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SPANISH CLITIC CLIMBING

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by

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ABSTRACT

SPANISH CLITIC CLIMBING

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This dissertation focuses on the study of direct object clitics and clitic climbing structures in Spanish. Clitic pronouns in the Romance languages have long occupied the interests of generative linguists. In the field of morpho-syntax there exists a rich body of literature on the nature and distribution of object clitic pronouns in Romance, addressing a diversity of questions, among these, whether clitic pronouns behave as independent words or bound morphemes, and how and where they are to be represented in the grammatical structure of a sentence. The answers to such questions have had implications for the advancement of theories and models in other fields of study, such as language contact and language acquisition. To date, French and Italian have been the primary focus of attention in research addressing clitic pronouns; the facts of Spanish have gone largely unexamined. Redressing this oversight, the present project examines data on the placement of pronouns across dialects of Spanish. The findings will afford a more complete account of clitic pronouns in Romance than is available in the extant literature and contribute to theories of syntactic micro-variation.

Unlike other Romance languages, Spanish allows clitic pronouns to appear attached to the non-finite verb, as in (1a) and (2a), or attached to the main conjugated verb, as in (1b) and (2b), a phenomenon known as “clitic climbing”:

- (1) a. *Estoy comiéndolo.*
am.1sg eating.Cl
b. *Lo estoy comiendo.*
Cl am.1sg eating
“I am eating it”
- (2) a. *Quiero comerlo.*
want to.eat.Cl
b. *Lo quiero comer.*
Cl want to.eat
“I want to eat it”

The facts of clitic placement across dialects of Spanish (Castilian Spanish and North Western Spanish) and in other Romance languages (Italian, Portuguese, and Asturian) are carefully examined, with the aim of presenting an account of clitic climbing that is empirically and explanatorily sound. At the center of the present study is the development of a proposal in which clitic pronouns may be generated in two structural positions in the clause, as dictated by the selectional properties of particular predicates.

The intellectual merit of this proposal resides principally in understanding the mechanisms that govern the placement of clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures. It is novel in focusing specifically on the analysis of clitic pronouns in Spanish and in seeking to achieve an adequate and complete description of these elements both morphologically and syntactically. A broader contribution of the work is its focus on reaching a better understanding not only of Spanish clitic pronouns, but also of Spanish syntactic structure in general, as the study of clitic placement largely overlaps with other areas of syntactic research, such as verb movement.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Overview, goals, and hypotheses

The main purpose of the present investigation is to provide an account of the morphosyntactic behavior of Spanish object clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures. Clitic climbing is a common syntactic phenomenon, manifested among the Romance languages and dialects, which describes the movement that a clitic pronoun undergoes, typically from an embedded non-finite clause to a matrix finite clause, as illustrated in (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. *Pudo verla.*

could.3sg to.see.Cl

b. *La pudo ver.*

Cl could.3sg to.see

“(S)he was able to see her”

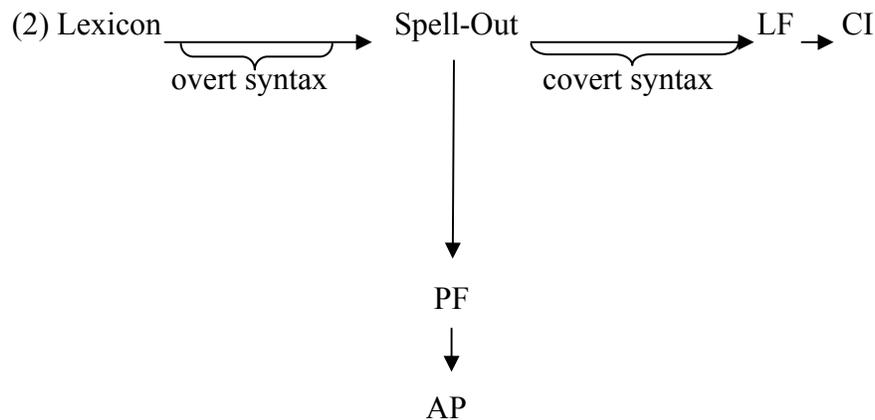
The rules governing the apparent optionality observed in the placement of the clitic pronoun—enclitic to the embedded infinitive or proclitic to the modal in (1) — have been extensively discussed and debated, because optional movement is disallowed by the current syntactic theory. To date, no current analysis has successfully circumvented this theoretical challenge while at once providing an adequate account of the full facts of this complex phenomenon.

This dissertation proposes an analysis in which clitic climbing and non-clitic climbing structures result from different derivations that deviate structurally. The central

difference between clitic climbing and non-clitic climbing structures resides in the location in which clitic pronouns are generated. The proposal is developed by reference to the morphosyntactic behavior of clitics and clitic climbing in Spanish, and is supported with data from across Romance, and in particular, Asturian. In addition, it addresses implications for diachrony, thus allowing for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon.

1.1 The theoretical framework

The dissertation is carried out within the framework of Minimalism (Chomsky 1995; 1998; 2000; 2001). The Minimalist Theory (Chomsky 1995, and subsequent) is a model of the grammar composed of several parts: the lexicon, Spell-Out, Phonetic Form (PF) and the Articulatory-Perceptual (AP) Interface, and Logical Form (LF), and the Conceptual-Intentional (CI) Interface, as illustrated in (2). This model of the grammar contains a series of principles and operations whose specifications are explained next.



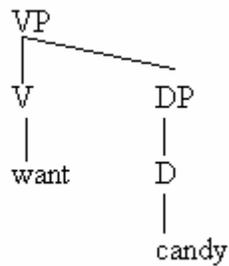
According to the model, the *lexicon* is a mental dictionary where all the lexical items of a particular language are stored, including their morphosyntactic characteristics. The operation *Numeration* selects whichever lexical items are going to be used to build the

derivation. For example, in order to form the sentence *I want candy*, the Numeration chooses the items in (3) from the Lexicon:

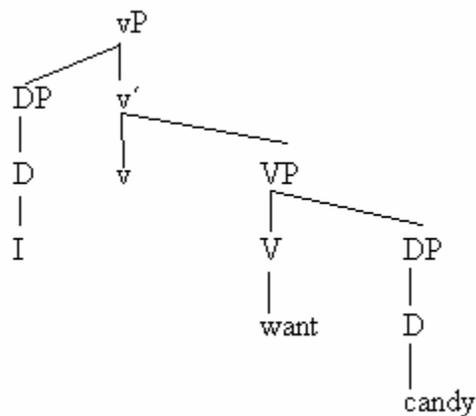
(3) *want, candy, I*

The computational system is driven by two operations, *Merge* and *Move*. *Merge* takes two of the syntactic objects selected by the Numeration, and forms an unordered set that is labeled after one of the syntactic objects. The label identifies the properties of the phrase. Merge is a free operation that combines syntactic elements in a binary way, as illustrated in (4):

(4) a.



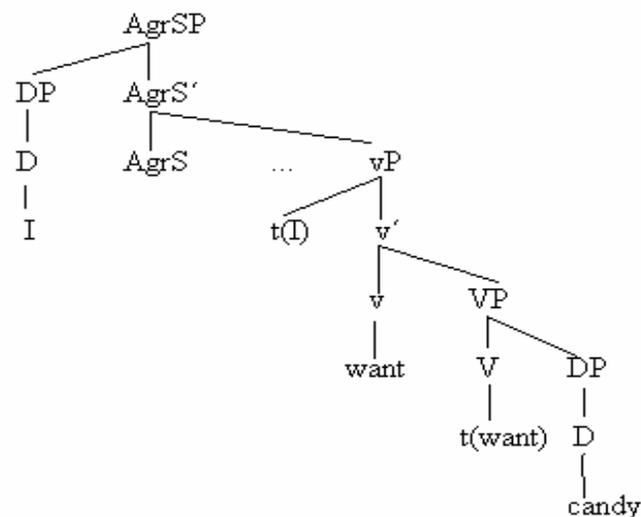
b.



In (4a), the lexical item *candy* is projected into the maximal category DP; Merge combines the DP *candy* with the verb *want*, which results in the maximal projection VP. In (4b), the lexical item *I* is projected as DP, which is then merged with the maximal projection vP.

Move is an operation that, as its name indicates, moves certain elements in the derivation, provided the necessary conditions are met. There are two types of movement: overt movement and covert movement. Overt movement—movement in the overt syntax before Spell-Out—is considered to be a very costly operation that is driven by the strength and type of features of the category that constitutes the target for movement. In a way, *Move* applies to a syntactic object only if its morphological properties cannot be satisfied otherwise, as exemplified in (5):

(5)



In (5), it can be observed that the DP *I* has moved from the specifier position in vP to the specifier position of AgrSP. Similarly, the verb *want* has moved from V^0 to v^0 .

The theory of the grammar establishes that morphosyntactic features can be interpretable at LF, or uninterpretable. Thus, uninterpretable features together with *Checking Theory* are responsible for overt movement. Checking Theory establishes that uninterpretable features (for example Case, or phi-features on verbal heads) and strong interpretable features must be checked off before Spell-Out, in covert syntax, in order to be eliminated as required by the condition of *Full Interpretation*. According to Full Interpretation, every element that reaches PF and LF must receive an appropriate interpretation as determined by its features.

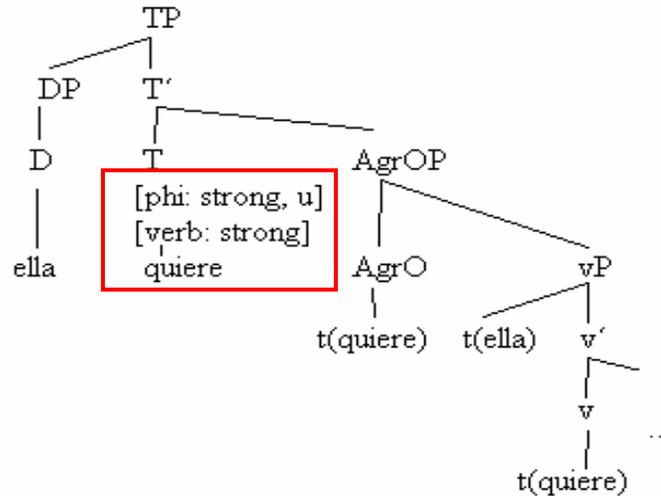
Full Interpretation also requires derivations to be minimal. Thus, checking relations are forced by uninterpretable features. Strong features force overt movement, and they also ensure the cyclicity of movement. Once merged, strong features must be checked off or eliminated by Move and/or Merge. If a strong feature is not checked before reaching Spell-Out, the Principle of Full Interpretation is violated, since strong uninterpretable features cannot be interpreted by PF or the AP Interface. For example, the phi-features¹ of T⁰ (Tense) are uninterpretable and are checked off by the interpretable phi-features of an NP, rendering noun-verb agreement, as illustrated in (6) for Spanish:

¹ Phi-features represent certain grammatical characteristics such as person, number, gender, and Case.

(6) *Ella quiere caramelos.*

she wants candy

“She wants candy”



In (6), the projection TP contains a series of strong uninterpretable features that must be eliminated before Spell-Out. These features attract the verb to T^0 and the subject DP to [Spec, TP]. The agreement relation removes the uninterpretable features from the narrow syntax, which allows derivations to converge at the interfaces. For convergence, uninterpretable features must be deleted before Spell-Out. Weak interpretable features and phi-features on nouns, on the other hand, do not need to be checked off before Spell-Out because they can be interpreted by the CI Interface. It is stipulated that features that are not checked before Spell-Out may cause covert movement in covert syntax.

The interpretability vs. uninterpretability of features is determined in the lexicon, and the distinction must be indicated throughout the derivation. Uninterpretable features enter the derivation without values and are distinguished from interpretable features by

virtue of this property. Their values are determined by the operation Agree, at which point the features must be deleted from the syntax but left available for the PF and the AP Interface. The values of uninterpretable features are, therefore, redundant.

Spell-Out is the point of the derivation in which LF-uninterpretable material is removed from a syntactic object; that syntactic object is transferred to the phonological component to be interpreted. Spell-Out must be able to determine which syntactic features are redundant (uninterpretable).

Crucially, this model of the grammar is not representational but derivational. Therefore, the introduction of new elements (or new features) in the course of the derivation is banned by the Inclusiveness Condition. Finally, the computational system is formulated to be as economical as possible. There are several Economy conditions in Universal Grammar (UG). *Procrastinate* establishes that movement should be postponed for as long as possible. This ensures that the derivation does not include superfluous movements that violate Economy. *Last Resort* renders shorter derivations, as required by the grammar, and it regulates the motivation for movement and establishes that a syntactic element cannot move to satisfy some other element's morphological requirements. *Greed* stipulates that movement is a last resort operation that only applies when the features of a syntactic object cannot be checked off otherwise (i.e. by Merge, for instance).

The most basic principles and components of the Minimalist Model of the Grammar have been outlined here. Nevertheless, other concepts will be explained throughout the chapters that comprise this dissertation. A brief introduction to these chapters is provided next.

1.2. Organization

The dissertation is organized into seven chapters divided as follows. Chapter 2, “The Characteristics of Clitic Pronouns,” presents an overview of the morphosyntactic characteristics that make clitic pronouns a category of their own. The chapter discusses the classes of pronouns that are identified in the most prominent literature, together with cliticization processes that are manifested cross-linguistically. Finally, various hypotheses concerning the morphosyntactic status of clitic pronouns in Spanish are discussed. Clitic pronouns in Spanish have been analyzed as verbal affixes, as agreement markers, as Case markers, and as specificity markers. The data and arguments provided in this chapter indicate that clitic pronouns are best characterized as some type of specificity marker.

Chapter 3. “Clitic Strings,” presents a description of the patterns in which clitic pronouns may be combined in Spanish. Cooccurrence restrictions are fairly similar across Romance, thus their origins can be traced back to Latin. There have been numerous attempts at formalizing cooccurrence restrictions in Romance. Some of the approaches are more morphologically-oriented—this is the case of the Templatic approach and the representational approaches—while some maintain that the syntactic component of the grammar governs the combination of clitic pronouns.

Chapter 4, “Approaches to Clitic Placement,” focuses on the syntactic placement and behavior of clitic pronouns. The chapter begins with a brief account of second position (2P) clitic systems, so as to show that some seemingly 2P clitic languages are actually not so. At the heart of the chapter is a detailed description of Spanish clitic placement in simple sentences and a careful critique of the three most prominent analyses of Spanish cliticization: the movement approach (Kayne 1975 and subsequent), the base-generation approach (Jaeggli 1982, Rivas 1977, Rizzi 1982, Strozer 1976), and the mixed approach (Sportiche 1996, Uriagereka 1995). The chapter additionally considers clitic hosts, and the interaction of clitic placement and negation, as an introduction to the specific syntactic structure at hand: clitic climbing.

In Chapter 5, “Clitic Climbing,” I present a definition of clitic climbing and a description of the types of predicates that may allow for clitic climbing in Spanish. Clitic climbing is a very well-studied topic in the generativist literature; this can be observed in the proliferation of analyses of clitic climbing that can be found. These analyses can be grouped under two different approaches: the incorporation/excorporation approach, which postulates that clitic climbing structures are bi-clausal, and the restructuring approach, which postulates that clitic climbing structures are mono-clausal. As will be made clear, no current analysis is empirically and theoretically adequate.

Thus, in Chapter 6, “Clitic Climbing: A Proposal,” I introduce and develop my proposal to account for clitic climbing in Spanish. Based on data from several Romance varieties (Italian dialects such as Piedmontese, French dialects, and Asturian, a Romance language spoken in the northwestern part of Spain), I propose that there are languages

with at least two functional projections in which clitic pronouns can be generated, one above TP, and the other one in the periphery of vP. Contrary to some hypotheses that place clitic pronouns in Agreement projections, I provide several arguments supporting the generation of clitic pronouns in Clitic projections. The analysis of clitic climbing presented in this chapter relies on the movement of the verb in Spanish. Thus, the interaction of clitic movement and verb movement is carefully studied. The analysis is then exemplified in several different structures that comprise simple sentences as well as complex sentences. The chapter concludes with an extension of the analysis to clitic climbing over negation, a topic that has proven to be especially problematic for previous analyses of clitic climbing.

Finally, Chapter 7, “Clitic Pronouns and Clitic Placement in Asturian,” illustrates how the analysis proposed in the previous chapter extends to the facts of Asturian. The data provides ample evidence against the classification of Asturian as a 2P clitic language, i.e. the enclisis and proclisis patterns are not the result of a requirement that forces clitic pronouns to be the second element of the sentence. Rather, it is argued here that clitic placement in Asturian is derived from the different structural positions in which clitic pronouns may be generated.

The dissertation concludes in Chapter 8, “Concluding Remarks,” which presents an overview of the entire work, with a retrospective of the preceding chapters, extensions to other data, and contributions to the field.

Chapter 2

The Characteristics of Clitic Pronouns

2.0 Introduction

The main focus of the present chapter is the morphosyntactic characteristics of clitic pronouns. It is important to set forth the features that define and differentiate clitic pronouns as a class of its own that is distinct from other types of pronouns. Thus, in §2.1 different classifications or pronominal systems and their morphosyntactic characteristics are reviewed. As can be surmised from the literature, pronominal systems can be divided into three subgroups: personal or strong pronouns, weak pronouns, and clitic pronouns. The morphosyntactic and phonological differences and similarities among these three groups are explored in §2.1. One of the purported principal features that distinguishes clitic pronouns from other types of pronouns—lack of phonological stress—is found not to be a fundamental property of clitic pronouns.

Another aspect that characterizes clitic pronouns is cliticization. Thus, a definition of cliticization is provided in §2.2, together with a brief overview of theories of cliticization. It is argued here that syntactic approaches to cliticization—as opposed to phonological or mixed approaches (syntactic-phonological approaches)—captures more generalizations across the data, and hence are empirically more adequate than others.

Finally §2.3 offers an extensive review of the morphosyntactic features of clitic pronouns in Spanish. As will be discussed, there are four main hypotheses regarding the morphosyntactic status of clitics. Analyses of clitic pronouns as verbal affixes are explored in §2.3.1. Even though clitic pronouns display an affixal-like behavior, there are

compelling arguments against clitic pronouns as verbal affixes. Another group of analyses claim that clitic pronouns are Case markers, based on evidence from clitic doubling structures and the types of NPs that clitic pronouns can double. As can be observed in §2.3.2, there seems to be a large amount of data disfavoring an analysis of clitic pronouns as Case markers. Spanish clitic doubling structures as well as French and Italian past participle agreement are the main source of evidence supporting the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are Agreement markers. Analyses of clitic pronouns as Agreement markers claim that there is a parallelism between subject agreement and object agreement. In fact, past participle agreement and clitic doubling are seen as a type of object Agreement. Nevertheless, it is shown in §2.3.3 that Agreement is not always present in clitic doubling structures, not only in different dialects of Spanish, but also in other Romance languages such as Asturian. This provides a strong case against clitic pronouns as Agreement markers. Finally, analyses of clitic pronouns as specificity or scope markers are presented in §2.3.4. Again, clitic doubling structures constitute the major source of data supporting this hypothesis. It appears that this hypothesis is the most empirically adequate since it can account for a broader range of data than the previous analyses. In accordance with this hypothesis, it is claimed here that clitic pronouns are markers that make visible the relationship between the argument feature contained in the verbal head, and the internal argument position that is selected by the verbal head.

2.1 Classes of pronouns

Clitic pronouns have received different names and classifications in the literature at large because of the mixture of phonological and morphosyntactic phenomena that these elements present. Nevertheless, linguists in general agree that clitic pronouns share characteristics with two distinct classes of words: inflectional morphemes and free lexical items. Klein-Andreu (2000b), for example, characterizes clitic pronouns as portmanteau items, in the sense that they express several different types of morphosyntactic features. Jaeggli (1986), among others, states that clitic pronouns are morphemes that can be considered neither independent lexical items nor inflectional affixes. In order to understand the arduous task that an adequate characterization of clitic pronouns involves, it is necessary to review some of the most influential efforts towards providing a universal classification of pronouns.

In his seminal work, Zwicky (1977) offers a three-way distinction of pronominal systems across languages. Thus, pronouns can be separated in three groups: special clitics, simple clitics, and bound words.² Special clitics (or clitic pronouns³) are characterized by being the unstressed counterpart of full pronouns, with which they are in structural complementary distribution. In Zwicky's terms, special clitics are "redundant expressions of categories of NPs appearing elsewhere in the sentence (Zwicky 1977: 13)." This description, however, clashes with the facts presented in Spanish, as there are

² As will be discussed, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) present a very similar classification of pronouns that also distinguishes three different groups: clitic pronouns, weak pronouns, and strong pronouns.

³ The terms 'special clitic' and 'clitic (pronoun)' will be used interchangeably throughout the present investigation. Hence, unless otherwise specified (i.e. 'simple'), the term 'clitic' will always refer to 'special clitics', and never to 'simple clitics'.

instances in which the presence of the clitic in the structure is not redundant, but required, as examples in (1) illustrate. The sentences in (1a) and (1c) are indeed misleading, as they seem to support the redundancy claim made by Zwicky. The ungrammatical examples (1b) and (1d), on the other hand, confirm that the apparent redundancy does not hold in the case of Spanish clitic pronouns.

(1) a. *Lo veo a él.*

Cl see.1sg. “pers. a”⁴ he

“I see him”

b. **Veó a él.*

see.1sg “pers. a” he

c. *Le doy el regalo a ella.*

Cl give.1sg. the gift to her

“I give her the gift”

d. **Doy el regalo a ella.*

give.1sg the gift to her

Like special clitics, simple clitics are also the unstressed bound variant of a stressed full independent form. But in contrast to special clitics, simple clitics surface in the same structural position as their corresponding full form (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983). An example of simple clitics is unstressed English direct object pronouns, as in (2):

⁴ The preposition *a* in this example is a marker known as ‘personal a’ which appears with animate, specific direct objects. This and other similar phenomena will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 4.

(2) *I saw 'er.*

Finally, bound words, much like clitic pronouns, are always unstressed elements that, despite being always bound, have sufficient structural freedom to adjoin or attach to very different morphosyntactic forms. One of the most discussed and studied examples of bound words is, possibly, the English possessive (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum, 1983, among others), as illustrated in (3):

(3) *women who live on the edge's passion*

In this example, the English possessive morpheme is semantically associated with the NP *women* even though it is phonologically attached to *edge*.

Undoubtedly, Zwicky's (1977) study of clitic pronouns offers valuable information about the characteristics that distinguish clitic pronouns from other types of elements. However, this early classification fails to provide clear distinctions among the three groups. Thus, Zwicky and Pullum (1983) propose syntactic, morphological, and phonological criteria to determine whether a pronoun belongs to the class of simple clitics or bound words. As will be seen shortly, special clitics often times can be paired with simple clitics or bound words.

According to Zwicky and Pullum, simple clitics have a more flexible morphosyntactic distribution than bound words because they can attach to a wider variety of hosts. As will be seen in Chapter 4, Spanish clitic pronouns can only attach to certain verbal forms, which makes them more similar to bound words than simple clitics in this respect. Because simple clitics can attach to many different types of elements in the

structure, there are no gaps in their combinatorial paradigm. Bound words, on the other hand, seem to show arbitrary gaps, much like clitic pronouns.⁵

Even though bound words and clitic pronouns share some characteristics, there are also important differences suggesting that bound words and clitics are different elements, and should, therefore, belong to different groups. Some of the most salient features that distinguish between bound words and clitic pronouns are morphophonological and/or semantic idiosyncrasies. Thus, despite some morphophonological factors that will be discussed in Chapter 3, clitic pronouns do not show many idiosyncrasies in this respect; bound words, on the other hand, do, as discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983). Furthermore, clitic pronouns can attach to hosts that already contain other clitics, but bound words cannot.

There are, in particular, two phenomena that differentiate clitic pronouns from both bound words and simple clitics: structural distribution and cliticization. As mentioned earlier, clitic pronouns, unlike simple clitics and bound words, do not share the same structural distribution as their corresponding full stressed pronouns.⁶ Also, the process by which a clitic pronoun and its host become a unit (i.e. cliticization) is claimed to obey syntactic rules, as will be seen in §2.3; the attachment of simple clitics and bound words to neighboring words, on the other hand, follows morphological and lexical rules (Zwicky and Pullum 1983).

⁵ Clitic combinations will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 3.

⁶ The syntactic distribution of clitic pronouns will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 4.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) also propose a three-way classification of pronouns which is very similar to the one found in Zwicky (1977). According to this more recent study, pronouns can be divided into clitic pronouns, weak pronouns, and strong pronouns. In order to determine in which group a particular element should be included, Cardinaletti and Starke take into account several different factors: structural distribution, semantic features, prosodic characteristics, and morphological asymmetries between different forms of the same pronoun. The authors start by postulating the existence of two classes of pronouns: strong personal pronouns and deficient personal pronouns. The class of deficient personal pronouns is further divided into mildly deficient pronouns (weak pronouns) and severely deficient pronouns (clitic pronouns), as illustrated in (4):

(4) a. strong personal pronouns:

I, he, she, etc.

b. deficient personal pronouns:

i) weak pronouns:

French *je*

ii) clitic pronouns:

Spanish *lo, la*

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 150) observe that there are certain distributional characteristics (i.e. coordination, morphology, etc.) that differentiate strong personal pronouns from deficient pronouns. Much like Zwicky (1977) and Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Cardinaletti and Starke note that strong personal pronouns cannot appear in the same structural position as the deficient pronouns, at least in Romance languages, and

that strong pronouns surface where the deficient pronouns are excluded. Since the focus of the present work is on clitic pronouns (Spanish object clitics in particular), simple clitics and bound words will not be discussed any further.

There is a recurrent feature that researchers use to define clitic pronouns: lack of phonological stress (Hock 1996; Klavans 1982, 1985; Perlmutter 1971; Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983, among others). For instance, Perlmutter (1971: 65) shows data from Spanish, French, Serbo-Croatian, and Walbiri, that indicates that clitic pronouns are phonological parasites, in the sense that they constitute a single phonological unit with their host. For example, clitic pronouns in French and Spanish always surface attached to verbal forms. In Serbo-Croatian and Walbiri clitic pronouns surface as the second element of the clause, attached to the word preceding them, independently of that word's morphosyntactic characteristics.⁷

Klavans (1982, 1995) illustrates that clitic pronouns are unstressed elements that cannot occur in isolation, as shown in the Spanish example in (5). She also claims that the reason why clitic pronouns always surface attached to another element that serves as their hosts is because they cannot receive any type of phonological stress (i.e. emphatic, contrastive, etc.). Hence, clitics lean on a host in order to fulfill certain phonological requirements.

⁷ This particular phenomenon is known as Clitic Second and will be discussed more extensively at the beginning of Chapter 4.

(5) a. *¿A quién viste, a él o a ella?*

to whom saw.2sg to him or to her

“Whom did you see, him or her?”

b. **Lo/Lo vi a él.*

Cl/ Cl saw.1sg “pers. a” him

“Him/ I saw him”

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) argue that one of the paramount characteristics that has always been attributed to clitic pronouns, lack of phonological stress, cannot be considered as a fundamental property of clitic pronouns (Klavans 1982, 1995; Menéndez Pidal 1918; Perlmutter 1971; Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983, among others).^{8,9} The authors show that deficient pronouns can be prosodically stressed in Italian. Moreover, clitic pronouns can carry contrastive stress (i.e. contrastive focus) in French. The reason why lack of stress (whether emphatic or contrastive) cannot be taken as a fundamental characteristic of clitic pronouns is that clitics need a prominent discourse antecedent, which, by definition, is not compatible with contrastive stress, as established by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). Therefore, the authors argue that what defines a clitic pronoun is its impoverished syntactic representation with respect to the syntactic representation of weak and strong pronouns. Thus, the observed morphological, prosodic, semantic, and syntactic asymmetries between clitic pronouns, on the one hand, and weak

⁸ This is, however, an extremely common approach to explain Second Position Clitics. Rouveret (2004), on the other hand, claims that, at least in Romance, Clitic Second phenomena are sensitive to the hierarchical articulation between the different elements in the structure. According to this, Clitic Second is not a prosodic phenomenon, but a syntactic one.

⁹ See also examples from Aragonese in Chapter 2.

and strong pronouns, on the other, are caused by this syntactic deficiency that characterizes clitic pronouns.

Similarly, Anderson (2005) observes that even though lack of phonological stress characterizes the majority of clitic pronouns found across languages, not all clitic pronouns are phonological clitics (i.e. unaccented). Therefore, it can be concluded that lack of stress is by no means a defining characteristic of clitic pronouns.

2.2 Cliticization

Cliticization is the process by which clitic pronouns form a single, unbreakable unit with a lexical item (henceforth, host). Clitic pronouns can either precede their host (proclisis), or follow it (enclisis). In the case of Romance languages, the host to which clitic pronouns attach is a verb.

There are several hypotheses concerning cliticization. The most widely held view is that cliticization is a morphosyntactic phenomenon (Anderson 2005; Kayne 1989, 1991, 1994; Rouveret and Vergnaud's 1980 cyclic rule; Sportiche 1996, among others). However, it is not uncommon to find definitions of cliticization that refer to the unit formed by the clitic and its host in phonological and /or prosodic terms (Halpern 1992; Penny 2002, among others). Penny (2002), for instance, describes the union of the clitic and its host as a single phonological word.

Nevertheless, the phonological approach to cliticization is not entirely adequate (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). For example, Klavans (1982) examines the relationship between stress and cliticization and concludes that lack of stress is not the most salient feature that characterizes the cliticization process (nor clitic pronouns, as Cardinaletti and

Starke 1999 show). On the contrary, Klavans claims that cliticization is not a unified phenomenon because there are asymmetries in the phonological and syntactic behavior of clitic pronouns. She establishes that cliticization can be syntactic or phonological in nature, contra Halpern (1992), who believes that clitic pronouns form a prosodic constituent with their host, and not a morphological one.

In general, defining and formalizing the cliticization process in universal terms is not an easy task due to the different types of clitic pronouns that belong to different morphosyntactic categories cross-linguistically (see examples in Halpern 1992, 1993; Klavans 1982, 1995; Zwicky 1977; or Zwicky and Pullum 1983, just to mention a few). Klavans (1982, 1995), for instance, develops one of the most influential studies on cliticization. She carefully studies Zwicky's typology and provides arguments to show that it cannot make clear, accurate distinctions between the different types of pronouns. For example, in many cases, Zwicky's special clitics and bound words share identical syntactic distributions. Thus, Klavans proposes three (originally five) different parameters in order to account for the different cliticization patterns found across languages: dominance, precedence, and phonological liaison. In fact, Klavans' typology of clitic pronouns is the most successful formalization of the different morphosyntactic patterns displayed by clitic pronouns cross-linguistically. Her ambitious theory, however, cannot completely account for the data observed in Spanish, as will be seen in §2.4.3.

In summary, cliticization should be carefully analyzed and studied in independent languages before attempting to formalize it at a universal level. As will be seen in Chapters 4 and 5, universal theories of cliticization often overgenerate or undergenerate.

2.3 Morphosyntactic characteristics of clitic pronouns

The inventory of clitic pronouns in Spanish shows the following morphological distinctions, as illustrated in Table 1: i) Case (accusative, reflexive, and third person dative pronouns); ii) person (first, second, and third); iii) number (singular and plural); and iv) masculine and feminine gender (only in the case of accusative clitic pronouns):

Case	Person	Singular	Plural
Accusative	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	lo (masc.), la (fem.)	los (masc.), las (fem.)
Dative	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	le	les
Reflexive	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	se	

Table 1. Inventory of Spanish clitic pronouns

However, it has been observed that the paradigm represented in Table 2 is an idealized one. As pointed out in Klein-Andreu (1981, 2000a, 2000b), the above system can be traced to an initial etymological paradigm. However, there are current systemic differences illustrated across dialects of Spanish that deviate from the etymological

paradigm, as will be seen shortly. The sections that follow illustrate how clitic pronouns exhibit mixed morphosyntactic characteristics and features (Franco 1993).¹⁰

2.3.1 Clitics are affixes

The hypothesis that clitic pronouns are some type of affix has been entertained by several linguists, among them Anderson (1992, 1993, 2005), Emonds (1985, 1999), Jaeggli (1986), Klavans (1982, 1995), Stump (1980), Zwicky (1977). Zwicky (1977), in particular, is the first one to propose that special clitics are some type of verbal affix because, as opposed to lexical heads, the former cannot be elided in coordinated structures (like bound morphemes), while the latter can, as the examples in (6) illustrate:

(6) a. *Je connais Jean et je crains Jean.*

I know John and I fear John

“I know John and I fear John”

b. *Je connais et crains Jean.*

I know and fear Jean

“I know and fear Jean”

c. *Je le connais et je le crains.*

I Cl know and I Cl fear

“I know him and I fear him”

d. **Je le connais et je crains.*

I Cl know and I fear

¹⁰ The structural characteristics and distribution of clitic pronouns will be discussed extensively in Chapters 4 and 5.

Unlike French clitic pronouns (6), Spanish clitics can be elided in the same type of syntactic context. The examples in (7) illustrate the Spanish facts:

(7) a. *Como el pastel y digiero el pastel.*

eat.1sg. the cake and digest.1sg. the cake

“I eat the cake and I digest the cake”

b. *Como y digiero el pastel.*

eat.1sg. and digest.1sg. the cake

“I eat and digest the cake”

c. *Lo como y lo digiero.*

Cl eat.1sg and Cl digest.1sg.

“I eat it and I digest it”

d. *Lo como y digiero.*

Cl eat.1sg and digest.1sg

“I eat and digest it”

Zwicky’s theory of clitic pronouns as affixes has been extensively criticized. For instance, Halpern (1992) offers a combined syntactic and phonological approach to the theory of clitic pronouns, and claims that the shape and/or distribution of clitic pronouns is unrelated to the morphological characteristics of the host to which they attach. He claims that since clitic pronouns form a prosodic constituent with their host, they cannot be affixes. Moreover, affixation is a process that takes place in the morphological component, not in the syntax; the union of the clitic pronoun to its host—cliticization—is a process that takes place in the syntax. According to Halpern, there should be a

distinction between clitic pronouns and affixes because not only are their structural distributions different, but also the type of morphophonological and syntactic relationship that these elements establish with their hosts are different. Thus, even though Halpern believes that cliticization is a process governed by prosody and phrasal phonology, he also states that, unlike affixes, clitic pronouns subcategorize for the syntactic category to which they attach. Zwicky and Pullum (1983), on the other hand, improve Zwicky's (1977) original study and propose different criteria that determine that clitics and affixes are different elements.

Similarly, Anderson (2005: ch. 2) and Klavans (1982, 1995) notice an important difference between the morphosyntactic behavior of affixes and that of clitics. On the one hand, affixes attach to roots and stems to create new words;¹¹ clitic pronouns, on the other hand, attach to free lexical items that are already formed and are independent of the presence of clitics. In that sense, clitic pronouns are inflectional material that adjoins to the rightmost or the leftmost edge of a word. Due to the phonological, morphological, and syntactic phenomena that characterize clitic pronouns, Klavans determines that clitic pronouns are phrasal affixes that belong to the phonological/morphosyntactic interface.

Klavans (1982, 1995) develops a theory of phrasal affixation in which clitic pronouns attach to phrasal nodes, not to heads. She bases her claims in the fact that phrasal attachment appears to be an inherent property of clitics universally. She also

¹¹ Klavans (1982, 1995) does admit that affixes can also attach to already formed words; she gives the following example:

i) nation + **-al** = national

In 'national', the affix '-al' attaches to an already formed, independent word, 'nation'. Clitic pronouns, on the other hand, can *only* attach to already formed independent words. One exception to this would be *mesoclisis* in European Portuguese (Rouveret 1999: 642).

observes that clitic pronouns are double-natured elements (Klavans 1982: 63): syntactically, clitics behave like independent words, but phonologically and morphologically, they display an affix-like behavior. In some languages, clitic pronouns can have as much syntactic freedom as their hosts (some examples can be found in Nida 1949: 97). Moreover, clitic pronouns are usually related to independent full pronominals and/or lexical items, which indicates that the semantic relationship between clitics and their hosts is a coincidence. Besides, the fact that clitic pronouns can attach to entire phrases (Anderson 1992, 2005; Jaeggli 1986; Klavans 1982, 1995; Stump 1980; Zwicky 1977) implies that the semantic, syntactic, and phonological relation between clitics and their hosts is not as tight as that found between affixes and the bases to which they attach. Affixes are always bound elements that show a close semantic relationship with their hosts (or bases).

Klavans' proposal, however, faces a very important typological problem: her cliticization theory cannot account for the behavior of French and Spanish clitic pronouns. If cliticization is phrasal affixation, and clitic pronouns are phrasal affixes, Spanish and French clitics are immediately unaccounted for because they attach to V, and not to V'.¹² Ultimately, Klavans agrees with Zwicky (1977) in this respect and states that French and Spanish clitic pronouns must, in fact, be verbal affixes that are realizing some type of verbal feature(s). Hence, cliticization in French and Spanish is actually verbal

¹² The different syntactic theories on clitic placement and cliticization sites are extensively discussed in Chapter 4.

affixation, and not phrasal affixation. As mentioned earlier, this illustrates the difficulties of postulating a universal analysis of clitic placement or clitic-related behavior.

Anderson (1992, 1993), like Klavans (1982, 1995), Zwicky (1977), and Zwicky and Pullum (1983), establishes different classifications for clitic pronouns found across languages and claims that clitic pronouns belong to regular lexical categories that display special characteristics. According to his classification, pronominal clitics (i.e. Romance clitic pronouns) are some type of inflectional affix that constitutes the morphology of phrases (Anderson 1993: 80), much like other affixes (gender, number, etc.) constitute the morphology of words. Thus, Anderson offers a theory similar to Jaeggli's (1986), Klavans' (1982, 1995), and Stump's (1980), in which clitics are phrasal inflectional affixes that correspond to the morphosyntactic structure and content of the phrase that constitutes their domain. Anderson provides evidence that shows the differences between derivational phrasal affixes and clitic pronouns: the former are clitics that modify somehow the meaning and/or discourse function of the relevant phrase, while the latter are introduced in the structure by normal lexical insertion. Anderson accounts for the surface placement of clitic pronouns with movement; he claims that clitics are moved to their surface position as the overt manifestation of a class of 'Word Formation Rules' that operate at the level of the phrase.

Nonetheless, he faces the same problem as Klavans: Romance clitic pronouns (French and Spanish in particular) do not attach to phrases, as will be seen in Chapter 4, but to heads.

Crucially, Anderson groups clitic pronouns together with regular lexical categories, arguing that it could be possible to create a feature [clitic] in order to distinguish clitics from other types of lexical items (Anderson 1992: 199). He concludes, nevertheless, that postulating a [clitic] feature is not a sufficient characteristic, as there are languages like K^wak^w'ala in which the class of clitic pronouns displays different behaviors within it. However, taking into account that clitic pronouns are present in different languages, and that other categories for which a corresponding feature has been proposed—nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions—also display different behaviors cross-linguistically, it would not be entirely inappropriate to stipulate the existence of a [clitic] feature or category. Furthermore, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) provide evidence of parallel tripartite divisions and classifications for clitic pronouns, adverbs, quantifiers, wh-pronouns, nouns, and so on, which provides further support for postulating a [clitic] feature.

There are, however, fairly successful approaches to clitic pronouns that describe clitics as inflectional heads. Longa, Lorenzo, and Rigau (1998), among others, claim that clitics are inflectional affixes because they have characteristics in common with other types of inflectional affixes. For example, the fact that clitic ordering is fairly rigid across languages parallels the morphological behavior of certain affixes. Also, the order presented by clitic pronouns does not match that of DP-arguments in VP-internal positions, which seems to indicate that clitic ordering is influenced solely by inflectional features such as case and person.

All in all, the idea that clitic pronouns are elements with affixal-type properties is generally accepted in the literature at large.¹³ There are, after all, languages like European Portuguese in which clitic pronouns appear as infixes between the verbal root and the verbal endings.¹⁴ This might be a remnant of previous stages of the language in which clitics were true inflectional affixes.

In sum, it appears that even though clitic pronouns share some properties with affixes, they cannot be characterized entirely as affixes for the reasons discussed above. In the next section, some of the most commonly accepted hypotheses regarding the morphosyntactic status of clitic pronouns are reviewed. In §2.3.2 the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are Case markers is discussed. In §2.3.3, a brief review of analyses claiming that clitic pronouns are Agreement markers is provided. Finally, in §2.3.4 the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are some type of specificity markers is presented. This last group of analyses appears to be empirically adequate; therefore, it is the hypothesis adopted in the present study. Crucially, all the hypotheses that are presented next have a common theme: clitic pronouns are characterized as some type of affix-like element that shares properties both with lexical items and with inflectional elements.

¹³ There are exceptions; Franco (1993), for example, claims that clitic pronouns in languages like Arabic and Yagua display some degree of freedom as regards affixation sites, which suggests a word-like status of clitic pronouns.

¹⁴ This process, known as mesoclysis, is confined to the future and conditional moods only (Rouveret 1999: 642).

2.3.2 Clitics as Case markers

There are several syntactic analyses based on the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are Case markers (Emonds 1999; Jaeggli 1982, 1986, among others). The first one to develop a full-fledged study of Romance clitic pronouns in a generativist framework is Jaeggli (1982, 1986). Based on clitic doubling structures in Spanish, Jaeggli observes that clitics behave like syntactic affixes that mark Case. He argues that clitic pronouns in Spanish consistently agree in number, person, and gender with their coreferential doubled object NP.

The fact that clitic pronouns seem to double only animate direct objects (Borer 1984; Jaeggli 1982, 1986), as illustrated in (8), has led scholars to conclude that clitic pronouns can only double NPs that are preceded by the preposition *a* (known as personal *a* in Spanish). Thus, Jaeggli (1982) proposes the Case Absorption Hypothesis (commonly known as ‘Kayne’s Generalization’), which stipulates that the preposition *a* in Spanish is the crucial element that allows object doubling phenomena. According to Jaeggli, the preposition *a* Case marks and absorbs the Case of the NP, thus allowing the coexistence of the NP and the clitic pronoun, which surfaces attached to the finite verb. The finite verb Case marks the clitic pronoun.¹⁵

¹⁵ Incidentally, object doubling in Rumanian shows the preposition *pe* (equivalent to Spanish *a*) as a Case Absorber.

(8) a. *Sandra vio la caja.*

Sandra saw the box

“Sandra saw the box”

b. **Sandra la vio la caja.*

Sandra Cl saw the box

c. *Sandra vio a Iván.*

Sandra saw “pers. a” Iván.

“Sandra saw Iván”

d. *Sandra lo vio a Iván.*

Sandra Cl saw “pers. a” Iván.

“Sandra saw Iván”

Nevertheless, Jaeggli’s Case Absorption theory cannot account for object doubling instances in, for example, French, a language that does not display a personal *a*, but that allows clitic doubling in certain dialects, as illustrated in (9):¹⁶

(9) a. *Je le vois lui.*

I Cl see him

“I see him”

b. *Jean lui a parlé à elle.*

Jean Cl has spoken to her

“Jean has spoken to her”

Furthermore, the Case Absorption Hypothesis cannot be uniformly applied to the behavior of all clitic pronouns. As discussed in Jaeggli (1982), first and second person

¹⁶ See also Roberge (1990) for other instances of clitic doubling in French.

clitic pronouns are homophonous (10a-b), only third person clitic pronouns in Spanish show distinct morphological Case (10c); dative and reflexive clitics optionally absorb Case (10d); and ethical dative clitic pronouns never absorb Case (10e).

(10) a. *Me trajo el libro.*

Cl(1sg.Dat) brought.3sg. the book

“He brought me the book”

b. *Me trajo (a mí) al parque.*

Cl(1sg.Acc) brought.3sg. to me to.the park

“He took me to the park”

c. *Lo traje (el libro).*

Cl(Acc.) brought.1sg. the book

“I brought the book”

d. *Juan se afeitó a sí mismo.*

Juan Cl(Refl) shaved to himself

“Juan shaved himself”

e. *Me comí la manzana (*a mí mismo)*

Cl(Eth.) ate.1sg. the apple (to me myself)

“I ate the apple”

Borer (1984), Fernández Ordóñez (1994), Klein-Andreu (1981, 2000a, 2000b), Luján (1987), and Suñer (1988) claim that clitic pronouns are not Case markers and illustrate their arguments with counterexamples to the paradigm shown in (8) above and repeated here as (11) for convenience:

(11) a. *Sandra vio la caja.*

Sandra saw the box

“Sandra saw the box”

b. **Sandra la vio la caja.*

Sandra Cl saw the box

c. *Sandra vio a Iván.*

Sandra saw “pers. a” Iván.

“Sandra saw Iván”

d. *Sandra lo vio a Iván.*

Sandra Cl saw “pers. a” Iván.

“Sandra saw Iván”

Example (12) from Suñer (1988) illustrates the clitic pronoun *la* doubling the direct object NP *la novela*, and no personal *a* is required for the sentence to be grammatical. This proves that the preposition *a* is not a Case assigner, as argued also in Borer (1984).

(12) *Tiene que seguir leyéndola; la novela.*

has.3sg. that continue reading.Cl the novel

“(S)he has to continue reading the novel”

Borer (1984) proposes a promising analysis that can be seen as a compromise between the Case Marker Hypothesis, and the Agreement Hypothesis discussed in the next section. Data from Hebrew and Romance lead Borer to analyze clitic pronouns as inflectional affixes that spell out number, gender, and person features on the verbal head, and match them with a Case feature on a lexical head. Like other nominal elements,

clitics are argued to contain a referential index. Since clitic pronouns are analyzed as inflectional affixes, they have to be linked with the thematic matrix of the head. Similarly, Sportiche (1996) provides an analysis based on a two-way classification of pronominal clitics. He claims that there are Case-licensing clitics that head an Agreement projection (i.e. dative clitics); there are also Specificity-licensing clitics that head a Voice projection and require their coreferential NP to be specific.¹⁷

Another compelling argument against the hypothesis that considers clitic pronouns as Case markers are predicative clitics. As can be seen in example (13), clitic pronouns can replace an entire predicate. If clitic pronouns are Case markers, the derivation would crash at Spell-Out because predicates do not bear Case:

(13) a. *Laura es intelligente.*

Laura is intelligent

“Laura is intelligent”

b. *Laura lo es.*

Laura Cl is

“Laura is”

Additional evidence that clitic pronouns cannot be Case markers is provided by Emonds (1985). His French data suggests that the distinction between indirect and direct object pronominal clitics is not a true instance of Case, but a vestigial remnant of an earlier Case system (similarly, Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) state that clitic pronouns lack functional Case features). He argues that a true Case-marking mechanism needs to

¹⁷ Voice = accusative voice, nominative voice, etc.

be productive, i.e. apply across the board; however, French and Spanish (Klein-Andreu 2000a, 2000b) ‘marginal’ case phenomena do not actually realize any of the properties of a universal theory of Case.

