A Minimalist Approach to Clitics and Clitic Doubling in Spanish

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ProQuest Number: 10609090

ProQuest 10609090

Abstract

This dissertation addresses questions concerning cliticisation within the framework of the minimalist approach as presented, among others, by Chomsky (1995a). Chapter 1 presents the basic tenets underlying the minimalist approach. It also briefly discusses the historical developments within generative grammar which have led to the adoption of a minimalist approach.

Chapter 2 presents general background on cliticisation and clitic doubling, including theories such as the Movement and Base generation theories which have been advanced to account for the behaviour of clitics. The theory of Clitic Voices presented by Sportiche (1992), a synthesis of previous analyses, is also presented and adopted as providing a more principled account of clitics in clitic-doubling constructions.

In Chapter 3 the traditional classification of clitics in terms of their Case properties is abandoned in favour of a more fundamental one based on other features of clitics such as [± person] and [± number]. This characterisation leads to the postulation of a maximum of two clitic phrases for Spanish, each associated with different feature compositions. This feature system takes into account both phi-features and aspectual features of the predicate associated with the clitics. This proposal allows a unified analysis of a number of constructions, previously viewed as distinct, under the more general umbrella of clitic doubling.

Chapter 4 provides an account of the alternation between enclisis and proclisis found in Spanish as well as other Romance languages. This alternation is explained by reference to the features present on the verbal host which trigger movement in cases of enclisis. In an extension of the analysis of the relation between a clitic and its host, an account of interpolation in Old Spanish is also discussed.

Chapter 5 discusses the restrictions apparent in instances of clitic doubling with respect to the features of the doubling element, e.g. [± pronominal], [± human], and [± specific]. A parallel is drawn between these restrictions and similar patterns found in ergative languages.

Finally, Chapter 6 shows how the conclusions reached in this thesis can be seen to apply to broader concerns of language acquisition and language impairment.

Acknowledgements

Many people deserve thanks for their support throughout the years I have spent working towards my Ph.D.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Rita Manzini who has consistently encouraged me to search for new answers to the numerous questions I have had. Her lectures and papers have been triggers for many fruitful discussions, and she has always been most generous with material and, especially, data. I want to also thank Professor Misi Brody who has been a constant stimulus for critical re-evaluation during my research and Prof. Neil Smith who has always encouraged and supported me and has shown wonderful patience, particularly in dealing with administrative matters and guidance.

The fellow students with whom I have shared classes and discussions are too many to mention, but Ana Madeira, Helloisa Salles (Bangor) and Maya Arad, are perhaps the best representatives of that supportive group. Outside of UCL, I have also found many helpful sources and friends. At QMW where I worked for a semester, I met Dr. Jamal Ouhalla who enriched my linguistic understanding. I would like to thank Anna Roussou whose friendship and support I have highly valued. I would also like to thank all the faculty and students I was fortunate enough to meet and work with during one rewarding semester at MIT as a visiting scholar.

Above all I would like to thank my mother whose support in numerous ways truly made my research possible and my husband, Ray, for proof-reading and computer expertise which allowed me to put everything together in many a desperate hour.

Abbreviations

1	first person	HUM	Human
2	second person	I	Inflection
3	third person	INAN	Inanimate
Aux	Auxiliary	INFL	Inflexion
Acc	Accusative	IO	Indirect Object
Agr	Agreement	IP	Inflection Phrase
AgrIO	Indirect Object Agreement	LF	Logical Form
AgrO	Object Agreement	LI	Lexical Item
AgrS	Subject Agreement	masc	masculine
ANIM	Animate	Neg	Negation
ART	Article	NP	Noun Phrase
Asp	Aspect	OR	Originator
C	Complementizer	PF	Phonological Form
CD	Clitic Doubling	pl	plural
cl	clitic	PPA	Past Participle Agreement
CLLD	Clitic Left Dislocation	PRO	null pronominal
ClP1	Clitic Phrase 1	pro	pronoun with no phonological form
ClP2	Clitic Phrase 2	pron	pronoun
CP	Complementizer Phrase	PS	Phrase Structure
CS	Computational System	PS rules	Phrase Structure rules
Dat	Dative	QR	Quantifier Raising
Del	Delimiter	refle	reflexive
DO	Direct Object	SCD	Subject Clitic Doubling
DP	Determiner Phrase	sing	singular
ec	empty category	SPEC	Specifier
EM	Event Measurer	T	Tense
F	Feature	UG	Universal Grammar
fem	feminine	V	Verb
H	Head		

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1. Theoretical Background

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical assumptions underlying this thesis. As a basic theoretical framework, I assume the Minimalist Program as presented in Chomsky (1995a) and the general approach behind minimalism as a whole. Some discussion of the historical development of the Minimalist Program and minimalism in general is provided as a theoretical backdrop to the study of more specific structures that takes up the bulk of this thesis. I discuss the developments in the area of functional projections, from the pioneering work of Pollock (1989) to Borer's (1993) Asp(ectual) Phrase among others, and the alternative approach of Multiple Specifiers.

1.2 A Little History

At the core of generative grammar we find the tension between descriptive and explanatory adequacy. Descriptive adequacy is concerned with finding ways to account for the characteristics of different languages; on the other hand, explanatory adequacy aims at providing an explanation for how it is that knowledge of these facts arises in the mind/brain. It is this tension that has provided the motivation for the development of various frameworks to account for the facts of languages and the psychological requirements imposed on the human brain for their acquisition. These models include, in chronological order, the Standard Theory, the Extended Standard Theory, Government and Binding, and the Principles and Parameters approach, with the latest developments presented in the Minimalist Program. Although a full review of these models is hardly possible here, I shall provide a brief overview of those aspects that are relevant for our purposes.[1]

Let us first briefly discuss certain concepts that are recurrent in the different models. The language faculty is the component of the mind/brain which is dedicated to producing language. The language faculty has connections with two other systems of the brain: the cognitive system, and the performance systems, with which it interacts by means of levels of linguistic representation. The language system interacts with at

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[1] For a review of the development of these models see Pollock (1997), Chapter 15, and for an alternative proposal, Jackendoff (1997).

least two other systems of the brain, and has therefore, at least two interface levels: the Articulatory-Perceptual interface (A-P), and the Conceptual-Intentional interface (C-I). Consequently, the outputs of the language system differ according to which interface they are intended for, obtaining a Phonological Form (PF) at the Articulatory-Perceptual interface, and a Logical Form (LF) at the Conceptual Intentional interface.

The Standard Theory and Extended Standard Theory as proposed by Chomsky (1955, 1957, 1965) and Chomsky (1973, 1975) respectively, presented a system in which language was generated by means of Phrase Structure rules. General constraints were limited in number and belonged to the domain of Universal Grammar, which worked in conjunction with a great number of language- and construction-specific rules.[2] As time passed and research was carried out into typologically different languages, the number and variety of these rules proliferated and they became more and more specific in terms of the languages and structures they applied to. Attempts were made to simplify the system and reduce it to one where general rules applied in the absence of any constraint. Precursors in this respect were Chomsky (1975, 1977) with the introduction of Move α.

A decisive turning point, however, came with Chomsky (1981) and the replacement of PS rules by a simple generalised schema, i.e. X-bar theory, which provided a general configuration for hierarchical relations and the relations among components of phrases. X-bar theory provided a basic configuration for all kinds of phrases, thus achieving greater explanatory power, particularly as concerns the acquisition of phrase structure. The basic X-bar schema was represented as follows:

(1)
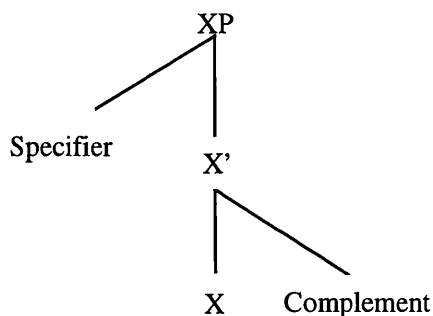
General principles such as the Projection Principle, and a modular characterisation of the grammar with different sub-theories interacting (e.g. Control, Binding, etc.) provided a more explanatory model of language. According to this model, languages

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[2] See Jaeggli and Safir 1989 for a discussion of passive structures, for example.

are no longer considered to have rules or grammatical constructions in anything like the traditional sense. Instead, the grammar is composed of universal principles, and a finite array of parameters with a finite set of options. It is the setting of these parameters that determines language variation. Furthermore, these parameters that determine variation across languages are based on morphological distinctions. Much subsequent work was devoted to the search for parameters that would have cross-linguistic validity; very often the setting of a particular parameter was believed to trigger the instantiation of a number of interrelated constructions.

In the development of these different models internal levels of representation were introduced such as Deep and Surface Structures.[3] The different constraints and checking mechanisms of each module of the grammar applied at these levels.

In the movement towards simplification, efforts have been made to avoid reducing the level of complexity of one aspect of the grammar at the cost of making another one more complex. The main aim behind the changes is the search for a higher level of explanatory adequacy, while maintaining a high level of descriptive power. Jackendoff (1997) has provided the following schematic representations of the different models:

(2)   Standard Theory Chomsky (1965)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Lexicon} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Deep Structure} \longleftrightarrow \text{CS} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{PS} \longleftrightarrow \text{Surface Structure}
\end{array}
$$
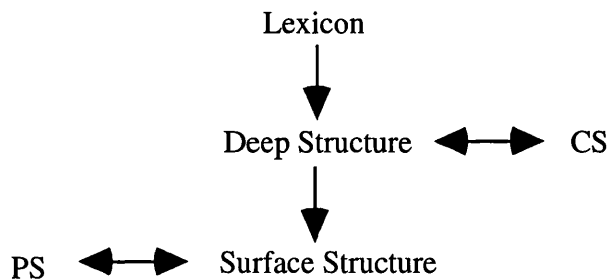
(3)   Revised Extended Standard Theory (Chomsky 1975)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Lexicon} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Deep Structure} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{PS} \longleftrightarrow \text{Surface Structure} \longleftrightarrow \text{CS}
\end{array}
$$
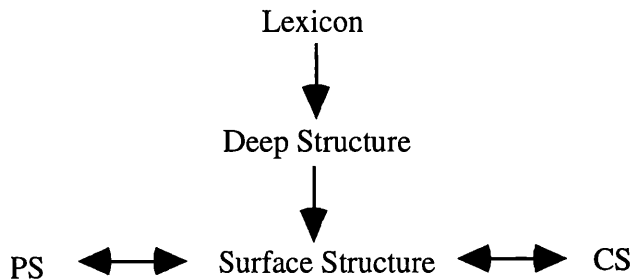
(4)   Government-Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981)

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[3] I will disregard here the difference between Deep and D-, and Surface and S- structure. I refer the reader to the original works for further detail.

Lexicon

↓

Deep Structure

↓

Surface Structure

↙   ↘

PF   LF ◀▶ CS
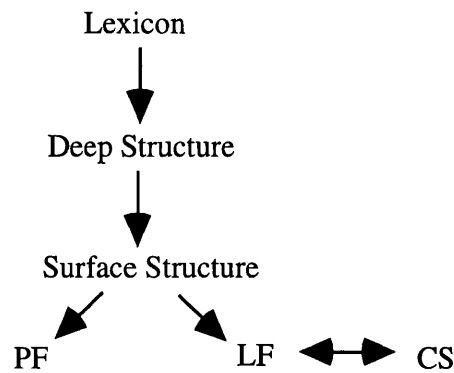
1.3 Minimalism - An Approach to Theory Construction

The Principles and Parameters approach (see, for example, Chomsky 1981, 1986a, 1986b), an offspring of the Government and Binding model, aims at reducing the possibilities for typological variation across languages to those allowed by a limited set of principles common to all languages, i.e. UG, and a fixed number of parameters which render the distinctions across languages that we are familiar with. Minimalism stems from the Principles and Parameters model, but is a stage further along the road towards simplification in that it aims at reducing all theory-internal assumptions to a bare minimum, to those conditions imposed on the Computational system by the interface levels, i.e. Bare Output Conditions. The main methodological consequence of minimalism is that previously widely-held assumptions are held up to close scrutiny and ultimately abandoned where possible.

Different studies that can, in one way or another be labelled 'minimalist' include Chomsky (1992, 1994, 1995a, 1995b), Kayne (1995), Brody (1995), and Manzini (1996a). In his work under the general label of *The Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1995a), Chomsky discusses the characterisation of the generalised transformations Merge and Move, and the restrictions in their application to build structures (see the following section for further development). Kayne (1995) considers certain structures and configurations to be universally basic, and argues in favour of a theory in which surface order is uniquely determined by hierarchical structure. Brody (1995), within a strictly representational framework, aims to do away with redundancy within the theory of syntax, eliminating movement in favour of a function of chain formation, also eliminating syntactic representations between the lexicon and the LF interface. Manzini (1996a) discusses the operations Merger and Move, and collapses them under the more general operation Create Dependency.

1.3.1 The Minimalist Program - An Outline

This section outlines the ideas presented in the Minimalist Program according to Chomsky (1992, 1994, 1995a, 1995b). As mentioned above, and within the minimalist vein, the Minimalist Program outlined in Chomsky (1992, 1993) and further developed in Chomsky (1994, 1995b) aims at establishing a theory of the grammar of human language by making only minimal assumptions or subject to, in Chomsky's words, 'virtual conceptual necessity,' i.e. those assumptions that are necessary on conceptual grounds alone, and deviating from the 'ideal' conception of the language system if this is unavoidable. The goal at the centre of this re-elaboration of the theoretical model is to do away with theory-internal constructs.

Thus, it is important to look at how this minimalist model differs from the previous models described above. Essential components of this model have to be the interface levels as they are required by virtual conceptual necessity. We therefore require the two interface levels, i.e. the Articulatory-Perceptual and the Conceptual-Intentional systems, and the representations that link the computational system to them, i.e. PF (Phonological Form) and LF (Logical Form). Beyond the two interface levels it is not evident that any others are required, which leads to the elimination of D- and S-structures, as, in this light, they can only be considered theory-internal constructs.

There is a single computational system (C_{HL}) for human language, and variety is limited to the morphological properties encoded in the lexicon. Therefore, the burden of language variety has shifted from the computational component, as with PS rules in the Standard Theory, to the lexicon. Variations in language are essentially morphological in nature (see Chomsky 1994, p.3). A numeration is a set of pairs (LI, i), such that LI is an item from the lexicon and i is its index, i.e. the number of times that particular LI is selected. The C_{HL} maps A, an array of lexical choices to a pair (π, λ), a linguistic expression for a particular language L; π is a PF representation, and λ is an LF representation.

The computational system is, according to Chomsky (1995b), strictly derivational, i.e. it involves successive operations leading to the pair (π, λ). For a derivation to converge at one of the interface levels, it must produce a representation that satisfies Full Interpretation, which requires that every single entity at an interface level be interpreted. A derivation converges if it converges at both interface levels, otherwise it crashes. Therefore, according to Full Interpretation, a derivation that reaches either interface level with elements that are uninterpretable, will cause the derivation to crash. The operation Spell-Out applies to the derivation at some point in the computation to LF, stripping away those elements that are only relevant to π and

leaving the rest which is mapped to λ by covert syntactic operations. We can summarise the above in schematic form in the following way:

(5)

$$N \xrightarrow{\text{Spell-Out}} \text{LF (C-IS)}$$

PF (A-PS)
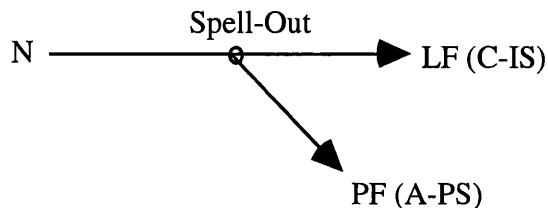
The subsystem between the Numeration and Spell Out is labelled the 'overt' component, whereas that between Spell Out and LF is the 'covert' component. The operations that take place in these two components of the system are essentially of the same kind, i.e. syntactic. The component between Spell Out and PF is called the Phonological · component and the operations that take place here are of a different nature, i.e. morpho-phonological. The main difference between operations from N to Spell-Out and from Spell-Out to LF is that the former provide an input into the PF whereas the latter do not. Within this framework there is no direct relation between π and λ.[4]

Three operations are considered minimal requirements in the Chomsky (1995a) framework.[5] *Select* is a procedure which selects a lexical item LI from N, reducing its index by 1, and introducing it into the derivation. *Merge* takes a pair of lexical items or already formed syntactic objects and replaces them by a new combined object. (see Chomsky 1995b, p. 243)

Thus, if it   applies to two objects α and β, it yields a new object K, as illustrated by the following schema:

(6) α, β (7)

$$K$$
$$\alpha \qquad \beta$$
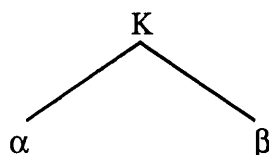
In this configuration Merge has combined the elements α and β obtaining the new object K, a set $\{\gamma,\{\alpha, \beta\}\}$, with α and β constituents of K and γ its label. The label identifies the type of K, and is the head of either α or β. If we take the head to be α, for example, K would have the following form:

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[4] For an alternative proposal in this respect, see Brody (1995).

[5] See Kitahara (1997) for an analysis of Erase as a further operation, and Chomsky (1998) for a re-evaluation of these operations.

(8)

$$\alpha_1$$
$$\alpha_2 \quad \beta$$
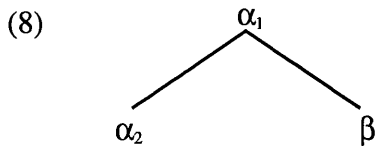
So K= {H(α), {α, β }}, where H(α) is the head of α, and K is the projection of H(α).

Of particular interest to us here, is one aspect of the Minimalist approach: the elimination of X-bar theory in favour of what Chomsky (1995b, p. 246) terms 'bare essentials'. The intuition behind this reduction is that bar levels previously assumed in the Government and Binding model (see Chomsky 1981) are not inherent properties of lexical items but are determined by the structure in which the elements appear.[6] This is at the core of the 'bare phrase structure' theory, first introduced by Chomsky (1994) and further expanded in Chomsky (1995b). Succinctly, this approach eliminates the bar levels that were introduced as part of the X-bar schema by Chomsky (1981), and makes no distinction between lexical items and 'heads' projected from them. Categories are considered elementary constructions from properties of lexical items (bundles of features) satisfying the inclusiveness condition.[7] Taking a concrete example, the Minimalist Program adopts the representation (9) in place of the X-bar theory representation in (10).

(9)
the
the   book

(10)
DP
D'   NP
the   N'
book
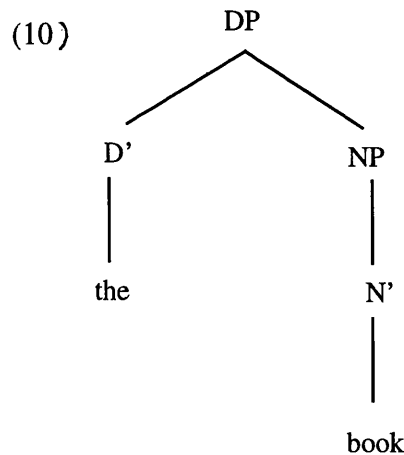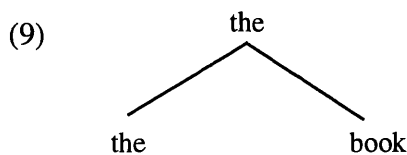
The object resulting from the application of Merge to the objects *the* and *book* is {the,{the, book}}, where *the*, *book*, and {the,{the, book}} are *terms* of the resulting syntactic object, according to the following definition in Chomsky (1995b, p. 247):

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[6] Previous attempts to view bar levels in terms of relational properties include among others, Freidin (1992), Fukui and Speas (1986), Muysken (1982), and Speas (1986, 1990). In a different vein, Kayne (1995) postulates the Linear Correspondence Axiom as a primitive from which he derives the properties of X' theory on the basis of antisymmetric c-command.

[7] However, Chomsky (1995) does admit that departures from the inclusiveness condition include distinguishing selections of a single lexical item, and the deletion operation.

(11)   K is a term of K.

(12)   if L is a term of K, then the members of the members of L are terms of K.

A direct consequence of this theory of phrase structure is that a certain element may be both an $X°$ and an XP. Actually, what would perhaps be a more accurate description of the situation is that the $X°$ and XP status are no longer relevant to syntactic configurations.[8] Chomsky (1995b) suggests that this does not pose a difficulty, on the contrary, it provides an analysis for clitics. According to Chomsky (1995b), clitics are a typical example of an element that has both $X°$ and X^{max} properties.[9] [10] He considers clitics to be Ds, in accordance with the DP hypothesis (see Abney (1987) and Ouhalla (1991)), and, within a movement theory of clitics, assumes that the clitic raises from its theta-position, attaching to an inflectional head. In its theta-position, the clitic is an XP; however, to be able to attach to an inflectional head, it must ultimately be an $X°$.[11]

Another operation discussed by Chomsky (1995) is *Move*, which forms a new object from a single phrase marker.[12] Chomsky (1995, p.250) provides the following definition for this operation:

(13)   Move
         Applied to the category Σ with terms K and α, Move forms Σ' by raising α to target K. This operation replaces K in Σ by $L = \{\gamma, \{\alpha, K\}\}$.

Schematically, in (14) we can raise α, and, in so doing, form (15):

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[8] This is a point that Chomsky (1998) takes up in the context of Spec, Head configurations. If intermediate bar levels are no longer part of configurations it is difficult to see how the Spec, Head relation can be maintained.

[9] The most commonly held view about Romance clitics, following Kayne (1977, 1989b, 1991) and subsequent work, is that they are $X°$. Rivero (1986) suggests that Old Spanish clitics were, on the other hand, phrasal categories. Other works, suggesting the existence of X^{max} clitics include Taylor (1990), Halpern and Fontana (1994), Fontana (1993) and Pintzuk (1996). An intermediate case may be that of Italian *loro* which, according to Cardinaletti (1991) behaves partly like a clitic, presumably an $X°$, and partly like a full pronoun, a maximal projection.

[10] See Halpern and Fontana (1994) for a discussion of clitic doubling in relation to X^{max} and $X°$ status.

[11] Another piece of evidence that points towards the XP status of the clitic is the fact that it violates the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). See Travis (1984). The Head Movement Constraint basically states that movement of an $X°$ category α is restricted to the position of a head β that governs the maximal projection of α.

[12] As opposed to Merge which joins objects that are different phrase markers to form a single syntactic unit.

(14)

```
        β
       / \
      β   α
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(15)

```
        β
       / \
      α   β
         / \
        β   α
```
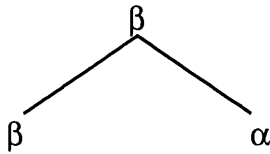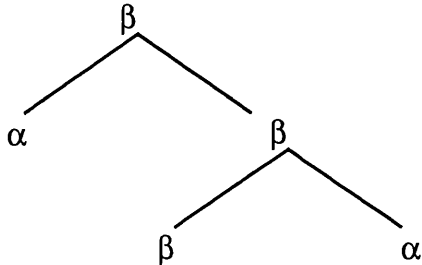
Move forms a chain CH (α, t(α)), where t(α) is the trace of α, or, if we adopt the copy theory of movement presented in Chomsky (1993), a copy of α. The operation Move is intrinsically related to the notion of feature checking.

1.3.1.1 Checking Theory

Checking is at the core of the Move operation discussed in Chomsky (1995a). According to Chomsky (1995a), feature checking is a central property of the C_{HL}, since the force that triggers syntactic operations such as Move is the morphology. Movement is triggered by the need for some feature F to be discharged, matched or checked, depending on different interpretations. A direct consequence of this is the re-characterisation of Move-α as Move-F, where the element moved is a feature (or bundle of features). However, from empirical evidence, it seems obvious that what is moved by the operation Move are units larger than features (e.g. heads or even whole phrases). This is accounted for within the Minimalist Program by proposing that some form of generalised pied-piping applies in the case of overt movement. When this generalised pied-piping applies features other than the one that triggers the movement are carried over as free-riders. The justification for this is that, if a feature moved on its own in overt movement, the derivation would crash at the PF level. In other words, features cannot be pronounced in isolation, and movement of these elements on their own would entail a violation of the interface requirements imposed on the system by the A-P system.[13] In the case of covert movement, on the other hand,

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[13] For a critical review and alternative proposal see Manzini (1996a). Chomsky (1998), provides an account in which he replaces Attract with Agree and does away with the need for a PF requirement for pied-piping of features other than the one(s) triggering movement before Spell-Out.

no such stipulation is necessary since the LF component has no such restrictions, so any movement after Spell Out can be the movement of single features.

In a further elaboration of this proposal, Chomsky (1995b) suggests that the notion of Move should be redefined as Attract, and he defines this operation incorporating the Minimal Link Condition[14] and Last Resort[15] in the following way:

(16)   K attracts F if F is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with the sublabel of K. (Chomsky 1995b, p. 297)

Once a feature finds itself in a checking configuration, it is automatically checked, and immediately erased, providing this erasure does not violate the principle of recoverability which requires that no information be lost by an operation. Chomsky (1995b, p. 277) classifies features in terms of whether they are interpretable or not. If the feature is [- interpretable], it must be erased for the derivation to converge; if, on the other hand, the feature is [+ interpretable], it cannot be erased so that it can be interpreted at the interface. A concrete example of a [- interpretable] feature are Case features, which are checked, then erased, which makes them inaccessible to the computation. On the other hand, [+ interpretable] features can be exemplified by ϕ-features of nouns,[16] which will be accessible throughout. This is actually a simplified version of Chomsky's (1995b, p. 280) process for the elimination of features which includes two separate steps. He proposes that a feature is deleted when possible which makes them invisible at the interface, but accessible to the computational system; and then a deleted feature is erased when possible which eliminates it completely, making it inaccessible not only to the interface, but also to the computational system.

As mentioned earlier, operations are morphologically driven. Chomsky (1992, p. 32) puts it in the following way: "operations are driven by morphological necessity: certain features must be checked in the checking domain of a head, or the derivation will crash." The questions are, of course, which features, and what exactly is the checking domain of a head. According to Chomsky (1995b), strong features and [- interpretable] features have to be checked, therefore it is the need to check these features that motivates Move.

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[14] The *Minimal Link Condition* requires that if there is an α, β, and K, and β is closer to K than α, then α is not allowed to move to K (see Chomsky 1995b, p. 311).

[15] Chomsky (1995b, p. 280) provides the following definition of Last Resort:
       Move F raises F to target K only if F enters into a checking relation with a sublabel of K.

[16] See Chomsky (1981) and Bouchard (1984).

1.3.1.2 Spec-Head Configuration – The case of Case

A direct consequence of the elimination of theory-internal levels of representation such as D- and S-structure is that we are now required to re-think principles that used to be analysed as applying at these levels. One specific instance is that of Case theory. In pre-Minimalist-Program versions of the theory, it was standardly assumed that Case theory applied at S-structure, however, if this level does not exist anymore, it must apply at another level. LF seems to lend itself as an ideal candidate for this job, if we consider Case relations to be based on the checking of features rather than assignment.

Chomsky (1986a, 24) considers Spec-Head   "a form of 'feature sharing' [...] in fact, sharing of the features person, number, gender, Case, etc." Thus Spec-Head[17] is the key configuration for nominative Case and verbal agreement checking between the NP in Specifier position and the verbal element in the Head. Koopman (1987) further develops the idea that the Spec, Head configuration is the basic relation for the checking of agreement features.

(17)
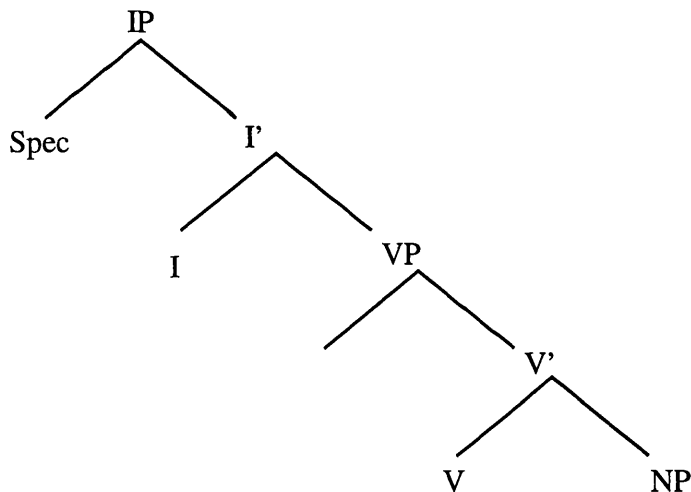
In previous versions of the theory, Case was assigned in a number of different configurations, the canonical configuration for Case assignment being that of head government, where a Head assigned Case to its complement. However, since the notion of (head-)government has been abandoned within the Minimalist Program, this is no longer tenable. Other environments in which we find Case assignment include the assignment of Case from the verb |to its object in Complement position ; and Case

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[17] It is not altogether clear what status can be assigned to this configuration in the context of Bare Phrase Structure. If no intermediate projections are available, how is the concept of 'Specifier'   to be defined?

assignment to elements that are neither specifiers nor complements of the assigner. A finite I does not govern the subject in the same way as a verb governs its complement.

(18)   [IP He [I' +finite [like books]]

However, this configuration, like the head-complement one, can be defined in terms of basic X' notions. It is important to note that both these structures are created by Merge. The third instance of Case assignment is that where the element assigning Case is neither a complement nor a specifier of the assigner. This case can be illustrated by the following examples (from Hornstein, 1996):

(19)   John believes [IP him to be insane]

(20)   I want very much [CP for [IP him to leave]

It is obvious that the element *him* is Case-marked by a head that does not govern it in the way it governs an internal argument. Furthermore, these configurations cannot be described on the basis of basic X' relations, and crucially they are not configurations created by Merge of the assignor and the assignee.

This diversity in the possible ways of assigning Case to an NP is eliminated within the Minimalist Program, where the only possible configuration for Case checking, and for feature checking more generally, is that of Spec-Head. In other words, the configuration for Nominative Case is considered to be the basic one, and the other instances of Case have to become instances of movement in which the assignee moves to a Specifier position where it can check Case with the relevant Head, i.e. the Specifier of a functional head higher in the tree. In preliminary versions of the Minimalist Program, it was Agreement Phrases to a large extent that fulfilled this role. Another fundamental role of Spec-Head configurations is that of being the crucial configuration for agreement checking. Various previous studies have pointed to this conclusion including Koopman (1987), Mahajan (1990), Chomsky (1992), and Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1992). However, in later versions, Agreement Phrases have been discarded, based on the conceptual argument that they have no [+ interpretable] content (see below for further details).

1.3.1.3 Functional Categories

A development parallel to that of feature checking has been the postulation of a great number of functional categories. As discussed above, feature checking takes place in Spec, Head configurations and it is the functional categories that provide the Spec, H configurations for feature checking to take place. Thus a restrictive perspective on

language variation considers it as limited to the formal features of functional categories (see Borer 1984, Fukui 1986, 1988 among others). Therefore, functional categories played a central role in the Principles and Parameters approach and continue to do so in the Minimalist Program. The following is an incomplete selection of functional categories that have been proposed, limited to those that are relevant to the present work:[18]

(21)

T, Agr	Pollock (1989)
AgrS, T, AgrO	Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and subsequent work
AgrIO	Mahajan (1990)
Aspect	Hendrick (1991),Borer (1993), Arad (1996)
Clitic Voices	Sportiche (1992)
Neg	Pollock (1989), Laka (1990), Benmamoun (1992)

INFL, or the Inflectional node,has been the focus of much attention in recent years. The I node was considered anomalous within X-bar theory, since, in the words of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993, p. 59), it is 'double-headed,' the two heads being TNS (Tense) and AGR (Agreement).

Following Emonds (1978) and Travis (1984), Pollock (1989) proposes the articulation of the IP node into two nodes. In a comparative study of English and French, he postulates the existence of two distinct functional categories T(ense) and Agr(eement), to account for the differences in word-order of adverbs and verbs in the two languages as in the following examples:

(22) *John lost completely his mind
(23) John completely lost his mind
(24) *John like not Mary

(25) Jean perdit complètement la tête
(26) *Jean complètement perdit la tête
(27) Jean (n')aime pas Marie

Pollock accounts for the contrasting adverb placement options in English and French by proposing a difference in strength of agreement features in the two languages. This

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[18] For a discussion of these and other functional categories proposed by different researchers see Webelhuth (1995).

difference causes the French verbs in finite clauses to move to Agr to check the strong feature. English verbs, on the other hand, remain in the VP because their weak feature does not need to be checked. This has come to be known as the Split INFL hypothesis. According to this account, the basic structure of the sentences is as follows:

(28)

TP
  Subject   T'
          T   AgrP
                AgrP
                  Agr'
                Agr   VP
                    VP-   VP
                    Adverbs
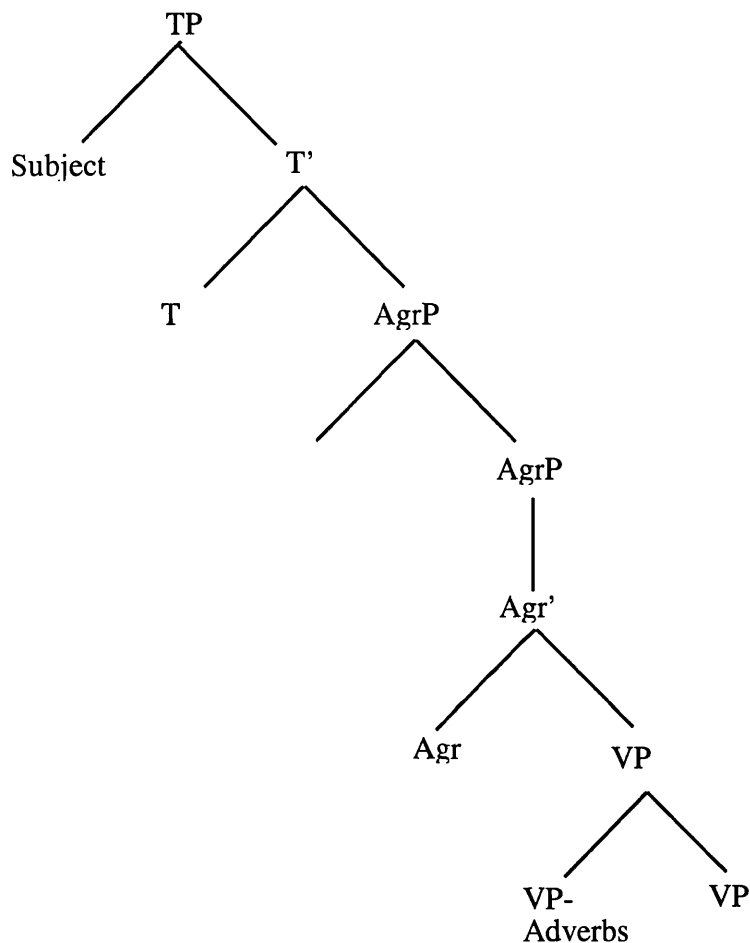
In the case of French infinitives the verb can move to AgrP but not to TP; French auxiliaries can move to TP. This is not possible in English. This can be summarised by means of an Agr parameter: it is strong in French and weak in English. The following examples show these facts:

(29)   Jean embrasse souvent Marie.
        Jean kisses   often   Marie
        'Jean often kisses.'

(30)   Il n'a pas   compris.
        he *ne* has not understood
        'He has not understood.'

(31)   *Ne sembler pas heureux ...
        ne to-seem not happy

In spite of criticisms such as those in Iatridou (1990), who points out the dangers of an explosion in the number of functional categories, Pollock's idea was accepted widely, and many extensions were proposed for it. These include, among others, a different order for the two functional categories in Belletti (1990); the existence of two Agr nodes, AgrSP and AgrOP, in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993); the existence of two AgrS nodes in Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) to account for the behaviour of subject clitics in certain Italian dialects; and, more generally, the parametrisation of the order of functional categories in Ouhalla (1990).

Belletti (1990) presents evidence that supports the order Agr-T, where Agr is the locus of subject agreement and nominative Case assignment. In a reconciliation of the proposals in Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990), Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) propose a configuration in which two Agr's play a role, the first one, above T, involved in subject agreement and nominative Case; the other below T, required for object agreement and accusative Case, therefore indicating a basic symmetry between subject and object inflectional systems. Both Agr's are collections of the same phi-features, i.e. gender, number, and person.[19]

(32)

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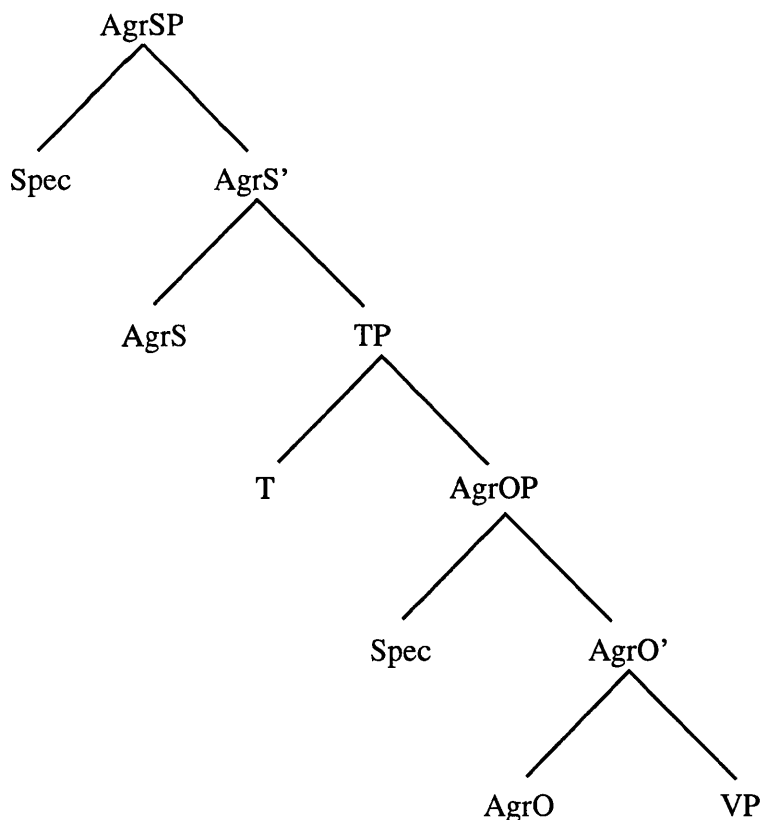
[19][Spec, TP] is omitted, as is the possible functional element Negation, or a more general category that might include affirmation (see Pollock 1989, Laka 1990).

Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) also adopt the VP-internal subject hypothesis (see Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991) under which the verb's arguments are generated within the VP as follows:

(33)

