'I took a sweater from there'

These are not the only verbs which subcategorize for a locative complement (sometimes in addition to other complements). Other such verbs are, for instance, *ficar* 'to put inside' or *posar* 'to put on top of' (both also requiring a direct object).

1.1.2. Pronominal Clitics as Adjuncts

The clitic *hi* in its locative use can also be an adjunct. It can appear with verbs like *treballar* 'to work', which do not subcategorize for a locative phrase. This is exemplified below:

- (40) *Hi /i/ treballo sovint*
 loc. work(1st) often
 'I work there often'

This is the only clitic which can clearly be related to adjuncts. There are other cases in which it is not clear to me whether the clitic used is related to an adjunct or to an optional argument. An example is given below:

- (41) N'arribaran roses
 ablat. will-arrive(3rd-pl) roses
 'roses will arrive from there'

In the approach to clitics pursued by Kayne, among others, the clitics presented in (37) to (41) would be generated in argument position (or adjunct position in the last two cases) as bare heads and would attach to Infl via head-to-head movement.

1.1.3. Inherent Clitics

Catalan makes extensive use of so-called pronominal verbs, that is verbs with an inherent clitic. In many cases these clitics affect the argument structure of the verb or they alter its ability to assign Case. Moreover, in some cases the meaning of the verb is modified (see Rigau (1990)). In other cases the verb does not exist without the clitic. I will assume, with Kayne (1975), and later work, that these clitics are nevertheless generated in argument position, and that they adjoin to Infl in the syntax.²⁵

Almost all the clitics of Catalan can be inherent clitics. I exemplify each case below (the verbs are taken from Mascaró (1985)). The only clitic that cannot be inherent is dative /li/ (according to Richard Kayne (p.c.), this

²⁵ I must admit that I am skeptical about this assumption. My main problem with it is that in many cases totally arbitrary decisions have to be made about the base position of these clitics. I adopt it mainly because many technical problems arise with other options.

seems to be generally true). As can be seen, in some cases the verb contains two inherent clitics, one of them being a reflexive ((42c,d,e)).

- (42) a. No **m'**atreveixo a mirar
not 1st dare(1st) to look
'I do not dare look'
- b. En Pere va dinyar-la /**la**/ ahir
the Pere DINYAR(Past) acc-3rd-fem yesterday
'Pere died yesterday'
- c. En Miquel se les /**la z**/ té amb tothom
the Miquel refl-3rd acc-3rd-fem-pl has with everybody
'Miquel argues with everybody'
- d. Passa-t'ho /**u**/ bé
pass refl-2nd-sg neut. well
'have fun!'
- e. La Maria se **n'**anirà
the Maria refl. gen. will-go
'Maria will leave'
- f. En Josep no hi /**i**/ veu bé
the Josep not obl. sees well
'Josep cannot see well'

The verb *dinyar* (in (42b)) does not mean anything in isolation, at least in Modern Catalan; *dinyar-la* is colloquial. *Atrevir-se* in (42a) also does not exist independently without the clitic but, contrary to *dinyar-la*, its stem appears in many derived words (like *atreviment* 'boldness', 'insolence').²⁶

²⁶ Notice also that in (42b) the inherent clitic is feminine singular, and that in (42c) it is feminine plural. The masculine (or the plural, in the first case) cannot be used instead. Mascaró (1985) does not list any pronominal verbs with the accusative third person clitic masculine, and I cannot think of any either. I do not know whether this is an accident or not.

1.1.4. *Ethicals*

First and second person clitics, especially, can be used in Catalan as ethical datives. Ethicals involve the speaker or the listener in the topic of the conversation; they usually express some sort of emotional attachment. Third person ethicals are marginal in most situations for most speakers. I do not think there is a good way of translating these clitics into English in many cases. Ethicals are not the same as benefactives, but in some cases it is hard to distinguish them. However, as pointed out to me by Albert Branchadell (see also Borer & Grodzinsky (1986)), there is a syntactic difference between them: benefactives, but not ethicals, can be questioned.²⁷ Ethicals never play a syntactic role. Some examples with first and second person ethicals are given below:

- (43) a. No **me** li diguis que calli
not eth-1st-sg dat-3rd-sg that shut-up (pres. subjunc.-
3rd,sg)
'Don't tell him/her to shut up'

²⁷ The impossibility of questioning an ethical is shown in the following ungrammatical example. The indices in subscript indicate the relevant coreferential relations:

- (i) *A qui_j se_i li_j va afaitar la barba en Pere_i?
to whom *es* eth.-3rd shaved(3rd) the beard the Pere
'on whom did Pere shave his beard?'

The corresponding declarative sentence would be:

- (ii) En Pere_i se_i li_j va afaitar la barba
the Pere *es* eth.-3rd shaved(3rd) the beard
'Pere shaved his beard on him/her'

- (43) b. No te li faran res
not eth-2nd-sg dat-3rd-sg will-do(3rd,pl) anything
'they won't do anything to him/her'

Contrary to Borer & Grodzinsky (1986) I do not assume that the insertion of ethical clitics is a lexical process (they do not have any effect on the syntax, and they do not alter the argument structure of the verb or anything else related to it). These clitics seem to be mainly discourse-related. In any case they are very different from other uses of clitics presented earlier.

1.2. Different Types of Clitics in Combination

Above we have seen that clitics do not always have the same status. They can basically be arguments (or inherent clitics), adjuncts, or ethical clitics. Presumably only clitics as arguments or adjuncts have a role in the syntax (from D-structure to S-structure). As for ethical clitics, they seem to play no role in the syntax (see fn. 27). They seem to be discourse-related.

Now, if the surface arrangement of clitics were determined by the factors mentioned above, one would expect a fixed order among arguments, adjuncts, and ethical clitics. Arguments would presumably be arranged according to Case, and ethical clitics would probably be the most external clitics, given that they are neither lexical nor syntactic (in a strict sense). These are certainly logical possibilities, but they are not found in any of the languages which have this type of clitics, as far as I know. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, clitics generally present a strict linear ordering **regardless** of the position of the verb. They are not distributed symmetrically with respect to it.

Accepting that the linear order of clitics is not established with respect to the verb, one could still expect that clitics occupy specific positions depending on their role (as arguments, adjuncts, or ethicals). However this is still not the case. Below I give some examples that illustrate this point. In (44) the clitics involved are /n/ (the [GENITIVE]) and /i/ (the [OBLIQUE]). The surface order of these clitics is always the same (/n/+i/), but the functions are not parallel.²⁸ A similar fact is shown in (45). The linear order of the clitics in this case is always second person (/t/) followed by first person (/m/), but again the functions are reversed: inherent-ethical in (45a) and ethical-inherent in (45b):²⁹

²⁸ In (44a) the pronominal verb is *anar-se'n*, with two inherent clitics. One could relate the reflexive clitic to the direct object position, and one could try to relate the other clitic, *en*, to some locational phrase, different from the one related to the non-inherent locative clitic *hi*. (44b) is an example of an existential construction, more or less equivalent to the *there be* construction of English. In (44b), the clitic *en* is unquestionably related to the object position. With respect to the clitic *hi*, I think it has been said that it is related to the Spec,IP position (probably by Esther Torrego), similarly to English *there* in the same construction. If this is so, it would be difficult to predict the order of clitics in these sentences from the syntax (*hi* would be related to an object in (44a), and to a subject in (44b), but it always appears in the last position).

²⁹ In colloquial Catalan, (45a,b) sound much better if given as in (i.a) and (i.b) respectively:

- (i) a. No se te m'enfadis
- b. No se te m'enfadaré

Both sentences contain what looks like a redundant clitic *es* (reflexive). I talk more extensively about cases such as (45) in chapter 2. The point I make in the text above still holds.

- (44) a. Se **n'hi** /i/ anirà demà
 refl-3rd(inh) gen(inh) loc(arg) will-go(3rd) tomorrow
 '(S)he will go there tomorrow'
- b. No **n'hi** /i/ ha
 not gen(arg) /i/(inh) has
 'there aren't (any)'
- (45) a. No te **m'enfadis**
 not refl-2nd(inh) 1st(eth) get-angry(pres. subjunc,2nd,sg)
 'don't get angry! (on me)'
- b. No te **m'enfadaré**
 not 2nd(eth) refl-1st(inh) get-angry(pres. subjunc,1st,sg)
 'I won't get angry (on you)'

It is practically impossible to find minimal pairs involving an argument and an adjunct because only /i/ (as a locative) can be an adjunct.³⁰

A similar point can be made, for some dialects, with respect to the linear order between accusative and dative with ditransitive verbs. In general some difficulties arise with respect to this issue because not all the combinations are possible when these two syntactic Cases are involved. The limitations in the number of possible combinations with ditransitive verbs are due to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, mentioned several times already, and to which chapter 4 is devoted.

However, for some speakers the Constraint is somewhat relaxed. For those speakers, the combination of a first person and a second person clitic in ditransitive verbs is fine. For most of them, the combination can be interpreted as accusative-dative or as dative-accusative. Perlmutter (1971) gives some examples from Spanish. The example from Catalan I give

³⁰ As suggested by Christopher Tancredi (p.c.), one could say that ethical clitics are adjuncts, while clitics like *hi* in (40) are optional arguments. This approach would not solve any problems, however: ethical precede most other clitics when they are first or second person, but not when they are third person, as shown in the text.

below is fine in both readings for many speakers (including myself).

Notice that, in spite of the two possible interpretations, the linear order of the clitics is the same: second person precedes first person:

- (46) **Te'm** van recomanar per a aquesta feina
a. 'they recommended me to you for this job'
b. 'they recommended you to me for this job'

In (46a) the second person clitic is dative and the first person clitic is accusative, while in (46b) the second person clitic is accusative and the first person clitic is dative. Notice, moreover, that earlier I gave another context in which second person precedes first person. Below I repeat (45) as (47):

- (47) a. No **te m'**enfadis
not refl-2nd(inh) 1st(eth) get-angry(pres. subjunc,2nd,sg)
'don't get angry! (on me)'
b. No **te m'**enfadaré
not 2nd(eth) refl-1st(inh) get-angry(pres. subjunc,1st,sg)
'I won't get angry (on you)'

In (47) the linear order is always second person followed by first person, but, as shown by the glosses, the functions are reversed: inherent reflexive followed by an ethical in (47a), and ethical followed by an inherent reflexive in (47b).

If we put (46) and (47) together, the only generalization that can be made is that a second person clitic has to precede a first person clitic. Case or syntactic status (as argument, adjunct, or ethical clitic) have nothing to do with the surface arrangement of these clitics (see Perlmutter (1971) for basically the same argument). One can extend this generalization to

combinations of first or second person clitics with a third person clitic. Instead of saying that accusative will precede dative or viceversa, one can say that first and second person precede third person or viceversa (recall that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint rules out some potential combinations).³¹

1.2.1. Combinations of Two Third Person Clitics

One could still try to advocate a syntax-related approach to clitic order for combinations of two third person clitics only, which is an already odd approach. In many cases this will be difficult because the combination does not result in a transparent surface form. An extreme case is *Barceloní*, the dialect of Catalan discussed in detail in the next chapter. In other dialects / languages it is common to not express the accusative or to use an [OBLIQUE] clitic instead of the dative. Spanish, instead, makes use of the Spurious *se* Rule. In all these cases, then, it is not possible to tell what the order between accusative and dative is. It is not legitimate to consider the "replacing" clitic (an [OBLIQUE] or *se*) as necessarily occupying the same original position as the dative: the "dative" *se* of Spanish will appear exactly in the same position as the reflexive or the

³¹ I have not mentioned in this section the possibility of having some non-ethical clitics directly generated in Infl (this seemed to be the suggestion made by Kayne with respect to at least some uses of *si*, in the 1990 Girona Summer School in Linguistics). If this claim were made, one would expect these clitics originating in Infl to occupy a fixed position with respect to the clitics moved to Infl. It would be easy, I think, to find arguments against a syntax-based approach to clitic order, given this claim.

I have not mentioned in this appendix the case of datives of inalienable possession, or the case of benefactives. I do not have much to say about them here, but see chapter 4 for some of the characteristics they share with other datives.

impersonal *se*; and a similar statement can be made for French, Catalan and Italian, and not just for the cases mentioned here. I provide a unified account of these cases in the next two chapters.

There are dialects / languages, however, which do present a transparent surface order of two third person clitics in ditransitive verbs. Some examples are Valencian (a dialect of Catalan), Standard French and Modern Greek. Before I go into the facts concerning each of these dialects / languages let us see what a syntax-based approach would predict.

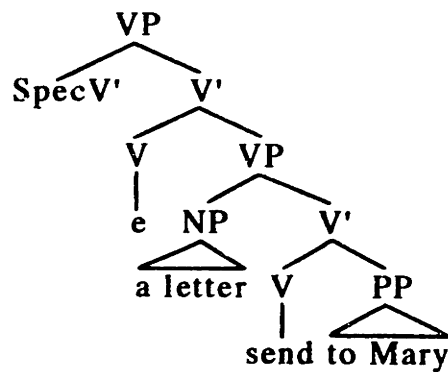
In order to provide a syntactic account of the surface order of clitics I will assume, as I said earlier, Kayne's theory of clitics: they originate in argument position, and attach to Infl via head-to-head movement by S-structure; moreover, adjunction is always to the left. I will also assume the theory of indirect objects developed in Larson (1988) (some theory of this sort is necessary, given that the constructions we are dealing with here involve both a direct and an indirect object). Below I give the necessary definitions and basic structure:³²

(48) *The Head Movement Constraint* (Chomsky (1986) p. 71 (160))

Movement of a zero-level category β is restricted to the position of a head α that governs the maximal projection γ of β , where α θ -governs or L-marks γ if $\alpha \neq C$

³² The Head Movement Constraint was originally proposed in Travis (1984).

(49) Larson's (1988) analysis of datives (p. 342 (13b))

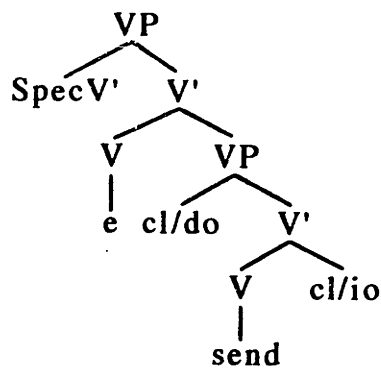


Given structures like (49), the lower verb moves to the upper verb position, giving the order *send a letter to Mary*.³³ In the case of clitics, the structure would be almost identical; the surface dative clitic would be generated below the surface accusative clitic.³⁴ Assuming that head-to-head movement operates in a cyclic fashion, adjunction of all the relevant elements will operate as illustrated below (recall that I am assuming, with Kayne, that adjunction is always to the left). In (50a) I indicate with arrows the first two movements: the indirect object clitic (cl/io) adjoins to the left of the lower verb (this clitic is θ -governed by the lower verb), and this complex moves further to the upper V (the "normal" movement of the verb mentioned earlier). In (50b) I indicate with an arrow the last movement: the direct object clitic (cl/do) left-adjoins to the complex upper V. In (50c), finally, I give the resulting complex V structure, which shows the relative order of the clitics.

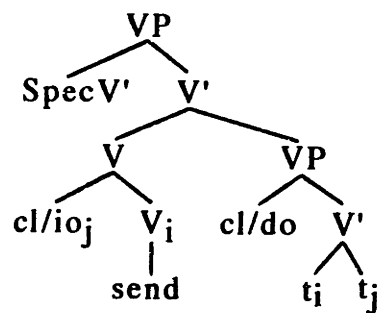
³³ I assume this movement to be a case of substitution rather than adjunction.

³⁴ Marantz (1989), among others, proposes the opposite hierarchical relation between the direct object and the indirect object at D-structure: the indirect object is generated higher than the direct object. In this case, the surface order between the clitics predicted in Larson's theory would be reversed.

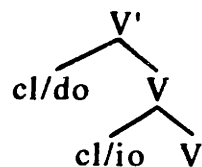
(50) a.



b.



c.



The derivation given above gives as a result the linear order accusative > dative.³⁵ This is the alleged Old Romance order between accusative and dative (see, for instance, the writings by Wanner, Coromines or also Pearce (1988)). As far as I know, this surface order between third person

³⁵ Marco Haverkort suggested to me a different movement possibility, which would derive the opposite surface order: V would move to I independently of the clitics; then the indirect object clitic would adjoin to the left of the direct object clitic, and the two of them would adjoin to the left of the V+I complex. This would give the surface order dative-accusative. In any case, what is important is that either version apply consistently to all the languages. The point I am trying to make would still hold.

accusative and dative is attested nowadays only in Standard French and Occitan, among the Romance languages. A more common order (with transparent forms, of course) is dative > accusative, attested in Standard Italian or Valencian (as well as Modern Greek, with proclitics and, optionally, enclitics). The problem now is to account for the "unexpected" reverse order just mentioned. Maybe one could find some mechanism or stipulation which would somehow account for these cases, but recall that these are a relatively small set of cases. One still has to account for the combinations involving first and second person clitics, and all the other clitics in all their uses, as well as all the cases which do not result in a transparent output.

My claim is that surface clitic order is determined independently of the syntax, at least for most Romance languages. When the order provided by the syntax and the one obtained through the mechanisms that will be proposed are the same it is by coincidence. The cases without coincidences are far more numerous.

Moreover, there is not even evidence for an indirect effect of the syntax on the order of clitics. Noyer (1991a) argues with data from Maung and Nunggubuyu that syntactic organization is relevant for the spell-out of certain affixes, when these affixes are competing for one and the same slot. The affix that "survives" is the one which was most deeply embedded syntactically. There are no cases of this sort in the dialects / languages discussed in this thesis. In the only cases where it looks like two clitics are competing for the same slot, it is impossible to tell which clitic wins.

In the next section I discuss a different type of evidence against a syntax-related approach to clitic order: dialectal variation. I will comment

on the basic clitic order of three dialects of Catalan: Mallorcan, Valencian and Standard Catalan. In spite of the great differences in clitic order, these three dialects do not differ in aspects of the syntax which could be related to it.

1.3. Dialectal Variation

Mallorcan, Valencian and Standard Catalan are three dialects of Catalan. To be more precise, the last is not even a dialect (in the geographical sense) but a register. It is the language used on television and newspapers. Mallorcan is spoken in Mallorca, one of the Balearic Islands, while Valencian is spoken in the País Valencià, south of Catalonia. These three dialects / registers do not present any notable syntactic differences (Gemma Rigau (personal communication)).³⁶ However, the order of the pronominal clitics differs drastically, as shown below with descriptive templates (using the terminology I argue for in this thesis). Valencian does not have on the surface the [OBLIQUE] clitic *hi*.³⁷ It also lacks the clitic

³⁶ As Richard Kayne pointed out to me, it is true, for instance, that Mallorcan allows Past Participle agreement in contexts where other dialects of Catalan do not (Past Participle agreement in Mallorcan is possible, even if there are no clitics around). It is also true that there is variation with respect to auxiliary selection (the variation here does not depend on major dialects, but almost on idiolects). Personally I do not think it possible to relate these phenomena and the dialectal variation to differences in clitic order. It would be interesting, however, to see whether any correlations can be made. I leave this enterprise to others.

³⁷ *Hi* appears lexicalized with some verbs. A similar phenomenon took place in Spanish, where the modern form *hay* 'there is' contains the old [OBLIQUE] suffix (the last segment of the form, *y*).

en in its ablative use (in my terms, it lacks a mapping to the structure characterized by {[GENITIVE],*a*}.³⁸

(51) a. Valencian:

$$[+1] - [-1] - \{[ARG],[OBL]\} - [PERS] - [ARG] - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [GEN] \\ [NEUT] \end{array} \right\}$$

b. Mallorcan:

$$[ARG] - [PERS] - [\pm 1] - \{[ARG],[OBL]\} - [GEN] - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [OBL] \\ [NEUT] \end{array} \right\}$$

c. Standard Catalan:

$$[PERS] - [-1] - [+1] - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{[ARG],[OBL],pl\} - [ARG] \\ \{[ARG],[OBL]\} \end{array} \right\} - [GEN] - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [OBL] \\ [NEUT] \end{array} \right\}$$

The template for Standard Catalan is an adapted simplification of the template given in Mascaró (1985). As I said before, these templates are only descriptive, and do not capture many of the cooccurrence restrictions among clitics. In (51b) I have put first and second person in the same slot because I do not know for certain what the order between these two clitics is. Standard Catalan has a more complicated template than the other two dialects because, when two third persons are involved, the order dative-accusative holds only if the dative is plural. In the singular, the form of the dative clitic is *hi* and, not too surprisingly, it follows the accusative. I am not giving the template for Barceloní, which is discussed in great length in the next chapter. Barceloní is in many respects closer to Standard Catalan than the other two dialects described above are.

I think that the differences that can be seen in (51) among the three

³⁸ My data from Valencian comes mainly from Vicent de Melchor, but also from Salvador (1966) and Colomina i Castanyer (1985). My data from Mallorcan comes from Moll (1980), and from three books of folk tales from the beginning of the century, collected by Jordi des Racó (pseudonym of Antoni M. Alcover).

dialects / registers are evident, and not much more needs to be said. The differences in clitic order are spectacular enough, and --as mentioned earlier-- no specific syntactic differences can be related to them.

As a final note, I would like to mention a difference that arises in dialects that are very close to each other. While in Barceloní the order between first and second person, and the bare [PERSON] clitic *es* is as given above for Standard Catalan (*es-II-I*), the order in Gironí (just a few miles to the north) is *II-I-es*. In addition, in dialects very close to Barceloní (I do not know exactly what areas), the order is *II-es-I*. Nothing in the syntax of these dialects (identical as far as I know) could account for this difference.

1.4. Summary

In the previous sections I hope to have shown that the syntax can hardly be claimed to be responsible for the surface order of pronominal clitics. I am not denying a possible role for the syntax in languages with a very limited system of pronominal clitics like Modern Greek (even though the syntactic analysis that was provided predicts the wrong results for proclitics and is insufficient for enclitics, where the order seems to be free), or maybe in Standard Italian. A syntactic approach to clitic order seems untenable for most Romance languages, however, once one takes **all** the clitics into account, not just the ones that seem to better suit current syntactic approaches.

Two types of evidence were discussed which make a syntactic approach

to clitic order highly unlikely: 1) the different functions clitics can have, and 2) dialectal variation. With respect to the first point, it was shown that pronominal clitics can have different origins, but that does not determine at all their relative surface ordering. Some of them correspond to arguments and some of them to adjuncts. Some others (ethicals) do not have a syntactic role. If anything like the Mirror Principle (Baker (1985a)) had any effect on clitics, one would predict a linear order which reflected these different properties. Let me say once more that this is not the case. The second type of evidence that was provided concerned dialectal variation. The templates for three dialects / registers of Catalan were shown, which showed significant differences among each other. These differences do not seem to correlate with syntactic differences that could be associated to them in any way.

Perlmutter (1971) makes exactly the same point I have made here using very similar evidence. His conclusion was that clitic order --in French and Spanish-- could not be derived by use of transformations, and that what he called 'surface structure constraints' (filters or templates) had to be incorporated into the grammar in order to account for clitic order in these languages. I decided to address the issue again because syntactic theory has evolved in significant ways in the last ten years, with and within the Principles and Parameters approach. Moreover, work like Baker (1985a,b) and Pollock (1989) has encouraged the belief among many linguists that most of the morphology (inflectional morphology and grammatical function changing morphology, basically) can be derived directly from the syntax (at most some "phonological" changes will have to be added).³⁹ One would

³⁹ See Iatridou (1990) for a criticism of Pollock (1989).

then expect pronominal clitics to fall under this category. This whole section has been aimed to provide some evidence against such a belief. In the next chapter other types of evidence, concerning Barceloní, will be given showing the inability of syntax to account for clitic order and other aspects related to it.

CHAPTER 2

THE MORPHOLOGY OF PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN BARCELONI

In this chapter I intend to account for the properties that characterize the clitic combinations of Barceloní within the model described in chapter 1. It will be shown at several points that alternative proposals cannot account in a satisfactory fashion for the numerous non-transparent forms typical of this dialect.

Barceloní is not a very homogeneous dialect with respect to clitics, and in some cases alternative morphological rules have to be proposed for a set of speakers. Moreover, not all the morphological structures I will be talking about are present in all speakers of Barceloní. Younger speakers (twenty-five years old and below) tend to lack all the uses of *hi* (in my terms they would lack a mapping to [OBLIQUE]) and many or all the uses of *en* (in my terms, [GENITIVE]). In these cases there is a clear assimilation to the system of Spanish. I will try to give a maximally general account.

This chapter is organized in the following way: each main section is devoted to one of the aspects I have attributed to the Morphology Component. I will introduce the relevant facts of Barceloní in the section in which they will be accounted for. The last section is devoted to additional residual facts.

2.1. The Mapping from S-Structure to the Morphology

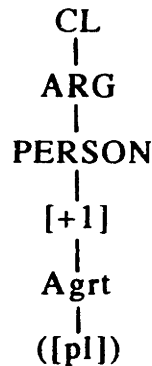
Barceloní has the same morphological structures which were proposed for Standard Catalan in chapter 1. In (1) and (2), below, I repeat them. For convenience, I divide them into two groups: (1) includes the clitics which project the node [PERSON]; the clitics in (2) lack this node. As I mentioned in chapter 1, and as will be shown later, these two types of clitics constitute natural classes. For Barceloní, it will be necessary to integrate each class of clitics into different groups (which I will call fields). In the forms below I also give the phonological spell-out for clarification:¹

¹ As can be seen from the spell-outs in (1) and (2), most clitics are underlyingly a bare consonant (or in some cases a consonant cluster). On the surface, a schwa will often appear for syllabification purposes. Below I give examples of the relevant contexts with the first person clitic /m/:

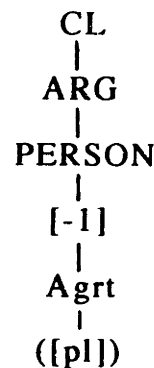
- (i) a. **m'**agrada la música
1st-dat pleases the music
'I like music'
- b. dóna**m** això
give 1st-dat this
'give me this'
- c. [ə]**m** plau la música
1st-dat pleases the music
'music pleases me'
- d. vol donar-**m**[ə] això
wants give 1st-dat this
's/he wants to give me this'

In (i.a,b), the clitic can be syllabified with the first or last vowel of the verb, and no schwa is needed. In (i.c,d), on the other hand, the verb begins or ends in a consonant, and a schwa must be present. In other dialects, schwas can be argued to be present in the

(1) a. First person: /m/, /nz/



b. Second person: /t/, /wz/



c. Impersonal/reflexive: /s/



underlying representation.

In clitic clusters, a schwa appears between any two clitics that end or begin with a consonant (the schwa breaking a consonant cluster). As already argued in Fabra (1912), this schwa is not merely epenthetic but serves a "bindung" or linking function. The example below contains one of these schwas (in square brackets), which in this case is not needed for syllabification purposes:

(ii) Ens [ə] les donaràs?

1st-dat-pl 3rd-acc-fem-pl will-give(2nd)

'are you going to give them to us?'

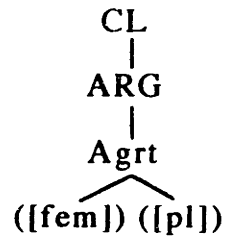
In Barceloní, when the first person clitic appears before a verb starting in a consonant, no epenthetic vowel appears. In clitic clusters, then, the schwas appear between the clitics, not just before them.

This is a very brief summary of the phonology that concerns clitics directly. The facts, however, are much more complicated, and have not received much attention in the literature (not too surprisingly, given the amount of variation, and the difficulty in finding any interesting generalizations).

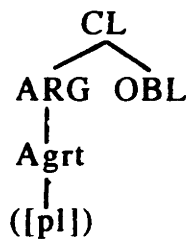
(2) a. Neuter: /u/



b. Accusative 3rd: /l/, /lə/, lz/, /ləz/



c. Dative 3rd: /li/, /lzi/



d. oblique: /i/



e. Genitive



(2e) collapses two structures: {[GENITIVE], *a*} corresponds to the ablative, while [GENITIVE] alone corresponds to the partitive and other syntactic clitics.

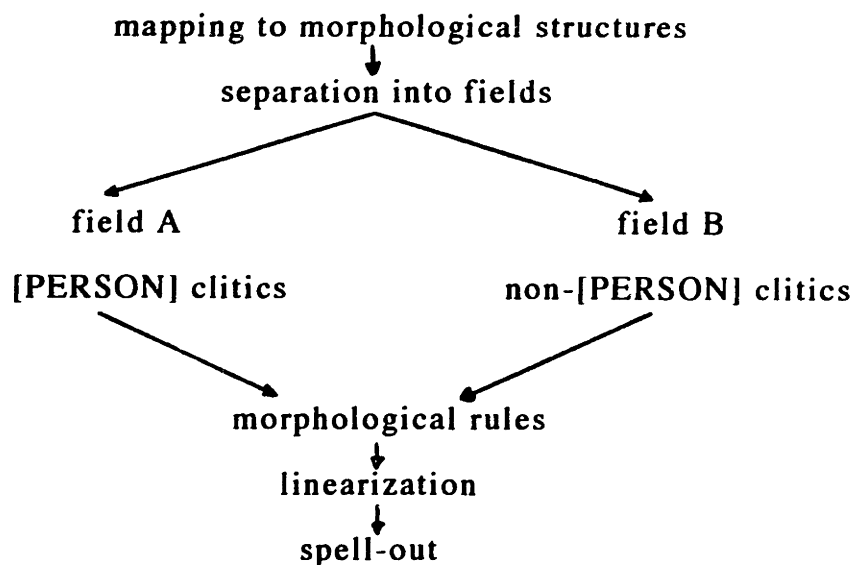
In some Romance languages, there is evidence for the presence of the feature [feminine] in the third person dative clitic. I have not included this feature in the representation of this clitic in (2c) because there is no evidence for it in Barceloní.