Fernández Ordóñez (1994) and Klein-Andreu (1981, 2000a, 2000b) reject the Case Hypothesis based on data documented since the 17th and 18th centuries in different dialects of Spanish. Klein-Andreu focuses on third person clitic pronouns and establishes different pronominal systems, among them a Case System (etymological), and a Referential System (non-etymological). In the etymological pronominal Case System there is a faithful one-to-one correspondence between the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP; thus, the dative clitic *le* refers to indirect object NPs; and the accusative clitics *la*, and *lo* refer to feminine and masculine direct object NPs respectively. The Referential System, on the other hand, does not follow Case distinctions; on the contrary, the clitic pronoun reflects other morphosyntactic features of the coreferential NPs. Hence, in some of these variants, the clitics *le/la* are used to refer to individualized or limited entities of both direct and indirect object NPs, while *lo* is used to refer to unlimited or continuous entities of direct and indirect object NPs. Therefore, a theory that postulates clitic pronouns as the markers of Case cannot account for the majority of dialects of Spanish, since the feature mismatch would prevent the derivations from converging at Spell-Out.

Finally, Longa et al.’s (1998) data on Catalan, Asturian, Galician, and Northwestern Spanish locative sentences provide further evidence that clitic pronouns cannot be Case markers. The authors show several examples of locative structures in

Catalan; in these structures the presence of a locative clitic is required for the sentence to be grammatical, as illustrated here in (14):

(14) *Hi havia un flequer.*

Cl had a baker

“There was a baker.”

It appears that Asturian, Galician, and Northwestern Spanish (languages that lack locative clitics) employ what the authors call a ‘recycling strategy’ by means of which an accusative clitic is present in locative structures, as exemplified in Asturian in (15):¹⁸

(15) a. *Había unes muyeres xunto la fonte.*

was some women next.to the fountain

“There were some women next to the fountain.”

b. *Habíales*

was.Cl

“There were some”

In view of the example in (15b), clitic pronouns cannot be Case markers because the verb *haber* in Asturian does not select a complement with Accusative Case. In fact, a structure like (15b) is ungrammatical in Standard Spanish, as illustrated in (16):

(16) a. *Había unas mujeres junto a la fuente.*

was some women next to the fountain

“There were some women next to the fountain”

¹⁸ This data is reviewed and discussed more extensively in Chapter 4.

b. **Las había*.

Cl was

Finally, from a theoretical stance, Manzini and Savoia (2004) point out that Case is not a viable syntactic category because it is an uninterpretable feature, and the grammar should be restricted to interpretable features, as established in Brody (1997), and hinted in Chomsky (2001). Since the uninterpretable feature Case does not have an interpretable counterpart, Manzini and Savoia (2004) conclude that it is unrestricted, which poses several theoretical problems.

In sum, a theory that considers clitic pronouns to be Case markers would be able to account for an etymological system of pronouns (without taking into account some of the other problems discussed above). However, the Case Hypothesis would not be able to explain the various non-etymological pronominal systems that exist.

2.3.3 Clitics as agreement markers

The hypothesis that clitic pronouns are agreement markers (Anderson 2005; D’Introno 1983; Franco 1993; Kayne 1989; Landa 1995; Lorenzo 1995; and Suñer 1988, among others) is possibly the most widely accepted hypothesis on Spanish clitic pronouns so far. This hypothesis is also based on data from clitic doubling structures.

D’Introno (1983) analyzes clitic pronouns as agreement heads based on several observations. On the one hand, phrases are not subject to cliticization, as mentioned in the previous sections. Also, the fact that some clitic pronouns indicate number, gender, person, and Case (third person clitic pronouns in Spanish) suggests that these elements stand for object agreement. Similarly, Suñer (1988) argues that clitics are object

agreement markers that obey the Matching Principle, which is an automatic consequence of chain coindexing (a mechanism by which agreement is established between two—or more—elements in a syntactic structure). The Matching Principle establishes that clitic pronouns are inflectional affixes generated as part of the verb (see also Borer 1984 for a similar proposal). According to this view, clitic pronouns and their doubled NPs in clitic doubling structures form an agreement relation that obeys the Matching Principle. Suñer also stipulates that there is a parallelism between objects and subjects as far as agreement is concerned; she claims that object agreement mirrors subject agreement.¹⁹

The apparent correlation between subject and direct object NPs in terms of Case and Agreement feature checking is also observed by Chomsky (1993), who claims that clitic pronouns are a manifestation of agreement heads that check the Case and Agreement features of the direct object under a Spec-Head configuration (the direct object moves into a Spec-Head configuration with the object clitic). The subject's Case and Agreement features are checked in a similar Spec-Head configuration. In a later version of the Minimalist Theory, Chomsky (1995) provides an explanation of doubling structures that manifest the same Case and/or Agreement features in two different elements, as is the case of clitic doubling structures.²⁰ Object clitics then are seen as overt manifestations of object Agreement, which is checked against the formal features of the light verb *v*. Similarly, subject Agreement is checked by formal features in TP.

¹⁹ See Franco (1993) for arguments against this proposal.

²⁰ For a newer, updated version of Checking Theory see Brody (1997), and Chomsky (2000, 2001), as discussed in the Introduction.

Franco (1993) agrees with Chomsky (1993) and Suñer (1988) and proposes that pronominal clitics are located between pronouns and inflectional affixes in an agreement continuum. He states that object clitics in Spanish can no longer be paired together with unstressed pronominal affixes (Zwicky's simple clitics) because their syntactic distribution resembles more the one displayed by object-verb agreement morphemes (1993: 43-44). Thus, Franco (1993), and later on, Landa (1995) proposes that clitics are object Agreement affixes that project their own agreement phrase (AgrP). Like the majority of the research claiming that clitic pronouns are Case markers or Agreement markers, Franco and Landa focus on various morphosyntactic phenomena that arise in clitic doubling structures, such as the apparent correlation observed between Agreement and the Animacy Hierarchy.

Past participle agreement is another phenomenon that seems to support an analysis of clitic pronouns as Agreement markers.²¹ This particular structure is not present in all Romance languages. Spanish, for example, does not show or allow agreement between past participles and objects (pronominal objects, clitics, or NP objects), as illustrated in (17a). Italian, on the other hand, shows obligatory agreement between the clitic pronoun and the past participle, as in (17b). Finally, French shows optional agreement between the past participle and the object, as in (17c).²²

²¹ Some of these facts will be mentioned again in Chapter 4, as they are also used to support the movement analysis of clitic pronouns (Kayne 1975, 1989, among others).

²² See Kayne (1975, 1989, 2000: ch. 2) for a more complete and detailed explanation of these facts.

(17) a. *Juan la ha comido/*a.*

Juan Cl(fem.) has eaten(masc.)/(fem.)

“Juan has eaten it”

b. *Gianni l'ha mangiata/*o.*

Gianni Cl(fem.) has eaten(fem.)/(masc.)

“Gianni has eaten it”

c. *Jean l'a mangé/ée.*

Jean Cl has eaten(masc.)/(fem.)

“Jean has eaten it”

The agreement between past participles and objects in Romance is interpreted as the manifestation of object-verb agreement (Sportiche 1996); therefore, it should be analyzed in a similar fashion as subject-verb agreement (Chomsky 1995). Sportiche proposes a local Spec-head/Agreement relation in order to account for these facts. He claims that French and Italian participle agreement obtains when an XP moves through the Spec of the AgrOP, whose projection hosts past participle agreement.²³ The analysis, however, cannot explain the Spanish facts, in which agreement between the clitic pronoun and the past participle is ungrammatical. Moreover, it is unclear why two projections that host different phi-features (AgrO and AgrS) should be afforded parallel syntactic treatments.

Uriagereka (1995) explains that the French auxiliary *avoir* ‘have’ in past participle agreement structures is dominated by an AgrO projection; the past participle,

²³ See Belletti (2001) for a different account.

on the other hand, is located in a different agreement projection, AgrPstPrtp (see Belletti 1999, 2001). Inclán (1991), however, shows that there is agreement between objects and past participles in Spanish passive sentences, as illustrated in (18), and hypothesizes that the element that enables the agreement is the auxiliary *ser* ‘be’, as opposed to *haber* ‘have’,²⁴ which is the auxiliary that can be found in Modern Spanish in contrast with the Italian *essere/avere* or French *être/avoir* dichotomy.

(18) a. **Ellos** *están preparados.*

They(masc.) are ready(masc.pl.)

“They are ready”

b. **Ellas** *están preparadas.*

They(fem.) are ready(fem.pl.)

“They are ready”

Kayne (1993) agrees with Inclán (1991) and states that the lack of agreement in Spanish is one of the consequences of having only one auxiliary verb, namely *haber* (‘have’). He claims that because the auxiliary verb has incorporated an abstract preposition, past participle agreement is blocked. This hypothesis, however, faces several problems. First, Kayne does not explain the origin and/or source of the incorporated preposition, which results in a fairly ad-hoc explanation of the facts. Second, the fact that Spanish *haber* contains an incorporated preposition indicates that there might be some type of lexical, syntactic, or semantic difference between Spanish *haber* and its French and Italian

²⁴ See Inclán (1991) for a more elaborate discussion on the morphosyntactic and semantic differences between Old Spanish and Modern Spanish *haber*.

counterparts (*avoir* and *avere* respectively). Finally, Kayne's hypothesis cannot account for the fact that the auxiliary *haber* does not prevent agreement between the subject and the past participle in passive sentences in Spanish, as in (19):

(19) a. *Eva ha sido entrenada por el mejor.*

Eva has been trained(fem.) by the best

“Eva has been trained by the best”

b. **Eva ha sido entrenado por el mejor.*

Eva has been trained(masc.) by the best

Belletti (2001) agrees that the occurrence versus non-occurrence of past participle agreement may be an indication of different derivations in the different Romance languages (also Sportiche 1998). Since Spanish has no past participle agreement, it could be possible that a derivation different from that of French and Italian accounts for the Spanish facts. In fact, Lois (1990) argues that the projection hosting past participle agreement could be entirely absent in Spanish, based on the fact that Spanish lacks auxiliary alternation, and past participle agreement with clitic pronouns and wh-movement, among other things. Franco (1993) claims that the difference between Spanish, on the one hand, and French and Italian, on the other, with respect to past participle agreement relies on the structural position in which clitic pronouns are generated in the structure. Thus, he states that Spanish clitics are inserted as heads under AgrO, while French and Italian clitic pronouns are generated as arguments of the verb, and later move to AgrPstPrt, as illustrated in (20) and (21) respectively:

(20) [IP [AgrOP [AgrO **clitic**] [VP ...]]]

(21) [IP [AgrOP [AgrPstPrtP [AgrPstPrt **clitic_j**] [VP [v] t_j]]]]

Franco does not subscribe to the proposal in which an AgrPstPrt projection hosts past participle agreement as part of the IP domain (Pollock 1989), because he argues that participial agreement is nominal agreement, and not verbal agreement. Thus, according to Franco, there should not be a functional projection in the verbal domain hosting a nominal-type of agreement relation.

Baker (1988) and Laka (1993), on the other hand, claim that participial agreement is part of the verbal agreement system, which is included in the syntactic component that derives inflectional morphology. Nevertheless, given the fact that French allows clitic doubling, as shown in example (9) above—repeated here as (22) for convenience—and other facts that Spanish and Italian share regarding the syntactic behavior of clitic pronouns, it seems unlikely that Spanish and Italian clitic pronouns are generated in different positions in the structure, as Franco suggests.

(22) a. *Je le vois lui.*

I Cl see him

“I see him”

b. *Jean lui a parlé à elle.*

Jean Cl has spoken to her

“Jean has spoken to her”

As established in Chomsky (1995), the data presented here provides evidence supporting the claim that the cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic variation found among the several

Romance languages is a direct consequence of the presence vs. absence of functional projections. Thus, as will be seen throughout the following chapters, even though all functional projections are available in the grammar, not all languages make use of all functional projections. In addition, the order in which functional projections appear in the structure also varies from language to language.

There are several proposals that seek to more successfully explain lack of agreement. Sportiche (1996), for example, offers two different possibilities to account for these facts. First, he claims that agreement fails to surface because movement through [Spec, AgrOP] takes place covertly after Spell-Out, and it then does not reach the PF component of the grammar. He provides an alternative hypothesis that relies on data from French quantifier raising, as illustrated in (23):

(23) *J'aurais **toutes** voulu les avoir construit(es).*

I.would all liked them have built(Agr)

“I would have liked to build them all”

The example shows the quantifier *toutes* ‘all’ surfacing between the auxiliary and the past participle (following Sportiche, the quantifier raises overtly via scrambling). The overt movement of the quantifier renders two possible explanations: the quantifier skips over AgrOP (this violates the Minimal Link Condition); or, AgrOP is not projected in languages that lack agreement. However, French shows agreement in other cases, as exemplified in (24), which suggests that some type of agreement projection must be present in the structure. Therefore, Sportiche’s (1996) solution is not satisfactory, as the

option in which the agreement projection is present violates one of the principles of the grammar, as established in Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001, among others).

(24) *Jean l'a mangé/ée.*

Jean Cl.has eaten(masc.)/(fem.)

“Jean has eaten it”

In her morphological approach to different clitic phenomena, Bonet (1991, 1995) argues that agreement fails to surface in some structures because it is not an identifying property of clitic pronouns. Bonet’s analysis relies mainly on data from Catalan dialects, where third person clitic pronouns do not show agreement and are used as default clitic pronouns in some structures. The sentence in example (25a) from Bonet (1991) illustrate an impersonal *se* construction in which the plural object NP *els representants* ‘the representatives’ shows no agreement with the verb *triará* ‘will be chosen’, rendering a default third person marking on the verb. The sentence in (25b), on the other hand, exemplifies agreement between the verb and the object as the verbal ending. Crucially, the sentences are synonymous, as pointed out by Bonet (1991).

(25) a. *Es triará els representants a la reunió.*

impers. will.choose.3s. the representatives at the meeting

“The representatives will be chosen at the meeting”

b. *Es triarám els representants a la reunió.*

impers. will.choose.3pl. the representatives at the meeting

“The representatives will be chosen at the meeting”

Furthermore, Bonet states that there are some important differences between agreement markers and clitic pronouns that might disprove the status of clitic pronouns as agreement markers. For example, agreement markers are always obligatory, independently of the presence or the absence of overt arguments. Clitic pronouns, on the other hand, often times cannot cooccur with overt arguments, with the exception of those dialects that allow clitic doubling. Second, as opposed to clitic pronouns, agreement markers always occupy the same fixed position in the structure; clitic pronouns, on the other hand, seem to have more structural freedom, as exemplified in clitic climbing phenomena and also argued in Jaeggli (1982) (see also Chapter 5).

Similarly, Jaeggli (1982: 54-55) argues that clitic pronouns cannot be agreement because clitics have some features in common with independent words that are not found on agreement markers. In addition, indirect object clitics appear to be optional in Spanish, while agreement markers are obligatory. The sentence in (26a) illustrates a structure with both the indirect object clitic and its coreferential indirect object NP; while (26b) shows the same structure without the indirect object clitic. Both sentences are equally grammatical and the meaning does not change.

(26) a. *Le entregó el paquete a Sergio.*

Cl gave.3s. the package to Sergio

“(S)he gave the package to Sergio”

b. *Entregó el paquete a Sergio.*

gave.3s. the package to Sergio

“(She) gave the package to Sergio”

Even though there is sufficient data suggesting that the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are agreement markers might be tenable,²⁵ it seems that in general, there are several very compelling arguments against it. Next, one of the most recent proposals regarding the characterization of clitics is reviewed: clitic pronouns as specificity markers.

2.3.4 Clitics as specificity markers

For a number of years researchers have been trying to find the link between several syntactic phenomena and the features in clitic pronouns that might be either allowing or disallowing those structures to emerge in different languages and dialects. The observation that clitic pronouns are inherently specific elements is not new. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that clitic pronouns are specificity markers has been recently developed (Sportiche 1995; Uriagereka 1995). Sportiche (1995), for example, claims that French direct object pronouns serve as specificity licensors whose coreferential NP is required to be specific.

According to Uriagereka (1995), clitic pronouns are morphophonological units with properties that distinguish them from both affixes and words. Affixation and cliticization, he claims, are very different processes: while affixes are already attached to their hosts in the lexicon before entering the syntax, clitic pronouns attach to hosts during the course of the syntactic derivation, and are not part of the hosts' morphological

²⁵ Baker (1999) observes that the syntactic distribution of Romance clitic pronouns is fairly similar to the distribution of agreement markers in polysynthetic languages, but quite different from the distribution of incorporation.

endowment (Uriagereka 1995: 99).²⁶ Hence, clitic pronouns are functional elements that surface as specific, referential determiners.

He bases the majority of his arguments on clitic doubling structures of the type illustrated in (27) in three Romance varieties: Galician, Spanish, and Northwestern Spanish.

(27) *Lo vi a él.*

Cl saw-1sg. “pers. a” him

“I saw him”

Galician, for instance, offers syntactic evidence that suggests that third person clitic pronouns and determiners are synchronically and diachronically related (Wanner 1987, among others). The fact that clitic pronouns cannot double indefinite NPs in Spanish (28b), Galician (29e-f), or Asturian (30c) is the result of clitic pronouns being specificity markers.²⁷ Furthermore, since indefinite pronouns cannot surface in the same structural position as clitic pronouns, Uriagereka claims that specificity might also be the key to clitic placement. This suggests that determiner cliticization and clitic placement are processes pertinent solely to referential definite articles.

²⁶ Thus, affixation can be seen as a process of lexical incorporation that reflects restrictions on morphological ordering, and, contra Baker (1999), cliticization is the functional incorporation of the clitic into its host.

²⁷ The examples in Spanish and Galician are from Uriagereka (1995), those in Asturian are mine.

(28) Spanish:

a. *Vimos a uno.*

saw.1pl. “pers. a” one

“We saw someone”

b. **Lo vimos a uno.*

Cl saw.1pl “pers. a” one

(29) Galician:

a. *Vimos o neno.*

saw.1pl. the child

“We saw the child”

b. *Vimo-lo neno.*

saw.1pl.Cl child

“We saw him (the child)”

c. *Vimo-lo.*

saw.1pl.Cl

“We saw him”

d. *Vimos un neno.*

saw.1pl. a child

“We saw a child”

e. **Vimos-un neno.*

saw.1pl-a child.

f. * *Vimos un.*

saw.1pl.one

(30) Asturian:

a. *Vimos a un neñu.*

saw.1pl. “pers. a” a child

“We saw a child”

b. *Vimoslu.*

saw.1pl.Cl

“We saw him”

c. * *Vimos ún.*

saw.1pl. one

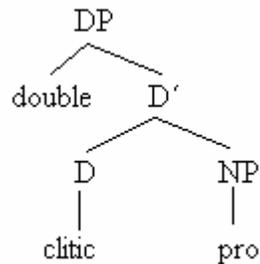
The referentiality of clitic pronouns is determined by the fact that clitic pronouns and quantificational pronominals behave in a different way. Clitic pronouns, however, can also be non-referential elements in two contexts: when the clitic is bound by a quantifier or in the case of predicative clitics (i.e. when the clitic substitutes a whole predicate, as in (13) above. These facts suggest that there is a close connection between clitic pronouns and *pro*. For instance, in Spanish, when there is an option between a full pronoun and *pro*, the element treated as a bound variable is always *pro*, and not the full pronoun, as illustrated here in (31) and in accordance with the structure proposed in Uriagereka (1995: 81) and exemplified here in (32):

(31) *Mario_i dijo que él(*él_i/pro_i) era culpable.*

Mario said that he pro was guilty

“Mario said that he was guilty”

(32)



Likewise, in a structure that contains a clitic pronoun and a full pronoun, the clitic pronoun is the element treated as a bound variable, as established in Montalbetti (1984).

Furthermore, neither *pro* nor clitic pronouns can be deictic elements.

To further confirm the referentiality of both *pro* and clitic pronouns, Uriagereka points out that there is an association between *pro* and determiners which is shown in structures containing both, as shown, for example, in the Galician example (29). Since determiners never introduce referentiality, it must be the association that exists between *pro* and determiners that forces the referential character of the structure. This indicates that both *pro* and clitic pronouns are always referential (except in those cases in which a quantifier binds them).

Van Riemsdijk (1982) similarly proposes that clitic pronouns are visible D-morphemes and scope-markers whose main function is to make visible the relation between the argument feature of the verbal head and the internal argument position that it

selects. As he observes, Romance languages mark this scope relation overtly whenever the argument position contains a null or empty pronominal element.

Zubizarreta (1999), on the other hand, rejects this scope idea and suggests that clitic pronouns are the morphological manifestation of an abstract ‘Cl(itic)’ operator that binds an argument variable within the VP. According to Zubizarreta, the predicate-argument relation may be syntactically realized in two different ways. On the one hand, the NP/DP argument can be merged with V, or with a projection of V; this is the canonical way. On the other hand, the DP/NP argument can be merged with a CIP. The DP/NP is coindexed with Cl via Spec/head agreement, which also results in coindexation with the argument variable that Cl binds. This is the type of approach that is adopted in the present study: clitic pronouns are functional markers that make visible the relation that exists between the verb and its internal arguments.

2.4 Summary

The present chapter has provided a detailed description of the different morphosyntactic features that characterize clitic pronouns as a category on their own distinct from other types of pronouns. A brief review of the different classifications of pronominal systems across languages is provided in § 2.1. Even though different criteria (morphosyntactic, phonological, semantic, etc.) have been employed to determine whether a particular element belongs to a certain class of pronouns, there appears to be a consensus in the literature that advocates a universal tripartite pronominal system. This three-way distinction includes strong pronouns, weak pronouns, and clitic pronouns. Crucially, it has been established here that lack of phonological stress is not a

fundamental property of clitic pronouns, in spite of the abundant literature claiming it to be. Rather, it appears that the most outstanding feature that differentiates clitic pronouns from other types of pronouns is clitics' impoverished syntactic representation with respect to strong and weak pronouns. In relation to this is cliticization, as explained in §2.2. Since lack of phonological stress is not a characteristic of clitic pronouns, then cliticization should not be accounted for phonologically. Thus, it is claimed here that cliticization is a syntactic process by which clitic pronouns attach to their hosts. Crucially, clitic pronouns in Spanish can only attach to verbal forms.

Finally, some the most relevant morphosyntactic characteristics of clitics are amply discussed in §2.3. After reviewing different phenomena such as Spanish clitic doubling and French and Italian past participle agreement, it can be concluded that clitic pronouns are affix-type elements that do not mark Case or Agreement relations, but other less obvious semantic features such as specificity or scope. In the next chapters I develop a full-fledged analysis of Spanish clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures that takes into account the characteristics just mentioned.

Chapter 3

Clitic Strings

3.0 Introduction

Clitic pronouns in Romance are often combined in an indivisible, fairly rigid string, as exemplified in (1) from Spanish:

(1) a. *Te lo envié por correo ayer.*

Cl Cl sent.1sg. by mail yesterday

“I mailed it to you yesterday”

b. **Lo te envié por correo ayer.*

Cl Cl sent.1sg. by mail yesterday

c. **Te yo lo envié por correo ayer.*

Cl I Cl sent by mail yesterday.

d. *Te lo envié ayer por correo.*

Cl Cl sent.1sg yesterday by mail

“I mailed it to you yesterday”

e. *Por correo te lo envié ayer.*

by mail Cl Cl sent.1sg yesterday

“I mailed to you yesterday”

As can be seen in (1b), the order of elements in the clitic string is not free and cannot be altered, unlike independent lexical items, which can be reordered (1d, 1e); and the clitic string cannot be interrupted by other constituents such as the subject pronoun *yo* ‘I’, as exemplified in (1c). Clitic strings are difficult to account for because many different

factors influence their surface linear ordering. It appears that the combination of clitic pronouns in a string is governed by the interaction of morphological, syntactic, and phonological factors (see, for example, Heggie and Ordóñez 2005). As will be discussed in this chapter, there are many different analyses and proposals that can explain different aspects of clitic strings, but no present analysis can account for all the facts.

3.1 The origin of Spanish clitic pronouns and their cooccurrence restrictions

In order to have a better understanding of the Spanish system of clitic pronouns, it is important to briefly review their development from Latin to Modern Spanish. As can be seen in the following tables, Spanish clitic pronouns derive from two different sources in Latin (Klein-Andreu 1981; Menéndez Pidal 1918; Penny 2002; Uriagereka 1995): first and second person clitic pronouns (see Table 1) are derived from Latin personal pronouns; while third person clitic pronouns originated from Latin demonstrative pronouns. Thus, the clitic *le* is derived from the Latin dative demonstrative *ILLI*; the clitic *la* is derived from the Latin accusative feminine demonstrative *ILLA*; and the clitic *lo* evolved from the Latin accusative masculine and neuter demonstrative pronouns *ILLUM* and *ILLUD*.

Grammatical category	Latin	Person	Spanish
Personal pronouns	me/ nos	1 st	me/ nos
	te/ vos	2 nd	te/ os
Demonstratives	illum+illud/ illa	3 rd	lo(s)/ la(s)
	illi	3 rd	le(s)

Table 1. The origin of modern Spanish clitic pronouns

Clitics	Person	Singular	Plural
Accusative	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	lo (masc.), la (fem.)	los (masc.), la (fem.)
Dative	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	le	les
Reflexive	1 st	me	nos
	2 nd	te	os
	3 rd	se	

Table 2. The classification of Spanish clitic pronouns

Some of the most current studies on the syntactic behavior of Romance clitic pronouns claim that the different sources of origin render morphosyntactic consequences. For instance Bonet (1991), Kayne (2000), and Uriagereka (1995, 2005) notice some differences in the morphosyntactic behavior of first and second person clitic pronouns and reflexive/impersonal clitics on the one hand, and third person clitic pronouns on the other hand (see Table 2). Bonet (1991) observes that third person clitic pronouns suffer morphological modifications that cannot be found in first, second, and reflexive/impersonal clitics, as will be seen shortly. Similarly, Kayne (2000) and Uriagereka (1995, 2005) account for the syntactic and semantic similarities that exist between third person clitic pronouns and determiner articles, as will be seen here and in Chapter 3.

Finally, the study of the diachronic development of clitic pronouns has very important repercussions for their description and definition. Klavans (1982, 1995) reviews Zwicky's typology of pronouns and notices several problems. Among them, the widespread claim that clitic pronouns are an intermediate stage between independent words and affixes (Jaeggli 1986; Stump 1980; Zwicky 1977) is an untenable assumption. Klavans and Wanner (1987) point out that the historical development of the Spanish future and conditional verbal morphemes shows absolutely no signs of an intermediate clitic stage from the Latin infinitive auxiliary to the Modern Spanish suffix. Thus, the present study will take into account the morphosyntactic and semantic differences between first and second clitic pronouns, and third person clitic pronouns. In fact,

Uriagereka (1995) finds several interesting similarities between clitic pronouns and determiners.

The development of clitic pronouns also affects the present-day cooccurrence restrictions. There are two main hypotheses in the literature as to how the clitic string in Romance developed from Latin. First, it is believed that clitic strings in Romance follow two patterns (Wanner 1974) that are directly derived from two different combinations of personal pronouns in Latin: the dative-accusative pattern *mihi illum* and the accusative-dative pattern *illum mihi*. The two Latin pronominal groups render two distinct clitic strings in Romance attested since the 13th century. Spanish, Portuguese, and most Southern and Northern Italian dialects display the *mihi illum* order, as illustrated in Spanish in (2), whereas Asturian, Provençal, and some Northern and most Central Italian dialects display the *illum mihi* order, as illustrated in Aragonese in (3):

(2) *Me lo dio.*

Cl Cl gave.2sg

“(S)he gave it to me”

(3) *Lo te dire.*

Cl Cl will.tell.1sg

“I will tell it to you”

Interestingly, the dative-accusative pattern (*mihi illum*) is associated with proclisis, while the accusative-dative pattern (*illum mihi*) is associated with enclisis (Wanner 1974).

However, Galambos (1983) claims that the apparent relationship is coincidental. She states that the *mihi illum* pattern generalized the proclisis string to all environments. The

illum mihi group, on the other hand, generalized the enclisis order to all environments, to later adopt the proclisis order.

The alternative hypothesis (Nicol 2005; Wanner 1987, among others) claims that all Romance clitic clusters are derived from one single Latin order: *illum mihi*, and that the order *mihi illum* is obtained through a syntactic switch. This hypothesis does not postulate a correlation between clitic placement with respect to the host (i.e. enclisis and proclisis) and a specific ordering in Latin.

All in all, enclisis and proclisis are morphosyntactic concepts, and, as will be seen in §3.3, §3.4, and §3.5, syntax alone cannot explain all the facts regarding the surface linear order and/or placement of clitic strings.

3.2 Clitic strings in Spanish

The array of clitic combinations allowed in Spanish is fairly restricted. It is quite common in the literature to find formulas, tables, or filters whose main goal is to provide a formalization of the parameters that constrain the combination of clitic pronouns in Spanish (and other languages too). Unfortunately, most of these proposals overgenerate and allow for more combinations than actually permitted by the language. For instance, Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin (1969) claim that Spanish allows a maximum of two clitics in a single string that follows a left-to-right order according to the columns in Table 3, bearing in mind that only one clitic is allowed for each column.²⁸

²⁸ Sportiche (1996) provides the template for French with the corresponding possible combinations. He admits to not having an explanation to account for their particular ordering.

Reflexive	Second person	First person	Third person
se	te	me	le
			lo
			la
	os	nos	les
			los
			las

Table 3. Combination of clitic pronouns

The combinations illustrated in this table are exemplified in (5):

(5) a. *Se te rompió.*

Cl Cl broke.3sg

“It broke” (on you)

b. *Se os rompió.*

Cl Cl broke.3sg

“It broke” (on you guys)

c. *Se me rompió.*

Cl Cl broke.3sg

“It broke” (on me)

d. *Se nos rompió.*

Cl Cl broke.3sg

“It broke” (on us)

e. *Se le(s) rompió.*

Cl Cl broke.3sg

“It broke” (to him/her/them)

f. *Se lo(s)/la(s) compré.*

Cl Cl/Cl bought.1sg.

“I bought it to/for him/her/them”

However, there are dialects of Spanish—such as Venezuelan Spanish or Dominican Spanish—that allow clitic strings with three clitic pronouns as illustrated in example (6):

(6) *Se te me casó la hija.*

Cl Cl Cl married the daughter

“Your daughter got married”²⁹

Furthermore, Spanish does not allow as many combinations of pronouns as exemplified in Table 3. For example, the indirect object clitic *le(s)* shows more combinatorial restrictions than the direct object clitics *lo(s)/la(s)*, as shown in (7-10).³⁰ The combination of second person clitics and first person clitics is not permitted in Spanish (see example 8).

(7) a. *Te me callas.*

Cl Cl shut.up.2sg

“You shut up” (for me)

²⁹ The sentence in Spanish contains a reflexive clitic *se*, and two affective clitics *te*, and *me*. The subtle semantic connotations that these clitic pronouns confer to the structure are not easily translated in English.

³⁰ The so-called *leísta* dialects will show no restrictions in this respect. In these dialects, it is possible to find the combination of second person clitics with *le*, as in:

i) *Me le/la/lo dio ayer.*

Cl Cl/Cl/Cl gave.3sg yesterday

“(S)he gave it to me yesterday.”

Non-*leísta* or etymological dialects do not allow the clitic string in (i); in turn, they show the clitic string observed in (9).

b. *Te nos callas.*

Cl Cl shut.up.2sg

“You shut up” (for us)

c. **Te le(s) callas.*

e. *Te lo(s)/la(s) compré.*

Cl Cl/Cl bought.1sg

“I bought it/them for you”

(8) a. **Os me*

b. **Os le(s)*

c. **Os nos*

d. *Os lo(s)/la(s) di.*

Cl Cl /Cl gave.1sg

“I gave it/them to you guys”

(9) a. **Me le(s)*

b. *Me lo(s)/la(s) compras*

Cl Cl/Cl buy.2sg

“You buy it/them to/for me”

(10) a. **Nos le(s)*³¹

b. *Nos lo(s)/la(s) compras.*

Cl Cl/Cl buy.2sg

“You buy it/them for/to us”

³¹ See footnote 2.

Such data provide the main source of material employed in several analyses, both morphological and syntactic, that try to account for the cooccurrence restrictions observed here. Thus, the next section offers an overview of the main morphological analyses of Spanish cooccurrence restrictions.

3.3 Morphological approaches to clitic strings

The group of morphological analyses of cooccurrence restrictions claims that clitic strings are ordered prior to their entrance into the syntactic component of the grammar. Syntactic analyses, on the other hand, argue that the different clitic strings are the result of different syntactic movements. As will be seen next, those analyses that defend a morphological approach to cooccurrence restrictions can be grouped in two different sets: templatic approaches, and representational approaches.

3.3.1 Templatic approaches to clitic strings

Morphological Templatic approaches (Perlmutter 1971; Wanner 1974; Bonet 1991, 1995, among others) propose that clitic strings follow a predetermined pattern (or template) that governs their surface linear order. Perlmutter (1971) is the first one to propose an analysis of Spanish clitic strings in terms of templates, and claims that the ordering of clitics is determined by a very specific constraint: the *me lui/I-II constraint. This constraint establishes that in a clitic string including a direct object clitic and an indirect object clitic, the direct object clitic is always in the third person (11b), and both the indirect object clitic and the direct object clitic are phonologically weak, as shown in (11) from Bonet (1991: 183):

(11) a. ***Lo me** *recomendaron*.

Cl Cl recommended.3pl

b. **Me lo** *recomendaron*.

Cl Cl recommended.3pl

“They recommended it to me”

c. ***Me te** *recomendaron*.

Cl Cl recommended.3pl

d. **Te me** *recomendaron*.

Cl Cl recommended.3pl

“They recommended you to me”

As can be observed in these examples, it appears that clitic strings in Spanish are ordered following a preestablished pattern. Thus, (11a, b) show that the first person clitic must always precede the third person clitic; this corresponds to the “me lui” part of the constraint. Conversely, the second part of the constraint— I-II — indicates that the second person clitic must always precede the first person clitic, as can be observed in examples (11c) and (11d).

Perlmutter argues against an analysis of clitic strings that relies on syntactic rules and operations based on the following facts: i) clitic pronouns display a morpheme-like behavior and, among other things, form a word with their host; ii) clitic strings are rigid; and iii) there are languages that allow a relatively free word order, while no attested language allows free clitic order. The morpheme-like behavior of clitic pronouns is taken

by Perlmutter as an indication that clitic strings follow morphological rules and not syntactic rules.

Even though Perlmutter claims that the linear ordering of the clitic string obeys the **me lui/I-II* constraint, Bonet (1991, 1995) notices that this morphological filter not only contains morphological information, such as person, but it also includes phonological information, such as stress. A similar critique can be made of Wanner's (1974) account of Italian clitic strings. Moreover, as Bonet points out, Perlmutter and Wanner fail to explain why the opaque surface forms of certain clitic strings—such as the so-called Spurious *se*³² from Spanish—always contain an already existing clitic, and not a random arbitrary phonological sequence. Furthermore, the morphological rules proposed by Perlmutter and Wanner cannot explain why phenomena like the Spurious *se* Rule exist in natural languages.

Emonds (1975, 1985) proposes a structure-preserving approach which very much resembles Perlmutter's Templatic Approach. He claims that the verb is surrounded by slots that are given morphological labels in a somewhat ad hoc fashion. These slots are filled with clitic pronouns through a feature-match or label-match mechanism.

³² The Spurious *se* rule determines that the third person indirect object *le(s)* is substituted by the clitic *se* whenever it is followed by a direct object clitic *lo(s)*, *la(s)*, as illustrated in the following examples:

- i) *Le compré caramelos.*
Cl bought.1sg candy
“I bought him/her candy”
- ii) **Le los compré.*
Cl Cl bought.1sg
- iii) *Se los compré.*
Cl Cl bought.1sg
“I bought them to him/her”

Unfortunately, Edmonds cannot account for non-transparent surface strings, such as the Spanish *se lo*.

Further developing Perlmutter's idea within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle 1990; Halle and Marantz 1993), Bonet proposes that pronominal clitics are hierarchical structures of morphological features whose linear order and combinations are accounted for in the Morphological Component of the language located between Spell-Out and the Phonetic Form. Bonet's main focus of study is non-transparent clitic combinations, such as those rendered by the Spurious *se* Rule in Spanish and Catalan.³³ She observes that clitic pronouns are not symmetrically distributed with respect to their verbal host, which is another indication that syntax does not govern the surface linear order found in clitic strings (contra Kayne 1994). Therefore, the linear order observed in clitic strings is not determined by syntactic operations, but by the mapping of pronouns to a template, as postulated in Perlmutter (1971). Moreover, Bonet argues that clitic pronouns do not occupy specific positions in the sentence that correspond with syntactic functions, against Edmonds (1985), as the following examples illustrate (from Bonet 1991, 1995):

(12) a. *Te me recomendaron para el trabajo.*

Cl Cl recommended.3pl for the job

"You were recommended to me for the job."

³³ Zwicky (1977) mentions the Spurious *se* Rule as an example of a morphological rule affecting special clitics, and states that, for the most part, rules governing the output of clitic pronouns are in general morphological in nature, rather than syntactic (Zwicky 1977: 16).

b. *No te me enfades.*

not Cl Cl get.angry.2sg

“Do not get angry.”

c. *No te me enfado.*³⁴

not Cl Cl get.angry

“I do not get angry.”

The clitic pronouns that compose the string *te me* have very different syntactic functions in the sentences in (12). For instance, in (12a), *te* is a direct object clitic, while *me* is an indirect object clitics. In (12b), *te* is a reflexive clitic pronoun, while *me* is an ethical dative whose syntactic function can be equated to that of an adjunct. Finally, in (12c), *te* is an ethical dative, while *me* is a reflexive dative. If a syntactic approximation to the data were to be adopted, it would not be possible to explain in a clear and simple way why example (12b) shows the syntactic order reflexive-ethical, while (12c) shows the reverse order, unless the otherwise universally accepted claim that clitic strings are fairly rigid is false. It can be concluded from these examples that syntactic function alone cannot explain the linear order of clitic strings.

Another compelling argument offered by Bonet in favor of a morphological approach and against a syntactic account of clitic combinations is the fact that, as mentioned also in Chapter 2, some colloquial Mexican Spanish and Uruguayan Spanish

³⁴ This sentence is ungrammatical in my dialect of Spanish and it could be a product of language contact between Catalan and Spanish.

monolingual dialects show a feature mismatch between clitic pronouns and their coreferential NPs³⁵:

(13) a. *Si ella_i me quiere comprar el caballo_k, yo se_i la_k venderé.*

if she Cl wants to.buy the horse, I Cl Cl will.sell

“If she wants to buy the horse from me, I will sell it to her”

b. *Si ellas_i me quieren comprar el caballo_k, yo se_i las_k*

if they Cl want to.buy the horse, I Cl Cl

venderé.

will.sell

“If they want to buy the horse from me, I will sell it to

them”

c. *Si ellas_i me quieren comprar el caballo_k, yo se_i los_k*

if they Cl want to.buy the horse, I Cl Cl

venderé.

will.sell

“If they want to buy the horse from me, I will sell it to

them”

d. *Si ellas_i me quieren comprar esto_k, yo se_i las_k venderé.*

if they Cl want to.buy this, I Cl Cl will.sell

“If they want to buy this from me, I will sell it to them”

³⁵ Similar examples can be found in Kany (1945: 109-112) for Uruguayan Spanish. Gili Gaya (1948: 208) mentions the same phenomena for Aragonese Spanish.

As these examples show, the direct object pronoun *la* in (13a) agrees in gender with the indirect object NP *ella*, and not with its coreferential direct object NP *el caballo*.

Examples (13b) and (13d) show that the direct object pronoun *las* agrees in gender and number with the indirect object NP *ellas*, and not with its coreferential masculine singular NP *el caballo* (13b) and *esto* (13d). Finally, in example (13c) the feature mismatch is partial, since the direct object clitic *los* agrees in masculine gender with its coreferential NP *el caballo* and in number (plural) with the indirect object NP *ellas*.

Bonet claims that feature spreading can easily account for the feature mismatch seen in paradigm (13). According to Bonet's feature spreading hypothesis, the features feminine and plural are left stranded (13b, 13d) and they spread onto the Agreement node headed by the direct object clitic. In (13a), only the feature feminine is left stranded, and it spreads onto the Agreement projection headed by the direct object clitic. She further discards explanations based on distance or processing because in all the examples the direct object NP is closer to the direct object clitic pronoun than the indirect object NP with which the direct object clitic agrees.

Hock (1996) also advocates a morphological account of clitic combinations and against a syntactic approach. The author claims that the Morphological Component of Language has devices that can account for several phenomena observed in clitic strings. For example, the combination of phonologically identical clitics is generally not allowed across languages, as illustrated in the Spanish example in (14). This tendency to avoid repetition of phonologically identical morphemes is easily explained by the "repeated

morph constraint” (see references in Hock 1996), which has no syntactic motivation whatsoever.

(14) **Se se lava*.

Cl Cl washes.3sg

“One washes oneself”

Wanner (1974) proposes cooccurrence restrictions to rule out sequences of phonologically identical clitics. However, he claims that clitic pronouns depend on phonological information in order to determine the surface linear order of the string, and not on morphological information, as argued by Hock. Exceptions to this tendency can be found in the Italian dialect of Conegliano (15), and Valencian Catalan (16); both languages display what Bonet calls “transparent” output forms of clitic pronouns (examples from Bonet 1991, 1995):

(15) *Si si lava*³⁶

Cl Cl washes.3sg

“One washes oneself”

(16) *Als xiquets, els llibres, els els portaré després.*

to.the boys the books Cl Cl will.take.1s. later

“I will take the books to the boys later”

All in all, morphological Templatic approaches can certainly account for a variety of facts that other approaches fail to explain. However, there are several problems that these approaches face. For example, as pointed out in §2.2, there is no language that

³⁶ Notice the ungrammatical Spanish counterpart in (14).

allows all possible orders and combinations (Wanner 1974; Zwicky 1977). Most importantly, Templatic approaches face a crucial theoretical problem. This type of approach claims to provide morphological explanations for the different phenomena observed in clitic strings; nevertheless, the information used to account for the surface linear combination of clitic pronouns come from different sources. Bonet, for instance, uses feature and syntactic constituency information together with the argumental vs. non-argumental status of the pronouns involved in the clitic string in order to determine their surface linear order. Perlmutter employs morphological information (i.e. person), and phonological information (i.e. stress). Therefore, it is not clear whether morphological information alone can determine the combination of clitic pronouns in a string. Finally, these approaches cannot account for the possible combinations attested in different languages, and, more importantly, they cannot rule out some of the ungrammatical strings.

3.3.2 Representational approaches

Representational approaches or Optimality approaches are found to be similar to Templatic approaches in terms of explanatory adequacy. This type of approach has been mainly developed by Grimshaw (1997, 2001) for Spanish. Thus, following Bonet (1991, 1995), Grimshaw (1997, 2001) develops a constraint-driven analysis of clitic strings in which the surface output form is chosen among the available inventory of clitic pronouns in a particular language. One of the advantages that this type of analysis poses is the fact that non-arbitrary outcomes can be easily explained, as opposed to other analyses (Perlmutter 1971; Wanner 1974). Given the general tendency to avoid phonologically

identical sequences, the unexpected clitic form that surfaces in opaque combinations is the best form available within the clitic inventory of the particular language in question.

Crucially, an Optimality analysis can account for those dialects displaying transparent output forms, such as the Italian in Conegliano (15) or Valencian Catalan (16), as illustrated in the following tableau from Grimshaw (1997: 182):

Input: <[3 pl] [R 3 pl]>

Candidates	PARS E R	FIL L R	PAR S PER S	FILL PER S	*X X	PARS E NUM	FIL L NU M	*2	*1
a. \varnothing si+si (R)(P)(N)+(R)(P)(N) ³⁷	*		**		*	**			
b. ci+si (R)l pl+(R)(P)(N)	*		**	*!		*			*

Table 4. Clitic cooccurrence in Conegliano

Moreover, Grimshaw can also explain the feature mismatch observed in, for example, colloquial Mexican Spanish and Uruguayan Spanish exemplified in (13) above.

According to Grimshaw, the apparent mismatch obeys a highly-ranked constraint of the grammar that establishes a featural asymmetry for gender and number features. The parse(number) and parse(gender) constraints proposed by Grimshaw stipulate that it is preferable to parse the marked number and/or gender feature (plural and feminine respectively) in the wrong clitic than to not parse it at all.

Grimshaw's approach resembles Bonet's in the sense that a systematic choice of clitics in opaque surface forms is provided. The output clitic form is the best one

³⁷ (R) stands for Reflexive; (P) stands for Person; and (N) stands for Number.

available in the inventory of clitic pronouns as determined by the rankings of faithfulness constraints and illustrated in the following tableau from Grimshaw (1997: 176):

Input: <[3 pl]>

Candidates	PARSE R	FILL R	PARSE PERS	FILL PERS	PARSE NUM	FILL NUM
a. \varnothing si (R)(P)(N)(C) ³⁸			*		*	
b. mi (R) 1 sg (C)			*	*!	*	*!
c. ti (R) 2 sg (C)			*	*!	*	*!
d. ci (R) 1 pl (C)			*	*!		
e. vi (R) 2 pl (C)			*	*!		
f. lo/la R (P) sg acc	-	*!	*		*	*
g. li/le R (P) pl acc	-	*!	*			
h. gli/le R (P) sg dat	-	*!	*		*	*

Table 5. The impersonal is the least marked clitic

Representational approaches to clitic combinations are nonetheless problematic. The constraints of Universal Grammar determine the output form of the clitic string in any given language; however the universality of the constraints used by Grimshaw in her analysis is to be questioned. Although her account in terms of the Universal Markedness Hierarchy is descriptively adequate, it remains stipulative and highly unmotivated. Furthermore, Grimshaw predicts unattested clitic systems; she postulates a Clitic Lexicon in terms of features and generalizations such as the fact that all and only (R)eflexive

³⁸ All the abbreviations are the same as in the previous tableau. (C) stands for Case.

clitics mark person (except for *se*), and all and only –R(eflexive) clitics are (P)erson. Such generalizations, nevertheless, do not explain why clitic systems in which all and only P(erson) clitics are specified for G(ender) are unattested in Romance, yet predicted by Grimshaw’s analysis, as pointed out in Heap (2005). In addition, she cannot account for the variation or the asymmetries found between person and number features. For instance, the variation in the combination of clitic pronouns shown in (17) is very common among the dialects of Spanish:

(17) a. *Se me rompió el vaso.*³⁹

Me se rompió el vaso.

Cl Cl broke the glass

“My glass broke”

b. *Se te rompió el vaso.*

Te se rompió el vaso.

Cl Cl broke the glass

“Your glass broke”

³⁹ The combinations *me se* and *te se* are undoubtedly substandard varieties attested both in Spanish and in Latin America (see Heap 2005: 87 and references cited therein).

c. *Se nos rompió el vaso.*

**Nos se rompió el vaso.*⁴⁰

Cl Cl broke the glass

“Our glass broke”

Heap (2005) argues that a theory of constraint interaction is not enough to account for the facts just described. He puts forth an analysis in which constraint interaction is implemented with a hierarchical morphological representation that renders a structural markedness model, as offered by Feature Geometry. Crucially, this model allows for a very restricted margin of variation that accounts for the cooccurrence restriction data found cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally in Romance. He himself admits that this type of account cannot provide an explanation for all the aspects presented by clitic combinations due to the cross-linguistic heterogeneity observed in clitic strings.