```
              VP
            /    \
          /       \
        John       V'
                  /  \
                 /    \
               met    Bill
```
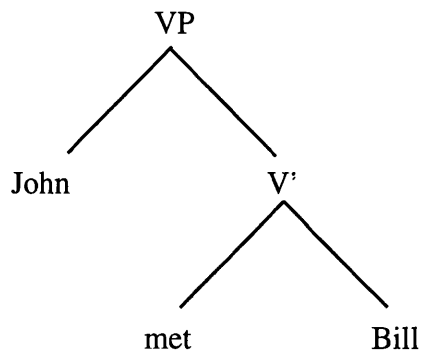
According to Koopman and Sportiche (1988) and Sportiche (1988) the subject (as all the verb's arguments) is generated in the VP in D-structure, and subsequently moved, by means of NP movement, to its VP-external position.

(34)

```
              IP
            /    \
          /       \
        NP^        V^n
         ↑        /   \
          ⌐      /     \
           ⌐   NP*      VP
```
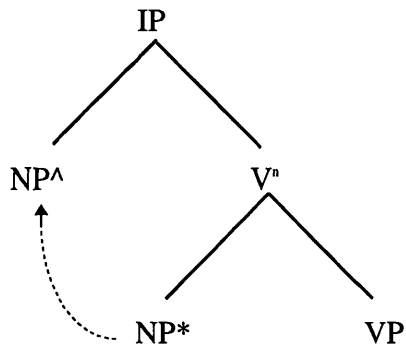
NP* is the position where the subject is generated in D-structure, NP^ the position to which it moves by S-structure, V^n the maximal projection of V, and VP the phrasal projection. Within this configuration all theta-role assignment is carried out internally, i.e. within the maximal projection of the verb. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) present various arguments in favour of this proposal including the structure of idioms, data from extraction in Italian, and Quantifier Floating. Another proposal that provides evidence | for the subject internal hypothesis is Burton and Grimshaw (1992).[20]

Koopman and Sportiche (1991) consider idioms to be phrases of some kind, rather than a random string of words; and discuss clause-size idioms where tense is not necessarily fixed as in the following example:

(35)   The shit will/would/should/did hit the fan.

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[20] For a discussion of Koopman and Sportiche's (1991) arguments, see Williams (1994).

Therefore, the Inflection is external to the rest of the idiom, which is a VP with an internal subject.

As far as extraction in Italian is concerned, Koopman and Sportiche (1991) suggest that long extraction is only possible from   theta positions.[21] Since according to them only VP-internal positions (including the subject) are theta-marked, and the position to where the subject is moved is not theta-marked, we can find an explanation for the facts of long extraction. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) conclude that long extraction is only possible from non-derived position, in other words, elements can only undergo long extraction from theta-marked positions. In their framework, the non-derived positions include the subject and object of an active transitive verb, as well as the object position of unaccusatives. However, since the subjects of unaccusatives have moved from the object position at D-structure, they are in fact derived positions. The indicator of the pre-extraction position is the possibility (or not) of the clitic *ne*.

Further support for the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis comes from the behaviour of floating quantifiers as discussed by Koopman and Sportiche (1991) and Sportiche (1988) in particular. Sportiche (1988) proposes the following structure for floated quantifiers:

(36)
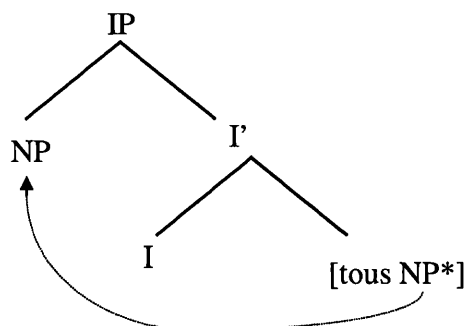
The whole NP can be fronted to the subject position, or just NP* leaving the quantifier behind as the following examples show:

(37)   Les enfants sont tous partis.
        the children have all left

(38)   Tous les enfants sont partis.
        all the children have left

Burton and Grimshaw (1992) provide further evidence from conjunctions of active and passive VPs:

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[21] In this paper, Koopman and Sportiche (1991) review the original work on long extraction by Rizzi (1982).

(39)   The criminal will be arrested and confess to the crime.

Assuming the VP-internal hypothesis, this example can be accounted for in the following way:

(40)   The criminal will [be[arrested t]] and [t [confess to the crime]]

In a further elaboration of the Agr node, Cardinalletti and Roberts (1991) propose two subject Agr heads, Agr1 and Agr2. This proposal is made to account for the phenomenon known as Subject Cliticisation in Northern Italian dialects. In the following example of subject clitic doubling from Trentino, we find a subject DP, and a subject clitic (see Chapter 2 for further discussion):

(41)   El Gianni el magna.
        the Gianni cl eats
        'Gianni eats.'

According to Cardinalletti and Roberts, Agr1[22] is responsible for Nominative Case assignment and is the host to subject clitics; Agr2, on the other hand, is the host for the verbal agreement morphology with the subject. The resulting configuration can be represented as follows:

(42)

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[22] Zubizarreta (1992) considers FP a more accurate label for Agr1.

CP
Spec   C'
C   Agr1P
Spec   Agr1'
Agr1   Agr2P
Spec   Agr2'
Agr2   TP
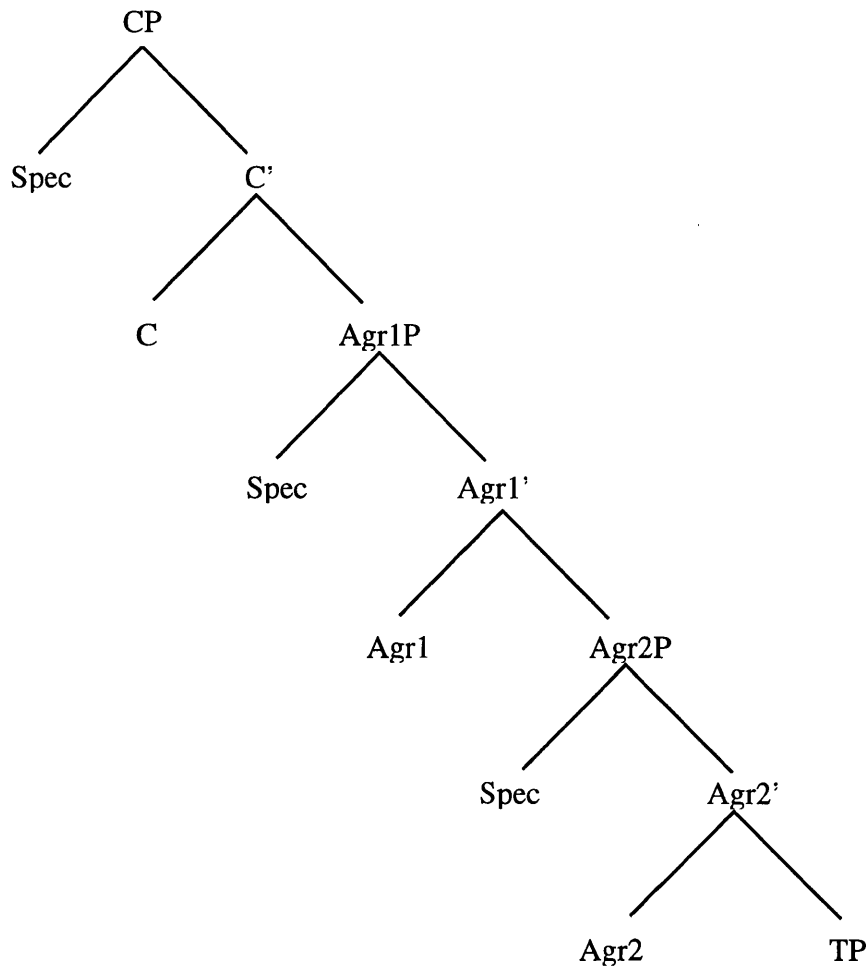
As mentioned earlier Iatridou (1990) discusses the dangers of an explosion of functional categories, in particular those that appear to be theory-internal in their justification. Ideally, functional categories should be justified in terms of output conditions, i.e. conditions imposed on the language faculty by the interface levels. In other words, they should correspond to requirements of phonetic or semantic interpretation. Alternatively, and as a far less ideal case, they can be justified in terms of theory-internal requirements. In a review of functional categories, Kitahara (1997) classifies functional categories into these two groups in the following manner. Functional categories that can be justified in terms of their semantic interpretative value, including T bearing a [+/- finite] feature; D a [+/- referential] feature; and C bearing a mood feature (e.g. [+/- declarative], [+/- interrogative]). On the other hand, categories such as Agr and the light verb *v* in Larsonian shells[23] have theory-internal motivation, as there seems to be no interface interpretation for them. Whereas the postulation of *v* is maintained within *The Minimalist Program* (see Chomsky 1995b,

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[23] See Larson (1988).

and Kitahara 1997), no such support can be found for the postulation of Agr, which is therefore dispensed with.

1.3.1.3.1 Agreement Phrases

The revisions of the framework as a consequence of Chomsky's (1995a) Minimalist Program, have forced a review of the status of functional categories and, in particular, a revision of the status of Agr(eement) Phrases. The main difference between Agr(eement) on the one hand, and other functional categories such as T, C, and D, is that, whereas the latter have [+ Interpretable] features, providing information to the interface levels, Agr only has [- Interpretable] features, and is therefore present only for theory-internal reasons.

Chomsky (1995b) examines the evidence previously presented for the existence of Agreement Phrases. It appears to be the case that AgrPs attract DPs, i.e. nominals that are definite or specific.[24] Chomsky (1995b) discards the possibility of an Agr position for covert raising, and analyses the existence of Agr with strong features that attracts elements overtly. He analyses in turn the justification for AgrO and AgrS. The evidence for AgrO provided by overt object raising is not considered compelling for the postulation of Agr, furthermore, its presence cannot be justified in the case of adjectival constructions, therefore AgrO is eliminated. The evidence for AgrS from Multiple Subject Constructions (MSC) in Icelandic is also discussed and considered insufficient for the postulation of AgrS. In conclusion, Chomsky (1995b, p. 355) '[eliminates] Agr from UG entirely.'

1.3.1.3.2 Aspectual Phrases

Aspectual Phrases have been proposed for a number of different languages including Chinese (Cheng, 1989); Arabic (Demirdache, 1989); English and French (Iatridou, 1990); Igbo (Ihionu, 1989); Basque (Laka, 1989); and Breton (Hendrick, 1991).

Borer (1993) proposes a general framework for the treatment of Aspectual categories where arguments are not specified as internal or external, and the VP has no internal hierarchical structure. The lexical entry of an item only specifies the number of arguments required by this element. The hierarchical structure or linear order is achieved by virtue of the arguments moving to the Specifier of some functional head

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[24] However, he does point out that the definiteness effect in object raising is at best a strong tendency. The Specificity Filter as outlined by Mahajan (1991, p. 265) states that "Only specific NPs can (and must be structurally Case marked by AGR. Non-specific NPs must receive structural case in some other manner."

to check features such as Case. Nominative Case is assigned in the Specifier of TP and that is where a DP systematically appears. Borer (1993) suggests that the second DP position required for a transitive verb is instantiated by the Asp(ectual) projection, and thus the structure of a simple transitive verb is represented as follows:

(43)
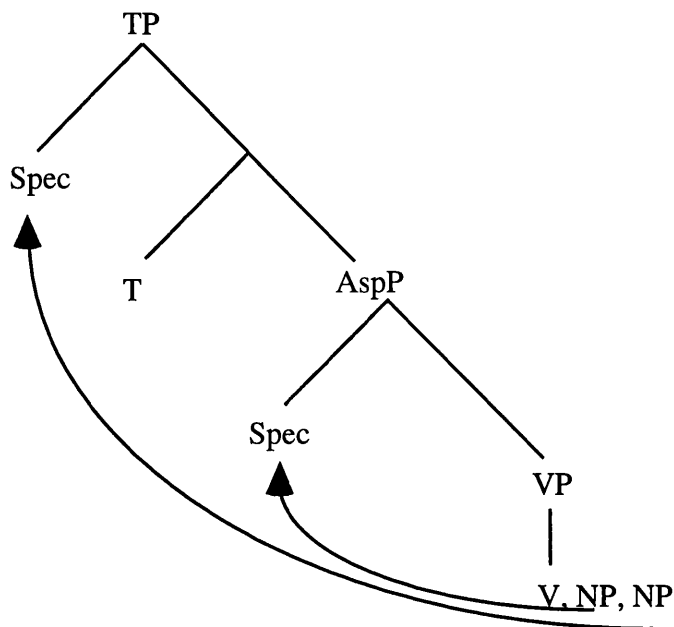
A further refinement of this model is provided by splitting the AspP projection into two functional projections differentiated in terms of the reading assigned to the argument lodged in their Specifier. These two projections are AspEM (or Event Measurer) and AspOR (or Originator) respectively. As Borer (1993) points out, Asp(EM) is the structural equivalent of AgrOP as proposed by Chomsky (1995a), on account of the fact that it is the position associated with Accusative Case assignment. The structural argumentation presented for the existence of AgrOP is therefore carried over to AspEM, the differentiation being made on interpretative grounds. AspEM hosts those objects that can be characterised as objects of accomplishments or achievements, such as in the following examples from Borer (1993):

(44)   Kim built the house.

(45)   They performed the play.

(46)   They translated a poem.

In these cases the action is measured and delimited by the object; in the following examples, however, the object measures, but does not delimit the action:

(47)   They pushed the cart.

(48)   They drove the car.

AspOR is a higher aspectual node. When AspOR is specified the DP in its Spec has the reading of Originator of the event, as in the following examples:

(49)   Kelly knows the answer.

(50)   Robin inhabited the house.

The resulting structure is represented as follows, where either AspEM or AspOR may be specified:[25]

(51)