In the next section I will discuss some facts that point to a separation

between [PERSON] and non-[PERSON] clitics in the Morphology Component of Barceloní: while non-[PERSON] clitics are often subject to morphological rules, and many cooccurrence restrictions arise among them, [PERSON] clitics seem to be invisible to these processes. I will suggest that these two types of clitics occupy different fields in the Morphology Component, and are inaccessible to each other.

With these modifications in mind, the organization of the Morphology Component for Barceloní looks as represented below:

(3) **Morphology Component** (Barceloní)



2.1.1. Separation into Fields

At the beginning of this section I mentioned that combinations of two [PERSON] clitics and combinations of a [PERSON] clitic with a non-[PERSON] clitic always give transparent results, and no cooccurrence

restrictions arise among them.² The examples below show this point. The examples in (4) contain two [PERSON] clitics, while the examples in (5) contain a [PERSON] clitic (always the first one in the combination) plus a non-[PERSON] clitic. I indicate in boldface the relevant part of the clitics (leaving schwas aside):³

- (4) a. **Te'm** suspendran?
 2nd-acc 1st(eth) will-fail(3rd-pl)
 'will they fail you (on me)?'
- b. **Se t'ha** declarat
 refl(inh) 2nd-dat has declared
 's/he declared his/her love to you'
- c. **Se'm** va permetre venir
 imp. 1st-dat allowed(3rd) come
 'I was allowed to come'
- (5) a. **Quan me la** donaràs?
 when 1st-dat 3rd-acc-fem will-give(2nd)
 'when will you give her to me?'
- b. **Te li** enviaré una carta
 2nd(ben) 3rd-dat will-send a letter
 'I'll send the letter to him/her for your benefit'
- c. **S'ho /u/** ha regalat (a ell mateix)
 refl. neut. has given (as a gift) (to him/herself)
 's/he has given it to him/herself'
- d. **M'ho /u/** donaran demà
 1st-dat neut. will-give(3rd-pl) tomorrow
 'they will give it to me tomorrow'
- e. **T'ho /u/** faran comprar demà
 2nd-dat neut. will-make(3rd-pl) buy tomorrow
 'they will make you buy it tomorrow'

² Here I am abstracting away from universal constraints on clitic combinations, like the **me lui/l-II* Constraint, which will be discussed in chapter 4. Here I am referring only to language-particular cooccurrence restrictions.

³ The most common form of the Past Tense in Catalan is periphrastic (an auxiliary plus the infinitival form of the verb). This is the form of the verb in (4c), for instance.

- (5) f. **me'n** pots treure una tassa?
 1st(ben) ablat. can(2nd) take-out a cup
 'could you take out (from there) a cup for me?'
 g. **M'hi** /i/ pots acompanyar?
 1st-acc loc. can(2nd) accompany
 'can you accompany me there?'

While the examples in (4) and (5) all give transparent results (that is, the same forms the clitics have in isolation), this cannot be said of combinations of non-[PERSON] clitics. Below I give only two examples of this latter case, because the main part of this chapter is devoted to accounting for these non-transparent forms. Other cases will be discussed later. In the glosses corresponding to the clitics, I give only the information that the syntax provides. What the surface form stands for will be accounted for in the relevant section. Not all the speakers of Barceloní accept the version in (6b).

- (6) a. **A en Miquel, les llibretes, [əlzi]** donaré després
 to the Miquel, the notebooks(fem), will-give(1st) later
 'I will give the notebooks to Miquel later'
 b. **El vestit, de l'armari, treu-[li]** ara!
 the dress, from the closet, take-out 3rd-acc ablat. now
 'take the dress out of the closet now!'

One might expect that, for a sentence like (6a), the output form be [liləz] (transparent dative > accusative, as in Valencian), or [ləzli] (accusative > dative), but this is not the case. The form in (6a) looks like the third person dative plural clitic in isolation. However, the fact that the dative source is singular (*a en Miquel* 'to Miquel'), suggests that it cannot be the case that the accusative clitic is simply not expressed, as happens in

dialects of French (the spell-out for [plural] in (6a), /z/, has to be related to the plural accusative source, *les llibretes* 'the notebooks'). In (6b), the common spell-out for the ablative, /n/, is not present. Instead, /i/, the spell-out of [OBLIQUE] appears. The transparent output [lən] does exist in some dialects.

From the examples in (4) - (6), then, it can be seen that [PERSON] clitics always trigger the presence of transparent forms, while non-[PERSON] clitics interfere considerably with each other. In the proposal to be developed below, this effect is achieved by having the [PERSON] clitics located in what I will call field A, and the non-[PERSON] clitics in field B, the two fields being inaccessible to each other. As will be seen below, the morphological rules of Barceloní affect only field B clitics.

2.2. Morphological Rules

In this section I will discuss only non-[PERSON] clitics. As I said earlier, these are the only clitics taken into account by morphological rules; [PERSON] clitics never participate in them, not even as triggers.

Morphological rules will not account for all the non-transparent forms of clitics in Barceloní. In sections 2.3 and 2.4, other crucial steps will be discussed that account for a different type of non-transparent forms. Some of the forms I will discuss in this section will be reduced to forms of the other type. These non-transparent forms, then, will be derived in a two-step process.

Agreement does not participate in most of the processes I will discuss in

this section. Therefore, I will abstract from it in many cases. I will refer to it only when it becomes crucial.

2.2.1. *The Targets of Morphological Rules*

In this section, I will first outline in a chart the forms that the morphological rules (basically two) will account for, and I will later exemplify each of these rules. The rules themselves and the relevant derivations are given in the next subsection.

In (7), below, I give the forms that will be subject to morphological rules. To the left of the arrow, I give the two clitics involved, with the morphological features that characterize them, and their phonological form in isolation; to the right of the arrow I give the output phonological form. The cases in prime letters corresponds to a different set of speakers, and will require the modification of one of the morphological rules.

- (7) a. {[ARG],[OBL]} /l(z)i/ + [NEUT] /u/ → /l(z)i/
- b. [OBL] /i/ + [NEUT] /u/ → /li/
- c. [ARG] /l(ə)(z)/ + {[GEN],a} /n/ → /li/
- c'. " " " → /l(ə)(z)/
- d. [GEN] /n/ + {[GEN],a} /n/ → /ni/
- d'. " " " → /n/
- e. {[GEN],a} /n/ + [NEUT] /u/ → /li/
- e'. " " " → /u/

From now on I will refer to the set of speakers with the prime letters (that is, the speakers with (7a,b,c',d',e')) as the B' dialect. The other set of

speakers will be simply B.

The examples below illustrate the processes outlined in (7). For each example, I will first illustrate the use of the relevant clitics in isolation, then I will show the inexistent transparent form, and finally I will give, in the same order I presented them above, the actual form(s). In all the examples, I use the Clitic Left Dislocation to make explicit the referent of the clitic(s). For convenience, as in previous cases, in my translation of the sentences I ignore the fact that the left dislocated element is old information. The examples marked as ungrammatical are often fine in other dialects or registers. In these cases I give the order found in those dialects.

The example in (8) illustrates the combination in (7a):

- (8) a. Això, ho /u/ donaré a en Miquel després
this, neut. will-give(1st) to the Miquel later
b. A en Miquel, li donaré això després
to the Miquel, 3rd-dat will-give(1st) this later
c. *Això, a en Miquel, li ho donaré després
this, to the Miquel, 3rd-dat neut. will-give(1st) later
d. Això, a en Miquel, /li/ donaré després
'I will give this to Miquel later'

(9) illustrates (7b):

- (9) a. Això, ho /u/ ficaré a l'armari després
this, neut. will-put(1st) in the closet later
b. A l'armari, hi /i/ ficaré això després
in the closet, loc. will-put(1st) this later
c. *Això, a l'armari, hi ho/ho hi ficaré després
this, in the closet, loc. neut./neut. loc. will-put(1st) later
d. Això, a l'armari, /li/ ficaré després
'I will put this in the closet later'

(10) illustrates (7c,c'):

- (10) a. El jersei, el trauré de l'armari després
the sweater, 3rd-acc will-take-out(1st) from the closet later
- b. De l'armari, en trauré el jersei després
from the closet, ablat. will-take-out(1st) the sweater later
- c. *De l'armari, el jersei, l'en trauré després
from the closet, the sweater, 3rd-acc ablat. will-take-out(1st)
later
- d. De l'armari, el jersei, /li/ trauré després
- d'. De l'armari, el jersei, el trauré després
'I will take the sweater out of the closet later'

The examples in (11) illustrate (7d):

- (11) a. Del cine, en van sortir tres nens
from-the movie-theater, ablat. came-out(3rd-pl) three children
- b. De nens, en van sortir tres del cine
of children, gen. came-out three from-the movie-theater
- c. *De nens, del cine, ne'n van sortir tres
of children, from-the movie-theater, gen. ablat./ablat. gen.
came-out three
- d. De nens, del cine, /ni/ van sortir tres
- d'. De nens, del cine, en van sortir tres
'three children came out of the movie theater'

Finally, (12) illustrates (7e,e'):

- (12) a. Això, ho /u/ vaig treure de l'armari ahir
this, neut. took-out(1st) of the closet yesterday
- b. De l'armari, en vaig treure això ahir
of the closet, ablat. took(1st) this yesterday
- c. *Això, de l'armari, n'ho vaig treure ahir
this, from the closet, ablat. neut. took-out(1st) yesterday
- d. Això, de l'armari, l'hi /li/ vaig treure ahir
- d'. Això, de l'armari, ho /u/ vaig treure ahir
'I took this out of the closet yesterday'

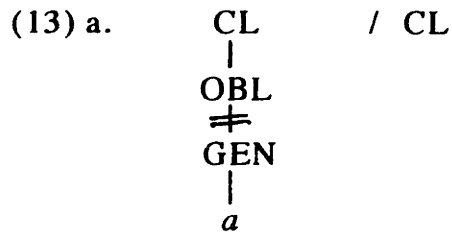
We will see later that the ungrammatical output clitic sequence shown in (12c) is grammatical in a very specific case.

2.2.2. Morphological Rules and Derivations

The morphological rules I will give in this section account for the cooccurrence restrictions exemplified in the examples (8) to (12), as well as for the surfacing non-transparent form. One could alternatively suggest that the inexistent combinations are due to some constraint, and that the existent non-transparent output forms are derived via some repair strategy (that is, a derivation in two steps, rather than one). This view would not improve things, however. The constraints themselves would probably have to be expressed as a series of filters, and the repair strategies would not look very different from the morphological rules I will give, anyway. With the morphological rules, both concepts are captured: if something does not occur, it is because there is a rule that prevents it from surfacing. In this sense, morphological rules are not very different from assimilation processes in phonology, where, for instance, a vowel harmony rule will prevent non-harmonic vowels from surfacing. Cooccurrence restrictions as constraints are not banned from this proposal, however. In chapter 4, a universal constraint will be proposed, and language-particular strategies to avoid that constraint will be discussed. The cases I am discussing in this chapter are not only dialect-particular, but sometimes the differences are found from speaker to speaker.

The rules that will derive the forms to the right of the arrow in (7), for the speakers of dialect B (that is, (7a,b,c,d,e)) are given below. Afterwards I will give the derivation of each form. Later I will provide the rule needed to derive the alternative forms in (7c',d',e'), which require

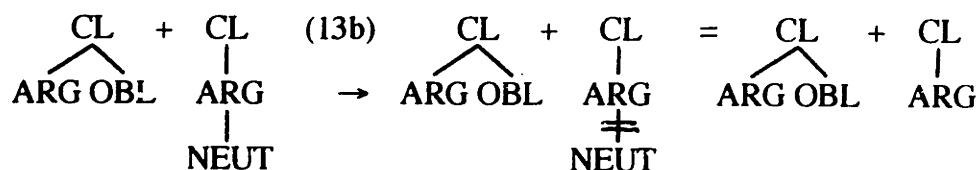
only the modification of one of the rules below. All the rules I will give involve only the delinking of a node or nodes.



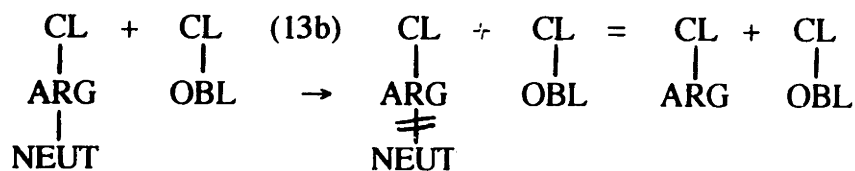
The information in the rules above, as in phonology, does not have to be interpreted exhaustively; that is the morphological structures involved have to contain **at least** the nodes mentioned; they can contain other nodes as well. Therefore, for instance, rule (13b) can also be triggered by a dative, which contains not only the node [OBLIQUE] but also the node [ARGUMENT]. This is shown below. Moreover, the CL which in (13a) is identified as the trigger of the rule refers to any clitic (any morphological structure) which cooccurs with the target in field B. As we will see later, there is an additional rule, which affects Barceloní in general (as far as I know), which also has any morphological structure in field B as the trigger. This rule involves the feminine marker, which, for the sake of clarity, I ignore in the derivations below (I will use forms that lack the specification [fem] or [pl]). Recall, in addition, that there is no linear ordering among the morphological structures. In a sense, then, all the clitics in field B are adjacent to each other.

Let us see now, step by step, the derivation of each combination in (7) (for dialect B), given the morphological rules in (13). Notice that the delinking (or deletion) operation gives rise to a morphological structure which is also projected independently of these rules. I follow the same order that I gave in (7). I give the phonological form of the clitics for convenience, but it has to be understood that at that stage that information is not present:

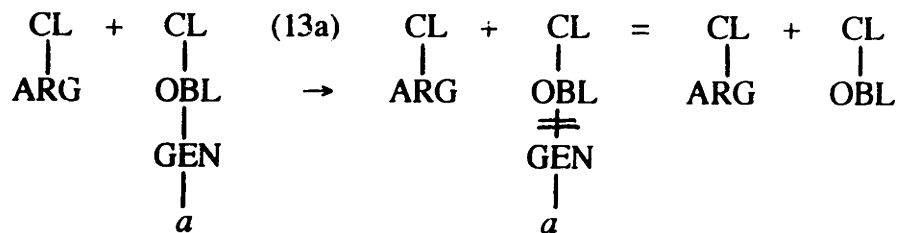
(14) a. /li/ + /u/ → /li/



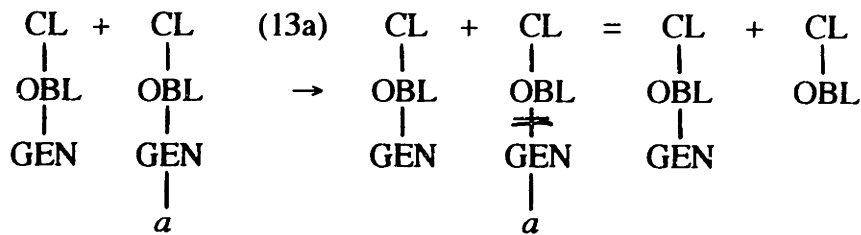
b. /u/ + /i/ → /li/



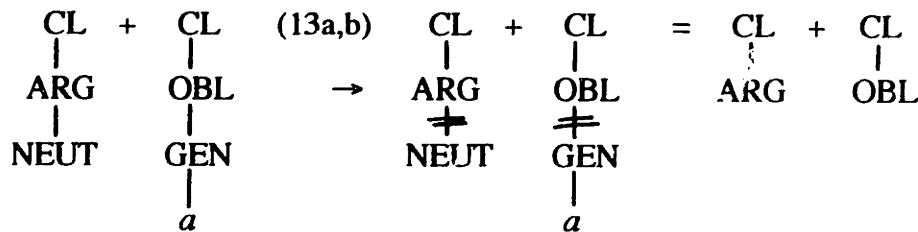
c. /l/ + /n/ → /li/



(14) d. /n/ + /n/ → /ni/



e. /u/ + /n/ → /li/



In (14d) the input to rule (14a) contains two instances of [GEN]. One of them has to have the specification *a* in addition because, as far as I can tell, this combination can only arise when an ablative is involved. Notice that this combination is not treated as a phonological restriction against two identical elements (this restriction does not exist in the system developed here). The "change" in the surface form is simply due to a morphological rule that also affects what would surface as phonologically non-identical sequences, namely (7c) (or (14c)) and part of (7e) (or (14e)). This analysis, then, is superior to a phonological analysis because it accounts for all the cases in a unified manner, not with arbitrary restrictions on phonological form.

Notice, in addition, that (14a) is identical to (14b) ((14a) having only one additional element). With this analysis I implicitly reject any phonological account for the combination /li/+u/, which a priori one might

attribute to vowel truncation (deletion of /u/). (14e) shows the application of the two rules in (13), which were motivated independently from one another. This is what gives it this spectacular surface form (from /nu/ to /li/). Notice that the two rules in (13) need not be extrinsically ordered for this dialect, because the input to each single rule is always there.

In the formulation of rule (13a), the presence of the feature *a* in the target of the rule is crucial. With this formulation we predict that any instance of [GEN] **without** *a* will not be affected by rule (13a). That is, in the language there might be surface occurrences of /n/ + /u/ and /l/ + /n/. This prediction is borne out for both combinations. With respect to /n/ + /u/, there is a set of speakers who have pronominal verbs with inherent *en* like *endur-se'n* 'to take with one'. In these cases the clitic related to the direct object can be /u/, the combination of the two clitics surfacing as /nu/. This is illustrated below with the Clitic Left-Dislocation construction (CLD):

- (15) Això, endu-te-n'ho /u/ ara mateix!
 'take this with you right now!'

Crucial to this case is the fact that /n/ does not have *a* because it does not correspond to a syntactic ablative (it is an inherent clitic). With respect to the combination /l/ + /n/, one can see it surface when the third person is dative. Recall that, to prove the point, /n/ cannot have *a* (it cannot be ablative). A good candidate then is partitive /n/. Because the partitive clitic is in most cases in complementary distribution with accusative, the third person clitic has to be dative. This combination is illustrated below, with a dative plural. Again the construction used is CLD:

- (16) de pomes, als nens, no [lɜ̃ nɪ] donis!
 of apples, to-the children, 3rd,pl+part.+dat.)
 'do not give apples to the children!'

In the example above, the syntactic clitic 3rd person dative (/lɜ̃/ in isolation) is "split" by the partitive (/n/). This "splitting" will follow from the way linearization works in Barceloní.

I should mention at this point that in a sentence similar to (16) but with a singular dative, /l/ would not surface for any speaker of Barceloní. This is shown in (17):

- (17) De pomes, al nen, no [nɪ] donis!
 'do not give apples to the child!'

Given examples like (16), the absence of /l/ in (17) is a mystery. The two clitic clusters are identical in terms of their morphological structure, the only difference being the presence of the feature [plural] in (16). In the surface, the spell-out for [plural], /z/, appears between the /l/ of the dative clitic and the /n/ of the partitive. I want to suggest here that the absence of /l/ in (17) is due to a morphophonological rule, which deletes the /l/ when linearly adjacent to /n/. This rule, needless to say, will apply after spell-out, when linear order has already been established. The domain of the rule is the clitic cluster (it can only apply between clitics, never between a clitic and a verb). This rule is formulated below (abstracting away from the domain):

- (18) l → Ø / __n

The fact that this rule is morphophonological and therefore requires linear adjacency prevents it from affecting the plural dative in examples like (16).

Before I address the next issue I should mention that while rule (13a) seems to be dialect specific (in fact, more than that; it only applies to a particular set of speakers of Barceloní), rule (13b) seems to be general to Catalan. I cannot tell whether the latter rule should be considered more general than that because, as far as I know, no other Romance language, except for Occitan, has a specific spell-out for [NEUTER] (all the languages I know use the third person masculine singular form (see chapter 3) in the environments where Catalan /u/ appears). In the dialects (or even registers) that lack rule (13a), /l/ and ablative /n/ can appear together, as shown by the example below:

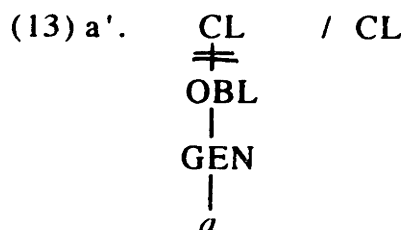
- (19) El jersei, del calaix, [lən] trauré després
the sweater, from the drawer, it from-it (I) will-take-out later
'I will take the sweater out of the drawer later'

Moreover, in these dialects, in the context /n+/n/, no spectacular change can be observed. On the surface only one /n/ appears. My assumption is that rule (13a) does not apply, and that the unaltered morphological sequence is subject to the same process that affects sequences of third person accusative plus third person dative, among others. I address this issue in section 2.3.

Let us now consider the dialect I called B' (with (7c',d',e')). Below I repeat as (20) the relevant cases:

- (20) a. [ARG] /l(ə)(z)/ + {[GEN],a} /n/ → /l(ə)(z)/
 b. [GEN] /n/ + {[GEN],a} /n/ → /n/
 c. {[GEN],a} /n/ + [NEUT] /w/ → /w/

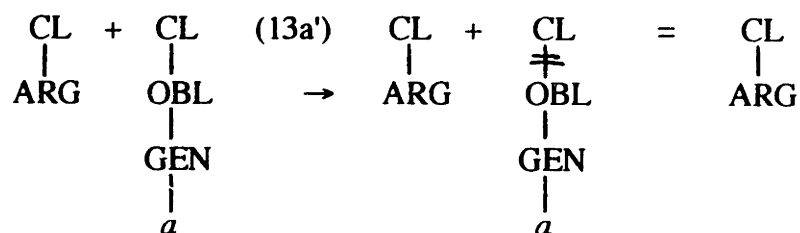
In order to account for these cases, rule (13a) has to be modified in the way shown below, as (13a'):



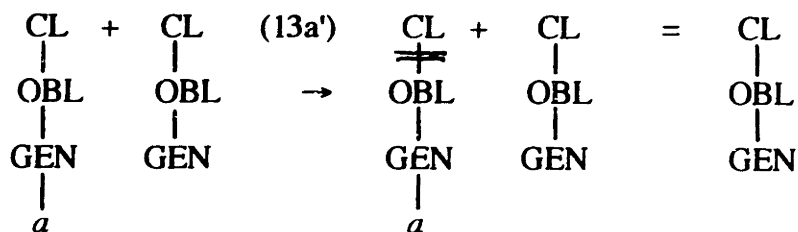
Moreover, rule (13a') has to be ordered **before** (13b), given forms like (20c). For dialect B both (13a) and (13b) apply. For dialect B', on the other hand, only (13a') is applicable. If the two rules are ordered ((13a') > (13b)), the latter rule will be bled in (20c). The relevant derivations for B' are given below. I ignore the aspects relating to [feminine] and [plural]. In (21d) I give the derivation which would take place if (13b) preceded (13a'). The output form, as shown, is ill-formed:⁴

⁴ One could relate the order of the two rules to the fact that while (13a'), the first rule to apply, is dialect specific (almost idiolect specific), (13b) (the second rule to apply) is general to Catalan. Another option, following the spirit of Chomsky (1990), would be to say that the derivation in (21c), and not the one in (21d), is forced because it involves fewer steps. For the other speakers of Barceloní (dialect B) this issue does not arise because the formulation of the two rules makes them applicable in any order; the two possible derivations involve the same number of steps.

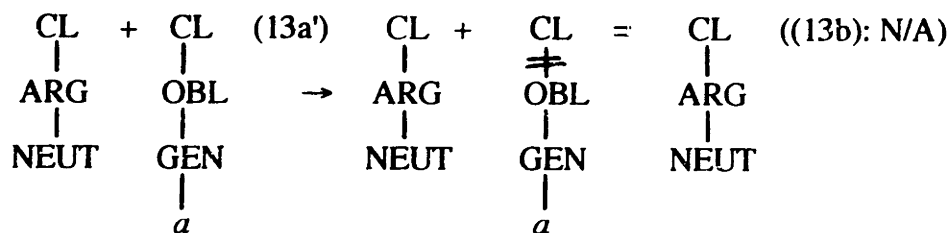
(21) a. /l/ + /n/ → /l/



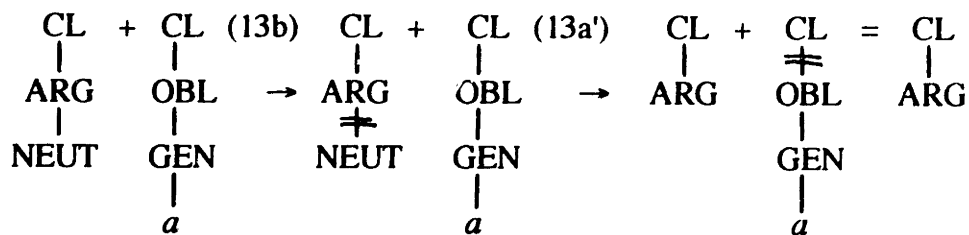
b. /n/ + /n/ → /n/



c. /n/ + /u/ → /u/



d. /n/ + /u/ → */l/



Rule (13b) will derive, as for the other set of speakers, the "changes" that apply to Barceloní in general.

2.2.3. *The Feminine*

Still one more "change" takes place in Barceloní. This "change" involves the loss of the feminine marker whenever the morphological structure it is in cooccurs with another clitic in the same field. Below I give two examples showing the loss of the feminine marker /ə/. In each case, as usual, I first give the form of the clitic containing the feminine in isolation. The construction used is again CLD:⁵

- (22) a. Les sabates, les /ləz/ donaré a la Teresa aquesta tarda
the shoes(fem), 3rd-acc-fem-pl will-give(1st) to Teresa this
afternoon
'I will give the shoes to Teresa this afternoon'
- b. Les sabates, a la Teresa, /lzi/ donaré aquesta tarda
the shoes, to Teresa 3rd-acc-fem-pl+3rd-dat will-give(1st) this
afternoon
- (23) a. La jaqueta, ja la /lə/ deixaré a l'armari després
the jacket, JA 3rd-acc-fem will-leave(1st) in the closet later
'I will leave the jacket in the closet later'
- b. La jaqueta, a l'armari, ja /li/ deixaré després
the jacket, in the closet, JA 3rd-acc-fem+loc. will-leave(1st)
later

In (22b), the accusative feminine (plural) cooccurs with a dative, while in (23b) the same clitic (accusative feminine) cooccurs with the locative clitic /i/. The examples in (22) involve the accusative in the plural to show that the deletion of the feminine marker has nothing to do with vowel truncation

⁵The particle *ja* in (23), not a clitic phonologically, is very difficult to translate. In most contexts it is paraphrasable by 'I guess'. I use it because it makes the sentences sound more natural.

due to vowel contact (if only forms like (23) existed, that could be a possible analysis). The example in (24), below, shows that the feminine marker does not disappear when the clitic which contains it cooccurs with a [PERSON] clitic, that is a clitic belonging to field A:

- (24) Les sabates, me les /ləz/ donarà la Teresa
 the shoes(fem), 1st-dat 3rd-acc-fem-pl will-give(3rd) Teresa
 'Teresa will give me the shoes'

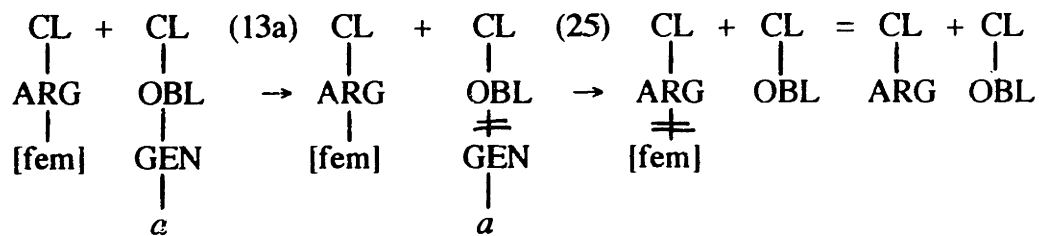
Then, like the rules we have seen before, the rule which deletes the feminine marker affects a clitic when it cooccurs with another clitic in the same field, field B. The rule is formulated below:

- (25) CL / CL
 |
 ARG
 |
 Agrt
 ≠
 [fem]

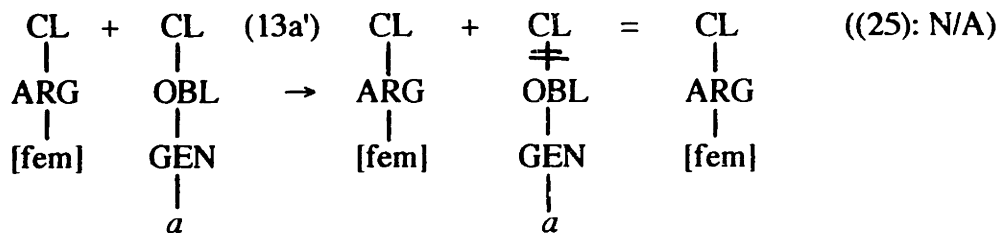
In dialect B --which has rule (13a)-- the feminine disappears in any context, even when one of the two morphological rules mentioned earlier is applicable; rule (25) need not be ordered with respect to any other rule. All the rules will apply if the environment is there to start with; there is no bleeding relation among the rules. On the other hand, in dialect B', which has rule (13a'), the feminine survives when rule (13a') is applicable. This means that rule (25) has to be ordered after rule (13b). See footnote 4 for some comments on the ordering of rules. Below I give the derivation of forms involving the accusative feminine clitic and the ablative *en*, to show

the different output found in the two dialects. For dialect B, even though I will give the rules in a specific order, it has to be understood that all orderings provide the right derivations (to show it here would be too tedious). In (26c) I show the ill-formed output which the reverse rule ordering would generate for dialect B'. For convenience I will omit the node Agtr, which intervenes between [ARG] and [feminine]:

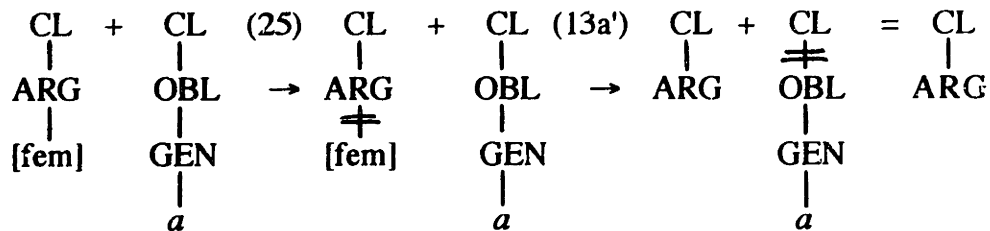
(26) a. (B): Acc,fem,3rd /iə/ + Ablat. /n/ → /li/



b. (B'): Acc,fem,3rd /la/ + Ablat. /n/ → /la/



c. (B'): Acc,fem,3rd /la/ + Ablat. /n/ → */l/



Notice the different behavior that gender versus number shows: while [plural] always surfaces, [feminine] is lost. A similar "weakness" of

syntactic gender (as opposed to natural gender) is found in Modern Greek. Warburton (1977) makes the following observation: in certain dialects (the Northern dialects) double object verbs (like 'give') allow for two accusatives (as opposed to accusative and genitive). In these cases, she says, the combination of two third person accusative clitics is ruled out, regardless of whether or not there is a difference in gender between the two clitics. However, it seems to be the case that when at least one of the two clitics is plural the sentences immediately improve.⁶ This contrast is shown below:

- (27) a. *Ton to edhose
 3rd-acc. 3rd-acc-neut. gave
 'I gave it to him'
 b. Tous to edhose
 3rd-acc-pl 3rd-acc-neut. gave
 'I gave it to them'

The facts mentioned here are more complex than I have suggested, but the "weakness" of syntactic gender compared to number seems to be a real tendency.⁷ Moreover, the facts considered above illustrate the clearly marked character of the feminine, and are consistent with the view that [feminine] is a monovalent feature.