3.4 Syntactic approaches to clitic strings

Morphological approaches to clitic strings are not completely satisfactory, as they cannot account for all the facts observed in the combination of clitic pronouns. Therefore, a number of researchers have proposed various syntactic analyses that attempt to explain the data adequately (see, for example, Anagnostopoulou 2005; Kayne 1994; Nicol 2005;

⁴⁰ Whatever constraint preventing the combination of the clitics *nos* and *se* is not phonological, as the sequence of voiceless alveolar fricatives can be found in Spanish:

i) *Nos seca con la toalla.*

Cl dries.3sg with the towel
“(S)he dries us with the towel”

ii) *Lo(s) seca con la toalla.*

Cl dries.3sg with the towel
“(S)he dries him/it/them with the towel”

Rivas 1977 for Spanish; and Terzi 1999 for Greek); the most influential and relevant ones will be discussed next.

Laka (1993) argues that clitic strings must be governed by syntactic constraints, because the morphological component cannot always provide an explanation for certain facts observed in structures containing clitic strings. For example, the contrast displayed in (18), from Laka (1993), cannot be accounted for in strictly morphological terms:

(18) a. **Pedro se_i me_k entrego pro_k a la policía.*

Pedro Cl Cl handed.over to the police

b. *Te_i me han vendido pro_i al enemigo.*

Cl Cl have.3pl sold to.the enemy

“They have sold you to the enemy.”

It appears that the argumental vs. non-argumental status of the clitic pronouns involved in the structure is important, as already argued by Bonet (1991, 1995). Laka takes this fact as an indication that the syntactic structure determines the surface linear order of clitic strings, and not the conditions imposed by the Morphological Component of the Grammar.

Ordóñez (2002) too argues against a morphological explanation of clitic ordering, and provides a syntactic approach to account for random combinations of clitic pronouns in Romance. He proposes that the restrictions on the combination of clitic pronouns result from the interaction of a restrictive theory of adjunction possibilities (contra Kayne

1994)⁴¹ with both head movement and XP movement. Ordóñez argues that two different structures are needed in order to capture the difference between those languages in which clitic strings are indivisible (19) and languages that show clitic splitting as illustrated in the Franco-Provençal example in (20) from Uriagereka (1995) (see also Chenal 1986 for more examples from different French dialects):

(19) a. *Me lo puede dar mañana.*

Cl Cl can.3sg. to.give tomorrow

“(S)he can give it to me tomorrow”

b. **Me puede darlo mañana.*

Cl can.3sg. to.give.Cl tomorrow

c. **Lo puede darme mañana.*

Cl can.3sg to.give.Cl tomorrow

(20) *T'an-te deut-lo.*

Cl-have-they said-Cl

“They have said it to you.”

Ordóñez’s analysis can account for not only random orderings of clitic pronouns across Romance languages, but also opaque surface forms. Crucially, he can also explain why the combinatorial possibilities of clitic pronouns are far more restricted than those of argumental NPs without having to resort to negative constraints that complicate the theory unnecessarily (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991, 1995). Ordóñez argues that clitic

⁴¹ Kayne (1994) claims that sequences of clitics cannot be analyzed as successive adjunction to the same head, because that violates the Linear Correspondence Axiom. Thus, he proposes a syntactic account in which clitic pronouns involve adjunctions to distinct functional heads, or adjunctions of one clitic to another.

strings are sensitive to the syntactic context in which they appear, and that the rigidity posed by a template contradicts some cases of variability in clitic strings as observed, for instance, in French.⁴²

Uriagereka (1995) focuses on cooccurrence restrictions in Spanish, and argues that the restrictions discussed in §3.2 are caused by the difference between strong clitics (derived from Latin personal pronouns) and weak clitics (derived from Latin demonstratives). Uriagereka observes that two strong clitics may not cooccur, as illustrated in (21a-21d), while the combination of a strong clitic and a weak clitic is allowed, as illustrated in (21e -21f).⁴³

(21) a. **Te me entregaron a ti.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you

b. **Te nos entregaron a ti.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you

c. **Os me entregaron a vosotros.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you(pl)

d. **Os nos entregaron a vosotros.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you(pl)

⁴² There is evidence from languages outside the Romance family that support a syntactic analysis of clitic strings. Terzi (1999), for example, notices that the order of the clitic string can be reversed in Greek imperative constructions (also in French). Like Ordóñez (2002), Terzi takes this apparent optionality as an indication that clitic pronouns must be able to adjoin to their hosts in a split fashion.

⁴³ The order weak + strong is also allowed, as attested in Aragonese (example from Uriagereka 1995):

i) *Lo te diré.*
Cl Cl will.tell.1sg
“I will tell it to you”

e. *Te lo entregaron a ti.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you

“They gave it to you”

f. *Os los entregaron a vosotros.*

Cl Cl gave.3pl to you(pl)

“They gave them to you guys”

Uriagereka claims that the non-determiner status of first and second person clitics (strong clitics) prevents their cooccurrence, as shown in (21a-21d). Thus, strong clitics are neutralized maximal projections (i.e. strong clitics are heads that are not projected, and so they cannot appear in Spec positions).

Manzini and Savoia (2004) also advocate a syntactic approach to the linear surface order of clitic strings. They propose the existence of a universal hierarchy of clitics, according to which clitic pronouns are base-generated in their own specialized functional projections (Sportiche 1995), and ordered in their surface positions. Contrary to Bonet (1991, 1995), Manzini and Savoia argue that their universal hierarchy can explain the order found in clitic strings without postulating a morphological component. These authors agree with Bonet, however, as far as the observed cross-linguistic variation. Thus, they state that even though the underlying order of full lexical arguments is universal, the ordering of clitic pronouns in strings seems to be language-particular (also Halpern 1992).

3.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have briefly reviewed the development and origin of clitic pronouns and clitic combinations from Latin to Modern Spanish so as to have a better understanding of their current morphosyntactic behavior. One of the most studied and analyzed aspects of clitic pronouns in Spanish (in fact, in Romance) is clitic cooccurrence restrictions. The issue of whether the surface linear order of clitic strings is a morphological or a syntactic phenomenon is not clear. Thus, some of the most relevant morphological and syntactic hypotheses on the topic render inconclusive results. There are researchers who claim that clitic strings can either form a morphological constituent or a syntactic one (Halpern 1992). Halpern also notices that clitic pronouns are cross-linguistically ordered according to several syntactic, phonological, and morphological parameters: i) syntactic function; ii) number (in the case of pronominal clitics in particular); iii) phonological attributes (i.e. number of syllables), and iv) a combination of these factors. He concludes, therefore, that a purely syntactic account of clitic strings is inadequate.

All in all, it seems that neither syntax nor morphology alone can fully explain the present phenomenon; nevertheless, there seem to be stronger arguments indicating the ‘blindness’ of clitic strings to syntactic function, as illustrated in (22):

(22) a. *Te me presento.*

Cl(IO) Cl(Refl) introduce.1sg

“I introduce myself to you”

b. *Te me presentas.*

Cl (Refl) Cl(IO) introduce.2sg

“You introduce yourself to me”

c. *Te me imagino riendo.*

Cl(DO) Cl(Refl) imagine.1sg laughing

“I picture you laughing”

d. *Te me imaginas riendo.*

Cl(Refl) Cl(DO) imagine.2sg laughing

“You picture me laughing”

e. *Te me presenta.*

Cl(IO) Cl(DO) introduce.3sg

“He introduces me to you”

f. *Te me presenta.*

Cl(DO) Cl(IO) introduce.3sg

“He introduces you to me”

In this paradigm, the clitic string is always the same, *te me*, but, the syntactic function, as indicated in the glosses, varies. It is particularly interesting to notice the ambiguity presented in examples (22e) and (22f). In these two sentences in particular, the clitic string is exactly the same one; however, the syntactic function changes, and so does the semantic representation.

In sum, all the arguments indicate that the surface linear order of clitic strings might be a phenomenon that belongs to the morphology-syntax interface; hence neither component alone can account for all the data. Thus, the analysis of clitic cooccurrence restrictions is beyond the scope of the present investigation and will not be discussed any further.

Chapter 4

Approaches to Clitic Placement

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the pronominal clitic system of Spanish in more detail, occasionally drawing comparisons with other Romance languages such as French, Catalan, Italian, or Galician. Typologically, Romance clitic pronouns can be subdivided into two different groups: second position clitic pronouns and ad-verbal clitic pronouns. Second position clitic pronouns must appear either after the first word in the sentence, or after the first constituent. Ad-verbal clitic pronouns must appear in the functional head hosting the verb, either to the left (proclitic) or the right (enclitic) of the verb.

In §4.1, I review second position clitic phenomena and argue that clitic pronouns in certain Romance languages (Asturian in particular, as will be further discussed in Chapter 7) are not second position clitics (see also Wanner 1987). In §4.2, I provide a description of the different contexts in which enclisis and proclisis surface in Spanish. I review the most relevant theories on syntactic clitic placement and cliticization within the generative theory in §4.3. Finally, diverse phenomena regarding Spanish clitic pronouns and cliticization are explained in §4.4 through §4.6, such as the type of hosts to which clitic pronouns may attach in Spanish, the interaction of clitic placement and negation, and coindexation and chains.

4.1. Second position clitics

Second position (henceforth, 2P) clitic pronouns have been studied since the pioneering work in Classical Greek of Wackernagel in the late 19th century; in fact, 2P clitics are commonly known as ‘Wackernagel’ clitics that follow Wackernagel’s Law. Wackernagel (1892) first noticed that there was a connection between 2P clitics and verb-second (V2) phenomena. According to Wackernagel, enclitics in Greek surface as a group of elements that always follow the initial word of the sentence. Crucially, Wackernagel relied on phonological criteria—lack of accent—to identify clitic pronouns. He suggests that the connection between V2 and 2P placement of clitics is determined by the need to move unaccented words to the second position of the sentence. Therefore, it is not the syntactic properties of a certain position in the sentence that forces the movement; rather, movement to second position is the result of a phonological requirement.

More recently, 2P clitic pronouns have been carefully studied in different languages both in and outside the Romance family (see, for example, Klavans’ 1982 and 1995 studies, which include Ngiyambaa, Classical Greek, Tagalog, Czech, and Pashto, among other languages). In these studies, second position can refer to two distinct places in the structure: after the first word of the sentence (this is the actual ‘Wackernagel’ position); or after the first constituent of the sentence. In favor of a phonological/prosodic account, Klavans (1995) points out that 2P clitic pronouns, as opposed to verbal clitics (i.e. Romance clitic pronouns) do not seem to be attracted by a specific category node. On the contrary, 2P clitic pronouns attach to whatever element is in sentence-initial

position,⁴⁴ while Romance clitic pronouns must attach to verbs.⁴⁵ Therefore, a fundamental difference can be claimed to exist between 2P clitics and Romance clitic pronouns regarding the type of host to which they cliticize.

Halpern (1992), on the other hand, argues that 2P direct placement theories such as Klavans' (1985), or Kayne's (1991), in which the linear position of the clitic pronoun reflects the position assigned to it in the syntax, are empirically inadequate. He claims that direct placement theories lack independent motivation and observes that the second position of the sentence is unavailable in some cases. Halpern also considers theories of direct attachment, the mechanism that governs surface position and attachment, rejecting these proposals because they cannot account for the distinction between second constituent and second word clitic pronouns. In his view, clitic pronouns are syntactic heads void of lexical stress whose behavior is caused by a mismatch between syntactic and prosodic representations. As opposed to Klavans, Halpern postulates the existence of a specific syntactic position that is pertinent to 2P clitic pronouns. In particular, he argues that clitic pronouns may 'trade places' with a prosodic unit that is adjacent to that particular syntactic position, which results in a derivational reordering of the syntactic nodes. This proposal purports to account for several facts observed in 2P structures. It not only assigns a clitic to a syntactic position, but also allows the attachment of clitic and host to alter the clitic's surface position from that expected based solely on syntactic

⁴⁴ Klavans (1982, 1995), Kaisse (1985), and Nevis (1986), among others, claim that clitic pronouns appear to the left of their hosts, which motivates the term 'pre-head-clitics'.

⁴⁵ Following Klavans, the placement of 2P clitics depends on the intersection of a linear notion, which she calls POSITION, and the structural notion CONSTITUENT.

parameters. Halpern's highly articulated theory can then account for the alternation found in some languages between second constituent and second word clitic positions.

Nevertheless, Halpern's indirect placement and attachment account faces some theoretical problems. First, the author does not specify the type of mechanisms that distinguishes the surface positions in second constituent and second word systems. Second, as Halpern himself acknowledges, his concern is in the characteristics of the landing site of the clitic; he is silent on the position in which clitic pronouns originate and the process(es) involved in their movement from the base position to the surface position. Third, he fails to provide a motivation for the clitic pronoun to move from its base position, which incurs a violation of Minimalism as laid out in the introduction: overt movement is a very costly mechanism that must be motivated. Finally, Halpern (1992: 86) cannot account for those examples in which the first constituent of the sentence seems to be 'skipped', rendering a surface third position (3P) clitic configuration. He argues that these 3P cases are determined by prosodic conditions; the skipped constituent is a defective host. Unfortunately, he does not provide the reasons why the host might be defective, or the types of hosts that are defective and/or the circumstances under which a host becomes defective.

Anderson (1993) also explores the possibility of a fundamental relation between V2 and clitic placement. His account constitutes a morphophonological reinterpretation of Wackernagel's Law, in which clitic placement is postulated to be driven by different

principles than those governing the syntax of non-clitic elements.⁴⁶ According to the author, clitic pronouns are the morphology of phrases, which points to a clear relationship between V2 and 2P clitics. In fact, he considers V2 as a mechanism of clitic placement. Thus, he argues that clitic pronouns surface immediately after the first syntactic constituent of the clause because they are part of the morphological apparatus of the clause.⁴⁷

Similarly, Hock (1996) states that 2P clitics cannot be accounted for solely by syntactic mechanisms because clitic pronouns have different prosodic characteristics from other words (i.e. lack of underlying accent or stress). In his view, the placement of 2P clitics must be explained in terms of prosodic phrasing: clitics must ‘lean on’ an accented host. Progovac (2005), on the other hand, rejects a prosodic/phonological account of 2P clitics, even though she claims that Serbian clitics, like affixes, are phonological ‘leaners’. Her main argument against a prosodic/phonological analysis is the observation that, at least in Serbian, there are clitic hosts that are not stressed.

Focusing now on Romance, 2P clitic pronouns are better accounted for by the Tobler-Mussafia Law (Fontana 1996; Roberts 1994;⁴⁸ Wanner 1987, among others), rather than Wackernagel’s Law. According to the Tobler-Mussafia Law, a clitic pronoun in Romance is banned from appearing as the first element of the sentence; thus, clitic pronouns are not *required* to surface following the initial word of the sentence, as

⁴⁶ Clitic pronouns may universally appear in six different positions: i) in initial position (e.g., Kwakwala); ii) in final position; iii) in second position (both word second and constituency second; iv) in penultimate position; v) in pre-head position (e.g., Spanish); and vi) in post-head position (e.g., Asturian, Galician).

⁴⁷ In subsequent work, Anderson (2005) refines his notion of ‘second’ and claims that it is based on phonological constituents, such as PWords, and not on syntactic phrases.

⁴⁸ Roberts argues that the Tobler-Mussafia Law is not a phonological law.

Wackernagel's Law would dictate.⁴⁹ According to Wanner (1987: 25), clitic pronouns in Old Romance are a perfect example of the Tobler-Mussafia Law: they always surface attached to the left or the right of the verb, depending on the syntactic context, and absolutely never in sentence-initial position.

Note that Wanner claims that Old Romance is *not* a 2P language because clitic pronouns always attach to a verbal host and there are no attested cases of strings separating the clitic from the verb. Fontana (1993), on the other hand, claims that Old Spanish does display a 2P clitic system. He describes 2P clitic pronouns as prosodically deficient phrases that are displaced in their surface realization from their canonical position as verbal arguments. In contrast, Modern Spanish clitic pronouns are functional heads that establish an inflectional relation with the argument position, with which they are coindexed.⁵⁰ Fontana offers several examples that illustrate the differences between 2P clitics in Old Spanish, and pronominal clitics in Modern Spanish. Contra Wanner (1987), Fontana shows that clitic pronouns in Old Spanish are not necessarily attached to a verbal host, as example (1a) illustrates.⁵¹ Clitic pronouns in Modern Spanish must surface adjacent to a verb, as illustrated in (1b); the interpolation of any element between the clitic pronoun and the verb renders an ungrammatical structure, as in (1c):

⁴⁹ However, there are many instances in Romance that could potentially be described according to Wackernagel's Law. For instance, the fact that Old Spanish displayed a high occurrence of 2P clitics has been related to V2 phenomena (Fontana 1993).

⁵⁰ The theory that clitics are verbal affixes is also shared by linguists working in a HPSG framework, such as Abeille and Godard (2002), Miller (1992), Miller and Sag (1997), among others.

⁵¹ All examples in Old Spanish are from Fontana (1993) unless otherwise indicated.

(1) a. *pero que lo non falamos en toda la hestoria*

but that Cl not talk.about.1pl in all the story

“But we don’t talk about it through the whole story”

b. *Pero que no lo encontramos en toda la historia.*

but that not Cl find.1pl in all the story

“But we do not talk about it through the whole story”

c. * *Pero que lo no encontramos en toda la historia.*

but that Cl not find.1pl in all the story

In addition, there is evidence in Old Spanish that shows object pronouns in structures lacking the corresponding coindexed clitic pronouns, as in (2a). In Modern Spanish this option is ungrammatical (2c-e), both direct and indirect object pronouns must necessarily co-occur with a coindexed clitic pronoun, as illustrated in (2b) with a direct object pronoun and (2d) with an indirect object pronoun:

(2) a. *al lugar onde dios mando a mi salir*

to.the place where god ordered me exit

“To the place where God had ordered me to get out”

b. *Lo vio a él.*

Cl saw.3sg. “pers. a” him

“(S)he saw him”

c. * *Vio a él.*

saw.3sg “pers. a” him

d. *Le dio el regalo a ella.*

Cl gave.3sg. the gift to her

“(S)he gave the gift to her”

e. **Dio el regalo a ella.*

gave.3sg the gift to her

Finally, since clitic pronouns in Old Spanish are 2P clitics, they are banned from surfacing in absolute initial position, as exemplified in (3a). Modern Spanish clitic pronouns can appear clause-initially, as illustrated in (3b):

(3) a *Non les quiso llamar en este lugar.*

not Cl wanted to.call in this place

“(S)he didn’t want to call them in that place”

b. *Los llamó él desde aquel sitio.*

Cl called he from that place”

“He called them from that place.”

As pointed out earlier in this section, Wackernagel’s Law, interpreted in the case of Romance languages as the Tobler-Musafia Law, has inspired the postulation of morphophonological hypotheses of 2P clitic phenomena. According to these proposals, clitic pronouns move so as to fulfill a requirement concerning the formation of prosodic and morphological phrases. Thus, enclisis occurs when the clitic pronoun is in clause-initial position, and proclisis elsewhere. This description, however, is inaccurate, as pointed out by Uriagereka (1995), and cannot account for some contrasts in clitic placement that involve quantifier subjects in languages like Galician.

As Uriagereka observes, strong quantifier subjects force proclisis, as illustrated in (4a), while weak quantifier subjects allow both enclisis and proclisis, as in (4b). Example (4b) also shows that in cases of quantificational reading, proclisis is the only grammatical option allowed in the language, while a cardinal reading requires enclisis. Finally, (4c) shows that names disallow proclisis, unless the NP is in a focused position, as pointed out in Lorenzo (1995) for Asturian and illustrated in (5).⁵²

(4) a. *Todo o mundo o veu/ *veuno.*

everyone Cl saw/ saw-Cl

“Everyone saw it.”

b. *Moita xente o veu/ veuno.*

many people Cl saw/ saw-Cl

“Many people saw it.”

c. *Xan *o veu/ veuno.*

Xan Cl saw/ saw-Cl

“Xan saw it.”

(5) *EL TO FÍU lu vio*⁵³.

the your son Cl saw

“YOUR SON saw him”

⁵² See Chapter 7 for examples and a more extensive discussion of the Asturian data.

⁵³ Focus or emphasis is indicated with capital letters.

More importantly, these examples contain subjects with the same rhythmic pattern, more or less the same number of syllables, and the same morphological weight, which seems to indicate that clitic placement does not rely on morphological or prosodic factors.⁵⁴

In sum, it appears that Wackernagel's Law and the Tobler-Musafia Law are good descriptive tools. However, neither of them can provide an empirically adequate explanation that accounts for the patterns found in the Romance data presented above. Furthermore, as will be seen in the next section, neither Wackernagel's Law nor the Tobler-Musafia Law can provide an accurate description of the different enclisis and proclisis patterns attested in Spanish.

4.2 Clitic placement in simple sentences in Spanish

Clitic pronouns may appear in different syntactic configurations in Spanish. It is important to mention that both enclisis (V+Clitic) and proclisis (Clitic+V) are grammatical and attested in Spanish; proclisis, however, is encountered in a wider variety of contexts than enclisis. The following section reviews the contexts that allow enclisis and proclisis in Spanish in simple sentences only. The placement of clitic pronouns in complex sentences is discussed in depth and detail in Chapter 5.

The default position of clitic pronouns in Spanish is proclitic to finite verbs, as in example (6), and enclitic to non-finite verbs (i.e. infinitives, as in (7), gerunds, as in (8), and imperatives, as in (9)); crucially, past participles never allow cliticization in Spanish (10), as is possible in other Romance languages such as some dialects of Italian.

⁵⁴ As will be discussed in §4.3.3.2, Uriagereka hypothesizes that clitic placement might rely on some of the features of clitic pronouns, in particular, specificity.

(6) a. **La** *admiro*.

Cl admire.1sg

“I admire her”

b. **Admírola*.

admire.1sg.Cl

(7) a. *No está bien admirarla tanto*.

not is good to.admire.Cl so.much

“It is not good to admire her so much”

b. **No está bien la admirar tanto*.

not is well Cl to.admire so.much

(8) a. *Estoy admirándolo*.

am.1sg. admiring.Cl

“I am admiring him/it”

b. **Estoy lo admirando*.

am.1sg Cl admiring

(9) a. *Cómelo*.

eat.Cl

“Eat it”

b. **Lo come*.

Cl eat

(10) a. **Lo** *he* *comido rápido.*

Cl have.1sg eaten fast

“I have eaten it fast”

b. **He* *comídolo rápido.*

have.1sg eaten.1sg fast

However, it is not uncommon to find proclisis with imperatives both in American and Peninsular Spanish, as illustrated in (11):

(11) a. **Lo** *sigamos* (cf., Standard: *Sigámoslo*)

Cl follow.2pl

“Let’s follow him”

b. **Se** *siente* (cf., Standard: *Siéntese*)

Cl sit.down.2sg

“Sit down”

Enclisis, on the other hand, can also be found with finite verbs, as mentioned in Rivas (1977) and illustrated in (12). This particular case will not be explored here, as it only occurs in literary and journalistic Spanish and has not been attested in spontaneous speech in any monolingual dialect of Spanish.

(12) *Reunióse el presidente con los ministros.*

met.Cl the president with the ministers.

“The President met with the ministers.”

Having discussed the position of clitics, the ensuing sections review the most relevant generative analyses on clitic placement and cliticization, as well as some of the

most discussed phenomena concerning clitic pronouns (i.e. the interaction of clitic pronouns with negation; types of hosts; and so on).

4.3 Syntactic approaches to cliticization

There are many different approaches to cliticization in the generative framework, ranging from purely syntactic approaches (Borer 1984; Jaeggli 1982, 1986; Kayne 1975, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2000; Rizzi 1982, 1997; Sportiche 1995; Uriagereka 1995, to mention but a few), to more semantically-oriented analyses (the analysis provided by, for instance, Delfitto 2002). As far as the Romance languages are concerned, there are three main generative approaches to the analysis of clitic pronouns and cliticization: the movement approach, the base-generated approach, and the ‘mixed’ approach.

The movement approach, reflected in the works of Kayne (1975, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2000), Rizzi (1982, 1997), Rosen (1990), and Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980), determines that object clitics are pronominal arguments generated in the canonical position of the argument. In this view, clitic pronouns are lexical pronominal heads that project NPs that attach to the verb by means of move- α abiding by all the theoretical constraints on movement. The base-generation approach, promoted by Borer (1984), Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Rivas (1977), Strozer (1976), and Suñer (1988), establishes that clitics are affixes generated in a position attached to their host (i.e. the verb). Crucially, the base-generation hypothesis stipulates that clitic pronouns form a chain with the argument positions of the syntactic categories with which they are coreferential. Finally, during the last years there has been an attempt to unify the movement approach and the base-generation approach, thus, the mixed approach—also

known as the Determiner-Head hypothesis (Sportiche 1995; Uriagereka 1995)—draws parallelisms between clitic pronouns in clitic doubling structures and verbal agreement markers. According to the mixed approach, verbal agreement markers and clitics are determiners that head their own projections.

The subsections to follow provide a more in-depth view of each of these hypotheses regarding cliticization, highlighting the main advantages and drawbacks of the most influential analyses within each approach.

4.3.1 The movement approach

The movement approach determines that clitic pronouns are generated in argument position and then moved to left-adjoin to the finite verb. Kayne (1975) proposes a Clitic Movement rule that accounts for the patterns of French. His study is highly influential in the field of Romance Linguistics because it constitutes the first attempt at a serious and systematic account of cliticization patterns that sets the basis for future analyses. Kayne not only offers a movement approach to cliticization, but he also explores a base-generation option, which, he concludes, cannot account for a series of syntactic phenomena that were relevant at the time. Moreover, he argues that a movement approach to cliticization can best account for certain syntactic phenomena such as past participle agreement. Nevertheless, as will be argued in §4.3.1.1, the movement approach cannot account for important facts (such as clitic doubling) observed in other Romance languages such as Spanish.

In more recent work, Kayne (1989a, 1991) refines his theory and stipulates that clitic pronouns are generated as part of full DPs in argumental position and then moved

to a functional head higher up in the structure. Kayne (1989a) focuses on the possible relation between enclisis, proclisis, and the pro-drop parameter. In particular, he claims that the order clitic+verb is characteristic of non-finite contexts in non pro-drop languages, as illustrated in (13) for French, while the order verb+clitic is the default option for non-finite contexts in pro-drop languages, as illustrated in (14) and (15) for Spanish and Italian respectively. However, the fact that there are null-subject languages that consistently display the order clitic+verb (i.e. Occitan and Sardinian, as mentioned in Kayne (1991), and Uriagereka (1995), among many others) weakens Kayne's hypothesis.⁵⁵

(13) a. *Elle veut les voir.*

she wants Cl to.see

“She wants to see them”

b. **Veut les voir.*

wants.3sg Cl to.see

c. **Elle veut voirles.*

she wants to.see.Cl

(14) a. *Ella quiere verlos.*

she wants to.see.Cl

⁵⁵ Halpern (1992) claims that the enclisis/proclisis alternation found among languages is actually the result of different clause types which render differences in verb movement, causing the verb to surface in different positions in the syntax.

b. *Quiere verlos.*

wants.3sg to.see.Cl

“Quiere verlos”

c. **Quiere los ver.*

wants Cl to.see

(15) a. *Lei vuole vederli.*

she wants to.see.Cl

b. *Vuole vederli.*

wants to.see.Cl

“She wants to see them”

c. **Vuole li vedere.*

wants Cl to.see

Kayne (1989a) establishes that a language-specific parameter determines whether clitic pronouns adjoin to embedded V (as in French) or to embedded Infl (as in Spanish).⁵⁶ There are, however, several arguments against the Infl-adjunction hypothesis; among them, dative clitic climbing is one of the most prevalent. One of the predictions of the Infl-adjunction option is that clitic climbing is always a possibility with verbs that allow restructuring;⁵⁷ such is the case of *permitir* (‘to allow’) in Spanish. Examples in (16) show that, contrary to expectations, clitic climbing is not allowed:

⁵⁶ These options are illustrated in Chapter 5.

⁵⁷ Clitic climbing and restructuring are discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

(16) a. *Me permitieron verla.*

Cl allowed.3pl. see.Cl

“They allowed me to see her”

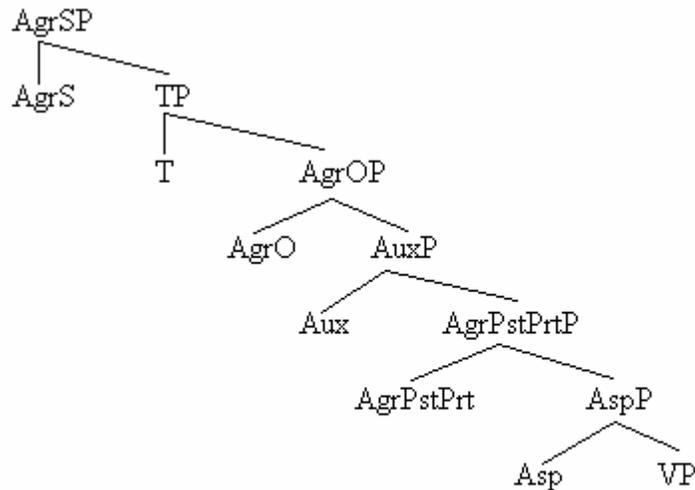
b. * *Me la permitieron ver.*

Cl Cl allowed.3pl to.see

Following Kayne (1989, 1991), Belletti (1999) proposes an analysis of cliticization in which clitic pronouns appear in designated positions (contra Nash and Rouveret 2002) within the vicinity of the argument structure of the verb, but that differ from the canonical argument positions (see also Edmonds 1985). In Belletti’s analysis, clitic pronouns move from the argument-like position in which they are generated (also Belletti 2001, 2005), and they land within AgrOP for Case reasons. In Belletti (1999) cliticization is seen more as a PF phenomenon than a syntactic phenomenon. Importantly, Belletti (1999, 2001, 2005) proposes that clitic pronouns first undergo phrasal movement from the argument position to AgrOP; and then, they undergo head movement from AgrOP to the higher regions of the clause. The dual nature of clitic pronouns (Chomsky 1995) makes this type of mixed approach to movement possible.

Belletti proposes a clause structure like the one illustrated in (17):

(17)

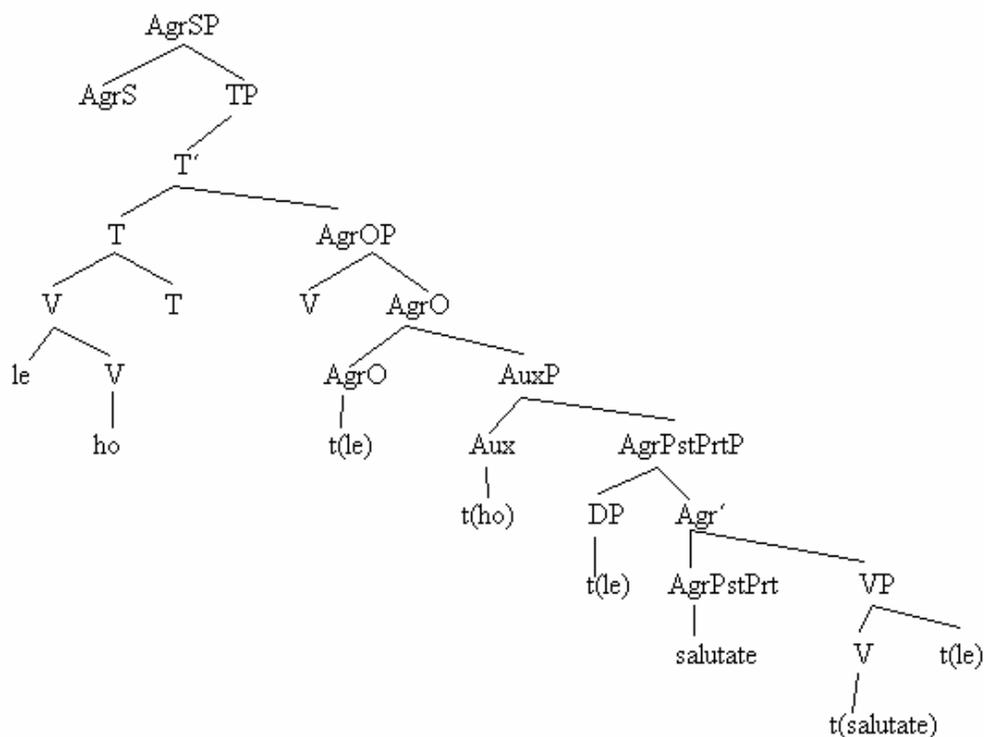


As shown, Belletti advocates a dissociation of AgrO and AgrPstPrt (also Friedemann and Siloni 1997), which allows different features relevant to cliticization to be checked at different points in the derivation. Belletti justifies this dissociation on the empirical basis that accusative Case is available independently of the appearance of a past participle in the structure. Thus, accusative Case is checked in AgrO, while the gender phi-features of past participle are checked in AgrPstPrt, as illustrated in (18) for Italian (from Belletti 1999):

(18) *Le ho salutate.*

Cl have.1sg greeted

“I have greeted them”



As can be observed in the structure above, the clitic pronoun is generated in a position that is similar to the canonical internal argument. The past participle, generated in V^0 moves to AgrPstPrt^0 , and the clitic pronoun moves to $[\text{Spec}, \text{AgrPstPrtP}]$, as indicated above. Then, the clitic moves as an XP until it attaches to AgrO^0 as an X^0 , where Accusative Case is checked.

Belletti provides a theory that is largely based on the hypothesis that Case motivates the movement of clitic pronouns, and that clitic pronouns are Case markers. However, as argued in Chapter 2, clitic pronouns are not Case markers. Thus, since Belletti's hypothesis relies on Kayne's Generalization—that the preposition *a* in Spanish is the crucial element that allows object doubling phenomena—the adequacy of her analysis is called into question.

Like Belletti, Friedemann and Siloni (1997) argue that AgrOP occupies a position in the structure that is higher than AgrPstPrtp. The authors show data from Hebrew, and French and Italian, and conclude that in French and Italian past participle agreement constructions AgrOP is higher than AgrPstPrtp. Nevertheless, they also show that AgrOP may occupy different positions in the structure of different languages (as shown in the contrast between Hebrew and French, for instance).⁵⁸ This suggests that the order of functional projections may be subject to cross-linguistic variation, as indicated in earlier chapters.

Another analysis that considers head movement as the most empirically adequate analysis of cliticization is offered by Nash and Rouveret (2002). According to these authors, cliticization implies movement of the clitic pronoun from the argument position located in the lexical domain of the structure, to a host that is located in the functional domain of the clause, much like shown in (18) above. Thus, it is argued here that different cliticization patterns (i.e. enclisis and proclisis) result from the specific morphological profile of the language in question. For example, the structure of Spanish, a language without past participle agreement, would not contain an AgrPstPrtp. This causes Spanish to differ from, for instance, French and Italian in terms of clitic movement and verb movement. Thus, Nash and Rouveret's analysis relies on the inflectional properties of the different projections that host clitic pronouns in each independent construction. Much like Kayne (1989, 1991), Nash and Rouveret argue that clitic

⁵⁸ I refer the reader to Friedemann and Siloni (1997) for examples.

pronouns are the morphological realization of an argument that target functional categories located in the inflectional domain of the sentence.

4.3.1.1 Clitic doubling and the movement approach

As mentioned above, the movement approach cannot account for certain common facts such as clitic doubling in Spanish and other Romance languages such as Catalan and different dialects of Italian and French (although see Belletti 2005; Cecchetto 1999, 2000, and references cited there). In structures showing clitic doubling, both the clitic pronoun and its coreferential argument NP are present in the structure at the same time, as illustrated in French in (19) (from Zwicky 1977), and in Spanish in (20):⁵⁹

(19) *Je le vois lui.*

I Cl see him

“I see him”

(20) *Rosa lo miró a Iván.*

Rosa Cl looked “pers. a” Iván

“Rosa looked at Iván”

Clitic doubling in Spanish has been the object of study in generative grammar since the seminal work of Strozer (1976). According to Kany (1945),⁶⁰ clitic doubling has been attested in Spanish from the 11th century on. Nevertheless, this pattern was not very common in Old Spanish, as stated in Fontana (1993), who claims that Old Spanish

⁵⁹ See Kayne (2000: ch. 9) for a full account of clitic doubling in French and more examples.

⁶⁰ Kany (1945: 116) states that clitic doubling can already be attested in text from the 11th century, as the example illustrates:

i) *priso lo al conde* (Cid, vs. 1012)
made-prisoner-3sg. Cl to-the count
“He made the count prisoner”

clitic pronouns were in complementary distribution with object NPs, much like in Standard French, and unlike in Modern Spanish.

Clitic doubling has always been difficult to account for in generativist terms due to the fact that two elements in the structure seem to be sharing the same theta-role (Belletti 2001, 2004, and 2005, among others), which usually renders a violation of the Theta Criterion (or, in Minimalist Terms, a violation of Full Interpretation). In general, these approaches focus on the different morphosyntactic features that form part of the lexical characterization of clitic pronouns so as to unveil which feature(s) might be allowing (or disallowing) the various morphosyntactic phenomena observed.⁶¹

Franco (1993) provides one of the most extensive theories on Spanish clitic doubling. He argues that doubling is the result of the duplication of a complement of an adjunct by a clitic pronoun. This duplication is correlated with verbal agreement, which is described by Franco as the cross-reference marking in phi-features of the verbal arguments on one of the elements that bears inflection. However, doubling cannot be taken as an instance of agreement, because, according to Franco, the clitic pronoun imposes certain semantic specifications on the doubled NP—it must be animate and specific (but see §2.3.2).

There is also a growing literature on Italian clitic doubling. Many of these studies have been carried out by Belletti (2001, 2005, just to mention a few). The main focus of Belletti's work is on strong pronoun doubling in Italian, and on the characteristics that

⁶¹ Grimshaw (1997: 171) actually describes clitics as underspecified bundles of morphosyntactic features in her Optimality analysis of clitic pronouns.

allow the same argument (i.e. the same theta-role) to be realized twice in the same syntactic structure.⁶² According to Belletti, doubling structures are derived from a single big DP (Belletti 1999; Cecchetto 1999, 2000; Sportiche 1996; Uriagereka 1995), in which both the clitic pronoun and the doubled NP are originated.⁶³ Thus, the whole DP is assigned a theta-role, which means that clitics and doubled NPs share the same theta-role.

Sportiche (1996), on the other hand, points out that the presence of a pronominal clitic in the structure does not affect the thematic properties of the predicate. For example, a transitive verb is still transitive even if both the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP are present in the structure, as in clitic doubling constructions. This situation presents two options: both the clitic and its coreferential NP share the same theta-role, as often proposed in the literature, or the clitic pronoun does not have a theta-role and is linked to its coreferential NP through other means or mechanisms. The second option is adopted in the present study.

Belletti (2001, 2004) claims that the VP domain contains a number of discourse-related positions, similar to the functional projections that surround the left periphery of the clause. According to her, both the Italian strong pronoun and the doubled NP are located in a VP internal TopP. It seems that the discourse-related anaphoric nature of

⁶² Clitic doubling is not the only phenomenon displaying duplicate items with the same theta-role. See, for instance, the following examples from Polletto and Pollock (2004) showing wh-doubling structures in Italian dialects:

- (i) a. *S 'a-lo fat che?*
 what has-he done what
 "What has he done?"
 b. *Ndo e-lo ndat endoe?*
 where is-he gone where
 "Where is he gone?"

⁶³ As will be seen in §4.3.3, Sportiche (1996) offers a similar analysis.

clitic pronouns could potentially allow for an analysis of the type described by Belletti. Furthermore, the existence of several discourse-related functional projections inside the VP is consistent with Chomsky's (2001) phases.

Finally, Sportiche (1996), and Suñer (1988), among others, claim that the only pertinent characteristic to clitic doubling is the specificity feature. Suñer, in particular, bases her hypothesis on data from Barrenechea and Orecchia (1977) on Argentinean Spanish showing examples in which only 8% of human non-pronominal direct objects are doubled, as illustrated in (21):

(21) *La bebi la leche.*

Cl drank. 1sg the milk

"I drank the milk"

Under a movement approach, there arises a very unlikely situation concerning structure-preserving rules. Taking into account the fact that an element cannot occupy the same position as the trace of a moved element, clitic doubling structures suggest that structure-preserving rules might not apply in Spanish, since the clitic pronoun and the argument NP share the same grammatical function. In addition, the movement approach incurs a Theta Criterion violation: if both the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP are arguments, then they both have the same theta-role. Franco (1993) offers a solution, according to which the doubled NP is generated in an A' position. Jaeggli (1986) and Suñer (1988), on the other hand, provide very convincing arguments and data against such a dislocation analysis of argument NPs in clitic doubling structures based mainly on the extraction properties that these constituents display.

There are other structures that cannot be accounted for by a movement approach. For example, it is common in Spanish to have a structure in which the clitic pronoun does not co-refer with an argument NP; such is the case of the so-called ethical datives. This type of clitic pronoun appear in structures that lack a coreferential NP in argument position, as they surface with verbs that already have filled direct and indirect object positions (22a-d) and also with intransitive verbs (22e-f). This can be taken as an indication that clitic pronouns might be generated in a position different from that of argument NPs.

(22) a. *Se comió los caramelos.*

Cl eat.3sg. the candy

“(S)he ate the candy.”

b. **Se_i comió los caramelos a sí mismo_i.*⁶⁴

Cl ate.3sg the candy to himself

c. *Te me fumaste los cigarrillos.*

Cl Cl smoked.2sg. the cigarettes

“You smoked all my cigarettes”

d. **Te me fumaste los cigarrillos a mí.*

Cl Cl smoked.3sg the cigarettes to me.

⁶⁴ There are structures in Spanish in which the reflexive clitic *se* might double a coreferential NP/PP, as in reflexive (i) or reciprocal constructions (ii):

i) *Se afeitó (a sí mismo).*

Cl shaved.3sg (to himself)

“He shaved himself”

ii) *Se dieron la mano (el uno al otro).*

Cl gave.3pl the hand (the one to.the other)

“They held each other’s hand”

e. *Me voy a casa.*

Cl go.1sg to home

“I’m going home”

f. **Me voy a casa a mí.*

Cl go.1sg to home to me

Thus, the movement approach raises some semantic questions, as noticed in Kayne (1975, 1989). Kayne establishes that the meaning of inherent verbs, for instance, is not necessarily derived from the meaning of the lexical verb without the clitic *se*; in fact, there are pairs of inherent verbs and lexical verbs that are not semantically related at all in French, such as *s’en prendre* ‘criticize, blame, pick on’ and *prendre* ‘to take’. Kayne, however, states that these facts are marginal at best, and argues that the evidence suggesting an object origin for inherent *se* is not affected by them.

Finally, one last piece of evidence suggesting that clitic pronouns are not arguments of the verb, contrary to Kayne’s approach, can be found in examples in which clitic doubling occurs with infinitives, as illustrated in the following example from Lipski (1990):

(23) *Se fue mi papa a guardarlo el carro.*

Cl went my dad to park.Cl the car

“My dad went to park the car”

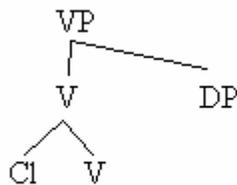
This example shows the clitic pronoun attached to the right of the infinitive, and the doubled NP in the canonical internal argument position, and not right-dislocated. The

clitic pronoun and the argument NP, then, cannot occupy the same position in the structure.

4.3.2 The base-generation approach

The ensuing discussion outlines the most relevant versions of the base-generation approach, to conclude that a proposal along these lines is superior to a movement approach—at least for Spanish—because it can account for a larger set of facts, including clitic doubling. As stated above, the base-generation approach determines that clitic pronouns are base-generated in a position adjoined to the verb, and stand in an agreement-type of relation with their coreferential NP, which is located in the canonical argument position, as illustrated in (24):

(24)



As will be discussed shortly, the main source of data for the base-generation analysis of clitic pronouns is clitic doubling structures. The base-generation analysis appeared first in Strozer (1976), and Rivas (1977), and can also be found in Borer (1984), Jaeggli (1982), and Suñer (1988), among others.

Strozer (1976) is the first to argue for a base-generation of clitic pronouns based on evidence from languages in which clitic pronouns and argument NPs are not in

complementary distribution (i.e. clitic doubling in Romanian, Spanish, and Portuguese, for example). Contra Kayne (1975), Strozer establishes that the movement approach that derives clitic pronouns from argumental pronominal NPs cannot account for clitic doubling data. She also provides several reasons why clitic pronouns are not NPs. The five most illustrative ones are repeated here: i) clitic pronouns and NPs have different morphological characteristics (for example, clitic pronouns in some dialects of Spanish distinguish Case, as seen in Chapter 2, while NPs never do); ii) clitic pronouns are often unstressed elements, while NPs can be stressed for emphasis, as in (25); iii) the grammatical relationship that exists between the clitic and the verb is not found between the verb and its arguments (interpolation between the clitic pronoun and the verb is never grammatical in Spanish), as illustrated in the contrast in (26) ; iv) NPs never constitute single phonological units with the verb, clitic pronouns, on the other hand, do; v) NPs can be coordinated, but clitic pronouns cannot, as shown in (27).

(25) a. - *¿A quién visteis, a Luis?*

to whom saw.2pl, “pers. a” Luis

“Whom did you see, Luis?”

- *No, a JAVIER.*

no, “pers. a” Javier

“No, (we saw) Javier”

b. - *¿Lo visteis (a Luis)?*

Cl saw.2pl (“pers. a” Luis)

“Did you see him?”

- **No, LA*

not, Cl

“Not him, HER”

(26) a. *Ya vio él a Luís.*

already saw he “pers. a” Luis

“He saw Luís already”

b. *Ya lo vio él.*

already Cl saw he

“He saw him already”

c. **Ya lo él vio.*

already Cl he saw

(27) a. *La niña comió [pasteles y manzanas].*

the girl ate cakes and apples.

“The girl ate cakes and apples.”

b. **La niña los y las comió.*

the girl Cl and Cl ate.

As with Strozer, Jaeggli’s (1982) analysis is based on the distribution of clitics and lexical NPs in Romance languages. Jaeggli observes that all direct and indirect object pronouns must be doubled by a clitic in Spanish, as illustrated in the sentences in (28a-b) for direct object pronouns, and (28c-d) for indirect object pronouns:

(28) a. *La vimos a ella.*

Cl saw.1pl. “pers. a” her

“We saw her”

b. **Vimos a ella.*

saw.1pl “pers. a” her

c. *Le dimos el regalo a ella.*

Cl gave.1pl the gift to her

“We gave the gift to her”

d. **Dimos el regalo a ella.*

gave.1pl the gift to her

Even though clitic pronouns in French and Italian seem to be in complementary distribution, Jaeggli, among others, provides examples illustrating clitic doubling in dialects of French and Italian as well, as exemplified in (19) and repeated here as (29) for convenience (example from Zwicky 1977):

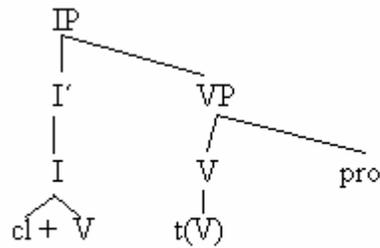
(29) *Je le vois lui.*

I Cl see him

“I see him”

Borer (1984) also proposes an analysis of clitic pronouns inspired on data from clitic doubling structures in Hebrew, Romanian, and Spanish. According to Borer, clitic pronouns are bound morphemes that surface as functional elements base-generated in Infl and coindexed with an empty category *pro* located in the canonical argument position, as schematized in (30):

(30)



The base-generation approach, however, faces a very important theoretical challenge: the characterization of the relation between the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP argument. In the movement approach, this coreferentiality can be accounted for very clearly. But in the base-generation approach, it is not straightforward. The problem has been extensively addressed in the different versions of the base-generation theory; nevertheless, none of the proposals seems to be completely satisfactory. For instance, Rivas (1977) establishes the existence of a *superclitic* node that dominates each individual clitic pronoun in the structure. In this version of the base-generation approach, clitic pronouns are generated in the same position in which they surface with a particular pre-established value for the features person, number, and gender. Rivas proposes that an abstract Cl/NP Agreement Rule that resembles Strozer's (1976) Base Condition of Cl/NP Agreement Rule checks Case, person, number, and gender agreement between the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP in clitic doubling structures. Similarly, Jaeggli (1982) establishes the existence of abstract special binding mechanisms that explain how the clitic pronoun and the doubled NP share the same Case and theta-role. Along the same lines, Aoun and Sportiche (1981) claim that clitic

pronouns are generated in non-argumental positions from which they bind an empty element that is a variable (presumably *pro*). These mechanisms, however, are not attested anywhere else in the grammar, and, at least in the case of Jaeggli's proposal, they do not seem to be structure-dependant, which weakens the universality of the proposal and constitutes a problem for the analysis.