```
                TP
               /  \
              /    \
             /      \
            /       /\
           /       /  \
          T    Asp ORP[-OR]
                   /\
                  /  \
                 /    \
                /      \
            Asp OR    Asp EMP
                       /\
                      /  \
                     /    \
                    /      \
                Asp EM     VP
                            |
                            |
                            |
                          V, NP
```
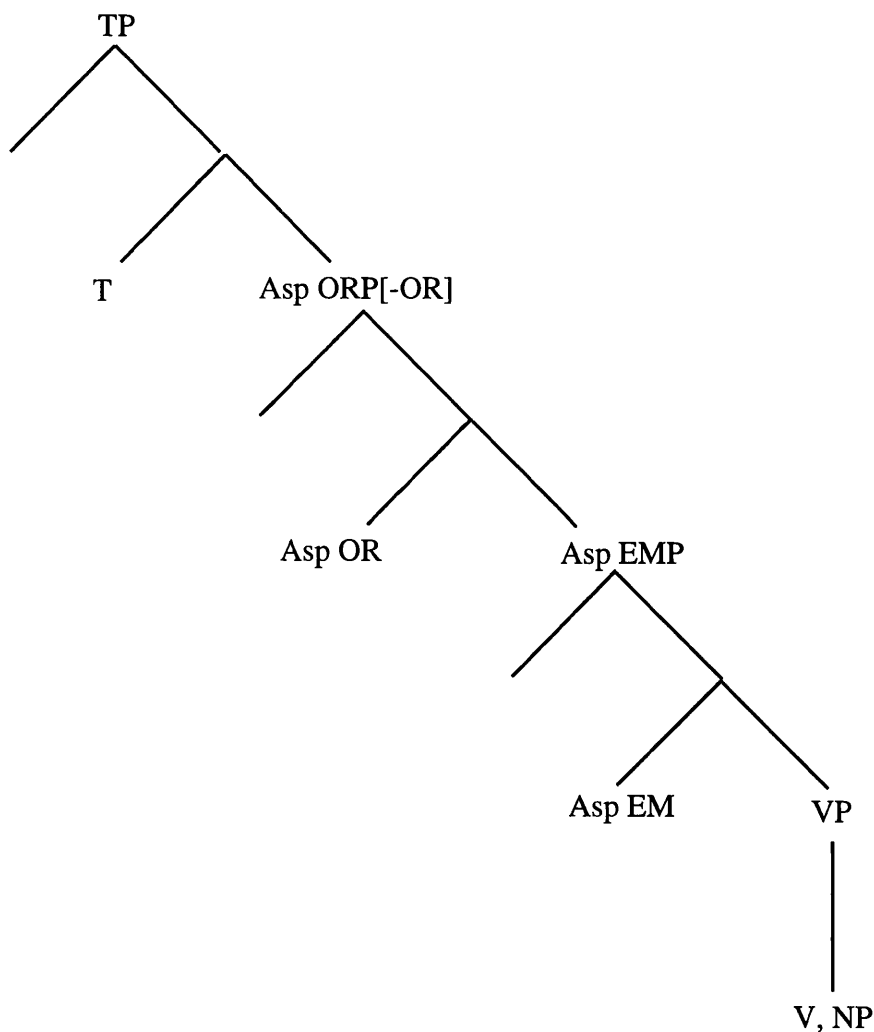
In an elaboration of Borer's (1993) proposal, Arad (1996) extends its application to ditransitive verbs proposing the following structure for the sentence 'John gave Bill a book:'

(52)

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[25] If only one Aspectual Phrase can be specified at a time, it is not clear why both should be generated. Perhaps they are alternate forms of the same phrase, with different values for some feature/set of features.

TP

T   Asp ORP[-OR]

Asp OR   DelP

Del   Asp EMP

Asp EM   VP

NP, NP, NP
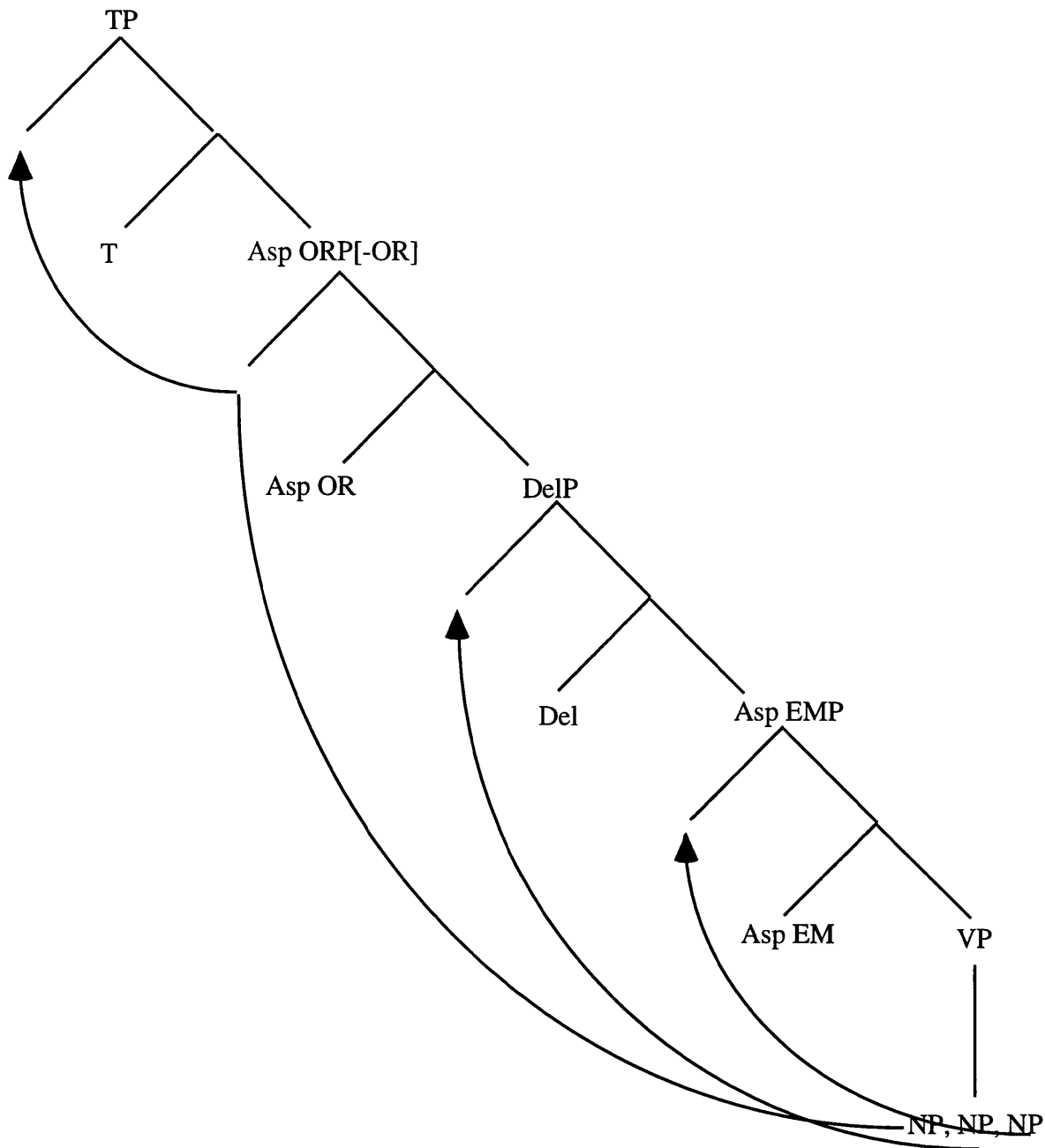
This configuration assumes, together with the projections AspEM, and AspOR suggested by Borer (1993), the projection DelP, or Delimiter Phrase. In this configuration the arguments of the verb are base-generated in their Case positions, together with their traces wherever needed.

As will be discussed in Chapter 3, a principled link can be made between these proposals and traditional thematic roles in the analysis of cliticisation.

1.3.1.3.3 Multiple Specifiers

An alternative to the proliferation of functional categories can be found in the proposals concerning Multiple Specifiers upheld by Chomsky (1995b). An early

proponent of Multiple Specifiers can be found in Rudin's (1988) account of Slavic wh-constructions. She proposes that a CP can project multiple specifiers to host wh-elements that are fronted. This structure accounts for the following example from Bulgarian provided by Rudin (1988, p. 472-473):

(53)   Koj kogo vizda?

        who whom sees

        'Who sees whom?'

In this language, according to Rudin's proposal, the CP requires two specifiers to host the two wh-elements as shown in the following schema:

(54)
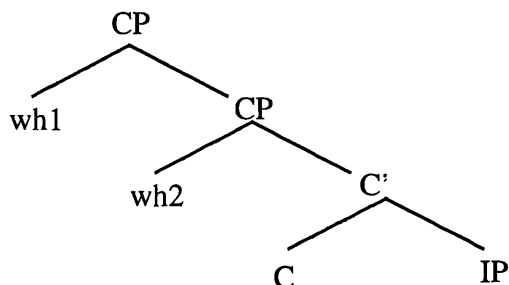
This intuition is supported and developed by several researchers (see Richards 1997) and adopted by Chomsky (1995b). Richards labels languages such as Bulgarian as 'CP absorption' languages, and extends this analysis to languages like Serbo-Croatian and Japanese which he considers IP absorption languages. He proposes the following structure for IP-absorption languages:

(55)
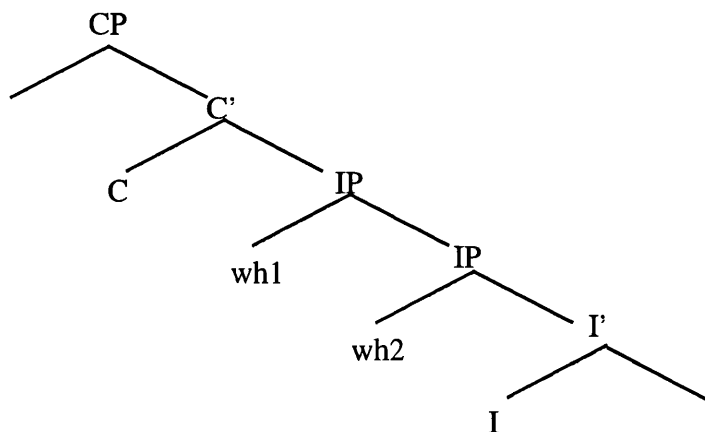
I will not pursue this analysis further, and I refer the reader to these works for further details of this development. The debate between those who propose the postulation of a number of functional categories and those who favour a multiple Specifier approach is certain to generate much controversy in research to come. Here, however, I shall

adopt a minimal number of functional categories required on interpretational grounds, i.e. aspectual categories and Tense.

1.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have provided the theoretical background that underlies the present thesis including a brief overview of developments in Generative Grammar, and how the model of grammar has changed during the past four decades. I have discussed the assumptions that underlie the *Minimalist Program*, as presented in Chomsky (1995a), and minimalist approaches in general, concentrating in particular on the role of functional categories in the grammar, in particular those associated with Inflection (i.e. Tense, Agreement, and Aspect), as proposed by Pollock (1989) and other researchers and on Aspectual projections. I have sketched the alternative proposals concerning accounts using functional categories on the one hand and multiple specifiers on the other.

2. Background on Cliticisation and Clitic Doubling

2.1 Introduction

After a brief presentation of clitics, their characterisation, and different classifications, I will present and discuss the different approaches to their study that have proved most influential to date. This chapter focuses on the phenomenon known as Clitic Doubling (henceforth CD). The two main approaches to the analysis of clitics, namely the movement and base-generation approaches are discussed. I present the proposal made by Sportiche (1992) which combines the afore-mentioned approaches, accounting for certain phenomena, such as CD, that both the base-generation and movement approaches had difficulty explaining. I draw on the study of CD in several varieties of Romance, as well as other typologically unrelated languages. For a summary of the data on clitic doubling from the different languages discussed in this chapter, see the Appendix. Following Kayne (1995) I suggest that various structures which have traditionally been analysed as distinct are in fact instances of the same phenomenon, i.e. CD. These constructions include, Clitic-Clitic Doubling, Clitic Left Dislocation, Right Dislocation, Reflexive CD, Subject Clitic Doubling, and Complex Inversion in French.

2.2 Characterisation of Clitics

Nevis et al (1994) considers the term *clitic* as "an umbrella term, not a genuine category in grammatical theory." This umbrella term covers elements in different languages which roughly have in common the fact that they have some characteristics of affixes and some characteristics of independent words.

Although originally the notion of clitic was phonological in nature,[26] subsequent studies concentrated on their morphological and syntactic properties. Clitics are distinct from other lexical categories in that, on the one hand, they share properties of

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[26] As exemplified by the OED (1st ed.) definition of *enclitic* quoted in Nevis et al (1994):

> adj That 'leans it accent on the preceding word' (Liddell and Scott): in Greek grammar the distinctive epithet of those words which have no accent, and which (when phonetic laws permit) cause a secondary accent to be laid on the last syllable of the word which they follow. Hence applied to the analogous Latin particles *-que, -ve, -ne,* etc. and in mod. use (with extension of sense) to those unemphatic words in other langs. that are treated in pronunciation as if forming part of the preceding word.

full-fledged words, but, on the other hand, they have properties of affix-like elements. Therefore, clitics are at the crossroads of the morphology and the syntax, i.e. they appear to be involved in syntactic and morpho-phonological processes.

At a very basic level, if we compare the distributional characteristics of clitics with that of full DPs, it is immediately apparent that they do not occupy the same position:

(56)   Lo/*Juan veo.
         him/John see-I
(57)   Veo a Juan/*le.
         see-I to-John/him
         'I see him/John.'

Kayne (1975) presents other contrasts between French clitics on the one hand, and full pronouns and DPs on the other. These contrasts point to the fundamental dependent nature of clitics: they cannot appear on their own (58), they cannot be modified (59), they cannot be coordinated with full NPs (61), and they cannot be focussed (62). These limitations are exemplified in the following sentences:

(58)   Qui a tu vu?   Lui/*le.
         who have you seen   him
         'Who have you seen? Him.'

(59)   J'ai vu lui/*le seul.
         I have seen him alone
(60)   *Je le seul ai vu.
         I him alone have seen
         'I have seen him alone.'

(61)   J'ai vu lui/*le et Marie
         I have seen him and Mary

(62)   C'est lui/*le   que j'ai   vu.
         'It is him   that I have seen.'

Clitics are similar to affixes in that they appear attached to a host, and are phonologically dependent on the element they are attached to. This fact has led researchers like Borer (1986) to propose that "clitics [...] are attached to their host by a morphological rule, the output being a word." Another such view is presented by Spencer (1991) who considers that verb-clitic combinations in Romance languages

behave phonologically and morphologically like verbs. This suggests the possibility of an analysis, akin to noun incorporation (see Baker, 1985), by means of which the clitic is incorporated to the V node, which itself remains of the same category.

Another characteristic that makes Romance clitics akin to affixes is the fact that they are subject to very strict ordering restrictions. In the case of Spanish and Italian argumental object clitics appear in the following order: dative clitic, accusative clitic. In French, on the other hand, this order is reversed:[27]

(63) María se   lo   compró.
      Maria clDat   clAcc   bought

(64) *María lo   se   compró.
      Maria clAcc   clDat   bought

(65) Marie le   lui   acheterai.
      Marie clAcc clDat   will-buy

(66) *Marie lui   le   acheterai.
      Marie clDat   clAcc   will-buy

      'Maria bought it for him/her.'

However, a morphological account does not explain other properties of clitics. In other words, clitics also appear to have syntactic properties. They satisfy the subcategorization requirements of a predicate. In fact, as Burzio (1986) shows, clitics can appear with different grammatical functions as the following examples show:

(67) Nora lo_i ha invitado [e_i]
      'Nora has invited him.'

(68) Nora lo_i hace [$_{VP}$ hablar] [$_S$ [e_i] ----]
      'Nora makes him talk.'

(69) Nora lo_i considera [$_{SC}$ [e_i] honesto]
      'Nora believes him honest.'

(70) Nora lo_i hizo [$_{VP}$ invitar [e_i]]
      'Nora had him invited.'

In all these cases *lo* appears with a verb that can assign accusative case, and is locally related to an empty category that receives a theta role. The clitic *lo* can function as a

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[27] See Chapter 4 for further development of questions of ordering.

direct object (67); the subject of the complement (68) (69); and a direct object of a complement (70). In this sense, they share properties of full pronouns and noun phrases, such as *phi-* and Case features.

However, as mentioned above, clitics differ from full-pronouns in that they do not allow conjunction as the following example shows:

(71) Él y ella   fueron al cine.
      he and she   went   to-the cinema

(72) *Lo y   la   ví.
      him and   her   I-saw

However, there seem to be exceptions to this ban. Benincà and Cinque (1990) point out that certain French speakers accept sentences like the following example which is parallel to the above ungrammatical one.

(73) Je lui   et vous   ferais   un plaisir.
      I him$_{Dat}$ and you$_{Dat}$ would-do a pleasure.

Nevertheless they still do not accept coordination of clitics in post-verbal position, which takes us back to their similarities with affixes.

(74) *Donne-moi et   lui un livre.
      give   me   and   him a book

According to Kayne (1995) the impossibility of conjoining clitics is due to the impossibility of coordination of two heads.[28] Since the debate as to whether clitics are heads or maximal projections is not closed, this is far from a satisfying answer.

Kayne (1975) discusses coordination structures in which we find two clitics and two verbs. This is illustrated by the following example:

(75) Jean vous   parlera   et vous   pardonnera.
      Jean you$_{Dat}$ will-speak   and you$_{Dat}$ will-forgive
      'Jean will speak to you and forgive you.'

(76) *Jean vous parlera et pardonera.

Within Kayne's (1975) analysis the ungrammaticality of the second sentence can be explained by saying that each verb requires its own complement, and one does not

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[28] See Kayne (1995) Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of why the coordination of heads is ruled out by the Linear Correspondence Axiom.

suffice for both. However, as Kayne (1995) points out, there are exceptions to this. The example he provides is the following:

(77)   Paul les lis et relis sans cesse.
        Paul them reads and rereads without stop
        'Paul reads and rereads them incessantly.'

The explanation for this is provided in terms of the close semantic link between the two verbs. This is still not possible in the case of postverbal clitics as in French infinitives:

(78)   *Lis et relis-les.

Whereas the ban on coordination when the clitics appear in postverbal positions seems to hold quite strongly across Romance, the same cannot be said of coordination in cases of proclisis. In Spanish, for example, the two verbs coordinated do not have to be closely linked semantically for coordination to be allowed, as shown by the following example, which is exactly parallel to the ungrammatical French example above, repeated here:

(79)   Juan te hablará y perdonará.
        Juan you$_{Dat}$ will-speak   and you$_{Dat}$ will-forgive
        'Juan will speak to you and forgive you.'
(80)   *Jean vous parlera et pardonera.

Another instance of coordination that Kayne (1995) also discusses is that between full DPs and clitics, which is impossible:

(81)   *María conoce a Juan y los.
        Mary knows John and them

On the whole, this discussion goes to show that, even if clitics can fulfill subcategorisation requirements, they cannot be said to behave in the same way as a full DP does. [29]

Another factor that indicates that clitics play a syntactic role can be found in causative constructions, which shows that cliticisation cannot cross a structural subject. Kayne (1975) observes that some clitic configurations are systematically blocked in causative constructions in French as the following examples show:

---

[29] For further details on enclisis and proclisis in co-ordination, see Chapter 4.

(82)   [S Jean [VP   fait [S Marie [VP téléphoner à Paul.]]]]
            Jean   make Marie   telephone to Paul

(83)   Jean la   fait téléphoner à Paul.
        Jean her make telephone to Paul
        'Jean makes her telephone Paul.'

(84)   *Jean lui fait   téléphoner Marie.
        Jean him make telephone Marie
        'Jean makes Marie telephone him.'

According to Kayne, the cliticization of the indirect object *lui* is blocked in the last sentence due to the movement of that clitic from the domain of the (embedded) specified subject.

As Franco (1993) points out, in Italian absolute participle constructions, the clitic and the full NP are interchangeable as the following examples show:

(85)   Affondata la nave, Garibaldi ...
        sunk-fem the ship-fem Garibaldi
        '(Once) the ship sank, Garibaldi ...'
        (PRO$_i$) having sunk the ship, Garibaldi$_i$

(86)   Affondatala, Garibaldi ...
        sunk-fem-cl-Acc-fem Garibaldi
        (After) PRO$_i$ sank it, Garibaldi$_i$ ...

This is further evidence of the fact that, in some ways, the clitic has XP status.

To summarise, in certain respects clitics behave like bound elements, while, at the same time, they have the properties of autonomous syntactic elements. This ambiguity of status has led to different approaches to their study.

2.3 The Analysis of Clitics

Kayne (1975) captures the dual role played by pronominal clitics as arguments of the verb by generating them in a post-verbal position as in the following structure:

(87)   Jean mange les

Within a transformational framework, the pronominal clitic *les* satisfies the subcategorisation requirements of the verb, however, the clitic moves to position itself before the verb,[30] attaching itself to it as in the following configuration:

(88)

```
        V°
       / \
      /   \
    les     V
```
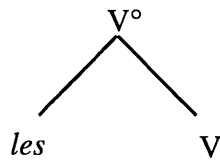
Thus this combination of clitic and verb forms a word dominated as it is by the node V°. Chomsky (1995b) considers clitics the ideal element for the exemplification of Bare Phrase Structure. As mentioned in Chapter 1 he considers them to be both $X°$ and X^{max}.

By contrast with the syntactic treatment, clitics can be analysed as some kind of agreement morpheme. In fact, the analogy between agreement and clitics is worth sketching briefly. Numerous studies have linked the phenomenon of cliticisation with the notion of agreement. One such example is Givón (1984) who, within a functionalist approach suggests that CD in Standard Spanish is an instance of agreement. He proposes four hierarchies which would predict whether an NP is likely to show grammatical agreement on the verb. These hierarchies can be illustrated as follows (Givón, 1984, p. 364):

(89)   Semantic case-roles: AGT(agent)>DAT(ive)/Ben(efactive)>PAT(ient)>Others
(90)   Pragmatic case-roles: SUBJ(ect)>D(irect)-OBJ(ect)>Others
(91)   Humanity/Animacy: HUM(an)/AN(imate)>NONHUM(an)/INAN(imate)
(92)   Definiteness:DEF(inite)>INDEF(inite)

These factors do seem to play a role in CD and CD-related facts. For further discussion, see Chapter 5. The idea of linking cliticisation to agreement is usually found in Base Generation accounts of cliticisation (see section on Base Generation below).

When analysing agreement, Chomsky (1981) suggests that AGR bears a relation to the subject NP which is quite similar to the one between the clitic and the object. This is also linked to a diachronic observation with respect to pronominal clitic systems, that have eventually developed into agreement systems. Chomsky (1981, p. 275) observes that languages may have either of the following forms:

---

[30] See the section on movement theories below.

(93)   NP INFL [VP cl-V NP]

(94)   NP INFL [VP V NP]

He further suggests that the clitic features of the languages which present cliticization are sufficiently 'strong' to allow recoverability when the NP position is empty. In this account the object NP is ungoverned and co-indexed with the clitic and, as a consequence of this, when the object NP is omitted, the position is occupied by PRO, following Jaeggli (1982). This empty category 'inherits' the properties of subcategorization and theta marking from the co-indexed clitic. This is of course entirely parallel to the role that AGR in INFL plays in pro-drop languages.

Another analysis drawing a parallelism between object agreement and clitic doubling can be found in Taraldsen (1983). In this study he compares overt agreement of accusatives in Hungarian and CD of accusatives in Spanish. This view is further developed by Mahajan (1989) and Franco (1993).

In this way, clitics are linked to the *pro*-drop parameter, although the link between the two is not entirely clear. On the one hand, cliticization is present both in languages which are *pro*-drop (Italian and Spanish) and in others that are not (French). On the other hand, as Burzio (1986) points out, there are certain distributional analogies between clitics and null subjects, namely 'languages that have null subjects also have clitics; both null subjects and cliticization correspond to lack of contrastive stress; syntactic constructions that require cliticization for objects correspondingly require null subjects.' (Burzio 1986, p. 164). He further follows Rizzi (1982) in assuming that the inflectional morpheme of the verb can function as a subject clitic. Thus, the following sentences would be analysed in a parallel manner:

(95)   Los alumnos   la ven [e]

          |_____|

        The students her see

        'The students see her.'

(96)   [e] ve-n a María

        |____|

        they-see to María

        'They see María.'

The inflectional element binds the empty category in subject position in (96) in the same way as the object clitic binds the one in object position in (95). This analysis captures the richness of inflection which differentiates languages like Italian and

Spanish from French. Burzio also assumes that INFL has two options in *pro*-drop languages. It can be just like INFL in English, that is non-pronominal and not a proper governor; or it can be like a clitic, that is to say pronominal and a proper governor just like a noun. In this way, when the subject is not null, the first case will apply, whereas the *pro*-drop phenomena will rely on the second possibility.

2.4 Approaches to the Study of Clitics

The approaches to the analysis of clitics can be classified into two broad classes: those following a syntactic approach, and those following a non-syntactic approach. The non-syntactic or lexical approach, which I do not discuss here, is represented by works such as Zwicky (1977), Klavans (1982, 1985), Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Kaisse (1985), Nevis (1985), Marantz (1988a, 1988b), Sproat (1988a), Grimshaw (1982), Sadock (1991), and Anderson (1992). I draw on certain ideas proposed by the supporters of lexical approaches at various stages in this thesis, but I do not review them in detail. For a review of some of these see Spencer (1991) and Hendrick (1995).

As for the syntactic analysis of (Romance) clitic constructions within the framework of generative grammar, we find two main trends, that have come to be known as the Movement and Base Generation approaches.

2.4.1 The Movement Approach

The Movement approach has seen its main exponents in Kayne (1975, 1989, 1990, 1995), and Sportiche (1989, 1990). A pioneering proposal within the Movement approach can be found in Kayne (1975). In this account clitics are pronouns which are generated in the positions of the verb complement at D-structure. This provides an explanation for the role of clitics as arguments; what is left to be accounted for is their S-structure position. Since in French, clitics and full NP objects are in complementary distribution, the logical analysis which Kayne pursues is that of explaining the S-structure position of clitics by means of a movement rule, analogous to that of NP movement in passive constructions. Thus, the following data are accounted for in the following manner:

(97)   Je vois Paul.
        'I see Paul.'
(98)   Je vois le

(99)   Je le vois e.

        I him see

        'I see him.'

(100)   *Je le vois Paul.

        I him see Paul

(97) presents a full NP object, the D- and S- structures of this sentence coincide; (98) is the D-structure of the form in which the NP is replaced by a clitic and (99) is the corresponding S-structure in which the clitic has moved to pre-verbal position; finally (100) is the ungrammatical sentence with a clitic and a full NP object co-ocurring.

To account for these data, Kayne provides the following Clitic Placement rule:

(101)   X NP V Y Pro Z

        1 2   3 4   5   6 → 1 2 5 + 3 4 6

Thus, the structure of the example (99) would be derived from (98) as follows:

(102)   ...V [vois] [le] NP   →   ...[V le [V vois]] [NP e]

As mentioned above, according to this analysis, the pronominal clitic is generated in a post-verbal position to satisfy the verb's subcategorization requirements; from this position it moves to be attached to the verb under the V node as the following configuration shows:

(103)
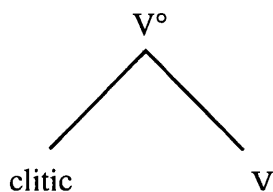
By definition this combination is a word dominated by an X° category. Therefore it can be expected to show some word-like properties, consistent with the behaviour of the clitic + V cluster described above in this chapter.

A key component of Kayne's analysis is the complementary distribution of the clitic and the full NP in French, i.e. Standard French does not allow a clitic and a full NP to appear in the same sentence. His proposal provides a straight-forward explanation of the ungrammaticality of examples such as (100) above, since structure-preserving principles would disallow the presence of the nominal *Paul* in the position of the trace left behind by the movement of the clitic.

According to Kayne's (1975) account, the trigger for the movement of the clitic is either its weak phonological nature (it can never be stressed) or its affixal nature (it is a bound morpheme). However, see Chapter 4 for issues concerning Interpolation.

A phenomenon discussed by Rizzi (1982) which provides supporting evidence for this analysis is that of clitic climbing, as in the following examples from Spanish:

(104)   Maria quiere verlo personalmente.   (DO Clitic Climbing)
        Maria wants to-see-him personally
(105)   Maria lo quiere ver personalmente.
        Maria him wants to-see personally
        'Maria wants to see him in person.'

(106)   Juan quiere hablarles personalmente.   (IO Clitic Climbing)
        Juan wants to-speak-to-them personally
(107)   Juan les quiere hablar personalmente.
        Juan to-them wants to-speak personally
        'Juan wants to speak to them in person.'

The two options for the clitic are to either be generated in the canonical position of the object or in the enclitic position in which it appears in (104) and (106). In either case, the clitic has to move to the matrix proclitic position when it undergoes clitic climbing, as in (105) and (107).

Other supporting evidence for Kayne's (1975) account can be found in SSC, where we can see the blocking effects of intervening subjects on clitic placement, as illustrated by the following examples:

(108)   Jean a laissé Pierre parler à Marie
        Jean let Pierre speak to Marie
(109)   Jean l'a laissé lui parler
        Jean him let to-her
(110)   *Jean lui a laissé Pierre parler
        Jean to-her let Pierre speak
(111)   *Jean le lui a laissé parler
        Jean him to-her let speak

The SSC effect is suggested by the fact that the dative clitic cannot leave the embedded clause, when it crosses a subject, most clearly in (110).

Other data that suggest the presence of movement is found when analysing the constituents out of which a clitic can be moved. In this analysis, Sportiche (1992) discusses extraction out of PP and out of DP and all the evidence points towards the conclusion that clitic placement involves movement, although, as Sportiche concludes, not necessarily of the kind that Kayne (1975) suggested.

2.4.1.1 Problematic Data for Movement Analyses

Since Kayne's (1975) proposal was tailored to account for French, in which a clitic and its corresponding NP are in complementary distribution, evidence has been brought forward of major problems with the movement analysis when applied to data from Spanish and other languages where the co-occurrence of a clitic and a co-referential NP is perfectly grammatical as illustrated below:

(112)   Lo ví a Pablo.
         him saw-I to Pablo
         'I saw Pablo.'

This is what has been called Clitic Doubling (CD). As can be seen from this example, the doubled NP requires a preposition-like element, *a*, which led Kayne (1975) to suggest that, whereas the clitic is assigned Accusative Case by the verb, the doubled NP requires another Case-assigner, and this is *a*. This is what has come to be known as Kayne's Generalization.

Another major problem encountered by movement approaches is what Sportiche (1992) labels the 'lack of source' argument. This argument stems from the existence of constructions in which there is a clitic present, but there seems to be no post-verbal position where the clitic could have originated. This is exemplified by constructions such as ethical datives and inherent clitics, as well as dative possession constructions,[31] as illustrated by the following examples from French (from Sportiche 1992) and Spanish:[32]

---

[31] Sportiche (1992) also presents data supporting this point from the *sur/dessus* alternation discussed by Ruwett (1969).

[32] Freyre (1979) also presents some examples of ethical datives (my glosses):
(i)   Este chico no *me* come.
         this boy no to-me eat
         'This boy doesn't eat.'
(ii)   *Me*   le   robaron el dinero.
         To-me to-him stole-they the money
         'They stole his money.'
(iii)   No nos   le   destruyas la casa.
         No to-us to-him destroy   the house
         'Don't destroy his house.'

40

(113)   El nene no me hace los deberes   (ethical dative)
        the boy not to-me does the homeworks
        'My boy doesn't do the homework.'

(114)   Pierre en a bave   (inherent clitic)
        Pierre of-it drooled (= Pierre suffered)

(115)   Elles ont tiré dans le ventre de ces garçons
        They shot in these boys' bellies
(116)   *Elles ont tiré dans le ventre à ces garçons
        They shot in the belly to these boys
(117)   Elles ont tiré dans leur ventres
        They shot in their bellies
(118)   Elles leur ont tiré dans le ventre   (dative possession)
        They to-them shot in the belly

These examples illustrate the fact that there exist constructions with clitics, and no evident source for the clitics, which detracts support from movement theories.

A way of dealing with the shortcomings of Kayne's (1975) theory in accounting for CD constructions, is modifying the theory introducing some sort of 'copying mechanism;' but, as Jaeggli (1982) points out, the introduction of this kind of rule would have undesirable consequences, as it would lead to a theory so powerful that it would create overgeneration.

Considerable discussion in the area of CD has centred around the status of the doubled NP. One line of argument as to the status of the NP has been presented by Aoun (1981) and Hurtado (1984). These proposals suggest that the doubled NP is actually a dislocated element in an A' position. However, this possibility is untenable on several grounds.

Firstly, we would have to draw a distinction between this position in clitic doubled constructions and those where a clitic is not present:

(119)   Lo ví a Juan.
        him saw to Juan

(120)   Ví a Juan.
        saw to Juan
        'I saw John.'

In other words, the constituent *Juan* would alternate between being an argument and being an adjunct depending on whether the clitic is present or not, clearly not a satisfactory state of affairs.

In particular, Jaeggli (1982) discusses the restrictions on River Plate Spanish clitic doubling with respect to Wh-extraction illustrated in the following sentences:

(121)　　Lo$_i$ vimos　　a Guille$_i$.

　　　　him saw+1p　to Guille

　　　　'We saw Guille.'

(122)　　*¿A quién$_i$　　lo$_i$　　vimos t$_i$?

　　　　to whom　　　him　　saw+1p

(123)　　¿A quién$_i$ vimos t$_i$?

The same restrictions apply in the cases of Quantifier Raising. In the ungrammatical examples that follow, the quantified object NPs undergo QR at LF (cf. May 1977, Hornstein 1984):

(124)　　*Las$_i$ ví a todas las chicas$_i$.

　　　　them saw+1s to all the girls

　　　　'I saw all the girls.'

(125)　　*Las$_i$ encontré a algunas mujeres$_i$.

　　　　them met+1s　to some women

　　　　'I met some women.'

(126)　　*Lo ví　　a un chico.

　　　　him saw+1s to a boy

　　　　'I saw a boy.'

On the other hand both short and long extraction of NPs doubled by dative clitics produce grammatical outputs (see Jaeggli 1982, and Suñer 1991, her 3 a-b examples):

(127)　　¿A quién$_3$ le^3 dieron *los jueces* el premio e$_3$?[33]

　　　　To whom did the judges to-him/her give the prize?

---

[33] Following convention, Suñer uses subscripts to indicate relationships that are relevant for Binding Theory, and superscripts for irrelevant ones.

(128) ¿A quién₃ te dijeron *pro* que le^3 habían dado *los jueces* el premio e₃ ?

To whom did they tell you that the judges to-him/her had given the prize e?

However, Suñer (1986a, 1991) claims that wh-extraction in the case of accusative doubling is possible if the clitic and the doubled phrase match in features as in the following examples (Suñer's 1991, 7 a-b):

(129) ¿A cuántos de **los generales** *los* condecoraron?

How many of the generals did they them (m) decorate?

(130) ¿A cuáles de **ellas** *las* reconocieron?

Which of them did they them (f) recognize?

Other examples from Suñer (1988) point to the fact that analysing the doubled NP as a dislocated element would be incorrect. These include the possibility of embedding clitic doubled constituents (Suñer's 1988 example from Barrenechea and Orecchia 1979):

(131) Lo último que escuché, claro que laᵢ encontré pesada la audiciónᵢ, fue el reportaje.

The last thing I listened to, of course I found (it) boring the radio program, was the interview.

As Suñer (1988) also points out, the absence of a pause between the doubled NP and the rest of the sentence is further evidence against the analysis of the doubled phrase as adjoined.

Another argument against the analysis of the doubled NP as an adjoined element can be found in the binding properties of this element. The doubled NP can function as the antecedent of an anaphor, a property of A-positions according to Principle A of Binding theory. This is illustrated by the following examples from Franco (1993):

(132) El decano (lesᵢ) habló a los estudiantesᵢ de sí mismosᵢ.

The dean them talked to the students about themselves

(133) *El decano lesᵢ habló de sí mismosᵢ a los estudiantesᵢ.

The dean them talked about themselves to the students

(134) El decano lesᵢ habló de la vida a los estudiantesᵢ.

The dean them talked about life to the students

Comparing the first two cases we can see a contrast caused by the fact that it is the doubled NP, and not the clitic trace, that is acting as antecedent for the binding of the anaphor. If the c-command relation between the clitic-doubled NP and the anaphor is destroyed, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as in the second sentence.

2.4.2 Base Generation

The difficulties encountered by Movement approaches in accounting for the data concerning CD have led researchers to look for alternatives that could adequately explain the data of CD. These theories can be grouped under the general label of Base Generation and some of the exponents include: Suñer (1973), Strozer (1975), Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Bouchard (1982), Borer (1984a), Aoun (1985), Burzio (1986), Suñer (1988), Roberge (1990), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), among others. As Hendrick (1995) points out, this position often involves treating clitics as some kind of agreement morpheme that identifies the phonologically null pronominal in argument position (see Borer, 1984a and Suñer, 1988).

According to Base Generation approaches, both the clitic and the 'doubled' NP are generated by the base component, the clitic to the left of the verb, and the 'doubled' NP in the object position, as shown in the following schema:

(135)

```
            VP
           /  \
         V*    NP
        /  \
       cl   V
```
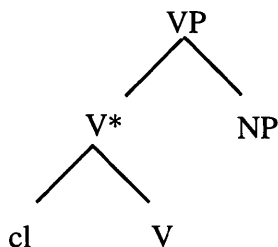
The clitic and the doubled NP stand in some kind of relation that allows them to be co-referential.

There has been some controversy over the precise nature of the V* level. Either the cl+V cluster is considered a lexical item, or the clitic and verb are analysed as two separate and distinct lexical items. This split in analyses refers back to the affix-like vs. full-fledged pronoun dichotomy in the behaviour of clitics alluded to earlier on in this chapter. If [v cl + V] is analysed as a lexical item, and, consequently, V* is interpreted as V°, it is difficult to account for the fact that clitics may participate in syntactic operations such as clitic climbing. Indeed, this would entail a violation of the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis postulated by Chomsky (1970) which does not allow syntactic operations to have access to the internal composition of lexical items, as

pointed out by Borer (1986). If, on the other hand, as Jaeggli (1982) suggests, V* is taken to be V', it becomes increasingly difficult to account for the affix-like properties of clitics.

One of the central problems faced by proponents of Base Generation analyses is that of Case assignment. Since the clitic is considered to be the argument to which the verb assigns Case, some mechanism has to be devised for assigning Case to the doubled phrase. It is as a consequence of this that Aoun (1981) and Hurtado (1984) analyse the doubled NP as an adjunct. According to Kayne's Generalization, and the refinements in Jaeggli (1982, 1986), the preposition-like element, e.g. *a*, is required to transmit the Case that the verb has absorbed from the clitic. For a further analysis of these preposition-like elements, see Chapter 5.

2.4.3 Combining Movement and Base Generation

Sportiche (1992) has ingeniously brought together the two approaches in the analysis of Romance clitics in generative grammar by advocating a theory in which both base-generation and movement play a crucial role. He advocates the existence of a functional category that hosts clitics, one for each pronominal clitic. These functional categories are labelled 'Clitic Voices'. Clitic Voices are the projections under which the different clitics are generated, with the corresponding co-referential DPs in the respective specifier positions. In this proposal, the clitics are generated in place, and it is the doubled DPs that move to the specifier positions of the Clitic Voices to check agreement. This analysis reconciles movement and base generation and accounts for the agreement between the clitic and the DP in a [Spec, Head] configuration. Parametrisation accounts for whether the doubling DP moves overtly or covertly, and whether the specifier of the clitic phrase tolerates overt expressions at all (which determines whether clitic doubling, in the standard sense of the term, is permitted or not). In the case of non-doubled clitics, Sportiche assumes that the post-verbal position is occupied by *pro* which needs to be licensed by moving to the specifier position of the Clitic Voice in the same way as an overt phrase doubling the clitic.

Sportiche (1992) adopts certain components of both traditional theories of clitics while abandoning others. In agreement with Base Generation theories, he believes that all clitics are always base-generated in the slots where they appear at S-structure. On the other hand, he assumes that clitic constructions also involve movement; however, contrary to traditional Movement theories, it is not the clitic that moves, but the agreeing DP. Therefore, the idea from Base Generation theories that movement is not involved has to be abandoned.

This combination of traditional theories proposed by Sportiche specifically tackles the problems presented by CD in a principled manner. By making use of the notions of Spec-Head agreement introduced by Koopman (1987), Sportiche generates the clitic as the head of a Clitic Voice, and the agreeing doubled DP which is generated in the canonical position of the subject or object moves to the Specifier position of that head to check features.

One of Sportiche's (1992) central concerns is to account for the agreement between the clitic and the doubled phrase. The clitic is the Head of this projection, and the doubled phrase moves to the Specifier position to check its features (*phi* and Case). Therefore Sportiche (1992) treats clitics as agreement heads, but, does not consider them to be exactly the same as agreement morphemes, since clitics have characteristics that make them akin to pronouns.

Concretely, he proposes the following configuration for the various pronominal clitics in the example from French below:

(136) Il le lui donnera.
       he it to-him will give
       'He will give it to him.'

(137)