With the rule in (25), all the morphological rules of Barceloní have been described and exemplified. Still, it is not the case that, aside from the cases accounted for here, the results are transparent in clitic combinations.

⁶ The data I have on this was given to me by Sabine Iatridou.

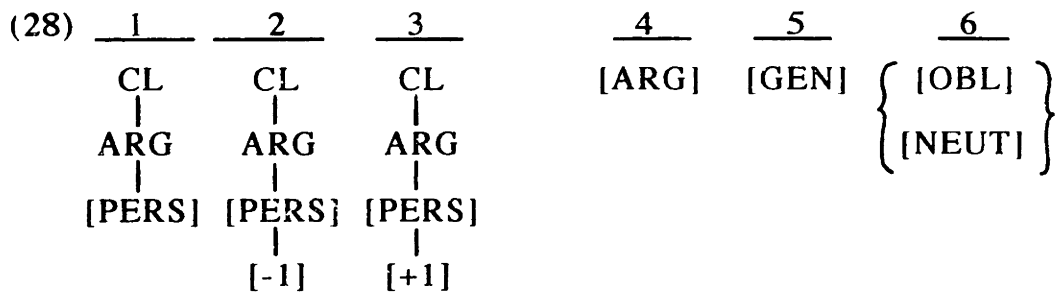
⁷ According to David Pesetsky (p.c.), in Russian declensions, [feminine] is also suppressed in the plural.

As a matter of fact, one of the combinations subject to a morphological rule which was given above ((14d), a dative third person plus the neuter) does not become a transparent form by virtue of rule (13b). By that rule, this combination becomes equivalent to the combination of two third person clitics, accusative and dative. These other "changes" as well as clitic order are accounted for in the next sections.

2.3. Linearization: The Mapping Onto a Template

After all the morphological rules have applied, the morphological structures are mapped onto a template that will determine the surface linear order of the output forms. In the unmarked case, each slot in the template will correspond to one clitic. However, this is not the case with non-[PERSON] clitics (the clitics in field B) in Barceloní. What is mapped in this case, as will be shown, is the most specific node in the morphological structure. The template for Barceloní, with six slots, is given below, in (28). Notice that there is no slot for the features [feminine] and [plural]. As I said in the first chapter, these features are not defining properties of clitics. Therefore no particular slot is assigned to them. Nevertheless, these features, if present, are mapped along with the node that dominates them. Some crucial examples will be discussed below. I assume that the feature *a* present in the Ablative also lacks a slot in the template. I leave a significant space between the field A and the field B clitics for illustrative purposes.⁸

⁸ I have been very vague about this feature *a*. The stipulation of this feature allows me



Notice that there is no specific slot for the clitic defined as {[ARG],[OBL]}, namely the third person dative clitic. This follows from the fact that for field B clitics, linearization takes into account terminal nodes, and the dative third person clitic has two of those. This separation plays a crucial role, as will be shown in section 2.3.2., below.⁹

to capture the distinction between the ablative and other uses of *en* needed for one of the morphological rules. In earlier versions of this approach I had a different structure for these two phonologically identical clitics making use solely of the features [OBLIQUE] and [GENITIVE]: the pure locative was defined as [OBLIQUE] (as it is in the present version); the partitive and other uses of *en* were defined as [GENITIVE] directly dominated by CL, while the ablative had the two features [OBLIQUE] and [GENITIVE], not arranged hierarchically. I rejected this approach because it did not allow me to express the obvious hierarchical relation between the Ablative and the pure locative. Moreover, this description created an asymmetry with the third person dative clitic: {[ARGUMENT],[OBLIQUE]} received two independent spell-outs, while {[GENITIVE],[OBLIQUE]} (the old ablative) had a single spell-out which ignored [OBLIQUE].

For the time being, the feature *a* should be considered parallel to the Agreement features, in the sense that it does not motivate the presence of a particular slot. Only [GENITIVE] is taken into consideration.

⁹ Following the lines of Burston (1983), one could try to relate aspects of the linear order of clitics to their feature makeup. Notice that all the [PERSON] clitics (the clitics in field A) precede all the non-[PERSON] clitics (the clitics in field B). I think that before making such a connection, the clitic system of other closely related languages / dialects should be studied in detail.

[OBLIQUE] (later spelled out as /i/) and [NEUTER] (spelled out as /u/) never cooccur (because of rule (13b)), and therefore it is impossible to tell what the order between the two should be. This is why they are assigned to the same slot. On the other hand, the order between [GENITIVE] (in slot 5, spelled out as /n/) and [NEUTER] (in slot 6) is not arbitrary, even though rule (13b), above, bleeds practically all the occurrences of [NEUTER] when combined with [GENITIVE]. Recall the speakers of Barceloní who have pronominal transitive verbs with the clitic /n/. For these speakers we know that [GENITIVE] precedes [NEUTER]. At the end of this section, I will illustrate the linear order among the clitics with one example where all the slots are represented.

2.3.1. *[PERSON] Clitics*

[PERSON] clitics are subject to the Recoverability generalization discussed in chapter 1. In some circumstances, two [PERSON] clitics will be fighting for the same slot in the template. This will happen, for instance, when a sentence contains a reflexive clitic and an impersonal clitic. (28) predicts that the following form should not occur:

- (29) *Es es renta
 imp. refl washes
 'one washes oneself'

The impersonal clitic and the reflexive third person clitic project the same morphological structure in the Morphology Component (even though in the syntax they are different objects), namely the structure whose most specific

node is [PERSON]. The form in (29) could be possible only if two slots were provided in the template for the bare [PERSON] clitic. The output given in (30) is not possible either, for the intended reading (even though the sentence is fine under a different interpretation):

- (30) *Es renta
 /s/ washes
 'one washes oneself'

The intended interpretation in (29) and (30), with both a reflexive and an impersonal, cannot be expressed simply by the use of clitics.

It is also impossible to have a single *es* as impersonal and inherent at the same time, or as reflexive and inherent. The example below, given to me by Joan Mascaró, is an illustration of the former. *Llevar-se* 'to get up' is a pronominal verb with an inherent reflexive. Without this clitic the verb means something different:

- (31) *En aquest poble es treballa molt i es lleva molt d'hora
 in this town imp. works much and inh. LLEVA very of hour
 'In this town people work hard and get up very early'

The clitic in the first part of the conjunct is clearly impersonal and, as mentioned above, the verb in the second conjunct has an inherent clitic. This latter clitic cannot be interpreted also as an impersonal. Below I give a sentence which does not involve any inherent clitics and which shows that the impersonal clitic has to appear in the two conjuncts:¹⁰

¹⁰ The clitic cannot be dropped, even if there is also a dropped auxiliary, as shown by the example below:

- (i) *En aquest poble s'ha treballat molt i viscut alegrement

(32) En aquest poble es treballa molt i *(es) viu alegrement
 in this town impers. works a-lot and impers. lives happily
 'in this town people work hard and live happily'

The fact that the sentences above cannot have the intended interpretation is due to the fact that [PERSON] clitics have to be spelled out somehow in the sentence. This is not the case in (30) - (32), where one of the clitics fails to surface in some fashion. [PERSON] clitics are subject to the Recoverability generalization discussed in chapter 1.

In the present proposal, the sentences in (29) or (30) cannot be derived. In the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology, two identical [PERSON] morphological structures are created, one corresponding to the impersonal and one corresponding to the reflexive. Because only one of them can be mapped onto the tem. 'ate shown in (28), the other one, the reflexive, has to be spelled out in the foot of the chain it belongs to. This is shown below:

(33) Es renta a un mateix
 /s/ washes to one self
 'one washes oneself'

In (33), the morphological structure corresponding to the impersonal clitic

in this town imp. has worked much and lived happily
 'in this town people have worked a lot and lived happily'

Kayne (1975), among others, notes that, in French conjuncts like the one illustrated above, it is possible to drop the second clitic (with the auxiliary) if this clitic is identical phonologically to the clitic in the first conjunct, even if the two clitics are related to different types of arguments syntactically. This is never the case in Catalan, from what I have been able to observe.

occupies the first slot in the template, while the reflexive is spelled out in the foot of the chain. The element in the foot of the chain is not spelled out as a clitic because that is not a clitic position, but an argument position. The spell-out, therefore, will not be identical.¹¹

In chapter 3, a case (from Italian) will be discussed, where the impersonal clitic and the reflexive clitic are mapped onto slightly different morphological structures, and where these structures are mapped onto different slots. In Italian, the need for spell-out elsewhere with reflexive and impersonal clitics does not arise.

2.3.2. *Non-[PERSON] Clitics*

Non-[PERSON] clitics are not subject to Recoverability, and therefore are

¹¹ It is not possible to add an additional strategy for (33) which would involve spelling out the impersonal element in the foot of the chain, presumably in subject position (as *un* 'one', for instance), while the reflexive would be left as a clitic. As observed in Perlmutter (1971), *uno* in Spanish and *se* are often not interchangeable. Among the differences between the two is the following: *se* can be used in plural contexts, while *uno* cannot. The examples below, corresponding to Perlmutter's (59) and (60) (p. 37), illustrate this point:

- (i) a. A las cinco se empezó a llegar
at the five *se* started(3rd) to arrive
'people started arriving at five'
- b. *A las cinco uno empezó a llegar
at the five one started(3rd) to arrive

The sentences above require a plural subject, and this is incompatible with the use of *uno*. The same facts hold in Catalan.

not forced to be spelled out elsewhere. As will be seen below, when two cooccurring identical features are assigned to the same slot, only one of them, the more specific, is mapped onto the template. The other one simply does not surface.

2.3.2.1. *Competing for one Slot*

Below I give a chart with all the possible combinations of two third person clitics (accusative and dative) in Barceloní. In the same chart I also give the same combinations in Valencian, which basically result in transparent forms (d=dative; s=singular; p=plural; m=masculine; f=feminine):

(34)	VALENCIAN Dat. + Acc.	BARCELONI
	-----	-----
ds+ms	li'l	[li]
ds+fs	li la	[li]
ds+mp	li'ls	[lzi]
ds+fp	li les	[lzi]
dp+ms	els el	[lzi]
dp+fs	els la	[lzi]
dp+mp	els els	[lzi]
dp+fp	els les	[lzi]

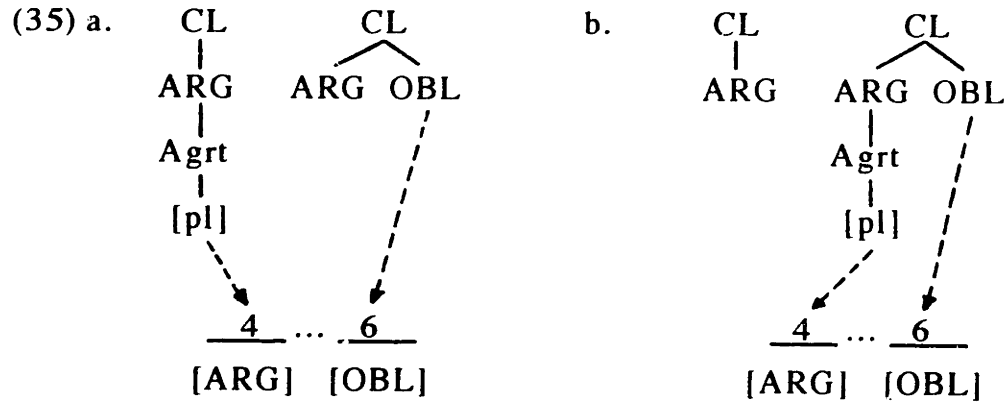
The absence of a spell-out for the redundant form-class for [feminine] is accounted for through the morphological rule (25), which delinks that feature when the relevant clitic cooccurs with another non-[PERSON] clitic. Notice, moreover, that as long as one of the input forms is plural, the output form will have /z/ (the common spell-out for [plural]).¹² So,

¹² These facts support the view that [plural] is a privative feature. If the feature were

even though the output forms have the same phonological content as the dative clitic in isolation, it is clear that the dative alone cannot be the output form. The clearest example in that respect is the combination of a singular dative and a plural accusative, which, as can be seen in (34), surface as /lzi/, not as /li/ (the phonological form of the dative singular in isolation). When the two input clitics are plural, only one /z/ surfaces. Similarly, even though each clitic in isolation has an /l/ (the spell-out of [ARGUMENT], as will be seen), only one /l/ surfaces. In only one case could one try to argue for a phonological rule of degemination: the first clitic would have to be accusative singular, motivating the sequence /l/+l(z)i/. In all the other combinations, a degemination account is impossible to maintain.

In (35) below, I show how the clitics are mapped onto the template, using the combinations accusative plural + dative singular (in (35a)), and accusative singular + dative plural (in (35b)). As I said earlier, non-[PERSON] clitics are not subject to recoverability. Moreover, when two nodes are fighting for the same position, the most specific one is mapped (recall that the linearization of field B clitics takes into account the terminal nodes of the clitics). I indicate in each case what feature is selected:

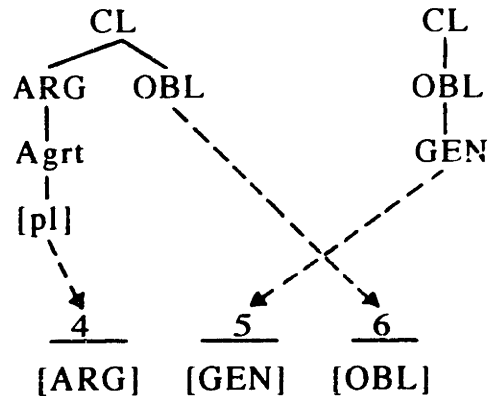
binary ([±plural]), there would be no specific reason for [+plural] "winning" over [-plural]. Under the present view, singular could never "win" because it does not exist.



As can be seen in (35), in each case only one instance of [ARGUMENT] is mapped onto the template. When both the accusative and the dative are plural either one is mapped because one instance of [ARG] is as specific as the other instance of the same feature. The same situation arises when both nodes do not project [plural] (when both clitics are singular). Later the spell-out rules will provide a phonological form for each one of the features mapped onto the template (at most one instance of [ARG] and one instance of [plural]).

Notice that the dative clitic in isolation will also fill the positions 4 and 6 in the template. In some sense, then, the dative clitic is split when it undergoes linearization. Earlier on, I mentioned a case where the dative clitic surfaces as a discontinuous clitic. This situation arises when slot 5, corresponding to [GENITIVE], is filled. In (36a) I show how the mapping for this combination works, and in (36b) I give an example illustrating it. The dative clitic has to be plural in order to be able to see the splitting effect. Recall the discussion around example (17), and the rule in (18):

(36) a.



- b. de pomes, als nens, no [lɜə ni] donis!
 of apples, to-the children, 3rd,pl+part.+dat.)
 'do not give apples to the children!'

The combinations in (34) are not the only ones where there is fighting for one and the same slot. One additional form is generated by the morphological rule (13b): the combination of a third person dative, that is {[ARGUMENT],[OBLIQUE]}, plus [NEUTER] is reduced by that rule to the combination {[ARGUMENT],[OBLIQUE]} plus [ARGUMENT] (see (14a)). This form is identical to a combination of two third person clitics discussed above, and is subject to the same fate.

Other cases accounted for in similar terms, under the view pursued here, involve the feature [OBLIQUE]. Two instances of [OBLIQUE] cooccur in combinations of a third person dative clitic (animate or inanimate) and a locative clitic. These cases are somewhat hard to construct because usually the locative clitic will be an adjunct and therefore will be optional. A potential example is given below. As usual, the construction used is Clitic Left Dislocation, and I first give the form of the clitics involved in isolation:

- (37) a. A Montserrat, hi faré un regal a la Gemma
 in Montserrat, loc. will-give(1st) a present to the Gemma
 b. A la Gemma, li faré un regal a Montserrat
 to the Gemma, 3rd-dat will-give(1st) a present in Montserrat
 c. A la Gemma, a Montserrat, /li/ faré un regal
 'I will give a present to Gemma in Montserrat'

In this type of cases, one could attribute the appearance of one /i/ to a phonological rule of vowel shortening. However, this approach is not possible in the present framework because two instances of /i/ are never generated: the template has only one position for [OBLIQUE], and only one instance of this feature will later be spelled out.

A last case, which I mentioned earlier, where features fight for one slot concerns the combination of two [GENITIVE] clitics. This situation never arises in Barceloní (where these clusters are subject to the morphological rule (13a) or (13a')), but it is found in prescriptive Catalan, which lacks rules affecting the genitive clitic. An example where this situation arises is given below:

- (38) a. Del calaix, en trauré dos jerseis
 from-the drawer, ablat. will-take-out(1st) two sweaters
 b. En trauré dos del calaix
 gen. will-take-out(1st) from-the drawer
 c. Del calaix, en trauré dos
 'I will take two (of the sweaters) from the drawer'

In (38c), two morphological structures with the feature [GENITIVE] are projected in the Morphology Component, one of them (the ablative) having in addition the feature *a*. Prescriptive Catalan also has one slot for [GENITIVE], and therefore only one instance of [GENITIVE] can be mapped onto the template. Consistently with other cases accounted for

later, I assume that the most specific instance of [GENITIVE] is mapped, namely the instance which has the feature *a* in addition.¹³

2.3.3. *On Late Linearization*

The data presented in this chapter constitutes evidence for late linearization in Barceloní.

Recall that the third person clitic is split when mapped onto the template. This splitting is apparent when this clitic is combined with a genitive clitic (as shown in (36b)). Crucial to the account of this fact is the operation of morphological rules before linearization, which takes features, and not clitics as such into account (for field B clitics).

If linearization occurred early in the Morphology Component, before the operation of morphological rules, it would be very difficult to account for the surface discontinuity of the dative clitic, among other results. One could not say that the dative clitic precedes the genitive clitic or viceversa. Neither combination would give the desired results (which would be */lzin/ or */nlzi/¹⁴. To account for the surface form, I can only think of two possibilities, both of them undesirable: 1) linearization gives the order dative > genitive; spell-out gives the sequence /lzin/ and, later, through a

¹³ The choice of the feature with *a* over the one without it will have no consequences because [GENITIVE] has only one spell-out, *a* being ignored.

¹⁴ The first of these results /lzin/ does actually exist in some dialects. Here I am talking only about Barceloní, where this sequence is not existent.

metathesis rule, the correct surface order /lzní/ is obtained; 2) early linearization takes into account single features (like [OBLIQUE] or [ARGUMENT]), not the CL node that dominates all the features. In this account linearization would establish the order [ARGUMENT] > [GENITIVE] > [OBLIQUE].

The first proposal is very implausible because of the very nature of the metathesis rule, completely unjustified on independent grounds. There is no other case in the language where something similar has to be postulated. Such rule would simply be a stipulation.

The second solution is practically impossible to maintain too. To be consistent, this "dismembering" of clitics has to affect at least all the field B clitics. Then it will be impossible to account for some of the morphological processes that affect some of the clitics in very specific environments, which were discussed in section 2.2. In those cases it is crucial to know what features belong to what clitics, and this information is not be available under this approach.

With the assumption that linearization in Barceloní operates late in the Morphology Component (after morphological rules but before spell-out), the facts concerning clitic combinations in Barceloní can be accounted for satisfactorily.¹⁵

To finish this section I would like to illustrate the filling of all the slots

¹⁵ One can then also maintain the idea that linearized elements have to obey adjacency relations (meaning that it is not possible to operate across an intervening element). If one were to assume that linearization in Barceloní applies early (ignoring the problems posed in the text), one should give up the idea that adjacency is a necessary condition for rules that affect linearized material, given the high interaction among clitics in this dialect.

of the template in (28) with the example below. I give a very approximate gloss of the example underneath it, and analyze it in more detail below. Ignore the schwas. The symbol '+' indicates the boundaries between slots (the schwas having been arbitrarily assigned to the spell-out in a particular slot):

- (39) [sə + tə + mə + lʒə + n+i] vas quedar tres
 'you took three of them from mine (e.g. children)'

quedar-se 'to keep for oneself' is a pronominal verb which in the present case appears in the second person singular (this marking also appears on the auxiliary *vas*). The second person singular reflexive syntactic clitic is "represented" by two phonological clitics: /s/ ([PERSON]) for the reflexive and /t/ ([-1]) for second person. I discuss these cases in section 2.5.1., below. /m/ ([+1]) represents an ethical or affected dative. In the gloss to the example I have written 'mine' in order to reflect the involvement of the speaker. /lʒi/ ({[ARG],[OBL]}), which appears as a discontinuous clitic because of the presence of /n/ [GEN]) is a dative of inalienable possession (reflected more or less in the gloss by 'children', in parentheses). Inalienable datives are very common in Romance, as well as in other languages. One example (from Catalan) of a dative of inalienable possession in isolation is given below:

- (40) Li has trencat una cama
 to-him/her (you) have broken one leg
 'You have broken his leg'

Finally, the penultimate clitic in the clitic cluster in (39), /n/, is coindexed

with an empty category N sister of the quantifier *tres* 'three'. The situation in which the sentence in (39) would be uttered is like the following: I have children, and there are a few apples that belong to them. Now you have taken three of them from my children. Notice that in this sentence there is a mismatch between the number of syntactic clitics and the number of phonological clitics: there are four syntactic clitics and six phonological clitics (occupying six different slots).

2.4. Spell-out Rules

The function of the spell-out rules is to provide morphological structures with a phonological representation, which will be the input to phonology. Spell-out rules will take into account the most specific feature(s) of a clitic plus, in most cases, any Agreement features that clitic might have. In the case of a third person reflexive, for instance, only one feature will be spelled out, namely the feature [PERSON]. On the other hand, in the case of a third person dative clitic, [ARGUMENT] and [OBLIQUE] will receive independent spell-outs. In addition, in the relevant context a spell-out for the agreement feature [plural] will be provided. In the latter case, then, the output will appear identical to the combination of a third person accusative clitic plus an [OBLIQUE] clitic (for instance a locative).

The spell-out rules for the clitics of Barceloní are given below:¹⁶

¹⁶ Notice that there is no spell-out rule for the feature α that [GENITIVE] carries when it corresponds to a syntactic ablative. As will be seen in the next chapter, this is not the only case where a feature lacks a spell-out.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----|
| (41) a. [+1] | → | /m/ |
| b. [-1] | → | /t/ |
| c. [PERSON] | → | /s/ |
| d. [ARGUMENT] | → | /l/ |
| e. [NEUTER] | → | /u/ |
| f. [GENITIVE, (OBLIQUE)] | → | /n/ |
| g. [OBLIQUE] | → | /i/ |

Two additional aspects not captured in (41) are: 1) the spell-out rules for the agreement features [feminine] and [plural], and 2) the allomorphy affecting first and second person clitics, which depends on their agreement features.¹⁷ The first point was discussed in chapter 1. As I said there, the phonological forms corresponding to gender and number are not specific to pronominal clitics, but can be found elsewhere in the language. The plural marker is always /z/, while the most common marker for feminine nouns and adjectives is /ə/. Below I repeat the rules ultimately responsible for the spell-out of [feminine] and [plural]:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|-----|
| (42) a. [plural] | → | /z/ |
| b. [feminine] | → |]a |
| c.]a | → | /ə/ |

(42b) is the redundancy rule for items with the feature [feminine]. (42c) is the spell-out rule for the form-class]a. The processes mentioned in (42), as I said earlier, are not specific of clitics, but of a much larger class of items. The rules in (42) apply to clitics and to nouns, for instance, presumably at the same point in the derivation of a sentence. For more

¹⁷ There is still one more issue to deal with, affecting the third person accusative clitic. I discuss this case in section 2.5.

information on gender and declensional classes see Harris (1991a,b).

With respect to the allomorphy in first and second person clitics, the forms I have given in the spell-out rules correspond to the singular forms: /m/ for the first person, and /t/ for the second person. The corresponding plural forms are /nz/ for the first person, and /wz/ for the second person.¹⁸ Notice that both forms end with the typical /z/ of the plural. I want to suggest that the first and second person clitics are subject to stem modification in the context of [plural]. One way to capture this is to have two additional spell-out rules which have the peculiarity of requiring a context. I give these new rules below together with the rules that spell out the default first and second persons, which I gave above:

¹⁸ The glide in the phonological form of the second person plural clitic surfaces as /u/ after a consonant. It is unusual to posit a glide as part of the underlying phonological representation of an item. For this particular case, one of the pieces of evidence supporting the underlying consonantal nature of that segment has to do with the linking schwa that I mentioned in a footnote at the beginning of this second chapter: a schwa breaks the consonant cluster created by two different clitics, even in cases where the schwa is not required for syllabification purposes. When the second person plural clitic is preceded, for instance, by [PERSON] (that is /s/), a schwa appears between the two clitics, as shown below:

- (i) [səwz] invitarà
imp. 2nd-acc-pl will-invite(3rd)
'you will be invited'

If the underlying form of the second person plural clitic were /uz/ there would be no way to account for the presence of the schwa in (i) (there is no problem with a sequence /suz/ in the language and, moreover, a linking schwa does not appear when there is no consonant cluster created by two different clitics). How to describe underlying glides is a topic for a different paper.

- (43) a. [+1] → /n/ / [plural]
b. [+1] → /m/
c. [-1] → /w/ / [plural]
d. [-1] → /t/

The forms above are subject to the Elsewhere Condition, mentioned already several times. By the Elsewhere Condition, the rules in (43a,c) take precedence over (43b,d), respectively. The forms */mz/ or */tz/, then, will not be generated for the plural. To generate these forms one would have to spell out [+1] through (43b), for instance, skipping (43a), with the specification for [plural]. This would violate the Elsewhere Condition, because the more general rule would precede the more specific rule.

2.5. Residual Issues

In this section I will discuss three other phenomena concerning clitics and clitic combinations in Barceloní, about which I do not have much to say.

2.5.1. Extra Clitics

At several points in this thesis I have given examples involving what looks like a syntactically unmotivated clitic. Two additional examples are given below:¹⁹

¹⁹ This "extra" clitic is very common in colloquial Catalan. I do not know of other Romance languages with a similar phenomenon (according to Ken Hale, something similar to what I describe in this section, also involving ethical datives, can be found in Walbiri).

- b. Se te m'escaparé
es 2nd-eth 1st will-escape(1st)
 'I will escape (on/from you)'

The first person clitic in (44a) is clearly an ethical dative clitic. The verb *enfadar-se* has an inherent reflexive clitic, and, given that the verb has the second person inflection, the clitic has to also be second person (cf. the second clitic in the clitic cluster). The clitic that remains unaccounted for is *es*, the first clitic in the sequence. In (44b) the reflexive clitic is the first person clitic, while the second person clitic is ethical. Again, *es* remains unexplained.

It is not the case that whenever a reflexive is present an extra clitic is also present. The environments for this extra *es* are very limited. One first condition for its appearance is that the reflexive clitic be first or second person. Moreover, this situation arises only if the reflexive clitic cooccurs with an ethical dative clitic. The need for this last condition should be clear from the examples below, where the additional *es* is impossible:

- (45) a. No (**se*) t'enfadis!
 not (*es*) 2nd-refl(inh) get-mad(2nd)
 'don't get mad!'

b. (**Se*) te m'han suspès?
 (*es*) 2nd-acc 1st(eth) have(3rd-pl) failed
 'they failed you (on me)?'

c. (**se*) te'm vas declarar ahir
 (*es*) 2nd-refl 1st-dat declared(2nd) yesterday
 'you declared your love to me yesterday'

In (45a) there is a reflexive in isolation, in (45b) there is an ethical but no reflexive (the second person clitic is a pronominal), and in (45c) there is a reflexive, but the additional clitic corresponds to the dative argument. In conclusion, then, the additional *es* is possible only when a reflexive clitic cooccurs with an ethical dative clitic.