Borer (1984), on the other hand, does not adopt a special rule of coindexation; on the contrary, coindexation follows from the properties of theta-role assignment itself: the lack of coindexation between the clitic pronoun and the argument NP in clitic doubling structures incurs a violation of the Projection Principle because the Complement Matching Requirement is not satisfied.⁶⁵

In contrast to the above proposals, Suñer (1988) establishes that clitic pronouns cannot be arguments, based on evidence gathered from clitic doubling structures. And, if clitic pronouns are not arguments, they do not have a theta-role. She provides very strong evidence suggesting that clitic pronouns are agreement morphemes that follow the Matching Principle, according to which the features of clitic pronouns and their coreferential doubled NPs are matched.

Emonds (1999) also proposes an 'in situ' approach of clitics. Much like others (for example Borer 1984), Emonds claims that clitic pronouns are bundles of D- features (i.e. gender, number, person, definiteness, and Case) that are generated in situ and surface already attached to their PF host, much like illustrated in (30) above. Contra Kayne

⁶⁵ According to Borer (1984: 37), the Complement Matching Requirement follows from the Projection Principle and establishes that a head must govern its complements, to which a theta-role is assigned.

(1989, 1991), Emonds stipulates that cliticization cannot be accounted for in terms of movement because clitic pronouns in Romance have been attributed a specific type of movement that has not been attested in other constituents in the structure. Moreover, the type of movement ascribed to clitic pronouns shares no similar traits with other well-documented and well-studied cases of head movement, as will be explained next.

The vast majority of movement analyses claim that clitic pronouns incorporate somehow into the V^0 head; however, this type of incorporation (D^0 into V^0) is not evidenced anywhere else in the language. Furthermore, Baker (1999) contributes additional evidence against an incorporation analysis of cliticization. As Baker shows, the non-local incorporation of a noun is not possible in cliticization contexts, namely, in the presence of restructuring verbs, causative verbs, or with auxiliary verbs.^{66 67} From his consideration of the differences between the distribution of Romance clitic pronouns and the distribution of incorporation, Baker concludes that cliticization and incorporation are separate phenomena that should be accounted for by means of separate mechanisms. In fact, Baker claims that most cases of noun incorporation are lexical, and not syntactic, which implies that the most recurrent argument in the literature in favor of cliticization as head incorporation might, after all, be false.

⁶⁶ There seems to be no noun incorporation climbing that can be compared to clitic climbing.

⁶⁷ Baker provides examples in languages such as Chukchee in which clitics and morphemes attach to auxiliary verbs, like in Romance, while noun roots are always incorporated into the participle, as illustrated in (i) from Baker (1999: 372):

- (i) a. *Gumnan Cinit lue-ta t-re-nt-δN-δnet qaat.*
 I-erg. sefl see-ger. 1sg-fut-have-fut-have-3pl reindeer
 “I myself shall see a reindeer”
 b. *δtlon loN-kopra-ntδwat-a-it-g’i...*
 he not-fish.net-set-ger-be-3sg
 “He did not see a fishnet (but rather a fish-bag)”

Emonds' in situ approach to cliticization is not a radical departure from an incorporation type of analysis. He conceives of clitic pronouns as a bundle of morphological functional features that lexically adjoin to their host, which, according to Drijkoningen (1999), constitutes a type of incorporation without movement. Furthermore, Emonds faces some important theoretical problems that have serious consequences for his analysis. As Den Dikken (1999) notes, Emonds' proposal reduces the restrictions on restructuring to the lexical representation of the verbs involved. Thus, he has to conclude that all non-final verbs that appear in restructuring constructions are void of semantic features. This assumption is correct for auxiliary verbs like *haber* (to have) or *ser* (to be); however, for other types of verbs, such as perception verbs and causatives, as in (31a) and (31b) respectively, this is erroneous, since the latter consistently display lexical and thematic properties in several different structures:

- (31) a. *Lo vio venir.*
 Cl saw.3sg to.come
 “(S)he saw him coming”
- b. *Lo hizo venir.*
 Cl made.3sg to.come
 “(S)he made him come”

Some additional arguments against a base-generation approach to cliticization can be found in, for example, Kayne (1975). According to Kayne, an adequate theory of clitics must be able to explain clitic doubling structures, but also account for those languages that do not allow clitic doubling, such as standard French. He argues that a

movement approach can better account for clitic climbing (i.e. those structures in which clitic pronouns surface attached to verbs to which they ‘do not belong’, as will be seen in the next chapter). Jaeggli (1982), however, states that Kayne’s observations against a base-generation approach are the result of linking clitic pronouns and object arguments. Nevertheless, as pointed out earlier, there is a vast number of examples suggesting that the relationship between clitic pronouns and object arguments is not as direct as Kayne argues, as illustrated above in (22).

Finally, data from acquisition studies (Duffield and White 1999) suggests that clitics occur in higher structural positions than regular NPs (i.e. within some functional phrase, as established in Kayne 1991, Sportiche 1995, Uriagereka 1995, Roberts 1994, 1997, among others). As Duffield and White (1999) explain, in the base-generation approach clitics are associated at all levels of representation with functional projections; therefore, clitic pronouns never appear in canonical argumental positions. As will be made more explicit in the next chapter, the base-generation approach assumes that the clitic moves from a functional projection of the lower predicate to some higher functional head in structures with clitic climbing. Crucially, an accusative clitic pronoun is claimed to never appear in an argument position at any level during the derivation. In the movement approach, on the other hand, the accusative clitic originates in the argument position in which it is interpreted, and surfaces in a different position by means of movement. Duffield and White, however, argue that a movement approach offers no clear distinction between clitic placement in simple clauses with main verbs or auxiliaries, and clitic placement in clauses containing restructuring verbs or causatives.

The findings of their experiment are interpreted as providing empirical support against a movement approach to cliticization, and in favor of an analysis in which clitic pronouns are generated in the functional domain of the clause.

4.3.3 The mixed approach

The mixed approach combines characteristics of both the movement approach and the base-generation approach. As pointed out at the beginning of §4, the mixed approach considers that clitic pronouns, much like verbal agreement affixes, are determiner-like elements that head their own projections in the functional domain of the clause, as has been argued in some base-generation analyses. However, in mixed analyses of the type described here, clitic pronouns also move from the position in which they are generated. There are two main authors who advocate a mixed approach with some variations: Sportiche (1995) and Uriagereka (1995). Each analysis is discussed next.

4.3.3.1. Sportiche (1995)

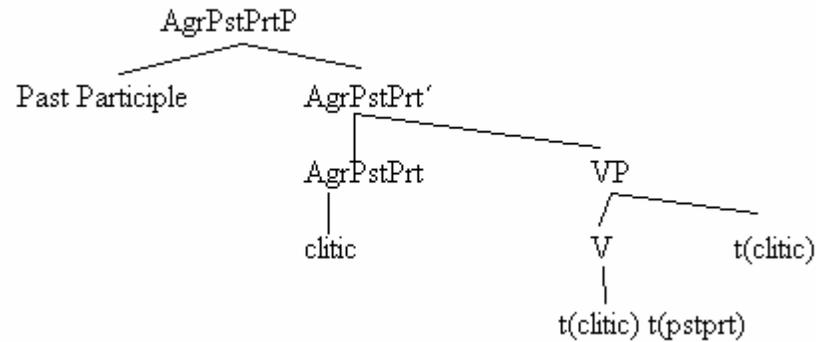
Sportiche claims that both the movement approach and the base-generation approach are correct. The movement approach can account for certain locality conditions that hold between the clitic and the argument NP. The base-generation approach, on the other hand, can explain the lack of complementarity between clitics and argument NPs in some languages. He concedes, however, that there are challenges to both approaches. As discussed above, the movement approach cannot account for clitic doubling structures found in several varieties of Romance. The base-generation approach, on the other hand, cannot make explicit the relationship that holds between the clitic pronoun and the doubled NP/pro.

In recognizing the advantages and addressing the shortcomings of both approaches, Sportiche proposes an analysis in which clitic pronouns are base-generated heading a specialized functional category (clitic Voices: Accusative Voice, Dative Voice, etc.) that is projected by their merger. In addition, he claims that all clitic constructions involving a Cl/XP* dependency (for example, clitic doubling, or past participle agreement) involve movement. Thus, the NP argument and the clitic pronoun find themselves in a Spec-head relation during the derivation, as illustrated in (32) from Sportiche (1995):

(32) [_{AccP} DP_i [_{Acc} Clitic] [... [_{VP} verb t_i]]]

Sportiche's proposal also takes into account the illuminating analysis of past participle agreement proposed by Kayne (1989b) and discussed in previous sections. As been explained, Kayne adopts a movement approach to account for past participle agreement in which the clitic pronoun incorporates into the verb via head-to-head movement. According to this movement analysis, the clitic pronoun moves from the argument position to the head of the Agreement projection that hosts the past participle in Spec position, which constitutes an example of Spec-head agreement, as illustrated in (33):

(33)



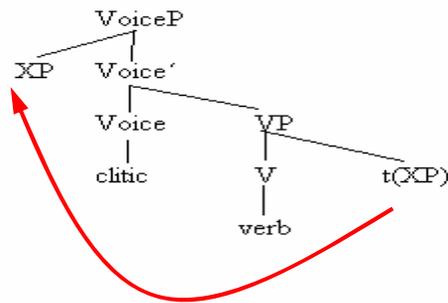
Similarly, Sportiche proposes an account that includes a functional projection headed by the clitic pronoun whose Spec is the landing site of the past participle, which moves so as to fulfill the Clitic Criterion (established by Sportiche 1995 and illustrated next):

(34) The Clitic Criterion (Sportiche 1995)

- i) a [+F] clitic must be in a Spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP at LF.
- ii) a [+F] XP must be in a Spec-head relationship with a [+F] clitic at LF.

The Clitic Criterion determines that any XP that has an associated clitic must move to the Spec of a VoiceP—where clitics are generated—so as to satisfy the Clitic Criterion, as exemplified in (35). The feature [+F] corresponds to a Case feature, an Agreement feature, or a [+specific] feature.

(35)



Sportiche's analysis is very innovative and provides a new perspective for the study of the grammatical system of rules and constraints that govern cliticization. Nevertheless, the analysis does not comply with some of the principles of Minimalism. For instance, Sportiche does not provide a motivation for the overt movement of the argument NP from the lexical domain of the clause to the Specifier of a projection in the functional domain. In fact, Sportiche's analysis seems to indicate that the NP moves in order to satisfy the agreement features of the clitic pronoun, which incurs a violation of the Greed Principle.⁶⁸ Furthermore, his analysis focuses on constructions that display a clitic pronoun and an argument XP with which the clitic pronoun agrees in a number of features, as specified above. However, it is not clear how this analysis extends to constructions that only contain the clitic pronoun and no agreeing XP, as illustrated in (36), or to languages like Spanish with no past participle agreement, as in (37):

⁶⁸ As pointed out in the introductory chapter, the Greed Principle stipulates that an element moves in order to satisfy its own requirements, and not to fulfill some other element's requirements.

(36) *Clara las pinta.*

Clara Cl paints

“Clara is painting them.”

(37) a. *La ha visto.*

Cl has.3sg seen

“(S)he has seen her”

b. **La ha vista.*

Cl has.3sg seen

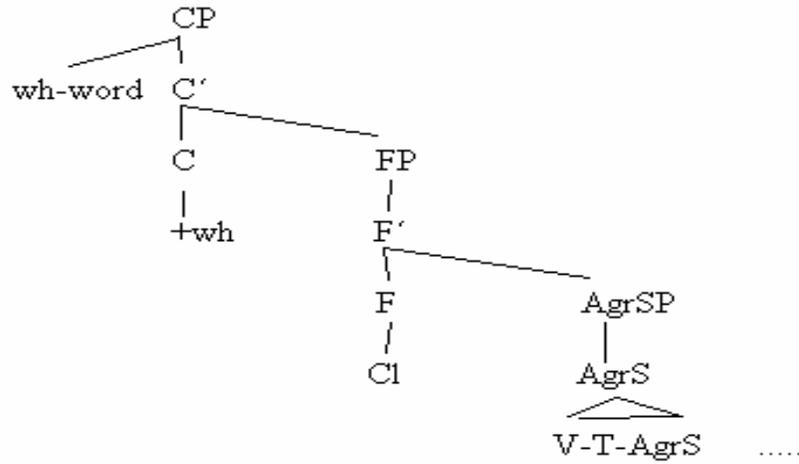
Sportiche does not explain whether there is a *pro* or some other type of category occupying the argument position whenever an XP is not present in the structure. If there is an empty category, we do not know whether it moves to the Spec of the functional projection headed by the clitic—if it does, it is probably covertly; it is then possible that structures such as the one exemplified in (36) and (37) above can be accounted for with a simple base-generation type of analysis without movement.

4.3.3.2 Uriagereka (1995)

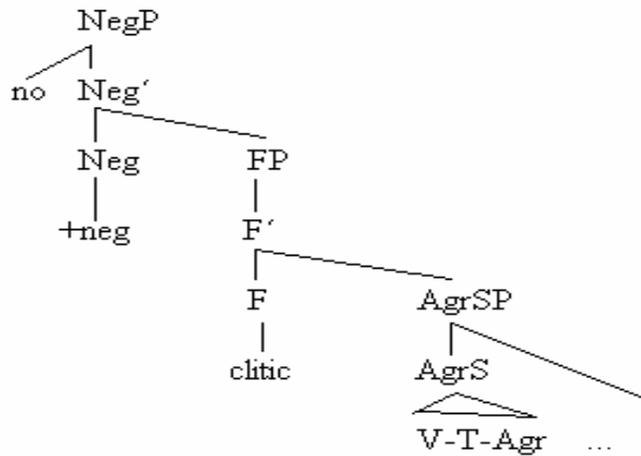
Uriagereka (1995) focuses on cliticization in three Romance languages that he considers represent the different stages of parametric variation attested in Romance: Spanish, Galician, and French. He establishes a syntactic functional projection, which he calls F, which hosts clitic pronouns and can be active (in Spanish and Galician) or inactive (as in French). FP is located above IP/AgrSP and displays different parametric

settings which determine whether clitic pronouns will move overtly to FP—as illustrated in (38) and (39)—or not:⁶⁹

(38)



(39)



⁶⁹ Only the location of the clitic pronoun with respect to other elements is shown in the examples. However, it is stipulated that the wh-phrase moves from [Spec, FP] to [Spec, CP].

Thus, FP can be spelled out morphologically, in which case it overtly attracts the verb; FP can be active only at LF, which prevents clitic pronouns from moving to its head. FP, however, is not a projection only reserved for clitic placement. As will be explained shortly, FP is stipulated to be related to syntactic phenomena that are speaker-oriented. Nevertheless, clitic pronouns are associated with FP because, as argued by Uriagereka, clitics are specificity markers that presuppose the specificity of the entity to which they are referring. Furthermore, clitic pronouns assign a person value to that entity so as to situate their coreferential XP/pro in the speech act with respect to the speaker and the hearer.

As stated above, FP is associated with a speaker's or an embedded subject's point of view, which causes FP to be a point of interface between syntax and pragmatics at LF. Consequently, FP is associated with properties that are pragmatically related. For instance, [Spec, FP] is claimed to host emphasis phrases (40), noncontrastive topics, dislocated material in CP recursion, wh-phrases, and overt expletives—as in (41) from French. F^0 , on the other hand, hosts focusing pleonasm, recomplementation, clitic pronouns (as illustrated in (38) and (39) above), and V-movement:

(40) *Un par de libros es lo que compró.*

a pair of books is Cl what bought.3sg

“A pair of books is what (s)he bought”

(41) *Il neige.*

it snows

“It is snowing”

As pointed out earlier, these properties are only visible in languages with an active morphologically spelled-out F, languages with an inactive F exhibit none of these properties, and languages with a residual F (i.e. active only at LF) show only a subset of these properties. For example, French-type languages are claimed to have an inactive F, which renders different cliticization patterns from languages with an active F. French always shows proclisis (with the exception of imperatives, for which Uriagereka does not account), while Spanish and Galician show both enclisis and proclisis. In addition, since French has no F, *pro* must also be licensed in a different way from languages with an active F. Uriagereka proposes a pseudo-object type of agreement that licenses null *pro* in [Spec, AgrOP], which also creates a unit with the verb.

One of the highlights of Uriagereka’s analysis is the motivation for movement that he provides: clitic pronouns move to F^0 in order to license a coreferential, dependent *pro*. Also, some languages contain a V^0 that encodes strong +F features (for example Galician), which justifies verb movement to F^0 . However, Uriagereka acknowledges the fact that those same strong features are still present when the verb does not raise to F^0 , which constitutes a problem for his analysis.

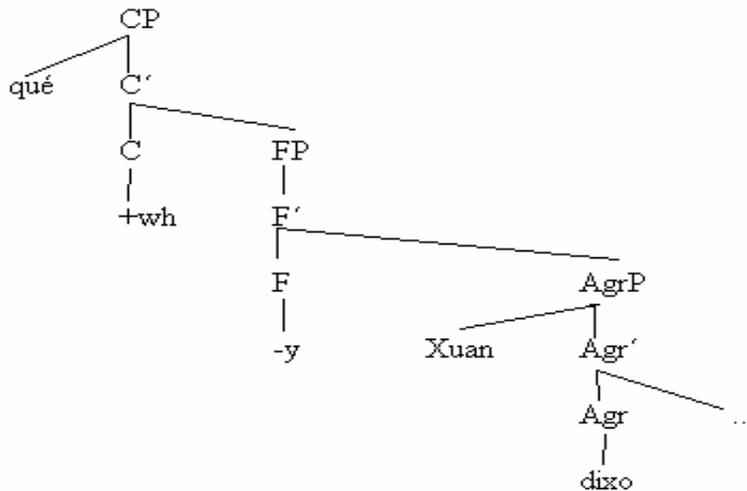
In spite of being the most coherent, successful syntactic analysis of enclisis and proclisis, Uriagereka’s analysis faces certain complications. Lorenzo (1995), for instance, points out some conflicts with the Economy Principle because Uriagereka bases parts of

his analysis in certain types of movement for which he does not provide a motivation (i.e. ‘massive raising’ of DPs in languages like Basque; NP-movement of arguments). Also, there seems to be no independent evidence in Spanish that suggests that clitic pronouns adjoin to a functional category F^0 . Similarly, there is no independent motivation suggesting that clitic pronouns move to F^0 (also Rouveret 1999, who claims that verbs do not move to F^0 either). Finally, Uriagereka proposes a structure that cannot account for the close relationship displayed by clitic pronouns and verbs in languages like Spanish; in Uriagereka’s analysis, interpolation, for example, is not constrained and cannot be accounted for, as exemplified in (42) and pointed out in Lorenzo (1995):

(42) *¿*Qué-y* Xuan *dixo*?

what-CI Xuan said

“What did Xuan tell him/her?”



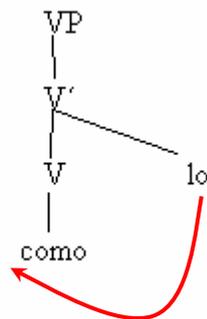
Uriagereka stipulates that the verb remains in AgrS⁰, as illustrated in the diagram. Thus, nothing prevents the subject from raising to [Spec, AgrSP], which renders the structure ungrammatical.

In sum, there is currently no analysis of clitic placement and cliticization that provides an empirically adequate explanation able to account for the variety of data presented in Romance. It appears, however, that an analysis in which clitic pronouns are generated outside the lexical domain of the sentence, heading a functional projection, is more desirable than otherwise. The next sections present several topics concerning clitic pronouns and provide further evidence supporting the superiority of a base-generation type of approach as opposed to a movement approach.

4.4 Clitic hosts

Most of the analyses on cliticization reviewed so far establish that cliticization happens in V⁰, as illustrated in (42) or I⁰, as in (44) (Kayne 1989, 1991; Rizzi 1982, just to name a few).

(43)



(44) $[_{IP} [I^0 \text{ Clitic}+I^0] [_{VP} [V^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] [_{CP} [C^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] [_{IP} [I^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] \dots]]]]]$

However, more recently, other sites and hosts have been postulated too. For instance, Cardinaletti and Roberts (to appear), and Roberts (1994) suggest that cliticization takes place in a site above I^0 , which is different from Uriagereka's F^0 (as seen in the previous subsection above). And recall that Rouveret (1999) proposes the existence of a Wackernagel Phrase (WP) above CP.

Following Belletti (1982), Kayne (1991), and Koopman (1984), among others, Dobrovie-Sorin (1999) argues that since Infl is the host of clitic pronouns, verbs that do not move to Infl cannot serve as hosts for clitics; this is the case of infinitives in Spanish or French. However, Kayne (1994: 20) establishes that clitics cannot adjoin to the node I^0 to which verbs adjoin because the adjunction of more than one element to a given element is prohibited by the antisymmetry requirement imposed by the Linear Correspondence Axiom (henceforth, LCA). Based on this, Dobrovie-Sorin argues that pronominal cliticization involves adjunction to IP rather than I^0 . In fact, Emonds (1999) observes that I^0 has often been claimed to be the site of cliticization, as opposed to V^0 , because the complex unit formed by the verb and the clitic pronoun raises to I^0 in Romance, but, as Kayne (1975) argues, V^0 is the actual host of cliticization, and not I^0 . Emonds (1999: 313) provides evidence from French clitic placement in conjunction with adverbs that supports the hypothesis that clitics attach to V^0 with no exception, and that their presence in I^0 is caused by verb raising. Moreover, Emonds (1985, 1999) claims that gerundive structures (illustrated in (45)) in Spanish have no IP projection, and still the clitic pronoun surfaces attached to the gerund:

(45) *Leyéndolo con atención,...*

reading.Cl with attention

“Reading it carefully,...”

Finally, Franco (1993) argues that pronominal clitics in French, Italian, and Spanish contrast with their medieval counterparts in the type of hosts to which they can cliticize. Thus, clitic pronouns in these three Romance languages always attach to either the left or the right of a verb. As mentioned elsewhere, Spanish does not allow any independent lexical elements to intervene between clitic pronouns and their hosts. The hypothesis that clitic pronouns in Spanish always choose a verb as their host seems indisputable. However, as far as I know, there are no mechanisms in the syntax that are both powerful enough and restrictive enough to account for this type of selection.

Therefore, several scholars claim that clitic pronouns are endowed with features that specify the type of host to which they attach (Halpern 1992; Klavans 1982, 1995; Suñer 1988); those features also contain information relevant to the clitics' subcategorization frames (Jaeggli 1982). This is the approach adopted in the present study.

All in all, it appears that the amount of evidence supporting the verb as the host of cliticization is far more robust than that claiming that the clitic pronoun attaches to some other type of element, such as I^0 , for instance. This, however, does not mean that the attachment of the clitic pronoun and the verb necessarily happens in V^0 , as will be seen in the next chapter.

4.5 Clitic pronouns and negation

The interaction of clitic pronouns and negation is a topic often discussed in the literature because it can provide very valuable information on the type of movement undergone by the clitic pronoun. Kayne (1989, 1991), for instance, claims that clitic pronouns are heads that follow the constraints imposed on head-movement based on the fact that negation interferes with the movement of the clitic, as illustrated in (46) for French, and (47) for Italian:

(46) a. *Jean la fait manger par/à Paul.*

Jean Cl make eat by/to Paul

“Jean made Paul eat it”

b. **Jean l’a fait ne pas manger à l’enfant.*

Jean Cl-has made not Neg. eat to the.child

(47) a. *Gianni vuole vederli.*

Gianni wants to.see.Cl

b. *Gianni li vuole vedere.*

Gianni Cl wants to.see

“Gianni wants to see them”

c. *Gianni vuole non vederli.*

Gianni wants not to.see.Cl

“Gianni does not want to see them”

d. **Gianni li vuole non vedere.*

Gianni Cl wants not to.see

Based on the groundbreaking study by Pollock (1989), a number of researchers propose the existence of a NegP that is located between AgrSP and TP. The Spec of NegP hosts n-words, and the head of NegP hosts the negative clitic (*no* in Spanish, *non* in Italian, *ne* in French), as in Belletti (1994), and Pollock (1989). According to Belletti, *no* is a syntactic clitic that, like object pronominal clitics, left-adjoins to the Agr head. Zanuttini (1991, 1997) claims that if *no* is a clitic, then it should be also subject to the same ordering constraints that other clitic pronouns are subjected to; however, the preverbal negative element always precedes pronominal object clitics in Spanish, as can be observed in example (48):

(48) a. *No me lo dijiste.*

not Cl Cl told.2sg

“You did not tell it to me”

b. **Me no lo dijiste.*

Cl not Cl said.2sg

c. **Me lo no dijiste.*

Cl Cl not said.2sg

In addition, negation shows no coordination restrictions, while clitic pronouns can never be coordinated, as shown in (51). If, as Belletti (1994) claims, the negative element and object pronominal clitics attach to the same Agr⁰ head, explaining how negation in (49a) has scope over both coordinated constituents is a difficult task:

(49) a. *No lo compro y lo uso solo una vez.*
not CI buy.1sg and CI use.1sg only one time.

“I do not buy it and use it only one time.”

b. **Los y la uso varias veces.*

CI and CI use.1sg several times.

Based on these facts Zanuttini (1991, 1994, 1997, 2001) concludes that the negative elements *no*, *ne*, and *non* belong to a syntactic category that is different from that of pronominal clitics, in spite of the fact that both negative elements and clitic pronouns attach to a verb. In fact, the position of negation with respect to clitic pronouns may be invariable because negation and clitics have a different syntactic nature. According to Mišeska Tomić (1999), pronominal clitics are already listed in the lexicon as clitic elements—possibly including the feature [+clitic], as argued in Chapter 2—whose main identifying characteristic is lack of phonological stress (although see Chapter 2 for arguments against this hypothesis). Negative elements, on the other hand, are generated as stress-bearing operators that become clitics only when they merge with the verb and other pronominal clitics.

Regarding the phrasal status of negative elements, Zanuttini (2001) proposes a series of tests in order to determine whether negative clitics are heads or phrases. Therefore, based on the assumption that clitic pronouns are heads, their interaction with negation is studied on the premise that heads always interfere with the movement of other heads, as seen in (48), and (49) above. Thus, Zanuttini (2001) concludes that negative elements like *ne* or *no* are heads. However, there is also the possibility that negative

markers are phrases; and, in fact, certain syntactic phenomena seem to suggest that negative markers have a phrasal status. Such is the fact that clitic pronouns may move over negation in certain structures in Spanish, as illustrated in (50)⁷⁰:

(50) a. *Quiero no comerlo.*

want.1sg not to.eat.Cl

“I want to not eat it”

b. *Lo quiero no comer.*

Cl want.1sg not to.eat

“I want to not eat it”

Zanuttini (2001) concludes that whether a language projects NegP or not should be studied independently. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that because French or Spanish have a NegP headed by a negative element (*ne* and *no* respectively), other languages also manifest negation in the same fashion. Also, she shows evidence from different Romance and Germanic languages suggesting that NegP is not fixed cross-linguistically. Actually, within the Romance family there appear to be four different attested locations in which NegP can appear. Since Spanish is the main language of study here, Zanuttini (1997, 2001) shows that *no* is located above TP. Crucially, negation provides further support indicating that even though the sequence of functional projections is made available to all languages by Universal Grammar, the grammar of each individual language does not always instantiate all of them, and, oftentimes, the ordering in which they appear varies cross-linguistically.

⁷⁰ These cases are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

4.6 On the licensing of *pro*, coindexation, and chains

One of the most relevant problems in a theory in which clitic pronouns are generated in a functional projection outside the lexical domain of the structure is to account for the type of relationship that clitic pronouns hold with respect to their coreferential argument NPs/empty categories. Several explanations can be found in the literature, from the strictly stipulative and unmotivated, as in Emonds (1999), who claims that clitic pronouns are systematically associated to a sister of their host's projection, which is usually an empty phrase, to more semantically-oriented, as will be seen next. Montalbetti (1984), for example, focuses on the interpretation of pronouns and proposes the Overt Pronouns Constraint (henceforth, OPC) as a tool to distinguish between formal variable and bound pronouns, on the one hand, and between traces that are formal variables and traces that are not, on the other hand. Moreover, the OPC seems to indicate that constructions that contain restructuring predicates are structurally different from non-restructuring constructions, which has important implications for clitic climbing, as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6.

One of the main contributions made by Montalbetti's study is the characterization and definition of linking that he provides. Thus, according to the author, linking is a mechanism that represents the assignment of the *antecedence* relation that two positions hold in any given structure. He states that linking is an asymmetric mechanism—not a transitive relation—that establishes a relation between two (and only two) positions in the structure. Furthermore, he determines that linking is independent of the notion of c-command, and, in principle, it applies freely between any two positions at S-Structure.

Contra Higginbotham (1983)⁷¹ and movement analyses of cliticization, Montalbetti shows evidence from different types of movement that suggests that linking may hold between non-arguments, and that linking is not automatically assigned under movement; on the contrary, it can be predicted and derived from general principles of the grammar. Similarly, Franco (1993) claims that *pro* licensing is accounted for by Case Theory. Parallel to structural Case assignment, Franco argues that the licensing of *pro* is done under a Spec-head relation: the same functional head that assigns structural Case also licenses *pro*. Thus, *pro* licensing and identification take place at the same time as Case checking. Finally, Montalbetti (1984: 135) stipulates that the relation that holds between a *pro* in [Spec, AgrSP] and Infl is mirrored by the relationship that exists between a *pro* in argument position and a coindexed/linked clitic pronoun at least with respect to properties of identification, provided that Borer's (1984) Identificational Approach to empty categories is correct.⁷²

Bonet (1991: 41-43) claims that a chain involving personal pronouns is spelled-out either in the head (surfacing as a clitic pronoun), or in the foot (surfacing as a strong pronoun). Under no circumstances, claims Bonet (contra Progovac 2005), are intermediate steps in the chain spelled-out, mainly because the trace in an intermediate position never corresponds to a clitic pronoun but rather to a clitic cluster, or to a clitic pronoun and a verb. Crucially, Bonet claims that the empty category *pro* that is generated

⁷¹ Higginbotham (1983), stipulates that linking applies only between *argument positions* and is assigned automatically under movement at S-Structure and at LF.

⁷² The Identificational Approach proposed by Borer (1984) establishes that:

- a) an empty category must be I-identified
- b) empty categories do not have intrinsic features

as an argument of the verb might not necessarily be licensed by the clitic pronoun, as the paradigm in (51) illustrates (from Bonet 1991: 26):

(51) a. *Les sabates, les ficaré a l'armari.*

the shoes Cl will.put.1sg in the.closet

“I will put the shoes in the closet.”

b. **Les sabates, ficaré a l'armari.*

the shoes will.put.1sg in the.closet

c. *Los zapatos, los meteré en el armario.*

the shoes Cl will.put.1sg in the closet

“I will put the shoes in the closet”

d. **Los zapatos, meteré en el armario.*

the shoes will.put.1sg in the closet

e. *A l'armari, hi ficaré les sabates noves.*

in the.closet Cl will.put.1sg the shoes new

“I will put the new shoes in the closet”

f. **A l'armari, ficaré les sabates noves.*

in the.closet will.put.1sg the shoes new

g. *En el armario, meteré los zapatos nuevos.*

in the closet will.put.1sg the shoes new

“I will put the new shoes in the closet”

It can be observed in the examples that both in Catalan (51) and Spanish (51) a direct object clitic pronoun is necessary in CLLD structures, as evidenced in the ungrammatical

(51b, d). However, based on the different results obtained in the locative structures (51e-g), the author points out that while the presence of the clitic pronoun seems to be required for *pro* to be licensed in most cases, it appears that in structures with locative left dislocation, that requirement does not seem to hold. Bonet takes this as an indication that the clitic pronoun may not be licensing *pro*, much like argued, for example, by Franco (1993), and Montalbetti (1984).

In a more developed analysis of locative structures, Longa, Lorenzo, and Rigau (1998) propose the existence of an abstract locative clitic in Spanish, based on evidence from Spanish, Catalan, Asturian, and Galician. They claim that locative structures in these four languages have different spell-outs for the same abstract verb, which they represent as <HAVE>/ <BE>. These verbs surface as auxiliaries that behave as the bridge of a predication established between a preposition and a subject. Some of the differences that can be found among these languages with respect to <HAVE>/ <BE> pertain to clitic pronouns. Thus, Catalan, a language with a rich clitic pronoun system, uses specific clitics in these structures, as seen in (53e) above. Languages like Asturian, Galician, and Northwestern Spanish display what the authors call a “recycling” strategy by which the Accusative clitic is used in locative structures. Finally, it is claimed that other dialects of Spanish (i.e. Castilian and Southern Spanish) are somehow resilient to clitic recycling and use silent clitics in these structures instead.

Longa et al. (1998) observe that the verb <HAVE> in the above-mentioned languages displays different syntactic behavior, as illustrated in (52) for Catalan (from

Longa et al. 1998), (53) for Asturian, (54) for Galician, and (55) for Spanish (examples (52-55) have been adapted from Longa et al. 1998):

(52) a. *Hi había un flequer.*

Cl had a baker

“There was a baker.”

b. *Hi había el flequer.*

Cl had the baker

“The baker was there.”

c. *A MIT, hi ha en Chomsky.*

at MIT, Cl has the Chomsky

“Chomsky is at MIT.”

d. *Hi ha el meu pare.*

Cl has the my father

“My father is there.”

Asturian, Galician, and Northwestern Spanish, on the other hand, are languages with a more restrictive clitic pronoun system in which there are no locative clitics. Thus, the examples in (53-55) show the accusative clitic in the same contexts in which a locative clitic surfaces in Catalan:

(53) a. *Había unes muyeres xunto la fonte.*

was some women next.to the fountain

“There were some women next to the fountain.”

b. *Había**les***

was.Cl

“There were some”

c. **Había **les** **muyeres** xunto la fonte.*

was the women next.to the fountain

(54) a. *Había **unhas** **mulleres** xunto á fonte.*

was some women next.to the fountain

b. *Había**as***

was.Cl

“There were some”

c. **Había **as** **mulleres** xunto á fonte.*

was the women next.to the fountain

(55) a. *Había **unas** **mujeres** junto a la fuente.*

was some women next to the fountain.

“There were some women next to the fountain”

b. ***Las** **había.***

Cl was

“There were some”

c. **Había **las** **mujeres** junto a la fuente.*

was the women next.to the fountain

According to the authors, the Accusative clitic seems to be the unmarked form within the system of clitic pronouns in these languages; this allows the Accusative clitic to be

‘recycled’ by the grammar. Crucially, the authors show other examples in which the Accusative clitic is being used as a partitive clitic in Asturian (56), Galician (57), and Northwestern Spanish (58).⁷³

(56) *¿Había bruxes? Non, nun les había.*

was witches no, not CI was

“Were there any witches? No, there were not any”

(57) *¿Había meigas? Non, non as había.*

was witches no, not CI was

“Were there any witches? No, there were not any”

(58) *¿Había brujas? No, no las había.*

was witches no not CI was

“Were there any witches? No, there were not any?”

Crucially, the same example in Catalan requires the presence of a partitive clitic, as illustrated in (59):

(59) *¿Hi havia bruixes? No, no n'hi havia.*

CI was witches no, not CI.CI was

“Were there any witches? No, there were not any?”

Other cases of clitic recycling involve the Accusative clitic pronoun in deictic-emphatic structures in Galician, as shown in (60), or with matrix interrogative questions of a locative nature in Asturian, as illustrated in (61):

⁷³ See also Suñer (1982) for examples of a recycling strategy in existential structures in Spanish.

(60) a. *¡Aquí as veñen elas!*

here Cl come they

“Here they come”

b. *¡Aquí os veñen os vecinos!*

here Cl come the neighbors

“Here come the neighbors”

(61) a. *¿Úlu?*

where.Cl

“Where is he?”

b. *¿Úla?*

where.Cl

“Where is she?”

It is hypothesized that this clitic recycling strategy is a last resort strategy that employs the least marked element in the clitic pronominal system so as to fill in a gap. If this hypothesis is correct, then Bonet’s (1991) observations are not entirely accurate.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter I have given a brief account of second position (2P) clitic pronoun systems in Romance. Thus, the main theories and analyses have been critically reviewed, highlighting the main issues and problems. It has been surmised that the dichotomy between syntax and prosody that surrounds 2P clitic systems should be studied on a language-particular basis. However, in the case of Romance languages, the syntactic constraints seem to be more efficient in accounting for the data, as they can cover a larger array of data. As will be seen in Chapter 7, 2P clitic pronoun systems are no longer applicable to descriptions of Romance languages.

In §4.2, I have given a description of proclisis and enclisis patterns in Spanish simple sentences. As explained in §4.3, there are different theories and analyses based on these different cliticization patterns. Thus, I have briefly discussed the three main theoretical approaches to cliticization found in the generative framework: the movement approach, the base-generation approach, and the mixed approach. After a careful examination of the main tenets and drawbacks of each approach, it appears that an analysis that postulates the generation of clitic pronouns in the functional domain of the sentence (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999; Manzini and Savoia 2004; Progovac 2005; Uriagereka 1995; Zwart 1997, among others) can account for more facts than the movement approach, in which clitic pronouns are claimed to be arguments generated in the canonical argument position. In fact, several scholars argue that clitic pronouns are no longer linked to an internal argument via a movement chain. On the contrary, as argued in Chapter 2, clitic pronouns are the morphological representation of an abstract feature

of the verb that licenses the realization of certain kinds of internal arguments, and makes visible the relation between the verb and its internal argument (Fontana 1993; Franco 1993; Van Riemsdijk 1982). In addition, there is also empirical evidence favoring analyses in which clitic pronouns are generated heading a functional projection of their own, as discussed in §4.3.2 (Duffield and White 1999).

Intertwined with analyses of cliticization is the question of where the attachment of the clitic to its host happens. Given the constraints postulated by the most current generative framework, analyses that invoke phonological and/or prosodic accounts of cliticization should be rejected. It has been established in different versions of the generative theory that the syntactic component of the grammar is blind to the phonetic and phonological components (Chomsky 1995 and previous as well as references cited therein). Therefore, those approaches stating that constituents move in order to host clitic pronouns are erroneous, because they presuppose that syntax is guided by phonological information. Most of the analyses reviewed in §4.3 assume that clitic pronouns are heads, thus, it is often proposed that the attachment of the clitic pronoun to its host happens in V^0 , I^0 , or some other functional head. It is still not clear whether cliticization happens in a particular head; and so it is possible that the site of cliticization varies.

In §4.5 the interaction of clitic pronouns and negation was discussed. One of the main goals of this section was to decide whether clitic pronouns are heads or phrases based on different patterns observed when negation is present in the structure. The evidence supporting the head status of both clitic pronouns and negation is robust. In addition, I commented on the different nature of the negative marker and clitic pronouns,

in spite of their clitic status. This section also provides evidence that the order and presence of functional projections varies cross-linguistically. This is evidenced in the fact that NegP, for instance, displays different locations in the functional skeleton of the clause in different languages, as seen in §4.5. In addition, the presence vs. absence of the functional projection headed by the past participle further confirms the variability of functional projections, as discussed in §4.3.1.

Finally, I briefly developed the much-debated topics of coindexation and chains in §4.6. Often discussed in the literature is whether those approaches that advocate the generation of clitic pronouns outside the lexical domain of the sentence need to account for the nature of the structural position in which clitics are generated, as well as how the relation between the clitic and the internal argument is established. Hence, several different proposals have been reviewed and considered, leading to the conclusion that this type of information is already included in the lexical entry of the elements involved in the relation.

Chapter 5

Clitic Climbing

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I describe clitic placement in complex structures in Spanish. Thus, in §5.1, clitic climbing is described, and I provide a detailed account of the type of predicates that allow clitic climbing. Based on this description, in §5.2, I review some of the most prevailing approaches found in the generative literature regarding clitic climbing. Amongst these approaches, there are two main hypotheses to consider. As discussed in §5.2.1, some researchers claim that clitic climbing is the result of a mechanism of incorporation. Other authors stipulate that restructuring renders transparency effects that makes clitic climbing available in certain languages, as will be explained in §5.2.2. Aside from incorporation and restructuring, some other topics that are reviewed in §5.2 are clause reduction and a syntactic phenomenon that pertains only to Italian—auxiliary switch—but that has often been used as a diagnostic for restructuring and clitic climbing. In addition, the mono- or bi-clausal status of clitic climbing structures is also discussed, and I conclude that a bi-clausal analysis of clitic climbing structures seems to be preferred.

5.1 The position of clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures: description

Clitic climbing is a very common phenomenon among the Romance languages and can be defined as the movement of clitic pronoun from an embedded non-finite clause to a matrix clause, as illustrated in (1). For example, in complex structures formed

by a finite verb followed by an infinitive or gerund, clitic pronouns can surface in two different positions: enclitic to the infinitive or gerund, as in (1a, 1c), or proclitic to the finite verb in the matrix clause, as in (1b, 1d):

(1) a. *Debo leerla.*

must.1sg to.read.Cl

b. *La debo leer.*

Cl must.1sg to.read

“I must read it”

c. *Quiero seguir leyéndola.*

want.1sg. to.continue reading.Cl

d. *La quiero seguir leyendo.*

Cl want.1sg to.continue reading

“I want to continue reading it”

Clitic climbing can only happen in this context; hence, when the embedded sentence contains a finite verb and is headed by a complementizer, the clitic pronoun is bound to the embedded sentence and cannot appear attached to the matrix finite verb, as illustrated in (2):

(2) a. *Quiero que lo leas.*

want.1sg that Cl read.2sg

“I want you to read it”

b. **Lo quiero que leas.*

Cl want.1sg that read.2sg

Crucially, only certain prepositions and particles may appear between the matrix finite verb and the non-finite embedded verb, as exemplified in the contrast between the grammatical pairs of sentences (3a-3d), and the ungrammatical pair in (3e, 3f):

(3) a. *Tengo que hacerlo.*

have.1sg to do.Cl

b. *Lo tengo que hacer.*

Cl have.1sg to do

“I have to do it”

c. *Voy a leerlo.*

go.1sg to read.Cl

d. *Lo voy a leer.*

Cl go.1sg to read

“I am going to read it”

e. *Cuento con leerlo.*

count.1sg with read.Cl

“I count on reading it”

f. **Lo cuento con leer.*

Cl count.1sg with read

In Spanish, only modals, aspectuals, causatives, and periphrastic verbs allow clitic climbing. The present chapter will focus on clitic climbing of direct object pronouns in structures containing modals, aspectuals, and periphrastic verbs, to the exclusion of

causative constructions, for reasons to be made explicit. The following list illustrates some of these verbs.⁷⁴

(4) a. Periphrastic verbs

ir a (to go to);

venir a (to come to)

aprender a (to learn to)

tratar de (to try to)

b. Aspectuals

acabar de/ terminar de (to just finished);

soler (to use to);

empezar a/ comenzar a (to start to);

volver a (to do again);

dejar de (to stop)

c. Modals

poder (to be able to; can)

querer (to want)

haber de (to have to)

tener que (to have to)

deber (de) (to have to; must)

desear (to desire)

⁷⁴ For a complete list, consult Davies (1995), Moore (1996), Rivas (1977), and Strozer (1976), among others.

These three groups of verbs are commonly known as restructuring predicates, which, according to their syntactic behavior, can be further subdivided into two categories (Moore 1996): those verbs that subcategorize for both an IP and a VP complement (e.g., verbs like *querer* ‘to want’ and *tratar de* ‘to try to’) and raising predicates that subcategorize for an IP (e.g., verbs like *empezar a* ‘to start to’ *poder* ‘to be able to’, *tener que*, ‘to have to’, and *deber* ‘to have to’).

Even though causative verbs (i.e. *hacer* ‘to make’, *obligar* ‘to make someone do something’) allow the clitic pronoun to surface proclitic to the matrix causative verb, it is believed that the type of climbing that appears with causative verbs is governed by different principles from those constraining clitic climbing in structures with modals, aspectuals, and periphrastic verbs. Strozer (1976), for instance, claims that clitic climbing in restructuring constructions is driven by syntactic constraints that are different from the rules that account for clitic climbing in causative constructions. Thus, she establishes that there are two sub-cases of clitic climbing: causative clitic climbing and ‘regular’ clitic climbing. Rivas (1977) also states that causative verbs behave in a different way from the verbs illustrated in (4) in terms of clitic climbing. The author points out that the clitic that is coreferential to the controller is always attached to the matrix V^0 , as exemplified in (5c), and can never surface enclitic to the embedded non-finite verb, as exemplified in (5b):

(5) a. *Carmen hizo venir a Rosa.*

Carmen made to.come to Rosa

“Carmen made Rosa come”.

b. **Carmen hizo venir***la**.

Carmen made to.come.Cl

c. *Carmen **la** hizo venir*.

Carmen Cl made to.come

“Carmen made her come.”

In subsequent work, Rosen (1990) investigates the syntactic behavior of causatives, perception, and restructuring verbs and provides a list of properties that characterize these verbs in French, Italian, and Spanish. She observes that, in Romance causatives and perception verbs, the lower subject appears inside the embedded VP, as illustrated in (6):

(6) a. *Iván hizo [comer el pastel a Lorena]*.

Iván made to.eat the cake to Lorena

“Iván made Lorena eat the cake”

b. ?* *Iván hizo a Lorena comer el pastel*.

Iván made to Lorena to.eat the cake

French, Italian, and Spanish causatives and perception verbs also share other syntactic properties with restructuring predicates, including Case assignment mechanisms, and clitic climbing.⁷⁵ The three languages also allow climbing to the matrix clause with causative, perception, and restructuring verbs, as illustrated in the Spanish examples (7-9) respectively:

⁷⁵ Rosen maintains that Case assignment to the lower subject depends on the transitivity of the lower verb.