```
           Nom V
          /     \
      XP^1      Nom'
                 |  \
                Nom  \Acc V
                      /    \
                  XP^2     Acc'
                            |  \
                           Acc  \Dat V
                                 /    \
                              XP^3    Dat'
                                       |  \
                                      Dat....\
```

XP*1, XP*2, XP*3

46
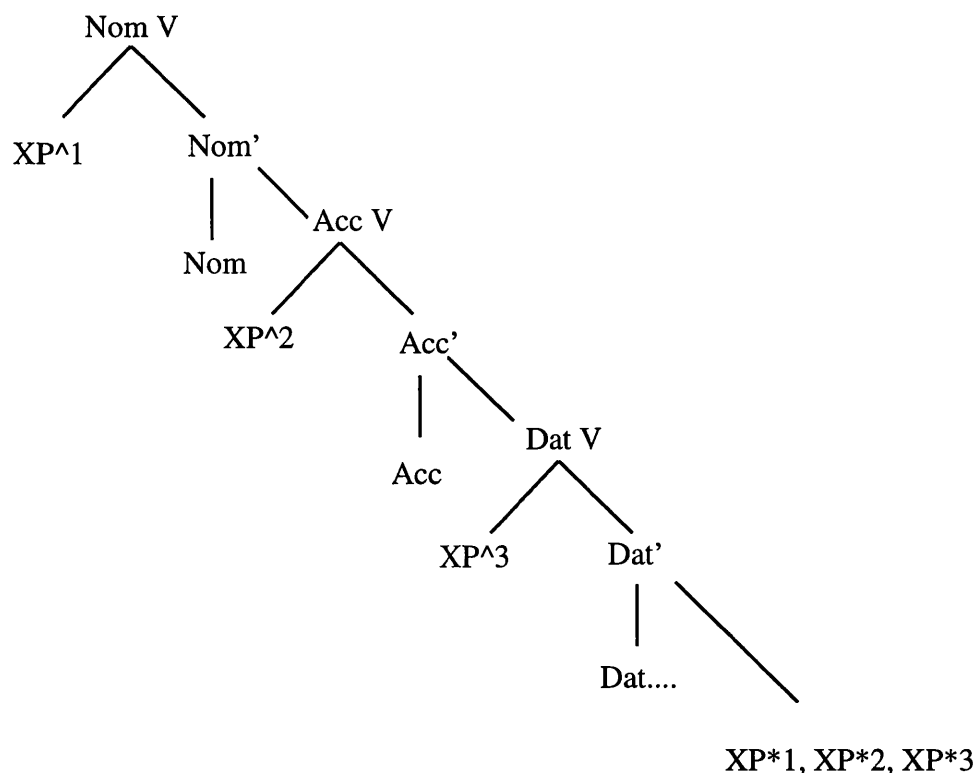
As mentioned above, the motivation for the movement of the DP is the checking of features, the only acceptable possibility in view of minimalist assumptions. Drawing a parallel with wh-movement, and adapting the Wh-Criterion of Rizzi (1990), Sportiche proposes the following Clitic Criterion:

(138) Clitic Criterion (Sportiche 1992)
       A clitic must be in a spec/head relationship with a [+F] XP
       A [+F] XP must be in a spec/head relationship with a clitic

This is consistent with the Minimalist Program's tenet that movement occurs in order to satisfy the checking of some feature.

Sportiche (1992) allows for the possibility of the moved element to be overt (as in the case of CD) or covert (as in cases with a clitic but without a doubling DP). He also allows for both covert and overt movement of the doubling phrase. Naturally, when XP* is covert the distintion between overt and covert movement is neutralised.

A further parameter of variation to consider is whether the clitic head itself is overt or covert, which would differentiate Arabic CD from Dutch Scrambling, since the former has an overt clitic head, whereas, in the latter the head is covert (or this at least is the construal that Sportiche proposes for this operation). Other instances that Sportiche (1992) mentions as cases of an overt XP* moving overtly with an overt H include the Clitic Left Dislocation Construction (as discussed by Cinque 1990), Romanian or Spanish wh-questions with resumptive clitics, and French Leftward Q movement, i.e. Quantifier Floating, on which see also Sportiche (1988).

In this way, he obtains the following combinations:

(139)

	Overt Movement	Covert Movement
Overt XP*	Arabic CD	Spanish CD
	Dutch Scrambling	Romanian CD
Null XP*	French, Italian or Dutch clitic constructions	

A summary of the possibilities for variation is provided by Sportiche as follows:

(140) Clitic Construction Parameters
       a.   Movement of XP* to XP^ occurs overtly or covertly
       b.   H is overt or covert
       c.   XP* is overt or covert

This, rather more comprehensive and inclusive, analysis of clitic constructions leads us to the conclusion expressed in Kayne (1995) as to the nature of CD being far more pervasive than previously thought, a point we shall discuss further. As Sportiche (1992) points out there is nothing in this analysis 'that really bears on the overt/covert character of XP*: whether overt or covert, XP* will have to raise by LF to the right specifier so that the Clitic Criterion is met. Clitic doubled constructions, and non-doubled clitic constructions are analyzed in exactly the same way: the problem is not to account for the possibility of clitic doubling. [...] Rather the problem is to account for the distribution of clitic doubling and for the differences between clitic doubling and non-doubled clitics.'

2.5 Other Clitic Doubling

Having presented the traditional analyses of CD and established the current tendency towards a broader definition of this phenomenon, let us now turn to related constructions that could now fall under this wider concept. This section presents a variety of constructions that have been analysed as instances of different phenomena. These inlcude: Clitic-Clitic Doubling from a number of different Italian dialects (from Manzini and Savoia 1996), and from child language acquisition of Brazilian Portuguese (Everett, 1996), Doubling of Reflexive Clitics, Clitic Left Dislocation, Right Dislocation, Complex Inversion in French, Subject Clitic Doubling and Past Participle Agreement. The underlying assumption is that, despite superficial differences, a unified account can be provided for these phenomena.

2.5.1 Clitic-Clitic Doubling

In a number of Italian dialects, as well as in Lebanese and other varieties of Arabic,[34] and in child language acquisition, we find a structure which contains two coreferential clitics, one in the position where object clitics are usually found, i.e. preverbally, and the second one in the canonical position of the object. The data exemplifying this phenomenon in Italian dialects is reported by Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming)[35]. Various dialects of Italian present clitic-clitic doubling of accusative as well as dative and reflexive clitics.

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[34] These constructions are discussed by Benmamoun (1993).

[35] Special thanks to M. Rita Manzini for providing me with this data.

(141)   at f tça'ma-ti
        to-you have called-I-to-you
        'I have called you.'

(142)   al'l f la'va-lu
        SC it has washed-it
        'He has washed it.'

These examples illustrate cl-cl doubling of the direct object in Castelletto Merli. This type of doubling is possible irrespective of whether the DO is animate, as in (141), or inanimate, as in (142).

(143)   tl f 'da-tlu
        to-you-it have given-I-to-you-it
        'I have given it to you.'

This dialect also presents cl-cl doubling of the Indirect Object.

(144)   i 'l f la'va-lu
        SC it have (habere) washed-it
        'I have washed it.'

(145)   i 'l uma la'va-lu/la
        SC it have (habere) washed-it (masc/fem)
        'I have washed it.'

These examples from Fara Novarese, show a variety in which cl-cl doubling displays gender distinctions on the second clitic. Fara Novarese also shows cl-cl doubling with reflexive clitics:

(146)   i 'm f la'va-mi
        SC me have washed-me
         'I have washed myself.'

Within the present analysis, the lower clitic would move covertly to check features with the higher clitic:

(147)

ClP
clit ic 1
V   clitic 2
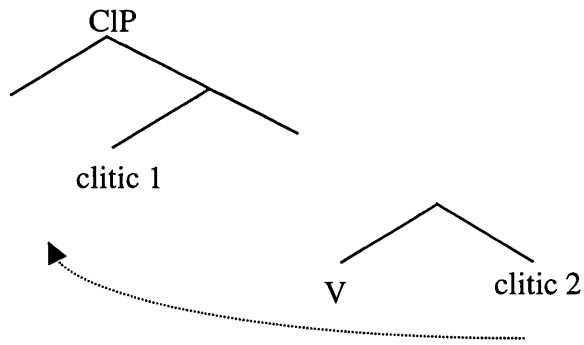
Here the dual status of the clitic as an $X°$ and X^{max} can be invoked to justify this analysis and the fact that the lower clitic moves to an XP position (however, see Chapter 4 on the analysis of enclitics)

Other Italian dialects also present similar patterns. According to Ilari and Franchi (1985), quoted in Everett (1996), Biellese allows a form of cl-cl doubling. In this case, however, one clitic appears as an enclitic, and the other immediately follows it, in what would be the full NP position.

(148)   al   an   chama-me mi

         cl   have   called-me me

         'They called me.'

Language acquisition data for Brazilian Portuguese show that clitic-clitic doubling can also be found in the language of children between the ages of 6 and 13,[36] as the following data from Everett (1996) show:

(149)   Me pega   -me

         1s-Dat catch-Imp-1s-Dat

(150)   Me pega   -me eu

         1s-Dat catch-Imp-1s-Dat   1s-Nom

         'Catch me.'

2.5.2 Doubling of Reflexive Clitics[37]

Torrego (1994a) labels the two types of reflexives pronouns available in Romance as weak and strong. In this case *si* is the weak clitic and it has to move overtly to INFL.

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[36] Sportiche (1992) also mentions in passing that instances of this kind of doubling, i.e. with two clitics   present in child speech.

[37] For a detailed discussion of various analyses proposed for SE in Romance, see Chapter 3

(151)   Maria si guarda.
        Maria self sees

(152)   Maria guarda se stessa.
        Maria sees herself
        'Mary sees herself.'

In the case of Spanish, although the pre-verbal reflexive can occur on its own, for the post-verbal reflexive to be present, the pre-verbal clitic must appear as well. If we consider an intuitive definition of CD in which a clitic and a phrasal constituent refer to the same entity, this appears to be another instance of CD.[38]

(153)   María *(se) mira a sí misma.[39]
        María self sees to herself
        'Mary sees herself.'

This kind of doubling can be found both when the SE reflexive corresponds with the direct or the indirect object, as the following examples show:

(154)   Juan se regaló un caramelo (a sí mismo).
        Juan self gave a sweet to himself
        'John gave a sweet to himself.'

(155)   Juan se admira (a sí mismo).
        Juan self admires to himself
        'John admires himself.'

The following structure can be provided to account for this doubling:

(156)

---

[38] Chomsky (1986b) suggests that the English sentence *John sees himself* and the Spanish sentence *Juan se mira* has the same structure at LF. Within this analysis the reflexive in English has to move to INFL at LF.

[39] Notice also, that the post-verbal reflexive appears with a preposition 'a', something which shall become significant in Chapter 5.

```
              CIP
         ／      ＼
        ／    ／    ＼
       se           ／  ＼
      ▶⋅           V    a sí mismo
```
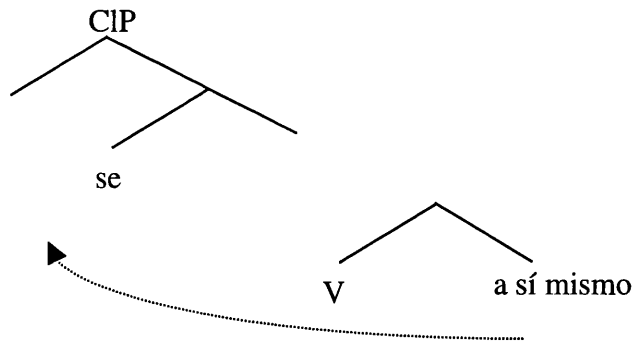
However, it is not the case that doubling is always required. Torrego (1994a) points out that if the post-verbal reflexive is the complement of a preposition other than *a*, doubling is not possible, as the following example illustrates:

(157) El presidente (*se) desconfía de sí mismo.
       the president SE mistrusts of himself
       'The president mistrusts himself.'

This, however is not a particularly good counterexample, as the sentence without the post-verbal reflexive is also ungrammatical. This can clearly be seen in the infinitival form of the verb, where reflexivisation with SE is not possible, but perfectly grammatical with *de uno mismo*:

(158) *Desconfiarse no es una buena idea.
       Mistrust-SE not is a good idea

(159) Desconfiar de uno mismo no es una buena idea.
       Mistrust of one self not is a good idea
       'To mistrusts oneself is not a good idea.'

Hence, it is not that doubling of the reflexive is not allowed in these cases, but that the verb does not tolerate the SE reflexive at all. The following example is also ungramamtical:

(160) *El presidente se desconfía.

Another construction which Torrego (1994a) mentions as not requiring doubling is that where the MISMO reflexive is the complement of an adjective. Whereas Torrego

considers the doubling to be optional, I consider it impossible, but this may be due to dialectal variation.[40]

(161) María siempre (*se) ha sido fiel a sí misma.
       Maria always self has been faithful to herself
       'Mary has always been faithful to herself.'

Accepting the difference in judgement, I cannot but agree with Torrego that the SE reflexive has a more limited distribution than the MISMO reflexive. However, if this is analysed as an instance of doubling, its optionality/restriction can be grouped with similar facts concerning traditional CD.

It is possible for the subject antecendent of these reflexives to be an indefinite DP as in the following examples from Torrego (1994a):

(162) Nadie se critica a sí mismo.
       'Nobody criticises himself.'

(163) Cada uno se criticó a sí mismo.
       'Each one criticised himself.'

(164) Pocos políticos se admiran a sí mismos.
       'Few politicians admire themselves.'

Reciprocals also seem to fall under the same pattern as concerns doubling. They must co-occur with *SE*, therefore, providing an instance of compulsory doubling as the following example shows:

(165) *(Se) miran los unos a los otros.
       self look the ones to the others
       'They look at each other.'

---

[40] Another disagreement in judgements with Torrego (1994a) is the possibility of SE being doubled by a morphologically non-reflexive pronoun in the oblique. Whereas she considers the following example grammatical, I would say it is at least very marginal:

(i)   ???María se criticó a ella.
          María self criticized to her
          'Mary criticised herself.'

Since Torrego's (1994a) analysis of reflexive clitics is based on the possibility of having a tonic pronoun double the SE reflexive, I will not pursue her line of enquiry.

2.5.3 Clitic Left Dislocation

Cinque's (1990) analysis suggests that Clitic Left Dislocation (henceforth CLLD) involves the base-generation of the left-dislocated element as adjoined to CP. CLLD is illustrated by the following examples from Cinque (1990, 50 ff):

(166)   [$_{PP}$ al mare] (ci) siamo gia statti

       to the seaside, there we have already been

(167)   [$_{AP}$ bella] non (lo) e mai stata

       beautiful, she never was it

(168)   [$_{VP}$ messo da parte] non (lo) e mai stato

       got out of the way, he never was it

(169)   [$_{QP}$ tutti] non (li) ho viti ancora

       all, not of them have I seen yet

(170)   [$_{CP}$ che bevi] (lo) dicono tutti

       that you drink, it everybody says

(171)   [$_{NP}$ Gianni] *(lo) ha visto

       Gianni, him I saw

As Cinque (1990, 183) points out "the resumptive pronoun must be a clitic pronoun on the verb, rather than a tonic pronoun filling the A-position." If it is an NP that is dislocated, the presence of the doubling clitic is obligatory (as in (171)), whereas, if any other constituent is dislocated, the presence of the clitic is optional.

Elements associated with the clitic in CLLD are subject to certain semantic restrictions, a characteristic shared with other forms of CD (see Chapter 5). Cinque's (1990) analysis points out that in Romance left dislocated constituents associated with clitics must be of a certain semantic category for the outcome to be grammatical as the following Spanish examples from Torrego (1994a) show:

(172)   A nadie (*lo) han criticado.

       to no one (him) have criticised

       'They have criticised no one.'

(173)   A cada uno (*lo) han castigado.

       to each one (him) have punished

       'They have punished each one.'

(174)   A pocos políticos (*los) admiramos.
        to few politicians (them) admire
        'We admire few politicians.'

A number of works have provided unified analyses of clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation. These include Hurtado (1985, 1989) for Spanish, and Schneider-Zioga (1993) and Agouraki (1993) for Modern Greek.[41] Kayne (1995) (p. 81-3) suggests that all examples previously analysed as left-dislocation should be subsumed with clitic doubling. He considers that the construction that Cinque (1990) analyses as clitic left-dislocation, has far more in common with clitic doubling than Cinque lead us to believe.

Further evidence as to the restrictions on CLLD that draw similarities with CD can be found in other languages. In several Romance languages clitic left dislocation is barred with bare quantifiers, negative quantifiers, and NPs modified by focus operators, as the following examples from European Portuguese show (Barbosa, 1996; see also Cinque, 1990 for Italian):

(175)   *Nada posso dar-to
        nothing I-can give-it-to-you

(176)   *Alguém posso vê-lo amanhã
        someone I-can see-him tomorrow

(177)   *Nenhuns alunos,   vi-os   ontem
        no   students   I-saw-them   yesterday

(178)   *Até o Pedro, vi-o   ontem
        even Peter   I-saw-him   yesterday

These expressions cannot be doubled, but they can be associated with a gap:

(179)   Nada$_i$ te posso dar e_i
        nothing$_i$ I-can give-it-to-you e_i
        'I can give you nothing.'

(180)   Alguém$_i$ ela viu e_i, mas não sei quem.
        someone$_i$ she saw e_i but not I-know who
        'She saw someone, but I don't know who.'

---

[41] See Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) for a different view of CLLD in Romanian.

(181) Nenhuma resposta$_i$ me deram e_i até hoje.

no answer$_i$ to-me they-give e_i until today

'No answer have they given me up until now.'

(182) Até com o Pedro$_i$ ela se zangou e_i .

even with the Peter$_i$ she SE argued e_i

'She argued even with Peter.'

2.5.4 Right Dislocation

Benincà (1988) points to the fact that in instances of right dislocation in Italian the clitic is optional (a similarity with instances of CD in Spanish) as in:

(183) Lo porto domani, il dolce

it I-bring tomorrow the sweet

(184) Porto domani, il dolce

If right-dislocation does not require the clitic, does clitic doubling require right-dislocation intonation? As Kayne (1995) points out, the traditional answer is that it does, as the ungrammaticality of (185) shows:

(185) *Lo porto domani il dolce

Cinque (1990) points out, however, that in the case of ditransitive verbs where both arguments are cliticised, doubling of the Dative is possible with or without right dislocation.

(186) Glielo dico   a suo fratello.

him$_{Dat}$+it   I-say   to his brother

(187) Glielo dico, a suo fratello.

Clitic right dislocation in Spanish is not as frequent and presents more restrictions than left dislocation, as shown by the following examples from Franco (1993):

(188) ??Me lo$_i$ dará el chico que creo que va a venir el año que viene, el libro$_i$.

Dat.cl-1 Acc.cl-3Sg gave the boy that think that go to come next year the book

(189)   El libro$_i$, el chico que creo que va a venir el año que viene me lo$_i$ dará.

      The book the boy that think that go to come next year Dat.cl-1 Acc.cl-3Sg gave

      'The boy that I think is going to come next year will give me the book.'

Franco (1993) also observes that right-dislocated objects do not require a pause and are subject to CD restrictions:

(190)   Juan nos (*lo) entregó a nosotros esta mañana cuando llegó un libro.

      Juan Dat.Cl-1 Acc.Cl-3Sg handed-in to us this morning when arrived a book

      'Juan gave us a book this morning he arrived.'

And suggests the possibility of analysing this case as an instance of scrambling, thus an instance of CD, following Sportiche (1992).

2.5.5 Subject Clitic Doubling

Although subject clitic doubling is not exactly parallel with the instances of object clitic doubling discussed so far, it does contribute to forming a more general picture in terms of the phenomenon of clitic doubling. According to Everett (1996), all northern Italian dialects that allow subject clitic doubling, also allow object clitic doubling, which shows some kind of connection between the two.

Subject clitic doubling has been discussed most extensively by Rizzi (1986b), Brandi and Cordin (1989) and Cordin (1993).[42] We find Subject CD in languages such as Trentino and Fiorentino, as well as in other dialects spoken in northern Italy. The construction is illustrated by the following examples:

(191)   la Carla/nisum l'ha dit niente.   (Trentino)

      the Carla/nobody cl-has said nothing

      'Carla/nobody said anything.'

(192)   Mario/nessuno gl'ha detto nulla   (Fiorentino)

      Mario/nobody cl-has said nothing

      'Mario/no one said anything.'

In a study based on data from Trentino, Rizzi (1986b) compares the following English, Italian and Trentino examples:

---

[42] Other studies of this phenomenon include (1981), Benicà and Vanelli (1982), Safir (1982, 1983), Burzio (1982) and Jaeggli (1984).

(193) John eats

(194) *____ eats

(195) Gianni mangia

(196) ____ mangia

(197) El Gianni el magna

(198) ____   el magna

(199) *____   __ magna

Being a pro-drop language, Italian allows the subject to be phonetically null, and interpreted as a definite pronoun, something which is not possible in English. In Trentino and, according to Rizzi in most northern Italian dialects, the subject can be dropped with the same effect in interpretation as in Italian, but a subject clitic must appear.

Rizzi (1986b) considers the different structures that can be used to account for these facts:

(200) John eats

(201)
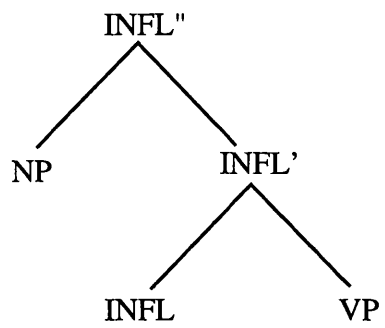
He draws on the structure suggested for IP[43] as this configuration seems to have the required number of positions to accommodate the elements in the Trentino example above, i.e. NP-Subject Clitic-Predicate. Therefore the configuration for both Italian and Trentino would be the same. In Trentino the subject clitic functions as the phonetic realisation of agreement, following the intuition in traditional Italian dialectology where the subject clitic is called "rideterminazione dell'accordo," or reduplication of agreement. Following this intuition, Rizzi (1986b) considers three alternative configurations:

---

[43] Once again, a parallel is drawn between (subject) CD and inflection.

(202)

```
                    INFL"
            _____|_____
           |                 |
          NP              INFL'
           |            _____|_____
           |           |           |
           |         INFL          VP
           |           |           |
       El Gianni       el        magna
```
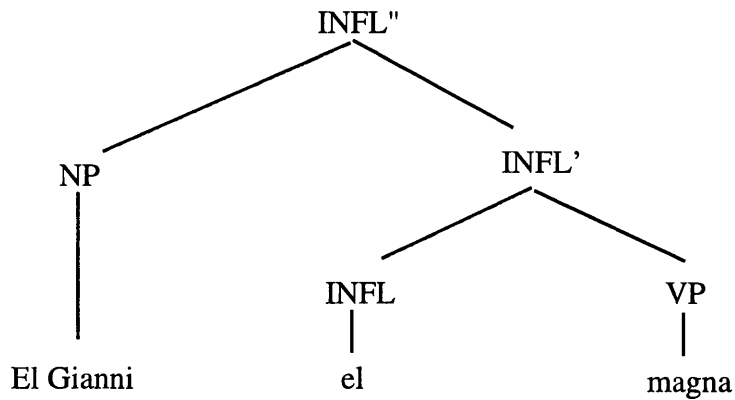
This would be the configuration that could be chosen on minimal assumptions, i.e. not making any additions to the previous proposal.

(203)

```
                    TOP'
            _____|_____
           |                 |
          TOP              INFL"
           |          _____|_____
           |         |               |
           |        NP             INFL'
           |         |          _____|_____
           |         |         |           |
           |         |       INFL          VP
           |         |                      |
       El Gianni     el                    magna
```
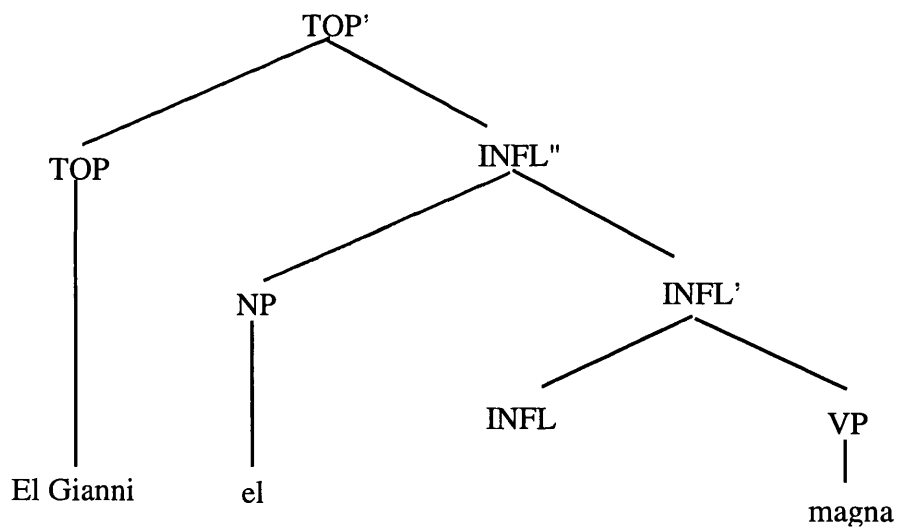
In this case the clitic is in a position higher than INFL, and the NP subject is in the next available position. This type of structure has been suggested for French by Kayne (1983).

(204)

```
                    INFL"
              ┌───────┴───────┐
             NP             INFL'
              │          ┌─────┴─────┐
              │        INFL          VP
              │                       │
          El Gianni              el magna
```
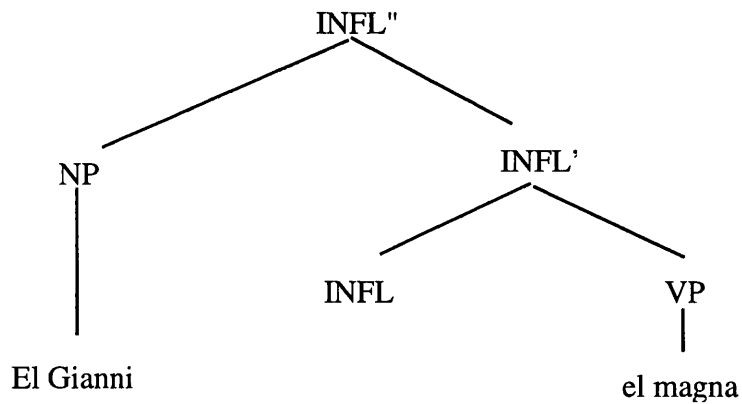
Here the clitic can be found within the VP, where, according to Rizzi, object clitics would also be located. This structure is assumed by Kayne (1972) for French, and carried over to Italian by Safir (1982, 1983).

Purely on simplicity grounds, the first of these possible structures appears to be the best option, as it would not require further assumptions. Rizzi (1986b) provides empirical arguments against the other two structures,[44] and adopts the first one.

From this configuration it follows that two different structures should be provided for the following contrast:

(205)   Il mange.   (French)
        El| mange.   (Italian)

The configurations are as follows:

(206)
```
                   INFL''
              ┌──────┴──────┐
             NP           INFL'
              │       ┌──────┴──────┐
              │     INFL'           VP
              │                      │
              Il                  magna
```
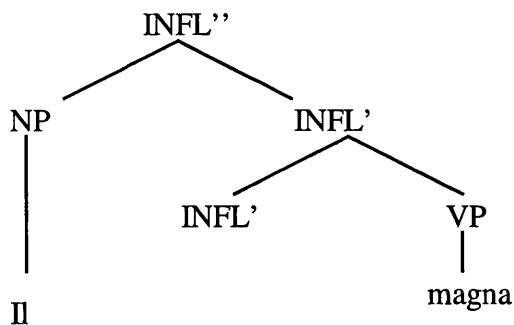
(207)

---

[44] The first argument is built on analysing the similarities between this structure and Left-Dislocation, and the other with the distribution of negative clitics with respect to subject clitics.

INFL''
NP   INFL'
INFL'   VP
el   magna
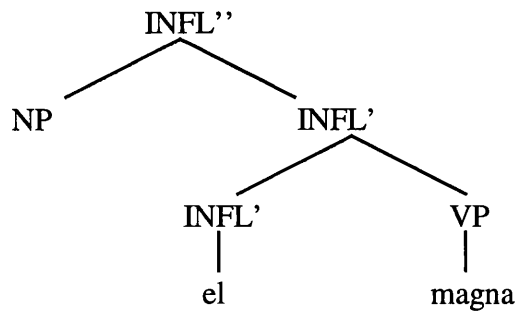
Within the present analysis of clitics, this configuration can be adapted as follows:

(208)

SubjClP
El Gianni
el   VP
magna
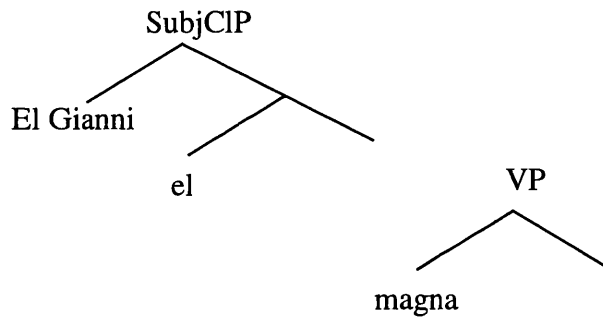
2.5.6 Complex Inversion in French

Complex Inversion was first studied by Kayne (1983) and then further explored by Rizzi and Roberts (1989). French, a non-CD language, presents a structure which is very reminiscent of subject clitic doubling, in which the subject is doubled by a clitic *il* in interrogative constructions, as in the following examples:

(209) Personne$_i$ n'est-il$_i$ venu?

anyone not has-he come

'Didn't anyone come?'

(210) Quel livre Jean$_i$ a-t-il$_i$ lu?

which book John has-he read

'Which book has John read?'

This sort of CD is not possible, however, in declarative sentences, as the following examples show:

(211) *Personne$_i$ il$_i$ n'est venu

(212) *Personne$_I$ n'est-il$_i$ venu

'No one is coming.'

Rizzi and Roberts (1989) provide an account in which the clitic needs to incorporate into the auxiliary to satisfy the Case Filter. For this to be possible, the auxiliary has to move to C° from where it can c-command the clitic, a pre-condition for incorporation, and something which can only happen in interrogatives.

Agouraki (1993) discusses Complex Inversion in French and, in particular Rizzi and Roberts's (1989) rejection of the analysis of this construction as Clitic Doubling, finally concluding that their arguments are not conclusive and that Complex Inversion can in fact be analysed as CD.

Complex Inversion in French is found in root interrogatives, both in wh-questions and yes/no questions as the following examples illustrate:

(213)   Où Jean est-*(il) allé?
         where Jean has he gone
         'Where has John gone?'

(214)   Jean est-*(il) allé?
         John has he gone
         'Has John gone?'

In both these instances we find a clitic and a co-referential DP, as in traditional CD. In both these cases the clitic is obligatorily required. The doubling DP finds itself in a position that is lower than C to which *où* moves. It is on the basis of these three pieces of evidence that Agouraki proposes that Complex Inversion is an instance of subject CD.

2.6 Past Participle Agreement

Kayne (1989) provides a detailed account of Past Participle Agreement (henceforth PPA) in French. In French, past-participles connected with *être* and *avoir* carry an agreement morpheme if the object precedes the participle as the following examples show:

(215)   Les chaises   sont repeintes.
         the chairs-fem, pl are painted-fem, pl
         'The chairs are repainted.'

(216)   Elle est morte.
         she is dead-fem
         'She is dead.'

In those cases where the object does not appear before the verb, agreement is not permitted.

(217)   Il a repeint   les chaises.
        he has repainted-masc, sing   the chairs-fem, pl
        'He has repainted the chairs.'

(218)   Fini,   les livres
        finished-masc, sing   the books-masc, pl
        'The books are finished.'

In cases of cliticisation and of wh-movement, the agreement on the past participle is optional (see Kayne 1989, Sportiche 1992, and Cortés 1993), as in the following example:

(219)   Il les a repeint(es).
        he them has repainted-fem, pl
        'He has repainted them.'

(220)   Je ne sais pas combien des tables Paul a repaint(es).
        I not know not how many tables-fem Paul has repainted-fem, pl
        'I don't know how many tables Paul has repainted.'

Kayne (1989) has provided structure (222) for the example in (211), repeated here as (221):

(221)   Les chaises sont repeintes.
        the chairs-fem, pl are painted-fem, pl
        'The chairs are repainted.'

(222)
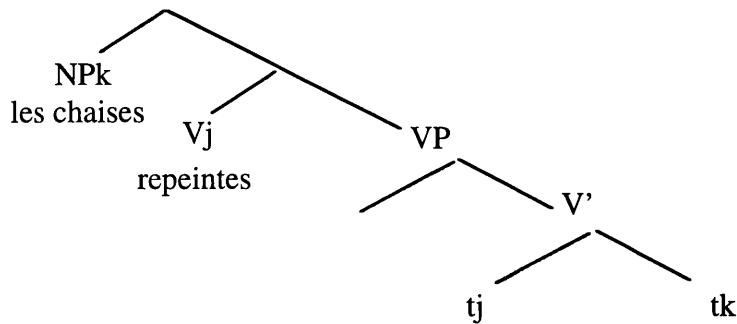
Chomsky (1989) adopts Kayne's idea and adapts it calling the constituent above the VP AgrOP. According to Chomsky it is not only agreement, but also Case that is checked in this position.

(8)