It is very unlikely that the phenomenon described above can be accounted for syntactically (it is impossible to relate the "extra" *es* to any object in the syntax). In Mascaró (1986), it is suggested that maybe, for some mysterious reason, the reflexive clitic is represented morphologically by two clitics, one of them carrying the second or first person marking, and the other one representing only reflexivity. This intuition cannot be easily captured through a morphological rule in the framework developed here. This "splitting" only occurs in the context of an ethical dative, and in the Morphology Component the distinction between an ethical and an argument dative, for instance, is no longer made, in terms of morphological structure.²⁰ One of the places where these facts can be accounted for is in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology, where the distinction

²⁰ Even though dative ethical and dative argument clitics have the same morphological structure, they can be distinguished by other means, namely by the nature of the foot of the chain they belong to. Recall that chains play an active role also in the morphology (e.g. with the spell-out elsewhere). Presumably ethical datives form a chain by themselves (they are not coindexed with other syntactic objects) or, alternatively, they are associated with an adjunct position, while other clitics are coindexed with an argument position and, in the case of reflexives, with Infl. If one were to make use of this information to account for the cases at hand, the "splitting" might be accounted for by a rule delinking (but crucially not deleting) the [± 1] feature of the clitic (leaving it with [PERSON] as the most specific node), and creating a new structure for the floating feature. This might be an idea worth pursuing in the future.

between ethical datives and argument datives is directly available. One possibility, then, would be to say that the syntactic feature matrix corresponding to the reflexive is mapped onto two morphological structures, one of them taking into account the person marking, and the other one taking into account only the features {[+anaphor],[–pronominal]}.

None of the suggestions I have made here seems very adequate to me. In order to achieve a better understanding of this phenomenon, similar cases from other languages should be considered, and as I said, I am not aware of many.

2.5.2. *A Different Cooccurrence Restriction*

There is one case of a cooccurrence restriction that I have not discussed, concerning the combination of third person accusative plus the neuter *ho*. This combination is discussed in Mascaró (1986), and he gives the example in (46a), which has no clitics and shows the type of arguments the clitics are related to. This combination is not possible (for syntactic reasons) with constructions other than causatives (in most cases the neuter and third person are in complementary distribution):

- (46) a. *Faran ser president a en Joan*
'(they) will make Enric be president'
- b. **L'ho faran ser (a ell)*
 3rd-acc neut. will-make(3rd-pl) be (to him)
 'they will make him be it'

The combination in (46b) is impossible in Catalan. What is striking about this case is that there is no possible output. We have seen that in some cases one of the clitics does not surface (when two morphologically identical features are fighting for one and the same slot). In other cases the morphological content of one of the clitics is spelled out as a strong pronoun. None of these possibilities is available here, and therefore the system developed in this dissertation, as formulated, cannot account for the ungrammaticality of (46b).

I think that the source of the problem in (46b) is related to the clitic coindexed with the predicate of the embedded clause, the neuter. Even though Mascaró considers the presence of *ho* alone in the relevant type of sentence perfectly fine, these are not the judgements I have been given by a considerable number of people. For most of the speakers I have asked, the sentence in (46c), below, ranges from marginal to simply bad:

- (46) c. ??*Ho faran ser a en Joan*
 neut. will-make(3rd-pl) be to the Joan
 'they will make Joan be it'

The marginality/ungrammaticality of a sentence like (46c) is more apparent when, instead of the verb *ser* 'to be', one uses a clearly inchoative verb like *esdevenir* 'to become':²¹

²¹ Both the verb *ser* 'to be' and the verb *esdevenir* 'to become' allow cliticization of their predicate when not embedded under a causative, as shown in the examples below, respectively:

- (i) a. *En Joan ho és, president*
 the Joan neut. is, president
 'Joan is (president)'

- (47) a. *Faran esdevenir president a en Joan*
 will-make(3rd-pl) become president to the Joan
 'they will make Joan become president'
- b. **Ho faran esdevenir a en Joan*
 neut. will-make(3rd-pl) become to the Joan
 'they will make Joan become it'

The type of cliticization illustrated in (46c) and (47b) is clearly impossible in all the other Romance languages, as far as I know. I do not know why the judgements are not so clear for many speakers of Catalan. In any case, I do not think that the inexistence of the combination illustrated in (46b) is due to morphological factors.

2.5.3. *Allomorphy in the Third Person Accusative Clitic*

As will be shown, the solution to the problem I am about to address is closely related to phonology (more specifically to syllabification). I will propose a solution for the morphological aspect of the question, but I will not solve the phonological problem. The latter requires extensive discussion of issues that are clearly beyond the scope of this thesis. I will, however, describe the problem to some extent.

So far I have considered that the spell-out for [ARGUMENT] is always /l/ (see (34d)), above). What I have said above holds uniformly for proclitics. However, the facts are slightly more complicated for enclitics,

-
- b. *En Joan ho ha esdevingut, president*
 'Joan has become (president)'

and variation can be found from speaker to speaker. Enclitics in Catalan appear with infinitives, gerunds and imperatives.

For all speakers of Barceloní, in contexts to be specified later, the third person singular clitic surfaces not as /l/ but as /lu/ (written *lo*).²² One example illustrating this point is given below:

- (48) Aquest regal, vull comprar-lo [lu] demà
this present, want(1st) buy 3rd-acc tomorrow
'I want to buy this present tomorrow'

For some speakers, this form is also present in the plural (written *los*):

- (49) Aquests regals, vull comprar-los [luz] demà
these presents, want(1st) buy 3rd-acc-pl tomorrow
'I want to buy these presents tomorrow'

Leaving aside some complications, which I will address below, one could try to relate the presence or absence of /u/ to different declensional classes. It seems that in Catalan, as opposed to Spanish the absence of a marker is the unmarked case (for a non-[feminine] item), while the presence of /u/ has to be related to a specific form-class (on this issue, see Mascaró (1985)). On this view, enclitics would be marked with a diacritic referring to the form-class (call it]u), while proclitics would have no diacritics. Notice that this suggestion implies an extension of the theory in Harris (1991a,b): in his work diacritics are assigned lexically. In the case of Catalan clitics, the diacritics have to be assigned contextually as well.

²² In Old Catalan, the third person clitic was /lu(z)/, and the first and second person plural clitics were /nuz/ and /buz/, respectively. In some dialects /lu/ does not exist anymore. In Barceloní, /nuz/ and /buz/ are completely lost as clitics (they appear in the stressed forms *nosaltres* 'us' and *vosaltres* 'you(pl)', as Jim Harris reminds me).

Assuming this extension of Harris (1991a,b), then, enclitics would be assigned the diaritic]*u*, which would later be spelled out as /*u*/.²³ However, this cannot be the end of the story, because it is not the case that /*u*/ surfaces always, when the third person is an enclitic. To be brief, /*u*/ only surfaces when it is needed for syllabification purposes, as shown below:

- (50) a. *Aquest regal, compra'l demà*
 this present, buy(imper.) 3rd-acc tomorrow
 'buy this present tomorrow!'
 b. *Aquests regals, compra'is demà*
 these presents, buy(imper.) 3rd-acc-pl tomorrow

In the two examples in (50), the verb ends in a vowel, and the /*l*/ alone can be syllabified. Compare (50) with (48) and (49): in these cases the verb ends in a consonant /*r*/, and it would be impossible to syllabify the /*l*/ alone (the cluster /*rl*/ not being a possible coda in Catalan).²⁴ In these cases the /*u*/ surfaces. Moreover, when the third person enclitic cooccurs with other clitics, the /*u*/ does not surface either:

- (51) a. *Aquest rellotge, compra-me'l!*
 this watch, buy(imper.) 1st(ben) 3rd-acc
 'buy this watch for me!'
 b. *Aquests rellotges, compra-me'ls!*
 these watches, buy(imper.) 1st(ben) 3rd-acc-pl

²³ Notice that, as exemplified in (49), the spell-out /*u*/ appears before the plural marker, as all the spell-outs for a form-class do.

²⁴ Final /*r*/ is usually deleted in most dialects of Catalan. This is not the case when the /*r*/ is followed by a clitic.

The schwa (written *e*) that appears between the two clitics in the examples above is a linking schwa, a schwa that breaks a consonant cluster created by two different clitics. This schwa is inserted even if the cluster does not create problems for syllabification. Once this linking schwa is inserted, the /l/ corresponding to the third person clitic (and also the plural marker /z/) can be syllabified. Therefore the /u/ does not surface.

As I said at the beginning of this section, I will not propose a solution for this phonological problem. /u/ surfaces exactly in those cases where other clitics (like the first person /m/) are followed by an epenthetic schwa (not a linking schwa). A phonological solution to the problem, then, involves predicting when and where schwas, or rather syllable nuclei, will be inserted. Moreover, some mechanism has to allow for the presence of the spell-out /u/ (from form-class μ), while preventing its syllabification and surface appearance in the relevant cases. I leave this issue for further research.

2.6. Summary

In this chapter I presented a fairly exhaustive analysis of clitic combinations in Barceloní, a dialect of Catalan with a considerable number of non-transparent outputs in combinations of non-[PERSON] clitics. The different behavior between [PERSON] and non-[PERSON] clitics motivated their separation into two fields (A and B).

Two morphological rules were proposed to account for the "assimilation" of some clitic forms to other forms. These rules account for

the fact that the changes clitics are subject to always result in independent clitic forms, not in arbitrary phonological sequences. An additional morphological rule was proposed to account for the loss of the feminine marker, when the clitic carrying that feature cooccurs with other non-[PERSON] clitics (the clitics in field B).

The difference between field A and field B was also reflected in the mapping to the template that determines the linear order of clitics: while [PERSON] clitics are mapped as such onto the template, the linearization of non-[PERSON] clitics takes into account only the terminal features of the clitics, motivating the splitting of the third person dative clitic ({[ARGUMENT], [OBLIQUE]}). This splitting becomes apparent in certain combinations.

Other non-transparent forms among field B clitics were related to the fight between two morphological features for one and the same slot. In these cases, one of the features is mapped and the other simply does not surface. This is not a problem, given that non-[PERSON] clitics do not obey the generalization on Recoverability. This proposal is different from the view presented in Perlmutter (1971), where the fight for a specific slot is argued to result in ungrammaticality.

The facts concerning clitic combinations in Barceloní were argued to provide evidence for late linearization. Linearization in this dialect immediately precedes spell-out rules, which provide the input to phonology.

CHAPTER 3

FURTHER EVIDENCE AND IMPLICATIONS

In the previous chapter a detailed study of the pronominal system of Barceloní was presented. It was shown that the peculiarities of this dialect concerning clitic combinations can be accounted for with a system of morphological feature organization, a set of morphological rules, templatic linearization and spell-out rules. It was further shown that the clitics of Barceloní divide into two natural classes with respect to their behavior (non-[PERSON] clitics, located in field B, are subject to several morphological rules and are exceptionally spelled out according to their individual terminal features, while [PERSON] clitics are located in field A, and are invisible to the morphological rules that affect field B clitics).

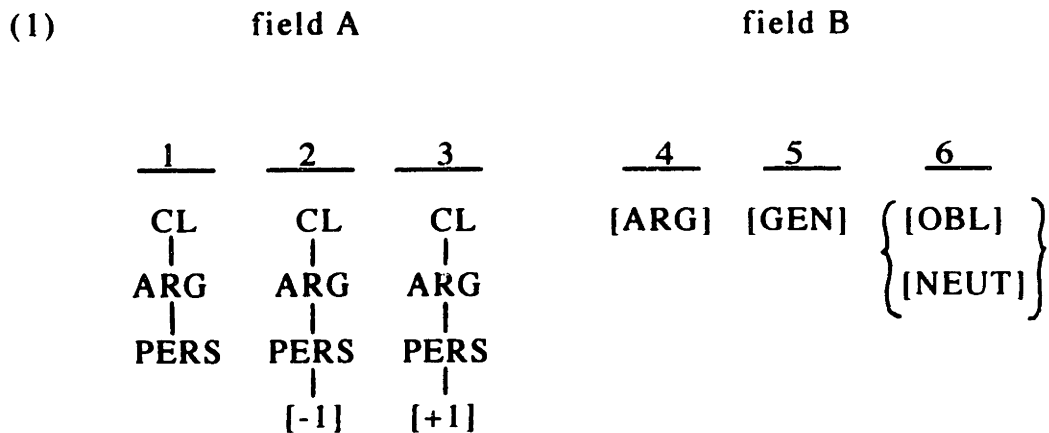
In this chapter further support is presented for the theory discussed in the first two chapters. Instead of giving an additional thorough study of the pronominal clitic system of a specific language, I will discuss some of the characteristics found in other Romance dialects and languages. The main sections of this chapter are organized according to individual dialects or languages: Valencian, Italian, and Spanish, respectively. The system of Valencian will be compared to the system of Barceloní, especially with respect to linearization and spell-out. It will be shown that Valencian does not provide evidence for a separation of [PERSON] and non-[PERSON] clitics into different fields, and that the properties of Valencian clitic combinations are best accounted for with early linearization (before

morphological rules). In addition, I will discuss some facts concerning reflexives in subdialects of Valencian. These facts were already discussed to some extent in chapter 1. Reflexives as opposed to impersonals will be the topic of discussion in the section on Italian. It will be shown that, contrary to other Romance languages, Italian makes a morphological distinction between two types of *si* (the equivalent of Catalan *es*). The bulk of the discussion on Spanish will be devoted to the Spurious *se* Rule, briefly referred to in the first chapter, and its consequences in some American dialects. The Spurious *se* Rule and its effects reveal the differences between bare [PERSON] in Spanish and bare [PERSON] in Italian.

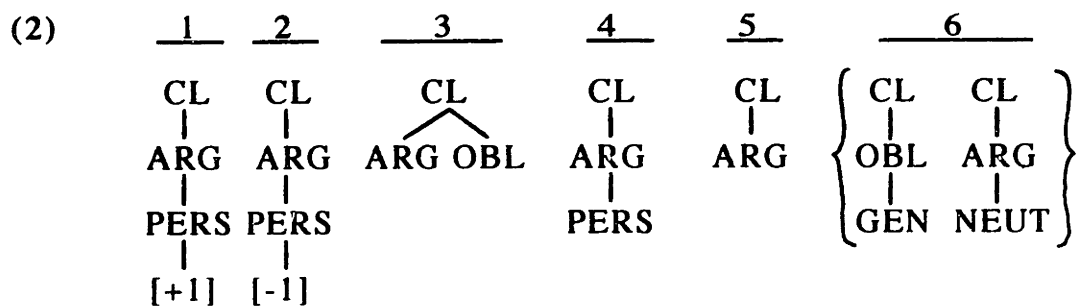
In the following sections, several cases will be considered which involve the manipulation of morphological structures with [PERSON] clitics. Interestingly enough the morphological operations involving these clitics always manipulate recoverable features; no information is ever lost. As was exemplified in the previous chapter with *Barceloní*, one of the main characteristics of [PERSON] clitics, as opposed to other clitics, is that they must be recoverable.

3.1. Valencian

In the previous chapter, I argued for late linearization in *Barceloní* -- applicable after morphological rules-- and for the following template, which treats [PERSON] clitics differently from non-[PERSON] clitics:



The template I want to propose for Valencian is given below. The genitive clitic and the neuter clitic are positioned in the same slot because I do not have evidence to decide on their relative linear ordering:¹



The most notable difference between the template in (1) and the template in (2), leaving aside some obvious differences in linear order, is that in (2) the clitics are uniformly linearized as such; there is no field A - field B distinction. As a consequence, there are no cases of clitic "splitting" in

¹ According to Colomina i Castanyer (1985), the third person dative clitic follows *es* (that is bare [PERSON]) in Alacantí, a dialect of Valencian spoken in the southern part of the País Valencià. In this dialect, then, all the [PERSON] clitics are grouped together in the template, as in Barceloní.

Valencian, as opposed to Barceloní. In the latter, the two basic features of the third person dative clitic occupy two different positions in the template. In Barceloní, contrary to most Romance languages, there is no slot assigned to the complex {[ARG],[OBL]}.

Notice that, in addition, there is no slot in (2) for an oblique clitic (that is, a clitic whose most specific node is [OBLIQUE] alone). This is due to the fact that no such structure, represented in (3) below, is projected in the Morphology Component of Valencian. Therefore, in Valencian, the spell-out of [OBLIQUE], /i/, will never appear in isolation, but always together with the spell-out of [ARGUMENT], /l/.²



Valencian also lacks a mapping onto the Morphology of the ablative clitic. That is Valencian, as many other Romance dialects, lacks the structure in (4a), but not the structure in (4b):



² According to Colomina i Castanyer (1985), some cases of inherent *hi* are attested in the dialect. I will ignore them here because I do not know what their degree of fossilization is; that is, I do not know whether *hi* still patterns with other clitics in its morphology or whether it is considered part of the verb itself (which is the case with Spanish *hay* 'there is', where the *y* is a "residue" of the old locative clitic).

In the subsections below I will discuss both [PERSON] and non-[PERSON] clitics. The discussion in the next section concerns basically non-[PERSON] clitics, while the following section deals only with [PERSON] clitics.

3.1.1. Arguments for Early Linearization?

The combination of two third person clitics in Valencian always gives a transparent output, while in Barceloní it does not. I repeat below the chart that I included in chapter 2, comparing Valencian and Barceloní with respect to this combination (d=dative; m=masculine; f=feminine; s=singular; p=plural). In Valencian, the dative clitic always precedes the accusative clitic:

(5)	Valencian	Barceloní
ds+ms	li'l	/li/
ds+fs	li la	/li/
ds+mp	li'ls	/lzi/
ds+fp	li les	/lzi/
dp+ms	els el	/lzi/
dp+fs	els la	/lzi/
dp+mp	els els	/lzi/
dp+fp	els les	/lzi/

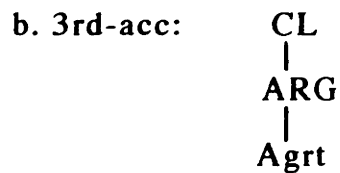
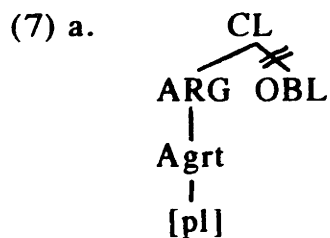
The initial /e/ that appears at the beginning of many of the Valencian forms is in all cases an epenthetic vowel which has no bearing on the point to be made here. In the feminine accusative forms, the *a* of the singular and the *e* of the plural are allomorphs of the same form-class (present elsewhere in the dialect).

While the dative singular clitic has a specific form, phonologically identical to the one found in Barceloní, /li/, the corresponding plural form is identical to the accusative plural /lz/ (written *els*). One could say that the dative clitic has two spell-out rules, one for the singular and one for the plural. These rules are given in (6), below:

- (6) a. {[ARG],[OBL]} → /l/ / [pl]
 b. {[ARG],[OBL]} → /li/

(6a) would take precedence over (6b) by the Elsewhere Condition. Even though these rules would account for the facts, they would fail to capture the relation between the phonological form /l/ and third person. In other words, in (6a) it is just a coincidence that the form is spelled out as /l/, as opposed to any other phonological form.

If one wants to capture the similarity between the dative singular and the dative plural, while at the same time accounting for the difference, a possibility is to have a morphological rule that deletes the feature [OBLIQUE] in the plural. After this rule applies, the dative form is indistinguishable from the accusative clitic. The rule is given in (7a). The morphological structure corresponding to the accusative third person clitic is given in (7b):



After the morphological rule in (7a) applies, the spell-out rules will only see the feature [ARGUMENT]. In both the dative singular and the dative plural, the surfacing /l/ is the spell-out of [ARGUMENT], as it is in all accusative forms as well.

With the account presented above, however, a problem arises: if linearization operates after morphological rules, as in Barceloní, how is it possible to get the order dative > accusative? After the morphological rule in (7a) has applied, it is impossible to distinguish the accusative from the dative.³ For most of the cases in (5), one could say that in these combinations, a form with the spell-out for [plural] has to precede the others (at this point I am abstracting away from the formulation of the template in (2)). However, in the last case, a combination of a dative plural with an accusative plural, this statement is not enough. For this particular case we would have to add that, if there is a feminine form, it has to follow a masculine form. But at this point, we are completely missing the generalization that dative precedes accusative.

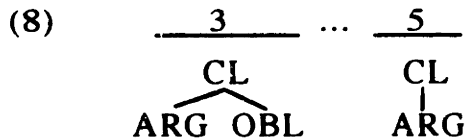
One easy way to overcome this problem is to say that in Valencian, as opposed to Barceloní, linearization occurs as soon as possible within the Morphology Component; that is linearization precedes morphological rules.⁴ In (8), below, I give the relevant part of the template that I

³ The sentence below exemplifies the dative > accusative order:

- (i) Als xiquets, les pomes, els les regalaré demà
to-the boys, the apples(fem.), 3rd-dat 3rd-acc.-fem-pl will-give(as a gift)-1st
tomorrow
'I'll give the apples to the boys tomorrow'

⁴ I am avoiding the possibility of having linearization interspersed with morphological

proposed at the beginning of this section:



Before the application of morphological rules it is very easy to distinguish between a dative plural and an accusative plural because the morphological structure corresponding to the dative has not lost the feature [OBLIQUE] yet.

Notice that in Valencian, as opposed to Barceloní, no competition for a specific slot takes place in combinations of two third person clitics. In Barceloní, field B clitics (non-[PERSON] clitics) are linearized according to their individual features, and there is only one slot for [ARGUMENT]. In combinations of two third person clitics, two instances of [ARGUMENT] cooccur, and the competition for one slot causes one of them not to surface. This is never the case in Valencian because linearization takes into account clitics and not their individual features, and the two instances of [ARGUMENT] belong to two different clitics.⁵

In spite of the fact that Barceloní and Valencian have most of the same spell-out rules with respect to clitics (but see the next section for some differences concerning [PERSON] clitics), on the surface the distribution rules because this would weaken the proposal considerably.

⁵ With respect to acquisition, one could say that the unmarked setting involves early linearization. The change to late linearization is only triggered by evidence like that discussed in the previous chapter on Barceloní.

of these spell-outs is quite different. The "integrity" of the third person dative clitic in Valencian, for instance, is apparent in the following examples. The examples in (9a) and (10a), from Valencian, can be compared to the corresponding Barceloní examples in (9b) and (10b):

- (9) a. Li'n donaré molts, de regals, al xic
 3rd-dat gen. will-give(1st) many, of presents, to-the boy
 'I will give many presents to the boy'
 b. [ni] donaré molts, de regals, al noi
- (10) a. Els en donaré molts, de regals, als xics
 3rd-dat-pl will-give(1st) many, of presents, to-the boys
 'I will give many presents to the boys'
 b. [əlzəni] donaré molts, de regals, als nois

In Valencian, the third person dative clitic ([ARGUMENT] , [OBLIQUE]) is linearized as such before the [GENITIVE] clitic. In Barceloní, on the other hand, the feature [GENITIVE] is linearized after the feature [ARGUMENT] but before the feature [OBLIQUE], causing the "splitting" of the third person dative clitic. In (9b), in addition, a rule has applied that deletes /l/ before /n/ when they are under strict adjacency (this rule was discussed in the previous chapter). This rule could never apply in Valencian because in this dialect the spell-out for [ARGUMENT] and the spell-out for [GENITIVE] are never linearly adjacent.

3.1.2. *On Reflexives*

The facts I discuss below were already introduced in chapter 1, where I

discussed a chart including the surface form of reflexives in several languages. Here I will, of course, reach the same conclusions I advanced in that chapter, but I will discuss the facts from a different perspective.

According to Colomina i Castanyer (1985) (and confirmed by Vicent de Melchor (p.c.)), it is very common in Valencian to "replace" the first and second person plural reflexive clitics --but not other first or second person clitics-- with *es*. I know that this "replacement" is also common in the area of Reus (close to the País Valencià, in the south of Catalonia).⁶

Colomina i Castanyer (1985) mentions in his footnote 2 some of the examples that I give below. In (11) I give examples without and with the "replacement" of the clitic. The forms in (12), although they have a first or second person clitic, do not allow the replacement:

- (11) a. Mos posarem darrere
1st-refl-pl will-put(1st-pl) behind
'we will move behind'
- b. Es posarem darrere
 es will-put(1st-pl) behind
 'we will move behind'
- c. Vos poseu darrere
 2nd-refl-pl put(2nd-pl) behind
 'you move behind'
- d. Es poseu darrere
 es put(2nd-pl) behind
 'you move behind'

- (12) a. Mos posaran darrere
 1st-acc-pl will-put(3rd-pl) behind
 'they will move us behind'
- b. *Es posaran darrere
 'they will move us behind'

⁶ The same facts hold for many dialects of Spanish, according to Kany (1951).

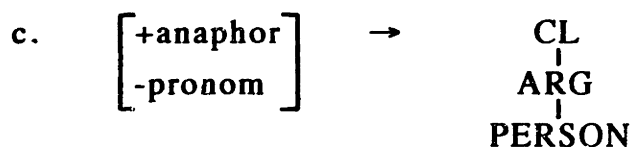
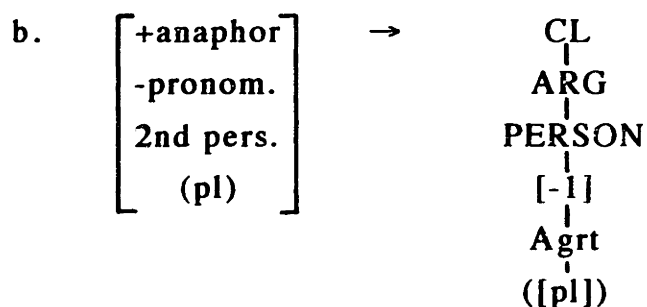
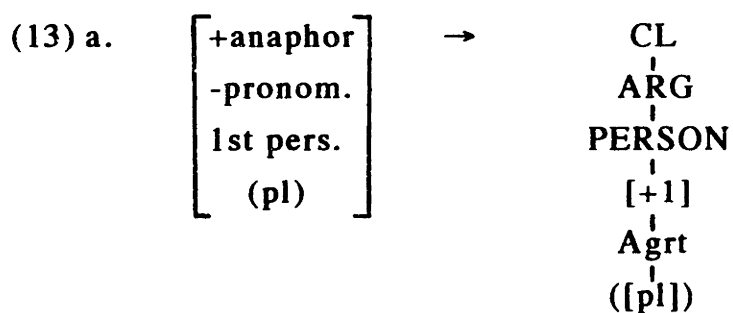
- (12) c. Vos posen darrere⁷
 2nd-acc-pl put(3rd-pl) behind
 'they will move you behind'
 d. *Es posen darrere
 'they will move you behind'

The forms in (12b,d) are fine with a different interpretation ('they (will) move behind'; the interpretation is identical for both sentences except for the tense). One could say that the presence of these alternative interpretations is what blocks the replacement. This cannot be the whole story because analogous ambiguities are commonplace in Barceloní, where the combination of two third person clitics gives as a result only two outputs from eight possible combinations (not counting the other cases that also surface as /li/). In Barceloní, disambiguation comes from the discourse and, in some cases, from dislocated elements in the sentence. Why could this not hold for the cases presented in (12)? It would be easy to come up with a setting for which no ambiguities were possible. However this is not the case.

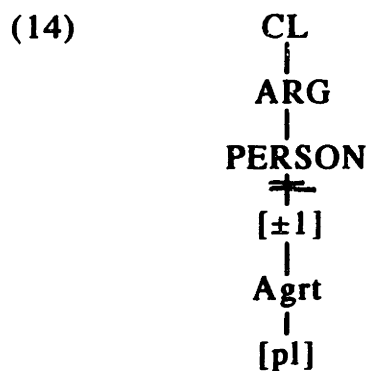
Before I answer the question posed above, the "replacement" itself has to be accounted for. In chapter 1 I already advanced a proposal for a similar case in Walbiri. In Valencian, as in Barceloní, both first and second person reflexives (singular and plural), are subject to the following mapping from the syntax. The default mapping for reflexives is also given

⁷ Notice that the morphs corresponding to first person plural, /moz/, and second person plural /voz/, are different from the corresponding forms in Barceloní (/nz/ and /wz/, respectively). The Valencian forms are identical to the Old Catalan forms, except for the /m/ in the first person plural, which replaced the former /n/ by "analogy", as they say, to the singular form of the same pronoun /m/). I will not address here the issue of the exact spell-out of these forms, which is relatively straightforward.

below, in (13c):



The invariant form *es* that appears in (11b,d) instead of the first and second person plural forms (*mos* and *vos*, respectively) is obtained through a morphological rule that deletes the $[\pm 1]$ node, as shown in (14) below:



The delinking of $[\pm 1]$ gives as a result the morphological structure that is later spelled out as *es*, and this is the form in which the clitic surfaces. I assume this rule to be optional. The rule in (14) only applies to plural forms, never to singular forms.

I should emphasize again the advantages of having a rule like (14) as opposed to a simple rule of the type given below, similar to the ones discussed at the beginning of chapter 1. I abstract away from the conditions under which the rule would apply (i.e. when the clitics are reflexive):

$$(15) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mos} \\ \text{vos} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{es}$$

In the rule in (15) it is just a coincidence that the output of the rule coincides with an independently existing clitic; one could have written anything to the right (or to the left) of the arrow. In other words, the rule in (15) has no constraints. With the system developed here, the output *es*, as opposed to any other combination of sounds, is not a coincidence.