(7) *Iván le hizo comerlo.*

Iván Cl made to.eat.Cl

“Iván made her eat it”

(8) *Iván la vio comerlo.*

Iván Cl saw to.eat.Cl

“Iván saw her eat it”

(9) *Iván lo debió comer.*

Iván Cl must to.eat

“Iván must have eaten it”

However, as noted by Rosen, there are other properties that do not uniformly apply to the three languages under study. For instance, passivization of the complex causative verb applies in Italian causatives, and not in French or Spanish causatives, as illustrated in (10) for Spanish:

(10) a. *Iván ha hecho comer el pastel a Laura.*

Iván has made to.eat the cake to Laura

“Iván has made Laura eat the cake”

b. **Laura ha sido hecha comer el pastel (por Iván).*

Laura has been made to.eat the cake (by Iván)

Rosen concludes that the properties associated with causative and perception verbs indicate that they have a different status from other verbs, such as restructuring verbs. This suggests that clitic climbing with causative and perception verbs has a different derivation from clitic climbing with restructuring verbs. Consequently, Rosen proposes

three different syntactic structures that account for the distinct behavior observed in Spanish and French causatives and perception verbs, on the one hand, and Italian causatives and perception verbs on the other hand. Thus, the author claims that French perception verbs and Exceptional Case Marking select a full IP, as illustrated in (11):⁷⁶

(11) [_{IP} *Je l'ai* [_{VP} *vu* [_{IP} *arriver*]]]

I Cl-have seen to.arrive

“I have seen her arrive”

Italian causatives and perception verbs on the other hand subcategorize for a VP complement and always allow clitic climbing. This construction, which Rosen calls a Complete Merger, is illustrated in (12):

(12) [_{IP} *L'ha* *fatto* [_{VP} *chiamare*]]

Cl-has.3sg made to.call

“(S)he has made him/her call”

Finally, there are structures that Rosen considers to be Partial Mergers. These structures are very similar to Complete Mergers in the sense that they also select for a VP complement; however, clitic climbing is not always allowed. This is the case of French and Spanish causatives, whose argument structures are partially collapsed, as illustrated in (13) for Spanish:⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Only the most relevant constituents have been illustrated.

⁷⁷ See also Zubizarreta (1985, 1987) for a proposal that illustrates a fundamental difference in representation for causative and perception verbs across the Romance languages.

(13) a. [IP *Lo hizo* [VP *llamarla*]]

Cl made.3sg to.call.Cl

“(S)he made him call her”

b. * *Lo la hizo llamar.*

Cl Cl made to.call

c. *Hizo llamarlo.*

made.3sg to.call.Cl

d. *Lo hizo llamar.*

Cl made.3sg to.call

“(S)he made someone call him”

Similarly, Kayne (1989, 1991) lists a series of characteristics that indicate that residual clitic climbing in French causative structures is governed by different syntactic principles from clitic climbing with restructuring verbs. He argues that the only clitic pronouns able to climb in French, *en* and *y*, have different syntactic properties from accusative and dative clitics. Therefore, pronominal clitics should not all be treated the same way; after all, he adds, the derivation of those French structures with subject clitic pronouns is different from the derivation of structures containing object clitic pronouns. Haverkort (1999) agrees with Kayne and stipulates that locative and partitive clitic pronouns retained the ability to climb in causative structures because they differed in syntactic behavior from accusative and dative clitics. Authier and Reed (2006) also claim that the movement of the locative and partitive clitic pronouns in French is unrelated to restructuring, and they show that French does not have the transparency effects that

characterize restructuring constructions (see §5.2.2). Thus, I will not discuss or try to account for causative structures in the present investigation.

5.2 Previous analyses of clitic climbing

Clitic climbing is a very well-studied and debated topic in theoretical syntax, especially in the generative framework. Since the number of analyses dedicated to clitic climbing is very extensive, only the most influential will be reviewed. As mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter, the approaches to clitic climbing can be grouped under two different approaches: the incorporation approach and the restructuring approach. The incorporation approach to clitic climbing (Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe 1994; Kayne 1989, 1991, 1994; Roberts 1991, 1994, 1997, among others) is usually correlated with bi-clausality (i.e. the clitic climbing structure is formed by a matrix clause and a dependent embedded clause). According to incorporation analyses, the clitic pronoun is generated in the embedded clause and it undergoes head-to-head movement to attach to the infinitive verb with which it forms a unit. Some of the most representative analyses of clitic climbing with incorporation will be discussed and summarized in §5.2.1.

The restructuring approaches to clitic climbing (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004; Cinque 2001, 2002; Haegeman 2006; Rizzi 1982; Wurmbrand 2001, among others) advocate the mono-clausality of clitic climbing structures. This group of analyses receives its name after a class of verbs that is claimed to be universal (see, for example, Cinque 1999 and subsequent), and that allows certain phenomena, such as clitic climbing, to occur. As will be discussed in §5.2.2, the restructuring approach postulates that clitic

climbing can only happen with this universal class of predicates, provided the right context is present.

5.2.1 Incorporation analyses of clitic climbing

The debate regarding the status of structures with clitic climbing (the so-called 'reduced structures') has been extensively studied in the generative literature. There are three main points of view regarding the analysis of reduced structures. For example, Kayne (1975), and Rizzi (1982), among others, propose that mono-clausal representations are derived from bi-clausal representations. However, Baker (1988) and Kayne (1989) maintain that reduced structures are always bi-clausal. Kiss (1987: 216), Rosen (1990), and Zubizarreta (1985), on the other hand, propose a double derivation for reduced structures in which a bi-clausal and a mono-clausal representation are simultaneously present. Finally, Cinque (1999 and subsequent) argues in favor of a mono-clausal analysis of reduced structures, as will be seen in §5.2.2.

The incorporation-excorporation analyses (Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe 1994; Kayne 1989, 1991, 1994; Roberts 1991, 1994, 1997; Rooryck 1994; Rouveret 1999; Solá 2002) discussed in this section have a morphological basis that determines the movement of embedded V^0 —to which the clitic pronoun is attached—from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. In addition, incorporation analyses usually argue in favor of bi-clausal representations of clitic climbing structures.

5.2.1.1 Kayne (1989, 1991) and followers

Kayne (1989) claims that those reduced structures that allow clitic climbing are bi-clausal. One of the main objectives in this analysis is to provide a unified account of, on the one hand, regular clitic climbing ('regular' in the sense of Strozer 1976), and, on the other hand, reduced and causative structures such as the following:

(14) a. (*) *Jean a promis de les bien faire.*

Jean has promised to Cl well do

“Jean has promised to do them well.”

b. *Jean la fait manger par/à Paul.*

Jean Cl made to.eat by/to Paul

“Jean made Paul eat it”

One of the most important observations in Kayne (1989) is the apparent correlation that exists between clitic climbing and the pro-drop parameter. In particular, those languages that allow clitic climbing are null-subject languages, as illustrated in (15) for Spanish. On the other hand, there are languages whose grammar does not allow null subjects (16b) or clitic climbing (16c), like French:

(15) a. *Ella quiere verlo.*

she wants to.see.Cl

b. *pro quiere verlo.*

wants.3sg to.see.Cl

c. *Ella lo quiere ver.*

she Cl wants to.see

d. pro *lo quiere ver.*

Cl wants.2sg to.see

“She wants to see it/him”

(16) a. *Elle veut le voir.*

she wants Cl to.see

“She wants to see him”

b. *pro *veut le voir.*

wants.3sg Cl to.see

c. **Elle le veut voir.*

she Cl wants to.see

Thus, Kayne proposes an analysis in which null-subject languages have a strong Infl that can L-mark the VP complement. The L-marking mechanism proposed by Kayne removes the barrierhood rendered by the VP and allows the clitic pronoun to move outside the embedded VP via head movement. Clitic pronouns, then, are assumed to move cyclically and to adjoin to embedded I^0 . Crucially, cliticization takes place in embedded I^0 ; from that position, the unit formed by clitic+ I^0 undergoes head movement through the empty embedded C^0 until it reaches the matrix clause, where it adjoins to matrix I^0 , as illustrated in (17):

(17) $[IP [I^0 \text{ Clitic}+I^0] [VP [V^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] [CP [C^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] [IP [I^0 \text{ t}_{\text{Clitic}+I^0}] \dots]]]]$

One of the implications rendered by this hypothesis is that the site of cliticization is variable, as clitic pronouns can optionally cliticize to I^0 , or to V^0 . In the case of finite sentences, Kayne argues that both options converge, because the finite verb always raises

to I⁰ in Romance, as established in Pollock (1989).⁷⁸ In the case of structures that contain an untensed predicate the optionality of the site of cliticization renders visibly different results among the Romance languages. Then, the main difference between clitic climbing languages and non clitic climbing languages resides in the ability of the embedded infinitive to raise to I⁰. Since according to Pollock (1989, 1997) the embedded infinitive does not raise to I⁰, the only cliticization site available is V⁰.⁷⁹ Thus, Kayne stipulates that French embedded I⁰ is not strong enough to L-mark the VP. Hence, if the clitic pronoun moved to I⁰, its trace would not be properly governed because VP forms a barrier for government. Therefore, it can be assumed that clitic pronouns can only attach to V⁰ in non clitic climbing languages.

In later work, Kayne (1991) focuses on structures such as those illustrated in (18a, b) for French, and (18c, d) for Italian:

(18) a. *Lui parler serait une erreur.*

Cl to.speak would.be a mistake

“To talk to him would be a mistake”

b. **Parler-lui serait une erreur.*

to.talk-Cl would.be a mistake

“To talk to him would be a mistake”

⁷⁸ A similar idea can be found in Rosen (1990), who claims that clitic pronouns move from their base positions in order to attach to I⁰.

⁷⁹ Consult Iatridou (1990) and Baker (1991) for rather unsuccessful counter arguments against Pollock’s (1989) hypotheses.

c. *Parlargli sarebbe un errore.*

to.talk.Cl would.be a mistake

“To talk to him would be a mistake”

d. **Gli parlare sarebbe un errore.*

Cl to.talk would.be a mistake

“To talk to him would be a mistake”

Based on the fact that clitic pronouns precede the infinitive verb in French, but follow it in Italian, Kayne (1991) claims that Romance clitic pronouns left-adjoin to the highest functional head in the structure. He explains the difference between French, on the one hand, and Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, in terms of movement. Specifically, he claims that the highest functional head to which the pronoun attaches dominates the verb, which results in the order clitic+verb attested in French infinitives and illustrated in (14a). In Spanish and Italian infinitival constructions the order verb+clitic (14c) results from the verb moving past the functional head to which the clitic pronouns attaches (cf., Longa and Lorenzo 1995).

Contra Rizzi (1982), Kayne (1991) states that the matrix and embedded clauses in clitic climbing structures are not conjoined. On the contrary, structures that exhibit clitic climbing are bi-clausal. The properties of the inflectional system render the CP boundary transparent and allow the movement of clitic pronouns, hence clitic climbing. In this updated account, languages that allow clitic climbing display different properties with respect to clitic placement when compared to languages with no clitic climbing, like French. For instance, it is claimed that clitic pronouns are forced to move to T^0 in clitic

climbing languages. Movement to T^0 may occur in two different ways: the verb moves to matrix T^0 , which renders a structure with clitic climbing, or the clitic pronoun moves to the complement of embedded T^0 , in which case there is no clitic climbing.

The first option is illustrated in the structure in (19) from Kayne (1991: 651):⁸⁰

(19) ... **V+Infn** ... **Cl+T** [_{Infn} e] ... [_{VP} [_V e] ...

As can be seen in (19), the complement of embedded T^0 does not contain a possible target for clitic placement, since, as established in Kayne (1991: 650, 1994), on the one hand, clitic pronouns can never adjoin to traces, only to heads; on the other hand, right-adjunction is not an available movement in the theory. Following Raposo (1987), Kayne stipulates that the infinitival $-r(e)$ suffix (**Infn** in the structure) of French and Italian corresponds to a functional head with nominal properties. V, in this case, adjoins to Infn, and then the unit V+Infn attaches to T' , while the clitic pronoun left-adjoins to matrix T^0 .

Languages that do not allow clitic climbing have a structure like the one exemplified in (20), from Kayne (1991: 651). This structure illustrates the movement of French infinitives, which involve movement of V to Infn, and nowhere else. Furthermore, as illustrated in the structure, the clitic pronoun does not adjoin to T^0 , as in clitic climbing languages, but to Infn. This is possible because T-incorporation does not seem to affect the target positions of the clitic pronouns. Hence, clitic climbing is ruled out in French.

(20) ... T Cl + [_{Infn} **V+Infn**] ... [_{VP} [_V e] ...

Crucially, Kayne (1991) appeals to Baker's (1988) Government Transparency Corollary so as to prevent Empty Category Principle (ECP) violations (Travis 1984). For the trace

⁸⁰ The *e* is an empty category that stands for the trace of the verb.

of the clitic pronoun to be properly identified in a structure with clitic climbing, like (15) above, Kayne proposes that the government domain of matrix V+T is extended to that of the incorporated T⁰.

In an analysis largely based on Kayne (1991), Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994) observe that only the universal class of restructuring predicates (Cinque 2001, 2002) allow transparency effects, and therefore clitic climbing. They adopt Kayne's (1991) theory of T-incorporation in which it is claimed that V⁰ does not adjoin to T⁰ in Romance non-finite clauses. According to the authors, T-incorporation results from the general condition that requires every verb to be licensed by Tense specifications. Consequently, verbs that lack Tense specifications (i.e. volition verbs) undergo T-incorporation obligatorily. On the other hand, the empty T⁰ that lacks Tense specifications moves to C⁰ and incorporates into the matrix verb. This mechanism provides the embedded verb with, for example, transitivity. Conversely, it is stipulated that the complement of non climbing verbs contain Tense specifications—even though they are non- finite verbs—that license the embedded verb so that incorporation into the matrix verb is not required any more.

Nevertheless, Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994) state that T-incorporation is not an obligatory process since the licensing of the embedded verb can be achieved at LF. This poses an important theoretical problem in terms of Economy. The optionality of licensing just explained indicates that licensing at LF is a less costly operation than licensing in overt syntax. Therefore, the derivation with overt licensing that results in clitic climbing should be less preferred by the grammar, hence discarded as

ungrammatical, because it involves a larger number of operations than the derivation with licensing at LF (i.e. no clitic climbing). Moreover, if T-incorporation occurs only before Spell-Out, as Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe (1994) claim, then the only possible outcome is the structure with clitic climbing. It seems that this analysis is unable to capture both clitic climbing and non clitic climbing options with an equally economical derivation.

Briefly recapitulating the incorporation analyses discussed thus far, we note advantages and disadvantages. Kayne's (1989) analysis, for example, can account for various syntactic phenomena that include clitic climbing, and unbounded long tough-movement, as pointed out in Moore (1996).⁸¹ Nevertheless, the analysis is unable to provide a successful explanation of clitic climbing in those languages in which the correlation between clitic climbing and the pro-drop parameter does not follow, as Kayne(1989, 1991) himself points out.⁸² Contra Kayne (1989, 1991), Cinque (2001) shows examples of 17th century French and Kru languages, all of which are non-null-subject languages, in which clitic climbing is grammatical. Moreover, the analysis just reviewed cannot explain how clitic pronouns can sometimes climb over a CP node in

⁸¹ The following example illustrates tough-movement, or easy-to-please constructions:

i) *John is easy to please.*

ii) *Franz is hard to love.*

⁸² Besides Kayne (1989), see Benincá (1986: 474-475) for examples in some of the Northern Italian dialects. See also Solá (2002) for evidence from Catalan against the correlation between clitic climbing and null-subject languages.

infinitival wh-islands, as pointed out in Rizzi (1982) and illustrated here in (21a) for Italian (example from Rizzi 1982: 36), and (21b) for Spanish.⁸³

(21) a. *Non **ti** saprei **che** dire.*

not Cl would.know.1sg what to.say

b. *No **te** sabría **qué** decir.*

not Cl would.know.1sg what to.say

“I would not know what to tell you”

Kayne claims that the default order with respect to clitic pronoun and host is proclitic (clitic+host), and that the enclitic host+clitic is a derived ordering (but see Wanner 1987). Accordingly, the derivation of enclitic constructions implies a larger number of operations than the derivation of proclitic structures, which incurs a violation of Economy (Chomsky 1995). Hence, the grammatical system should always discard enclisis as a costly option, which is obviously not the case. In addition, it is also not uncommon to find a preposition intervening between the matrix verb and the infinitive, as illustrated in (22); this poses a problem for the head incorporation analysis:

(22) a. *Acabo **de** hacerlo.*

just.1sg of to.do.Cl

b. ***Lo** acabo **de** hacer.*

Cl just.1sg of to.do

“I have just done it”

⁸³ Moore (1996) notes that this type of clitic climbing might be non-productive because it only happens with the verb *saber* ‘to know’ in Spanish.

Furthermore, Kayne (1989) maintains that the order host+clitic is also characteristic of null-subject languages. He maintains that clitic pronouns attach to the left of infinitives in non-null-subject languages, as illustrated in French in (23). Null-subject languages like Spanish, on the other hand, show clitic pronouns attached to the right of infinitives, as exemplified in (24).

(23) *Lui parler* serait une erreur.

Cl to.speak would.be an error

“To speak to him would be a mistake”

(24) a. *Hacerlo* sería un error.

to.do.Cl would.be an error

“It would be a mistake to do it”

b. *No hacerlo* sería un error.

not to.do.Cl would.be an error

“To not do it would be a mistake”

c. **No lo hacer* sería un error.

not Cl to.do would.be an error.

Crucially, the appearance of other elements in the clause does not change the host+clitic order in Spanish, as observed in (24b) and (24c). However, there are languages like Asturian, a Romance language spoken in the northwestern part of Spain, in which certain elements trigger the order clitic+host, as in (25b):

(25) a. *Comelu yera bono.*

to.eat.Cl was good

“To eat it would be good”

b. *Nun lu comer yera bono.*

not Cl to.eat was good

“To not eat it would be good”

c. ?? *Nun comelu yera bono.*

not to.eat.Cl was good

In the paradigm illustrated in (25), the enclitic and proclitic patterns are affected by the presence or absence of certain elements in the structure.⁸⁴ Thus, in (25a), the clitic pronoun is enclitic to the infinitive, while in (25b) negation forces the proclitic pattern; enclisis, although dispreferred, is also grammatical, as indicated in (25c).⁸⁵

Finally, even though Kayne’s (1991) and Bok-Bennema and Kampers-Manhe’s (1994) analyses can explain how clitic pronouns move in clitic climbing structures and the results caused by that movement, none of them provides a motivation for the movement of the clitic pronouns in structures with clitic climbing. The same problem is encountered in Roberts (1991, 1994, 1997) and Rouveret (1997), as will be seen next.

⁸⁴ These elements are called proclisis triggers (Longa and Lorenzo 1995). This, and similar data are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. It is also important to point out that Asturian is not a 2P clitic language.

⁸⁵ It goes without mention that some of the concepts and arguments found in Kayne (1989) are not pertinent any more in the current syntactic theory; this is the case of barrierhood, and, in particular, government, as pointed out in the introductory chapter. However, from the moment that one structure is assumed to be derived from the other, there is a violation of Economy (the underived structure is always going to be more economical than the derived structure). Moreover, if Kayne’s theory were interpreted in terms of features, his hypothesis would suggest that some feature force overt movement in some cases (i.e. clitic climbing), and no movement (or covert movement) in some other cases (i.e. no clitic climbing). I am unaware of any instances of this type of optionality of movement in any other structures.

5.2.1.2 Roberts (1991, 1994, 1997) and followers

Roberts (1991, 1994, 1997) integrates Rizzi's (1982) restructuring idea into the incorporation approach and rejects previous accounts that postulated V-to-V incorporation. According to Roberts, a clause restructures because the lower predicate incorporates into the main verb. He bases his argument on the fact that, sometimes, there is interpolation between the matrix predicate and the embedded verb, as illustrated (26):

(26) *Gianni li vuole **tutti** leggere.*

John Cl wants all to.read

“John wants to read them all”

In Roberts (1991, 1994) clitic climbing is the result of successive-cyclic head-to-head movement and excorporation. However, in Roberts (1997), this proposal is modified and he claims that restructuring predicates have the special property of triggering raising of T^0 from the lower clause to either matrix T^0 or matrix V^0 . Raising can be done by means of excorporation, in which lower T^0 excorporates from V^0 , or by a second option: long head movement. As Roberts (1997) points out, both excorporation and long head movement complicate the theory unnecessarily. There is also no clear morphological motivation that forces these complex movements to take place. In order to circumvent these problems, the author proposes a head raising analysis in which head movement is copying, and a head is spelled out in the highest position of its chain. Crucially, only morphological words can be spelled out. Under this analysis, embedded T^0 covertly raises to the matrix clause and renders the CP clausal boundary transparent (as in Kayne 1989, 1991). T-raising then makes the relevant positions in the matrix clause accessible to otherwise local operations, such as clitic placement.

Restructuring for Roberts is a pre-Spell-Out incorporation of the lower V_{inf+T}^0 into the higher restructuring predicate, as illustrated in (27) from Roberts (1997):

(27) ... [_{AgrS} [_{V_R} [_{V_{inf} + T}] _{V_R}] ... [_{CP} ... [_{AgrSP} ... [_{AgrS} _{V_{inf}}] ...

Since both predicates are morphological words, the derived head that results from incorporating the embedded predicate [_{V_{inf} + T}] _{V_R} into the matrix predicate $V_{Restructuring}$ – [_{V_{Restructuring}}[_{V_{inf+T}}]_{V_{Restructuring}}] – cannot be spelled out as such.

$V_{Restructuring}$, then, is spelled out at the head of its chain; however, V_{inf+T}^0 is not a morphological word either, and so it is spelled out in embedded $AgrS^0$ prior to incorporation into the matrix clause. Thus, V/T-incorporation takes place in restructuring contexts creating a single extended projection that unifies the matrix and embedded clauses. Those languages in which V^0/T^0 cannot climb overtly to embedded $AgrS^0$, like French, do not show clitic climbing, mainly because movement from the embedded clause to the matrix clause can only take place when there is movement to embedded $AgrS^0$. The Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) prevents V from skipping embedded $AgrS^0$.

Inspired by Roberts, Rooryck (1994) adopts a mono-clausal approach in which clitic climbing is possible only if the verb + clitic complex raises to the highest infinitival head in the embedded clause, which is sister of matrix V^0 . From that position, the unit formed by the verb+clitic excorporates to the matrix clause; this is possible because the matrix tense governs the sister of matrix V^0 . However, like other analyses featuring excorporation mechanisms (for example Bonneau and Zushi 1992; Roberts 1991, 1994, among others), this analysis is very problematic. As pointed out in Dobrovie-Sorin

(1999), words that contain traces are ruled out according to Baker's (1988) lexicalist principle. In this case, the sequence Clitic+Verb+I⁰ forms a word by means of incorporation. Then, when the V⁰+I⁰ unit moves out of the newly formed word Clitic+Verb+I⁰, another word is obtained, mainly Cl+t_v⁰_{+I}⁰, which contains the trace t_v⁰_{+I}⁰. As Roberts (1992) points out, excorporation faces ECP violations because the trace of the tensed verb that has moved is not properly governed, as the clitic pronoun intervenes between the verb and its trace.

Besides excorporation, another problem that Roberts' analysis presents is the lack of motivation for the clitic pronoun to move outside of the embedded clause. Moreover, incorporation analyses cannot explain all instances of intermediate clitic climbing—as in (28)—or those cases in which the clitic pronoun and the direct object appear together in the same construction (clitic doubling), as attested in some varieties of Spanish, Romanian, and Italian, and illustrated in (29):

(28) *Quiero poderlo hacer.*

want.1sg. to.be.able.Cl to.do

“I want to be able to do it”

(29) *La vi a tu hermana.*

Cl saw.1sg “pers. a” your sister

“I saw her (your sister)”

Roberts (1997) claims that there are special properties that trigger T-raising; those ‘special features’ should be specified in the semantic component of the grammar, or they should be part of the phi-feature specification of a lexical item. However, the author fails

to specify where those properties are located, or their nature. He also claims that restructuring verbs trigger T-raising of embedded T^0 to either matrix T^0 or matrix V^0 , which renders matrix T^0/V^0 accessible to local operations such as clitic climbing. T-raising makes the relevant positions in the higher clause accessible to otherwise local operations by combining those positions in the same extended projection. Nevertheless, Roberts fails to specify in what sense T^0 creates a projection and what the characteristics of that newly created projection are.

A further difficulty that Roberts' approach faces is pre-Spell-Out covert movement. In his analysis, the embedded complex T covertly raises to the matrix clause, which poses a crucial theoretical problem because covert movement only happens after Spell-Out. Moreover, the head-movement account of restructuring proposed in this analysis is challenged by the lack of semantic coherence presented by the different predicates included in the restructuring group. Thus, there is no adequate answer to why only modal, aspectual, and motion verbs attract the $V_{inf}+T^0$ of their complements. As pointed out in Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004: 522-523), head-movement accounts lead to a paradox regarding the availability of intermediate climbing, as illustrated in (30) from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004):

- (30) a. ? *Vorrei poter andarci con Maria.*
 would.want to.be.able to.go.Cl with Maria
- b. *Vorrei poterci andare con Maria.*
 would.want to.be.able.Cl to.go with Maria

c. *Ci vorrei poter andare con Maria.*

Cl would.want to.be.able. to.go with Maria

“I would like to be able to go there with Maria”

In order to account for the paradigm in (30), it must be assumed that the restructuring verbs *volere* and *potere* have triggered V^0/T^0 incorporation. This creates one single extended projection that allows clitic climbing, and it implies that clitic climbing is optional. This approach, however, overgenerates and cannot account for ungrammatical examples such as the ones in (31), also from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004):

(31) a. ?*Sarei voluto poter andarci con Maria.*

would.be wanted to.be.able to.go.Cl with Maria

b. **Sarei voluto poterci andare con Maria.*

would.be wanted to.be.able.Cl to.go with Maria

c. *Ci sarei voluto poter andare con Maria.*

Cl would.be wanted to.be.able to.go with Maria

“I would like to be able to go there with Maria”

Thus, Roberts (1997) cannot explain the contrast observed between paradigms (30) and (31). Nevertheless, as will be concluded next, the alternative, restructuring approaches also face several problems.

5.2.2 Restructuring approaches

The restructuring approach (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983, 1990; Burzio 1986; Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004; Cinque 2001, 2002; Goodall 1985; Haegeman 2006; Luján 1980; Picallo 1984-5; Quicoli, 1976; Rizzi 1982; Rosen 1990; Wurmbrand 2001, 2004; Zubizarreta 1982, among others) is a semantic account that stipulates that a more or less universal set of predicates has the property of reducing a bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal one. This mono-clausality facilitates the presence of certain syntactic phenomena, such as clitic climbing. The clause reduction process and its role in clitic climbing is briefly defined and discussed next.⁸⁶

5.2.2.1 Restructuring

Clause reduction—or restructuring—can be defined as a syntactic phenomenon characteristic of a group of predicates that subcategorize for infinitival complements (Moore 1996). This group of predicates can be found in structures that are usually classified together based on their mono-clausal properties. According to Moore (1996: 237) reduced constructions have both bi-clausal and mono-clausal characteristics.⁸⁷ For example, reduced constructions can be considered to be thematically bi-clausal. Nevertheless, there are certain properties of mono-clausal structures—such as clitic climbing—that are present in reduced constructions, but not in unreduced constructions. Based on this, researchers have proposed that clause reduction can be predicted to occur

⁸⁶ As mentioned earlier, there are three main analyses that characterize reduced structures. The present section focuses mainly on the hypothesis that considers reduced clauses to be mono-clausal, although other accounts are mentioned too.

⁸⁷ Consult Moore (1996) for a complete list.

whenever these mono-clausal characteristics are present in seemingly bi-clausal structures.

One of the first analyses of clitic climbing with restructuring is proposed in Rizzi (1982). The author claims that restructuring is a cyclic rule that somehow conjoins the matrix and embedded clauses into a single clause. Aissen and Perlmutter (1983, 1990) provide a very similar analysis in a Relational Grammar framework. The latter authors claim that clitic climbing is a syntactic process that applies in reduced clauses. Crucially, they argue that clause reduction is triggered by a specific set of verbs that is illustrated in the Spanish examples in (32-37):⁸⁸

(32) a. *Luis quiere comer manzanas.*

Luis wants to.eat apples

“Luis wants to eat apples”

b. *Luis trató de comer manzanas.*

Luis tried to eat apples

“Luis tried to eat apples”

c. *Luis suele comer manzanas.*

Luis usually to.eat apples

“Luis usually eats apples”

⁸⁸ This list of clause reduction verbs is almost identical to the ones proposed by Cinque (1999 and subsequent), Davies (1995), Rivas (1977), and Strozer (1976), among others.

(33) a. *Luís quiere comerlas.*

Luís wants to.eat.Cl

“Luis wants to eat them”

b. *Luís trató de comerlas.*

Luis tried to eat.Cl

“Luis tried to eat them”

c. *Luís suele comerlas.*

Luís usually to.eat.Cl

“Luis usually eats them”

(34) a. *Luis las quiere comer.*

Luis Cl wants to.eat

“Luis wants to eat them”

b. *Luis las trató de comer.*

Luis Cl tried to eat

“Luis tried to eat them”

c. *Luís las suele comer.*

Luis Cl usually to.eat

“Luis usually eats them”

As can be observed in (32-34), the Spanish verbs *querer* ‘to want’, *tratar de* ‘to try to’, and *soler* ‘to be in the habit of’ constitute clause reduction clauses, as evidenced by the grammaticality of clitic climbing in (34). However, the Spanish verbs *insistir en* ‘to insist on’, *soñar con* ‘to dream about’, and *parecer* ‘to seem’ are claimed not to be clause

reduction triggers because clitic climbing renders ungrammatical structures, as illustrated in (35-37).

(35) a. *Luis insistió en comer las manzanas.*

Luis insisted on to.eat the apples

“Luis insisted on eating the apples”

b. *Luis soñó con comer las manzanas.*

Luis dreamt with to.eat the apples

“Luis dreamt about eating the apples”

c. *Luis parece haber comido las manzanas.*

Luis seems to.have eaten the apples

“Luis seems to have eaten the apples”

(36) a. *Luis insistió en comerlas.*

Luis insisted on to.eat.Cl

“Luis insisted on eating them”

b. *Luis soñó con comerlas.*

Luis dreamt with to.eat.Cl

“Luis dreamt about eating them”

c. *Luis pareció haberlas comido.*

Luis seemed to.have.Cl eaten

“Luis seemed to have eaten them”

(37) a. **Luís las insistió en comer.*

Luis Cl insisted on to.eat

b. **Luís las soñó con comer.*

Luis Cl dreamt with to.eat

c. **Luís las pareció haber comido*⁸⁹.

Luis Cl seemed to.have eaten

In sum, the evidence presented in Aissen and Perlmutter (1983, 1990) indicates that clitic climbing might be the result of a clause reduction rule, and not of a clitic climbing rule. Moore (1996) likewise argues that clitic climbing is one of the signs indicating that a structure has undergone clause reduction, and denies the validity of a clitic climbing rule. The two main approaches to clitic climbing in restructuring constructions are reviewed next.

5.2.2.2 The Partial Structure Hypothesis

The Partial Structure Hypothesis establishes that reduced structures are bi-clausal structures that have been reduced and transformed into mono-clausal structures. According to this hypothesis, restructuring is an optional process. Thus, when restructuring applies, the matrix restructuring predicate subcategorizes for a reduced clausal complement, in which case transparency effects such as clitic climbing are obligatory. If restructuring does not apply, the restructuring predicate subcategorizes for

⁸⁹ I find this particular example grammatical in my dialect of Spanish. It is well known that the classification of predicates under restructuring and non-restructuring classes varies among dialects and cross-linguistically too.

an unreduced clausal complement, which results in a structure with no transparency effects.

One of the most instructive analyses of the Partial Structure Hypothesis can be found in Cinque (2001, 2002, 2003). His analysis is based on a universal class of restructuring predicates that display a relatively rigid ordering—much like adverbs—and are base-generated as functional heads projecting their own XP. As stated above, restructuring predicates may produce transparency effects in the structure in which they appear. This is often evidenced by the presence of long-distance movements such as quantifier climbing (in French) and clitic climbing (in Spanish and Italian). Therefore, Cinque (2002) argues that clitic climbing is only possible with restructuring predicates.⁹⁰

A very similar approach to Cinque can be found in Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004), who claim that restructuring predicates are functional heads that lack an argumental structure. These predicates are located above lexical verbs, in the functional domain of the sentence, and express semantic features. Like Cinque (2001 and subsequent) and Wurmbrand (2001, 2004), Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) adopt a mono-clausal analysis of restructuring constructions. The novelty of this approach resides in the introduction of a new class of verbs that shares properties with both lexical and functional verbs: the quasi-functional verbs. The group of quasi-functional predicates comprises verbs of motion and perception, as well as causatives. Crucially, the authors

⁹⁰ The French partitive and locative clitic pronouns *en* and *y* can appear in positions traditionally attributed to clitic climbing. However, as Cinque (2002) points out, these two pronouns can appear separated from the verb, which might indicate that they are not clitic pronouns but weak pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1997). See also previous arguments against including French and Italian locative and partitive clitic pronouns in the same group as object clitics.

claim that clitic pronouns only surface attached to a lexical/quasi-functional verb, or to the higher verb that has restructured, and nowhere else. Thus, the apparent optionality of clitic climbing is solved since the same verb may be optionally merged as a lexical verb (taking a CP complement), or as a functional verb that matches the semantics content of the functional projection under which it is merged. The former option does not allow any transparency effects while the latter does.

Another innovation introduced by Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) rests in the claim that clitic pronouns may appear in two different structural positions. Thus, clitics may be generated in a clausal clitic position that is located in the vicinity of TP.⁹¹ This position can be adjoined to I⁰, as proposed in Kayne (1989), or it may also head a unique clitic projection, as in Kayne (1994) and Sportiche (1996). According to Cardinaletti and Shlonsky, the clausal clitic position is reserved for proclitics, licensed independently of the choice of verb, and it interacts with other functional elements such as negation (Zanuttini 1997; Poletto 2000). The second position in which clitic pronouns may appear is a lower position located in the lexical domain. This lower position is associated with lexical verbs, and it is spelled out either as a feature on V⁰ or as an independent maximal projection located above V⁰ that holds a relation with VP similar to the one that exists between *v*P and VP. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky's proposal implies that clitic pronouns always attach to functional heads under functional projections. The authors argue that both the high and the low positions are present in the structure, the high position is

⁹¹ Similarly, Zubizarreta (1999) proposes a Clitic Projection for Romance that is located above TP. She argues that the head of this projection, Cl, is an abstract operator whose function is to 'externalize' an argument of the verb.

always present, and the low position is contributed by a lexical or quasi-functional verb. Thus, when the clitic pronoun surfaces in the high position, there is clitic climbing; conversely, when the clitic pronoun surfaces in the lexical position, there is restructuring, but no clitic climbing.

One of the advantages of this proposal, as opposed to others (see, for instance, the problem raised by incorporation approaches discussed in the previous section), is that intermediate clitic climbing can be explained: only the lowest restructured verb makes a position available for clitic pronouns. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky stipulate that in examples like (38) the clitic pronoun attaches to the intermediate predicate because that intermediate predicate is the highest functional verb in the CP:

(38) a. *Avrei voluto [poterlo andare a trovare]*

would.have.1sg wanted to.be.able.Cl to.go to find

b. *Lo sarei voluto poter andare a trovare.*

Cl would.be.1sg wanted to.be.able to.go to find

“I would have wanted to be able to go and find it”

c. **Lo avrei voluto poter andare a trovare.*

Cl would.have wanted to.be.able to.go to find

The example in (38a) illustrates intermediate clitic climbing in which the clitic pronoun attaches to one of the verbs in the middle of the structure. According to the hypothesis arguing that clitic pronouns attach to the highest verb that has restructured, the choice of auxiliary verb in (38a) indicates that *potere* ‘to be able to’ is the highest restructuring verb, and not *volere* ‘to want’. This also accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentence

(38c). Example (38b), on the other hand, shows that *volere* is the highest restructured verb, as indicated by the choice of auxiliary. In this case, the clitic pronoun can appear proclitic to the matrix verb.

Another advantage of this type of approach is that it is compatible with cross-linguistic/dialectal and interspeaker variation. For example, the verb *desear* ‘to desire’, which has been claimed to belong to the universal class of restructuring verbs (Cinque 2001, 2002, 2003), behaves like a restructuring verb in Italian, but its Spanish equivalent (also *desear*) seems to behave as a lexical verb in Spanish, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of clitic climbing in (39b):

(39) a. *Deseo verla.*

desire.1sg to.see.Cl

b. **La deseo ver.*

Cl desire to.see

“I desire to see her”

The observed patterns of grammaticality suggest that the structure in (39) is bi-clausal, as illustrated in (40):

(40) [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} *deseo*_i] ... [_{VP} _{t_i} [_{TP} [_T *verla*_{jk}] ..._{t_{jk}} ... [_{VP} _{t_j}]]]]

Thus, if the verb *desear* is not a restructuring predicate, it should not be possible for the clitic pronoun to climb in the bi-clausal structure and attach to the highest restructuring verb *querer*. However, that option is grammatical in Spanish.

(41) a. *Quiero desear verla.*

want.1sg to.desire to.see.Cl

b. *La quiero desear ver.*

Cl want.1sg to.desire. to.see

“I want to desire to see her”

c. **Quiero desearla ver.*

want.1sg to.desire.Cl to.see

Such cross-dialectal variation poses a challenge to the analysis of Cardinaletti and Shlonsky.

Rosen (1990) states that clitic climbing is reduced to two types of restructuring predicates: modal-type verbs and motion verbs. Like others, Rosen claims that clitic climbing is obligatory when restructuring has taken place; and clitic climbing may not occur in the absence of restructuring. She also proposes a series of tests that predict which verbs belong to the restructuring class. For instance, in impersonal *se* constructions, restructuring predicates allow the embedded object to raise to the matrix verb (long object-preposing), as in (42). Conversely, a predicate that does not allow long object preposing does not belong to the restructuring group; this is the case of *insistir* ‘to insist’, as illustrated in example (43):

(42) a. *Se quería comprar estas revistas.*

Cl wanted.3sg to.buy these magazines

b. *Estas revistas se quería comprar.*

these magazines Cl wanted.3sg. to.buy

“Someone wanted to buy these magazines”

(43) a. *Se insistió en visitar el museo.*

CI insisted on to.visit the museum

b. ?* *El museo se insistió en visitar.*

the museum CI insisted in to.visit

“Someone insisted on visiting the museum”

Italian auxiliary switch is a topic that has been extensively cited in the literature (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004; Cinque 2001 and subsequent; Rosen 1990, among others) as one of the mechanisms to predict restructuring. In auxiliary switch, the lexical verb determines the choice between *essere* and *avere*. This choice is independent of the presence or absence of any functional verb and only *essere* appears in restructuring predicates. The auxiliary selection for the matrix verb is determined by properties of the embedded verb in restructuring contexts, as illustrated by the presence of *essere* instead of the regular *avere* (44b); on the other hand, when there is no restructuring, the matrix verb selects its own auxiliary (44a). Verbs that do not belong to the restructuring class do not display auxiliary switch, as exemplified in the ungrammatical example (45b):

(44) a. *Mario avrebbe voluto andare a casa.*

Mario would.have wanted to.go to home

b. *Mario sarebbe voluto andare a casa.*

Mario would.have wanted to.go to home

“Mario would have wanted to go home”

(45) a. *Mario **avrebbe** odiato andare a casa.*

Mario would.have hated to.go to home

“Mario would have hated to go home”

b. **Mario **sarebbe** odiato andare a casa.*

Mario would.have hated to.go to home

As others (Burzio 1986; Rizzi 1982), have pointed out, Rosen states that the properties associated with restructuring interact. For example, when long object preposing applies, the clitic pronoun must appear attached to the matrix verb, as illustrated in (46), and not to the embedded verb:

(46) a. *Questi libri **gli** si vorrebbero dare.*

these books Cl Cl would.want to.give

“Someone would want to give him/her these books”

b. **Questi libri si vorrebbero dargli.*

these books Cl would.want to.give.Cl

Similarly, when there is auxiliary switch, clitic pronouns must also surface attached to the matrix verb, and not to the embedded verb, as in (47):

(47) a. *Mario **ci** **sarebbe** voluto andare.*

Mario Cl would.have wanted to.go

b. *Mario **avrebbe** voluto andarci.*

Mario would.have wanted to.go.Cl

“Mario would have wanted to go there”

c. **Mario ci avrebbe voluto andare.*

Mario Cl would.have wanted to.go

As can be observed in these examples, the choice of auxiliary determines whether the construction has restructured or not. Thus, the presence of the auxiliary *avere* in (47b) indicates that the structure is bi-clausal, i.e. not restructured. Importantly, the clitic pronoun remains enclitic to the embedded infinitive *andare*, and cannot climb and attach to the main finite verb, as illustrated in the ungrammatical example (47c). An example of a restructured construction can be observed in example (47a), in which the locative clitic pronoun *ci* surfaces proclitic to the auxiliary *essere*. This choice of auxiliary indicates that the intransitive verb *andare*, and not the transitive verb *volere*, is selecting the auxiliary. Thus, it is often assumed in the literature that clitic climbing and auxiliary selection by the lower verb (in Italian) are necessary outcomes of restructuring.⁹² Long object preposing, on the other hand, is an optional outcome of restructuring, which is also an optional rule itself (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004; Rosen 1990).⁹³

Nevertheless, the interaction between auxiliary selection and clitic climbing is difficult to test with object clitics due to the fact that unaccusative verbs never select object clitics. This is the reason why most of the examples that can be found in the literature include the locative clitic *ci*, and not object clitics. Furthermore, it has been mentioned earlier in the text that the locative and partitive French clitic pronouns—*y* and *en* respectively—display a different syntactic behavior from object clitics (Kayne 1989,

⁹² However, see example (39).

⁹³ See the ambiguity of examples (41a) and (41d).

1991). For example, Rosen (1990: 119) points out that these two clitic pronouns have certain features or characteristics (both in French and Italian) that allow them a freer distribution than object clitics. This might explain certain restructuring cases with auxiliary switch, but no clitic climbing, as in (48):

(48) *Mario sarebbe voluto andarci.*

Mario would.have wanted to.go.Cl

“Mario would have wanted to go there”

It is also common to find cases in which restructuring has applied, as determined by the choice of auxiliary, but the clitic pronoun does not climb to the highest restructuring verb, as in (49) from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004). Moreover, there are examples of restructuring sentences in which clitic climbing is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (50) from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004):

(49) a. *Sarei voluto andare a trovarlo.*

would.be.1sg wanted to.go to find.Cl

b. *Sarei voluto andarlo a trovare.*

would.be.1sg wanted to.go.Cl to find

c. *Lo sarei voluto andare a trovare.*

Cl would.be.1sg wanted to.go to find

“I would have wanted to go and find him”

(50) a. **Lo avrebbe voluto andare a trovare.*

Cl would.have.1sg wanted to.go to find.

b. *Lo sarebbe voluto andare a trovare.*

Cl would.be.1sg wanted to.go to find

“I would have wanted to go and find him”

c. *Maria li avrebbe voluti andare a prendere lei stessa.*

Maria Cl would.have wanted to.go to fetch her self

“Maria would have wanted to go and fetch them herself”

d. **Maria li sarebbe volute andare a prendere lei stessa.*

Maria Cl would.be wanted to.go to fetch her self

As expected, clitic climbing in a non-restructuring context is ungrammatical (50a).

However, examples (50c, d) show the exact opposite situation. In (50c) the clitic pronoun *li* climbs to the matrix clause, even though the auxiliary indicates that restructuring has not taken place; on the other hand, (50d) shows that clitic climbing is ungrammatical even though there is restructuring. In what appears to be a fairly ad hoc explanation, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) postulate the existence of a third clitic position that is licensed by quasi-functional predicates. Unfortunately, they do not explain where that position is located, or under what circumstances it is present in the structure. Based on data such as that illustrated in (48-50), it has been suggested (Rosen 1990) that clitic climbing might be an optional process, unless, as claimed by Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004), there is more than one structural position available for clitic pronouns. However, Kayne (1989) claims that clitic climbing is not fully related to other syntactic phenomena associated with restructuring, such as long NP-movement and auxiliary switch.

Therefore, clitic climbing should not be used as a diagnostic of restructuring. Moreover,

based on examples like (48-50), Kayne claims that clitic climbing and restructuring are independent phenomena that are coincidentally manifested together in the same clauses.

Rizzi (1982), on the other hand, observes that the locative clitic *ci* attaches to the embedded verb in sentences like (48) only when the sentence contains a third person subject, and not with first or second person, as exemplified in (51):

(51) a. ?*Siamo potuti venirci solo poche volte.*

are.1pl able to.come.Cl only few times

b. *Ci siamo potuti venire solo poche volte.*

Cl are.1pl able to.come only few times

“We have been able to come here only a few times”

However, the examples provided by Rizzi merely indicate a preference for the clitic pronoun to surface proclitic to the auxiliary *essere*, but it does not rule out the non clitic climbing option as ungrammatical. Moreover, Burzio (1986) and Rizzi (1982: 22) show examples in which auxiliary switch applies, but clitic climbing results in ungrammaticality:

(52) a. *Maria li avrebbe volute andare a prendere lei stessa.*

Maria Cl would.have wanted to.go to fetch her self

b. **Maria li sarebbe voluti andare a prendere lei stessa.*

Maria Cl would.be wanted to.go to fetch her self

c. *Maria sarebbe voluta andare a prenderli lei stessa.*

Maria would.be wanted to.go to fetch.Cl her self

d. *Maria avrebbe voluto andare a prenderli lei stessa.*

Maria would.have wanted to.go to fetch.Cl her self

“Maria would have wanted to go to fetch them herself”

The verb *volere* always selects the auxiliary *avere*. The intransitive verb *andare*, on the other hand, selects *essere*, while *prendere* selects *avere*. In (52a), since the auxiliary choice is *avere* and the clitic pronoun surfaces proclitic to *avere*, then it can be assumed that *prendere*, and not *volere*, selects the auxiliary. The example (52d), on the other hand, shows the clitic pronoun enclitic to the infinitive *prendere*, which suggests that *volere* is selecting the auxiliary, and not *prendere*, in which case restructuring is ruled out. However, the structure is ambiguous. Finally, examples (52b) and (52c) show the auxiliary *essere*, which indicates that the intransitive *andare* is selecting the auxiliary. Thus, according to the claim that correlates auxiliary switch and clitic climbing, example (52b) should be grammatical. Since this is obviously not the case, I claim that the correlation between auxiliary switch and clitic climbing is not as straightforward as it has been stated to be.

Auxiliary switch does provide further evidence that restructuring predicates display a different syntactic behavior from causative and perception verbs. As pointed out by Cinque (2001, 2002, 2004), and Picallo (1984-5), among others, restructuring verbs are light verbs that behave like auxiliaries and are generated either in I^0 or within the VP. Being light verbs, restructuring predicates lack the ability to select arguments of their own. Thus, it is claimed that the embedded verb determines the argument structures of the whole structure. As opposed to restructuring predicates, causatives and perception

verbs retain the ability to select an external argument (Rosen 1990), and merger only affects the internal argument of the causative or perception matrix verb. Since the matrix verb has an autonomous external argument, then the argument structure of the embedded verb does not select the auxiliary, which always surfaces as *avere* in structures with causatives and perception verbs.

The hypothesis that restructuring verbs are light verbs has been slightly modified and developed (Cinque 2004) quite recently into a full-fledged analysis of restructuring. This is commonly known as the ‘Only Functional Hypothesis’ and is discussed next.