```
            AGRoP
           /    \
        Spec     \
             \    \
             AGRo  VP
             V-f  /  \
             D/N-f    V'
                 /   / \
                V       NP
```
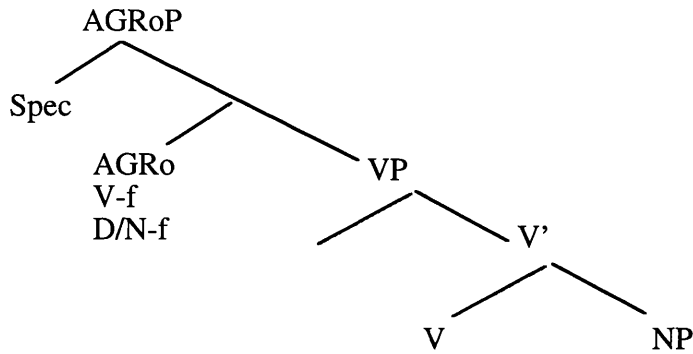
Italian also displays past participle agreement:

(223)   Gianni l'ha mangiata/*o
        Gianni it-fem has eaten-fem/*masc

This is like the construction we find in French. Italian, however, does not allow past participle agreement in cases of wh-movement.

Another language that displays Past Participle Agreement is Catalan. In older varieties of Catalan, and in the Valencian and Balearic varieties, agreement in instantiated without requiring the object to appear before the verb (see Badia Margarit 1962)

(224)   He vista la mare.
        (I) have seen-fem the sea-fem
        'I have seen the sea.'

(225)   He trobats els amics.
        (I) have met-pl the friends-pl
        'I have met the friends.'

Agreement does not usually occur with dative clitics in Catalan.

(226)   El president els ha parlat(*s)
        the president to-them has talked-sing(*-pl)
        'The president has talked to them.'

There are also certain dialects where agreement only occurs with 1st and 2nd pronouns (Brown 1987 quoted in Cortés), and others in which the opposite is the case (Cortés, 1993). See Chapter 5 for a discussion of person hierarchies that could provide an answer to this problem.

Spanish does not present past participle agreement as found in French or Italian. In fact, the only instance of agreement that resembles this construction is the passive form with the auxiliary *ser* (227). Constructions which use the auxiliary *haber* do not allow agreement (228), even in cases of CD (229).

(227) La casa fue vendida/*o.

the house-fem was sold-fem

'The house was sold.'

(228) Juan la ha comido/*a.

Juan it-fem has eaten-masc/*fem

'Juan has eaten it.'

(229) Juan la   ha visto/*a   a María.

Juan it-fem   has seen-masc/*fem   to María

'Juan has seen María.'

Other languages that present past participle agreement include Swedish (see Platzack and Rosengren, 1994), Norwegian dialects (Christensen and Taraldsen, 1989),[45] Urdu/Hindi (see Mahajan 1990), O'odham and Hopi (Zepeda 1983, and Hale and Jeanne 1976, respectively, both quoted in Gelderen 1997).

2.7 Pervasive nature of CD

Traditionally studies of CD have considered this phenomenon as the exception rather than the rule within the patterns of cliticisation, and therefore, remedial techniques such as Kayne's Generalization have been applied to deal with the data that contradicted what appeared to be central generalisations. Most languages studied initially within a GB framework appeared not to allow CD. These languages included Standard French, and Standard Italian. However, as a greater number of languages came under scrutiny, it became apparent that the number of languages/varieties that allow CD is greater than that of the ones that do not. This conclusion required not just a greater availability of more varied data, but also a more detailed analysis of these data, as often CD will appear in different guises. In some instances Subject Clitic Doubling is allowed (e.g. Northern Italian dialects, see Rizzi 1986); in others we find a clitic doubled or 'mirrored' by a clitic of the same form (see Savoia and Manzini, forthcoming). In other cases, phenomena that have previously been analysed as

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[45] Interestingly, in these dialects there seems to be a preference for the NP to be indefinite and quantified. See Chapter 5 of this thesis for some discussion of these features.

distinct from CD such as Clitic Left Dislocation or Clitic Right Dislocation, have been recognised to correspond essentially to the same configuration (see Kayne 1995). Here I adopt this unifying approach to the analysis of these phenomena. The conclusion that CD is far more pervasive than previously thought was anticipated by Sportiche (1992) who points out, in anticipation of Kayne (1995), that 'clitic doubling constructions and non-doubled clitic constructions are analysed in exactly the same way.'

Kayne (1995, p. 80) concludes from a discussion of right dislocation that clitic doubling is a phenomenon that is present in all Romance languages, even in French. This conclusion provides an account for the former peculiarity of the following French example:

(230) Jean lui   a   parlé a elle.
       Jean her$_{Dat}$ has   spoken to her
       'Jean has spoken to her.'

Kayne (1995) also points out that this also explains the obligatoriness of Spanish dative clitic doubling, particularly in inalienable possession constructions, as pointed out by Jaeggli (1986):

(231) le   duele la cabeza a Susanita.
       it$_{Dat}$ hurts the head to Susanita
(232) *Duele la cabeza a Susanita.
       'Susanita has a headache.'

In this construction, as opposed to other instances of CD in Spanish, CD is not just an option, but a necessity. Furthermore, it does not present dialectal variation.

2.8 Structures in Complementary Distribution

The evidence appears to point in the direction of the pervasive, if not default nature of the phenomenon of CD. This does not seem to be a stretch of the imagination for constructions such as CLLD, CLRD, and cl-cl Doubling. However, a more surprising parallel may be that of CD and Past Participle Agreement.

A descriptive generalisation pointed out by Cordin (1993), and arrived at independently by the author, concerns the complementary distribution of Clitic Doubling and Past Participle Agreement.[46] In a comparative analysis of such

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[46] However, Manzini (pc) points out that certain dialects of Italian do present both CD and Past Participle Agreement. See Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming) for the data. Not having analysed the data, I can only venture the possibility that, in these varieties, a clitic, its doubling DP, and the PPA morpheme will not co-occur

structures across Romance, we find that those varieties that allow/require (Accusative) CD, do not allow Past Participle Agreement and vice versa. Cordin provides the following table summarising and exemplifying the facts:

	AGR in past participles	Accusative clitic doubling
Trentino	+ <u>La</u> ho vist<u>a</u> 'I have seen her.'	- *L'ho vista Maria 'I have seen Maria.'
River Plate Spanish	- Las he visto 'I have seen them.'	+ La ví a Maria 'I have seen Maria.'
Catalan	+ <u>La</u> he vist<u>a</u> 'I have seen her.'	- *La he vista a Maria 'I have seen Maria.'
Romanian	- Le - am văzut 'I have seen them.'	+ L - am văzut pe Marian 'I have seen Maria.'

Intuitively, it seems clear that those features encoded by the clitic and the agreement morpheme are essentially the same, i.e. gender and number. Taking this intuition into consideration, and the complementary distribution of CD and PPA, it would seem logical to conclude that, at some level, the two occupy the same position. In other words, there are only two possible slots available to be filled by elements, or bundles of features, related to *one* argumental position. These bundles of features may be instantiated as a clitic, a DP, Past Participial Agreement, or pro, and the following combinations are possible:

(233)	cl	pro	Lo ví.	(Standard Spanish)
(234)	cl	DP	Lo ví a Juan.	(River Plate Spanish)
(235)	cl	cl	at f tça'ma-ti.	(Castelletto Merli)
(236)	cl	PPA	La ho vista.	(Trentino)

These combinations cover the data presented so far and are consistent with the assumptions of Bare Phrase Structure, under which there is no principled justification for differentiating equivalent bundles of features.

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within the same sentence. Although this is a rather weaker prediciton than that a language with CD will not allow PPA, it still supports my proposal concerning the number of slots available to elements of this kind, i.e. a maximum of two. If this is not the case a more major revision of the proposals would be required. For now I will suspend judgement until the data are available.

The cl + pro combination is a default option for most varieties, that may be more or less restricted depending on the type of clitic and other factors. The cl+DP combination is found in standard clitic doubling, as in Porteño Spanish. The cl+cl option can be seen in Castelletto Merli and Fara Novarese as exemplified above, and child language acquisition. Finally, the combination cl+PPA is found in French, Standard Italian, and other varieties that exhibit Past Participle Agreement.

A fifth possible alternative, namely Past Participle Agreement with a full DP is also instantiated in languages such as Galician (Uriagareka, 1995), Modern Occitan (Smith, 1991), 19th century Italian (Vincent, 1992), the Logudorese dialect of Sardinian (Blasco Ferrer, 1986), and other Italian dialects (Savoia and Manzini, fortcoming).

The following example from Galician is provided by Uriagareka (1995):

(237) Non dou   limpado/as   (a) tantas   criaturas como habia
       not give-he   cleaned-part/agr to as-many creatures as   had-there
       'S/he didn't get to clean as many children as there were.'

Having shown that a minimum of two positions is required, it is necessary to consider if structures with three positions (one for the clitic, one for the agreement morpheme, and one for a full DP) available can also be found. However, I have not found an instance of these three elements appearing in one single sentence. Therefore, I assume these combinations are not possible.

(238)   *cl   PPA   DP
(239)   *cl   PPA   Cl

Conclusions

The first part of this chapter was devoted to a general description and classification of clitics with particular reference to their dual nature as affix-like elements that have a syntactic role. I reviewed the analyses that have been put forward for clitics within generative grammar. Both the Movement and Base Generation approaches present shortcomings when trying to account for structures such as Clitic Doubling. In a combination of ideas put forward by both approaches, and by means of the postulation of functional categories to host clitics, i.e. clitic voices, Sportiche (1992) provides a solution to this problem. Adopting a proposal in Kayne (1995) I have suggested that a number of constructions that have previously been analysed as distinct can be considered to be different instances of the more general kind of Clitic Doubling. I have reviewed various constructions such as CLLD, cl-cl Doubling, CLRD, reflexive

CD, and Complex Inversion, and suggested that they are all different forms of the same basic phenomenon, i.e. CD. Taking this analysis one step further, I have suggested that the complementary distribution of CD and PPA and the fact that the features encoded are the same, would indicate that only two slots are available for these elements.

3. Clitic Phrases

3.1 Introduction

After briefly discussing some of the morpho-phonological analyses that have been proposed to account for Spanish clitics, I present a syntactic analysis that can more effectively account for their behaviour. In particular I discuss the features that characterise Spanish clitics, and I propose that Spanish presents only two clitic positions, one which encodes a [person] feature, and a second one which encodes [gender] and [number] features. Furthermore, I adopt the proposals made by Manzini and Roussou (1997) with reference to the Movement of theta-role or Aspectual features as a principled way of accounting for the interpretation of clitics (cf. Manzini and Savoia 1997), which will allow a clear explanation of the coreferentiality in clitic doubling environments. I adopt proposals made by Manzini and Savoia (1997) and others concerning a reviewed analysis of *pro* and incorporate them into my analysis of cliticisation in Spanish.

3.2 Morpho-Phonological Analyses of Spanish Clitics

In the study of Spanish clitics, a number of studies have proposed morphological, phonological or morpho-phonological analyses. Some of these studies include, Perlmutter (1971) Harris (1991, 1993), and Bonet (1991).

One of the arguments used by Bonet (1991) in favour of a non-syntactic account is that Spanish and French clitics appear to be arranged by person rather than by syntactic role. She postulates a filter which determines the order in which clitics have to appear on the surface, drawing a parallel with the templates used in languages such as Navajo (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

Another argument against a syntactic analysis, according to Bonet (1991), concerns clitic order and co-occurrence restrictions. Following Perlmutter (1971) she discusses the case of impersonal and reflexive clitics in the following example:

(240)   Cuando come, Manfredo se lava las manos antes.
        when he-eats, Manfredo *se* washes the hands beforehand
        'When he eats, Manfredo washes his hands beforehand.'

(241)   *Cuando se come, se lava las manos antes.

       when *se* eats, *se* washes the hands beforehand

       'When one eats, one washes one's hands beforehand.'

(242)   *Cuando se come, se se lava las manos antes.

The problem here, as described by Bonet (1991), concerns the co-occurrence of more than one kind of *se* in (241) and (242). In (240), we find a reflexive *se*. However, when we try to use the same construction with an impersonal subject as in (241) and (242), this results in ungrammaticality. According to Perlmutter, the *se se* sequence is not ruled out by some phonological rule, but because there is only one position available to *se* and the two *se*'s are in some sense the same object. Perlmutter (1971) claims that the surface order of Spanish and French clitics cannot be determined syntactically, and that the key criterion determining this order is person rather than their syntactic role. Therefore, he suggests that the surface order of clitics is determined by a positive output filter. From a minimalist point of view, such filters become highly suspect. There is no independent motivation or evidence for such a filter and, therefore, a more principled account should be sought. Also, Perlmutter believes that clitics may adopt different shapes in certain combinations, see Spurious *se* rule below, for example. This also raises suspicion to the minimalist eye, as it seems to be an unfounded stipulation. Although within a minimalist framework morpho-phonological processes may take place between Spell-Out and PF, it is doubtful that such a mechanism would have much explanatory force to account for such consistent processes. Furthermore, as Bonet (1991) points out, Perlmutter's proposal also lacks consistency in that the filter proposed makes use of mixed information, such as phonological and morphological information to determine the acceptability of the output.

Bonet (1991), on the other hand, uses morphological information exclusively, as phonological information is not available prior to Spell-Out.[47] She also believes that dialect variation, in particular the varying order of clitics which does not appear to have correlates in other aspects of the syntax, provides evidence against a syntactic account of the behaviour of clitics. Furthermore, the fact that in certain varieties of Romance certain clitics invariably occupy the same position within a clitic cluster irrespective of their syntactic function is, according to Bonet, further evidence in favour of a non-syntactic analysis. Bonet (1991) concerns herself mostly with different varieties of Catalan and Peninsular Spanish. Taking into account data from other

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[47] In this respect Bonet (1991) differs from Chomsky (1995b) in that the latter considers morpho-phonological processes to apply after Spell-Out, with no specification as to whether they are ordered in any way.

varieties of Spanish, we shall see that it is precisely dialectal variation that can be used to support a syntactic analysis. The rest of this chapter is devoted to showing that a syntactic account of cliticisation provides the most principled explanation for the behaviour of Spanish cliticisation in general and CD in particular.

3.3 A Syntactic Account

Let us now consider why a syntactic account of cliticisation should be preferable to a non-syntactic one. Clitics have traditionally been analysed as an inseparable cluster. This cluster is attached to a host and no elements can intervene between the clitics and their host. This characteristic would point towards the appropriateness of a morphological analysis for this clitic cluster. However, there seems to be evidence that this cluster is not as tight as previously thought. Instances of clitics being separated from their host by lexical material can be found in a variety of Romance languages, see section on Interpolation, in Chapter 4. It is also possible for features corresponding to one argument to be found on a different clitic. Even if we still consider the clistic cluster to be a tightly knit unit, a syntactic analysis is still available along the lines of an incorporation mechanism as discussed by Baker (1988).

3.3.1 Clitics as Functional Categories

We can find evidence supporting the independent status of clitics as functional categories in Spanish data that clearly shows the interaction between clitics and another functional category, i.e. inflection. In certain varieties of Spanish components of the inflection can appear dislocated from the rest of the inflection morpheme and after a clitic.

Let us consider the relevant data. Different varieties of Spanish present patterns of interaction between enclitics and the verbal inflectional morpheme.

(243)   ¡Vámonos!   (Standard Spanish)
        go-us
(244)   ¡Vámosnos!   (River Plate Spanish)
        go-us
        'Let's go!'

In the case of the Standard Spanish form, the -s has been dropped from the verbal inflection and then the clitic has been attached:

(245)   Vamos ->   Vamo+nos -> Vámonos

The River Plate example appears not to drop the -*s* and simply attaches the clitic:

(246)   Vamos+nos ->   Vámosnos

This would require an explanation as to why the -*s* is dropped in one case and maintained in the other, but this could, at first sight, be considered a phonological consequence of the attachment of the morpheme. If we consider another example, this hypothesis might seem less plausible:

(247)   ¡Váyanse!   (Standard Spanish)
         go-you
(248)   ¡Váyansen!   (River Plate Spanish)
         go-you-n
         'Go!'

In this case, the River Plate Spanish example presents part of the inflection morpheme -*n* at the end, after the clitic. Furthermore, looking at other examples, we see that this element can appear between two clitics:

(249)   ¡Dénmelos!   (Standard Spanish)
         give-me-them
(250)   ¡Démenlos!   (River Plate Spanish)
         give-me-n-them
         'Give them to me!'

Different varieties of Spanish appear to have different restrictions as to how far from the verb the inflection component can appear, making the following examples either grammatical or ungrammatical depending on the variety (for further examples, see Chapter 4):

(251)   ¡Démenlon!
         give-me-it
(252)   ¡Dénmelon!
         give-me-it
         'Give it to me!'

Whichever analysis we ultimately adopt for clitics, it seems obvious from the above data that it is possible for them to appear between the verb and some part of its inflection, which seems to indicate that clitics are at least as valid as functional categories as Infl is, and also that certain features of the Inflection head may move on

their own.[48] This phenomenon has been called mesoclisis. This general label describes a structure in which the clitic appears between the stem and the inflection.

If we conclude from this evidence that clitics are functional categories, the next question we should ask ourselves is what kind of categories they are. As discussed above, some studies propose links between some or all Romance clitics and Agr(eement) Phrases, see for example Franco (1993) and Uriagareka (1995). Sportiche (1992), on the other hand, proposes the postulation of functional phrases called Clitic Voices to host the Nominative, Accusative and Dative Clitics as follows (repeated from Chapter 2):

(253)

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        Nom V
        /    \
       /      \
    XP^1     Nom'
              |  \
             Nom  Acc V
                  /    \
               XP^2   Acc'
                       |  \
                      Acc  Dat V
                           /    \
                        XP^3    Dat'
                                 |  \
                               Dat....
                                       \
                              XP*1, XP*2, XP*3
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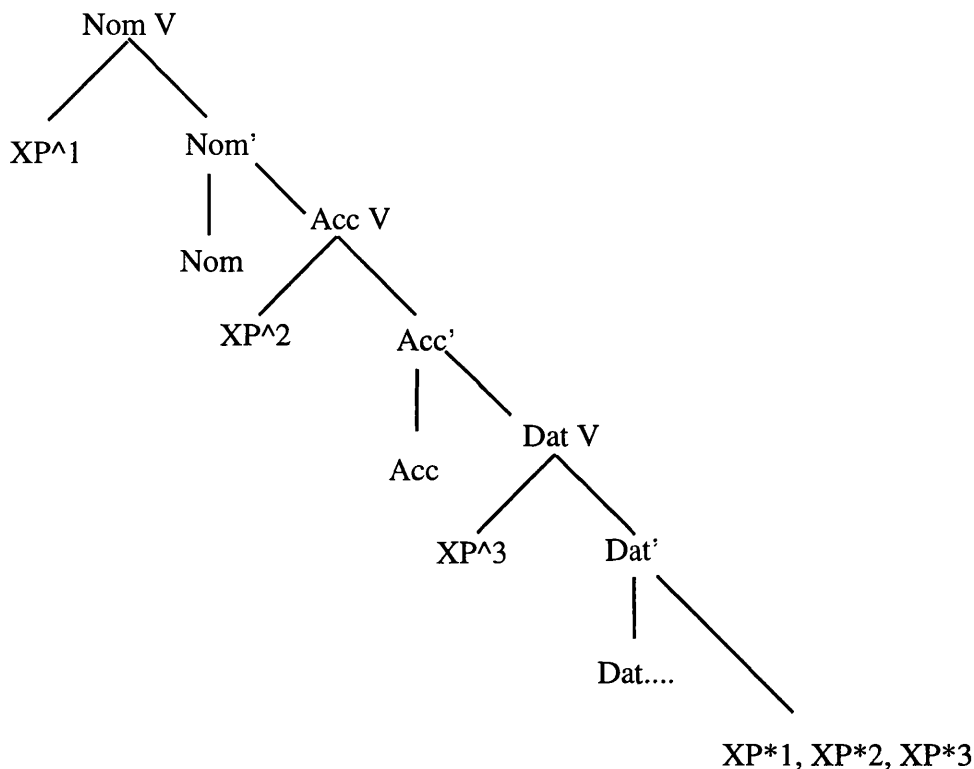
Another possibility for the analysis of clitics is the links they have with aspectual projections. These links have been explored in the case of Spanish clitics in studies such as Bonneau, Bruhn-Garavito and Libert (1994), and Torrego (1994):[49]

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[48] This kind of phenomenon does not appear when the clitics appear in a proclitic (rather than enclitic) position.
   (i)   ¡No me lo den!
         no me it give
   (ii)   *¡No men lo den!
         no me it give
         'Don't give it to me!'
   See Chapter 4 for further developement.

[49] Another proposal concerning the links between Romance clitics and aspectual categories is put forward by Dikken (1995) who analyses *se* as related to *be* by virtue of both being instantiations of a functional (aspectual) head position 'F'.

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(254)   María comió una fruta.

       María ate a fruit

       'María ate a fruit.'

(255)   María *se* comió una fruta.

       María SE ate a fruit

       'María ate *up* a fruit.'

(256)   María se ha comido (todo) el chocolate.

       María self-has eaten (all) the chocolate.

       'María has eaten the chocolate up.'

(257)   María (*se) ha comido chocolate.

       María (SE) has eaten chocolate

       'María has eaten chocolate.'

The presence/absence is related to the telic/atelic readings of the event.

Adopting Borer's (1993) and Arad's (1996) proposals discussed in Chapter 1 to the study of Italian clitics, Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming) and Manzini and Savoia (1997b) propose categories such as Or (Originator of the event), Meas (Measurer of the event) and Del (Delimiter of the event) to host clitics, a proposal I adopt here for Spanish clitics.

3.3.2 Number of Clitic Positions

An important question that requires an answer if we are to deal with clitics as functional categories is how many categories there are and what characteristics each one has.

As mentioned above, some traditional analyses conceive clitics as a single cluster. Evidence for this has been advanced concerning clitic climbing. In instances of clitic climbing, the cluster moves as a unit as the following examples show:

(258)   Quiero comprártelo.

       want-I buy-you-it

       'I want to buy it for you.'

(259)   Te lo quiero comprar.

(260)   *Te quiero comprarlo.

(261)   *Lo quiero comprarte.

Furthermore, the order within the clitic string is maintained:

(262)   *Lo te quiero comprar.

This, however, is subject to subcategorization restrictions. In the cases presented above, both clitics are subcategorized for by the verb *comprar*, however, in the following examples, each verb requires its own clitic and, therefore, they do not form part of one clitic cluster:

(263)   Te prohíbo comprarlo.
        you forbid-I buy-it
        'I forbid you to buy it.'

(264)   *Te lo prohíbo comprar.

(265)   *Prohíbo comprártelo.

The clitic is still sensitive to clause boundaries when the first verb is in the infinitive/imperative and the clitic appears as an enclitic:

(266)   ¡Prohíbile comprarlo!
        forbid-him/her to-buy-it

This is further exemplified by examples from Perlmutter (1969, p. 127), quoted in Rivera-Castillo (1997)

(267)   Quería seguírmelo gritando.
        V-Mod V-Inf+cl+cl V-Gerund

(268)   Quería seguir gritándomelo.
        V-Mod V-Inf V-Gerund+cl+cl
        'S/he wanted to continue yelling that at me.'

(269)   Me quería seguir.
        cl V-Mod V-Inf
        'S/he wanted to follow me.'

(270)   Quería seguir gritándolo.
        V-Mod V-Inf V-Gerund+cl

(271)   Quería seguirlo gritando.
         V-Mod V-Inf+cl V-Gerund
         'S/he wanted to continue yelling that.'

If we were to translate this intuition directly to functional categories, we would want to analyse this cluster as a single abstract functional head to which multiple clitics are adjoined, incorporated or merged.[50] However, evidence from Old Spanish as well as other varieties of Romance relating to the phenomenon of Interpolation makes the idea of this single clitic cluster position not very tenable (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, the existence of constructions in which features corresponding to one clitic appear on another one would be difficult (if not impossible) to explain within a single-phrase framework.

Traditional analyses of Spanish clitics have classified them into three broad categories in terms of their Case properties:

(272)

Accusative Clitics	lo / la / los / las
Dative Clitics	le / les
Reflexive / Impersonal Clitics	me/te/se, etc.

These different clitics can be illustrated in the following examples:

(273)   Lo   vimos.   Accusative Clitic
         him   saw-we
         'We saw him.'

(274)   Les   hablamos.   Dative Clitic
         to-them talked-we
         'We talked to them.'

(275)   Se vieron.   Reflexive/Reciprocal Clitic
         each other/themselves saw-they
         'They saw each other/themselves.'

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[50] See Kayne (1995) for a theory of the restrictions on multiple adjunctions.

(276) Los chicos se rien.   Inherent Clitic

       the boys *se* laugh

       'The boys laugh.'

(277) Se venden botes.   Impersonal/Passive Clitic

       se sell boats

       'Boats on sale.'

As we can see from these examples, the reflexive, reciprocal, inherent and impersonal clitics have the same form. If we were to consider this a simple coincidence, we would be missing a possible generalisation. Therefore, it seems desirable to conflate these elements under one general class (see Manzini, 1986), subject to further specification in terms of their features, as we shall see below. Following this traditional classification, it might seem that, at least, three phrases would be required. However, let us look more in detail at the possible combinations of clitics.

Contrary to other Romance languages such as Italian, Spanish does not allow clitic strings composed of three clitics,[51] the maximum number of clitics allowed being two. We can find the following combinations:

(278) Se   lo   di   a María.

       to-her it   I-gave to María

       'I gave it to María.'

(279) Se   le   ocurrió   una idea.

       se   to-him occurred   an idea

       'He had an idea.'[52]

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[51] Rivera-Castillo (1997) discusses examples where strings of three clitics can be found. She qualifies them by saying that they are "acceptable to some speakers, but only if *se* is a pseudo-reflexive form from a pronominal verb."

(i)   Se me le presentó un problema.
       Refl 1st 3rd come up a problem
       'A problem came up (for him) (on me).'

(ii)   Se me la comió rapidito.
       Refl 1st 3rd eat fast
       'He ate it fast (on me).'

These examples, however, strike me (and other informants I have consulted), as ungrammatical, and I can only put them down to dialectal variation. Therefore, this variety would have to be looked at more in detail to provide a full account. Bonet (1991) also provides confirmation as to the oddity of three-clitic string, although Rivera-Castillo, suggests that this is because *se* is an indirect object:

(iii) *Se me lo ha regalado.
       Dat 1st-ben 3rd have given
       'S/he has given it to him (on me).'

(iv)   *No se me lo quites (el juguete al niño).
       Neg Dat 1st-Ben 3rd-Acc take
       'Do not take it from him (on me).' (the toy from the child)

(280) Me   lo   recomendaron.
       to-me he/it   recommended-they
       'It was recommended to me.'

These examples do not provide us with sufficient evidence to provide an order for the Clitic Phrases involved, but they do provide sufficient evidence against postulating any more than two Clitic Phrases: if we never find clitic strings of more than two clitics, surely this is an indication of a restriction at work in the language that we should take into account. If only two clitics are allowed, the minimal assumption is that only two clitic phrases are allowed. If it is indeed the case that only two Clitic Phrases are allowed, it might also be the case that there exist only two classes of clitics. A closer look at the feature composition of clitics might give us some clues as to how we can achieve this.

3.3.3 The Features of Clitics

Having established that Clitic Phrases are functional categories in their own right, that these categories are probably aspectual in nature, and that Spanish has a maximum of two Clitic Phrases, let us turn to the internal composition of these categories.

Everett (1996) proposes an analysis in which clitics, agreement affixes and pronouns are ephinenomena which share the core semantic elements, i.e. features. The relevant *phi*-features are inserted into different syntactic positions, thus obtaining the different syntactic elements. According to this proposal the lexicon stores individual features that are combined in a different manner in the syntax through insertion. The various forms in which a similar set of features may appear, i.e. clitic vs. pronoun, are in a relation of allomorphy and the phonological shapes are obtained by means of postlexical or precompiled spell-out rules (see Anderson, 1992; Bonet, 1991).

I adopt this proposal as a possible explanation for the similarities between pronominal clitics, pronouns and agreement affixes, but I suggest that the combinations of features take place within the lexicon and are subject to parametrisation. Therefore *phi*-(and possibly other) features function as a primitive of the lexicon which will, on the basis of available evidence decide which combinations are possible and which are not.

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[52] An example such as:
   (i)   Me le recomendaron.
   though restricted, is allowed in certain varieties of Spanish, i.e. those that have traditionally been labelled *leista*. See below for further discussion.

These bundles of features enter the syntax as a set. It would seem inefficient (i.e. not economical) for the Insertion operation to have to consider all possible combinations of features every time an element is inserted. For example, *leista* dialects of Spanish will invariably require a [- gender] element for the clitic position of the Theme, and there would be no point in considering it for this purpose. Whereas it is true that simply storing features in the lexicon simplifies its internal structure, an extra operation is required to account for the combination of features.

The notion of differentiation in terms of minimal units such as grammatical features was already part of the Government and Binding Theory, as expressed by Chomsky (1981, 380ff):

> there is some set of grammatical features that characterize pronouns; i.e pronouns are distinguished from overt anaphors and R[eferring]-expressions in that the grammatical features of pronouns are drawn solely from *phi*, whereas overt anaphors and R-expressions have some other grammatical features as well.

Therefore, the pronoun *him* and the reflexive *himself*, share the *phi*-features of third person, singular number, masculine gender, and non-nominative Case, and differ in that *himself* also has a [+ reflexive] specification.[53]

The idea that clitics should be characterised in terms of their features is by no means a new one, however, it is usually within morpho-phonological accounts that these proposals are to be found (see, for example, Burston (1983), Bonet (1991), Harris (1991, 1993)). Here I would like to propose an analysis based on features, but within a syntactic framework. Let us firstly review the analyses that have been proposed.

According to Burston (1983) there are two main classes of clitics: [+ nominal] and [+ prepositional] clitics. In the unmarked case, [+ nominal] clitics precede [+ prepositional] clitics. Also, [person] clitics (i.e. first and second person, and reflexive/impersonal clitics) and the third person dative clitic share an inherent feature [+I(individuation)]. Burston uses this feature [+I] to account for the *me lui* constraint by saying that clitics that possess this feature cannot appear together. However, as Bonet (1991) points out this proposal also rules out constructions that are instantiated

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[53] Reinhart and Reuland (1993), following Postal (1970) and Vergnaud (1987) among others, analyse pronouns as determiners, but anaphors are differentiated as not specifying ϕ-features (number, gender and person). In some languages they may retain the person feature, but they consistently lack number and gender. It is this lack of ϕ-features that make these elements anaphoric. Anaphors are defined according to Chomsky (1986b) as referentially defective (e.g. they cannot function as demonstratives)

such as ethical datives (see examples in Chapter 2). Furthermore, it also rules out examples found in *leísta* dialects.

Within a syntactic approach Borer (1983) characterises clitics as possessing the following features:

(281)   Clitic Spell-Out

$[_X$ X, α Case $] \rightarrow [_X$ X [α Case, β gender, γ number, δ person]]

I draw on this system put forward by Borer to propose a set of features that can fully characterise Spanish clitics. I base this paradigm on the following features: [person], [gender] and [number]. The two clitic positions that can co-occur in Spanish differ fundamentally in terms of the bundles of features they host. The higher clitic head is the locus of [person] features, whereas the lower one can contain [number] and, optionally, [gender] features.[54]

Together with the postulation of these features, we must consider the options available to them. Firstly, a feature can be present or not; and secondly, if a feature is present, it can have a positive or a negative value. The following table indicates the possible combinations of these options and how they can be used to describe the paradigm of Spanish clitics fully ('x' indicates that the feature is not present, '+' that it has a positive value, and '-' negative):

(282)

[person]	x	x	x	x	x	x	+	-
[gender]	-	-	+	+	x	x	x	x
[number]	-	+	-	+	-	+	x	x
	lo	los	la	las	le	les	me / te se / nos	se$_{IMPER}$

Taking into account this feature characterisation, and the limitation to a maximum of two Clitic Phrases, we can propose a principled explanation to classify Spanish clitics

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[54] For the postulation of Clp and Cl$_D$ see Manzini and Savoia (1997b).

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according to which phrase hosts them. Succinctly, the higher clitic phrase will host clitics that possess the feature [± person], whereas the lower phrase is restricted to clitics with a [± number], and possibily a [± gender] feature.

The reflexive/impersonal clitics are hosted by the higher Clitic Phrase (ClP1). They can be either:

(283)   [+ person] = me, te, nos, os, se

(284)   [- person] = se_{IMPER}

Those clitics traditionally classified as Accusative, can be fully described by using the features [± number] and [± gender], and no [person] feature need be present. These clitics are hosted by the lower Clitic Phrase (ClP2).

(285)   [- number], [- gender] = lo

(286)   [+ number], [- gender] = los

(287)   [- number], [+ gender] = la

(288)   [+ number], [+ gender] = las

On the other hand, clitics traditionally labelled as Dative are characterised by means of the feature [± number]. They are also generated under the lower Clitic Phrase (ClP2)

(289)   [- number] = le

(290)   [+ number] = les

There is no [gender] or [person] feature present.

Schematically:

(291)

ClP1

± [person]

ClP2

± [number]
(± [gender])

82
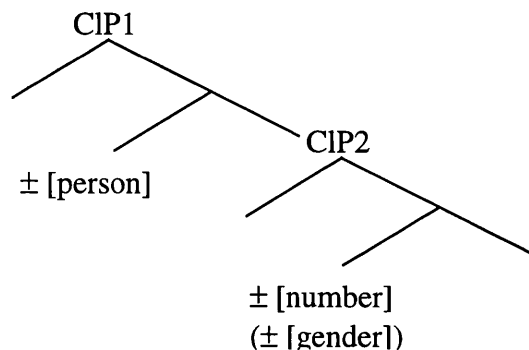