Because of the existence of morphological structures and their manipulation by the standard operations also existent in phonology (delinking, insertion, spreading,...), the prediction is made that the output of a "change" **has to be** an independently existing clitic. Moreover, within this system, the expectation is that "changes" alter the morphological structures minimally; it would be very unusual (to say the least) to find a language like Catalan, in which /n/ ([OBLIQUE]) "becomes" /wz/ ([PERSON, -1, pl]) in some context, because this would imply the delinking of a node ([OBL]) plus the addition of several ([ARG], [PERSON], [-1], and [pl]). In a system like

the one exemplified with (15), the change from /n/ to /wz/ would not be more costly than (15) itself.

Still one question needs to be addressed. In (11) versus (12), I show that the morphological rule in (14) is only applicable when the first or second person plural clitic is a reflexive (as in the sentences in (11)). However, this distinction is not captured in the morphological structures themselves: reflexive and non-reflexive clitics have the same morphological structure as long as they are, for instance, second person. I want to suggest that the difference between (11) and (12) is directly related to the issue of Recoverability, first addressed in chapter 1. In the case of a pronominal clitic, as in the examples in (12), the deletion of the feature $[\pm 1]$, which belongs to a [PERSON] clitic, is not recoverable. Therefore rule (14) is blocked. However, in the case of a reflexive clitic, as in (11), the first or second person marking is present in the verbal inflection: in (11a), the verbal form is first person, like the clitic; in (11b) the two forms are second person. Inflection is part of the same chain as the clitic, through their relation to the subject position. In the case of a reflexive, but not in the case of a pronominal, then, the feature $[\pm 1]$ is recoverable and, therefore, rule (14) can apply.

Putting together the points made in this section and the points made in the previous section, a prediction is made that, unfortunately, I have not been able to test at this point. In section 3.1.1., I claimed that in Valencian linearization applies before morphological rules. In this section I also claimed that Valencian has a rule that makes first and second person

plural reflexive clitics identical in shape to third person reflexives (bare [PERSON]). The prediction that is made is that the "newly formed" reflexives will appear in the same linear position as the first and second person plural clitics, not in the same position as the real third person reflexive. This should be so because linearization takes place before morphological rules, and at that point the clitics which will be subject to rule (14) still bear the feature $[\pm 1]$, and therefore should occupy in the template the slots assigned to first and second person clitics.

The relevant example to test the prediction just described has to contain a third person dative clitic (that is $\{[ARGUMENT], [OBLIQUE]\}$). This is the clitic that in the template in (2) appears between the first and the second person clitics ($[\pm 1]$) and the bare [PERSON] clitic (the impersonal or reflexive). So, even though real reflexives, as in (16a), below, appear after the third person dative clitics, the "replaced" first and second person clitics should appear before it, as shown in (16b).⁸

- (16) a. *Li se va espatllar el cotxe*
to-him/her refl. broke-down the car
'His/her car broke down'
- b. *Se li vam declarar totes dues*
es 3rd-dat declared(1st-pl) all(fem-pl) two(fem)
'we both declared our love to him/her'

In both (16a) and (16b) there is an inherently reflexive clitic. In (16b), especially, it is necessary to use this type of clitic (or an ethical) because many of the combinations of a first or second person with a third person

⁸ this particular test cannot be checked in Alacantí, for instance, because in this subdialect the third person dative clitic follows both the reflexive and the first and second person clitics. See footnote 1 in this respect.

dative clitic are ruled out by the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. I do not know whether any speakers of Valencian find (16b) fine, with this particular linear order.⁹

3.2. Italian

In this section I will discuss one aspect of Italian clitic combinations: the morphological (but not phonological) difference between the impersonal clitic and the third person reflexive clitic. As I have said at several points before, the facts concerning clitic combinations in Italian seem to be far more complex than in other Romance languages, from what I have been able to observe. A very detailed study of the facts is necessary before making particular hypotheses. However, I decided to address the issue discussed below because it constitutes a clear instance of a non-transparent form triggered by a morphological rule. In addition, the Italian impersonal shows a very different behavior from Spanish *¿are* [PERSON], as will be shown.

⁹ If the linear order in (16b) turned out to be *li se*, as opposed to *se li*, for the relevant set of speakers, some changes would have to be made to the proposal in the text. One easy solution would be to reject the arguments for early linearization in Valencian, and assume that the isomorphism between the third person accusative and the third person dative is purely coincidental. With late linearization, the order *li se* would be accounted for straightforwardly. Another possibility would be to conclude that the account of linearization presented in this dissertation is overly simplified, and that it has to be enriched in some way (so that linearization can apply at more than one point, for instance). At this stage it would be premature to assume any such modification, and more data would have to seriously be considered before making more sophisticated proposals in this respect.

3.2.1. *Impersonals and Reflexives*

One of the most interesting characteristics that distinguish Italian from other Romance languages is related to impersonal and reflexive *si*. We saw that in Catalan, as well as in most of the other Romance languages, there are no morphological differences among all the uses of *si* (*es* in Catalan). They are all mapped onto bare [PERSON] in the Morphology Component, and they are always assigned to one and the same slot. This unique position in the template is the source of the ungrammaticality of sentences like the following, which were already discussed in chapter 2:

- (17) a. *Es es renta
 impers. refl. washes
 'one is washed'
- b. *Es renta
 'one is washed'

(17a) could never be derived because there is only one slot in the template for the bare [PERSON] clitic. (17b) is ruled out because of the need for recoverability that characterizes [PERSON] clitics, and one of the two input clitics in (17) does not surface in any form (the sentence would be fine if it meant 'one washes (something)' or 's/he washes him/herself', with only one bare [PERSON] clitic). In the model argued for in this dissertation, when only one of the [PERSON] clitics can be spelled out as such, the other one (in this case the reflexive) is spelled out in the foot of the chain it belongs to.

Two facts of Italian suggest a morphological distinction between two types of *si*, the impersonal and the reflexive. One of these facts concerns

the surface order of *si* with respect to other clitics. The examples below (from Saccon (1988)) illustrate this point. The vowel change that affects *si* in (18b) is not relevant here:

- (18) a. Lo *si* sveglia
3rd-acc impers. wake-up(3rd)
'one wakes him/her up'
b. Se lo compra
refl. 3rd-acc buys
's/he buys it for her/himself'

Notice the placement of *si* with respect to the third person accusative clitic: in (18a) impersonal *si* follows the accusative clitic, while in (18b) reflexive *si* precedes it (in Catalan and other Romance languages, this difference in ordering does not exist). This distinction can be captured in the present model only if a property can be found which distinguishes these two clitics in the Morphology Component of Italian. An additional fact that goes in the same direction is the existence of sentences equivalent to the ungrammatical Catalan sentence (17a). In Italian it is possible to say something like 'one washes him/herself' with the use of clitics. One of the *si*'s, though, surfaces as *ci* in Standard Italian:¹⁰

- (19) Ci *si* lava
ci si washes
'one washes oneself'

I will address the issue of the "change" from *si* to *ci* later. First let us see what property might distinguish impersonal *si* from reflexive *si*, in Italian but not in other Romance languages (which do not make a morphological

¹⁰ In Conegliano, however (and according to Saccon (1988)), this sentence surfaces as *si si lava*, without a "change" from *si* to *ci*.

distinction among the different uses of *si*).

Cinque (1988) suggests that one of the morphological properties that characterize Italian impersonal *si* is plural. One of the reasons for this position is that plural agreement is triggered in sentences containing impersonal *si*. The sentence given below is taken from Cinque (1988) (his (25b)). The plural elements are marked in boldface:

- (20) **Si è stati abbandonati a se stessi**
'one has been(pl., masc.) abandoned(pl.,masc) to oneself(pl., masc.)'

To be more precise, the presence of plural number is common to all *arb* elements in Italian, as noted also by Rizzi (1986). This is not the case in other Romance languages.

Let us pursue Cinque's description and propose that, not only is the feature [plural] associated with the impersonal clitic at S-structure (through its coindexation with *Arb* Spec, IP), but also that this feature is later mapped onto the morphological structure corresponding to that clitic. Then the morphological structure of impersonal *si* will be as shown in (21a). This structure can be compared to the morphological structure of the third person reflexive, which does not have the agreement feature [plural]:

(21) a.



b.



In no other case, in Italian or in other Romance languages, will bare [PERSON] cooccur with [plural].

The fact that the surface form in the impersonal and in the reflexive is identical is due to the formulation of the spell-out rule for both clitics, which "ignores" the presence of the feature [plural] in one of them. This rule is given below:¹¹

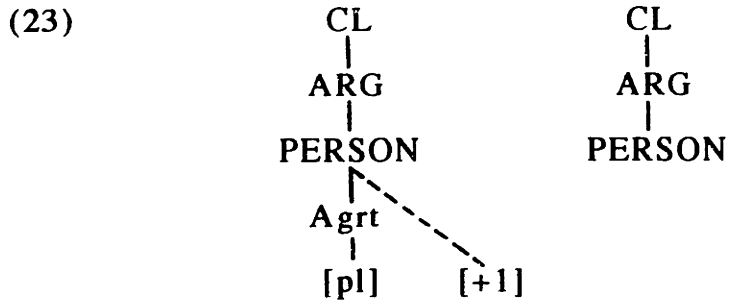
(22) {[PERSON], ([plural])} → *si*

The fact that impersonal *si* surfaces in a different position from reflexive *si* (as exemplified in (18), above) is most probably due to the fact that they occupy different slots in the template: the slot corresponding to bare [PERSON] precedes the slot that corresponds to {[PERSON], [plural]}. I assume that middle *si*, and other uses of *si*, are mapped into the Morphology in the same fashion as reflexive *si*.

The characterization of impersonal *si* with the feature [plural] allows for a quite straightforward account of the "change" from *si* to *ci* when both impersonal *si* and reflexive *si* cooccur in the same cluster. This change was exemplified in (19). The morphological rule responsible for the change simply adds the feature [+1] to the morphological structure. This rule has the effect shown in (23), below:¹²

¹¹ Given that in Italian plural masculine forms end in /i/, one could alternatively say that with the impersonal clitic the feature [plural] is also spelled out, but it is indistinguishable from the second segment of the spell-out of [PERSON], also /i/.

¹² This rule would not apply in Conegliano, where the two *si* surface "untouched". The surfacing of the sequence *si si* is possible because the two clitics (their morphological structures) occupy different slots, as was independently motivated.



Recall that Agrt is not a defining feature of the clitics and is always dominated by the most specific node dominated by [ARGUMENT]. When [+1] is inserted in the structure above, then, the Agreement feature is "relocated".

By the rule in (23), the impersonal clitic becomes indistinguishable from the first person plural clitic, which is spelled out as *ci*, as shown in the example below:

- (24) *Ci hanno visto*
 1st-acc-pl have(3rd-pl) seen
 'they have seen us'

Being a structure-filling rule, (23) does not raise any problems for the Recoverability generalization. No information is lost.¹³

Notice that if the impersonal clitic were not characterized by the presence of the feature [plural] (which was motivated syntactically), the surface appearance of *ci* (instead of *mi* --the first person singular clitic--,

¹³ According to Cinque (1988), impersonal *si* does acquire a first person plural interpretation in very specific contexts, different from the one presented in the text. I do not think that this "merging" has a common origin.

for instance) would be a mystery. The plausible characterization of impersonal *si* with the feature [plural] allows for an easy account of the different positioning of the two types of *si*, and for the "change" from *si* to *ci*, the two main differences between *si* in Italian, and *es* or equivalent forms in other Romance languages. The present proposal also has advantages over the proposal made in Wanner (1977), for instance, which was mentioned at the beginning of chapter 1, and which I repeat below:

(25) Italian *si* to *ci* Conversion (Wanner (1977), p. 117 (26))

si si → *ci si*

As I pointed out in chapter 1, in formulations like (25), the fact that the output of the rule is phonologically identical to an independently existing clitic is a mere coincidence. Other non-existing phonological forms could have as easily been expressed with the formalism above. Within the framework argued for here, the fact that the output of the rule has the same shape as the first person plural clitic is not a coincidence, but is the product of a rule that makes the morphological structures of the two clitics identical through the manipulation of morphological features. Random outputs cannot be easily captured within the present framework.

3.3. Spanish

The basic facts concerning clitic ordering in Spanish were discussed in Perlmutter (1971), to show that clitic ordering cannot be accounted for with

transformations. The filter or template that he proposes for Spanish is repeated below (=Perlmutter (1971), p. 45, (86)):

(26) *se* II I III

Here I will not try to account for all the facts concerning clitic combinations in Spanish. The main focus of this section is to consider the nature of the so-called Spurious *se* Rule (which "changes" the third person dative clitic into *se* when it cooccurs with a third person accusative clitic), and the consequences of this rule for some dialects. However I will first address the issue concerning the lack of a specific morph for [NEUTER]. This clitic will be later incorporated into the discussion of the Spurious *se* Rule.

3.3.1. On [NEUTER]

Spanish, like most Romance languages, does not have a specific spell-out for [NEUTER], that is, an equivalent of Catalan *ho*.¹⁴ Spanish and the other languages that lack this morph use, instead, the same morph as the third person masculine singular clitic in the context where Catalan *ho* appears (*lo*, in Spanish). The claim I want to make for Spanish and similar languages is that they do project [NEUTER] in the Morphology

¹⁴ According to Coromines (1980-1991), Catalan *ho* comes from Latin *hoc* 'this', abbreviation of *hoc quod dicis* 'what you say'. Latin *hoc* is also the source for Old Catalan and Provençal *hoc* 'yes'.

Component, but they do not have a specific spell-out for it. That is, Spanish does not have a spell-out rule of the type exemplified in (27), below:

(27) [NEUTER] → /xx/

In Spanish and similar languages, [NEUTER] is assigned the spell-out that corresponds to the node that dominates [NEUTER], [ARGUMENT]. Below I repeat the relevant morphological structure:

(28)

```

      CL
      |
     ARG
      |
    NEUTER
  
```

The fact that in these languages [NEUTER] has the same spell-out as the third person singular masculine clitic (*lo*, in Spanish), and not its feminine and/or plural counterpart follows from the fact that at S-structure gender and number features are not present in the syntactic feature matrix that is mapped onto morphological structures. However, this does not imply that [NEUTER] is incompatible with Agreement features in the Morphology, as will be shown later.

The spell-out for the structure in (28), then, is identical to the spell-out corresponding to the third person masculine singular clitic, represented as (29) in the Morphology Component:

(29)

```

      CL
      |
     ARG
  
```

The spell-out rule for the neuter clitic or the third person clitic is given below:

(30) [ARGUMENT] → /l/

The /o/ that appears on the surface following the spell-out in (30) (*lo*) is the spell-out of a form-class in the sense of Harris (1991a,b), more specifically the default form-class for Spanish.

3.3.2. On the Spurious se Rule

3.3.2.1. The Spurious se Rule in Iberian Spanish

One of the issues that Perlmutter (1971) addresses is the "change" that the third person dative clitic undergoes when it combines with a third person accusative clitic. The effects of this rule are illustrated in (31c) below. In (31a,b) I give examples of each clitic in isolation (third person accusative, and third person dative, respectively):¹⁵

- (31) a. El regalo, no lo dí a Carmela
the present, not 3rd-acc gave(1st) to Carmela
'I did not give the present to Carmela'
- b. A Carmela, no le dí el regalo
to Carmela, not 3rd-dat gave(1st) the present
- c. A Carmela, el regalo, no se lo dí
a Carmela, the present, not se 3rd-acc gave(1st)

Perlmutter (1971) formulates the Spurious *se* Rule as shown below. This

¹⁵ (31a) sounds slightly unnatural because the indirect object is usually doubled with a clitic.

rule was already mentioned at the beginning of the first chapter:¹⁶

(32) Spurious *se* Rule: (obligatory) (=Perlmutter (1971), p. 22 (10))

$$\begin{array}{cc} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Dative} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Acc.} \end{array} \right] \\ 1 & 2 \end{array} \rightarrow se, 2$$

Although this rule describes the facts correctly, it suffers from the same problem discussed earlier for this and similar rules: the fact that the output form *se* has the same phonological shape as the reflexive or impersonal *se* is just a coincidence in this system. It would have been as easy to have the output of the rule be *ba*, 2.¹⁷ In the theory presented in this dissertation the formulation of the Spurious *se* Rule involves the insertion of the feature [PERSON] into the morphological structure of the third person dative clitic (that is, {[ARGUMENT],[OBLIQUE]}).

Before I give the formulation of the rule itself, one point has to be made about the Morphology Component of Spanish: the morphological structure of the third person dative does project the feature [feminine] in its Agreement node, when such a feature is provided by the syntax. Even though this feature never surfaces on the dative clitic itself (it does not have a specific spell-out), it does have an effect on other clitics, as will be

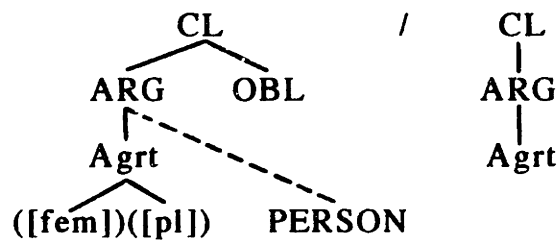
¹⁶ Even though at this particular point in the book Perlmutter states that the Spurious *se* Rule is obligatory, later on (p. 45, fn. 24) he says that it can be optional because the filter, which applies later, will rule out the cases in which the rule has not applied.

¹⁷ The *le* to *se* change cannot be viewed at all as a phonological change (some sort of a dissimilation rule). Not only would this be the only case in the language with such a process, but it would be impossible to express the change in one single phonological rule.

shown in the next section.

The formulation of the Spurious *se* Rule is given below. The dots connecting [ARGUMENT] and [PERSON] are meant to indicate the addition of the node [PERSON] to the structure:

(33) Spurious *se* Rule:



Recall that the input to the Spurious *se* Rule is the dative third person clitic (feminine or not, plural or not); this is why the node [OBLIQUE], as well as Agreement, is present in the representation of the input. This rule applies only in the context of a third person accusative clitic, as shown in (33). As mentioned several times, the structure of "bare" [PERSON] projected from the syntax is as shown below:



The question that arises at this point concerns the fate of Agreement and the node [OBLIQUE]. These features are part of the input structure (the third person dative clitic), but they do not occur with bare [PERSON] in the normal case (see (34)). One possibility would be to say that nothing

happens, and that the Spurious *se* Rule creates a structure that would not otherwise occur in Spanish, a structure with [PERSON], [OBLIQUE] and Agreement features. Some mechanism would prevent [OBLIQUE] and the Agreement features from being spelled out independently in these cases. However, I would like to say that, instead, once the feature [PERSON] is added to the morphological structure corresponding to the third person dative, Agreement features and the node [OBLIQUE] have to be delinked because the resulting structure does not constitute a legitimate object in Spanish. These features are incompatible with the structure represented in (34).¹⁸ Unless some dialect-particular rule relinks them, these features and nodes are later deleted by Stray Erasure. The loss of [OBLIQUE] and Agreement as a consequence of the Spurious *se* Rule should not be considered a violation of the generalization on Recoverability because these features are not part of the structure of the bare [PERSON] clitic.

In the subsection below I give evidence from some dialects of Spanish for the relinking of features after the application of the Spurious *se* Rule.

¹⁸ At this point, the claim that [OBLIQUE] and Agt are delinked when the Spurious *se* Rule applies is basically a stipulation. Evidence for the incompatibility between [PERSON] and Agreement features will be discussed in the next subsection. The idea behind this stipulation is that particular languages allow particular morphological structures (the morphological structures mapped from the syntax), but nothing beyond that. So, if a specific rule creates an illegitimate structure (a structure that would not be possible otherwise), the features incompatible with the newly introduced feature are delinked.

The Spurious *se* Rule can be seen as some sort of dissimilation rule. With the view held in this footnote and in the text, the change from /le(s)/ to /se/ is the minimal possible change, given the inventory of clitics (as morphological structures) of Spanish. A change from /le(s)/ to /me/, for instance, would involve the insertion of additional features ([PERSON] and [+1]). If, instead, one were to delete the [ARGUMENT] node of the dative clitic (as happens in Catalan. See chapter 4), only [OBLIQUE] would be left, and bare [OBLIQUE] is not a legitimate structure in Spanish.

3.3.2.2. *Consequences of the Spurious se Rule* ¹⁹

Here I will discuss two types of related facts. Both of them involve the "transfer" of features from the dative clitic to the accusative clitic, in dative-accusative combinations. First I will consider the case in which the clitic corresponding to the direct object is the third person accusative (that is [ARGUMENT]). Later I will discuss cases in which the direct object is the [NEUTER] clitic. The data that I will present here supports the claim that [feminine] and [plural] are privative features. Moreover, the data discussed below also provides evidence for the possible occurrence of the feature [feminine] in dative clitics. The dialects of Spanish I will refer to are colloquial Mexican and Uruguayan.²⁰

3.3.2.2.1 *Spurious Se and Agreement Features*

In the morphological structures that I have proposed in this thesis, [feminine] and [plural] are privative features. A prediction that the adoption of this position makes is that these features will be able to spread or delete in certain circumstances, while if these features are not present nothing will ever happen in that respect. If the features were binary, one

¹⁹ I would like to thank Gemma Rigau for first drawing my attention to the data presented in this section.

²⁰ The data I have on colloquial Mexican comes from a handout of a talk by C. Company at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in November of 1989. The judgements on Uruguayan were given to me by Hamila Cuna-Stainton.

would expect both values to have some effect over a neighboring clitic in certain cases. Alternatively, one could say that one of the values is present underlyingly, and that the other value is inserted later by default (this is, for instance, the position adopted by Farkas (1990)). This latter approach relies on the assumption that a feature value has to be present in order for an element to be interpreted. In the proposal developed in this thesis, "masculine" is just the lack of [feminine]; there is no need to insert a default [-feminine] for a clitic to be spelled out. In the same way, what we understand to be "singular" just means that the feature [plural] is absent in the morphological structure corresponding to a syntactic clitic. In this system, the fact that the "singularity" or "masculinity" of a clitic shows no effect whatsoever on other clitics in the Morphology Component is due to the fact that there are no features corresponding to these notions; therefore they could never trigger anything. Moreover, there is no need for stipulated default values because the morphological structures have a precise interpretation without them. They would not serve a purpose.²¹ This said, let us see the effects of floating [fem] and [pl] (dominated by an Agreement node) in accusative-dative clitic combinations in some dialects of Spanish.

In the previous section, it was shown that the Spurious *se* Rule involves the addition of the node [PERSON] (see (33)). It was said that, because of the incompatibility between bare [PERSON] with [OBLIQUE] and Agreement features, these features are left stranded after the application of rule (33). In Iberian Spanish, these features are later

²¹ For discussion of these issues, see also Harris (1991a,b).

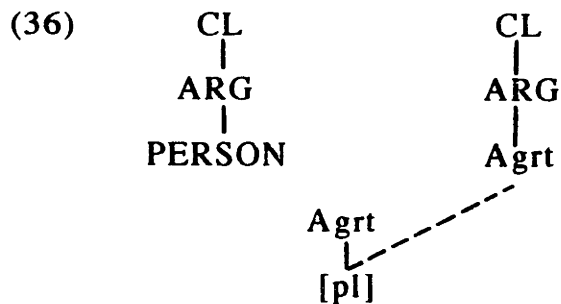
removed by Stray Erasure, and the surface form of the clitics is the expected one, *se* for the [PERSON] clitic (output of the rule) and /l/ for the [ARGUMENT] clitic (the accusative). In colloquial Mexican or in Uruguayan, the Spurious *se* Rule triggers additional changes on the surface form of the accusative clitic. Let us see them one at a time.

In these dialects, when the source of the direct object clitic is masculine singular, and the dative is masculine plural, the surface form of the clitics is *se los*, not *se lo* (as in Iberian Spanish). That is, the accusative clitic shows up with a plural morph that does not belong to it but to the dative source. Below, I give an example illustrating this point. (35a) contains an example in Iberian Spanish, while (35b) shows the equivalent sentence in these other dialects:

- (35) a. El libro, a ellos, ¿quién se lo prestó?
the book, to them, who *se* 3rd-acc lent(3rd)
'who lent the book to them?'
b. El libro, a ellos, ¿quién se los prestó?
the book, to them, who *se* 3rd-acc-pl lent(3rd)
'who lent the book to them?'

In (35b), it is clear that the third person accusative clitic has a singular source (as reflected by the left dislocated phrase *el libro* 'the book'). However, the clitic contains a plural marker /s/. This marker can only be related to the dative clitic (cf. the dislocated phrase *a ellos* 'to them', plural). In order to account for the facts in (35b) within the current framework, only one additional operation has to be incorporated: association of floating features (a common operation in phonology). Below I represent the operation of association for the clitics in (35b). The

Spurious *se* Rule has already taken place, and the "incompatible" features and nodes have been left stranded. In the formulation of the rule below I omit the floating feature [OBLIQUE] for convenience. I will return to this feature later. I also omit any reference to the feature [feminine], which will also be addressed later.



While [plural] associates, [OBLIQUE] is later subject to Stray Erasure.

Notice that if "plurality" were a binary distinction underlyingly (e.g. [+plural] versus [-plural]), it would be harder to account for the facts presented in this section. It would have to be stipulated that the positive value of the feature always "wins" over the negative, regardless of its source. If it were said that only the value of the dative clitic is preserved, (37b) would be predicted, and not the correct (37a):

- (37) a. Los libros, a él, ¿quién se los prestó?
 the books, to him, who *se* 3rd-acc-pl lent(3rd)
 'who lent the books to him?'
 b. *Los libros, a él, ¿quién se lo prestó?
 the books, to him, who *se* 3rd-acc lent(3rd)
 'who lent the books to him?'

Within the framework argued for here, the facts in (37) follow naturally.

With the mechanisms presented so far, (37b) would never be generated

because there is no feature to be spread from the dative, because the notion "singular" lacks a feature altogether. (37a) is the only possibility predicted.²²

In the cases where both the accusative and the dative sources have the feature [plural], the spreading from the dative is a vacuous operation.

In the cases where the accusative source is feminine, and the dative source is masculine plural, the surface accusative presents both a feminine morph (coming from itself) and a plural morph, coming from the dative. The example below illustrates this point. (38a) is Iberian Spanish, while (38b) is Uruguayan or colloquial Mexican:

- (38) a. Yo se la vendo a los gringos, la marihuana
 I se 3rd-acc-fem sell(1st) to the gringos, the marihuana(fem)
 'I sell the marihuana to the gringos'
- b. Yo se las vendo a los gringos, la marihuana
 I se 3rd-acc-fem-pl sell(1st) to the gringos, the marihuana(fem)
 'I sell the marihuana to the gringos'

The output in (38b) is obtained through the rule in (36). In the examples above, the accusative clitic [ARGUMENT] has the feature [feminine] in its Agreement node. After the spreading of [plural] from the dative clitic,

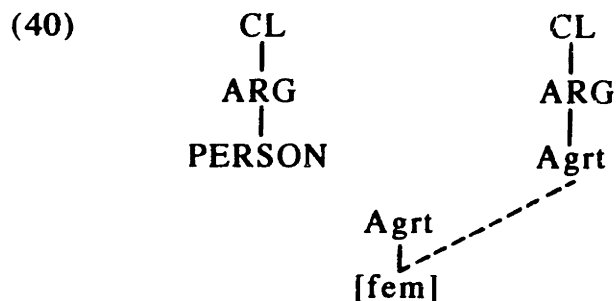
²² Actually, these inexistent forms could also be derived under the present framework if the spreading affected the node Agreement, rather than its features. An empty Agreement node from the dative could spread to an accusative with [plural] in its Agreement node, causing the latter to be delinked. However, Agreement is not a feature; it does not have the same status as [plural] or [PERSON], to give some examples. I use the term Agreement only to indicate that [plural] and [feminine] belong to a different class from features like [PERSON] or [OBLIQUE]. As I said in the first chapter, [plural] and [feminine] are not defining properties of the clitics. Agreement should be viewed more like a morpheme on the clitics, rather than an essential part of them. Moreover, we will see that in some dialects only [plural] spreads, [feminine] being subject to Stray Erasure.

[ARGUMENT] will need a spell-out for both [feminine] and [plural].