5.2.2.3 The Only Functional Hypothesis

In Cinque (2004), he takes the restructuring approach further and argues that restructuring predicates are functional heads universally, contra Haegeman (2006), and Wurmbrand (2004), who provide ample evidence in Dutch and Romance showing that transparency effects obtain with restructuring predicates that have been merged both as lexical heads and as functional heads. Nevertheless, according to the Only Functional Hypothesis, restructuring verbs are base-generated as heads of functional projections in mono-clausal structures, even in the absence of transparency effects. This absence of transparency effects is evidenced in the fact that clitic climbing is blocked in structures with infinitival negation, as in (53), focus fronting of the infinitive, as in (54), dislocation of the infinitive, as in (55), and clefting of the infinitive, as in (56), as pointed out in Solá (2002):

(53) a. **La quiero no ver más.*

Cl want.1sg not to.see more

b. *Quiero no verla más.*

want.1sg not to.see.Cl more

“I do not want to see her any more”

(54) a. **Ver, lo quiero.*

to.see Cl want.1sg

b. *Verlo, quiero.*

to.see.Cl want.1sg

“To see him, that is what I want”

(55) a. **Ver, ahora no lo quiero.*

to.see now not Cl want.1sg

b. *Verlo, ahora no quiero.*

to.see.Cl now not want.1sg

“To see him, now I do not want to”

(56) a. **Es ver, que lo quiero.*

is to.see that Cl want.1sg

b. *Es verlo, que quiero.*

is to.see.Cl that want.1sg

“It is to see him that I want”

Cinque claims that clitic climbing, together with other transparency effects, are blocked due to certain locality conditions that arise even in restructuring structures. Thus, he argues that in structures with focus fronting, dislocation and clefting, the resumptive element is a Null Complement Anaphora, and not a trace. This Null Complement

Anaphora interferes with the chain formed between the clitic pronoun that has climbed and its trace next to the infinitive verb.

Cinque suggests that each restructuring verb is base-generated heading distinct functional projections that are ordered following a universal hierarchy. Thus, restructuring verbs are inserted as heads of specific projections according to their semantic content. Therefore, it should be expected that the same restructuring verb appears no more than once in the same sentence. Nevertheless, as Authier and Reed (2006) point out, it is possible to find numerous examples containing several modal verbs with the same semantic meaning, as illustrated in (57):

(57) a *L'artisanat de ce genre, ça **doit** encore **devoir** exister.*

the-craft of this kind that must still must to.exist

“This type of craftsmanship must still exist”

b. *Il **devrait** maintenant **pouvoir** plevoir.*

it should now be.possible to.rain

“It is still possible that it might rain”

In (57a) the verbs *doit* and *devoir* both have an epistemic meaning. Similarly, *devrait* and *pouvoir* in (57b) have an epistemic meaning. This combination should be impossible according to Cinque's (2004) hypothesis.

Finally, Cinque claims that the verb *want* contains a null verb, OBTAIN, or HAVE, as illustrated in the Spanish clitic climbing structure in (58):

(58) a. *Juan quiere* [VP HAVE [DP *un coche*]]

Juan wants a car

“Juan wants a car”

b. *Juan lo_i quiere* [VP HAVE [DP e_i]]

Juan Cl wants

“Juan wants it”

As it is well known, clitic climbing is possible in Spanish and Italian, among other Romance languages, but not in French. Thus, Cinque’s analysis cannot explain the contrast between (59b) and (59c), from Authier and Reed:

(59) a. *Marie veut* [VP HAVE [DP *cette voiture*]]

Marie wants that car

“Marie wants that car”

b. *Marie la_i veut* [VP HAVE [DP e_i]]

Marie Cl wants

“Marie wants it”

c. **Marie la_i veut* [VP *acheter* [DP e_i]]

Marie Cl wants to buy

d. *Marie veut l’acheter.*

Marie wants Cl-to buy

“Marie wants to buy it”

Example (59a) illustrates Cinque’s proposal for *vouloir* ‘want’ in French. In (59b), there is a clitic pronoun instead of an object NP. However, as can be observed in (59c), the

exact same structure as illustrated (59b) renders an ungrammatical structure.

Unfortunately, it appears that this analysis cannot predict the ungrammaticality of clitic climbing in French.

As pointed out earlier, restructuring approaches to clitic climbing tend to favor a mono-clausal analysis based on certain syntactic phenomena. For instance, Moore (1996) notices that both clitic climbing and embedded negation are compatible with restructuring predicates, provided that the restructuring predicate does not display signs of reduction. However, the examples that are usually provided in the literature are grammatical in Spanish, as illustrated in (60):

(60) *Lo_i quiero no tener que leer t_i*

Cl want.1sg. not have to read

“I want to not have to read it”

Against the Only Functional Hypothesis, Solá (2002) claims that restructuring verbs are lexical verbs with a restructuring option, much like argued in Haegeman (2006) and Wurmbrand (2002, 2004). Contra Cinque (2001, 2004), and the general tendency in restructuring analyses, Solá (2002) argues that restructuring constructions are bi-clausal. According to him, since restructuring structures are closely related to non-restructuring structures, then restructuring structures must be bi-clausal, just like non-restructuring ones. Furthermore, he claims that restructuring structures appear to alternate with non-restructuring structures, which is another sign suggesting that restructuring structures are bi-clausal.

A further argument in favor of the bi-clausality of restructuring constructions (Kayne 1989; Roberts 1994; Sportiche 1996) is the compatibility that can sometimes be found between wh-movement and clitic climbing, as illustrated in (61-62) from Rizzi (1982: 36), and the Spanish equivalent in (63):

(61) a. *No consideré qué decirte.*

not considered.1sg. what to.tell.Cl

“I didn’t consider what to tell you”

b. * *No te consideré qué decir.*

not Cl considered.1sg what to.tell

(62) a. *Su questo punto, non ti saprei [che dire.*

on this point not Cl would.know what to.say

“On this point, I would not know what to tell you”

b. ? *Mario, non lo saprei [a chi affidare, durante le*

Mario not Cl would.know to whom entrust during the
vacanze.

holidays

“Mario, I would not know to whom entrust during my

holidays”

c. ?? *Un simile problema, non lo saprei [come risolvere.*

a similar problem not Cl would.know how to.resolve

“Such a problem, I really it wouldn’t know how to solve”

- (63) a. *Sobre este tema, no te sabría [qué decir.*
 about this topic not CI would.know what to.say
 “I would not know what to say about this topic”
- b. *Mario, no lo sabría [a quién confiar durante las*
 Mario not CI would.know to whom entrust during the
vacaciones.
 holidays
 “Mario, I would not know to whom entrust during the
 holidays”
- c.? *Un problema parecido, no lo sabría [cómo resolver.*
 a problem similar not CI would.know how to.resolve
 “A similar problem, I would not know how to resolve”

As can be observed in (62) and (63), climbing outside of embedded questions is grammatical in both Spanish and Italian. However, this option seems to be allowed only with the verb *saber/sapere* ‘to know’, as shown in the examples and pointed out earlier in the text. Moore (1996) argues that because wh-movement involves movement to [Spec, CP], then the ungrammaticality of clitic climbing and wh-movement in reduced structures indicates that those predicates that trigger clause reduction do not subcategorize for an embedded CP.

As noted above, incorporation approaches cannot account for intermediate clitic climbing. Similarly, there are also restructuring approaches that cannot explain intermediate clitic climbing either. For example, Rizzi (1982), who proposes a cyclical

approach to restructuring and clitic climbing, observes that in a structure containing more than two verbs, the clitic attaches to the intermediate predicate when restructuring takes place on the second cycle, as shown in example (64). Consequently, if restructuring takes place on the third cycle, then the clitic pronoun surfaces proclitic to the highest predicate. Since clitic climbing is considered to be a rule that applies optionally, restructuring cannot force the clitic pronoun to climb. Therefore, Rizzi cannot account for the ungrammaticality of examples like (65), in which the clitic pronoun is enclitic to the intermediate predicates *potere* and *deseare* respectively. In fact, his analysis predicts that the examples like (64) and (65) are grammatical:

(64) **Sarei voluto poterci andare con Maria.*

would.be wanted to.can.Cl to.go with Maria

“I would want to be able to go there with Maria”

(65) **Quiero desearlo ver.*

want.1sg to.desire.Cl to.see

“I want to desire to see it/him”

Both options would be grammatical according to not only Rizzi (1982), but also Kayne (1989a, 1991) and Roberts (1997). In all these approaches clitic climbing seems to be a derivational stage in a long-distance process.

Within the restructuring approach and contra Cinque (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004) and Zubizarreta (1985), there is doubt as to the universality of the class of restructuring verbs (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983; Moore 1996). Thus, Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) as well as Moore (1996) consider that restructuring predicates are language-specific, and

that their characteristics (i.e. subcategorization frames, etc.) must be specified lexically. Furthermore, Moore argues that the class of restructuring predicates cannot be predicted solely on semantic grounds, contra Cinque (2001 and subsequent).

Finally, none of the restructuring approaches reviewed here can straightforwardly extend to the contrast between the Spanish examples in (66), in which no restructuring context is present since none of the verbs in the structure belong to the group of restructuring predicates.⁹⁴

(66) a. *Estoy comiéndolo.*

am.1sg. eating.Cl

b. *Lo estoy comiendo.*

Cl am.1sg eating

“I am eating it”

As can be observed in the examples, the clitic pronoun in this mono-clausal structure can surface enclitic to the gerund, as in (66a), or proclitic to the auxiliary verb, as in (66b). The proposal elaborated in the next chapter can account for cases like (66), among others, which makes it incompatible with restructuring approaches.

⁹⁴ According to Emonds (1999), the auxiliary verbs *haber* and *ser* undergo obligatory restructuring. He claims that, especially in the case of *haber*, obligatory restructuring can be clearly observed in the fact that the participle and its complements do not behave like a constituent, which is the reason why clitics must always attach to the auxiliary *haber*.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has focused on the syntactic behavior of clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures. In §5.1 a description of clitic placement in structures with clitic climbing was provided. Clitic climbing is not allowed with any type of verb; on the contrary, only restructuring verbs—modals, periphrastic verbs, and aspectuals—allow clitic climbing. Causative and perception verbs also allow clitic pronouns to surface attached to the left of the matrix verb, or the right of the infinitive verb. Nevertheless, it has been argued that this type of cliticization, even though similar to clitic climbing, is governed by different mechanisms. Thus, some authors distinguish between ‘regular clitic climbing’, and ‘causative clitic climbing’.

Based on the description provided in §5.1, some of the most prevailing approaches to ‘regular’ clitic climbing in the generative literature are discussed in §5.2. These analyses can be grouped around two different hypotheses: on the one hand, clitic climbing has been claimed to be the result of some type of incorporation, as discussed in §5.2.1; on the other hand, clitic climbing has been argued to be one of the results caused by clause reduction or restructuring, as seen in §5.2.2. The syntactic status of reduced clauses is a topic of debate within both the restructuring approach and the incorporation approach. Thus, incorporation approaches claim that mono-clausal reduced structures are derived from bi-clausal structures. Restructuring approaches maintain that reduced structures have an underlying monoclausal structure. There are also some authors who propose a double underlying structure for reduced constructions in which both a mono-clausal and a bi-clausal interpretation are present at the same time. In view of the data

presented in §5.2, I conclude that clitic climbing structures are bi-clausal. Finally, Italian auxiliary switch has been used to determine whether a structure has restructured or not, hence allowing clitic climbing. However, several examples in which auxiliary switch and clitic climbing do not interact indicate that clitic climbing is not dependent on restructuring.

Based on the examples shown in this chapter, on the discussion involving auxiliary switch, as well as on the data provided by, among others Burzio (1986), Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004), Kayne (1989, 1991), and Rizzi (1982), I propose that clitic climbing coincidentally appears with some of the predicates that constitute the class of restructuring verbs, and that clitic climbing is the result of having more than one structural position in which clitic pronouns may appear in the structure, a proposal that will be developed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Clitic climbing: A proposal

6.0 Introduction

The present chapter puts forth a full account of my proposal of clitic placement. At the core of the proposal is my claim that there are at least two positions in the structure in which clitic pronouns may be generated. This aspect of the proposal is not new, and I consider other analyses that stipulate more than one clitic position in accounting for clitic climbing structures. I also reject an alternative account on which clitics are generated as heads of Agreement projections, in §6.1.1, and lend ample evidence for the projection of two clitic positions, in §6.1.2. The proposal developed relies heavily on patterns of verb and clitic movement, each discussed in §6.2. I assume that infinitival verbs raise up to AgrS⁰/T⁰ in Spanish (and presumably other languages in which clitic climbing is grammatical); while infinitives in French may move outside of the VP, but only up to AgrO⁰. And I maintain that clitic movement is dependent on verb movement, unless the clitic moves as a Last Resort mechanism. Finally, §6.3 illustrates how the proposed analysis applies to different types of structures, including simple, mono-clausal sentences, as well as complex sentences. In that section, potentially problematic cases of clitic climbing and negation and clitic climbing with non-restructuring verbs are also addressed.

The proposal will be supported with data from various languages (such as Northern Italian dialects, different dialects of Spanish, and data from Asturian) throughout the chapter. The attested variation lends evidence to the claim that the locus

of dialectal and cross-linguistic variation resides in differences in subcategorization, as established in Chomsky (1995).⁹⁵ Thus, I claim that clitic climbing verbs (i.e. modals, aspectuals, and periphrastic verbs) in Spanish can select either an embedded clause headed by an infinitival TP, or a clause headed by a CliticP; the latter allows the clitic pronoun to climb outside of the clause in which it is generated as a last resort. Clitic climbing is not allowed in those languages that do not subcategorize for an embedded Clitic projection. Hence, clitic climbing is determined by the lexical and subcategorization properties of the verbs involved in the structure. Finally, I maintain that clitic climbing is a syntactic phenomenon that should be disassociated from restructuring.

6.1 An outline of the proposal

The main idea underlying my analysis is that there are at least two designated clitic positions in the functional domain of the clause. The hypothesis that clitic pronouns may appear in different structural positions is not new, however. As discussed in Chapter 5, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004), for instance, already propose that clitic pronouns may be generated in two (perhaps three) positions in the structure. Nevertheless, their analysis is not fully developed and raises a number of important questions, as pointed in the discussion in §5.2. Manzini and Savoia (1999, 2002, 2004) also argue that clitic pronouns are generated in the functional domain of the clause. Based on differences observed between clitic pronouns and argument NPs in terms of cooccurrence restrictions

⁹⁵ Chomsky (1995) establishes that languages can be parametrized with respect to the particular syntactic *participation* of the functional categories that they project. The appearance or not in the structure of functional categories is ultimately responsible for dialectal and cross-linguistic differences.

and ordering in different dialects of Italian, they maintain that clitic pronouns cannot be generated as arguments of the verb. For example, they note that some Italian dialects show clitic strings on either side of the verb. Although they do not provide any examples, such evidence would strongly suggest the existence of different clitic positions above each of the three main verbal domains: above V^0 , above I^0 and above C^0 . According to the authors, the clitic string repeats itself identically in each of these verbal domains.

Tortora (2007) likewise claims that the clause contains three different structural positions in which clitic pronouns may be located: the V-domain, as indicated by her data from Borgomanerese⁹⁶ and illustrated in (1), the C-domain, as suggested also by Benincá (2006), Roberts (1994),⁹⁷ Rouveret (1992, 1999) and Uriagereka (1995), and illustrated in the Galician example in (2) from Uriagereka (1995), and the I-domain, as established in Kayne (1989) and illustrated in the Spanish example in (3):

(1) Borgomanerese

I ó diciu c la môngia-la.

SCI have.1sg said that SCI eats-CI

“I said that she is eating it”

(2) Galician

Quero que o oiades.

want.1sg that CI hear.2sg

“I want you to hear it”

⁹⁶ Tortora employs Cinque’s hierarchy of adverbs in order to determine where clitic pronouns are located in Borgomanerese.

⁹⁷ Roberts (1994: 216) claims that clitic pronouns occupy a functional head position immediately below C^0 .

(3) Spanish

Lo veo

Cl see.1sg

“I see him/it”

Based on examples like (1), Tortora argues that in some Romance languages, such as Borgomanerese, enclisis results from clitic pronouns being generated in a projection inside the VP. The proclisis observed in structures like (2) is partly caused by the generation of the clitic pronoun in a projection above AgrS. Finally, the clitic pronoun in structures like (3) attach to the functional head I^0 .

Tortora claims that clitic pronouns may access any of the three domains within a single language, depending on the type of structure. Italian, for example, uses the V-domain in non-finite clauses for enclisis. Thus, enclisis obtains when the verb moves to a position higher than the V-domain clitic position, as illustrated in the structure in (4):

(4) [_{VP} ... [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} *mangiark loj* [_{TP} [_T t_k t_j ... [_{VP} [_v t_k t_j]]]]]]]]]

While Tortora’s analysis goes a long way towards explaining cross-linguistic facts of clitic climbing, it is unclear how it can account for some of the enclisis and proclisis patterns presented in Asturian and illustrated here in (5):

(5) a. *Mañana tráenles.*

tomorrow bring.3pl.Cl

b. *Mañana les traen.*

tomorrow Cl bring.3pl

“They bring them tomorrow.”

As can be seen in the example, both enclisis and proclisis are allowed in the structure.

According to Tortora’s hypothesis, the clitic pronoun in (5a) is generated in the V-domain, and enclisis obtains when the verb moves to a position higher than the V-domain. Consequently, the clitic pronoun in example (5b) must be located either in Infl or in C^0 . Nevertheless, it is unclear how and why the clitic pronoun moves in cases of proclisis in this analysis. The proposal developed here takes account of such data.

6.1.1 Location of clitics

I assume that two phrases that display different word orders must also have different hierarchical structures. Hence, clitic climbing structures like the one illustrated in (6a) must display a different derivation from those structures in which the clitic pronoun is attached to the embedded infinitive verb, as in (6b):

(6) a. *Las puedo leer esta noche.*

Cl can.1sg to.read this night

“I can read them tonight”

b. *Puedo leerlas esta noche.*

can.1sg to.read.Cl this night.

“I can read them tonight”

However, contra Kayne (1994), who claims that the variation in word order reflects different combinations of movements, I propose that clitic climbing structures are not derived from their non clitic climbing counterparts. On the contrary, the underlying structure in clitic climbing constructions is different from the underlying structure in

constructions with no clitic climbing (a similar idea can be found in Emonds 1985). More specifically, I propose that there are two functional projections (which, inspired by Rivas 1977, Sportiche 1996, and Strozer 1976, I will call CliticP)⁹⁸ in which the clitic pronoun can be base-generated: one higher up in the structure, between Subject Agreement and Tense (henceforth AgrSP and TP respectively), and a lower one located in the periphery of the lexical domain, between Object Agreement and the verb (henceforth AgrOP and vP respectively).⁹⁹ The proposed structure is illustrated in (7):

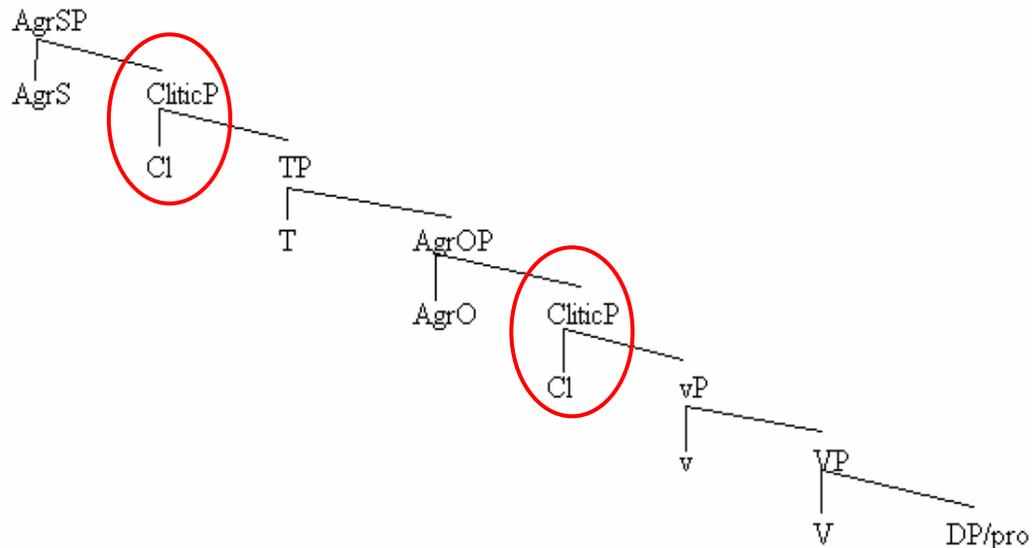
⁹⁸ For a similar idea, see Bleam (2000).

⁹⁹ The appearance in the structure of the same element more than once is not exclusive to clitic pronouns. Besides resumptive pronouns, there are other elements that may be present in the same structure multiple times. Thus, Polletto and Pollock (2004), for example, show examples from Italian dialects in which the same wh-element may appear more than once in the structure, as illustrated in the wh-doubling structures in (i) and (ii):

(i) *S 'a-lo fat che?*
 what has-he done what
 “What has he done?”

(ii) *Ndo e-lo ndat endoe?*
 where is-he gone where
 “Where is he gone?”

(7)



6.1.1.1 Against base-generation of clitics in agreement projections

There are a number of influential proposals claiming that clitic pronouns are generated as heads of Agreement projections. Cardinaletti and Roberts (to appear), for instance, argue in favor of two projections: Agr1, which hosts clitic pronouns as well as inflected verbs, and Agr2, which checks the verbal agreement morphology with the subject. Similarly, in his base-generation approach, Franco (1993) claims that clitic pronouns are object agreement affixes that are located as heads of different agreement projections. These AgrPs dominate the VP and allow for an agreement relation between clitic pronouns and the internal argument (whether an overt NP/DP or an empty category *pro*).

Belletti (2001) offers an account that resembles that of Franco (1993) in several aspects, most notably in the claim that an Agr head/projection constitutes the designated

landing site for clitic pronouns. Furthermore, Agreement projections play a central role in the structure of the clause because they are the reflection of nominal features in the verbal morphology. Agreement is conceived as bundles of features contained on the verb that enters the subject-verb agreement relation manifested on finite clauses. Consequently, AgrOP is the Agr head that mediates Case checking for objects (Accusative Case). This results in, among other things, transitive verbs moving to AgrO⁰ in order to check Case features, and in object movement to [Spec, AgrO] in those languages showing overt past participle agreement.¹⁰⁰ Crucially, Belletti (2001) argues that agreement projections are a necessary part of the clause (contra Chomsky 1995 and subsequent) because they account for the morphosyntactic interaction observed in different processes involving agreement (see also Kayne 1989). Agreement then surfaces as different syntactic positions in which agreement relations are established.

The above hypotheses, however, present several problems. On the one hand, Cardinaletti and Roberts (to appear) provide no evidence or motivation for the existence—or location in the structure—of the Agreement projections in which clitic pronouns are generated. Moreover, it is not specified whether Agr1 is reserved for subject clitics, object clitics, or both. Additional problems plague the proposals of Franco (1993) and Belletti (2001). As established in Chomsky (1995), Agreement projections (AgrSP, AgrOP) are collections of phi-features (i.e. gender, number, person) that characterize subject and object agreement systems. Clitic pronouns should not be generated as heads of Agreement projections—in AgrS⁰ or AgrO⁰—because, as established in Chapter 2,

¹⁰⁰ See Belletti (2001) and Kayne (1989) for examples.

clitic pronouns are not agreement markers. Finally, Ordóñez (2002) shows that the location of agreement projections (AgrSP and AgrOP) differs in colloquial French and Occitan; this implies that, as discussed in Chapter 4, the order of the different functional projections is not universal but language-specific, which has important repercussions when extending the above analyses to other Romance languages. The author also argues that clitic pronouns in colloquial French and Occitan are heads located above AgrP. A proposal along these lines is outlined in the next section.

In sum, it seems that generating clitic pronouns as heads of Agreement projections poses several empirical problems that do not arise if clitic pronouns are generated heading a functional projection exclusive to them. Crucially, the two structural positions proposed here are always present in the structure of those languages in which clitic climbing is grammatical. When the clitic pronoun is base-generated in the high CliticP, clitic climbing obtains as a last resort mechanism. Conversely, when the clitic pronoun is base-generated in the low CliticP clitic climbing does not obtain. Those languages that do not allow clitic climbing only have one CliticP, namely, the low CliticP located between AgrOP and *v*P.

6.1.2 Two clitic projections: evidence

There is ample evidence suggesting that clitic pronouns might appear in different locations in the structure. Some such evidence can be found in the different Romance languages and dialects. For example, there are dialects of French (Bec 1986: 234-235; Camproux 1958: 489; and Rohlf's 1975: 185) and Italian (Benincá 1986: 474) that show the same clitic pronoun in both the matrix clause and the embedded clause

simultaneously, as illustrated in (8) for French (examples from Bec 1986) and (9) for Italian (examples from Benincá 1986):

(8) a. *que les buoy abé-les.*

that Cl want.1sg to.have.Cl

“I want to have them”

b. *que la buoy abé-la.*

that Cl want.1sg to.have.Cl

“I want to have it/her”

(9) a. *La voglio attaccarla.*

Cl want.1sg to.attack.Cl

“I want to attack her”

b. *L'ho attaccata.*

Cl-have.1sg attacked.Cl

“I have attacked her”

In addition, Italian dialects show the same clitic pronoun/cluster in at least two different positions in the structure. Piedmontese, for example, displays cases of clitic reduplication, as illustrated in example (10) from Parry (1995), and (11) from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004: 525):¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) point out that their analysis cannot account for cases of clitic reduplication like the ones presented here in (8-10).

(10) [*a tlo' ditte*]

SCI¹⁰² to-you-it have-said.1sg.to-you-it

“I have said it to you”

(11) *A 'm la dev levem la.*

I Cl Cl must take-away.Cl.Cl

“I have to take it away”

Parry suggests that clitic pronouns are generated in some position to the right of the verb, from where they move and leave a visible copy in the original position, much like a resumptive pronoun.¹⁰³ In fact, this mechanism appears to be very common in Piedmontese, according to the author.

Examples such as the ones from Piedmontese can also be found in certain varieties of American Spanish. Chilean Spanish, in particular, offers a wide variety of examples illustrating clitic reduplication, as exemplified in (12) and (13) from Kany (1945), (14) from Lipski (1990), and (15) from Luján (1987):¹⁰⁴

(12) *¿Pa qué te voy a mentite?*

for what Cl go.1sg to lie.Cl

“Why would I lie to you?”

¹⁰² SCL stands for ‘subject clitic’.

¹⁰³ The Piedmontese example that follows, from Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004: 525), illustrates the same clitic pronoun up to three times in the structure: preceding the finite auxiliary verb; following the participle, and finally, following the infinitive:

(i) *I m' aveisi pusciume giteme.*
you Cl-had could.Cl help.me.Cl
“You could have helped me”

¹⁰⁴ Those dialects of Spanish that do not allow clitic reduplication only have one clitic pronoun in their numeration. This prevents the generation of structures like *lo quiero verlo*.

(13) *Se lo podís ahogáselo.*

Cl Cl can.2sg drown.Cl.Cl

“You can drown it/him.”

(14) *No la he podido conocerla.*

not Cl have.1sg been.able to.know.Cl

“I have not been able to know her”

(15) *Lo había estado mordiéndolo.*

Cl had.3sg been biting.Cl

“(S)he had been biting it”

As the examples show, the same clitic pronoun/cluster appears twice in the structure—enclitic to the embedded non-finite verb and proclitic to the matrix finite verb.

Another piece of evidence suggesting that clitic pronouns may be generated in different positions comes from Asturian. In Asturian, the default position of clitic pronouns is to the right of finite and non-finite verbs, but as in (16), there are cases in which the presence of certain elements in the structure enables the appearance of proclisis, as exemplified in (17a). Significantly, enclisis is also grammatical, as can be observed in (17b):¹⁰⁵

(16) a. *Quiero velu.*

want.1sg to.see.Cl

¹⁰⁵ Assuming that the different word orders result from differences in verb movement violates Economy since one of the two derivations would be more costly than the other one.

(17) a. *Quiero nun lu ver.*

want.1sg not Cl to.see

b. *Quiero nun velu.*

want.1sg not to.see.Cl

“I want to not see him”

The optionality observed in Asturian lead to the formulation of three possible hypotheses. On the one hand, it could be postulated that the verb in examples (16) and (17a) move to different positions in the structure. However, there are no features that motivate differences in verb movement. Another option would be to postulate clitic movement; nevertheless, this poses economy problems for the derivation of (17a) and (17b), since deriving a structure with fewer steps (presumably (17b)) would always be the preferred option. Thus, these examples could be interpreted as indicating that the clitic pronoun may appear in at least two different positions in the structure.¹⁰⁶

Finally, Zanuttini (1997: 20) shows very interesting data from several Italian dialects in which first and second person clitic pronouns precede the negative marker, while third person clitics follow the negative marker, as illustrated in the dialect of Verme in (18), and in Cairese in (19):

(18) a. *Soli no n di rã.*

that Cl neg says nothing

“That does not tell us anything”

¹⁰⁶ As pointed out earlier and will be seen in Chapter 7, Asturian is not a 2P clitic language. Therefore, the position of the clitic pronoun does not obey phonological constraints.

b. *Mũn ãn m an tròv pu.*

my husband me-neg finds no more

“My husband can no longer find me”

(19) *I men le devi nent dumandele.*

SCI me-neg them must neg to.ask.them

“You should not ask me for them”

This can also be taken to be evidence that there is more than one clitic position available in the structure.

6.2 Verb movement and clitic movement

As mentioned earlier, one of the pillars of the present proposal is movement of the verb and of the clitic. Thus, verb movement in Spanish and other Romance languages is discussed in §6.2.1 and the type of movement undergone by the clitic in clitic climbing structures is discussed in §6.2.2.

6.2.1. Verb movement

There seem to be important differences regarding the movement of non-finite verbs in the Romance family. Infinitives in Spanish and Italian behave in a similar way (Belletti 1990, 1999): they raise from the VP to a functional projection located in the high regions of the clause (presumably AgrSP or TP), as illustrated in (20):

(20) [VP ... [AgrSP[AgrS *comer*_k] [TP[T t_k] [AgrOP [AgrO t_k] [VP[V t_k]]]]]]]

French infinitives (but not past participles) may also move outside of the VP, as shown in the examples in (21) and (22) from Authier (p.c.); however, raising to AgrO⁰ (Pollock 1989, 1997) is optional and never as high as in Spanish and Italian.¹⁰⁷

(21) a. *Rendre souvent visite a Marie est mon plus cher desir.*

to.return often visit to Marie is my more dear desire

“To often visit Marie is my dearest wish”

b. ?? *Souvent rendre visite a Marie est mon plus cher desir.*

often to.return visit to Marie is my more dear desire

(22) a. *Elle affirme avoir souvent rendu visite a Marie.*

she alleges to.have often returned visit to Marie.

“She alleges to have often visited Marie.”

b. **Elle affirme souvent avoir rendu visite a Marie.*¹⁰⁸

she alleges often to.have returned visit to Marie

c. ?? *Elle affirme avoir rendu souvent visite a Marie.*

she alleges to.have returned often visit to Marie

Past participles present the most cross-linguistic and dialectal variation as far as verb movement in Romance. It has been claimed that past participles in certain varieties of Italian may leave the VP and move to a functional projection located the high regions of the clause (again, AgrSP), like infinitives and finite verbs (Belletti 1990, 1999). This may explain why the past participle is a valid host for clitic pronouns in some Italian

¹⁰⁷ Moore (1996) argues that the infinitival morphology is obtained independently of movement. Thus, as opposed to finite verbs in Spanish, infinitives do not move to Infl.

¹⁰⁸ Authier (p.c.) observes that this sentence is ungrammatical on the reading in which *souvent* modifies *render visite*.

dialects, in particular Northern Italian dialects such as Borgomanerese and Piedmontese, according to Tortora (p.c.), as illustrated in (23):¹⁰⁹

(23) *L'ho attaccatala.*

CI-have.1sg attacked.CI

“I have attacked her”

Italian differs from Romance languages like Spanish and French, in which the past participles in Spanish do not leave the VP (Suñer 1987).¹¹⁰ In the latter languages the past participle cannot host clitic pronouns—as explained in Chapter 4 and illustrated here in (24) for Spanish.¹¹¹

(24) a. *La he atacado.*

CI have.1sg attacked

“I have attacked her”

b. **He atacádola.*

have.1sg attacked.CI

¹⁰⁹ See also Burzio (1986) for similar examples in Torinese.

¹¹⁰ There is, however, one case in which the past participle may leave the VP in French (but not in Spanish), via short verb movement; it leaves the VP and raises to the first functional projection outside the VP, the AspP just below AgrPstPrtP (Belletti 1994, Kayne 1989). This is possible because the functional structure of a past participle projects from an Agr head (AgrO') and forms an aspectual type head (AspP).

¹¹¹ Nevertheless, it is possible to find marginal examples of cliticization to past participles in Spanish (Bello and Cuervo 1921). Thus, clitic pronouns may attach to past participles when the auxiliary verb is omitted, as in (i), and also in certain contexts in which the auxiliary verb and the past participle are interrupted by some other element, as in (ii):

(i) *Habíamos aguardado a nuestros amigos y preparádoles lo necesario.*
had.1pl waited for our friends and prepared.CI what necessary
“We had awaited our friends and prepared them what was necessary.”

(ii) *Habiendo primero en la marina hincándose de rodillas.*
having first in the navy kneeled.CI of kness
“Having kneeled down in the navy first.”

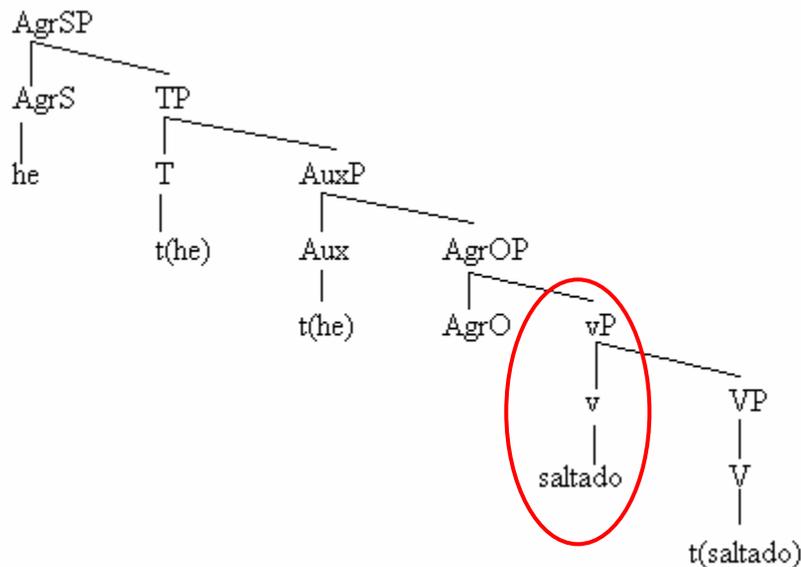
As pointed out above, these examples belong to a written, extremely formal register of Spanish, and will not be taken into account here.

Spanish, like other languages without past participle agreement, does not project a AgrPstPrtP (cf., Belletti 2001, Lois 1990, Sportiche 1998). The past participle in Spanish is projected and merged in VP, where it remains during the derivation. This is the hypothesis adopted in the present proposal, and illustrated in (25):¹¹²

(25) *He saltado.*

have.1sg jumped

“I have jumped”



Observe that auxiliary verbs are assumed to head their own projection in Spanish, as claimed by Zagona (1988),¹¹³ and subcategorize for a VP whose head is the past participle.

¹¹² Only the relevant parts have been illustrated in the tree. Thus, the object *pro* is missing, which can be located either in [Spec, vP] or in [Spec, AgrSP], for instance.

¹¹³ Similar claims are made by Pollock (1989) and Cinque (2004) for French and Italian respectively.

6.2.2 Movement of the clitic

With respect to the movement of clitics, the proposal put forth here is in line with Kayne (1989) and Progovac (2005). Kayne determines that clitic pronouns move cyclically from head to head until they incorporate into, presumably, matrix I^0 , as illustrated in previous chapters. He further claims that the direct movement of the clitic pronoun from its position in the embedded clause to matrix I^0 renders ungrammatical results, such as clitic splitting, as exemplified in (26):¹¹⁴

(26) **Me pudo darlo.*

Cl could.3sg to.give.Cl

Similarly, Progovac (2005) argues that clitic climbing in Serbian is parasitic on verb movement; hence, the verb undergoes head-to-head movement through the functional projections in which clitic pronouns sit, cliticization takes place, and both the verb and the clitic(s) move overtly to the verb's final landing site, as illustrated here in (27) from Progovac (2005: 157):

(27) *Ti si me videla.*

you aux Cl seen

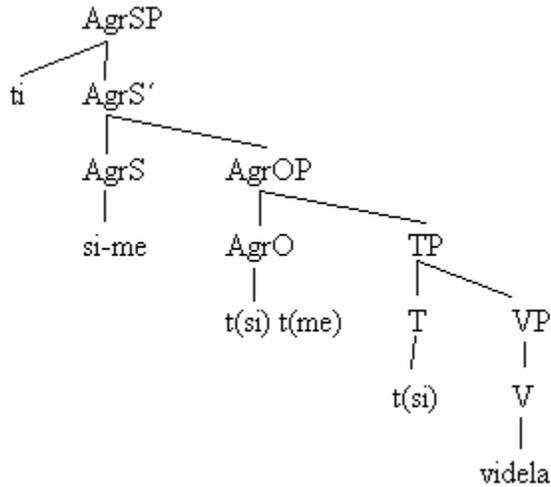
“You have seen me/ you saw me”

¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, there are dialects in which clitic splitting is allowed, which suggests that different languages may display different types of movement as far as clitic pronouns are concerned. Clitic splitting is illustrated next in Franco-Provençal from Uriagereka (1995):

i) *T'an-te deut-lo.*

Cl-have-they said-Cl

“They have said it to you.”



There are cases, however, in which the movement of the clitic pronoun may seem to violate some principles of the grammar, since it appears to skip over other heads in the structure, which incurs a violation of head-movement (Kayne 1991). Nevertheless, analyses of clitic climbing in which clitic pronouns appear to skip heads are not uncommon, as will be seen next. Poletto (2000), for example, postulates that subject clitic pronouns in Northern Italian dialects move from clitic position to clitic position, skipping over other heads. Similarly, the analysis presented here argues that clitic pronouns, when moving as a last resort, may only move from the head of a CliticP to the head of another CliticP. This type of movement is consistent with Chomsky's (2001) and Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001) derivation by phase. According to Chomsky's (2001) theory of derivation by phase, ν P and CP constitute phases in which all of the features remain somehow active even after having been checked. However, once all the features have been checked and the phase has been completed, the features become inactive and unavailable, and the phase becomes invisible to other operations taking place in the

derivation. In this view, since there are no features triggering movement of the clitic pronoun inside *vP* — these are located in CliticP outside *vP* — cliticization never happens inside the lexical domain of the sentence. The next section illustrates how the proposed analysis extends to simple sentences of the type illustrated in (28), and to complex sentences as in (29) and (30):¹¹⁵

(28) a. *Lo he comprado hoy.*

Cl have.1sg bought today

“I have bought it today”

b. **He comprádo lo hoy.*

have.1sg bought.Cl today

(29) a. *Lo estoy comiendo.*

Cl am.1sg eating

b. *Estoy comiéndolo.*

am.1sg eating.Cl

“I am eating it”

¹¹⁵ There is data in Spanish that indicates that the auxiliaries *haber* (‘to have’) and *estar* (‘to be’) have different structures. For instance, the subject can usually be interpolated between the auxiliary *estar* and whatever other verbal forms that appear in the structure. However, interpolation is ungrammatical with *haber*, as illustrated in the following examples:

- i) *Ya estarán ellos esperando por nosotros.*
already will.be they waiting for us
“They will be waiting for us already”
- ii) **¿Ha ella terminado el libro?*
has she finished the book
- iii) *¿Ha terminado ella el libro?*
has finished she the book
“Has she finished the book?”

These facts have led researchers to argue that while the auxiliary *haber* and the past participle constitute an inseparable unit (Strozer 1976; Torrego 1984; Zagona 1982, among others and contra Suñer 1987), constructions with the auxiliary *estar* constitute bi-clausal structures, and not monoclausal ones.

(30) a. *Lo quiero comer.*

Cl want.1sg to.eat

b. *Quiero comerlo.*

want.1sg to.eat.Cl

“I want to eat it”

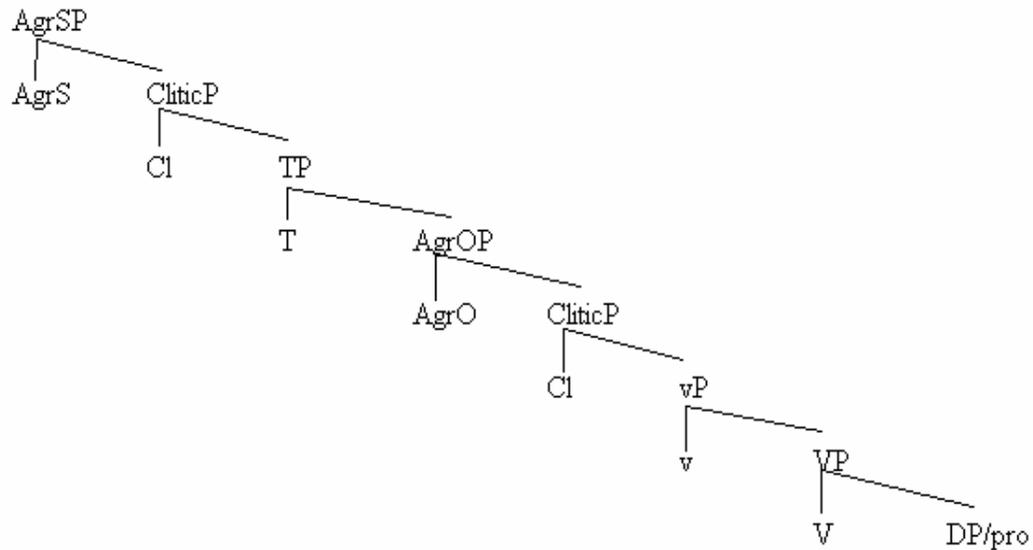
6.3 Application of the proposal

To recapitulate, I propose that there are two functional projections (which I will call CliticP) in which the clitic pronoun can be generated: one higher up in the structure, between Subject Agreement and Tense (henceforth AgrSP and TP respectively), and a lower one located in the periphery of the lexical domain, between Object Agreement and the verb (henceforth AgrOP and vP respectively), as illustrated in (31- 33). Crucially, the present analysis further supports the locus of dialectal and cross-linguistic variation resulting from differences in subcategorization.

(31) [_{AgrSP}[_{AgrS}⁰] [_{CliticP} [_{Clitic}⁰] [_{TP}[_T⁰] [_{AgrOP} [_{AgrO}⁰] [_{vP}[_v⁰] [_{VP}[_V⁰]]]]]]]]]

(32) [_{AgrSP}[_{AgrS}⁰] [_{TP}[_T⁰] [_{AgrOP} [_{AgrO}⁰] [_{CliticP} [_{Clitic}⁰] [_{vP}[_v⁰] [_{VP}[_V⁰]]]]]]]]]

(33)



Under the proposed analysis, modal verbs in Spanish can either select an embedded clause headed by an infinitival TP, or a clause headed by a CliticP; the latter will allow the clitic pronoun to climb outside of the clause in which it is generated as a last resort mechanism. Clitic climbing is not allowed in those languages that do not subcategorize for an embedded CliticP-headed clause.

The remainder of this section illustrates how the analysis articulated above applies to different structures. Thus, §6.3.1 illustrates simple structures, while §6.3.2 focuses on complex structures. In addition, clitic climbing over negation is easily explained, as will be seen in §6.3.3.

6.3.1 Simple structures

According to the analysis proposed in §6.1, the clitic pronoun in mono-clausal structures without clitic climbing, like the Spanish (33a) and the French (33b), is generated heading the lower CliticP, as illustrated in the following derivation:¹¹⁶

(33) a. *Lo_i he visto* [*pro_i*]

Cl have.1sg seen

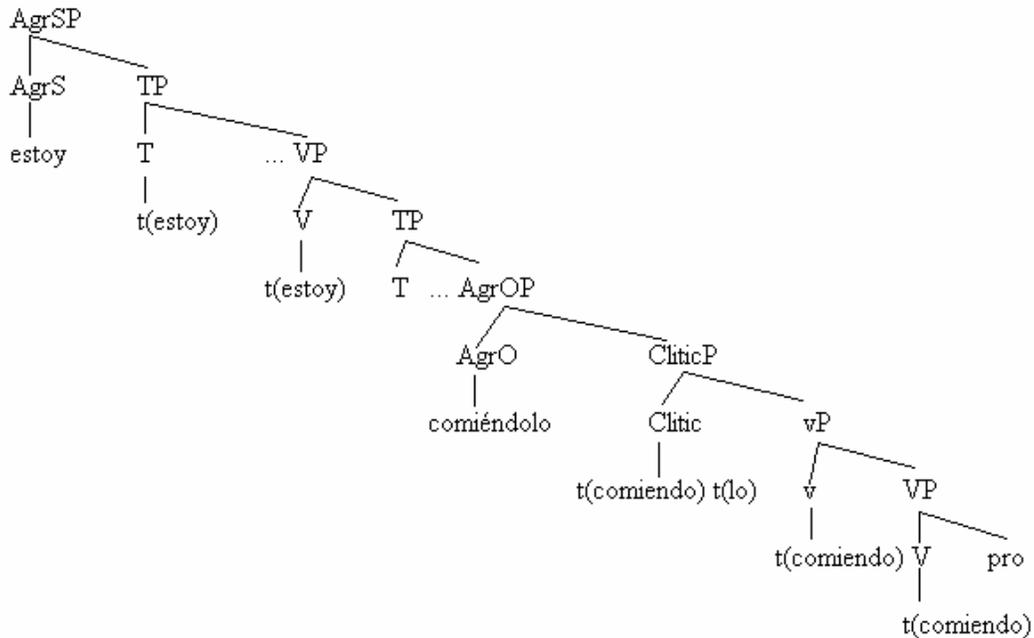
b. *Je li'ài vu* [*pro_i*]

Cl have.1sg. seen

“I have seen him/it”

(34) [_{AgrSP}[_{AgrS} *lo_i he_j*] [_{TP}[_T *t_i t_j*] [_{AuxP}[_{Aux} *t_i t_j*] [_{AgrOP}[_{AgrO} *t_i*] [_{CIP}[_{Cl} *t_i*]
[_{VP}[_v *visto_k*] [_{VP}[_v *t_k*] [*pro_i*]]]]]]]]]

¹¹⁶ Example (34) illustrates only the derivation in Spanish; nonetheless, French should have the same derivation as Spanish. In French, however, the subject pronoun *je* (I) is located in [Spec, AgrSP].