This is a minimally simple set of features that allows us to characterise Spanish clitics and, on the basis of which, we can attempt to find an explanation for the presence of only two clitic phrases. Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of the elements allowed by each position.

3.3.3.1 Clitic Head 1

The higher clitic head can host the elements *me, te, nos, os,* and, *se*, illustrated in the following sentences:

(292) Juan me dió el libro (a mí).

Juan to-me gave the book to me

(293) Juan te dió el libro (a tí).

Juan to-you$_{sing}$ gave the book to you$_{sing}$

(294) Juan nos dió el libro (a nosotros).

Juan to-us gave the book to us'

(295) Juan os dió el libro (a vosotros).

Juan to-you$_{pl}$ gave the book to you$_{pl}$

'Juan gave the book to me/you$_{sing}$/us/you$_{pl}$'

Interestingly River Plate Spanish (and other varieties of Latin American Spanish such as Mexican Spanish) differ from Peninsular Spanish in the second person plural. In Peninsular Spanish the nominal pronoun is *vosotros* and the dative clitic *os*; however, these Latin American varieties use *ustedes* for the nominal and *les* for the dative, as the following contrast shows:

(296) Juan os   dió el libro a vosotros.   Peninsular Spanish

(297) Juan les   dió el libro a ustedes.   Latin American Varieties

Juan to-you$_{pl}$ gave the book to you$_{pl}$

Furthermore, when both objects are cliticised, the second person plural is indistinguishable from the third person singular or plural, unless the indirect object is doubled.

(298) Juan se lo dió (a él/ustedes/ellos).

I have excluded from this paradigm the clitics *le*, and *les*, traditionally associated with this group by virtue of being 'dative' clitics. These clitics are illustrated in the following examples:

(299)   Juan le dió el libro (a él/ella).
        Juan to-him/her gave the book
(300)   Juan les dió el libro (a ellos/ellas).
        Juan to-them gave the book
        'Juan gave the book to him/her/them.'

The reason for this exclusion is, on the one hand, the feature composition of the elements allowed in this position, i.e. clitics with a [± number] feature are not allowed. On the other hand, we note that, when both objects are cliticised, these two clitics are not present at all in the paradigm:

(301)   Juan me lo dió (a mí).
        Juan to-me it gave to me
(302)   Juan te lo dió (a tí).
        Juan to-you$_{sing}$ it gave to you$_{sing}$
(303)   Juan se lo dió (a él/ella).
        Juan to-him/her it gave to him/her
(304)   Juan nos lo dió (a nosotros).
        Juan to-us it gave to us
(305)   Juan os lo dió (a vosotros)
        Juan to-you$_{pl}$ it gave to you$_{pl}$
(306)   Juan se lo dió (a ustedes).
        Juan to-you$_{pl}$ it gave to you$_{pl}$
(307)   Juan se lo dió (a ellos/ellas).
        Juan to-them it gave to them
        'Juan gave it to me/you$_{sing}$/him/her/us/you$_{pl}$/them.'

Evidence from cliticisation in reflexive constructions also seems to support the idea that *le* does not belong with the set of clitics it has traditionally been grouped with:

(308)   Me rompí la pierna.
        cl broke the leg
(309)   Te rompiste la pierna.
        cl broke the leg
(310)   Se rompió la pierna.
        cl broke the leg
(311)   Nos rompimos la pierna.
        cl broke the leg

(312) Os rompisteis la pierna.
cl broke the leg

(313) Se rompieron la pierna
cl broke the leg[55]

'I/you/s/he/we/you/they broke a leg.'

3.3.3.1.1 The Different *se*'s

As we can see from the above examples, *se* is by far the most puzzling and versatile clitic. It can be used in contexts where it is coreferential with Dative DPs of various kinds, as well as a reflexive, and in impersonal constructions. Below I provide an account of how this is possible and how the relevant interpretations can be reached. For now, suffice it to say that the different uses of *se* require some variation in its feature composition without it being reflected in the morphology

The clitic *se* is perhaps the one that has attracted the most attention due to the varied environments in which it can appear and the different roles it can have. These are summarised in the following examples (from Dobrovie-Sorin, 1998):

(314) Jean se_i lave e_i.   reflexive *se*

Jean SE washes

'Jean washes himself.'

(315) Le grec se_i traduit e_i facilment.   middle *se*

the Greek SE translates easily

'Greek translates easily.'

(316) Il$_j$ s$_i$'est traduit trois romans$_i$.   passive *se*

it SE-HAS[56] translated three novels

'Three novels were translated.'

(317) La branche$_i$ s$_i$'est cassée e_i.   ergative *se*

the branch SE-HAS broken

'The branch broke.'

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[55] Other examples appear to contradict this generalisation, however:

(i)   Me/te/le/nos/os/les duele la cabeza.

'I/you/he/we/You/they have a headache.'

I do not have an explanation for this at present.

[56] Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) glosses the verb être 'be' as *HAVE* when it functions as a perfect auxiliary.

(318)   Jean_i s_i'est souvenu e_i de Marie.   inherent *se*

         Jean SE-HAS remembered of Marie

         'Jean remembered Marie.'

In spite of apparent major differences, various proposals have been put forward concerning unified accounts. These include Manzini (1986), Guéron (1991), and Everett (1996). Influential analyses of *se* in general include Burzio (1982, 1986), Belletti (1982), Zubizarreta (1982, 1987), and Manzini (1983). I present a summarised version of these.[57]

According to Burzio (1982, 1986) there are two kinds of SEs in the lexicon: the passive and impersonal SE (SI in his notation), and reflexive, ergative/inherent SEs (*si* in his notation). The two kinds of SEs present different characteristics, summarised as follows:

(319)

SI (passive/impersonal SE)	*si* (reflexive, ergative/inherent SE)
Like other NPs, SI:	Reflexive *si*
- may be generated under any NP node	- may be related only to D-structure subjects
- undergoes NP movement	
- requires theta-role and Case	
Unlike other NPs, SI:	Ergative *si*
- must be cliticised	- is restricted to a particular class of verbs
Stipulation	
- must be cliticised from subject position only, regardless of where it is inserted at D-structure	- can be seen as a "morphological reflex of the 'loss' of subject-thematic role" (Burzio 1981: 46)
- may bind its trace, even if it does not c-command it	- even if it is a reflex of a lexical process, it must be analysed as a clitic rather than a verbal affix

Belletti (1982) limits her study to passive/impersonal SE and bases it on the idea that SE needs Case and a theta-role. According to this account, SE is generated under INFL, and "if INFL is pron_ominal, INFL has Case and a theta-role" (Belletti 1982, p. 6), a stipulation that Belletti recognises. This pronominal INFL that is available in Italian is exclusive to *pro*-drop languages, which explains the absence of impersonal SE in languages like French. The Case assigned to SE may be either Nominative or Accusative.

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[57] Other proposals include Cinque (1988), Everett (1997) and Dobrovie-Sorin (1998).

Zubizarreta (1982, 1987) takes the position that the analysis of SE cannot be unified as there are in fact three separate lexical entries for SE which just happen to be homophonous, one being a nominal clitic and the other two distinct verbal affixes.

The nominal clitic, traditionally known as the reflexive-reciprocal clitic is co-indexed with a *pro* in the canonical position of the subject thus forming an anaphor, in the form of a kind of discontinuous pronoun equivalent to *himself* (see Borer, 1986). Thus the following example would be accounted for in the following structure:

(320)   Juan se fotografía.
        Juan SE photographs
        'Juan photographs himself.'

(321)   [S[NP Juan$_i$]] [VP[V se$_i$ fotografía] pro$_i$]]

Regarding the impersonal SE, Zubizarreta claims that it is generated under INFL, and "when linked to the subject position is arbitrary in interpretation, like a pronominal anaphor." (Zubizarreta, 1982, p. 144):

(322)   SE venden manzanas
        SE sell apples
        'One sells apples.'

In this respect, her analysis is parallel to Belletti's. However, it is different from it in distinguishing the passive from the impersonal SE, supporting this with data from languages such as Trentino which have the impersonal form but lack the passive as the following examples show:

(323)   Le castagne SE le magna col vin caldo.

(324)   Le castagne SE magna col vin caldo.
        'Walnuts are eaten with hot wine.'

The other piece of evidence that Zubizarreta uses to distinguish the two forms concerns the selection of auxiliary, with *essere* being selected $\wedge$ passive SE, and *habere*
                                                                         by
by the impersonal SE:

(325)   quei libri SE$_{pass}$ dovrebbero essere comprati
        'Those books would have had to be bought.'

(326)   li SE$_{imper}$ dovrebbe avere comprati
        'One would have to buy them.'

Finally, she analyses the ergative/inherent SE as similar to the passive SE in that they are both verbal affixes and function as intransitiviser, but different from it in that it is not able to control a purpose clause and may not occur with an agentive adverb.

(327) *Le verre s'est cassé pour embeter Marie.
       'The glass broke to bother Mary.'

(328) *Le verre s'est cassé volontairement.
       'The glass broke voluntarily.'

A further difference between the two concerns the productivity of passive SE versus the lexically idiosyncratic nature of ergative SE. The ergative SE and the inherent SE are analysed as one, with the latter being used in the case of a restricted set of verbs not derived from transitive verbs such as:

(329) La niña se desmayó
       the girl SE fainted
       'The girl fainted.'

Spanish, as opposed to , for example, French, does not present a counterpart of this sentence that does not involve the clitic SE.

(330) Trois enfants SE sont evanouis
       three children SE have fainted
       'Three children fainted.'

(331) Il c'est evanoui trois enfants.
       expletive have fainted three children
       'There fainted three children.'

Manzini (1983), as opposed to all the afore-mentioned accounts, makes a proposal unifying the reflexive, impersonal and middle[58] forms of SE.[59] She uses restructuring and co-superscripting and co-subscripting, and a detailed lexical entry specified in terms of features such as:

(332) Impersonal SE = free variable, N, clitic on verb, nominative/bound to its subject by co-superscripting,

(333) Middle SE = free variable, N, clitic on verb, nominative/bound to its subject by co-superscripting, passivizer,

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[58] Belletti's passive.

[59] She does not discuss ergative SE.

(334) Reflexive SE = bound variable, N, clitic on a verb, bound to its subject by co-subscripting.

She also predicts a fourth kind of SE, although there has been some disagreement as to the empirical evidence for this (see Everett 1997)

(335) Reflexive SE = bound variable, N, clitic on a verb, bound to its subject by co-subscripting, passivizer.

I would like to propose, following Manzini and Roussou's (1997) theory of theta movement, that the differences found among different types of *se* clitics are contextual and dependent on which theta-role is associated with it. For example, if the Agent theta role is associated with *se*, we obtain what has traditionally been analysed as an impersonal/passive construction:

(336) Se venden barcos.
       se sold ships
       'Ships are sold.'

If it is the Goal theta role that is associated with the clitic *se*, we obtain the reading of what has traditionally been analysed as a Dative clitic that has undergone some kind of Spurious *se* rule, as in:

(337) Se lo dí a María.
       to-her it gave-I to María
       'I gave it to María.'

In this case we will have to consider the possibility of sharing the same theta role between two elements (i.e. 'se' and 'a María'), which would account for the coreferential interpretation.

If it is the Theme theta role that is associated with it, we obtain the reflexive/reciprocal reading as in:

(338) Se lavó.
       se washed
       'He/She/It washed himself/herself/itself.'

A problematic case for this analysis is presented by an example such as (339):

(339) Se me ocurrió una idea.

       SE me occurred an idea

       'I had an idea.'

According to the analysis presented here, both these clitics would be generated under the same head. One possible solution might be to allow this head to display the two possible options for the [± person] separately. Another possibility would entail looking at the limited set of verbs that are allowed in these environments. A more complete analysis of the clitic SE following minimalist assumptions is required to proceed any further.

3.3.3.1.2 The case of se lo

In a double object construction, when both objects are cliticised, where we would predict the presence of the dative and accusative clitics we find instead the *se* clitic combined with the so-called accusative clitic as the following examples illustrate:[60]

(340) Se lo dieron.

       him it they-gave

       'They gave it to him.'

This example in which apparently the Dative clitic appears as *se* has traditionally been analysed as the result of a rule which converts the *le* clitic to a *se*. Perlmutter (1971) proposed the original formulation of the Spurious *se* Rule, and Bonet (1991) a further development. Perlmutter's (1971, p. 22, example 10) rule has the following form:

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[60] Rivera-Castillo (1997) mentions an example that would seem to support the traditional idea that *se* is an allomorphic variation in the presences of an accusative clitic, i.e. *le* (Dat)+ *lo* (Acc) -> *se lo*). These data come from the Aragonese variety of Spanish:

(i)   dílelo   *díselo
        say+cl+cl
        'Tell it to him/her.'

This is also possible in proclisis:

(ii)   lel'trayen   *se lo traen
        cl+cl+bring
'S/he brings it to him/her.'
However, this variety differs from others in that the first clitic can   express plurality:

(iii)   les le trayen
        cl-pl+cl-masc bring

(iv)   les la trayen
        cl-pl+cl-fem bring

(341) Spurious *se* Rule: (obligatory)

$$\left|\begin{array}{c}\text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Dative}\end{array}\right| \quad \left|\begin{array}{c}\text{Pro} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Acc.}\end{array}\right|$$

/1/ /2/ -> *se*, 2

As Bonet (1991) states, this rule does describe the facts correctly, but does no more than this. Further, she believes the problem with this rule as with rules of a similar kind is that the underlying idea is that "the fact that the output form *se* has the same phonological shape as the reflexive or impersonal *se* is just a coincidence in this system." Bonet concedes that it would not be plausible to propose a purely phonological rule such as some sort of a dissimilation rule. For one thing, it would be the only rule of its sort in the language. However, it seems hard to see what advantages in terms of explanatory adequacy can be achieved by this Spurious *se* rule. Here I would like to propose that this rule should indeed be discarded on the grounds that it is purely descriptive and hardly explanatory, and the facts should not be regarded as a mere coincidence, on the contrary.

The analysis presented here does away with this problem and no such rule is required. If ClP1 is reserved for [± person] clitics, *le* is automarically ruled out by virtue of not having this feature, therefore providing a straight-forward solution to the problem.

Therefore (340) can be accounted for by means of the following configuration:

(342)
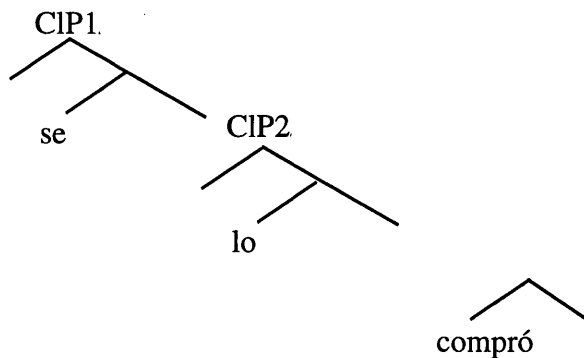
Interestingly, different interpretations of the *se* clitic are available, depending on which thematic role is associated with it:

(343) Se lo compró a María.
       SE(Goal/Ben) it bought to María
       'He/she bought it for María.'
(344) SE(Source) it bought to María
       'He/she bought it from María.'

These interpretations are available (or not) depending on the characteristics of the verbs in terms of thematic features:

(345) Se lo probó a María.
       SE(Goal/Ben) it tried to María
       'He/she had María try it on.'
(346) *SE(Source) it bought to María

3.3.3.2 Clitic Phrase 2

The lower clitic position hosts elements that contain a [number] feature and that may contain the [gender] feature, but not have a [person] feature.

In many varieties of Spanish including Standard Spanish, the clitics that are specified for Gender (i.e. lo, los, la, las), are associated with themes:

(347)

ClP2

[- number] [- gender] = lo
[- number] [+ gender] = la
[+ number] [- gender] = los
[+ number] [+ gender] = las

compró
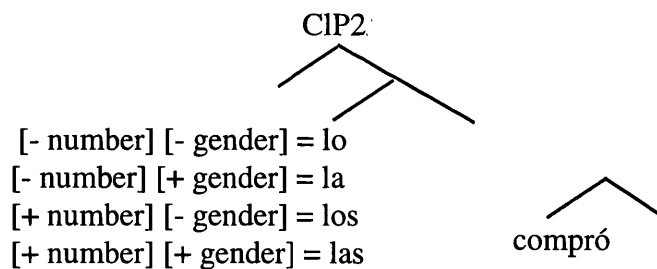
Those that are not specified for Gender are associated with Goals.

(348)

ClP2

[- number] = le
[+ number] = les

hablé
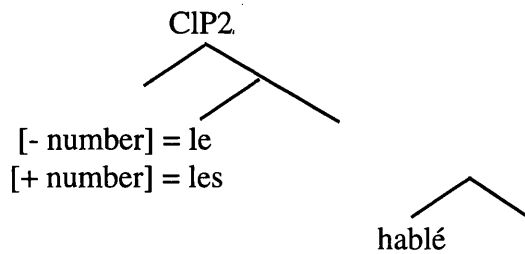
However, certain other varieties of Spanish provide us with different alternatives. For example, in *leista* dialects, the clitics with no specified [gender] feature, are associated with the Theme theta role as in the following examples:

(349)   Le$_i$ he visto a Pedro$_i$.

le have seen to Pedro

'I've seen Pedro.'

(350)   No le$_i$ / (*lo) he visto a nadie$_i$.   (Basque Spanish)

no *le* have seen to nobody

'I haven't seen anybody.'

(351)   El capitán les$_i$ / (*los) pilló a los marineros$_i$ borrachos.   (Franco 1993)

the captain *les* caught to the sailors drunk

'The captain caught the sailors drunk.'

(352)   ¿A quién$_i$ le$_i$ viste ec$_i$?

to whom *le* saw

'Whom have you seen?'

On the other hand, *loista* and *laista* dialects associate Goal theta roles with one of the clitics with a [+ gender] feature.

(353)   ¿A quién$_i$ la$_i$ dijiste la verdad?   (Franco, 1993, p. 144)

to whom *la* told the truth

'Whom have you told the truth?'

(354)   *¿A quién$_i$ la$_i$ viste?   (Franco, 1993, p. 144)

to whom *la* saw

'Who did you see?'

(355)   No la gusta que la critiquen.   (spontaneous)

no *la* like that *la* critiquen

'She doesn't like being criticised.'

Southern Andean Spanish differs from Standard Spanish in that the clitic *lo* does not actually encode the [+ masculine] feature and can be co-referential with a [+ feminine] direct object as shown in the following example from Godenzzi (1991):

(356) [La costumbre]ᵢ no loᵢ olvidan acá.

[the tradition]ᵢ not clᵢ forget-them here

'The tradition, they do not forget it here. '

Within the present account, however, this does not pose a problem. It is simply a matter of parametrisation that determines which clitic is associated with which theta role.

3.3.3.3 Evidence for the postulation of two clitic phrases

The present account hinges on the decomposition into features of the different clitics. Evidence of these features behaving independently would provide support to the approach as a whole. This is indeed the case in certain varieties of Spanish in which the [number] feature appears on a clitic different from the one where it would be expected.

Porteño Spanish and, according to Bonet (1991), colloquial Mexican and Uruguayan Spanish display precisely this kind of behaviour where the plural feature of the Indirect Object appears on the accusative clitic, as the following examples illustrate:

(357) Se   los   conté.

to-them   they   I-told

This would not|be problematic if we interpret the Theme of the verb *to tell* as plural, e.g. the stories. However, the interpretation where the theme is singular is also allowed in the varieties mentioned above. If we contrast the cases where the objects are cliticised with those where they are not, we can see the difference much more clearly. In (358), both the direct and indirect objects are singular and, therefore, their corresponding clitics are also in the singular.

(358) Le   conté el cuento a Pablo.

to-him I-told the story to Pablo

'I told Pablo the story.'

(359) Se   lo   conté.

to-him it   I-told

When the direct object appears in the plural, the accusative clitic also appears in the plural as predicted, whether the IO is singular or plural.

(360) Le conté los cuentos a Pablo.
       to-him I-told the stories to Pablo
       'I told Pablo the stories.'

(361) Le conté los cuentos a los chicos.
       to-him I-told the stories to the children
       'I told the children the stories.'

(362) Se   los   conté.
       to-him them   I-told

So far the data match the standard predictions. The direct object is in the plural and therefore, the accusative clitic is also in the plural. As for the indirect object, which is plural in (361), we could say that it cannot retain the [+ plural] feature when cliticised, since the clitic *se* cannot bear a [number] feature.

The critical evidence surfaces in cases where we find a singular direct object and a plural indirect object. The prediction would be that the accusative clitic would appear in the singular, and the clitic *se* would remain unchanged as no other option is available to it. However, this is not the case in Porteño Spanish, where the accusative clitic will bear a plural feature that can only be associated with the indirect object as the following example shows:

(363) Le conté el cuento a los chicos.
       to-him I-told the story to the children
       'I told the children the story.'

(364) Se   los   conté.
       to-him them   I-told

What appears to be happening here is that the [+ plural] feature appears on ClP2, as this is the only available slot for it; however, it 'matches' the [+ plural] feature of the IO, not the DO. This is not the case, however, with the [gender] feature, i.e. if the direct object is masculine, and the indirect object feminine, the accusative clitic is not feminine:

(365) Le   conté el cuento a María .
       to-her I-told the story to María
       'I told Mary the story.'

(366)   Se   lo conté.

(367)   *Se   la conté.
         to-her it I-told

In Porteño Spanish, the presence of a [+ feminine] feature on the accusative clitic does not affect the presence of the plural feature on ClP2.

(368)   Le conté la fábula a los chicos.
         to-him I-told the fable to the children
         'I told the children the fable.'

(369)   Se   las   conté.
         to-him them   I-told

Bonet (1991) also provides examples from Uruguayan and Mexican Spanish where the phenomenon described above for Porteño Spanish can be extended to the [feminine] feature.

(370)   Yo se la vendo a los gringos, la mariguana.
         I *se* 3-Acc-fem sell(1) to the gringos the marihuana(fem)

(371)   Yo se las vendo a los gringos, la mariguana.
         I *se* 3-Acc-fem-pl sell(1) to the gringos the marihuana(fem)
         'I sell the marihuana to the gringos.'

In this case the [+ plural] feature from the IO appears on the accusative clitic.

(372)   Si ella me quiere comprar el caballo, yo se lo venderé.
         if she 1-Dat want(3 sing) buy the horse, I *se* 3-Acc will-sell(1)

(373)   Si ella me quiere comprar el caballo, yo se la venderé.
         if she 1-Dat want(3 sing) buy the horse, I *se* 3-Acc-fem will-sell(1)
         'If she wants to buy my horse, I will sell it to her.'

Here the [+ feminine] feature of the IO *ella* appears on the accusative clitic *la*.

(374)   Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se lo venderé.
         if they(fem) 1-Dat want(3pl) buy the horse, I *se* 3-Acc will-sell(1)

(375)   Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se las venderé.

        if they(fem) 1-Dat want(3pl) buy the horse, I *se* 3-Acc-fem-pl will-sell(1)

        'If they want to buy my horse, I will sell it to them.'

(376)   Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se los venderé.

        if they(fem) 1-Dat want(3 pl) buy the horse, I *se* 3-Acc-pl will-sell(1)

        'If they want to buy my horse, I will sell it to them.'

When both the [gender] and [number] features are available, three combinations are acceptable: one where neither appears on the accusative clitic, one where both features appear on the accusative clitic, and one where only the [number] feature appears on the accusative clitic. There is considerable dialectal variation in terms of which feature is allowed to appear on the accusative clitic. Standard Spanish only allows the features corresponding to the DO object as in (377). Uruguyan/Mexican Spanish, according to Bonet (1991), allows both the [number] and [gender] feature corresponding to the IO to appear on the accusative clitic, as in (378). In the case of Porteño Spanish, only the [number] feature of the IO is allowed to appear on the accusative clitic[61] as in (379) (See Kany 1951 and Bonet 1991). Summarising:

(377)   Si ellas me quieren comprar ésto, yo se lo venderé. (Standard Spanish)

(378)   Si ellas me quieren comprar esto, yo se las venderé. (Uruguayan/Mexican Sp.)

(379)   Si ellas me quieren comprar ésto, yo se los venderé. (Porteño Spanish)

These examples in which the features of the clitic and the correfering DP appear not to match are very frequent in spontaneous speech, although when questioned, informants tend to correct themselves, as a consequence of the strong prescriptive tradition.

(380)   Les comuniqué a los docentes que no habría clases.   (spontaneous)

        cl-pl communicated to the teachers that no would-be classes

        'I told the teachers that there wouldn't be classes.'

(381)   Se los comuniqué el lunes.   (spontaneous)

        cl cl-pl communicated the Monday

        'I told them on Monday.'

---

[61] Note that proposals that could be appplied to these data have been made within phonological studies. The distinction between deletion and delinking in phonology could be used to explain some of these phenomena (see, for example Archangeli and Pulleyblank, forthcoming, and Mascaró, 1986). The distinction between these two processes lies in that in the case of delinking a feature is left floating and can be relinked by subsequent operations.

When both objects are cliticised, the [+ plural] feature corresponding to the IO appears on the clitic *lo*.

A construction that has generated much discussion in studies of cliticisation is what is known as the **me-lui* constraint, according to which this string of clitics is ungrammatical. The present proposal appears to allow this string of clitics. This constraint, originally discussed by Perlmutter (1971) and later taken up by Bonet (1991) was devised to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as:

(382) *Me le   recomendaron.
       1st-acc 3rd-dat recommended
       'They recommended me to him/her.'

The grammatical counterpart of these sentences only allows one clitic:

(383) Me recomendaron a él.
       1st-acc recommended to him
       'They recommended me to him/her.'

The proposal presented in this thesis allows the offensive *me lui* string to be generated as *me* would appear in ClP1 and le in ClP2. This is in fact a welcome result as this structure is allowed in *leista* varieties of Spanish.

Furthermore, the present account also accounts for the existence of such strings in the case of ethical datives such as the following:

(384) Me lo/le[62] golpearon (al nene).
       to-me him hit the child
       'My child was hit.'

3.4 Thematic Roles

Up until now I have used traditional theta role labels without discussing the nature of these relations and their bearing on the analysis of clitics. Under minimalist assumptions, these notions need to be looked at more in detail. In this section I present

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[62] This choice depends on whether we are dealing with a variety closer to Standard Spanish or to a *leista* dialect.

If we were to extend this proposal to languages other than Spanish, we would probably have to reconsider the limitation on the maximum number of clitic phrases. Although the evidence available from Spanish would appear to require a structure with a maximum of two slots available for clitics, this is not the case for other Romance languages (see section 4.5.2 for data from Italian where three clitics appear; also, in the case of French a third position would be required for clitics such as y). To provide an account of universal validity, we would need to postulate a minimum of three clitic phrases. If this were the case, in Spanish, the third phrase would appear to be inactive.

a summary of the proposals put forward concerning thematic relations in the context of clitics.

According to Jaeggli (1982), NPs which are associated with the theta role Theme can always be cliticised by an accusative clitic (i.e. *lo, la, los, las*). Consequently, a sentence with one of these clitics will be interpreted as having a thematic object. The question arises of how the clitic and the NP position are associated. For this purpose Jaeggli devises the following theta-role transmission rule:

(385)

CL	...	NP	$\rightarrow$	/1/	/2/
α Case		(α Case)			$\beta\ \theta_i$
$\beta\ \theta_i$					
/1/		/2/			
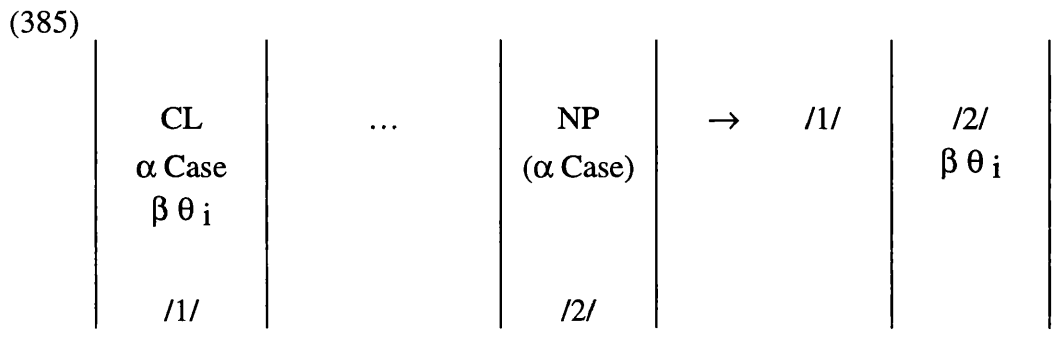
Thus, in the example *Lo vimos a Juan*, the structure previous to the application of the rule above is:

(386)

Lo	vimos a	Juan
ACC		ACC
θ th		
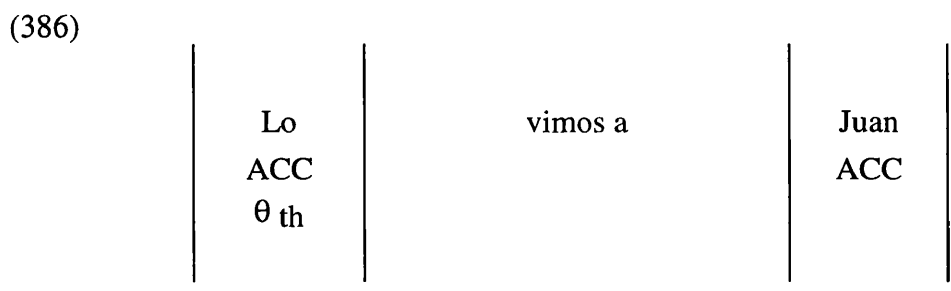
The referential expression *Juan* does not have a theta role assigned to it, consequently, this representation violates the Theta Criterion. When the theta-role transmission rule applies this problem is solved in the following way:

(387)

| Lo	vimos a	Juan
ACC		ACC
θ th		θ th
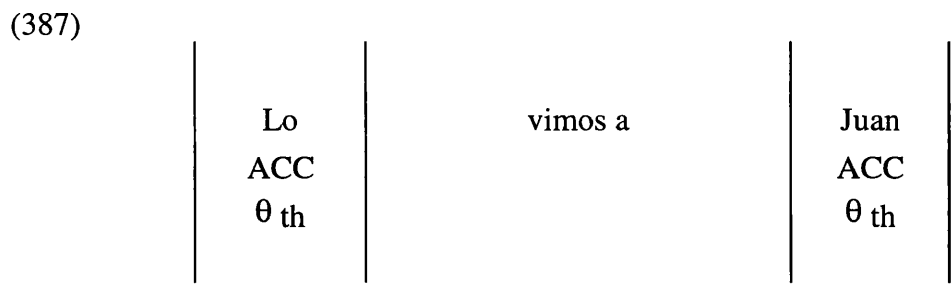
Aoun (1985) suggests that clitics may absorb a theta role as well as Case, rendering the argument position a non-thematic one. He claims that the clitic absorbs the Case assigned by the verb, and, therefore, there is no Case left to assign to the 'doubled'

NP. He adopts Kayne's Generalisation and analyses the 'doubled' NP as an adjunct. As we will see in Chapter 5, this is problematic because the NP in the clitic-doubled sentence is analysed differently from the one in the sentence where there is no clitic.

Jaeggli (1986) accounts for the dual morphological and syntactic nature of clitics by characterising them as 'syntactic affixes'. As such they are listed in the lexicon, and, consequently have subcategorization requirements or *insertion frames* which have the basic form: [__ V]. This can be represented in the following way:

(388) Lo veo.
        'I see him / it.'

(389)
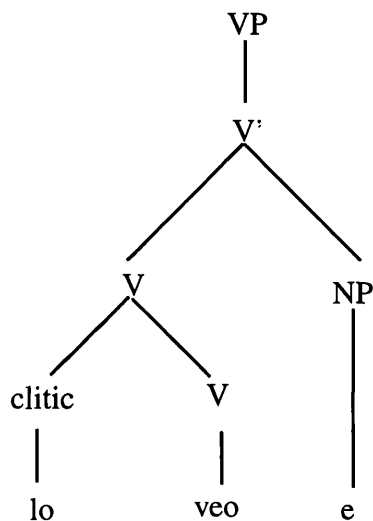
The lexical entry for the verb is:

(390)   *ver* : [+V, -N]
             θ s
             θ d = [__ NP]

As the lexical entry shows, it is to the object NP position that the θ d is assigned, then it is transmitted to the clitic position. This allows both constructions in which the NP is obligatorily null (in French) and those in which it can be present together with the clitic (River Plate Spanish).

Within Suñer's (1988) lexicalist analysis the clitic does not absorb the verb's theta role or its Case; the V + clitic complex and the verb's complement are related by means of agreement. The two elements are coindexed and form a chain.

Chomsky (1988) considers that the clitic (*lo*) and the pronominal NP (*él*) in the following example constitute a single discontinuous pronoun:

(391)   Juan lo afeita a él.

       Juan him-shaves to him

       'Juan shaves him.'

This idea was first introduced by Borer (1984, p. 118) who claimed that 'the pair configuration [Cl_i [e_i]] is a discontinuous pronominal element.' Even in the instances when the NP is an empty category. This must surely mean that, in some sense, to comply with the Theta Criterion, they 'share' a thematic role.

3.4.1 Thematic Linking

Following on the one hand the intuition behind the notion of theta role transmission, and the notion of a 'discontinous pronominal element' on the other, I would like to consider the proposals made by Manzini and Roussou (1997) with respect to the movement of thematic features. I assume, following Hornstein (1996), that theta roles are features on verbs.[63] Hornstein points out that this is different from believing that theta roles can be properties of DPs, which is what Chomsky's (1995) objection amounts to. A central question at stake here concerns the nature of feature checking. If we assume that the process involved in the checking of features is mutual, i.e. some kind of matching, both the attractor and the attractee must bear complementary or matching features.[64] On the other hand, if feature checking is not a mutual mechanism, a feature will be borne by the attractor if we believe in Attract-F, or by the attractee if we opt for Move-F. I will choose a mutual feature checking mechanism, and call it Match-F, but opting for either of the other two mechanisms should not affect the results discussed here.

According to Hornstein's (1996) theory, a DP "receives a theta role when a theta feature of a verbal/predicative phrase is merged with it." This analysis, however, is somewhat reminiscent of the notions of Case assignment. I propose, following proposals in Chomsky (1995b) and others on Case and agreement configurations, that by virtue of a mutual feature checking mechanism, two elements find themselves, in a configuration in which features are checked. For this to occur, the two elements (bundles of features) involved in this checking have to bear complementary features. The attractee will bear a feature that will be drawn towards a feature of the same kind

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[63] In this respect, Hornstein follows Boskovic and Takahashi (1995).

[64] Suñer (1988) makes a proposal along these lines when she suggests that "the Cl and the doubled phrase must always match in features under Cl-D as well as under extraction." According to Suñer "this feature matching requirement is an automatic consequence of chain co-indexing." and "Cl-D is a form of agreement."

on the attractor. Once the two complementary features find themselves in a checking configuration, they cancel each other out to comply with Full Interpretation.

According to Manzini and Roussou (1997), theta roles have the status of features,[65] and, as such, are subject to movement operations with the purpose of being checked. In this respect they follow Cormack (1989, 1995), who proposes an abstract element θ which fills the [Spec, V] position and passes on the relevant thematic properties to the subject generated directly in the Case position. Manzini and Roussou (1997) incorporate a similar intuition within the transformational model by construing it as an instance of Move-F. In Manzini and Roussou's view thematic roles are actually aspectual features such as Or and Meas. I use both labels interchangeably for practical reasons, but bearing in mind that theta-roles can be more accurately analysed as aspectual features. Manzini and Roussou's analysis also incorporates à VP-shell structure (see Larson, 1988) where each *v* bears an Asp specification.

This analysis of thematic properties in terms of movement means abandoning the idea that Match/Attract/Move-F has a strictly morphological motivation.[66] I, however, maintain that this operation is motivated by the need to check a feature, where a feature is defined as a primitive of the syntax, following Manzini and Roussou (1997) "the simplest object that the operations of Merge/Move and checking can take as an input." This definition of a feature is broader and encompasses elements such as theta-roles or aspectual features as well as other features such as [± animate], [± specific], and [± human], which do not have morphological expression but can play a role in the syntax as I show in Chapter 5.

3.4.2 Theta Roles and Cliticisation

Applying the ideas proposed by Hornstein (1996) and Manzini and Roussou (1997) to the data on cliticisation in Spanish discussed so far we obtain the following results.

Let us first consider the case where no clitic is present and a Theme Theta Role is involved. In these instances, the thematic feature of the relevant Aspectual projection attracts the DP that matches with it in thematic features. Thus, (392) has the structure in (393):[67]

---

[65] Within a minimalist approach only features (and bundles of features) are valid syntactic objects. (see Chomsky 1995a, 1998)

[66] Hornstein (1996), on the other hand, considers theta roles as morphological features. There does not seem to be much evidence for this. However, it does not seem to be a requirement, specially if we would like to propose that other non-morphological features are also related to movement.

[67] I disregard other phrases that may appear between the one discussed for ease of exposition.

(392)   Ví a Juan.[68]

     saw to Juan

     'I saw Juan.'

(393)