Let us look now at the spreading of the feature [feminine], exemplified below. As usual, the first example is from Iberian Spanish, while the second one is from Uruguayan or Mexican Spanish:

- (39) a. Si ella me quiere comprar el caballo, yo se lo venderé
 if she 1st-dat wants buy the horse, I se 3rd-acc will-sell(1st)
 'if she wants to buy my horse, I will sell it to her'
 b. Si ella me quiere comprar el caballo, yo se la venderé
 if she 1st-dat wants buy the horse, I se 3rd-acc-fem will-sell(1st)
 'if she wants to buy my horse, I will sell it to her'

In (39), the source for the accusative clitic is a masculine noun (*el caballo* 'the horse'). However the accusative clitic has the spell-out corresponding to [feminine]. It is obvious that this feature has to come from the dative clitic, coindexed with a feminine antecedent (*ella* 'she'). The example in (39), then, provides evidence for the mapping of the feature [feminine] onto the morphological structure corresponding to the third person dative clitic, even though the dative clitic itself never receives a spell-out for that feature. The effect of the spreading rule is shown below. As I did before, I omit the floating feature [OBLIQUE] from the representation for convenience:

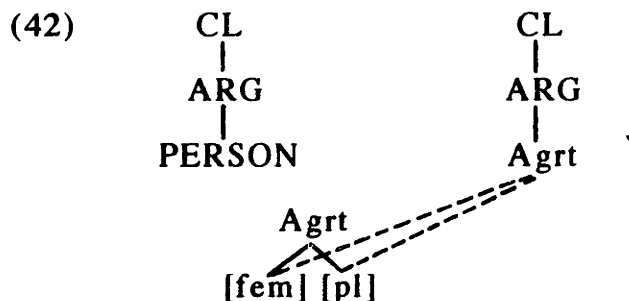


Below, finally, I give an example that illustrates the spreading of the two Agreement features, [feminine] and [plural]. Again, the first example, (41a), is Iberian Spanish, while the second one, (41b) corresponds to the dialects being discussed here:

- (41) a. Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se lo venderé
 if they(fem) 1st-dat want(3rd-pl) buy the horse, I se 3rd-acc
 will-sell(1st)
 'if they want to buy my horse, I will sell it to them'
- b. Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se las venderé
 if they(fem) 1st-dat want(3rd-pl) buy the horse, I se 3rd-acc-
 fem-pl will-sell(1st)
 'if they want to buy my horse, I will sell it to them'

In (41b) the accusative clitic shows up as feminine plural, while the phrase it is coindexed with (*el caballo* 'the horse') is masculine singular. The only source for those morphs is the dative clitic, whose coindexed phrase is feminine plural (*ellas* 'they' (fem.)).

The account of the facts in (41b) is straight forward and practically identical to the derivation presented in (36). In the present case two stranded features, [feminine] and [plural] spread onto the Agreement node of the accusative clitic, as shown below:²³



²³ This operation would presumably be impossible in phonology. See footnote 22, in this respect.

The spell-out rules will give the phonological representation /se/ to the newly formed [PERSON] clitic, while the [ARGUMENT] clitic will be spelled out as /las/.

In this section I have accounted for the facts found in Mexican and Uruguayan in terms of spreading of floating features. These features, which are part of the input third person dative clitic ({[ARGUMENT] , [OBLIQUE]}), float because of their incompatibility with the node [PERSON], the node that is inserted by the Spurious *se* Rule. One could alternatively try to account for the facts exemplified in (41b), for instance, through a rule that would copy the features originating in the dative clitic onto the structure corresponding to the accusative clitic. The newly formed clitic (with the defining features {[PERSON], [OBLIQUE]}, plus the Agreement features) would surface as *se* because the spell-out rules would ignore all the features but [PERSON], not because those features were subject to delinking. Notice, however, that this approach would not relate the "transfer" of features onto the accusative clitic to the incompatibility between Agreement features and the newly formed structure defined by bare [PERSON]. I believe that there is such a connection, and for this reason I reject this type of proposal.

Before I go to the next subsection, there is an issue that needs to be addressed. At the beginning of this section I said that, while the incompatibility of bare [PERSON] with other features or nodes was general to Spanish, the ability to associate floating features was dialect-particular. We saw that while Iberian Spanish did not allow association at all, Uruguayan and colloquial Mexican showed the association of [plural] and

[feminine]. As a matter of fact, one would expect, a priori, that the association of any of the floating features or of a combination of them were attested in different dialects. So far I have given two attested possibilities, no spreading at all and spreading of all the Agreement features. According to Jim Harris (p.c.) (see also Kany (1951)), other dialects of Spanish allow the association of the feature [plural], but not the association of the feature [feminine]. In these dialects of Spanish, then, the sentence given in (41) surfaces as shown in (43), below:

- (43) Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se los venderé
 if they(fem) 1st-dat want(3rd-pl) buy the horse, I se 3rd-acc-pl
 will-sell(1st)
 'if they want to buy my horse, I will sell it to them'

In (43) the dative clitic has the Agreement features [feminine] and [plural], as reflected in the related *ellas* ('they'(fem)). However the third person accusative clitic shows up with the spell-out for [plural] /s/, but not with the expected spell-out for [feminine] /a/ (corresponding to the redundant |a form-class). This asymmetry between [feminine] and [plural] should not be too surprising. In the previous chapter we saw two cases that reflect this hierarchy, one from Modern Greek and one from Barceloní (where the feature [feminine], but not [plural] was lost when its clitic cooccurred with any other non-[PERSON] clitic). Therefore I would be surprised to find a dialect in which [feminine] but not [plural] were subject to association.²⁴

²⁴ Jim Harris reminds me that there seems to be some evidence contrary to (the universal character of) this hierarchy between [plural] and [feminine] in dialects of Catalan, by which [plural] would tend to "survival" more than [feminine]: for some speakers of Catalan (including myself) Past Participle agreement is fine as long as [feminine] is present. [plural] agreement, without [feminine] is clearly disfavored. Compare the two examples below:

What about the node [OBLIQUE]? The prediction is, again, that this node should be able to associate to [ARG], giving as a result a surface dative clitic. At this point I do not know whether this prediction is borne out.

In the next subsection I consider the cases in which the accusative clitic contains the node [NEUTER].

3.3.2.2.2. *Se* and [NEUTER]

It has been said elsewhere in this thesis that the clitic containing the node [NEUTER] in the Morphology never receives the features [feminine] or [plural], because these features are not provided by the syntax in the first place. Here I will show that this does not imply that [NEUTER] is incompatible with [feminine] and [plural]. For this reason, even though usually the [NEUTER] clitic will not contain the features [feminine] and [plural], it does project an Agreement node. The evidence I have comes from the dialects discussed in the previous subsection, in which the features left stranded by the Spurious *se* Rule are relinked to the [ARGUMENT] node of the accusative clitic. In these dialects, when the

- (i) Les he comrades
3rd-acc-fem-pl have(1st) bought-fem-pl
- (ii) ??Els he comprats
3rd-acc-pl have(1st) bought-pl

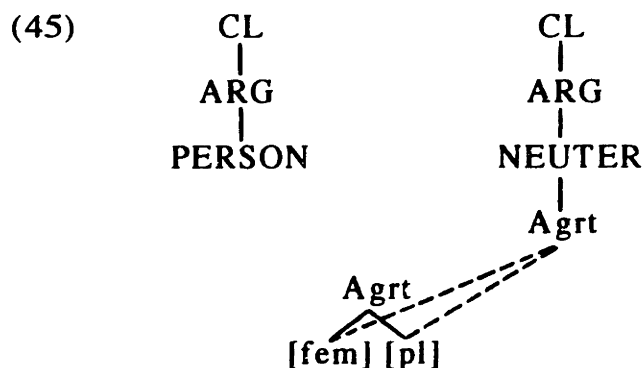
I do not have anything to say about this particular case. All the other cases I have seen confirm the tendency (maybe it is because of this sort of data that this is just a tendency).

direct object is [NEUTER], the transfer of features also takes place.

Below I give an example that shows the relinking of the features of the dative clitic on the [NEUTER] clitic. The first example is from Iberian Spanish, while the second one is Mexican or Uruguayan:²⁵

- (44) a. Si ellas me quieren comprar esto, yo se lo venderé
 if they(fem) 3rd-dat want(3rd-pl) buy this(neut), I se 3rd
 will-sell(1st)
 'If they want to by this from me, I'll sell it to them'
- b. Si ellas me quieren comprar esto, yo se las venderé
 if they 1st-dat want(3rd-pl) buy this(neut), I se 3rd-fem-pl
 will-sell(1st)
 'If they want to by this from me, I'll sell it to them'

In (45) I show the derivation of (44b), after the Spurious *se* Rule has taken place. Again, I omit the presence of the floating feature [OBLIQUE] for convenience:



Because the node [NEUTER] does not have a specific spell-out, spell-out rules will target the node that immediately dominates [NEUTER], namely

²⁵ *Esto* is the "neuter" form of the demonstrative. The masculine form is *éste* and the feminine, *ésta*.

[ARGUMENT]. [feminine] and [plural] will be spelled out in the usual way.

3.3.2.3. Other Related Issues

By the Spurious *se* Rule, the morphological structure of the third person dative clitic becomes identical to the morphological structure of the (third person) reflexive or impersonal clitic *se*. In the previous section, I discussed two dialects of Spanish where, as a consequence of this rule, the Agreement features of the dative clitic surface on the accusative clitic. Pretheoretically, one could expect that when the syntax contains a third person plural reflexive clitic plus a third person singular accusative clitic, for example, the accusative clitic surfaces with the plural marking corresponding to the reflexive clitic. A hypothetical example is given below, with the use of an inherently reflexive clitic. The asterisk indicates that the form does not occur. I also indicate with subindices the relation between the reflexive clitic and its antecedent:

- (46) *Los niños_i, el pastel, se_i los han comido
the children, the cake, *se* 3rd-acc-pl have(3rd-pl) eaten
'the children ate up the cake'

The inexistent situation in (46) could be expected if third person reflexives could map Agreement features onto the Morphology. If that were the case, one could not resort to the incompatibility between [PERSON] and Agreement features to account for the transfer of Agreement features to the

accusative clitic ([ARGUMENT]). The transfer would be done through a copying rule not capable of distinguishing a real [PERSON] clitic from a spurious one.

In the present proposal, examples like (46) are not derivable because third person reflexives do not map Agreement features onto the Morphology. Bare [PERSON] is incompatible with those features. Therefore, (46) would not be derivable because bare [PERSON] would not have a [plural] feature that could be subject to transfer to start with.

Perlmutter (1971) discusses cases that would involve in their input an impersonal clitic *se*, a third person dative argument and a third person accusative argument. In these cases, it is impossible to express both the accusative and the dative arguments by the use of clitics, as shown below (these examples correspond to Perlmutter's (46), p. 33):

- (47) a. *A los generales se les da los honores, pero a los conscriptos no se les los da
to the generals imp. 3rd-dat-pl gives the honors, but to the conscripts not imp. 3rd-dat-pl 3rd-acc-pl gives
'to the generals the honors are given, but to the conscripts the honors are not given'
- b. *A los generales se les da los honores, pero a los conscriptos no se se los da
to the generals imp. 3rd-dat-pl gives the honors, but to the conscripts not imp. *se* 3rd-acc-pl gives

In Perlmutter's approach, (47a) is ungrammatical because the surface filter provides only one position for a third person clitic, and this sentence has two.²⁶ (47b) would be ruled out because the positive output constraint

²⁶ In another version of Perlmutter's approach, also suggested by him, (47a) would also be ruled out because the Spurious *se* Rule is obligatory, and it has not applied in (47a).

has only one slot for *se*, and (47b) contains two instances of *se*, one of them derived through the Spurious *se* Rule, the other one being an impersonal clitic.

In the proposal made in this dissertation, (47a,b) are not easy to account for. The input cluster contains a bare [PERSON], an [ARGUMENT] and an {[ARGUMENT], [OBLIQUE]}. The latter becomes bare [PERSON] through the Spurious *se* Rule, giving rise to two instances of bare [PERSON]. Presumably, the bare [PERSON] corresponding to the impersonal clitic would be mapped onto the template (I am assuming that linearization in Spanish is late). One could then try to say that the other [PERSON] structure, corresponding to the syntactic dative clitic, is now subject to Recoverability, and is spelled out in the foot of the chain, surfacing as *a ellos* ('to them'). However this is not the case, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (48), below:

- (48) *A los generales se les da los honores, pero a los conscriptos no se
los da a ellos
to the generals imp. 3rd-dat-pl the honors, but to the conscripts not
imp. 3rd-acc-pl gives to them
'to the generals the honors are given, but to the conscripts the
honors are not given'

The problem is more complicated than presented above, or in Perlmutter (1971). For some reason that I do not understand at this point, it is impossible to interpret the clitic *se* as an impersonal, even in combinations like the one exemplified in (49a), below. Compare this sentence with (49b), where only one clitic, corresponding to the impersonal, is present:

- (49) a. *Los honores, se los da a los generales
 the honors, imp. 3rd-acc-pl to the generals
 'they (the honors) are given to the generals'
- b. Se da los honores a los generales
 imp. gives the honors to the generals
 'the honors are given to the generals'

(49) is fine if it is interpreted as 's/he gives the honors to the generals', with a clitic doubling the dative argument (*se* in this case would be a dative subject to the Spurious *se* Rule). The facts in (49a) can be accounted for neither within the framework developed in Perlmutter (1971) (he does not mention these facts), nor with the mechanisms developed in this dissertation. There is no competition for one and the same slot in (\$9a). My opinion is that more needs to be known about the ARB impersonal SE construction (following the terminology in Mendicoetxea & Battye), used in the sentences in (47) (49), in order to know what is ultimately wrong with sentences like (49).

A last issue that I would like to discuss related to the Spurious *se* Rule has to do with its interaction with clitics other than accusatives or impersonals. In Spanish it is difficult to find examples involving three clitics. One example, however, is given below (this example is not good in all dialects of Spanish):

- (50) Pedro se me lo ha quedado
 Pedro refl 3rd-ina!. 3rd-acc has kept
 'Pedro has kept mine'

quedarse is a transitive verb with an inherent reflexive. The first person clitic in (50) is a dative of inalienable possession. If the sequence *se me*

lo is fine above, one could expect it to be fine when the *se* is not a real reflexive, but a third person dative clitic subject to the Spurious *se* Rule (the right environment, provided by the third person accusative clitic, is present). However, examples like (51), below, are ungrammatical:²⁷

- (51) *A Juan, el juguete, no se me lo quites!
to Juan, the toy, not *se* 1st-eth 3rd-acc take
'don't take Juan's toy (on me)!'

These facts can be accounted for neither in my proposal nor in Perlmutter's theory. Under the present proposal, in (51) there are three input clitics: [+1], [ARGUMENT], and {[ARGUMENT], [DATIVE]}. The latter clitic would be subject to the Spurious *se* Rule, becoming [PERSON]. All three resulting clitics should be mapped without any trouble onto the template, because there is a slot available for each one of them, as shown by the example in (50). Nothing would stop the generation of the sentence in (51). Perlmutter's derivation of (51) would be essentially identical to mine: since it is not the case that two clitics are fighting for one slot, the sentence should be grammatical.

At this point, I can think of only one possibility to account for the ungrammaticality of (51). In this sentence there is a clitic intervening between the target and the trigger of the Spurious *se* Rule, the first person ethical clitic, while in all the cases that had been considered up to this point the accusative clitic and the "converted" dative clitic were always adjacent. Then, what seems to be wrong with (51) is that this adjacency is violated.

²⁷ It is potentially interesting that native speakers of Barceloní who are also speakers of Spanish find sentences like (51) fine.

As far as I know, a version of (51) that kept these two clitics adjacent would be ungrammatical. This alternative version is given below:²⁸

- (52) *A Juan, el juguete, no me se lo quites!
to Juan, the toy, not 1st-eth *se* 3rd-acc take
'don't take Juan's toy (on me)!'

In (52), the problem is that, even though the trigger and the target of the Spurious *se* Rule would be adjacent, the linear order required for Spanish is not the one given in (52). (52) would never be derived because in the mapping to the template [PERSON] **precedes** [+1].²⁹ I will not address here the issue of how to represent this adjacency requirement between the target and the trigger of a rule. I leave this for further research.

3.4. Summary

In this chapter I have considered phenomena found in Valencian, Italian and Spanish. The clitic system of Valencian was compared to the clitic system of Barceloní. It was shown that most of the differences between these two dialects can be accounted for with very slight modifications of

²⁸ I imagine that in some dialects of Spanish, as dialects of Catalan, the basic order between the first person clitic and *se* is *me se*. If I am right about this adjacency requirement, sentence (52) should be fine in these dialects, where both adjacency between target and trigger, and the linear order required by the template would be satisfied.

²⁹ Given the high interaction among non-[PERSON] clitics in Barceloní, it does not seem that the adjacency requirement needed for Spanish would be at play. That could account for the fact, mentioned in footnote 27, that Barceloní speakers find sentence (51) fine.

the system needed for Barceloní, the spell-out rules of the two dialects being practically identical. In Valencian, as opposed to Barceloní but as in most Romance languages, linearization operates uniformly on clitics, not on their terminal features. An additional difference between Barceloní and Valencian is that in the latter linearization operates late in the Morphology Component, after the morphological rules but before spell-out. Another aspect of Valencian that was accounted for is the "reduction" of first and second person reflexives to a third person reflexive. The morphological rule responsible for this change delinks the $[\pm 1]$ feature from the structure of these clitics, reducing them to bare [PERSON]. In chapter 1 I explained why the system introduced in this dissertation predicts that in cases of a mismatch between singular and plural reflexives, the plural form is always the one that appears in an invariant form, never the singular. A modification of Binding Theory is not needed to account for these cases. In this chapter, I showed that a rule like Perlmutter's version of the Spurious *se* Rule, is not appropriate to capture the fact that the first and second person plural reflexives acquire the form of an independently existing clitic, namely the third person reflexive or, in my terms, bare [PERSON].

Only one aspect of the clitic system of Italian was considered, also concerning the bare [PERSON] clitic. It was shown that, unlike any other Romance languages, Italian makes a morphological distinction between the impersonal clitic and other uses of *si*. This difference was captured by the addition of the feature [plural] to the structure of the impersonal. This feature is active syntactically, and is carried through to the Morphology. The presence of this feature in the structure of the impersonal clitic allows

for a better understanding of the change that this clitic undergoes when it cooccurs with another bare [PERSON] clitic: the insertion of the feature [+1] by a morphological rule makes it become indistinguishable from the first person plural clitic.

The impersonal clitic of Italian constitutes an example of bare [PERSON] with an Agreement feature. In Spanish, on the other hand, bare [PERSON] never receives an Agreement feature in the mapping from the syntax to the Morphology, and it is incompatible with this type of features. This incompatibility becomes apparent in some dialects by virtue of the Spurious *se* Rule, which inserts the feature [PERSON] to the morphological structure of the third person dative clitic (that is {[ARGUMENT],[[OBLIQUE]]}). With this rule, the Agreement features of the input dative clitic are left stranded, and later associate to the structure of the [ARGUMENT] clitic, the syntactic third person accusative.

CHAPTER 4

ON THE **ME* *LUI*/I-II CONSTRAINT

This chapter is devoted to a constraint I believe to be universal. As I will try to argue, the strategies to overcome this constraint are not syntactic but take place in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology, or in the Morphology Component itself. I will not really explain the facts I will describe, because I do not understand them very well yet. This chapter is meant to be a first approximation to a constraint that has hardly received any attention in the literature, a constraint that many linguists had considered to be a language-particular weird phenomenon.¹ The main purpose behind this chapter is to stimulate discussion on the topic, rather than to propose specific accounts of the constraint.

This chapter is organized as follows: first I will describe the most basic facts concerning the **me lui*/I-II Constraint, and I will suggest that, even though universal in character, it has a strong version and a weak version. In the second section of the chapter I will conclude that the constraint targets combinations of specific heads associated to Infl by S-structure. The following section is devoted to the environments in which the **me lui*/I-II Constraint comes into play, that is, the constructions that trigger it. Dative constructions, causatives, and constructions with datives of

¹ In some cases the observation is made that other particular languages have a similar phenomenon, but the claim is never made that this constraint is universal.

inalienable possession will be discussed in this regard. In the last section I consider three types of strategies that individual languages use to avoid the effects of the constraint.

4.1. A First Approximation to the **me lui*/I-II Constraint

The statement I give below is a very rough description of what I believe to be a language universal. Later the description will be made more precise.

(1) The **me lui*/I-II Constraint

- a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, the direct object has to be third person
- b. Both the direct object and the indirect object are phonologically weak

The second part of the description, which will be discussed later in greater length, describes the nature of the targets of the constraint: the elements that enter the constraint have to be either agreement markers (in three-way agreement systems²), or pronominal clitics (as in Romance languages), or phonologically weak pronouns (e.g. in English). The constraint, by its own nature, is only active with ditransitive verbs, and with other constructions that involve an accusative (or absolutive) and a dative (this issue will also be addressed later, taking Georgian as an example). The constraint, for instance, will never affect a direct object if there is no indirect object in the sentence. That is, it will be possible for a sentence to

² By three-way agreement systems I mean systems where the verb shows agreement with the subject, the direct object and the indirect object.

show up with a first person direct object, as long as there is no indirect object.

The examples below, from Modern Greek, illustrate the ungrammaticality of sentences where neither of the two clitics of a ditransitive verb is third person:³

- (2) a. *O Kostas mu se sístise
the Kostas 1st-gen 2nd-acc introduced
'Kostas introduced you to me'
b. *O Kostas su me sístise
the Kostas 2nd-gen 1st-acc introduced
'Kostas introduced me to you'

In the examples below, from Catalan, a third person clitic appears in the same type of construction that was illustrated before. The only difference between the sentences in (3) and (4) is that, while in (3a) and (4a) the third person clitic is accusative, in (3b) and (4b) the third person clitic is dative. Only with the latter type of combination are the sentences ungrammatical.

- (3) a. En Josep, me'l va recomanar la Mireia
the Josep, 1st-dat 3rd-acc recommended(3rd) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended him (Josep) to me'
b. *A en Josep, me li va recomanar la Mireia
to the Josep, 1st-acc 3rd-dat recommended(3rd) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended me to him (Josep)'
(4) a. En Josep, te'l va recomanar la Mireia
the Josep, 2nd-dat 3rd-acc recommended(3rd) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended him (Josep) to you'

³ These sentences were given to me by Sabine Iatridou and Costas Marinos. In Modern Greek, as I mentioned in previous chapters, genitive and dative have merged.

- (4) b. *A en Josep, te li va recomanar la Mireia
to the Josep, 2nd-acc 3rd-dat recommended(3rd) the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended you to him (Josep)'

The sentences below illustrate the fact that there is nothing wrong with the sequences *me li* or *te li* when, for instance, one of the two clitics is an ethical dative (as in (5a)), or an inherent reflexive (as in (5b)⁴). This same observation can be found in Perlmutter (1971) with respect to Spanish and French.

- (5) a. Me li van dir que havia suspès l'examen
1st-eth. 3rd-dat said(3rd) that had(3rd) failed the exam
'they told him (on me) that he had failed the exam'
b. Te li vas declarar?
2nd-inh.refl. 3rd-dat declared
'Did you declare your love to him/her?'

4.1.1. *One or Two Constraints?*

While all the languages I have seen have sentences with the effects shown in (3) and (4), I have found exceptions to the equivalent of (6). That is, in some cases it seems that the sentences are grammatical if there is no third person clitic present. One example is given below:

- (6) Te'm van recomanar per a la feina
2nd 1st recommended(3rd-pl) for the job
a. 'they recommended me to you for the job'
b. 'they recommended you to me for the job'

⁴ (5b) is marginal for many speakers, however.

According to Joan Mascaró (p.c.), the judgements concerning combinations of first and second person clitics vary considerably from speaker to speaker, the differences not correlating with standard dialects usually. The description in (1) captures the most restrictive judgements.⁵

This variation is not unique to Catalan. As Perlmutter (1971) notes, it is also common in Spanish. While many speakers allow sentences like (7) (Perlmutter's p. 62 (141)), some others do not:

- (7) **Te me** recomendaron
2nd 1st recommended(3rd-pl)
a. 'they recommended me to you'
b. 'they recommended you to me'

Even though it is often said that French does not allow the combination of a first and second person clitics with ditransitive verbs (see, among others, Morin (1979), Quicoli (1982) (1984), or Burston (1983)), one can also find statements like the following one from Simpson & Withgott (1986):

"[...] For example, one can find speakers who will accept, under certain circumstances, sentences like the one in the next example, **Il me vous présentera*, even though it is universally ruled out in the literature."

J. Simpson & M. Withgott (1986), p. 160, fn. 6

With respect to Italian, I have found one description with an example involving a first and a second person clitics with a ditransitive verb (I am not counting the cases where one of the clitics is a reflexive, a case that

⁵ It seems that for some speakers the combination of a first and second person clitics with ditransitive verbs is fine, but only under one interpretation: Accusative > Dative, so 'you to me'. Thanks to Alex Alsina for this observation.

will be considered later). The example below is reproduced from Renzi (1988), and does not provide the expected ambiguity which was shown for Spanish and Catalan in (7) and (6), respectively. I am ignoring the fact that one of the clitics involved can also be a locative.

- (8) Vi ci manderà
2nd-pl 1st-pl will send(3rd)
's/he will send us to you (pl)'

According to some Italian speakers, the equivalent to the Catalan and Spanish sentences in (6) and (7) can be reproduced exactly in Italian, and with the same ambiguities. That is, these speakers accept combinations of first and second person clitics interpreted as either indirect object > direct object, or viceversa. Some other speakers do not like the combination at all.

Given the facts presented above, one could conclude that we are dealing with two different constraints. One of these constraints would be universal (the one illustrated in (3b) and (4b), to which I have found no exceptions). The other constraint would be only fairly general. These two constraints could be informally stated as shown below:

- (9) **The **me lui* Constraint** (universal)
a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, if there is one third person, it has to be the direct object
b. Both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak
- (10) **The **I/II* Constraint**
a. In a combination of a direct object and an indirect object, the two objects cannot be first and second person

- (10) b. Both the indirect object and the direct object are phonologically weak

Notice how similar the two constraints stated above are: both of them affect the same kind of objects (phonologically weak elements), and both of them apply in exactly the same environment (basically with ditransitive verbs). Moreover, the constraint in (10) is not the type of constraint found in specific languages or dialects but not in others. Most speakers of all languages I have seen have (10), and only a few scattered speakers lack it. As I said earlier, the judgements on sentences like (6) vary considerably, and this variation cannot be associated with specific dialects. It is entirely an idiolectal matter.

I would like to suggest that what we are faced with is a strong and a weak version of a single constraint, not with two different constraints.⁶ Leaving aside the environment and the nature of the elements involved, the two versions would be as follows:

(11) ****Me lui*/I-II Constraint**

- a. STRONG VERSION: the direct object has to be third person
- b. WEAK VERSION: if there is a third person it has to be the direct object

From now on, and for ease of exposition I will only assume the strong version of the **me lui*/I-II Constraint, of which I give other examples below. (12a) is from Spanish, (12b) from Italian (from Saccon (1988)), and (12c) from French (from Kayne (1975)). I give, in addition, an example from Modern Greek in (12d) (from Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton

⁶ This suggestion is also made in Perlmutter (1971).

(1987)). An example from Catalan was given in (3b) and (4b):⁷

- (12) a. *Me le recomendaron
1st-acc 3rd-dat recommended(3rd-pl)
'they recommended me to him/her'
- b. *Mi gli ha presentata Giovanni
1st-acc 3rd-dat has presented(fem.) Giovanni
'Giovanni introduced me (fem.) to him'
- c. *Paul me lui présentera
Paul 1st-acc 3rd-dat will-introduce(3rd)
'Paul will introduce me to him'
- d. *Θa tu se stílome
Fut. 3rd-gen 2nd-acc send-1st-pl
'we will send you to him'

Later, examples from other languages will be given which also illustrate the **me lui/I-II* Constraint.

4.2. The Targets of the Constraint

All of the examples I gave in the previous section concerning the **me lui/I-II* Constraint are cases involving pronominal clitics. The examples came from several Romance languages and from Modern Greek. Below I give an additional example from Arabic, taken from Fassi Fehri (1986):

- (13) a. ?a^cṭay-ta-ni:-hi
gave-you-me-it/him
'you gave it/him to me'

⁷ In general, the order of clitics I give is the one found with the same clitics when the verb is not ditransitive.

- (13) b. *ʔa^cṭay-ta-hu:-ni:
 gave-you-him-me
 'you gave me to him'

(13a) is not a problem because the third person corresponds to the accusative. (13b), on the other hand, constitutes a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint because the third person clitic is associated with the indirect object instead of the direct object.⁸ I will return to Arabic later.

Here I will show that the Constraint not only holds for languages with pronominal clitics but also for languages with a three-way agreement system, as well as for languages with weak pronouns (simple clitics, in Zwicky's (1977a) sense), at least in some cases. Let us see first some examples from three-way agreement languages.

The following examples, from Basque, are taken from Laka (1991). Only (14b) is subject to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. 'E' stands for ergative, and 'A' for absolutive:

- (14) a. Zuk niri liburua saldu d-i-da-zu
 I-E you-Dat book-the-A sold it-have-you-me
 'I have sold you the book'
 b. *Zuk harakinari ni saldu n-(a) i-o-zu
 I-E butcher-Dat you-A sold you-have-him-me
 'I have sold you to the butcher'

⁸ Fassi Fehri (1986) attributes the ungrammaticality of (13b) to a language-particular constraint (the Person Constraint, stated in his (17)), which implies that "the first person should occur before the second person which, in turn, occurs before the third one". This could never be a description of the universal **me lui/I-II* Constraint. In Catalan, for instance, the violations of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint should be grammatical, if one were to adopt Fassi Fehri's description, because the first person clitic precedes the third person clitic.

(14a) is not a problem because third person is associated with the direct object. In (14b), however, third person is associated with the indirect object, and constitutes a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. The examples below, from Southern Tiwa, are reproduced from Rosen (1990). They correspond to her (28a,b). Agreement with one, two or three arguments in Southern Tiwa is expressed by a single prefix. In (15a) the prefix is *tow*, and it is glossed below it. The capital 'C' corresponds to the inanimate plural object ('them'), and the capital A to the animate singular object ('him/her'). In (15b) there is no prefix, because none is available. (15b) would constitute a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint:

- (15) a. *Tow-wia-ban*
 1stsg:C:A-give-PAST
 'I gave them to him/her'
 b. **...-wia-ban*
 1stsg:2ndsg:A-give-PAST
 ['I gave you to him/her']

Basque and Southern Tiwa were taken here to illustrate the constraint in three-way agreement languages. The effects of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint are discussed also in Harris (1981) for Georgian, and in Hale (1973) and Simpson & Withgott (1986) for Walbiri. The fact that one can find the effects of the **me lui/I-II* constraint in such different languages, and no counterexamples, is what suggests its universal character.