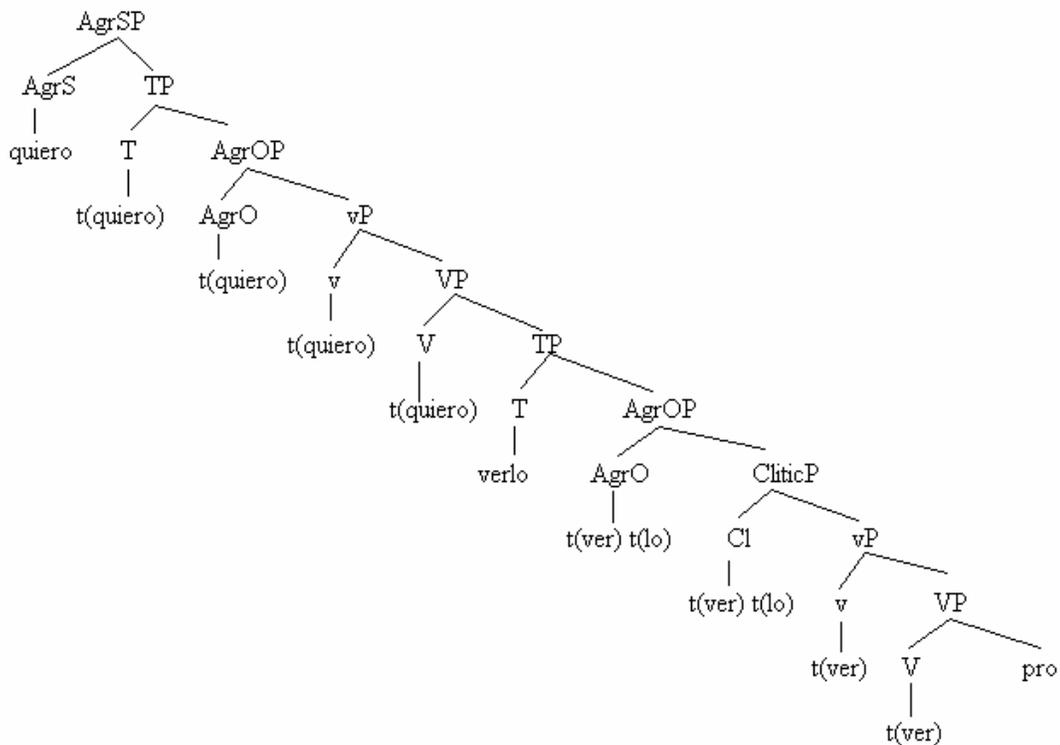


In the derivation in (38), the clitic pronoun is generated in the lower CliticP. The gerund *comiendo* (eating) undergoes head-to-head movement from V^0 to its final landing site AgrO^0 attracted by its strong [+V] feature. Thus, cliticization happens in Cl^0 .

When clitic climbing is present, as exemplified in (39), the clitic pronoun is base-generated in high CliticP. In this case, cliticization takes place in Cl^0 when the finite verb *estoy* raises to AgrS^0 in order to check the strong [+V] feature that is located there.

(39) $[_{\text{AgrSP}}[_{\text{AgrS}} lo_i \textit{estoy}] \dots [_{\text{VP}}[_{\text{ClP}}[_{\text{Cl}} t_i] [_{\text{TP}}[_{\text{AgrOP}}[_{\text{AgrO}} \textit{comiendo}_k]$

$[_{\text{vP}}[_{\text{v}} t_k] [_{\text{VP}}[_{\text{v}} t_k] [_{\text{pro}}_i]]]]]]]]]$



As shown, the clitic pronoun is based-generated in the embedded clause, in the lower CliticP. The infinitive verb undergoes head-to-head movement from the lexical domain up to T^0 , as established earlier in the text for Spanish. Thus, cliticization takes place in Cl^0 , where the clitic pronoun is generated, and the whole unit formed by the verb and the clitic pronoun moves together to T^0 .

A structure with clitic climbing (42) is also bi-clausal in my analysis, as illustrated in (43):

(42) *Lo_i quiero ver [pro_i]*

Cl want.1sg. to.see

“I want to see it/him”

Chapter 2—with which the clitic pronoun agrees. The unit formed by the clitic pronoun and the tensed verb then undergoes head-to-head movement to AgrS⁰.

Those languages and dialects that do not allow clitic climbing, such as French and some Italian dialects, do not have the high CliticP available, which is the position associated with clitic climbing. In such cases, the clitic pronoun can only be generated in the lower CliticP, where it attaches to the verb that undergoes head-to-head movement from the lexical domain to AgrS⁰/T⁰.

6.3.3 Negation and clitic climbing

As noted, some previous analyses have faced challenges in accounting for certain cases of clitic climbing over negation (Cinque 1999 and subsequent; Kayne 1981, 1991; Rizzi 1982, just to mention a few). The appearance of negation in clitic climbing structures provides further support that structures such as (44) are, in fact, bi-clausal. It has been established that the Spanish negative head *no* selects IP/TP (Rosen 1990; Zanuttini 1991).

(44) *Quiero no comerlo.*

want not to.eat.Cl

“I want to not eat it”

There are some cases of clitic climbing in which the clitic pronoun seems to climb over the negative marker that heads the NegP, which is also a clitic (Belletti 1990; Dobrovie-Sorin 1999; Pollock 1989), as illustrated in (45):

(45) a. *La_i quiere no comer (la tarta_i).*

Cl wants.3sg not to.eat (the cake)

“(S)he wants to not eat it (the cake)”

b. *Lo quiero no tener que hacer.*

Cl want.1sg not to.have to do

“I want to not have to do it”

These and similar examples (for instance in Italian) are considered to be marginal, if not ungrammatical, by many authors (Bleam 2000; Burzio 1986: 242; Cinque 2004; Kayne 1989, 1991; Rosen 1990; Strozer 1976). Kayne (1989) claims that negation blocks antecedent government; therefore the clitic pronoun cannot govern its trace, which results in ungrammaticality. However, as can be observed in the examples above, clitic climbing over negation is grammatical in Spanish.

Examples such as those in (45) do not constitute a problem for the analysis proposed here. As shown in (46), the clitic pronoun is generated in the high CliticP located in the embedded clause. Since the infinitive verb raises only to T^0 , the clitic pronoun needs to move as a last resort strategy in order to find a host in the matrix clause:¹¹⁷

(46) [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} *lo_i* *puedo*],... [_{NegP} [_{Neg} [*no*]] [_{CIP}[_{Cl} *t_i*] ... *comer*]]]

Cl can.1sg not to.eat

“I can not eat it”

¹¹⁷ Those dialects in which examples like (45-46) are ungrammatical can be accounted for by means of subcategorization frames: NegP cannot subcategorize CliticP, which explains the ungrammaticality of clitic climbing over negation.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has provided an analysis of clitic climbing in which clitic pronouns may be generated in at least two different structural positions, based on data from different Romance languages. Crucially, not all Romance languages and dialects allow clitic reduplication; on the contrary, the majority of Romance languages and dialects (including standard Spanish) only allow one clitic pronoun to appear in the structure. It is hypothesized here that this is the result of having only one clitic pronoun selected by Numeration. It is important to point out that some recent analyses propose three positions in which clitic pronouns are generated: above V^0 , above I^0 , and above C^0 . The proposal presented here does not deny the possible existence of a clitic projection above C^0 , but it is restricted to the study of Clitic projections in the V-domain and the I-domain, excluding the left periphery of the sentence. In addition, clitic pronouns are argued to be generated in Clitic projections, rather than Agreement projections.

This proposal maintains that clitic pronouns move as a last resort mechanism when they need to find a host; otherwise, the movement of the clitic pronoun is parasitic on verb movement. Hence, careful attention was paid to the patterns of verb movement in Spanish, focusing on gerunds, past participles, and auxiliaries in particular. In addition, different types of clitic movement were addressed. Finally, the efficacy of the proposed analysis was confronted with data from various types of clitic climbing constructions, including simple mono-clausal sentences, complex bi-clausal structures, clitic climbing over negation and with non-restructuring verbs. The next chapter extends the analysis to

data from Asturian, a language that has gone largely unstudied in the generative literature.

Chapter 7

Clitic Pronouns and Clitic Placement in Asturian

7.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on clitic placement in Asturian, a Romance language spoken in the northwest part of the Iberian Peninsula. Asturian was included in the body of examples used in the previous chapter to show the existence of at least two clitic projections in the structure. In this chapter, a fuller characterization of the Asturian clitic pronoun system is presented, with the purpose of further solidifying some of the claims made throughout this study. The chapter begins in §7.1 with a description of the distribution and combinations of clitic pronouns in Asturian, highlighting similarities with and differences from Spanish. Despite the patterns that might suggest otherwise, I argue in §7.2 that Asturian is not a second position (2P) clitic language. In §7.3, I further explore the complex patterns of enclisis and proclisis that are manifested in Asturian. The discussion addresses clitic placement in simple finite and non-finite sentences and in complex sentences, as well as clitic placement with elements other than verbs. Special attention is devoted to elements that trigger the clitic pronoun to surface to the left of the verb (i.e. proclisis triggers). As explained in Chapter 5, negation is a proclisis trigger; but, there are other elements that trigger or that allow for both proclisis and enclisis. In addition, there are syntactic processes, such as Focalization, that alter default patterns of clitic placement. Some of the most relevant analyses of enclisis and proclisis patterns in Asturian (and other Romance languages such as Galician and European Portuguese) are

Asturian: (1) *Diré-ylo llueu.*¹¹⁹

tell.1sg.Cl.Cl later

“I will tell him later.”

(2) *Garróse-y bien al pescuezu.*

grab.3sg.Cl.Cl well to-the neck

“(S)he grabbed him/her by the neck.”

Aragonese: (3) *Lo te diré.*

Cl Cl tell.1sg.

“I will tell you.”

Finally, Asturian shares with Spanish the ungrammaticality of split cliticization, as illustrated in (4) for Asturian and (5) for Spanish:

(4) a. *Quier compra-yslu.*

wants.3sg to.buy-Cl.Cl

b. *Quier-yslu comprar.*

wants.3sg-Cl.Cl to.buy

“They want to buy it from/for them.”

“I look pretty tired of working.”
ii. *A él, vese-y bastante cansáu del trabayu.*
Cl(Refl).Cl(Dat)
“He looks pretty tired of working.”

iii. **A él, véselu bastante cansáu del trabayu.*
Cl(Refl).Cl(Acc)

Therefore, as opposed to what the official prescriptive grammar claims, I believe the order reflexive + accusative might be ungrammatical in Asturian, as shown in (iii).

¹¹⁹ The fact that the Dative clitic *-y* is separated from the verb by a hyphen is just a spelling convention and does not indicate any morphosyntactic characteristic in particular.

c. **Quier-ys* *compralu*.

wants.3sg-Cl to.buy.Cl

d. **Quierlu* *compra-ys*.

wants.3sg.Cl to.buy.Cl

(5) a. *Quiere* *comprárselo*.

wants.3sg to.buy.Cl.Cl

b. *Se lo quiere* *comprar*.

Cl Cl wants.3sg to.buy

“(S)he wants to buy it from/for them”

c. **Se quiere* *comparlo*.

Cl wants.3sg to.buy.Cl

d. **Lo quiere* *comprarse*.

Cl wants.3sg to.buy.Cl

The Asturian examples (4a, b) show the Dative and Accusative clitic *-ys* and *-lu* forming a string that can surface enclitic either to the infinitive *comprar*, or to the finite verb *quier*. The ungrammaticality of (4c, d) is due to the fact that the clitic string is broken. Similarly, the Spanish Dative and Accusative clitics *se* and *lo* surface in a string enclitic to the infinitive *comprar*, or proclitic to the finite verb *querer*. As in Asturian, sentences (5c, d) are ungrammatical because the clitic string is broken.

Despite these similarities, the Asturian clitic system differs from the Spanish clitic system in important respects. For instance, as established in Academia de la Llingua

Asturiana (2001), only two clitic pronouns can appear together in the same string. Thus, compare the Asturian examples in (6) and (7) with those from Spanish in (8) and (9):

Asturian: (6) a. **Lléveselu*.

take.3sg.Cl.Cl

“Take him with you!”

b. *Llévelu*.

take.3sg.Cl

“Take him”

(7) a. **Comíme un platu de llenteyes*.

ate.1sg.Cl a plate of lentils

b. *Comí un platu de llenteyes*.

ate.1sg a plate of lentils

“I ate a plate of lentil soup.”

Spanish: (8) *Lléveselo*.

take.Cl.Cl

“Take him with you!”

(9) *Se te me le marchitaron los pétalos a la rosa*.

Cl Cl Cl Cl wilted the petals of the rose

“The rose wilted”

The Asturian examples in (6) and (7) contrast with the Spanish examples in (8) and (9) in terms of both clitic placement as well as in clitic cooccurrence. Thus, example (6a) shows the ungrammatical structure in which an imperative verb is followed by a Dative clitic *se*,

and an Accusative clitic *lu*. Similarly, example (7a) shows the finite verb *comí* followed by the Dative clitic *me*. The grammatical counterparts are shown in (6b) and (7b) respectively. The ungrammaticality of sentences (6a) and (7a) is attributed to the lack of ethical and benefactive Dative clitic pronouns in Asturian. As can be observed in (8) and (9), the Spanish imperative verb can be followed by a benefactive clitic and an Accusative clitic. Finally, Spanish allows up to four clitic pronouns to be combined in the same structure, as shown in (9).

More importantly, the languages differ in clitic placement. Recall that Spanish is proclitic with finite verbs and enclitic with non-finite verbs (consult Chapter 4, §4.2). In Asturian enclisis is considered to be the ‘default’ in finite and non-finite clauses, as illustrated in (10) and (11).¹²⁰ This, it shares with Spanish enclisis in affirmative imperative and in non-finite clauses, as in (12) and (13):

(10) a. *¡Gárralu!*

grab.Cl

“Grab him!”

b. **¡Lu garra!*

Cl grab

(11) a. *Quier velu.*

wants.3sg to.see.Cl

¹²⁰ The enclisis and proclisis patterns of Asturian clitic pronouns resemble those of Portuguese and Galician

b. *Quierlu ver.*

wants.Cl to.see

“(S)he wants to see him”

c. **Lu quier ver.*

Cl wants to.see

(12) a. *¡Agárralo!*

grab.Cl

“Grab him!”

b. **¡Lo agarra!*

Cl grab

(13) a. *Quiere verlo.*

wants.3sg to.see.Cl

b. *Lo quiere ver.*

Cl wants.3sg to.see

“(S)he wants to see him”

c. **Quiérello ver.*

wants.3sg.Cl to.see

However, enclisis patterns are observed in Asturian affirmative matrix declarative sentences, as in (14):

(14) a. *Lleíla yieri.*

read.1sg.Cl yesterday

“I read it yesterday”

b. **La llei yieri.*

Cl read.1sg yesterday

Finally, in root yes-no questions clitic pronouns must attach to the right of the verb, as in (15a); proclisis is ungrammatical, as shown in (15b):

(15) a. *¿Vistelu?*

saw.2sg.Cl

“Did you see him?”

b. **¿Lu viste?*

Cl saw.2sg

It is important to point out that the enclisis patterns exemplified in (10-11, 14-15) can be quite misleading as they might suggest that Asturian is a 2P clitic language. However, as will be seen in §7.2, a 2P analysis of clitic pronouns in Asturian cannot account for all the facts. The data presented might also suggest that proclisis is not possible. However, proclisis is frequently attested in a variety of structures in Asturian, to be considered separately in §7.3.

7.2 Asturian is not a 2P clitic language

Some of the data provided in §7.1 would point to an analysis of Asturian as a clitic-second language. However, there are many authors who claim that European Portuguese, and, by extension Galician and Asturian, are neither 2P clitic languages nor verb second (V2) languages (Madeira 1992; Rouveret 1999). They claim that clitic second entails verb movement to C⁰ only when a clitic pronoun is present in the structure. As explained earlier in the text, Rouveret (1999) shows that the position of adverbs

indicates that tensed verbs and enclisis in European Portuguese affirmative sentences are not higher than AgrSP/TP at Spell-Out. Thus, if finite verbs in European Portuguese do not move higher than TP, clitic placement in enclisis configurations cannot take place higher than TP. Thus, structures of the type SVCL, as illustrated in the Asturian example in (16), would implicate CP, while SVO structures, as in (17) would implicate only IP. There is, however, no apparent reason why these two structures should be different with respect to the location of the verb and the subject.

(16) *La neña comióles.*

the girl ate.Cl

“The girl ate them”

(17) *La neña comió les ablanes.*

the girl ate the hazelnuts

“The girl ate the hazelnuts”

Rouveret concludes that European Portuguese is neither a 2P clitic language nor a V2 language (it is a residual verb second language, like French and English).

Klavans (1982) establishes that 2P clitics are not attracted to a specific category node, unlike Asturian clitics, that always have to attach to a verb.¹²¹ Second position clitics attach to whatever element/constituent is in initial position and, according to Klavans (1982: 16) and Wanner (1987), are always enclitic. As seen in §7.1, both enclisis and proclisis can be found in several contexts in Asturian. Nevertheless, it is true that clitic

¹²¹ See Anderson (1993) for verb second as clitic placement.

pronouns never appear as the first element of the clause. This is possibly a sign of a residual 2P clitic system, as argued in Rouveret (1999).

Second position clitic systems seem to be sensitive to the structure of the clause because elements like conjunctions, topics, complementizers, and interrogatives are not always taken into account when determining the position of clitics. In 2P clitic languages, clitic pronouns seem to be placed with respect to the sentential IP/AgrSP boundary. Thus, independently of the number of constituents preceding them, clitic pronouns always occupy the same position in 2P clitic languages. In Asturian, however, it has been shown that the position of clitic pronoun varies in the structure. The following examples illustrate this point:

(18) a. *Siempre lu topa en chigre la so muyer.*

always Cl finds in bar the his wife

b. *La so muyer siempre lu topa en chigre.*

the his wife always Cl finds in bar

“His wife always finds him at the bar.”

c. *La so muyer topólu en chigre.*

the his wife found.Cl in bar

“His wife found him at the bar”

d. **La so muyer lu topó en chigre.*

the his wife Cl found in bar

These examples show that clitic pronouns in Asturian need not necessarily appear in the second position within the AgrSP/TP. Thus, example (18b) shows the clitic pronoun as

the third element of the clause, after the subject (located in [Spec, AgrSP]) and after the adverb *siempre*. In fact, an example in which the clitic pronoun appears in second position is ungrammatical in Asturian (18d). Therefore, it can be concluded that in spite of certain paradigms that might indicate a 2P clitic pronoun system, Asturian is not a 2P clitic language, not a V2 language.

7.3 Enclisis and proclisis

The presence of enclisis and/or proclisis is affected by specific elements and constructions in Asturian. There are some elements—proclisis ‘triggers’, as established in Longa and Lorenzo (1995, 2001)—that affect clitic placement in matrix and embedded sentences; among them are quantifiers, adverbs, *wh*-words, negation, focalized NPs, and complementizers. Nevertheless, not all proclisis triggers display the same syntactic behavior. Some of these elements force proclisis in particular contexts (§7.3.1), others allow for both proclisis and enclisis (§7.3.2). In addition, there are specific syntactic phenomena that trigger proclisis. In §7.3.3, it is observed that Focalization (but not other left periphery operations) triggers proclisis.

7.3.1 Triggers that force proclisis

There is a closed list of elements that force proclisis. Thus, clitic pronouns appear located to the left of their verbal host in tensed embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *que* ‘that’, or *si* ‘if’ as illustrated in the examples (19-21):¹²²

(19) a. *Diz que lu vio pela cai.*

says.3sg. that Cl saw.3sg. on-the street”

“(S)he says that (s)he saw him outside.”

b. **Diz que violu pela cai.*

says.3sg that saw.3sg.Cl on-the street

(20) a. *Quexábase de que les viera pega-y.*

complained.3sg. about that Cl saw.3sg. hitting Cl

“(S)he was complaining that (s)he had seen them hitting him/her.”

¹²² D’Andrés (1993) mentions a few cases in which both enclisis and proclisis are present with a finite embedded sentence introduced by the complementizer *que*, as illustrated in (i) and (ii).

i) a. *Paezme que lo escribieron bien.*

seems.Cl that Cl wrote.3pl well

b. *Paezme que escribiéronlo bien.*

seems.Cl that wrote.3pl.Cl well

“I think they spelled **it** well”

ii) a. *Ye que me molestaba enforma.*

is.3sg that Cl bothered.3sg a-lot

b. *Ye que molestábame enforma.*

is.3sg that bothered.3sg.Cl a-lot

“It is only that it used to bother **me** a lot.”

He states that the enclisis exemplified in these examples could be a case of hypercorrection used by speakers who wish to differentiate themselves from Spanish speakers. The enclisis examples shown here are otherwise ungrammatical for native and near-native speakers of Asturian:

b. **Quexábase de que viérales pega-y.*

complained.3sg about that saw.3sg.Cl hitting.Cl

(21) a. *Dinos si la ves bien.*

tell.2sg.us if Cl see.2sg. well

“Tell us if you see her well.”

b. **Dinos si vesla bien.*

tell.us if see.2sg.Cl well

Examples (19a), (20a), and (21a) have a full complementizer, *que*, *que*, and *si*, respectively. Thus, the only option available for the clitic pronoun is to surface to the left of its host, the verbs *vio*, *viera*, and *ves* respectively. As shown in the ungrammatical examples (19b), (20b), and (21b), enclisis is not possible.

In addition, interrogative pronouns in matrix and embedded questions always force the clitic pronoun to be placed to the left of the finite verb, as exemplified in (22) and (23) respectively:

(21) a. *¿Quién lo mercó?*

who Cl bought

“Who bought it?”

b. **¿Quién mercólo?*

who bought.Cl

(23) a. *¿Dixote cuándo lo mercó?*

told.3st.you when Cl bought.sg.

“Did (s)he tell you when (s)he bought it?”

b. *¿*Díxote* *cuándo* *mercólo*?

told.3sg.you when bought.3sg.Cl

Finally, there are elements that force proclisis when they are placed in a preverbal position, but enclisis whenever they appear postverbally. This is the case of certain adverbs of modality, as *acasu* and *quiciabes* ‘maybe’ in (24) and (25) respectively:

(24) a. *Acasu la comprara.*

maybe Cl bought.3sg.

“Maybe (s)he had bought it.”

b. **Acasu comprárala.*

maybe bought.3sg.Cl

c. *Comprárala acasu.*

bought.3sg.Cl maybe

“Maybe (s)he had bought it”

d. **La comprara acasu.*

Cl bought.3sg maybe

(25) a. *Quiciabes lu veas.*

maybe Cl see.2sg.

“Maybe you will see him.”

b. **Quiciabes veaslu.*

maybe see.2sg.Cl

c. *Veaslu quiciabes.*

see.2sg.Cl maybe

“Maybe you will see him”

d. **Lu veas quiciabes.*

Cl see.2sg maybe

Similarly, other adverbs like *siempre* ‘always’, *entá* ‘yet/still’, and *yá* ‘already’ force proclisis if they surface preverbally, as in (26a), (27a), and (28a), and enclisis when they surface postverbally, as in (26b), (27b), and (28b); any other placement is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (26c, d), (27c, d), and (28c, d):

(26) a. *Siempre lu vemos na cai.*

always Cl see.1pl in-the street

b. *Vémostlu siempre na cai.*

see.1pl.Cl always in-the street

“We always see him outside”

c. **Lu vemos siempre na cai.*

Cl see.1pl always in-the street

d. **Siempre vémostlu na cai.*

always see.1pl.Cl in-the street

(27) a. *Entá lo compraron ayeri.*

still Cl bought.3pl yesterday

b. *Compráronlo entá ayeri.*

bought.3pl.Cl still yesterday

“They bought it just yesterday.”

c. **Entá compráronlo ayeri.*

still bought.3pl.Cl yesterday

d. **Lo compraron entá ayeri.*

Cl bought.3pl still yesterday

(28) a. *Yá lu soltaron.*

already Cl released.3pl

b. *Soltáronlu yá.*

released.3pl.Cl already

“They released him already.”

c. **Lu soltaron yá.*

Cl released.3pl already

d. **Yá soltáronlu.*

already released.3pl.Cl

Certain quantifiers force proclisis when they appear preverbally, as in (29a) and (30a), and enclisis when postverbally, as in (29c) and (30c):¹²³

(29) a. *Too lo enllordió.*

all Cl dirtied.3sg.

“(S)he made it all dirty.”

¹²³ For additional examples see D’Andrés (1993), and Sánchez Vicente and Rubiera Tuya (1985).

b. ***Too enllordiolo**.

all dirtied.3sg.Cl

c. **Enllordiolo too**.

dirtied.3sg.Cl all

“(S)he made it all dirty”

d. ***Lu enllordió tou**.

Cl dirtied.3sg all

(30) a. **Cualquiera lo fai**.

anybody Cl does

“Anybody does that.”

b. ***Cualquiera failo**.

anybody does.Cl

c. **Failo cualquiera**.

does.Cl anybody

“Anybody does that”

d. ***Lo fai cualquiera**.

Cl does anybody

Proclisis is the only grammatical option with preverbal negation. As shown in (31a), in matrix finite affirmative sentences, clitic pronouns attach to the right of the finite verb; otherwise, the derivation is ungrammatical, as in (31c). However, when the negative marker *nun* is located in a preverbal position, then the clitic pronoun must attach to the left of the finite verb, as in (31b); enclisis, in this case, is ungrammatical (31d).

(31) a. *Xabel cómeles.*

Xabel eats.Cl

“Xabel eats them.”

b. *Xabel nun les come.*

Xabel not Cl eats

“Xabel does not eat them.”

c. **Xabel les come.*

Xabel Cl eats

d. **Xabel nun cómeles.*

Xabel not eats.Cl

Positive polarity items behave like negative markers. Thus, the presence of *sí* forces the clitic pronoun to surface to the left of the finite verb, as in (33b), as opposed to (33a), in which the clitic pronoun is located to the right of the finite verb in the absence of a polarity item. As in (32c, d), proclisis in matrix affirmative sentences and enclisis with preverbal positive polarity items are ungrammatical.

(33) a. *Violos.*

saw.3sg.Cl

“(S)he saw them.”

b. *Sí los vio.*

indeed Cl saw.3sg.

“(S)he did see them.”

c. ***Los** vio.

Cl saw.3sg

d. ***Sí** violos.

indeed saw.3sg.Cl

Finally, a negative polarity item in a preverbal position always forces the clitic pronoun to be placed to the left of the verb, as in (34-37). These modal elements can always cooccur with the negative marker *nun* (not), in which case the clitic pronoun is still located to the left of the finite verb.

(34) a. **Naide** (*nun*) los vio.

no-one not Cl saw

“No one saw them.”

b. ***Naide** violos.

no-one saw.Cl

c. **Nun** los vio **naide**.

not Cl saw no-one

“No one saw them”

d. ***Nun** violos *naide*.

not saw.3sg.Cl no-one

(35) a. **Enxamás** (*nun*) les leyera.

never not Cl read.3sg

“(S)he had never read them.”

b. **Enxamás leyérales.*

never read.3sg.Cl

c. *Nun les leyera enxamás.*

not Cl read.3sg never

“(S)he had never read them”

d. **Nun leyérales enxamás.*

not read.3sg.Cl never

(36) a. *Malaspenes (nun) la movíen.*

hardly not Cl move.3pl

“They could hardly move her.”

b. **Malaspenes movíenla.*

hardly move.3pl.Cl

c. *Nun la movíen malaspenes.*

not Cl move.3pl hardly

“They could hardly move her”

d. **Nun movíenla malaspenes.*

not move.3pl.Cl hardly

(37) a. *Nunca (nun) lo comiera.*

never not Cl ate.3sg.

“(S)he had never eaten it.”

b. **Nunca comiéralo*.

never ate.3sg.Cl

c. *Nun lo comiera nunca*.

not Cl ate.3sg never

“(S)he had never eaten it”

d. * *Nun comiéralo nunca*.

not ate.3sg.Cl never

There are also elements that allow both proclisis and enclisis when they surface in a preverbal position. This group of elements is reviewed in the next section.

7.3.2 Triggers that allow enclisis and proclisis

Enclisis and proclisis are allowed by the presence of various elements in the structure, not only in Asturian, but also in Galician and Portuguese (Longa and Lorenzo 2001).¹²⁴ Thus, Sánchez Vicente and Rubiera Tuya (1985) state that certain adverbs, such as the adverb of location *equí* ‘here’ and the time adverb *mañana* ‘tomorrow’ allow both enclisis and proclisis, but only when they appear preverbally, as illustrated in (38) and (39):

(38) a. *Equí tiéneslos*.

here have.2sg.Cl

b. *Tiéneslos equí*.

have.2sg.Cl here

¹²⁴ All the examples from Galician and Portuguese in this section are from Longa and Lorenzo (2001).

c. *Equí los tienes.*

here Cl have.2sg

“Here you have them.”

d. **Los tienes equí.*

Cl have.2sg here

(39) a. *Mañana tráenles.*

tomorrow bring.3pl.Cl

b. *Tráenles mañana.*

bring.3pl.Cl tomorrow

c. *Mañana les traen.*

tomorrow Cl bring.3pl

“They bring them tomorrow.”

d. **Les traen mañana.*

Cl bring.3pl tomorrow

The clitic pronoun *los* can surface enclitic to the verb, as in (38a) and (39a), or proclitic to the verb, as in (38c) and (39c) when the adverb *equí* is in a preverbal position.

However, when the adverb is in a postverbal position, only enclisis is allowed as in (38b, d) and (39b, d).

Negation in infinitival sentences also allows both enclisis and proclisis in Asturian (40), Galician (41), and Portuguese (42):

(40) a. *Ye una pena **nun** tenelo cerca.*

is.3sg a pity not to.have.Cl close

b. *Ye una pena **nun lo** tener cerca.*

is.3sg a pity not Cl to.have close

(41) a. *É mágoa **non** telo perto.*

is.3sg pity not to.have.Cl close

b. *É mágoa **non o** ter perto.*

is.3sg pity not Cl to.have close

(42) a. *É mágoa **nã**o tê-lo perto.*

is.3sg pity not to.have-Cl close

b. *É mágoa **nã**o o ter perto.*

is.3sg pity not Cl to.have close

“It is a shame not to have it closer”

As can be seen in (40a), (41a), and (42a), the clitic pronoun surfaces enclitic to the infinitive verb in the presence of negation. Proclisis is also grammatical, as illustrated in (40b), (41b), and (42b).

As explained earlier, enclisis seems to be the default position in Asturian both with (finite and) non-finite verbs. However, there are some infinitival structures that allow both enclisis and proclisis, as pointed out in Academia de la Llingua Asturiana (1990, 2001), D’Andrés (1993) Lorenzo (1995) and Sánchez Vicente and Rubiera Tuyá (1987), even when elements that otherwise cause proclisis appear in a preverbal position, as illustrated in D’Andrés (1993) and repeated here in (43-47):

- (43) a. *Nun sé si comeles.*
 not know.1sg. if to.eat.Cl
 b. *Nun sé si les comer.*
 not know.1sg if Cl to.eat
 “I don’t know if I should eat them.”
- (44) a. *Nun tien ónde ponelo.*
 not has.3sg. where to.put.Cl
 b. *Nun tien ónde lo poner.*
 not has.3sg where Cl to.put
 “(S)he does not have where to put it.”
- (45) a. *Escaeci pa ú llevalos.*
 forgot.1sg. to where to.take.Cl”
 b. *Escacei pa ú los llevar.*
 forgot.1sg to where Cl to.take
 “I forgot where to take them.”
- (46) a. *Nunca (nun) avisalu paeciame feo.*
 never not tell.Cl seemed.1sg.Cl ugly
 b. *Nunca (nun) lu avisar paeciame feo.*
 never not Cl to.tell seemed.1sg ugly
 “To never tell him seemed not very nice to me.”
- (47) a. *Siempre topalu en chigre yera raro.*
 always find.Cl in bar was weird

b. *Siempre lu topar en chigre yera raro.*

always Cl to.find in bar was weird

“It was weird to find him always at the bar.”

In all the examples in (43-47) the clitic pronoun can appear either enclitic or proclitic to the infinitive verb. Crucially, those elements that force proclisis in matrix sentences (i.e. complementizers, wh-words, negative markers, and adverbs like *siempre*, just to name a few) allow enclisis with infinitive verbs.

7.3.3 Clitic placement and Focalization

The presence of Focalization also affects the placement of clitic pronouns in Asturian, causing them to diverge from their default position in the structure, as observed in (48):¹²⁵

(48) a. *Dixolo aquel home.*

said.Cl that man

b. *Aquel home dixolo.*

that man said.Cl

“That man said it”

c. *Aquel home lo dixo, non aquelles muyeres.*

that man Cl said, not those women

“THAT MAN said it, not those women”

d. **Lo dixo aquel home.*

Cl said that man

¹²⁵ Focalization is indicated by underlying.

e. **Aquel home lo dixo.*

that man Cl said

f. **Aquel home dixolo.*

that man said.Cl

The matrix declarative sentence in (48a) show the clitic pronoun enclitic to the finite verb *dixo*, and the subject NP in postverbal position (presumably in situ), as opposed to example (48b) in which the subject NP is in the Spec of AgrSP. Examples (48d, e) show that proclisis is never allowed in affirmative declarative sentences, independently of the position of the subject. However, when the subject NP is focalized, as in (48c), the clitic pronoun must cliticize to the left of the finite verb, which results in proclisis. As shown in (48f), enclisis is disallowed in cases of Focalization.

Non-subject Focalization also affects clitic placement. Example (49) from Lorenzo (1995), for instance, shows the same enclisis and proclisis patterns as (43) but with a direct object NP:

(49) a. *Al fíu tráxolu el padre.*

the son brought-Cl the father

“The son, his father brought”

b. *El padre tráxolu.*

the father brought.Cl

“His father brought him”

c. *Al fíu lu traxo, non a la fia.*

the father CI brought.3sg not “pers. a” the daughter

“HIS SON he brought, no his daughter”

d. **Al fíu lu traxo el padre.*

the son CI brought the father

e. **El padre lu traxo.*

the father CI brought

f. **Al fíu tráxolu, non a la fia.*

the son brought.CI not “pers. a” the daughter

Example (49a) shows the direct object NP *al fíu* in a Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) structure in which the clitic pronoun surfaces enclitic to the finite verb *traxo*. Proclisis is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (49d). The position of the subject is irrelevant for clitic placement; thus, example (49a) shows the subject in postverbal position, while in example (49d) the subject is in preverbal position, in [Spec, AgrsP]. In both cases the clitic pronoun attaches to the right of the finite verb, and proclisis is ungrammatical, as can be seen in (49d) and (49e). Nevertheless, in cases of Focalization, proclisis is the only grammatical option, as exemplified in the grammatical (49c) and its ungrammatical counterpart in (49d).

Note that other syntactic phenomena involving the left periphery of the sentence, such as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) have no effect on clitic placement. Examples in (50) illustrate clitic placement with CLLD:

(50) a. *El café, mércolu na plaza.*

the coffee, buy.1sg.Cl in.the market

“Coffee, I buy it at the market”

b. **El café, lu merco na plaza.*

the coffee Cl buy.1sg in.the market

The clitic pronoun in the CLLD structure shown in (50a) surfaces enclitic to the finite verb *merco*; sentence (50b), on the other hand, shows that proclisis in CLLD contexts is ungrammatical in Asturian.

In summary, Asturian present a ‘default’ enclisis pattern of clitic placement, which is altered by certain lexical ‘triggers’ and Focalization. A number of researchers have put forth analyses of this system, as will be discussed in §7.4. Unfortunately, as will be seen, these proposals face significant challenges. However, the proposal that I put forth in Chapter 6, in which two clitic projections appear in the structure, can account for the diversity of clitic placement patterns attested, as will be shown in §7.5.

7.4 Theories on Asturian clitic placement

There are a few analyses of clitic placement in languages with predominantly enclisis patterns. Uriagereka (1995), for example, claims that enclitic configurations are licensed at the CP/TP level in the derivation. Rouveret (1992, 1999), on the other hand, argues that both enclisis and proclisis are derived from specific properties of the functional heads internal to IP/TP. Thus, enclisis is stipulated to be the unmarked underlying pattern, contra Kayne (1989, 1991), and proclisis arises only when the structure contains an operator feature that must be licensed by a verb either at Spell-Out

or at LF. In line with Uriagereka (1995) and Van Riemsdijk (1982), Rouveret establishes that clitic pronouns are D-morphemes and scope markers that make visible the relation that exists between the argument feature included in the verbal head and the internal argument position selected by the verbal head. In Romance languages, this scope relation must be overtly marked whenever the argument position contains a null pronominal element.

Rouveret (1992, 1999) and Uriagereka (1995) propose a lexical parameter that differentiates Romance languages in terms of clitic placement. Both claim that clitic placement is determined by the particular characteristics listed in the lexicon of each particular language. Rouveret hypothesizes that the choice between enclisis and proclisis is sensitive to the presence or absence of an ‘activated’ CP system in which C^0 and/or [Spec, CP] have to be filled. According to this, all the elements that have a quantificational force trigger proclisis provided that they precede (c-command) the verb. Thus, clitic pronouns can be found in two different structures illustrated in (51).

(51) a) [_{WP}[_W CI] [_{TP} ...]]

b) [_{AgrP}[_{Agr} CI [_{Agr} V-T-Agr]]]

Example (51a) shows what Rouveret calls the ‘Wackernagel Phrase’, an L-related position—not an operator—that is located on top of AgrP; this structure characterizes the enclisis of Western Romance languages like Asturian, Galician, and Portuguese. In turn, example (51b) from Kayne (1989), illustrates the proclitic pattern that can be found in, for example, Spanish finite sentences.

The structural position WP that can be found in Asturian, Galician, and Portuguese¹²⁶ serves as the final landing site of clitic pronouns. The author argues that the projection WP contains both verbal and nominal features that need to be checked by clitic pronouns, which also have verbal and nominal features. The verbal features translate into clitic adjunction to the verb, and the nominal features trigger subject raising to [Spec, WP], as the following structure shows:

$$(52) [_{WP} \text{DetP } [_{W} \text{V-T-Agr}][_{W} \text{CI}]]$$

Rouveret claims that even though WP is available to all clitic pronouns, and clitic pronouns land in W^0 , WP is not a position inherent to clitic pronouns. The author stipulates that W^0 has a verbal and nominal nature which attracts a verbal element, and a nominal element. Thus, W^0 attracts the finite verb and forces the subject to raise to its Spec. The further adjunction of the verb to W^0 results in enclisis. Crucially, if there are other heads projected over WP, such as NegP, FocP, or CP, then WP is not projected because, according to Rouveret, that would result in inadequate feature checking. Raising W^0 to Neg⁰, Foc⁰, and so on, would result in an inadequate Spec-head configuration in terms of features. As a result, when WP is not projected, clitic pronouns follow the proclisis configuration proposed in Kayne (1989) and illustrated here in (51b). Rouveret stipulates that the projection WP is always present otherwise.

This proposal, however, cannot account for the clitic placement system of languages like Spanish. As seen in previous chapters, Spanish has proclisis in matrix affirmative sentences, and never enclisis. Rouveret's proposal, then, is unable to explain

¹²⁶ This group of languages are often referred to as 'Western Romance languages'.

why the subject and the verb move to WP in languages like Asturian and Portuguese, but not in Spanish. Moreover, the syntactic placement of adverbs in Spanish, and Portuguese (as explained in Rouveret 1999) shows that finite verbs do not raise higher than AgrSP/TP in matrix affirmative clauses.¹²⁷

Furthermore, as pointed out in Longa and Lorenzo (2001), Rouveret's WP cannot explain the following paradigms found in Western Romance and illustrated here in (53) for Asturian, (54) for Galician, and (55) for European Portuguese:

(53) a. *Ye una pena **nun tenelo** cerca.*

is.3sg a shame not to.have.Cl close

b. *Ye una pena **nun lo tener** cerca.*

is.3sg a shame not Cl to.have close

(54) a. *É mágoa **non telo** perto.*

is.3sg shame not to.have.Cl close

b. *É mágoa **non o ter** perto.*

is.3sg shame not Cl to.have close

(55) a. *É mágoa **não tê-lo** perto.*

is.3sg shame not to.have.Cl close

b. *É mágoa **não o ter** perto.*

is.3sg shame not Cl to.have close

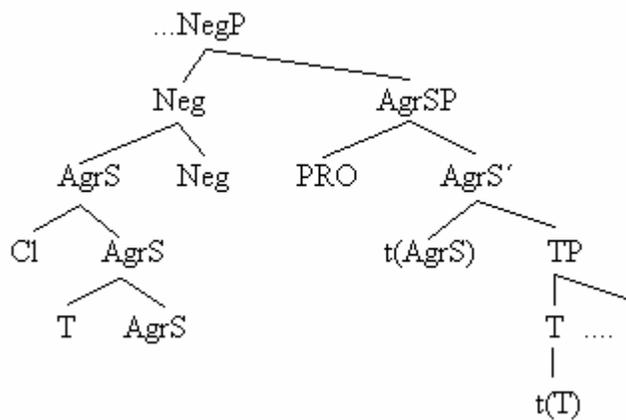
“It is a shame to not have it closer”

¹²⁷ Rouveret (1999) claims that Agreement projections do not exist, following Chomsky (1995). Thus, he states that finite verbs move to TP; since I maintain that Agreement projections are necessary, as explained in previous chapters, I claim that finite verbs move as high as AgrS⁰ in matrix declarative sentences in Spanish and Asturian (presumably in Portuguese too).

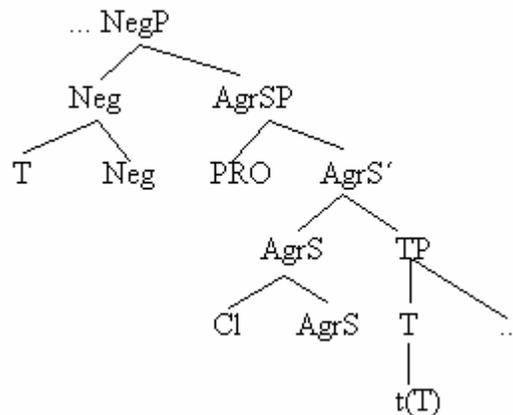
According to Rouveret, WP should not be projected in these examples because NegP is present in the structure, as evidenced by *nun*, *non*, and *não*. Therefore, if WP is not projected, then the option with enclisis—examples (53a), (54a), and (55a)—should be ungrammatical. Since that is not the case, it can be concluded that Rouveret’s analysis is unable to account for the apparent optionality observed here.

Longa and Lorenzo (2001) claim that the two grammatical structures observed in the examples should be accounted for with two different yet equally economical derivations. Thus, the authors argue that the proclisis pattern is the result of AgrS⁰ (which contains Cl-Agr) movement to Neg⁰, as illustrated in (56). Enclisis, on the other hand, can be accounted for with Long Head Movement. They claim that the verbal complex lands in NegP skipping AgrPs, as in (57):

(56)



(57)



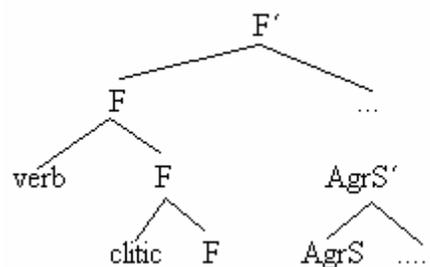
This move is morphologically justified, they argue, because the infinitive contains no person or number features that attract the verbal complex. Moreover, Roberts (1994) stipulates that the trace left on T^0 by the verbal complex is bound by its antecedent. Since the head between the trace on T^0 and the antecedent —Agr— is not of the same ‘type’ as the antecedent, there are no Minimality effects on the government of the trace, and so Long Head Movement is allowed.

This explanation, however, violates several of the Principles included in the Minimalist Theory. First, the difference between L-related heads and non L-related heads proposed by Roberts is not compatible with the Principle of Greed. Greed establishes that elements move only to satisfy their own requirements; thus, an analysis in which overt movement is formulated to satisfy the requirements of the landing sites, such as Longa and Lorenzo (2001), and Rouveret (1992, 199), violate Greed. Furthermore, the Minimalist Theory stipulates that all heads are L-related. As a result, Long Head Movement is not allowed by Minimalism tenets because Agr interferes between the

binding relation of the trace in T^0 and its antecedent, the infinitive in Neg^0 . Second, the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) states that all movement must happen to the next closest available projection. Therefore, Long Head Movement, as proposed in Longa and Lorenzo (2001) violates the MLC.

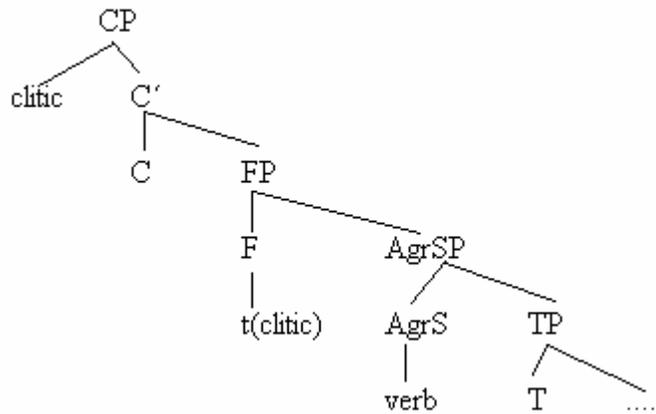
Uriagereka (1995), on the other hand, relies on the different morphological characterization of a functional category that exists in all Romance languages (FP) and rejects the idea of an extra position, contra Kayne (1991) and Rouveret (1992, 1999). He states that clitic pronouns are related to FP because clitic pronouns presuppose the specificity of the entity to which they refer. It is argued that FP is used whenever a structural element is emphasized from an informative point of view. According to Uriagereka, finite verbs adjoin to F^0 in matrix declarative sentences so as to support the clitic pronoun. This renders the order verb+clitic, as illustrated in (58) from Uriagereka (1995: 98):

(58)



The order clitic+verb observed in, for instance, matrix interrogative questions, is claimed to result from the clitic pronoun moving from F^0 to [Spec, CP], while the verb remains in $AgrS^0$, as exemplified in (59):

(59)



This proposal encounters many problems. First, the movement of a head into a Spec, however, is illicit and unattested in other structures. Moreover, Uriagereka's analysis cannot account for subject-verb inversion in questions. Since the clitic pronoun moves from F^0 to [Spec, CP], this analysis cannot rule out ungrammatical structures in which the subject is in [Spec, AgrSP], as illustrated in (60):¹²⁸

¹²⁸ The grammatical counterpart to (60) is as follows:

- i) *¿Qué-y dixo el padre?*
what-Cl said the father
“What did his father say?”

(60) * *¿Qué-y el padre dixo?*

what-Cl the father said

Barbosa (1994) claims that there are two distinct clitic movement patterns in Romance. She hypothesizes that clitic pronouns are generated in the canonical argument position and can be considered Det heading DetP. Thus, clitic movement may consist of either movement of the head D⁰, or movement of the whole phrase. She argues that Portuguese exemplifies clitic movement as DetP movement, as evidenced by interpolation and illustrated in (61):

(61) *O libro que **lhe** ainda não entreguei.*

the book that Cl yet not gave.1sg.

“The book that I haven’t given him/her yet.”