```
              ClP2
             /\
            /  \
           /\   \
          /  \   \
   (+Theme)   \
         |      \
         |      /\
         |     /  \
         |    Ví   a Juan (+Theme)
          _____/
```
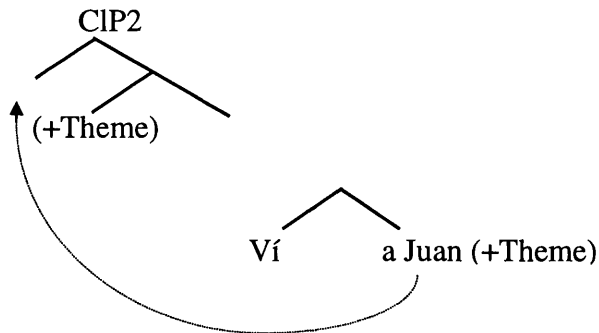
In the case where a clitic is present, but there is no co-referential DP, the clitic appears as the head of the Clitic or Aspectual Phrase, and the Theme theta role still triggers the same movement, but of the thematic feature on its own.

(394)   Lo ví.

     it/him saw-I

     'I saw it/him.'

(395)

```
              ClP2
             /\
            /  \
           /\   \
          /  \   \
         lo    \
      (+ Theme) \
         |      /\
         |     /  \
         |    ví   Theme
          _____/
```
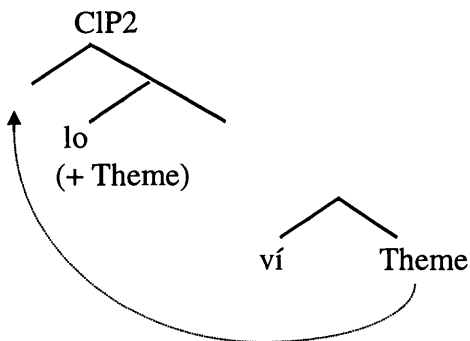
This structure makes the possibility of CD straight-forward, with covert movement of the DP to check the Theme feature (following Sportiche, 1992):

(396)   Lo ví a Juan.

     him saw-I to Juan

     'I saw Juan.'

---

[68] I ignore the presence of *a* for the time being. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of why *a* is not directly relevant to CD or cliticisation.

(397)

ClP2

lo
(+ Theme)

ví   a Juan (+ Theme)
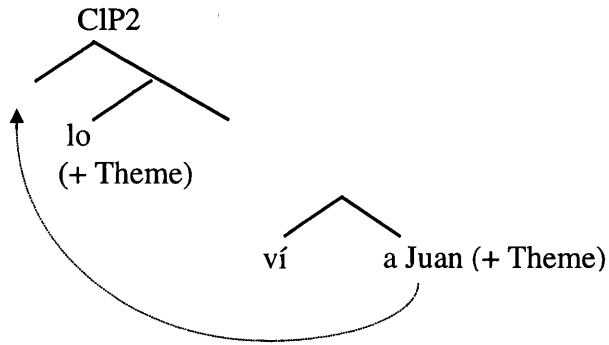
In the case of a *leísta* dialect, the structure and checking procedure are still maintained, only that the Theme theta role is checked by the clitic *le*.

(398) Le ví.

it/him saw-I

'I saw it/him.'

(399)

ClP2

le
(+ Theme)

ví   Theme
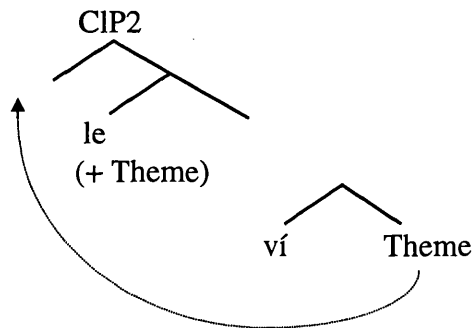
If we now turn to the cases of cliticisation with a Goal DP, we find a similar situation, where the [+ Goal] theta feature moves to be matched with the clitic.

(400) Le dí el libro.

to-him/her gave-I the book

'I gave the book to him/her.'

(401)

ClP2

le
(+ Goal)

dí   Goal
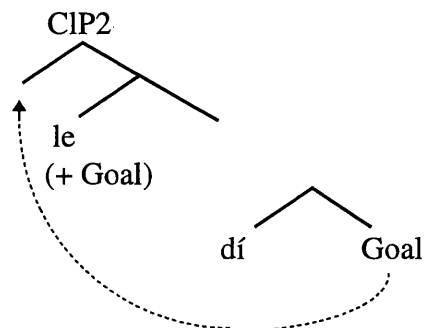
In instances of CD, the same structure holds. The main difference between Goal and Theme doubling, is that the +Goal clitic has to be present in every case (hence, *Dí el libro a María)

(402) Le dí el libro a María.
        her gave-I the book to María
        'I gave the book to María.'

(403)

```
           ClP2
          /\  /\
         /  \/  \
        ↑   le    \
         \ (+ Goal) \
          \          /\
           \        /  \
            \      dí   a María (+ Goal)
             \              /
              _____/
```
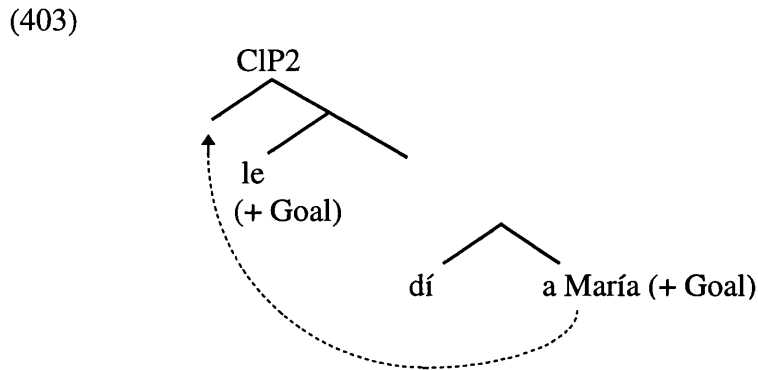
This kind of analysis in terms of theta linking or matching allows us to differentiate the two possible interpretations of the following example in which the clitic *le* can be interpreted as a Goal or a Source.

(404) Le   compré el libro
        for/from-him bought-I the book
        'I bought the book for/from him.'

If the clitic *le* is associated with the Goal theta role, the configuration in (405) applies:

(405)

```
           ClP2
          /\  /\
         /  \/  \
        ↑   le    \
         \ (+ Goal) \
          \          /\
           \        /  \
            \    compré  Goal
             \          /
              _____/
```
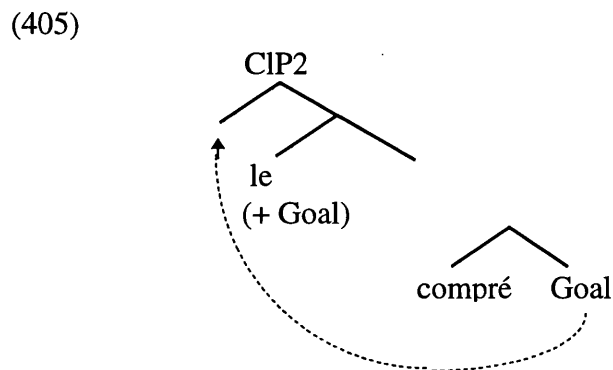
If, on the other hand, *le* is interpreted̂a Source, the structure in (406) applies:
                              ↑as

(406)

ClP2
le
(+ Source)
compré   Source
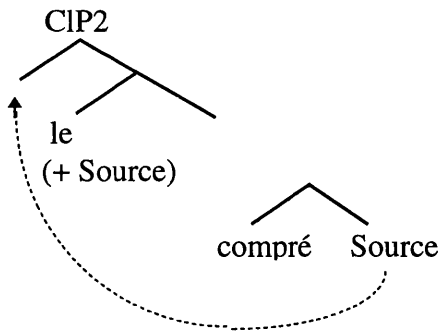
If the example is clitic-doubled, the ambiguity is maintained:

(407)   Le   compré el libro   a Pedro
        for/from-him bought-I the book to Pedro
        'I bought the book for/from Pedro.'

It can, however, be disambigu ated by means of the preposition *para*, obtaining only the Goal reading, and disallowing CD:

(408)   (*Le)   compré un libro para María.
        (*for-her) bought-I a book for María.
        'I bought a book for María.'

In the case where both the Source and Goal are present, no ambiguity is found.

(409)   Le$_{i/*j}$ compré un libro a Juan$_i$ para María$_j$.
        from-him bought-I a book from Juan for María.
        'I bought a book from Juan for María.'

An explanation for cliticisation in terms of theta matching or linking allows us to account for the distinctions across different kinds of *se*. In examples such as the following, it is the Agent theta role feature that moves check the feature on the clitic
to
se:

(410)   Se venden barcos.
        se sold ships
        'Ships are sold.'

(411)

106

ClP1

se
(+ Agent)

Agent   venden
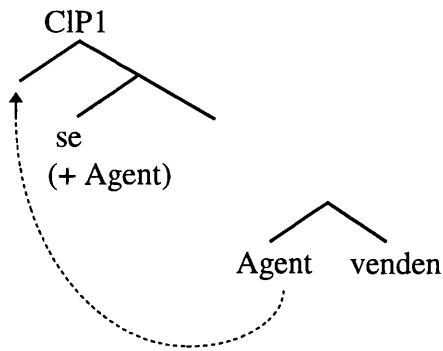
In cases of reflexive clitics, it is the Theme Theta role that is matched with the clitic:

(412)   Se vio.

   se saw

   'S/he saw her/himself.'

(413)

ClP1

se
(+ Theme)
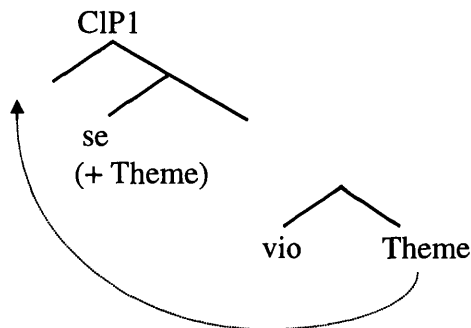
vio   Theme

On the other hand, in a double object construction where both objects are cliticised, one is checked against the Theme theta role and the other against the Goal theta role:[69]

(414)   Se los vendí.

   SE them sold-I

   'I sold it to him/them.'

(415)

---

[69] I do not commit myself as to the order in which these are generated, see Borer 1993, for a proposal in which the order is irrelevant.
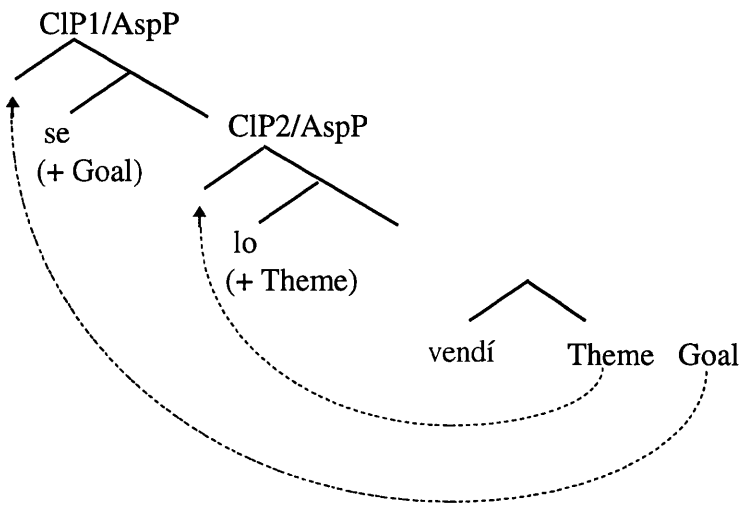
3.5 The Issue of the Empty Category

One of the central areas of interest in analyses of CD has been the status of the empty category present in the cases where a clitic is not doubled by a phrase. Different studies have made different proposals about what empty category is to be found in this position, to the point of covering the full range of empty categories available within the Government and Binding framework.

Aoun (1985) identifies the empty category as a variable. In this account the clitic absorbs the verb's theta role, which would lead us to identify the empty category with an NP trace. Nevertheless, Aoun adopts the idea from Kayne (1975) that cliticisation involves movement to a V-adjoined position, hence to an A'-position. In the GB system of Chomsky (1981, 1982) the trace of A'-movement is a variable. Burzio (1986) assumes that this position is analogous to a trace, which transmits its theta role to its antecedent, but does not arise from movement.

Chomsky (1981) and Jaeggli (1982), on the other hand, suggest that the null object related to clitics is an instance of PRO which means that the clitic absorbs not only Case but government. PRO 'inherits' the properties of subcategorization and theta marking from the coindexed clitic.

On the other hand, Jaeggli (1986b) suggests that the clitic does not absorb the verb's theta role, it only absorbs Case. The clitic position, according to Jaeggli, is neither an A nor an A' position, nevertheless this position is governed by the verb, so it cannot be PRO; therefore, the only possibility left for the empty category is to be *pro*. His analysis presupposes that clitics are base-generated in the position where they surface as this is the only way in which the clitic can be coindexed with a pronominal. The specific well-formedness condition suggested for the empty category *pro* by Chomsky

(1982) is that it should be identified by an element with a particular set of features. This set of features are: *[α person, β number (γ gender)]*, and they are allowed to identify with *pro* if they are accompanied by a Case feature. Jaeggli (1986) adopts this view and stipulates the following condition on the identification of *pro*:

(416)   *ec* = *pro* if it is governed and coindexed with

[α person, β number, (γ gender), δ Case]

This condition applies to (417) as indicated by the structure in (418):

(417)   Juan lo vio.

(418)   NP [[[*lo* $_i$, ACC] [V]   ] NP$_i$]

| | |
Juan   vio   *pro*
        θ d$_i$ = [____ NP]

This analysis draws on the perceived similarities between CD constructions and subject-verb agreement.

Sportiche (1983, 1992) suggest that, in the case of non-reflexive constructions, since the silent XP* functions exactly as a pronoun, it should be analysed as *pro*. If it were to be analysed as PRO, it could not be interpreted as a definite pronoun without an antecedent, which is not the case in clitic constructions.

Among challenges to the standard notion of thematic roles we find proposals for the elimination of PRO in Manzini and Roussou (1997) and Hornstein (1996); and different proposals concerning the elimination of *pro* (see Platzack (1995), Pollock (1997), Nash and Rouveret (1996), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1996), Manzini and Savoia (1997), and Donati and Tomaselli (1997)).

Pollock (1996), Nash and Rouveret (1996), and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1996) propose the elimination of *pro* for the null subject configuration by suggesting that the checking of the strong feature of I can be checked by V in null subject languages. Manzini and Savoia (1997) propose that it is the movement of an aspectual feature to finite I that provides it with its argumental interpretation. These proposals lead to the abandonment of *pro* as the empty category in subject position in pro-drop languages. Since the proposals in this thesis follow Sportiche (1992), the obvious account for the empty category in the cases when a clitic is present but there is no corresponding doubling DP would be *pro*. Thus, within a minimalist approach, and

Within the proposal presented by Sportiche (1992) the element that appears when there is no DP doubling the clitic is pro (see chart 139 on page 47). Therefore, following Sportiche, this is the empty category I should adopt for my analysis. However pro, as well as other empty categories has come under scrutiny under minimalist assumptions. Some minimalist studies concerning pro, include Pollock (1996), Nash and Rouveret (1996) and Alexiandou and Anagnostopoulou (1996) on the one hand, and Manzini and Savoia (1997) on the other. The gist of the proposals consists in abandoning the postulation of pro in favour of an account based on the checking of features.

following the above proposals, especially Manzini and Savoia (1997), *pro* can be abandoned.

3.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have adopted a minimalist approach that allows us to classify Spanish clitics into two classes by means of a basic set of features. This provides a principled explanation for the limit on the number of clitics that can be part of a clitic string in Spanish, since one encodes [± person] features, and the other [± number] and possibly [± gender]. This analysis also allows us to explain certain constructions in Porteño as well as Mexican and Uruguayan Spanish in which some of these features appear on a clitic different from the one that would be predicted. This proposal also accounts for the data from *leista* and *loista/laista* varieties. I have also adopted the proposals made by Manzini and Roussou (1997) concerning the movement of thematic or aspectual features as a means of explaining the interpretation of clitics, and Manzini and Savoia (1997) as an alternative to the traditional analyses according to which an empty category is present when a doubling phrase does not appear.

4. Clitic Ordering and Placement

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the ordering of clitics with respect to their host which yields the phenomena known as proclisis and enclisis; the order that clitics present in different varieties of Romance with respect to other functional categories such as inflection and negation; the possibility for certain elements to appear between a clitic and its host, known in the literature as interpolation; and finally, the ordering of clitics within the clitic cluster, which is not uniform across different Romance languages. Since many of these phenomena seem to be interrelated, the discussion of one tends to lean heavily on the analysis of another.

4.2 Proclisis vs. Enclisis

The phenomena known as proclisis and enclisis were mentioned in passing in previous sections. Here I devote more attention to their chracteristics. Two possibilities are available for Spanish clitics in terms of ordering with respect to the verbal host: if the verb is finite the clitics invariably appear before the verb; if the verb is an infinitive, a gerund or an imperative, the clitics appear after it. In the first case, we are in the presence of the phenomenon known as proclisis, in the second, enclisis. This is exemplified as follows:

(419)   Se lo regalé a Mariana.   (Finite)
         SE it gave to Mariana
         'I gave it to Mariana.'

(420)   *Regaléselo a Mariana.

(421)   Regalárselo a Mariana sería una buena idea.   (Infinitive)[70]
         to-give-se-it to Mariana would-be a good idea
         'Giving it to Mariana would be a good idea.'

(422)   *Se lo regalar a Mariana sería una buena idea.

---

[70] Italian also presents the same pattern in infinitive constructions.
   (i)   Farlo bene è importante.
            to-do it well is important
   (ii)   *Lo fare bene è importante.

(423) Regalándoselo a Mariana resolvió el problema. (Gerund)

giving-se-it to Mariana solved the problem

'Giving it to Mariana s/he solved the problem.'

(424) *Se lo regalando a Mariana resolvió el problema.

(425) ¡Regaláselo[71] a Mariana! (Imperative)

give-se-it to Mariana

'Give it to Mariana!'

(426) *¡Se lo regalas a Mariana!

4.2.1 Finite vs. Non-Finite

Various analyses have been proposed to account for the contrast between enclisis and proclisis. It has been suggested by Klavans (1985, p. 96) that the feature [Tense] is responsible for triggering proclisis or enclisis. If the verb is [- Tense] enclisis is triggered; otherwise, proclisis is the only option.

Rizzi (1993), as reported in Haegeman (1996) proposes the following configurations for proclisis and enclisis respectively:

(427) Proclisis

```
        AgrOP
       /    \
     cl     AgrOP
             |
             VP
```

(428) Enclisis