Up to this point I have given examples of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint with pronominal clitics and agreement. English provides an example involving weak pronouns, or simple clitics in Zwicky's (1977a) terms.⁹

⁹ I would like to thank David Pesetsky for pointing out these facts to me.

For many (not for all) English speakers a sequence of two weak pronouns is allowed. Below I give three examples of a double object construction, in which the two objects are pronouns. In (16a) both pronouns are weak, the dative pronoun is first person, while the accusative is third person. No problem arises. In (16b), however, the weak dative is third person while the weak accusative is first person, and the sentence is ungrammatical; it is a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. (16a) differs minimally from (16c): in the latter the second pronoun is stressed, and the sentence is fine. These facts clearly indicate that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint targets combinations of weak elements. The absence of an accent mark on the first person pronoun in (16b), as opposed to its presence in (16c), is meant to indicate the weakness of this pronoun in (16b).

- (16) a. Mary showed me [ə m]
- b. *Mary showed [ə m] me
- c. Mary showed [ə m] mé

4.2.1. Relation to Infl

We have seen up to this point that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint affects combinations of clitics, combinations of agreement markers, and combinations of weak pronouns. In Kayne's approach to Romance pronominal clitics he argues for their adjunction to Infl by S-structure, even in non-finite clauses (see Kayne (1990), in this respect). Agreement markers are unquestionably related to Infl (within the Principles and

Parameters framework, agreement is part of the infl head (see Chomsky (1981), e.g.), or it is the head of an Agreement Phrase (as in Pollock (1989)). Ignoring for the time being the facts about English that I mentioned in the previous section, one could make the generalization that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint affects Infl-related elements (sets of ϕ -features). What the exact hierarchical relation is between these elements and Infl is not relevant here.

The generalization just made seems difficult to maintain, given the facts about English I presented in (16), above. The **me lui/I-II* Constraint holds in English, even though in this language weak pronouns are not supposed to undergo syntactic movement. Assuming no modifications to this hypothesis, one could say that only phonologically weak elements are subject to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, as I did in my description of the constraint at the beginning of this chapter. Recall that, as shown in (16c), the constraint does not apply if one of the pronouns is stressed. However, this reference to phonological content cannot be maintained because, as will be shown later with an example from Georgian, the constraint is also active when one of the elements involved is not phonologically realized, that is, in cases involving zero morphemes.¹⁰

The possibility I would like to suggest is that weak pronouns in English, like the Romance pronominal clitics, are subject to syntactic movement; they adjoin to V. The additional movement of Infl to V results in the weak pronouns and Infl being dominated by the same syntactic head.¹¹ The appearance of a weak versus a strong pronoun would then be

¹⁰ This is leaving aside the vagueness of the term 'phonologically weak'.

determined by the spell-out rules (strong pronouns being spelled out in the foot of the chain --in argument position--, the weak pronouns being the spell-out corresponding to clitic position). In consequence, the **me lui/I-II* Constraint could be associated to the I+V complex. When there is no adjunction of elements to this complex no issue arises.¹²

¹¹ The most adequate account might not involve the exact steps I have mentioned. What the exact execution is is not relevant here, as long as Infl and the weak pronouns are dominated by the same head by S-structure.

¹² Swiss German, which also has weak pronouns, presents a more complicated pattern than English. According to Harry Leder (p.c.), when the third person weak pronoun is the accusative the order between accusative and dative is free. This is shown below:

- (i) a. D'Maria zeigt en mir
the Maria shows him to-me
- b. D'Maria zeigt mir en
the Maria shows to-me him
 'Maria shows him to me'

When the third person pronoun is the dative, however, only one of the orderings is possible, the ordering accusative > dative (see (iia)). The order dative > accusative is only possible if at least one of the pronouns is stressed (see (iib), where *miich* is stressed). In (iic) the two pronouns are weak and the sentence is ungrammatical:

- (ii) a. D'Maria zeigt mi em
the Maria shows me to-him
- b. D'Maria zeigt em miich
the Maria shows to-him me
- c. *D'Maria zeigt em mich
the Maria shows to-him me
 'Maria shows me to him'

At this point I do not have an account for these facts. However, in spite of the fact that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint seems not to be active in one of the cases, (iia), it is nevertheless significant that with this combination of pronouns (first or second person accusative, third person dative), only one ordering is possible, while with other combinations the order

In languages with a three-way agreement system, the **me lui/I-II* Constraint prevents sentences like 'John recommended me to Paul' (with one of the two internal arguments as an R-expression) from ever occurring, unless some extra mechanism triggers the avoidance of the constraint (as we will see for Georgian later). This is due to the fact that agreement is usually obligatory. In Romance languages, this type of sentences is not a problem because when one of the arguments is an R-expression, a coindexed clitic is not necessary or possible.

The position that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is to be located in the Infl area, and it is not triggered by arguments alone, finds support from data like that presented below, from Georgian. The examples I am about to discuss also provide evidence for the existence of zero morphemes. The examples below, from Harris (1981), show that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is active in Georgian. In the examples, the Roman numerals in capitals indicate the series of the verb (basically related to tense distinctions), while the Roman numerals in lowercase indicate the class the verb belongs to (having to do with the type of arguments). In (17a) the two objects are third person and trigger third person agreement on the verb. In (17b) the direct object is second person, while the indirect object is third person, thus causing a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint.

- (17) a. vanom anzori š eadara givis
 Vano-Erg Anzor-Nom he-compared-him-him-II-I Givi-Dat
 'Vano compared Anzor to Givi'

between dative and accusative is free. A similar pattern can be found with some speakers of Modern Greek (Sabine Iatridou (p.c)), where the order between enclitics is usually free.

- (17) b. *vanom (š en) š egadara givis
 Vano-Erg you-Nom he-compared-him-you-II-I Givi-Dat
 'Vano compared you to Givi'

The example in (17b) provides evidence for a distinction between lack of overt morphology (that is spell-out as zero), and lack of morphology altogether: the *-g-* that appears in boldface on the verb is the agreement marker for second person objects. In (17b), however, there is no overt marker for the third person indirect object. Nevertheless the Constraint holds. If the absence of an overt third person indirect object marker in (17b) were interpreted as the absence of agreement in general, it would be very difficult to understand why the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is active in those cases.¹³

Now compare the example in (17b) with the example in (18) below, also reproduced from Harris (1981) (=her (41a), p. 165)). In this case, the verb is in a non-finite form, a *masdars* (or *gerundive*).¹⁴

- (18) š eni č abareba mašč avleblastvis...
 you-GEN rendering-NOM teacher-for
 'turning you over to the teacher...'

What is puzzling at first sight is that, even though the direct object is second person and the indirect object is third person, no conflict arises with respect to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. One important difference

¹³ The existence of zero morphemes is denied in Pullum and Zwicky (1991), for instance.

¹⁴ Harris (1981) suggests that the *masdars* is a derived nominal. This is not crucial to the point to be made in the text.

between (17b) and (18), however, is that in (18) there is no inflectional morphology on the verb. The verb shows no agreement with any of its arguments.

A similar example is provided by sentences like (19) below, where no violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint arises due to the absolute lack of agreement in the relevant clause ((19) corresponds to Harris' (42a), p. 165)).

- (19) *gela* *movida* *šens* *č asabareblad masč avleblastvis*
 Gela-Nom he-came-II-2 you-Gen to-render teacher-for
 'Gela came to turn you over to the teacher'

Even though the embedded sentence in (19) contains the type of arguments found with ditransitive verbs, with a second person direct object and a third person "indirect object", no violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint arises. Again, the crucial fact distinguishing (19) from (17b) is that the infinitival form in (19) cannot bear agreement, like all non-finite verbal forms of Georgian. This is what causes the appearance of a postposition associated to the indirect object, among other things. The facts illustrated in (18) or (19), as opposed to (17), are not surprising, given what has been suggested above: the **me lui/I-II* Constraint targets only infl-related material, in this case agreement markers. Because in (18) and (19) there are no agreement markers on the verbal form, no problem could ever arise with the constraint.¹⁵ The fact that the direct object argument is second person and the indirect object argument is third person is irrelevant.

¹⁵ This same point is made in Laka (1991) with respect to Basque.

4.2.2. *The Constraint and Real Reflexives*

Some facts that seem to complicate the exact formulation of the **me lui/I-II Constraint* have to do with the unclear judgements that arise with the presence of real reflexives in Catalan, for instance. Even though prescriptive grammars tend to ban the use of *li* for the indirect object in such combinations, native speakers differ in their judgements. For some speakers (including myself), (20) is rather bad, while for other speakers the same sentence is perfectly fine:

- (20) (??) *A en Pere, me li vaig recomanar (jo mateix) ahir*
to the Pere, 1st-refl 3rd-dat recommended (I self) yesterday
'I recommended myself to Pere yesterday'

With respect to French, Kayne (1975) (bottom of p. 173) states that the use of first or second person direct object reflexive clitics in ditransitive verbs yields ungrammatical results, and Herschensohn (1980) actually gives an example of this phenomenon. I repeat below her example (21b):

- (21) **Elle se lui est donnée entièrement*
she refl 3rd-dat is given(fem.) entirely
'she gave herself to him entirely'

A similar Italian example, from Wanner (1977) (his (13a)), is given below:

- (22) **gli mi/mi gli offersi come capro espiatorio*
3rd-dat/1st offered(1st) as scapegoat
'I offered myself to him as scapegoat'

Given the facts from Italian, French and some dialects of Catalan, it seems that one should conclude that whether or not the direct object is related to a reflexive does not matter for the exact formulation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. However, the facts corresponding to other dialects of Catalan (which allow a dative *li* if the direct object is reflexive) are rather puzzling. One possible explanation for this divergence might be that the speakers who accept (20), treat the reflexive as an inherent reflexive. It is true that for most speakers of Catalan, (clear) inherent reflexives do not enter the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. Such an example is given below. *Declarar-se* is an inherently reflexive verb which means 'to declare one's love'. Without the inherent clitic, the verb simply means 'declare':¹⁶

- (23) A la Roser, me li vaig declarar ahir
to the Roser, 1st 3rd-dat declared(1st) yesterday
'I declared my love to Roser yesterday'

Given that in most of the languages/dialects considered here reflexives seem to behave like other arguments with respect to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, I will ignore the facts relating to the divergent dialect of Catalan from now on. The evidence concerning reflexives in ditransitive verbs needs to be further explored.

¹⁶ For some speakers, however, this sentence is not very good. These speakers use the clitic *hi* instead of *li* in these cases. This "change" of clitic to avoid the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is discussed in section 4.4.2., below.

4.3. Syntactic Constructions Sensitive to the Constraint

For convenience, I have assumed so far that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is active with ditransitive verbs. Most of the examples I have given involve verbs like 'recommend', 'introduce', or 'sell'. However, there are other contexts where this constraint is active. What differs, in some cases, is the way in which the effects of the constraint are overcome. This latter aspect will be discussed in section 4.4. Here I will mainly refer to Catalan and Georgian, even though similar points can be made for other languages.

Georgian provides a good example of the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint in causatives. According to Harris (1981), in Georgian when the embedded verb is transitive, the embedded subject surfaces as an indirect object (a dative). The same phenomenon is found in Romance. Sentences with an embedded third person subject and an embedded first or second person direct object are ungrammatical, as shown in (24), which corresponds to Harris' (28b) (p.80). In Georgian the causative is an affix, not an independent verb (as in Romance).

- (24) *anzorma gamalanɣ vɪna vanos (me)
Anzor-Erg he-caused-insult-him-me-II-I Vano-Dat me-Nom
'Anzor made Vano insult me'

In (24) the embedded subject, a dative (*vanos*), is third person, while the embedded direct object is first person (*me*). There is a way to get around the **me lui*/I-II Constraint in Georgian, as will be shown later.

In most Romance languages, the effect of the **me lui*/I-II Constraint in causatives is obscured by the effect of a different constraint, which is

called the Fancy Constraint by Postal (1989). It is true that the combination of a clitic corresponding to an embedded first or second person direct object and a clitic corresponding to the embedded subject (dative) is ungrammatical, as shown by the Catalan example below:

- (25) *Me li va fer insultar
 1st-acc 3rd-dat made(3rd) insult
 's/he made him insult me'

However, as Postal points out, it is impossible to have the embedded first or second person direct object clitic on the inflected verb (the causative) also in isolation (see (26a)). A third person direct object clitic in the same position is fine, as shown in (26b).¹⁷ These examples are from Catalan:¹⁸

- (26) a. *Em van fer escollir a la Teresa
 1st-acc made(3rd-pl) choose to the Teresa
 'they made Teresa choose me'
 b. El van fer escollir a la Teresa
 3rd-acc made(3rd-pl) choose to the Teresa
 'they made Teresa choose it'

The facts are more complicated than I have presented them, but I will not try to give a more accurate description of this phenomenon here.

¹⁷ (26b) sounds slightly awkward because it is preferable, in many dialects of Catalan, to have a dative clitic doubling the embedded subject.

¹⁸ The example below in the text is fine in some dialects of Catalan meaning 'they made me insult Teresa', where the first person clitic is dative (the embedded subject), and the R-expression is the embedded direct object.

Kayne (1975) cites an additional class of cases which cause a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint in causatives: cases in which the embedded verb subcategorizes for a dative argument, like the verb *téléphoner*. I repeat below his example (67a) (p. 297):

- (27) **Cette nouvelle nous lui a fait téléphoner*
this news 1st-pl-dat 3rd-dat has made telephone
'this news made us phone him/her'

The difference between this example and all the others given up to this point is that the clitics involved in (27) are both dative. This type of examples makes a description of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint in terms of syntactic Case difficult to maintain, given that in most cases the arguments involved are accusative and dative, while in (27) the two arguments are dative.¹⁹ Notice, by the way, that an example equivalent to (27) but without climbing of the embedded object does not cause a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, as expected (the two clitics are not under the same Infl node):

- (28) *Cette nouvelle nous a fait lui téléphoner*
this news 1st-pl-dat has made 3rd-dat telephone
'this news made us phone him/her'

Another case in which the **me lui/I-II* Constraint holds involves benefactives (or applicatives). In (29a) I give a simple example of a transitive verb with a benefactive; (29b) shows the effects of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint:

¹⁹ And this is leaving aside languages with an ergative system, like Basque or Southern Tiwa.

- (29) a. A la Mercè, li faré un pastís immens
to the Mercè, 3rd-dat will-make(1st) a cake enormous
'I will bake a huge cake for Mercè'
b. *me li va pintar
1st-acc 3rd-dat painted(3rd)
's/he painted me for him/her'

An additional environment where the **me lui/I-II* Constraint holds involves datives of inalienable possession, and was noted for French in Kayne (1975). The first example I give illustrates the use of the dative of inalienable possession; the second example illustrates the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. Both examples are taken from Kayne (1975) (my (30a) corresponds to his example in the text in p. 174; my (30b) corresponds to his (326)). In (30a) one could also pronominalize the direct object; the result would be the clitic cluster *le lui*:

- (30) a. On va lui mettre le bébé dans les bras
impers. is-going-to 3rd-dat put the baby inside the arms
'they will put the baby in his/her arms'
b. *On va te lui mettre dans les bras
impers. is-going-to 2nd-acc 3rd-dat put inside the arms
'they will put you in his/her arms'

One case where the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is not applicable is noted in Perlmutter (1971), for instance. When the first or second person clitic is an ethical dative, no problem ever arises (see the example in (27), for an example where the **me lui/I-II* Constraint does affect a cluster of two datives). The example I give below is from Catalan:

- (31) No me li diguis mentides
not 1st-eth-dat 3rd-dat tell(subjunct.,2nd) lies
'don't tell him/her lies (on me)'

Finally, I would like to discuss one example from Basque and one example from Southern Tiwa that seem to indicate opposite approaches to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. The examples involve unaccusatives with a dative, where the absolutive is first or second person. (32a), from Southern Tiwa, is reproduced from Rosen (1990) (her (33b)). The dots indicate that the language does not have a prefix corresponding to the agreement combination expressed in the glosses. (32b), from Basque, was taken from Laka (1991) (her (6b)):

- (32) a. *...wan-ban
 2ndSG::1stSG-come-PAST
 'you came to me'
 b. Hi niri etorri h-atzai-t
 you-A me-D arrived you(A)-is-me(D)
 'you have come to me'

The **me lui/I-II* Constraint, as described above, refers to clitics / agreement markers associated with a dative argument and an accusative or absolutive argument (a direct object). The construction most often used in this chapter to illustrate the constraint involved a ditransitive verb. The grammaticality of the Basque sentence in (32b) is surprising at first sight because the arguments involved in the sentence are an absolutive (a direct object, so to speak) and a dative, where the absolutive is not third person (an option forced by the **me lui/I-II* Constraint). In Southern Tiwa, on the other hand, it seems that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (32a). One could then conclude that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is not really universal, and that the example from Basque is a proof of it. There is another possibility, however. It might be the case

that the description of the constraint that I have given above is not complete, and that reference to the presence of ergative agreement (or agreement with an external argument) is necessary. Notice, first of all, that Basque is not a systematic exception to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, as earlier examples have shown. Moreover, all the examples that had been given up to this point from several languages always involved an external argument (with ditransitives, causatives and datives of inalienable possession). One could then conclude that the construction illustrated in (32) is not ever affected by the constraint because this type of construction does not project an external argument. The ungrammaticality of (32a) would be due to a language-particular constraint present in Southern Tiwa but absent in Basque. As will be shown briefly in the next section, Southern Tiwa is a language with many morphological restrictions.²⁰

To summarize this section, it seems that the constructions sensitive to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint are ditransitives, causatives, benefactives and datives of inalienable possession.²¹ Given examples like (31), it is clear

²⁰ There is another possibility worth exploring, suggested to me by Alec Marantz, which would not involve a modification in the description of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint: it might be the case that in Basque unaccusatives the argument that receives absolutive Case moves to subject position by S-structure (like the object of unaccusatives in Romance), the constraint taking into consideration only the position of the VP-internal arguments at S-structure. In this case, (32b) would not be targeted by the constraint. In Southern Tiwa, on the other hand, the object of the unaccusative would remain in its D-structure position in the VP, like the direct object of a ditransitive verb. Then (32a) would constitute a violation of the constraint.

²¹ These are also the environments discussed in Harris (1981) for Georgian. In her study, within the framework of Relational Grammar, she uses the type of data presented here (and other data that will be considered later) to argue that in Georgian the embedded subject of causatives, the benefactives and the datives of inalienable possession are all final 3s, like the indirect object of ditransitives.

that the first or second person clitic has to be coindexed with one of the arguments. Moreover, the constraint is only triggered by the appearance of two clitics (or agreement nodes) adjoined to the same head. Recall, for instance, that in Georgian it is possible to say something like 'recommend me to him', without any changes, as long as there is no agreement on the verb (that is, with non-finite forms of the verb). Moreover, as will be shown below, the language-particular repair strategies used to overcome the constraint always result in the alteration of the agreement features around the I-V complex. It seems, then, that an adequate description of the Constraint will have to make reference to chains headed by X⁰'s adjoined to the same Infl node (or node containing Infl). I will not try here to describe in a more adequate way the exact properties that have to characterize the foot of the chain. As illustrated with examples like (27), reference to accusative and dative Cases is not totally adequate. I leave this issue for further research.²²

4.4. Three Types of Repair Strategies

In this section I will consider three types of repair strategies used by

²² Moreover, if the right approach to this constraint makes reference to argument positions, a problem might arise with the approach to inherent clitics proposed in Kayne (1975), assumed here, in which inherent clitics, like other clitics, are generated in argument position. If this is the case, it will be difficult to distinguish real reflexives from inherent reflexives. As shown in section 4.2.2., while real reflexives seem to be subject to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, inherent reflexives generally are not.

individual languages to overcome the effects of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. As will be shown, it is not the case that each of these strategies can be used in all the contexts where a violation of the constraint might arise.

4.4.1. Spell-out Elsewhere

One of the strategies to overcome the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is used in Valencian and other Romance languages, as well as in Arabic, as will be shown. This strategy consists of using a strong pronoun instead of a clitic for one of the arguments. The French example in (33a) is taken from Kayne (1975). I indicate in boldface the relevant constituents. (33b) illustrates the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint when two clitics are used:

- (33) a. Paul **me** présentera à **lui**
Paul 1st-acc will-introduce(3rd) to him
'Paul will introduce me to him'
b. *Paul me lui présentera
Paul 1st-acc 3rd-dat will-introduce(3rd)
'Paul will introduce me to him'

In chapter 1 I already outlined the type of approach I want to propose for this type of cases: the syntax does generate two clitics; but, in order to overcome the constraint, one of the clitics is not spelled out as such (in the Infl-adjoined position), but is spelled out in the coindexed phrase in argument position. Recall that all clitics (most probably with the exception of ethicals) are coindexed with an empty category in argument position (in

the cases which are of our concern here). In some sense, then, both the head adjoined to Infl and the coindexed phrase are one single object, and therefore contain the same basic information. The only difference is that by virtue of the characteristics of each part of the same object (a head in Infl vs. a whole XP within the VP) the specific spell-out varies (in Catalan, the spell-out of first person will be *em* in the Infl-adjoined position, while it will be *a mi* in the XP within the VP).²³

One potential problem that this type of approach might run into is caused by more data from French (the same applies to Spanish), which is discussed in Kayne (1975), among others. While (33a), above, is fine, (34), below, is not:

- (34) *Paul **lui** présentera **moi**
 Paul 3rd-dat will-introduce(3rd) 1st-acc
 'Paul will introduce me to him'

In my terms, in (34) the third person dative pronoun has been spelled out in the clitic position (adjoined to Infl), while the first person accusative pronoun has been spelled out in the argument position within the VP. The reverse operation would have taken place in (33). If nothing else is said, there is no way to rule out the sentence in (34), which is also bad in Spanish, as shown in (35b) ((35a) being the grammatical counterpart):

- (35) a. **Me** recomendaron a **él**
 1st-acc recommended(3rd-pl) to him
 'they recommended me to him'

²³ As I have mentioned earlier in this thesis, I use the term spell-out elsewhere in this type of cases as a short hand. By spell-out elsewhere I actually mean that, in addition to the spell-out elsewhere, the internal structure of the head of the chain is deleted. The problem in these cases is not related to phonological form but to morphological content.

- (35) b. ***Le recomendaron a mi**
 3rd-dat recommended to me
 'they recommended me to him'

There are two possible ways of describing the facts in (35b): one could say either that the dative is spelled out as a strong pronoun, or that the third person clitic is spelled out as a strong pronoun. If the former option were the right one, one might expect to find the same distribution in terms of Case when other persons are used. A good case is provided by combinations of first and second person clitics (in dialects with the strong version of the constraint). Under this type of approach, one would expect the dative but not the accusative to appear as a strong pronoun. However this does not seem to be the case, as the sentences below illustrate:

- (36) **Me recomendaron a ti**
 1st recommended(3rd-pl) to-you
 a. 'they recommended me to you'
 b. 'they recommended you to me'

- (37) **Te recomendaron a mi**
 2nd recommended(3rd-pl) to-me
 a. 'they recommended me to you'
 b. 'they recommended you to me'

Each of the sentences above is ambiguous. Notice that the clitic form, in each case, can be related to either the direct object or the indirect object. If the motivation for the ungrammaticality of (35b) had to do with syntactic Case, one would expect (36b) and (37a) to be ungrammatical as well, given that the form that is spelled out as a clitic is in all cases related to the indirect object. The fact that this is not the case suggests that maybe the ungrammaticality of (35b) has to do with person, the second possibility

mentioned above. When both clitics are first or second person, that is, when both of them are [PERSON] clitics, it seems that either of them can be spelled out as a strong pronoun. The problem is raised by a combination of a [PERSON] clitic with a non-[PERSON] clitic.

The idea that if an element cannot be spelled out in clitic position it has to be spelled out in the coindexed argument position receives support from the following facts from Catalan, pointed out to me by Enric Vallduví. In general, strong pronouns can never appear in Catalan unless there is a clitic coindexed with them. Some examples are given below:

- (38) a. **M'ha donat el regal a mi**
 1st has given the present to me
 's/he has given the present to me'
- b. ***Ha donat el regal a mi**
 has given the present to me
 's/he has given the present to me'
- (39) a. **Us suspendran a vosaltres**
 2nd-pl will-fail(3rd-pl) to you
 'they will fail you'
- b. ***suspendran a vosaltres**
 will-fail(3rd-pl) to you
 'they will fail you'

In general in Catalan, when a strong pronoun is used, it has an emphatic use; it is contrastively focused in most cases. Some of the accounts (cf. Rigau (1988), for instance) claim that the strong pronouns themselves are in some adjoined position, and that the argument position is occupied by an empty category coindexed with the adjunct, and licensed by the clitic. What is of interest here is that when and only when the use of a strong pronoun is forced by the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, no use of a clitic is

possible, and no emphasis is possible. The example below, from Catalan, is very similar to (37) above:

- (40) **Et van recomanar a mi**
2nd recommended(3rd-pl) to-me
a. 'they recommended me to you'
b. 'they recommended you to me'

Under the present approach, the facts in (40), compared to the facts in (38) and (39), receive a straightforward account: at D-structure a clitic corresponding to a direct object and a clitic corresponding to an indirect object are generated, and by S-structure they are adjoined to Infl, like any other pronominal clitic in the language. Because of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, one of the clitics cannot be spelled out in the Infl-adjoined position, and it is spelled out in the coindexed position within VP, the corresponding morphological structure in the head of the chain being deleted. Moreover, the fact that the strong pronoun is not emphatic also follows. Nothing triggers focus (unless the strong pronoun were heavily stressed, of course). Within an approach that did not make such a connection between clitics and strong pronouns it would be difficult to account for the fact that unemphatic non-doubled strong pronouns appear only when there is a potential violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. One would presumably have to assume that, under this type of approach, clitics and strong pronouns are generated freely in argument position (while only strong pronouns are generated in adjunct position, in the case of emphasis). However, all the derived structures with a strong pronoun that have a fine version with a clitic would have to be ruled out somehow by a

stipulation that made clitics have precedence over strong pronouns. This hierarchy between clitics and strong pronouns follows from the framework introduced in this dissertation.

Arabic provides a very interesting example of the strategy described above. According to Fassi Fehri (1986), whenever there is a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint (in his terms called the Person Constraint), Arabic uses a strong pronoun instead of a clitic.²⁴ In this sense Arabic is similar to Catalan. What makes Arabic different from Catalan is that the form of the strong pronoun used in these circumstances is different from the form used in other cases. In general, Arabic strong pronouns, like Catalan strong pronouns, are emphatically interpreted, or they serve as doubled objects (linked to a pronominal affix on the verb). These are the class of nominative forms, in Fassi Fehri's terms. The strong forms used in potential **me lui/I-II* Constraint violations always have the prefix *?iyya:-*.²⁵ The other part of the strong pronoun is essentially identical in shape to the verbal clitics. Below I reproduce Fassi Fehri's table for nominative strong pronouns (his table 4), and his table of the *?iyya:-* forms (his table 5):

²⁴ Rather than referring to clitics, Fassi Fehri (1986) uses the term "affix". Whether or not these elements should be called affixes or clitics is irrelevant to the issue being discussed here. What is important is their connection to the I+V complex. For all the purposes of this chapter, there is no difference between the affixes of Arabic and the clitics of Catalan (for instance).

²⁵ According to Fassi Fehri (1986) (p. 115), the strong forms with the prefix *?iyya:-* "occur only in accusative contexts, where the pronoun is an object of a verb. They would normally appear in contexts where the succession of affixes is more than two (sometimes only more than one). They also occur as fronted foci elements". I will not address the latter contexts.

(41) a. **Nominative Pronouns**

PERS	GR	SG	DUAL	PL
1		?ana:	naḥ nu	naḥ nu
2	MASC	?anta	?antuma:	?antum(u:)
	FEM	?anti	?antuma:	?antunna
3	MASC	huwa	huma:	hum(u:)
	FEM	hiya	huma:	hunna

b. **?iyya:- Pronouns**

PERS	GR	SG	DUAL	PL
1		?iyya:ya	?iyya:na:	?iyya:na:
2	MASC	?iyya:ka	?iyya:kuma: ²⁶	?iyya:kum(u:)
	FEM	?iyya:ki?	iyya:kuma:a	?iyya:kunna
3	MASC	?iyya:hu:	?iyya:huma:	?iyya:hum(u:)
	FEM	?iyya:ha:	?iyya:huma:	?iyya:hunna

An example of a potential **me lui/I-II* Constraint violation "saved" with the use of a *?iyya:-* pronoun is given below (this example corresponds to Fassi Fehri's (15b)):

- (42) ?a^cṭay-ta-hu ?iyya:ya
 gave-you-him me
 'you gave me to him' / 'you gave it/him to me'

Following the analysis presented above, the *?iyya:-* pronouns are the spell-out specific to argument positions, while the nominative forms (listed in (41a)) are the spell-out corresponding to non-argument positions. The spell-out in argument position is forced in cases of a potential **me lui/I-II* Constraint violation, while it is optional otherwise in Arabic.²⁷

²⁶ In Fassi Fehri (1986), this example appears as *?iyyakuma:*, without lengthening of the last vowel of the prefix. I assume this is a typographical error.

²⁷ Fassi Fehri (1986) also makes the connection between *?iyya:-* pronouns and argument positions, and nominative forms and non-argument positions.