As can be seen in the example, the adverb *ainda*, and the negative marker *não* both surface between the clitic pronoun *lhe* and the verb *entreguei*. Interpolation is ungrammatical both in Spanish and Asturian, as exemplified in (62) and (63) respectively.¹²⁹

(62) * *Este es el libro que **le** **aun no** entregué.*

this is the book that Cl yet not gave.2sg

(63) * *Esti ye el llibru que-y **entavía nun** entregué.*

this is the book that-Cl yet not gave.2sg

¹²⁹ The grammatical counterparts to (57) and (58) are as follows:

i) *Este es el libro que aun no le entregué*

this is the book that yet not Cl gave.1sg

ii) *Esti ye el llibru que entavía nun-y entregué.*

this is the book that yet not-Cl gave.2sg

“This is the book that I have not given him/her back yet”

Spanish clitic movement (and presumably Asturian clitic movement), on the other hand, is movement of D⁰ because no element or string of elements can appear between the clitic pronoun and the verb, as illustrated above in (62) and (63). Barbosa, however, cannot explain the examples from Asturian in which both enclisis and proclisis are allowed in certain contexts, as explained above.

Finally, Lorenzo (1995) offers an interesting analysis of clitic pronouns in Asturian infinitival structures such as the ones illustrated in (53) above. He proposes a movement and adjunction analysis to explain how clitic pronouns move in Asturian (and, by extension, in Western Romance languages). The author finds previous analyses inadequate, noting that Kayne (1991), for instance, can only account for the different enclitic and proclitic patterns found in predominantly proclitic languages like French, Spanish, or Italian, as illustrated in the following French and Italian examples (64 and 65 respectively):

(64) French (clitic + finite/infinitive verb)

a. *Lui parler* serait une erreur.

Cl to.speak will.be a mistake

“It will be a mistake to speak to him”

b. **Parler-lui* serait une erreur.

to.speak.Cl will.be a mistake

(65) Italian (clitic + finite verb; infinitive verb + clitic)

a. **Gli parlare sarebbe un errore.*

Cl to.speak would.be a mistake

b. *Parlargli sarebbe un errore.*

to.speak.Cl would.be a mistake

“It would be a mistake to talk to him”

Kayne postulates clitic adjunction to the left of the higher functional head, where V^0 will eventually move to via head-to-head movement on its way to IP/TP. He establishes that clitic pronouns cannot adjoin to traces, which explains why the clitic pronoun needs to move to the same projection to which the verb moves. Furthermore, the ban on adjunction to traces also explains why clitic pronouns are always adjoined to the left of the verb. The difference between the order observed in French, and the order observed in Italian above is accounted for in terms of movement. Thus, Italian infinitives are claimed to move from the lexical domain to I^0/T^0 so as to check the strong verbal features. The verb then adjoins to T' , which causes an abstract category to appear on T^0 . Clitic pronouns adjoin to T^0 because the appearance of the abstract category turns it into the highest available node. The order verb+clitic results because the verb adjoins to T' , and T^0 contains no traces. In French, however, the verb remains in the lexical domain because IP/TP does not contain any verbal features triggering verb movement. Hence, the order clitic+verb is observed in French infinitival contexts.

Kayne's (1991) proposal however, faces many problems. On the one hand, verb adjunction to X' is questionable, since there are no other cases in which a head adjoins to

a non-head element. Likewise, there is no evidence that an abstract category of the type described exist in languages other than French, Italian, or Spanish. Finally, Lorenzo (1995) maintains that T^0 does not contain a verbal feature that triggers verb movement; thus, the order verb+clitic would not obtain according to Kayne's analysis.

Lorenzo (1995) proposes that structures that allow enclisis and proclisis, like (53) (repeated here as (66) for convenience), have an abstract Neg category that has the same lexical identification requirements as the abstract interrogative category, which determines verb movement to Neg^0 .

(66) a. *Ye una pena **nun tenelo** cerca.*

is.3sg a shame not to.have.Cl close

b. *Ye una pena **nun lo tener** cerca.*

is.3sg a shame not Cl to.have close

It appears that negative, interrogative, and abstract operators allow for both enclisis and proclisis in the embedded sentence, which poses a problem for some of the analysis just reviewed (for instance Uriagereka 1995). Thus, Lorenzo claims that there is an abstract category in embedded C^0 that needs to be lexically identified by the verb, hence attracting it. Since the clitic pronoun is left stranded, it also moves and adjoins to the highest functional node, rendering the order clitic + verb illustrated here in (67):

(67) a. *Preguntó ónde **lo facer**.*

asked.2sg where Cl to.do

“(S)he asked where to do it”

b. *Ye una tontería nun lo facer.*

is a silliness not Cl to.do

“It is silly not to do it”

One of the problems that this proposal generates is a violation of Greed. The verb is postulated to move to C^0 so as to satisfy the requirements of the abstract operator embedded in C^0 .

The examples in (68) show the enclisis option, which is explained with two different analyses that are both equally optimal and economical, according to Lorenzo. On the one hand, the complex unit formed by V^0-T^0 is argued to adjoin to X^0 skipping over the clitic pronoun located in Agr^0 (against Travis 1984).¹³⁰ Subsequently, the head Agr^0 adjoins to $V^0-T^0-X^0$ at LF. On the other hand, the complex head V^0-T^0 adjoins to Agr^0 , where the clitic pronoun is located, and then the whole unit formed by $Cl-V^0-T^0-Agr^0$ adjoins to X^0 .

(68) a. *Preguntó ónde facelo.*

asked.3sg where to.do.Cl

“(S)he asked where to do it”

b. *Ye una tontería nun facelo.*

is a silliness not to.do.Cl

“It is silly not to do it”

One of the most critical problems facing Lorenzo’s analysis is the lack of motivation for movement, among other things. For instance, he assumes that clitic

¹³⁰ ‘X’ stands for the abstract operator that is embedded in C^0 .

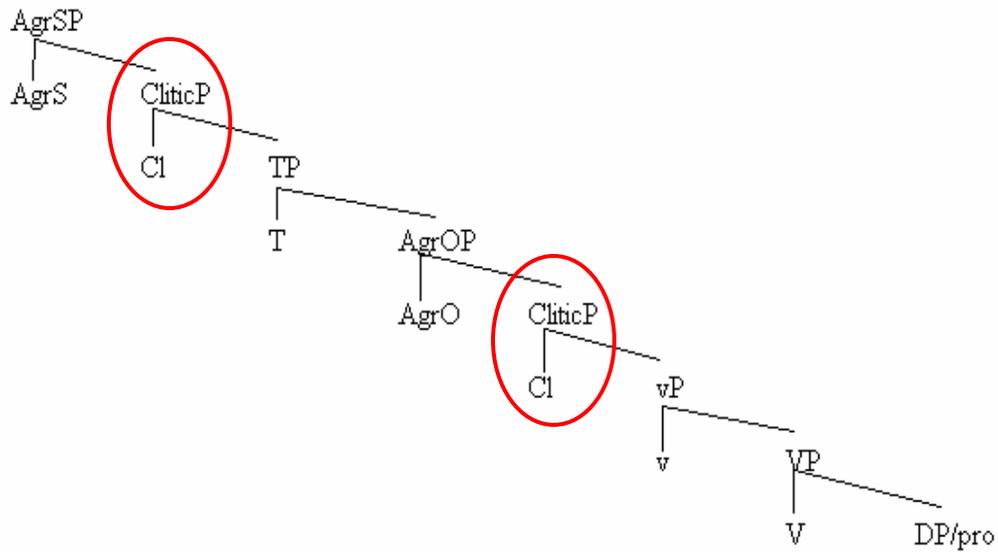
pronouns adjoin to AgrS⁰, but he does not provide a reason for that movement, except to maintain that there are agreement features in AgrS that need to be checked off. However, since clitic pronouns are not agreement markers, as discussed in chapter 2, this hypothesis seems untenable.

All the analyses reviewed here face grave theoretical problems. The next section will submit the Asturian facts to the analysis proposed here. These data will be shown to be easily accommodated within an analysis that comprises at least two structural positions in which clitic pronouns may be generated. Furthermore, such an analysis takes account of the apparent optionality between enclisis and proclisis observed in certain contexts in Asturian.

7.4 Two Clitic projections

The hypothesis that clitic pronouns may be generated in more than one structural position in the sentence has been explored in the previous chapter, largely with data from Spanish. Here, the proposal will be extended to the Asturian enclisis and proclisis patterns described earlier in this chapter. Thus, as opposed to those who claim that the variation among Romance languages is morphological (for instance Rouveret 1992, 1999), it is maintained here that the differences observed between enclisis and proclisis patterns is caused by the presence of different clitic projections in the structure, as in (69):

(69)



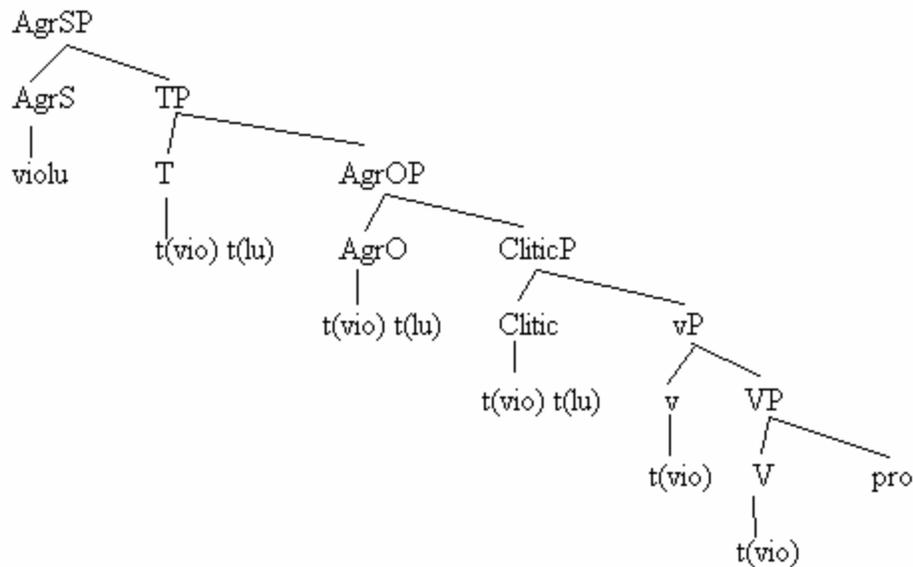
Clitic pronouns in Asturian declarative matrix sentences are argued to be generated in a CliticP that is projected above vP, as the following example shows:

(70) *Violu.*¹³¹

saw.3sg.Cl

“(S)he saw him”

¹³¹ The position of the subject is not shown in the diagram. It is commonly assumed that null subject sentences generate an empty category *pro* that is located in [Spec, AgrSP] at Spell-Out.



The clitic pronoun is generated in CliticP, and coindexed with an empty category *pro* that occupies the canonical argument position. The verb *vio* raises via head-to-head movement up to AgrSP. As can be seen in the diagram, cliticization takes place in Clitic⁰; hence the verb and the clitic pronoun form an unbreakable unit that raises to AgrSP together.¹³²

The different structural clitic positions are made evident in those cases in which proclisis and enclisis are both grammatical in the same structure. As explained in the previous chapter, following Kayne (1994), different word orders indicate different derivations. Thus, those contexts that allow both enclisis and proclisis are argued to be the result of different derivations in which clitic pronouns are generated in different positions in the structure. For instance, in a structure like (71a), the clitic pronoun is

¹³² I do not claim to have an answer to why clitic pronouns attach to the left of the verb (as in Spanish), while in some other languages clitic pronouns attach to the right of the verb (as observed here in Asturian).

generated in the CliticP above vP, in a situation similar to the one described for (70) above:

(71) [_{CP} *Equí* [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} *tiéneslos*] [_{TP} [_T *t*_(tiénes) *t*_(los)][_{AgrOP} [_{AgrO} *t*_(tiénes) *t*_(los)]
 [CliticP [Clitic *t*_(tiénes) *t*_(los)] [_{vP} [_v *t*_(tiénes)] [_{VP} [_v *t*_(tiénes) *pro*_(los)]]]]]]]]]]

Example (72), on the other hand, shows the clitic pronoun generated in the CliticP above TP:

(72) [_{CP} *Equí* [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} *los tiénes*] [CliticP [Clitic *t*_(los) *t*_(tiénes)]
 [_{TP} [_T *t*_(tiénes)][_{AgrOP} [_{AgrO} *t*_(tiénes)] [_{vP} [_v *t*_(tiénes)] [_{VP} [_v *t*_(tiénes) *pro*_(los)]]]]]]]]]]

Taking into account that the finite verb *tiénes* undergoes head movement to AgrS⁰ in both (71) and (72), it can be safely assumed that the enclisis vs. proclisis option in examples like these relies on the position in which the clitic pronoun is generated.

Another context in which enclisis and proclisis are both grammatical is embedded infinitival clauses. These clauses present several challenges. On the one hand, it is commonly assumed in the literature that the infinitive raise to AgrS⁰/T⁰, as established in Chapter 5. However, the location of the verb in AgrS⁰/T⁰ cannot explain why the interpolation of any constituent (such as the subject) between the verb and either [Spec, CP] or C⁰ is ungrammatical, as shown in (73), as opposed to (74):

(73) a. *Nun sé si traelo yo.*

not know if to.bring.Cl I

b. *Nun sé si lo traer yo.*

not know if Cl to.bring I

“I do not know if I should bring it”

c. **Nun sé* *si yo traelo*.

not know if I to.bring.Cl

d. * *Nun sé* *si yo lo traer*.

not know if I Cl to.bring

(74) a. *Tráelo pa que yo lo vea*.

bring.Cl so as I Cl see

b. *Tráelo pa que lo vea yo*.

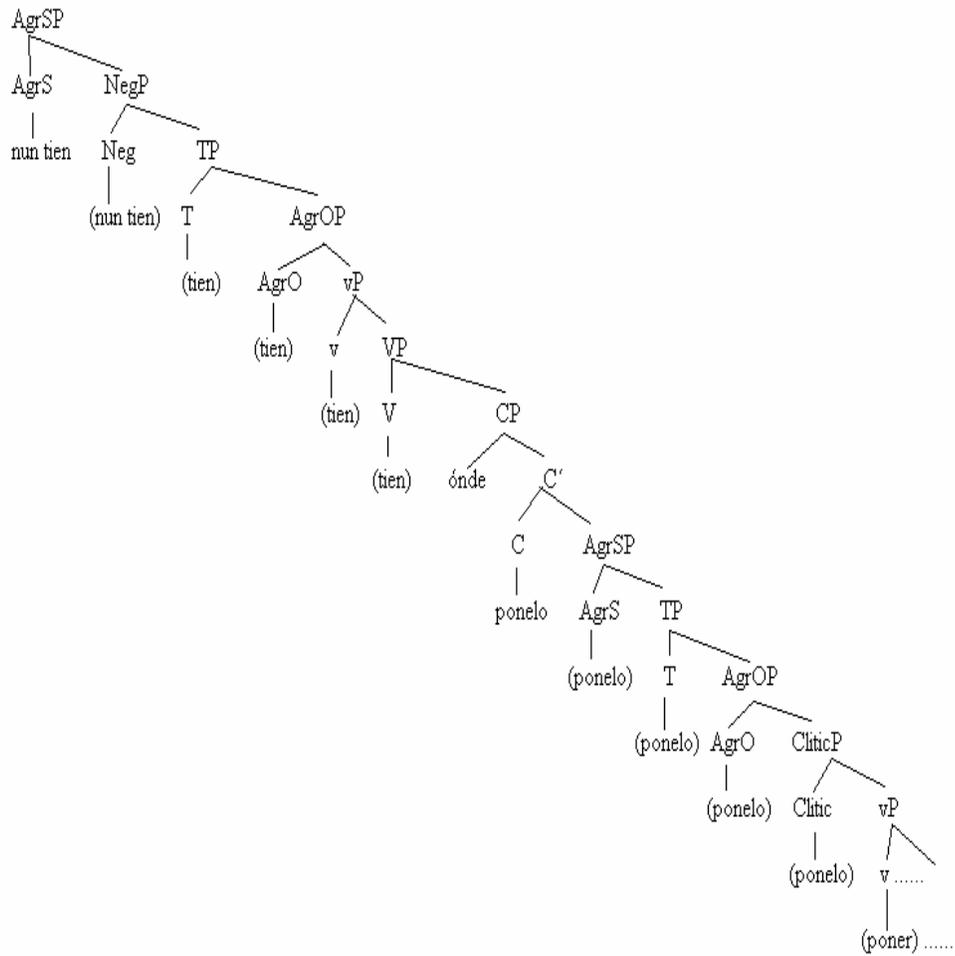
bring.Cl so as Cl see I

In (73), the only grammatical position in which the subject may surface is postverbally. In (74), however, the subject may surface postverbally, as in (74b), or preverbally, as in (74a). This indicates that in (74a) the subject is presumably in [Spec, AgrSP], while in (74b) the subject is probably in [Spec, vP]. In the case of (73a, b), the position of the subject suggests that it is in [Spec, vP]; however, since it is not possible to have the subject preverbally, as illustrated in (73c, d), this indicates that the verb might be higher than AgrS⁰, hence it is not possible to determine whether the subject in (73a, b) is in [Spec, vP], or in [Spec, AgrSP]. The contrast concerning the position of the subject in (73) and (74) indicates that, as claimed by others (Lorenzo 1995; Rouveret 1992, 1999; Uriagereka 1995), the non-finite verb might raise to C⁰ in embedded clauses with an active CP, as illustrated in (75) and (76):

(75) *Nun tien ónde ponelo*.

not has.3sg where to.put.Cl

“(S)he does not have where to put it”

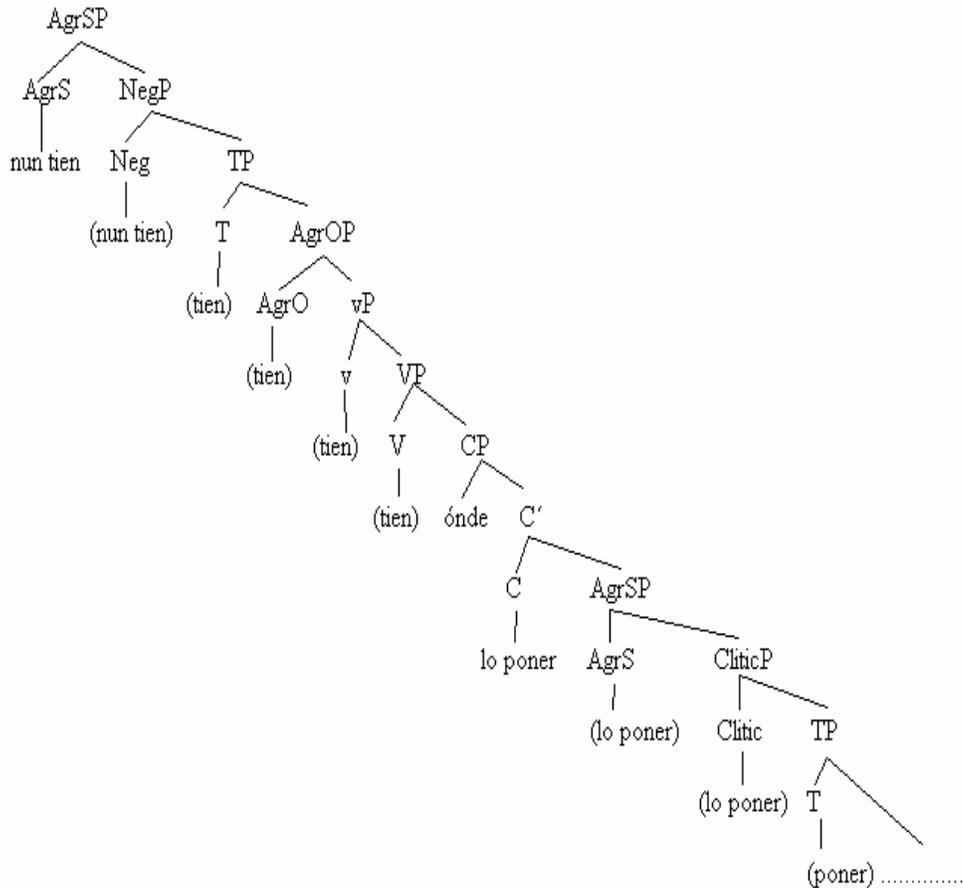


Following Rouveret (1999), it is possible that in Western Romance languages enclisis is determined by the Clitic projection that is generated above vP, while the Clitic projection above TP determines proclisis, as the following example illustrates:

(76) *Nun tien ónde lo poner.*

not has.3sg where Cl to.put

“(S)he does not have where to put it”



Nevertheless, it is also possible that an additional Clitic projection exists in the CP area that determines proclisis and enclisis in contexts such as (73) and (74), as stipulated by, for instance, by Lorenzo (1995), Rouveret (1992, 1995), and Uriagereka (1995).

As shown, the data from Asturian are easily accommodated within an analysis in which two clitic projections are possible in the structure. Such an analysis circumvents the shortcomings of previous proposals.

7.6 Summary

The present chapter has considered the cliticization patterns that can be found in Asturian and the analyses within which these patterns have been account for. Thus, §7.1 provides a brief description of the distribution of clitic pronouns in Asturian, highlighting the differences from Spanish. As shown, Asturian is primarily a language with enclisis in declarative matrix sentences, although, as argued in §7.2, it is not a 2P clitic language. Nevertheless, as illustrated in §7.3, proclisis is also attested and manifested in many different contexts, such as embedded infinitival clauses, negative clauses, and so on. In fact, there are cases in which proclisis is the only grammatical option allowed in Asturian. Full complementizers, wh-words (both in root questions and in embedded questions), negative and positive polarity items, and certain elements placed preverbally (adverbs of modality, quantifiers) force proclisis in the embedded clause. In addition, enclisis and proclisis are allowed when some adverbs are present in the structure in preverbal position; negative infinitival clauses also allow enclisis and proclisis, as well as non-finite embedded clauses with an active CP system. Finally, Focalization always forces the clitic pronoun to appear proclitic to the finite verb.

Some of the most relevant analyses of enclisis and proclisis patterns in Western Romance languages were briefly reviewed in §7.4. The majority of these analyses focus on enclisis as the default pattern of cliticization, and attempt to derive proclisis from the default pattern. This point of departure, however, usually results in some violation of the principles of grammar. Thus, in §7.4 I extend the proposal developed in previous chapters

to the diversity of enclisis and proclisis attested. The present proposal, in which clitic projections may be iterated in the structure, successfully accounts for the data.

Chapter 8

Concluding Remarks

8.0 Overview

This final chapter overviews the entire dissertation, presenting a retrospective of the preceding chapters (§8.1), extensions to other data (§8.2), and contributions to the field (§8.3).

8.1 A retrospective

As established in the introduction, the main focus of this dissertation was the syntactic behavior of Spanish clitic pronouns in clitic climbing structures in a generativist framework, namely Minimalist Theory. Nevertheless, other characteristics, constructions, and approaches have been discussed as well.

In Chapter 2 the morphosyntactic characteristics of clitic pronouns are reviewed, not only in Spanish, but also by reference to pronominal systems cross linguistically. Several analyses of pronominal systems propose a tripartite organization that differentiates among strong personal pronouns, weak pronouns, and clitic pronouns based on several criteria that include phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic tests, among others.

Even though lack of phonological stress is the most cited and universally assumed defining property of clitic pronouns, it was established in §2.1 that it is actually syntactic impoverishment that differentiates clitic pronouns from strong and weak pronouns. In fact, clitic pronouns share features with inflectional morphemes and free lexical items,

and the observed morphological, prosodic, and semantic asymmetries found between clitic pronouns and weak and strong pronouns are the result of this syntactic deficiency. The differentiation of clitic pronouns from other types of pronouns lends itself to the formulation of a [clitic] feature.

With respect to the syntactic status of clitic pronouns is cliticization, the process that governs the attachment of clitic pronouns to their host. Thus, it was stated in §2.2 that cliticization in Spanish must be a syntactic phenomenon, and not a phonological and/or prosodic one. Nevertheless, it seems that cliticization must be studied on a language-particular basis.

Finally, the morphosyntactic characteristics of clitic pronouns were spelled out in §2.3. As stated in §2.3.1, clitic pronouns demonstrate affixal properties that can be observed in their morphosyntactic behavior. Nevertheless, clitic pronouns cannot be considered affixes because, among other things, affixation is a morphological process, while cliticization is a syntactic process in Spanish. Furthermore, while affixes usually attach to roots and stems to create new words, clitic pronouns attach to already formed words (namely verbs in Spanish) that are independent from the presence of clitic pronouns. Given the differences in their syntactic distribution and in the kind of morphophonological and syntactic relationship that they establish with their respective hosts, a distinction must be made between clitic pronouns and affixes.

Based on the affixal nature of clitic pronouns, there are three main hypotheses regarding their role in the syntactic structure: the Case Hypothesis, the Agreement Hypothesis, and the Specificity Hypothesis. The Case Hypothesis establishes that clitic pronouns are Case markers based on their behavior in Spanish clitic doubling structures.

Nevertheless, as explained in §2.3.2, there are different arguments—such as the existence of predicate clitics, or the development of non-etymological pronominal systems—that disprove the analysis of clitic pronouns as Case markers.

More recently, the hypothesis that clitic pronouns might be agreement markers has been developed. Based on data from both Spanish clitic doubling structures and French and Italian past participle agreement, the Agreement Hypothesis claims that object agreement mirrors subject agreement. Thus, the agreement between past participles and objects is interpreted as the manifestation of object-verb agreement. This hypothesis, however, is unable to account for the feature mismatches often observed in some clitic doubling structures. Moreover, there are differences between agreement markers and clitic pronouns indicating that clitic pronouns are not agreement markers, as pointed out in §2.3.3. Thus, as established in §2.3.4, clitic pronouns are specificity markers that make visible the relationship that exists between the internal argument of the verb and the verbal feature that imposes the selection of the internal argument.

Chapter 3 focused on clitic strings. The chapter began with remarks on the origin of Modern Spanish clitic pronouns. This discussion was deemed important in order to assess the morphosyntactic nature of clitics and to confirm some of the hypotheses presented in Chapter 2 regarding their status. Thus, it was commented that Spanish clitic pronouns originated from Latin personal pronouns (first and second person clitics) and Latin demonstratives (third person accusative and dative clitics). It was further noted that the Modern Spanish combination *me lo/la* derives from the Latin *mihi illum*.

The literature on the analysis of Romance clitic strings is abundant, and the analyses can be classified into two groups. Morphological approaches to cooccurrence

restrictions claim that clitic strings are formed in the morphological component of the grammar. Syntactic approaches, on the other hand, argue that clitic strings are the result of syntactic movements. The morphological approaches to clitic strings can be further divided in two main groups: Templatic analyses and Representational analyses, as discussed in §3.3. Templatic approaches to cooccurrence restrictions claim that clitic strings follow a predetermined template according to which different surface orders are rendered. The most relevant of such approaches for Spanish have been developed in Bonet (1991) and Perlmutter (1971). Both authors argue against an analysis of clitic strings that relies on syntactic rules and operations, based on the morpheme-like behavior displayed by clitic pronouns, on the rigidity of the string, and on the lack of a direct correspondence between syntactic functions and clitic pronouns.

Morphological analyses, however, are unable to successfully account for all the possible clitic combinations attested across Romance languages and dialects. Perlmutter, for instance, cannot explain non-transparent combinations, as illustrated in the Spurious *se* rule from Spanish. Bonet, who focuses on non-transparent clitic combinations, proposes a morphological analysis in which other types of information play a crucial role (i.e. syntactic information). This suggests that morphological information alone cannot determine the surface order observed in clitic combinations. Moreover, such approaches cannot rule out ungrammatical strings.

Representational (optimality) approaches are developed mainly by Grimshaw (1997) in the case of Spanish. Such accounts provide a constraint-driven analysis of clitic combinations in which the surface output form is chosen from among the inventory of clitic pronouns of a particular language. Unlike Templatic approaches, this type of

analysis can easily explain why non-arbitrary outcomes are ruled out. Nevertheless, Representational approaches face problems as well, including the lack of universality that characterizes some of the constraints employed, and the overgeneration of strings that are unattested in Romance.

Syntactic approaches to cooccurrence restrictions claim that the surface order observed in clitic strings is the result of several syntactic movements. Some of the arguments supporting a syntactic analysis of clitic strings rely on semantic contrasts rendered by the argumental vs. non-argumental status of the clitic pronouns involved in the structure (cf., Bonet 1991, 1995; Laka 1993). Nevertheless, syntactic approaches cannot account for all the cooccurrence restrictions observed, as discussed in §3.4. All in all, the data and discussion put forth in Chapter 3 indicates that clitic strings might be an interface phenomenon that results from the interaction of morphological and syntactic constraints. This situates clitic strings beyond the scope of this dissertation; hence their exclusion from the analysis of clitic placement presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 4 addressed the syntactic phenomena of structures containing clitic pronouns, in particular, the processes governing their placement. To begin, a description of second position (2P) clitic pronoun systems was provided in §4.1. As stated, Wackernagel was the first to notice that in languages like Classical Greek, clitic pronouns appeared as the second element in the sentence, hence the descriptive generalization commonly known as ‘Wackernagel’s Law’. He also noticed the connection between 2P clitic pronouns and verb-second (V2), for which he provided a phonological explanation. Along these lines, there have developed several theories that support a phonological/prosodic analysis of 2P clitic languages. But there are also syntactic

analyses of 2P clitic systems. A brief description and discussion of these two theoretical positions was presented in §4.1. The majority of the arguments and data indicate that a syntactic approach to 2P clitic phenomena is explanatorily adequate, while a phonological/prosodic analysis faces significant empirical challenges. Romance 2P clitic pronoun systems are also subjected to analysis within the Tobler-Mussafia Law, according to which clitic pronouns are banned from appearing in sentence-initial position. This Law has led to the formulation of morphophonological analyses of Romance 2P clitic pronoun systems. However, as argued, morphophonological analyses cannot account for some contrasts found in Western Romance languages.

Spanish clitic pronouns present morphosyntactic characteristics that differentiate them from 2P clitic pronouns, as argued in §4.2. Based on observed patterns of enclisis and proclisis, scholars have sought to formulate theories of cliticization. In §4.3, the three main analyses of cliticization are reviewed: the movement approach, the base-generation approach, and the mixed approach. The movement approach (Kayne 1975, 1989, 1991), based on French facts, determines that object clitics are pronominal elements that are generated in internal argument position and then moved to left-adjoin to the finite verb. Even though this analysis can successfully account for past participle agreement, it cannot explain other facts observed in other Romance languages, such as Spanish clitic doubling.

Some of the clitic doubling facts presented in §4.3.1.1 serve as the main arguments employed to formulate the base-generation approach to cliticization. The base-generation approach establishes that clitic pronouns are verbal affixes that are generated attached to the verb, as explained in §4.3.2. Some of the most illustrative analyses have

been discussed and criticized here. Nevertheless, it appears that an analysis in which clitic pronouns are generated in the functional domain of the clause is supported by empirical data from acquisition studies.

Finally, the mixed approach, addressed in §4.3.3, unifies the movement approach and the base-generation approach. In this approach, clitic pronouns are assumed to be verbal agreement affixes that are manifested as determiner-like elements that head their own functional projections. There are two main analyses within the mixed approach: Sportiche (1995) and Uriagereka (1995). Sportiche (1995) presents an analysis in which clitic pronouns are base-generated heading specialized functional categories called Clitic Voices. Despite of the advantages of such an analysis—Sportiche can account for past participle agreement and clitic doubling, for example—there are several drawbacks also. In turn, Uriagereka, focusing mainly on data from Galician and Portuguese, proposes a functional projection (FP) located above AgrSP that can host clitic pronouns. Following Uriagereka, the difference between enclisis and proclisis relies on the morphological characterization of FP, which can be active, as in Spanish and Galician, thereby allowing enclisis and proclisis, or inactive, as in French. Nevertheless, the analysis presents some problems, such as the fact that it allows ungrammatical structures (interpolation, for instance) to be successfully derived.

As pointed out at the beginning of Chapter 4, the type of host to which clitics attach in Romance has been a topic of debate for a number of years. The debate is characterized by two viewpoints with respect to clitic attachment: clitic pronouns attach to V^0 or clitic pronouns attach to I^0 . In §4.4 both options are explained and discussed, and it is concluded that the evidence supporting the verb as the host of cliticization is far more

robust than that arguing that clitics attach to I^0 . The fact that clitic pronouns in some languages can only attach to verbs (Spanish, Galician, French, Italian, and Asturian, among others) has led several scholars to claim that clitic pronouns contain lexical features that specify the type of host to which they attach, as well as information pertaining to clitics' subcategorization frames.

Finally, §4.5 and §4.6 present data that provide further insight into the syntactic behavior of clitic pronouns. One of the main goals of §4.5 was to determine whether clitic pronouns are heads or phrases, based on patterns of cliticization observed in negative clauses. As noted, available evidence indicates that clitic pronouns, much like negation, are heads. Crucially, the discussion in §4.5 further solidifies the hypothesis that functional projections as ordered among themselves on a language-particular basis, as evidenced in the fact that NegP may appear in different locations depending on the language under study.

The problem of the relationship between the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP/*pro* is discussed in §4.6. As indicated, those analyses that advocate the generation of clitic pronouns in the functional domain of the clause must explain not only the type of relation held between the clitic pronoun and its coreferential NP/*pro*, but also the nature of the structural position in which clitic pronouns are generated. Thus, several different hypotheses were discussed and it is concluded that this type of information is most likely specified in the features of the elements that are involved in the relationship.

Chapter 5 centered on clitic climbing structures and provided the basis for the analysis subsequently developed in Chapter 6. A description of Spanish clitic climbing and those structures that allow it is provided in §5.1. As pointed out here, clitics can

climb only in structures that contain modal verbs, aspectuals, causative and periphrastic verbs. Nevertheless, not all of these predicates display the same syntactic behavior. Thus, while causatives and perception verbs allow clitic climbing, this type of climbing differs from the climbing observed with modals, aspectuals and periphrastic verbs. Causative climbing is governed by syntactic mechanisms that are different from the mechanisms implicated in clitic climbing, which ultimately constitutes the main focus of study in this dissertation. Therefore, only those clitic structures containing modals, aspectuals, and periphrastic verbs are taken into account.

Because clitic climbing is a very popular topic in the generative literature, there is a proliferation of analyses. These can be divided into two groups: incorporation approaches and restructuring approaches. Incorporation approaches, discussed in §5.2.1, are morphologically-based analyses that control the movement of the verb and the clitic from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. Within incorporation approaches, two main analyses can be distinguished: Kayne (1989 and subsequent) and Roberts (1991 and subsequent). The main tenets of Kayne's analysis rely on the correlation between clitic climbing and null-subjects. According to Kayne, only null-subject languages allow clitic climbing. Even though Kayne is able to account for various syntactic phenomena, such as clitic climbing and unbounded long tough-movement, his hypothesis cannot successfully explain clitic climbing in non-null-subject languages or clitic climbing outside of an embedded CP in infinitival *wh*-islands. Most importantly, none of Kayne's analyses provide a motivation for the movement of clitic pronouns, which violates some of the principles of the grammar, explained in Chapter 1.

The second group of incorporation approaches, in §5.2.1.2, integrates clause reduction into the incorporation approach. This group of analyses, however, resembles those described in §5.2.1.1 and, consequently, they encounter into the same type of empirical and theoretical challenges, such as the lack of motivation for clitic pronoun movement, or the inability to account for intermediate clitic climbing.

Restructuring approaches differ from incorporation approaches in several important aspects. First, restructuring approaches are semantically motivated; thus, these analyses stipulate that a universal set of predicates can reduce a bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal one. It is the monoclausality of the reduced structure that favors the presence of transparency effects, among which clitic climbing is found. Clause reduction, as pointed out in §5.2.2.1, can be described as the syntactic phenomenon that characterizes a group of verbs (restructuring predicates) that, among other things, subcategorize for infinitival clauses. There are several syntactic tests that can predict clause reduction; some of those tests have been briefly explained in this section. Italian auxiliary switch, described in §5.2.2.2, is possibly one of the most cited diagnostics for restructuring. The auxiliary selection for the matrix verb in auxiliary switch is determined by the properties of the embedded verb in auxiliary contexts, and only *essere* appears in restructuring predicates. In the absence of restructuring, the matrix verb selects its own auxiliary verb. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to find examples in which auxiliary switch and clitic climbing do not interact, as seen in §5.2.2, which indicates that clitic climbing might not be a consequence of clause reduction.

Like incorporation approaches, restructuring approaches can also be subdivided in two groups: the Partial Structure Hypothesis, and the Only Functional Hypothesis. The

Partial Structure Hypothesis, developed mainly by Cinque (1999 and subsequent), stipulates that reduced structures are bi-clausal constructions that have been transformed into mono-clausal constructions. This restructuring process is claimed to be optional, which is evidenced in the presence vs. absence of transparency effects in the same structure. As seen in this section, there are several analyses of clitic climbing that adopt some form of the Partial Structure Hypothesis. The advantages (such as being able to account for intermediate clitic climbing, or cross-linguistic/dialectal variation) and disadvantages (not being able to account for clitic climbing over non-restructuring verbs) have been reviewed and discussed in §5.2.2.2.

In opposition to the Partial Structure Hypothesis, the Only Functional Hypothesis (Cinque 2004), claims that restructuring verbs are always introduced in the structure as functional heads. One of the consequences of this analysis is that restructuring constructions are always mono-clausal. Unfortunately, this hypothesis, too, faces many theoretical and empirical problems, as discussed in §5.2.2.3.

A general difficulty faced by restructuring approaches is the doubt as to the universality of the group of restructuring predicates. There are authors who claim that restructuring verbs are language-specific (Moore 1996) and that their characteristics should be specified in their lexical entry. The clausal status of restructuring constructions is also called into questions. Crucially, the evidence presented in this section indicates that clitic climbing structures are bi-clausal and not mono-clausal.

In sum, the variety of data presented in Chapter 5, together with the discussion of auxiliary switch, indicate that clitic climbing and restructuring are guided by separate syntactic mechanisms. Thus, clitic climbing is not the result of clause reduction. Rather,

clitic climbing results from the availability of more than one structural position in which clitic pronouns may be generated.

The hypothesis that clitic pronouns are generated in more than one position in the functional domain of the clause was developed and its application exemplified in Chapter 6. This idea, however, is not new, as observed in the description provided in §6.1, in which previous analyses that postulate two or more clitic positions in the sentence are discussed and criticized. The proposal presented in this dissertation claims that clitic climbing structures are not derived from their non-clitic climbing counterparts. On the contrary, it is assumed here that two phrases that display different word orders also display different hierarchical structures. Thus, as explained in §6.1.1, I propose that there are two functional projections in which clitic pronouns can be generated: one of them is located between AgrSP and TP, and the other is located between AgrOP and *v*P. Taking into account that not all predicates allow clitic climbing, as explained in previous chapters, it is maintained that there are predicates that subcategorize for a defective infinitival clause headed by a CliticP, which results in clitic climbing. On the other hand, predicates may also subcategorize for a defective infinitival clause headed by a TP, in which case the non-clitic climbing option obtains. Crucially, it is argued that clitic pronouns cannot be generated as heads of Agreement projections because, among other things, Agreement projections are collections of phi-features that are characteristic of subject and object agreement systems. Since clitic pronouns are not agreement markers, as established in Chapter 2, they should not be generated under Agreement projections. Thus, clitic pronouns are claimed to be generated heading their own projection: CliticP. This proposal is supported with data from diverse Romance languages and dialects.

The analysis articulated in this investigation is largely dependent on verb movement in Romance. Therefore, patterns of verb movement and their interaction with clitic movement are explored in §6.2. In particular, §6.2.1 focuses on the movement of non-finite verbs in the Romance family. The movement of the clitic pronoun is described in §6.2.2. It appears that Spanish and Italian infinitives behave in a similar way, as opposed to French infinitives. In Spanish and Italian, infinitives raise from the VP domain to AgrSP, while in French infinitives may raise to AgrO. With respect to past participles, Spanish differs from French and Italian. In Spanish, the past participle remains inside the VP, but in French and Italian the past participle moves to an AgrPstPrt projection located in the low part of the functional domain. The movement of the clitic pronoun is parasitic on verb movement, as established in §6.2.2, unless the clitic pronoun is forced to move as a last resort mechanism, in which case it moves from CliticP to CliticP, following Polletto (2000), among others. The proposal is exemplified in different structures, including simple sentences (§6.3.1), complex sentences (§6.3.2), and clitic climbing over negation (§6.3.3).

A vast amount of the data discussed in Chapter 6 is from Asturian, a Romance language spoken in the northwest part of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, Chapter 7 further focused on clitics and clitic placement in Asturian, so as to further solidify some of the claims presented throughout this investigation. While it might appear that Asturian follows a 2P clitic system, several arguments and examples are provided in §7.2 that disprove the classification of Asturian as language with a 2P clitic pronoun system. On the contrary, as seen in the data presented in this section and in §7.3.2, Asturian clitic pronouns may appear as the second or third element in the clause.

The Asturian patterns of enclisis and proclisis, described in §7.3, strongly support the claim that there are at least two clitic positions in the structure. Even though enclisis is considered to be the default placement in Asturian, proclisis is also attested, and sometimes, presents the only option. As seen in §7.3.1, there are certain elements and processes that force proclisis; such is the case of complementizers, *wh*-words, some preverbal adverbs (including modality adverbs), some quantifiers in preverbal position, Focalization, as well as positive and negative polarity. Nevertheless, there are also elements that allow both enclisis and proclisis, as discussed in §7.3.2; among these there are certain adverbs of location and time in finite sentences. Crucially, those elements that trigger proclisis in matrix sentences—complementizers, *wh*-words, negative and positive polarity, and so on—allow enclisis in non-finite sentences.

Based on the data presented in §7.3.1 and §7.3.2, several researches have aimed at formalizing the syntactic rules that govern the placement of clitic pronouns in Asturian. As opposed to the proposal presented in Chapter 6, these analyses, outlined in as in §7.4, face significant challenges. Consequently, the analysis developed in Chapter 6 is extended to these and other structures in Asturian, as illustrated in §7.5. This analysis circumvents the problems faced by other proposals and accounts for a broader range of data.

8.2 Extensions

The proposal of clitic climbing developed and defended in this dissertation can successfully account for the facts of Spanish, as well as variation across selected Romance varieties. Future research should extend the scope of the data to include intermediate clitic climbing, illustrated in (1) not considered here.

(1) *Debo poderlo terminar pronto.*

must.1sg to.be.able.Cl to.finish soon

“I should be able to finish it soon”

In addition, the proposal should be extended to clitic structures in other Romance and non-Romance languages and dialects to further validate and confirm its explanatory adequacy. For example, various dialects of Spanish in contact with languages like Quechua (Luján 1987: 109, 111) show data confirming that clitic doubling does not require the presence of a direct object NP preceded by the preposition *a*, which further disproves the adequacy of the Case Absorption Hypothesis, as illustrated in (2):

(2) *Lo he dejado mi poncho.*

Cl have left my shawl

“I have left my shawl”

Even though the Agreement Hypothesis can account for clitic doubling in Romance, as well as past participle agreement, there are, nevertheless, several facts from Spanish that threaten the explanatory adequacy of this hypothesis. For example, there are some dialects of Spanish (Andean Spanish, Peninsular Spanish) in which direct and indirect object clitics do not agree in gender, number, or case (Klein-Andreu 1981,

2000a, 2000b) with their coreferential object NPs, as in (3) and (4) from Uriagereka (1995).¹³³

(3) *Lo_i vi las mujeres_i.*

Cl(masc. sg.) saw.1sg. the women

“I saw the women”

(4) *Le(s)_i dio un sopapo a unos_i.*

Cl gave.3sg. a punch to some.

“He punched some of them.”

This feature mismatch, however, seems to be a very common property of Agreement systems: verbal Agreement, for instance, does not encode gender, and sometimes not even person or number. There are cases in which a masculine singular clitic doubles a feminine plural object NP, as in (3) from Uriagereka, or (8) from Klee and Cadavedo (2005); examples (5) and (6) show a feminine singular object NP doubled by a masculine singular object clitic (*lo*), the same can be observed in (9) from Camacho, Paredes, and Sánchez (1995: 135), and (10-11) from Klein-Andreu (2000a, 2000b). There are even some dialects of American Spanish that show clitic doubling with indefinite direct object NPs, as illustrated in (7) from Kany (1945); and also with indefinite indirect object NPs, as in (4) from Uriagereka (1995):

¹³³ See, in particular, Klein-Andreu (1981, 2000a, 2000b).

(5) *Me lo_i va a escribir la carta_i.*

Cl Cl(masc.sg.) going.3sg. to write the letter

“(S)he is going to write me the letter”

(6) *Ya me lo_i cansé mis rodillas_i.*

already Cl Cl(masc. sg.) tired.1sg. my knees

“I have made my knees tired¹³⁴”

(7) *Traémelo_i un vaso_i.*

bring.2sg.Cl a glass.

“Bring me a glass”

(8) a. *Lo pintan la calle.*

Cl paint.3pl. the street

“They paint the street”

b. *Lo ponen la piedra.*

Cl put.3pl. the stone

“They put the stone”

(9) *Lo_i voló toda la torre_i a dinamitazo.*

Cl(masc.) blew.3sg. all the tower(fem) with dynamite.

“(S)he blew the whole tower with dynamite”

(10) *Y la masa hay que envolverlo bien todo.*

and the dough(fem) has that fold.Cl(masc.) well all.

“And the dough has to be folded very well”

¹³⁴ In spite of the translation, the structure is not a causative one in Spanish.

Number and gender mismatch can also be found in other Romance languages as well. For instance in Asturian, a Romance language spoken in the Northwestern part of Spain, it is easy to find examples in which the object pronoun does not agree in number with its coreferential object NP. The sentences in (11) from Academia de la Llingua Asturiana (2001) illustrate a singular indirect object clitic doubling a plural indirect object NP:

(11) a. *Nun-y tien mieu a ésos.*

not-Cl(sg.) has.3pl. fear to those

“(S)he does not fear them”

b. *¿Nun-y lleves les maletes a los tos tíos?*

not-Cl(sg) take.1sg. the suitcases to the your uncles

“Aren’t you taking your uncles’ suitcases?”

The analysis can also be extended to studies of language change. For example, in Medieval French, clitic climbing was allowed by the grammar, as illustrated in the following example by Foulet (1982):

(12) *Je la voudrai marrier bien.*

I Cl want marry gladly

“I want to marry her gladly”

This pattern contrasts with that of Modern French:

(13) *Je voudrai la marrier bien.*

I want Cl marry gladly

“I want to marry her gladly”

It is likely that French had available two clitic projections in its evolution, and in line with research on language change (e.g., Kroch 1991, Roberts 1993), the coexistence of competing grammatical structures led to the preference of one structure over the other. Hence the loss of one of the clitic projections.

In line with this argumentation, it is possible that the ‘optional’ patterns of clitic placement in Spanish, achieved by two structural positions, will be resolved in a single pattern. Davies’ (1995) analysis of spoken and written language corpora register clitic climbing averages of 56% for the spoken register and 23% for the written register, with proclisis rates nearly three times those of the written register for some verbs (*acabar de, volver a*).

8.3 Theoretical contributions

In addition to presenting an explanatorily adequate account of clitic climbing in Spanish synchrony, the present analysis contributes to the advancement of the theory of grammar. In particular, it supports the claim that the locus of dialectal and cross-linguistic variation resides in differences in subcategorization (Chomsky 1995; Zanuttini 1997). In addition, the diverse sets of data presented throughout the dissertation suggest that the universal inventory of functional projections is instantiated in different orders on a language-particular basis.

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