It is not the case that the spell-out elsewhere in cases of a potential **me lui*/I-II Constraint is found in all the constructions where the problem might arise. The following sentences, involving a dative of inalienable possession, are discussed in Kayne (1975). These sentences are the continuation to (30), given earlier. I give below the whole set of sentences that Kayne (1975) discusses. As he says, there is no way to express the direct object second person and the third person dative with the use of clitics, combined or not with strong pronouns:

- (43) a. On va lui mettre le bébé dans les bras
 impers. is-going-to 3rd-dat put the baby inside the arms
 'they will put the baby in his/her arms'
 b. *On va te lui mettre dans les bras
 2nd-acc 3rd-dat
 c. *On va lui mettre toi dans les bras
 3rd-dat ...you
 d. *On va te mettre à lui dans les bras
 2nd-acc...to you
 e. *On va te mettre dans les bras à lui
 2nd-acc to you

I think that the only way to have a second person clitic in this type of sentences is to avoid the use of an inalienable dative altogether, and express the latter with the use of a possessive, as shown in (44):

- (44) On va te mettre dans ses bras
 impers. is-going-to 2nd-acc put inside his/her arms
 'they will put you in his/her arms'

The examples in (43) show that the spell-out elsewhere strategy is not only language-specific, but also construction-specific: in (some) Romance

languages this strategy is available for double object verbs, but not for datives of inalienable possession. The facts I have presented here have not been discussed much in the literature, as far as I know. Kayne (1975) describes most of them, but he does not provide an account for them. At this point it seems that a syntactic account of the facts faces as many problems as a morphological account.

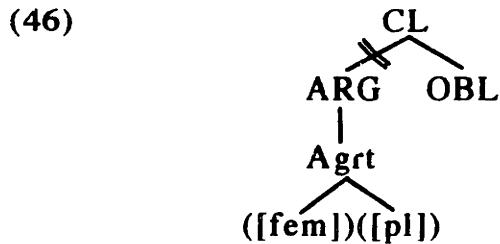
4.4.2. Catalan Hi

The standard strategy used in Catalan (except for Valencian) to overcome the **me lui/I-II* Constraint involves the use of the "locative" clitic *hi* instead of the dative clitic *li*, as illustrated in (45a). The ungrammatical sentence in (45b) shows the form that the clitics would get in isolation or in other combinations. I use the clitic-left dislocation construction to avoid ambiguities, especially in (45a).

- (45) a. A en Pere, m'hi va recomanar en Josep
 to the Pere, 1st-acc *hi* recommended(3rd) the Josep
 'Josep recommended me to him (Pere)'
 b. *A en Pere, me li va recomanar en Josep
 to the Pere, 1st-acc 3rd-dat recommended(3rd) the Josep
 'Josep recommended me to him (Pere)'

The use of the strategy illustrated in (45a) is so common that it is actually the form prescribed in normative grammars; as far as I know nobody had made the connection between the form exemplified in (45a) and the **me lui/I-II* Constraint.

One possibility to capture the change in the form of the dative clitic within the framework developed in the previous chapters involves the use of a morphological rule which would have the effect shown below:



The node [ARGUMENT], that is, the third person part of the clitic, so to speak, is one of the sources of the problem. Its deletion resolves the conflict that I have captured as the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. The resulting structure will be spelled out as *hi*, the normal spell-out for [OBLIQUE]. The strategy stated informally in (46) is also used in dialects of French (Richard Kayne (p.c.)) and in dialects of Italian, as noted in Saccon (1988), for instance.

One could try to argue that the "change" from *li* to *hi* in cases of a **me lui/I-II* Constraint violation is done syntactically, even though I have a hard time trying to see what the mechanism for the change could be. The problem arises only with two clitics, so one of the options would presumably be to say that the "change" takes place after adjunction of the clitics to Infl. The mechanism would have to involve the deletion of the person features, one and only one of the ϕ -features. This operation looks very suspicious and unprecedented, to say the least (and very similar to the less problematic morphological solution sketched in (46), above). An alternative would be to base-generate the indirect object without any

specification for person.²⁸ But then we would have to know that by S-structure the "locative" clitic will combine with an accusative first or second person clitic, because otherwise the third person dative clitic does not surface as *hi*. The two "syntactic" alternatives presented here appear to me as highly problematic.

One thing that has to be emphasized is that semantically there is nothing wrong with the combination of an accusative first or second person and a dative third person. Moreover the form *hi* that appears in examples like (45a) is interpreted as a dative, not as a locative. Leaving aside the universal character of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, it seems to me that there is not much of a difference between the "change" from *li* to *hi* and the effect of the Spurious *se* Rule of Spanish, described in the previous chapter.

Two other aspects have to be discussed with respect to this repair strategy: the impossibility of clitic doubling with *hi*, and the impossibility of *hi* as a repair strategy in constructions other than double objects. I will address them in the order mentioned.

Catalan has optional doubling of the indirect object; it never has doubling of the direct object. An example of doubling is given below. I indicate the doubling clitic in boldface:

²⁸ In this case there would be a conflict with the often made proposal that third person is expressed by the lack of a feature for person. In some cases it is argued that this feature is later introduced by default. Notice, by the way, that if third person is expressed as the absence of a feature, it is difficult to understand what the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is, and why the use of a "locative" instead is good (this would involve the change from nothing to nothing, so nothing).

- (47) En Pau li ha presentat en Josep a la Maria
the Pau 3rd-dat has introduced the Josep to the Maria
'Pau has introduced Josep to Maria'

As shown in (45a), in cases of a potential **me lui/I-II* Constraint violation, the clitic *hi* is used instead of the normal form of the third person dative clitic. However it is impossible to have clitic doubling in **me lui/I-II* environments, as shown below.

- (48) a. *M'hi ha presentat a la Maria
1st-acc *hi* has introduced to the Maria
's/he has introduced me to Maria'
b. M'ha presentat a la Maria
1st-acc has introduced to the Maria
's/he has introduced me to Maria'

In (48a) the clitic *hi* is intended to double the indirect object *a la Maria*, and the sentence is bad (the sentence would be equally bad if *li*, instead of *hi*, were used). As shown in (48b) the sentence is good only without clitic doubling. In circumstances other than potential **me lui/I-II* Constraint violations doubling clitics can coappear with other clitics. Then, this cannot be the problem with (48a). Notice, in addition, that while clitic doubling is impossible in these contexts, Clitic Left-Dislocation is not, as shown by the example in (49), below:

- (49) A en Pere, m'hi va recomanar en Joan
to the Pere, 1st *hi* recommended(3rd) the Joan
'Joan recommended me to him (Joan)'

If a syntactic approach were adopted to account for the appearance of *hi*, it would be relatively easy to capture the difference between clitic

doubling and Clitic Left-Dislocation: one could generate *hi* (more accurately, a bare goal, without a specification for person) instead of *li* freely (but crucially not instead of other pronouns). One could then say that, while in Clitic Left-Dislocation only compatibility of features between the clitic and the coindexed XP is needed, strict identity is needed in clitic doubling cases.²⁹ A possible morphological account, on the other hand, would be to postulate a deletion of the morphological structure of the dative only in the clitic doubling cases. In these cases, one could argue that while the clitic constitutes the head of the chain, the doubled XP constitutes the foot of the same chain. These cases would be identical to the spell-out elsewhere strategy discussed earlier. In the present case, however, the foot of the chain is an R-expression rather than a pronoun (it has a richer feature structure than a pronoun).

Hi, as a repair strategy, is only possible with double object constructions; it is impossible with benefactives or datives of inalienable possession, as shown in the examples below, respectively:

- (50) a. *M'hi va pintar
 1st-acc *hi* painted(3rd)
 's/he painted me for him/her'
 b. *T'hi posaran a la falda
 2nd-acc *hi* will-put(3rd-pl) in the lap
 'they will put you in his/her lap'

At this point I do not have a satisfactory account for these differences. However, as was shown earlier with the spell-out elsewhere strategy, the data in (50) show that the "change" from *li* to *hi* is construction-specific.

²⁹ This suggestion was made to me by Sabine Iatridou.

4.4.3. *Object Camouflage in Georgian*

Georgian constitutes an example of a third type of strategy used to overcome the effects of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. In Georgian, as shown earlier, the **me lui/I-II* Constraint rules out sentences that contain a third person indirect object agreement marker and a first or second person direct object agreement marker. Relevant examples from Harris (1981), and given earlier as (17), are reproduced below. In the examples in (51), and as was indicated earlier, the Roman numerals in capitals indicate the series of the verb (basically related to tense distinctions), while the Roman numerals in lower case indicate the class the verb belongs to (having to do with the types of arguments):

- (51) a. vanom anzori šeada^{II}ra givi^Is
Vano-Erg Anzor-Nom he-compared-him-him-II-I Givi-Dat
'Vano compared Anzor to Givi'
b. *vanom (šen) šega^{II}dara givi^Is
Vano-Erg you-Nom he-compared-him-you-II-I Givi-Dat
'Vano compared you to Givi'

(51a) contains two third person objects, and no problems arise. (51b), however, is an example of a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, because a third person indirect object coexists with a second person direct object, and both are represented in the verbal morphology.

The strategy that Georgian uses to avoid the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is what Harris (1981) calls 'Object Camouflage'. This term

the direct object is not really a reflexive. The environments where Object Camouflage is used coincide exactly with the environments where a potential violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint would arise.³⁰ I reproduce below Harris' (1981) rule of Object Camouflage (which I cannot distinguish from a simple description of the facts). As mentioned earlier, Harris' analysis of Georgian syntax is done in the framework of Relational Grammar:

(52) Object Camouflage

If a clause contains an indirect object, a first or second person direct object in that clause is realized as a possessive pronoun + *tavi*, where the possessive reflects the person and number of the input form.

Harris (1981), p. 51 (9)

An example of Object Camouflage is given below, with a sentence parallel to (51b) (its grammatical version):

(53) vanom šeni tavi še adara givis
 Vano-Erg your-self-Nom he-compared-him-him-II-I Givi-Dat
 'Vano compared you to Givi'

Object Camouflage might look like a bizarre phenomenon at first sight:

³⁰ According to Rosen (1990) (see also references therein), something similar to Object Camouflage can be found in Southern Tiwa. However this strategy applies only to sentences containing what looks like an inherent reflexive (this is not very clear from the text). A special reflexive form, with the same effect as the Georgian or the Modern Greek reflexive (triggering third person agreement), is used to avoid having a first or second person absolutive cooccurring with a third person dative.

why would a language use a reflexive pronoun which is not understood as a reflexive anyway? One interesting thing about reflexives in Georgian is their form. As in Modern Greek, for instance (see Iatridou (1988)), a reflexive in Georgian can be paraphrased as 'the head of X', or 'the self of X', as illustrated in the gloss in (53). X agrees in person with the subject (reflexives in Georgian are subject-oriented, as in Romance languages), while 'self' triggers third person agreement on the verb. The use of a reflexive form in sentences like (53), then, triggers third person agreement on the verb (notice the absence of -g- in the verb in (53) vs. its presence in (51b)), thus avoiding the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint (two third person object markers never cause a conflict).

Needless to say, Object Camouflage never affects direct objects in tenseless clauses. Because in these cases, no agreement is present on the verb, no conflict with the **me lui/I-II* Constraint could ever arise.

It is important to emphasize that the presence of a reflexive form in the direct object in sentences like (53) does not cause a Binding Theory violation (of Principle A), and the reflexive form is never interpreted as a reflexive. These facts suggest that Object Camouflage is not a syntactic process, but rather a morphological process.

Object Camouflage is a strategy used not only with ditransitives but also in other constructions to prevent violations of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. In this respect, Object Camouflage in Georgian differs from other strategies presented earlier, which are construction-specific. The following examples are all reproduced from Harris (1981). The examples in a. always illustrate the effect of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, while the examples in b. correspond to the grammatical version with Object Camouflage. In (54),

the dative involved is benefactive ((54a) corresponds to her (12b), and (54b) to her (12c), in p.92).³¹ (55) are examples of causatives (corresponding to her (28a,b), p. 80):

- (54) a. *važ am damixaṭa (šen) (me)
 Vazha-Erg he-painted-me-it-II-I you-Nom I-Dat
 'Vazha painted you for me'
- b. važ am damixaṭa šeni tavi (me)
 Vazha-Erg he-painted-me-it-II-I your self I-Dat
 'Vazha painted you for me'
- (55) a. *anzorma gamalanṭ γ vina vanos (me)
 Anzor-Erg he-caused-insult-him-me-II-I Vano-Dat me-Nom
 'Anzor made Vano insult me'
- b. anzorma gaalanṭ γ vina vanos č emi
 Anzor-Erg he-caused-insult-him-him-II-I Vano-Dat my
 tavi
 self(Nom)
 'Anzor made Vano insult me'

4.5. On Hierarchies

In this chapter, as I warned at the beginning, I included only a description of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, with very few attempts of theoretical significance. I hope to have shown that the elements that can motivate a violation of the constraint, which I claim to be universal, are all under (or part of) the same Infl node by S-structure. The violations arise when the

³¹ In the approach by Harris, the dative in (54) has been created by a rule called **Benefactive Version**. When this rule does not take place, the benefactive is a nominal followed by a postposition.

set of ϕ -features associated with a direct object does not contain a third person, when the same Infl node has a set of ϕ -features corresponding to a dative (and the sentence also contains an external argument). I also showed that some language-particular strategies can override the effects of the constraint by basically altering person features in the Infl node. I have not proposed an explanation for the nature of the constraint, and I have not accounted for what I have called repair strategies, even though at several points I have pointed to a morphological approach.

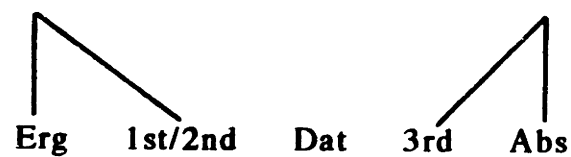
In the remaining of this chapter I would like to briefly comment on an approach to Southern Tiwa argued for in Rosen (1990), within the framework of Relational Grammar, which includes an account of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint in that language.

Southern Tiwa, an ergative language with a three-way agreement system, expresses agreement with a single prefix taken from a different paradigm depending on the number and type of arguments of the verb. The paradigms are fairly incomplete, and some of the relations cannot often be expressed, one of them being the combination ruled out by the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. Rosen proposes an analysis that makes crucial use of the following hierarchy (I ignore here the two extremes of the hierarchy, related to animacy, as well as a category that she calls HiSpecific, because they are not directly relevant to the issues I want to discuss here). This hierarchy combines a markedness hierarchy for person (third person being less marked than first or second persons), and a markedness hierarchy for Case (absolute being less marked than dative and ergative):

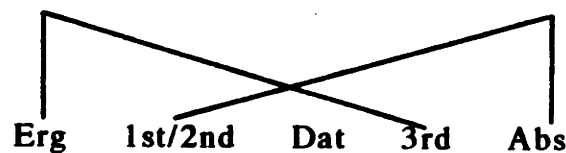
(56) Erg 1st/2nd Dat 3rd Abs

Arguments are linked to both a Case and a person. Combinations of arguments that give rise to a crossing of lines are ruled out. While a sentence paraphrasable as 'I saw him' (represented in (57a)) is fine, a sentence like 'he saw me' (represented in (57b)) is ruled out, as desired.

(57) a.



b.



The combinations ruled out by the **me lui/I-II* Constraint involve line crossing in the system developed by Rosen, as shown in (58a,b). Only the presence of the third person direct object prevents line crossing, as shown in (58c,d):

(58) a.



b.



(58) c.



d.



Leaving aside questions related to the status of such hierarchies in the grammar, one might wonder how adequate the type of proposal made in Rosen (1990) is for the description of other languages. Here I will take into consideration only Basque, which is a language similar to Southern Tiwa in several respects.

While Basque is subject to the **me lui/I-II* Constraint, a universal constraint, it has no constraint applying to normal transitive structures. That is, the type of combinations ruled out in (57b) should be ruled in in Basque. Below I give an example reproduced from Saltarelli (1988) (p. 240 (1038a)) which illustrates the grammatical combination of a third person ergative with a first person absolutive, a combination inexistent in Southern Tiwa:

(59) ama-k ni jo n-a-u
 mother-E I(A) hit(prf) 1sA-prs-aux2-(3sE)
 'mother has hit me'

The affix *n-* in the auxiliary stands for first person absolutive. There is no overt marking for third person ergative.³²

³² As I argued earlier with evidence from Georgian, the fact that there is no spell-out for a

If one were to adopt the type of approach proposed in Rosen (1990), the hierarchy in (56) would have to be modified, given that it was designed to rule out sentences like (59) (bad in Southern Tiwa). Even though Rosen claims that the hierarchy she proposes is a fusion of two different hierarchies (one involving relations, or Case, and the other one involving person), for a language like Basque there does not seem to be a good way to collapse or separate the two hierarchies. Given the grammaticality of (59), ergative in Basque would have to be part of a different hierarchy, while the rest of the hierarchy in (56) would have to be kept to account for the **me lui/I-II* Constraint. Moreover, given that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint seems to be universal, one would have to keep the whole hierarchy except ergative for all languages. One of the questions then is why should most languages exclude ergative from the fused hierarchy? Why not exclude some other element instead?

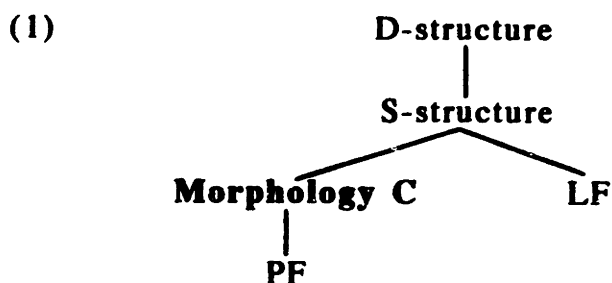
Even though the proposal in Rosen (1990) describes the facts of Southern Tiwa adequately, it does not provide an insight to the nature of the constraints. It tries to give a unified account of a set of facts that clearly have different origins.

particular agreement marker does not mean that the agreement marker is not there at all. Third person ergative happens to be spelled out as zero, but other combinations are not.

CHAPTER 5

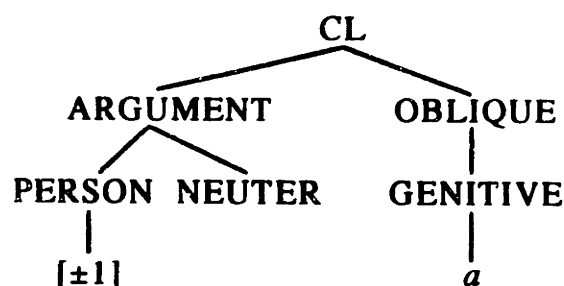
CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main topic of research in this thesis has been the morphology of Romance pronominal clitics, with special emphasis on non-transparent output forms in clitic combinations. I defended the position that non-transparent forms arise in the Morphology Component, between S-structure and PF. Below I give again a representation of this model of the grammar:



Moreover, I proposed that pronominal clitics consist of hierarchical structures of morphological features, created in the mapping from S-structure to the Morphology Component. Although syntactic feature matrices are fully specified by the time they reach S-structure, the sets of features present in the Morphology Component are impoverished to various degrees depending on the particular language. In (most) Romance languages, each pronominal clitic is represented as a subset of the following structure (in which I ignore the Agreement features [plural] and [feminine] for convenience):

(2)



Phonological information is not present in the syntax. It is introduced late in the Morphology Component through spell-out rules. Spelled-out forms constitute the input to phonology. The surface order among pronominal clitics is obtained through the mapping to a template.

In clitic combinations, it is often the case that one of the clitics involved does not surface with the same form it has in isolation, but rather acquires a form phonologically identical to another clitic of the language. These forms, which had received hardly any attention in the previous literature, are accounted for in the present framework through the operation of morphological rules, insertion and deletion rules that manipulate morphological structures. The mechanism proposed forces these clitics to "look like" other clitics of the language in their final morphological structure and, therefore, in their phonological content. In this regard several examples from Barceloní (in chapter 2), one example from Spanish, and one example from Italian (in chapter 3) were considered. Other non-transparent forms are obtained when two instances of the same feature (or morphological structure) cooccur, and only one position in the template is available. In these cases, only one of the elements is mapped. The other one simply does not surface. Several combinations in Barceloní provide examples of this phenomenon.

The need for recoverability is one of the main characteristics of [PERSON] clitics, that is, first person, second person, and reflexive or impersonal clitics. No operation was found that allows for the loss of a non-recoverable feature in these clitics, while this result is fairly common among non-[PERSON] clitics.

With respect to the syntax of pronominal clitics, I assumed the theory put forward mainly in Richard Kayne's work, in which clitics are generated in argument position at D-structure, and adjoin to an Infl node by S-structure. The chain formed by the clitic and its trace is one single object and, under certain conditions, an element can be realized in the foot of the chain as a strong pronoun, instead of being spelled out as a clitic, in the head of the chain. This is one of the strategies used in several languages when a violation of the **me lui/I-II* Constraint is created. This universal constraint, to which chapter 4 was devoted, forces a direct object to be third person when a dative clitic or agreement marker is also present. Moreover, this constraint targets only sets of ϕ -features under the same Infl node. These sets of ϕ -features can be pronominal clitics (as in Romance), agreement markers (as in Basque or Georgian), or even weakened pronouns (as in English).¹

¹ Borer (1984), and work along the same lines, proposes that pronominal clitics are base-generated in Infl and are coindexed with a small pro in argument position, in an attempt to reduce the differences between pronominal clitics and agreement markers (among other things). Such an approach is not incompatible with the thesis defended here (given that the clitic and the small pro are still part of the same chain). Nevertheless, attempts to further reduce pronominal clitics and agreement markers to the same syntactic object, with the same properties, cannot be adequate given some obvious differences between them: while agreement markers are obligatory regardless of the presence or absence of overt arguments, and occupy a fixed position, pronominal clitics often cannot cooccur with overt arguments and can be subject to clitic climbing. One of the things that

Many questions arise with respect to the ideas put forward in this dissertation. Still within the area of pronominal clitics in Romance, there is one class of clitics that has not been taken into consideration. This is the class of subject clitics, present in several Northern Italian dialects, for instance. Leaving aside the questions these clitics raise with respect to syntax, it is unclear how they should be represented in the Morphology Component. For example, evidence from Barceloní indicated that the best way to represent dative clitics was by means of the feature [OBLIQUE]. Accusative clitics, on the other hand, do not have a special feature. The node [ARGUMENT] and the features this node dominates refer mainly to person, in addition to number and gender (dominated by Agreement). If the generally assumed markedness among nominative, accusative and dative Case (with nominative as the most unmarked Case) has to be reflected in the morphological representation of clitics, a problem arises because in the system developed here accusative has no specific marking. In order to distinguish the representation of accusative clitics from the representation of nominative clitics without modifying the proposal made here, a feature would have to be added to the structure of nominative clitics, thus preventing the markedness relation between the two from being reflected in the representation.

However, these speculations are premature. One thing that has to be considered in detail before any conclusions of the type just described are reached is the morphological behavior of subject clitics, both in isolation pronominal clitics and agreement markers share is their "attachment" to the I+V complex by S-structure.

and in combination with other (object) clitics. In addition, the clitic system of Italian, even in dialects without subject clitics, has to be studied carefully. As I have said at several points in this thesis, Italian presents substantial variation in clitic order depending on factors that are unclear to me. For instance, according to Saccon (1998) and Wanner (1977), the order between two specific clitics is not always kept when there is a third person clitic around. I have not found anything similar in the other Romance languages I have looked at.

In chapter 4 it was shown that the **me lui/I-II* Constraint targets not only pronominal clitics, but also agreement markers, as well as weakened pronouns. This should not be surprising given that all these elements constitute sets of ϕ -features, mainly Case, person and number. It would then make sense to say that the type of hierarchical structures proposed here for pronominal clitics is also applicable to agreement markers. Basque provides an example of the kind of data that might potentially be analyzed in morphological terms, through a morphological rule. Here I will only briefly address this example. In Basque there is a phenomenon described traditionally as it is in (3), below. (3) corresponds to Laka (1991), (48) (she calls the agreement markers clitics):

(3) ERGATIVE DISPLACEMENT

if an inflected form has

- a) a third person absolutive agreement clitic and
- b) a non-third person ergative agreement clitic and
- c) it contains either the past tense morpheme
or the modal morpheme
or the conditional morpheme

then

- (3) a) the clitic corresponding to the ergative appears in the canonical place of the absolutive, and
b) the absolutive clitic does not appear.

As Laka points out later in the text, "the third person absolutive clitic is [replaced] by a clitic of the absolutive paradigm corresponding to the person features of the ergative clitic of the corresponding present Tense form [...]. The ergative clitic disappears from its canonical position and so does the third person absolutive clitic." (Laka (1991), p. 48). Moreover, as noted in Ortiz de Urbina (1989), even though the resulting pattern in Ergative Displacement cases is superficially identical to the intransitive paradigm (with absolutive agreement), the auxiliary used corresponds to the transitive paradigm. Below I illustrate this phenomenon with one example taken from Saltarelli (1988) (1038a)), using my own glosses:²

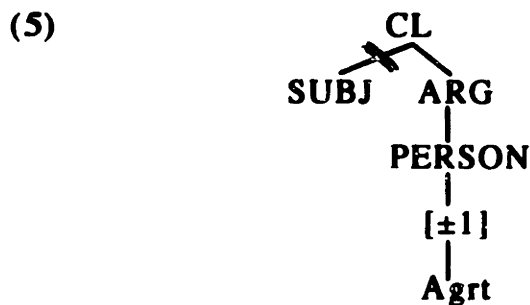
- (4) ni-k irakasle-a jo n-u-en
I-E teacher-A hit(prf) 1st-A -root - Past
'I hit the teacher'

This process is reminiscent of some of the phenomena accounted for in this dissertation, phenomena like the Spurious *se* Rule of Spanish or some of the "changes" that take place in Barceloní. That is, an agreement marker surfaces with the same form as another agreement marker, in the same position as this other agreement marker (which does not surface). In Spanish, a third person dative clitic acquires the form of a reflexive, and

² Both Laka (1991) and Saltarelli (1988) use the term 'ergative' to gloss the marker that appears as a prefix in the inflection in the cases being discussed in the text. However, as they themselves acknowledge, this prefix is identical to the absolutive marker. For this reason I use the term 'absolutive' in the gloss.

appears in the same position as a reflexive.

Assuming the existence of a feature that for the time being I will call [SUBJECT], which would be present in the morphological structure of subject agreement markers, the process described in (3) could be formulated roughly as in (5) (for convenience I leave aside the point made in (3c), having to do with the tense environment):³



Once the rule in (5) applies, the ergative agreement marker becomes identical to the absolutive agreement marker, and occupies its position in the template.⁴ The fact that the third person absolutive marker does not

³ In ergative languages, it is commonly assumed that ergative Case is more unmarked than absolutive Case. This markedness hierarchy would be reflected with the addition of the feature [SUBJECT] for ergative agreement (as opposed to bare [AGREEMENT] for absolutes).

⁴ This is not at all the analysis of Ergative Displacement proposed in Laka (1991) or in Ortiz de Urbina (1989). Laka defends the position that most of the inflectional morphology of Basque can be obtained through head-movement in the syntax. Moreover, Ergative Displacement is, in her account, a result of move- α in the PF component, for which she assumes the proposal put forward in Aoun *et al.* (1987). Ortiz de Urbina tries to argue for split ergativity in Basque with these cases. The instances of Ergative Displacement would follow a nominative system, rather than an ergative system.

surface could be accounted for, in my terms, by saying that, given that there is only one slot for absolutes (non-branching morphological structures with [ARGUMENT]), the most specific instance of it "wins", that is the first or second person absolute marker resulting from rule (5).

The facts from Basque that I have presented here are slightly simplified, and an adequate analysis of them would have to take into account not only the tense-related environment, but also some facts concerning plurality that I have not mentioned here. The former, but not the latter, is integrated into the account in Laka (1991). Ergative Displacement in Basque provides one example of a possible morphological rule in agreement systems (as opposed to pronominal clitic systems). One should expect to find similar cases in other languages.

Other aspects of the grammar I have not dealt with in this dissertation, but which could be incorporated into a more complete account, include things like demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. For instance, in chapter 3 I said that Spanish does not have a specific spell-out for the [NEUTER] clitic. However, the strong form corresponding to this clitic has, in Spanish, a form that differs from other demonstratives. This form is *esto*, while the masculine and feminine demonstratives are *éste* and *ésta*, respectively.⁵ Another issue that has not been addressed here, but which probably falls under the same group is the well known similarity, often identity, between third person clitics and determiners. In Catalan, there is no distinction between these two elements. In Spanish, the difference is very minimal. The stem is the same in both cases, /l/. The difference lies

⁵ As I showed in previous chapters, [NEUTER] has nothing to do with gender, not even in the case I am commenting on in the text at this point.

on the form-class vowel selected in each case (using the terminology and approach in Harris (1991a,b)). For the pronoun the default form-class is chosen, while for the article the form-class is marked. I leave all these issues for further research.

To summarize, in this chapter I have mentioned and briefly discussed some of the aspects of the grammar that could be integrated into a more comprehensive proposal along the lines argued for in this dissertation. All these issues are to be dealt with in the Morphology Component, between S-structure and PF. It was shown at several points that the syntax is blind to most of the changes that were discussed in detail. The last example I provided was Ergative Displacement in Basque, where the choice of the absolutive paradigm is not reflected in the choice of auxiliary. The choice of auxiliary is based on syntactic considerations, while the choice of the absolutive paradigm is based on morphological considerations. The type of approach defended in this dissertation implies, among other things, a rejection of the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis and the position that phonological material is inserted after S-structure.

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