```
          AgrOP
         /    \
       cl     AgrOP
      /  \
    VP    cl
```
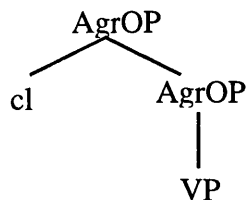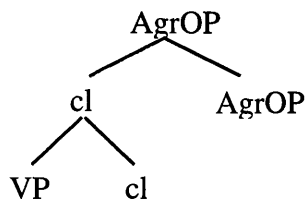
According to this view the (French) clitic moves to the functional head with the relevant agreement features, i.e. AgrO, to which the verb also moves (for an analysis where clitics also move to AgrPs, see Franco 1993).

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[71] This is the Porteño Spanish accentuation pattern, the Peninsular Spanish form would be *¡regálaselo!*

This analysis, in Haegeman's view, is consistent with the analysis in Benincà and Cinque (1990) according to which the cohesive relation between the clitic and its host is stronger in instances of enclisis than proclisis. Benincà and Cinque (1990) analyse this construction with the infinitive adjoining to the clitic. Shlonsky (1994) and Roberts and Shlonsky (1994) propose a similar analysis for Semitic, but not Romance. Belletti (1990) and Rooryck (1992), on the other hand, propose the adjunction (or substitution) of the infinitive to a functional head higher than that to which the clitic adjoins.

Kayne (1991) explains the difference between proclisis and enclisis in terms of verb movement. In the case of enclisis, the [- finite] verb moves past the position to which the clitic attaches, namely Tense, therefore obtaining the Verb+Clitic ordering. In proclisis the [+ finite] verb adjoins to the Tense position and the clitic subsequently left-adjoins to it, therefore producing the Clitic+Verb ordering.

When two clitics are present, enclisis does not affect the order in which the two clitics appear, as the following examples show:

(429)   Se lo regaló a Mariana.
         SE it gave to Mariana
         'S/he gave it to Mariana.'

(430)   Regalárselo a Mariana es una buena idea.
         Give-inf-SE-it to Mariana is a good idea
         'Giving it to Mariana is a good idea.'
(431)   *Regalárlose a Mariana es una buena idea.
         Give-inf-it -SE to Mariana is a good idea

Here I adopt Kayne's (1991) idea that the verb moves past the clitic position and adapt it to the proposals made so far in this thesis concerning Clitic Phrases. Therefore, I propose that the verb moves past the clitics and left adjoins to the higher clitic head, i.e. the head of ClP1.

(432)
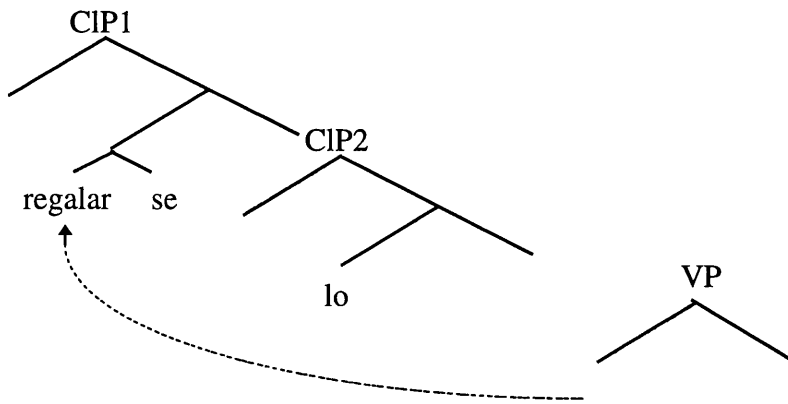
This configuration allows us to account for the fact that the order of the clitics is respected regardless of whether they appear as proclitics or enclitics, as borne out by the data.

In those instances where only one clitic is present, the verb left-adjoins to the head of the relevant Clitic Phrase since this is the only clitic head that is generated anyway. Thus, if only one clitic appears, in ClP2, the verb moves past it and left-adjoins to it:

(433) Lo compró.
it bought
'S/he bought it.'

(434) Conseguirlo no es fácil.
get-it not is easy
'It's not easy to get it.'

(435)
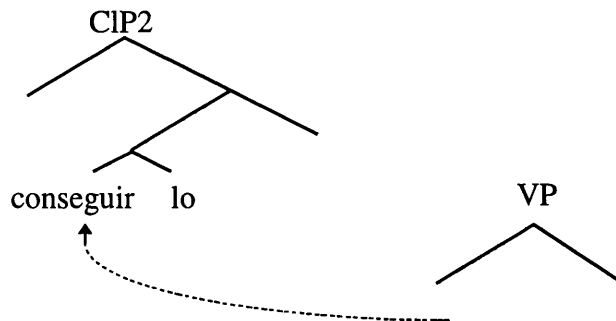
If the only clitic generated, is a [± person] clitic, the verb moves past it and adjoins to the head of ClP1.

(436) Creerse inteligente es peligroso.
believe-SE intelligent is dangerous
'To believe oneself to be intelligent is dangerous.'

(437)
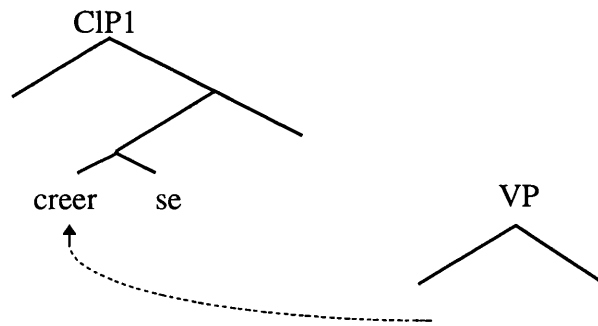
The trigger for the movement of the verb is the presence of a [- finite] feature on the verb that requires to be checked overtly. This requirement appears to be subject to parametric variation, as the case of European Portuguese and Galician show. In the case of finite clauses European Portuguese (Madeira 1992, Barbosa 1996), and Galician (Uriagareka 1995)[72] do not allow proclisis and require enclisis.

(438)   *O viu o João.
        him saw John

(439)   Viu-o o João.
        saw-him John
        'John saw him.'

However, proclisis is required in European Portuguese when the subject is a non-refering expression:

(440)   *A Maria o   viu
        the Maria him saw

(441)   A Maria viu-o
        the Maria saw-him
        'Maria saw him.'

(442)   *Ninguém viu-o.
        no one saw him

(443)   Ninguém o viu.
        no one him saw
        'No one saw him.'

A more detailed survey of European Portuguese shows that this is just one environment in which this split exists. Proclisis is also required in embedded clauses, matrix wh-questions with overt wh-movement, sentential negation, and aspectual adverbial in preverbal position (for further examples, see Barbosa 1996). These

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[72] According to Barbosa (1996), Asturian Spanish also presents enclisis in finite clauses, but I have not been able to obtain the relevant data.

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factors seem to indicate that a different (set of) feature(s) are at play in European Portuguese (and probably Galician).

Diachronically, the differences can also be observed. Old Spanish displayed enclisis where Modern Spanish shows proclisis, i.e. in finite clauses, as the following examples from Franco (1993, p. 49) illustrate:

(444)   Acogensele omnes de todas partes.   (Old Spanish)
         join-SE-him men from all parts

(445)   Se le acogen hombres de todas partes.   (Modern Spanish)
         SE him join men from all parts
         'Men from everywhere join him.'

4.2.2 Imperatives

Imperatives in Romance trigger enclisis as the following examples show:

(446)   Fallo!   (Italian)
         do-it
(447)   *Lo fa!

(448)   ¡Hacelo![73]   (Porteño Spanish)
         do-it
(449)   *¡Lo hace!

A possible explanation can be provided by the analysis proposed by Rivero (1994). According to this account, imperatives move to C°, and thus the V+clitic order is obtained. If all imperatives need to move to this position, this would explain the unacceptability of the clitic + V order.

Another possibility is to consider the imperative a [- finite] form of the verb, which, by virtue of bearing this feature has to move to adjoin to the highest clitic head available. In this way, we can unify the analysis of all [- finite] forms of the verb.

(450)

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[73] The Standard Spanish form is ¡hazlo!
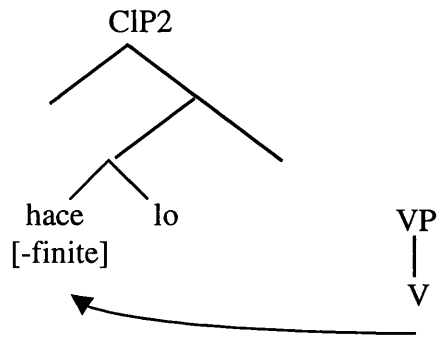
Negation appears to affect the behaviour of imperatives. When the imperative is negated, enclisis is no longer possible:

(451) ¡No lo hagas!
      'Don't do it.'

(452) *¡No hacelo!

However, in this case, the form of the verb, is no longer strictly speaking an imperative, it is actually a subjunctive form. Thus, the idea that [- finite] triggers movement and left-adjunction, can be maintained as this is not a [- finite] form.

(453)
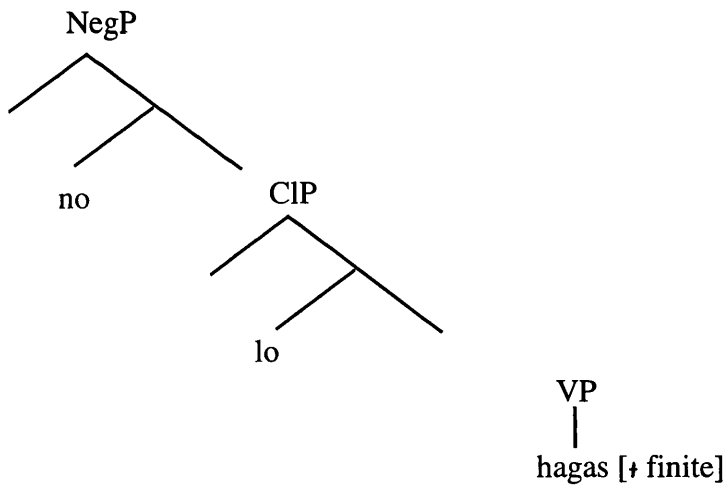
Cross-linguistic similarities can be found as regards the behaviour of clitics with respect to imperatives and their interaction with negation. Macedonian shows proclisis in the indicative but, in the case of positive imperatives, the clitic appears as an enclitic (see Spencer, 1991):

(454) Skrsi ja casa-ta
      'Break the glass.'

However, in the case of negative imperatives, only proclisis is possible:

(455) Ne ja skrsi casa-tai
       not it break the glass
       'Don't break the glass.'

4.2.3 Clitics and Co-ordination

As mentioned previously, whereas co-ordination of two verbs with a single proclitic is allowed in Spanish and restricted to lexically-related verbs in French, it is not allowed in cases of enclisis. Whereas in the case of proclisis it is possible to have only one clitic for two verbs, enclisis does not allow this. Examples provided by Rivera-Castillo (1997) show the contrast between enclitics (in imperative constructions in this case) and proclitics with regards to co-ordination.

(456) *Tráelo y envuelve e en casa.
       bring-it and wrap in home

(457) *Trae e y envuélvelo en casa.
       bring and wrap-it in home

(458) Tráelo y envuélvelo en casa.
       bring-it and wrap-it in home
       'Bring it and wrap it at home.'

In the case of enclisis, each verb requires its own clitic, otherwise the outcome is ungrammatical. This is not the case for proclitics:

(459) Lo traes y ec envuelves en casa.
       it bring and wrap in home
       'Bring it and wrap it at home.'

(460) ¿Lo hizo o ec deshizo?
       it do or undo
       'Did s/he do it or undo it?'

In cases of proclisis, the possibilities for co-ordination are more flexible, so much so, that even in cases where the two verbs have different tenses, only one clitic is required in instances of proclisis:[74]

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[74] Bosque (1987) presents some exceptions to co-ordination related to semantic restrictions in cases of proclisis.

(461)   Yo **lo** amo y   amaré toda la vida.
        I him/it love-Press and love-Fut all the life
        'I love him and will love him all my life.'

Uriagareka (1995) provides data from Galician which show the same pattern for Galician:

(462)   Por qué é que Xan lles falará e lles perdoará?
        why   is that Xan them talk-will and them forgive-will
        'Why is it that Xan will talk to them and forgive them?

(463)   Por qué é que Xan lles falará e perdoará?

(464)   Xan falarálles e perdoarálles.
        Xan talk-will-them and forgive-will-them
        Xan will talk to them and forgive them.

(465)   *Xan falará e perdoarálles.

These restrictions on enclisis, as opposed to proclisis, support the analysis of enclisis presented above. It would not be possible for the co-ordinated VP to be adjoined to the clitic head:

(466)
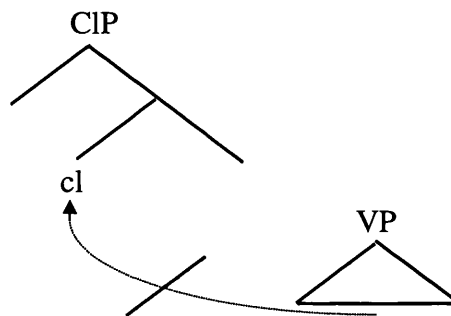
On the other hand, the case of proclisis, can be accounted for more simply:

(467)
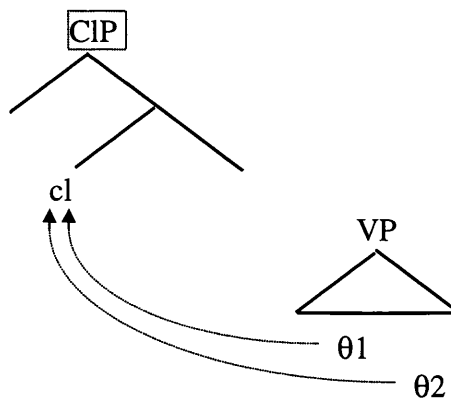
However, a more detailed study of co-ordination and ellipsis is needed to account for these examples (see Kayne 1995 for a proposal concerning co-ordination).

In this case the theta roles assigned by both verbs are checked against the clitic, but no overt movement of the verb needs to take place because this is a [+ finite] verb.

These contrasting configurations can be linked to the closer relation between the clitic and its host in cases of enclisis. As pointed out by Beninca and Cinque (1990), instances of enclisis provide a closer cohesive relation between the clitic and its host than does proclisis.[75]

Miller (1992a, 1992b) proposes the following criteria to differentiate lexically realised inflection and post-lexical cliticisation:

I If an item must be repeated on each conjunct in a co-ordinate structure, it is a lexically realised inflectional mark not a post-lexical clitic.

II If an item may not be repeated on each conjunct in a co-ordinate structure, then it must be a post-lexical clitic, and cannot be a lexically realised inflectional mark.

In this account, enclitics are treated as affixes (criterion I). The status of proclitics is less clear, but it would seem possible to treat them as independent words.

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[75] Bosque (1987) explores clitics from the point of view of their structural position, rather than the differentiation between proclisis and enclisis. According to him it is the structural position of the clitic as c-commander of its traces that determines the (un-)grammaticality of the following examples:

(i) *para intentar comprar o alquilarlo
    to   try   buy   or rent-it
(ii) para intentarlo comprar o alquilar
    to try-it buy or rent
    'in order to buy it or rent it.'

See Rivera-Castillo (1997) for an alternative analysis.

An analysis such a this one which involves distinguishing enclitics and proclitics and suggesting that the former are attached to the verbal host in the lexicon might at first appear as an attractive alternative to account for the facts involved in co-ordination. However, it cannot be upheld within the analysis presented in this thesis. If clitics are independent functional categories and are inserted from the lexicon as heads of their own Clitic Phrase, they cannot also be attached to their host in the lexicon. Therefore, I put to one side this suggestion and maintain the status as full functional categories of clitics pending further analysis of co-ordination configurations that might give us a clearer insight into this problem.

4.3 Clitics and Other Functional Categories

If clitics are heads of the functional Clitic Phrases, it is important to explore how they interact with other functional categories. This section explores the interaction between clitics and other functional categories, in particular inflection and negation.

4.3.1 Clitics and Inflection

As discussed in Chapter 3, the status of Clitic Phrases as independent functional categories can be supported by the fact that in various dialects of Spanish, the clitic appears between the verb and the inflection. This is the case for Puerto Rican and Dominican Spanish (see López Morales, 1992; Casiano, 1973; Rivera-Castillo, 1992; and Henríquez Ureña, 1975). The facts are summarised by Rivera-Castillo (1997) as follows:

(468)   me   dé+n
        procl give+2/3-pl
        '(that) you give me...'

(469)   dé+me+n
        give-imp+encl+2/3-pl
        'Give me!'

(470)   lo   atáje+n
        procl stop+2/3-pl
        'that you stop it/him.'

(471)   atáje+lo+n
        stop+encl+2/3-pl
        'Stop him!'

(472)   le traiga+n
        procl bring+2/3-pl
        'You (pl) bring to/him/her ...'

(473)   tráiga+le+n
        bring+encl+2/3-pl
        'Bring it to him/her!'

In these three cases, the enclitic appears between the verb stem and the inflection. As the examples show, this possibility is not restricted to any particular kind of clitic.

This contrasts with Standard Spanish where the clitic can only appear after the inflection:

(474)   dé+n+me   (Standard Spanish)
             bring+2-pl+encl
(475)   dé+me+n   (Caribbean Spanish)
             bring+encl+2-pl
             'Give me!'

Caribbean Spanish is not an isolated exception. As Zwicky and Jeffers (1980, 60) discuss, Portuguese clitics can appear inside aspectual morphemes:[76]

(476)   descreve+lo+ía+mos
             describe+cl+Tense/Aspect+Per/Num
             'We would describe him.'

This possibility of inserting the clitic between the verb and its inflection seems to pose certain difficulties for an analysis in which elements are inserted from the lexicon "fully-inflected". If the verb is inserted with its inflection morpheme, how is it possible for the clitic to appear between the two? One possibility would be to assume that the verb is not inserted fully-inflected and the morpheme order is obtained by the verb "picking-up" the clitic and the inflection morpheme in the order required by the relevant dialect. Another possibility, however, would be to assume that the clitic (in cases of enclisis at least) is attached to its host in the lexicon before the verb is inserted, thus drawing a parallel between the behaviour of the clitic and the inflection morpheme. This means that the enclitic, as opposed to the proclitic, is an affix that is linked to its host in the lexicon. Thus the V+clitic+inflection (or V+inflection +clitic, depending on the dialect) complex is inserted under the V node and subsequently moved up to check the relevant features in the ClP and the TP.

(477)

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[76] In Greek, the clitic may also appear between the verb and certain tenses (see Joseph, 1988 and Spencer, 1991).

TP

ClP

VP

V+clitic+inflection
(Dominican Spanish)
V+inflection+clitic
(Standard Spanish)
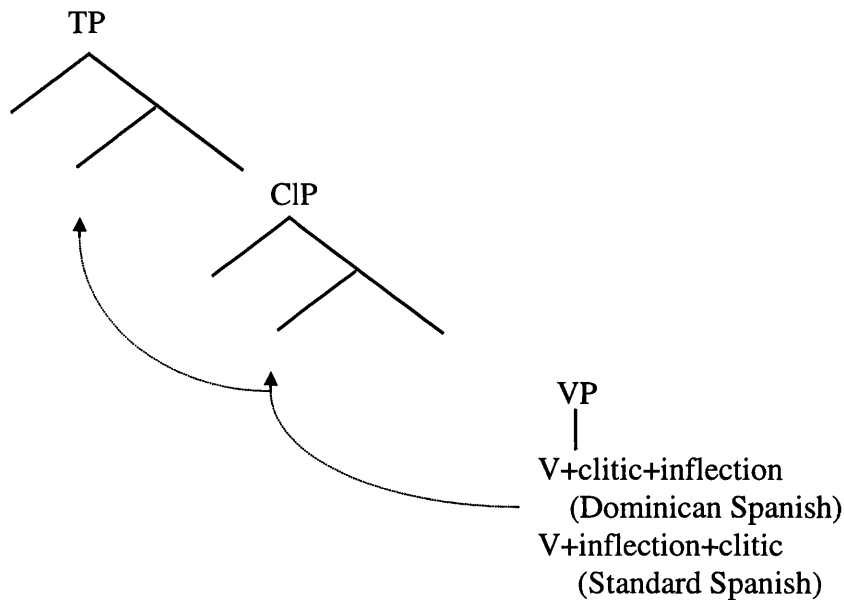
Spanish, as opposed to Portuguese does not present inflected infinitives. However, there are some attested forms in some dialects as reported by Espinosa (1949, p. 231) quoted in Rivera-Castillo (1997):

(478) ir+se+n   (ellos quieren irse+n)

go-Inf+3-Dat+3-pl   (they want-3-pl go-3-Dat+3-Pl)

'to go (they/you)'   'They want to go.'

An alternative analysis is provided by Marantz and Halle's (1994) Distributed Morphology. They analyse the data where the clitic appears between the verb and the inflection and propose that clitics are placed after the syntax in second position with respect to the verb stem rather than the inflected verb. In this way, they draw a parallel with Wackernagel clitics which invariably appear in second position (see, for example, Roberts, 1994). However, as Rivera-Castillo (1997) points out, Distributed Morphology makes incorrect predictions about clitic order with respect to inflectional features, as some of the strings that these authors consider impossible are acceptable in Caribbean Spanish:

(479) Marantz and Halle   dénmelos   vs.   *demenlos
       Caribbean Spanish   *dénmelos   vs.   demenlos

(480) Marantz and Halle   *dénoslon
       Caribbean Spanish   dénoslon

4.3.2 Clitics and Negation

Further evidence concerning the position of the Clitic Phrases in instances of enclisis comes from its interaction with negation. In cases of negation, if we assume following Kayne (1991) that the verb moves past the clitic to adjoin to it, this movement has to be to a position lower than NegP. As the examples show, the verb+clitic(s) complex has to appear to the right of the negation:

(481) Se lo dió a María.

       SE it gave to María

       'S/he gave it to María.'

(482) No se lo dió a María.

       no SE it gave to María

       'S/he didn't give it to María.'

(483) *Se lo no dió a María.

(484) *Se no lo dió a María.

(485) Dárselo a María, ...

       give-SE-it to María

       'To give it to María, ...'

(486) No dárselo a María, ...

       not give-SE-it to María

       'Not to give it to María, ...'

(487) *Dárselo no a María, ...

Following the analysis presented above, this does not present a problem, as the verb can adjoin to the head of the higher Clitic Phrase, a position which is lower than NegP:

(488)
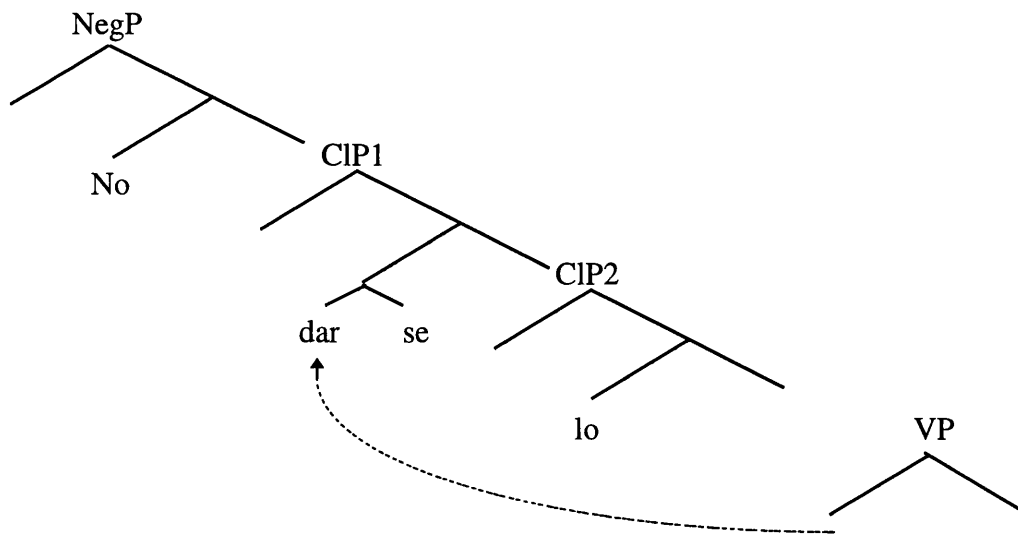
4.4 Interpolation

Certain varieties of Romance allow some elements, usually negation and certain adverbials, to intervene between the clitic and the verb. This phenomenon is known as Interpolation.[77] Examples of Interpolation can be found in a number of Romance languages, although it was far more common in Old Romance than in their contemporary varieties.

4.4.1 Old Spanish

Rivero (1986) presents a strong account of the status of clitics as phrasal categories rather than affix-like elements and provides evidence from Old Spanish[78] in which we can observe Interpolation.[79]

(489)   quien te algo prometiere ...
        who you something would-promise
        'the one who would promise something to you ...'

In this case the object *algo* is interpolated between the clitic *te* and the verb *prometiere*.

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[77] Interpolation is possible in instances of proclisis, which reinforces their status as full words rather than affixes. Enclisis does not, however, allow interpolation.

[78] From the period between approximately 1200 and 1450.

[79] Wanner (1996) also discusses interpolation data from Old Castilian:
  (i)   Busca todas buenas vias ... para lo mejor conplir que lo ella non mando
         he-seeks all good ways ... in-order-to it better accomplish than she not ordered

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(490)   Busca todas buenas vias ... para lo_i mejor conplir que lo_i ella non mando

He-seeks all good ways in-order-to it better accomplish that it she not ordered

'He looks for all the good ways ... in order to accomplish it better than she ordered it.'

Here the first clitic *lo* is separated from the infinitive verb *conplir* by the adverb *mejor*; and the second clitic *lo* is separated from the verb by the subject pronoun *ella* and the negation *non*. Notice that, in the first case, although the verb is [- finite], this is an instance of proclisis. As mentioned above, the patterns of cliticisation in Old Spanish, differ from those of Modern Spanish. In Old Spanish, the infinitive does not trigger enclisis as it would in Modern Spanish. Thus Interpolation is allowed.

In Old Spanish, a free word order language according to Rivero, the clitic can appear in the same position as a full DP would, i.e. either pre- or post-verbally, as the previous and following examples show:

(491)   El infante ovo respuesta del rrey.   (post-verbal DP)
         the prince had answer from-the king

(492)   El infante esta rrespuesta ovo del rrey.   (pre-verbal DP)
         the prince this answer had from-the king

(493)   El rrey recibio-lo muy bien.   (enclitic)
         the king received-him very well

The phrasal status of clitics in Old Spanish is further reinforced according to Rivero (1986) by evidence put forward by Menéndez Pidal (1964) according to which the tonic and non-tonic pronouns had indistinct distribution, both in the case of accusative and dative pronouns, as the following examples from Rivero (1986, 778) show:

(494)   lo que a mi pareçe
         what to-me it-seems
         'what seems to me'

(495)   lo que vos pareçe
         what you it-seems
         'what seems to you'

(496)   dexad a mi
         let to me
         'let me'

(497)   dexa-me
         let-me
         'let me'

The possibility for Interpolation supports the idea that Clitic Phrases are independent functional categories.

4.4.2 Interpolation in other languages

Old Portuguese also presented interpolation (Martins 1994, as reported in Barbosa 1996):

(498)   Se me Deus enton a morte non deu.
         if me god then the death not gave
         'If God then didn't make me die.'

Old Italian, presents interpolation of negation, (Benincà and Cinque 1990):

(499)   e se ella il mi pur crede   (Boccacio, Decameron, VIII, 6)
         and even if she doesn't believe me ...
(500)   lo non dico
         it not I-say

Kayne (1991) points out a rather restricted example from modern French where an adverb intervenes between the clitic and the verb:

(501)   en fort bien parler

As for contemporary varieties of Romance, a northwestern variety of European Portuguese presents interpolation of a variety of elements, including, pronouns, negation and adverbs (see Barbosa, 1996):

(502)   O Carlos pediu para o nós irmos buscar.   (pronominal subject *nós* 'us')
         the Carlos asked for him we to-go-1pl pick up
         'Carlos asked for us to pick him up.'
(503)   Quantas vezes te eu disse para estares calado?   (pronominal subject *eu* 'I')
         how-many times you I have told to be quiet
         'How often have I told you to be quiet?'
(504)   Ela prometeu que lhe não diria nada   (negation)
         she promised that to-him not would tell nothing
         'She promised that she wouldln't tell him anything.'

(505)   O livro que lhe ainda não entreguei   (adverb *ainda* 'yet' and negation)
         the book that-to-him yet not (I) delivered
         'The book that I haven't given to him yet.'

4.5 Order within the Clitic Cluster

So far I have discussed questions related to the order between the clitic and its host, and the elements that may (or may not) intervene between the two. In this section I look into how the account in terms of Clitic Phrases allows us to account for the cross-linguistic/dialectal distinctions in ordering within the clitic cluster.

Several proposals have dealt with the order of clitics within the clitic cluster in different varieties of Spanish. These include Perlmutter (1969), Schroten (1980), Szabo (1974). They provide the following orders:

(506)   SE < II < I < III (Dat < Acc)   Perlmutter (1969)

(507)   II < I < *se* < III (Dat < Acc)   Schroten (1980)

(508)   [REFL] < [BENEFACTIVE] < [DAT] < [ACC]   Szabo (1974)

As Bonet (1991) has indicated, this is not a satisfactory method for accounting for ordering restrictions. On the one hand, it makes use of different kinds of information: phonological and grammatical. On the other hand, as Rivera-Castillo (1997) points out, they do not fully account for ordering restrictions.

Schroten's (1980) ordering pattern in (507) accounts for the ordering presented in Dominican Spanish as shown by the following data from Rivera-Castillo (1997):

	Standard Spanish	Dominican Spanish
(509)	Se me fue.	Me se fue.
	'S/he/it went away from me.'	
(510)	Se me puede caer.	Me se puede caer.
	'It can fall (from me).'	
(511)	Se te olvidó.	Te se olvidó.
	'You forgot (reflx) it.'	
(512)	Se me quiere fumar un cigarro.	Me se quiere ...
	'S/he wants to smoke a cigar (on me).'	
(513)	Se me le fue el novio a mi hija.	Me se le fue ...

'My daughter's boyfriend left her.'

The order of clitics in Dominican Spanish can also be found in language acquisition examples. This alternative ordering in Dominican Spanish is restricted to proclisis, however, further reinforcing the flexibility of proclisis as compared to enclisis.

(514)   olvidársete   *olvidártese
          'to forget (it) yourself'

(515)   Puede caérseme.   *Puede caérmese
          'It can fall on me.'

(516)   Quiere bañarseme.   *Quiere bañarmese.
          'S/he wants to take a bath (on me).'

4.5.1 French vs. Spanish Order of Clitics

In the literature about cliticisation, the relative order of the dative and accusative clitics in languages like French and Spanish has not had a satisfactory solution. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Spanish and Italian argumental object clitics appear in the order: dative clitic, accusative clitic. In French, on the other hand, this order is reversed:[80]

(517)   María se   lo   compró.
          Maria cl$_{Dat}$ cl$_{Acc}$ bought

(518)   *María lo   se   compró.
          Maria cl$_{Acc}$ cl$_{Dat}$ bought

(519)   Marie le   lui   acheterai.
          Marie cl$_{Acc}$ cl$_{Dat}$ will-buy

(520)   *Marie lui   le   acheterai.
          Marie cl$_{Dat}$ cl$_{Acc}$ will-buy

          'Maria bought it for him/her.'

Part of the problem here, is the labelling of clitic in terms of Case, and assuming that *se* and *lui* are the same clitic. Within the present account this problem is avoided as the clitics are charaterised in terms of their *phi* features, and generated under different Clitic Phrases in accordance with these features. The number and characteristics of

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[80] See Chapter 4 for further development of questions of ordering.

Clitic Phrases seems to be a matter subject to parametrisation. The idea of the parametrisation of functional categories was introduced by Ouhalla (1990).

Further evidence of the need to, in some way, account for different order of clitics is discussed by Uriagareka (1995) in a comparison of the order of accusative and dative clitics in Spanish, Galician and French. Spanish and Galician pattern together with the order dative-accusative, whereas French presents the order accusative-dative as the following examples illustrate (Uriagareka's 36 a-d):

(521) Se   lo he   dado   (*lo se)   Spanish
       dat   it have-I given

(522) e   obvio que llo   din   (*o-lle)   Galician
       is   obvious that dat-it gave-I

(523) Je le lui   ai   donne   (*lui-le)   French
       I it dat   have given

Uriagareka points out that Galician follows the same pattern in the case of enclisis:

(524) din-llo   (*o-lle)   Galician
       gave-I-dat-it

(525) dar-se-lo   (*lo-se)   Spanish
       give-dat-it

It is interesting to note that a variety of Spanish, namely that spoken in Aragón presents the same order as French. In this variety, the accusative clitic appears before the dative clitic as the following example from Lapesa (1986) quoted in Uriagareka (1995) shows:

(526) Lo te diré.
       it you say-will-I
       'I will say it to you.'

This order was also possible in Old Italian, Provençal, Castilian Spanish, and Leonese.

A similar order distinction is discussed by Roberts (1992b) in connection with two dialects of Valdotian.

4.5.2 Italian

Other languages, e.g. Standard Italian, allow a greater degree of flexibility in terms of ordering restriction imposed on clitics. In Standard Italian, for example, the ordering of two clitics may vary depending on the role fulfilled by them, as the following examples show:

(527) Si   lo lava
      refl   it washes

(528) Lo   si   lava
      it   Imper washes

The *si* clitic is by far the most flexible one with respect to its position relative to other clitics. It can appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the clitic cluster:

(529) si gli lo da

(530) gli si lo da

(531) gli lo se da

Also, in certain varieties it can appear both before or after another clitic without altering the meaning, such as in the Florentine dialect:

(532) si gli

(533) gli si

4.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the order of clitics with respect to their host (proclisis vs. enclisis), and those elements that can appear between the clitic and its host (interpolation). Enclisis is triggered by movement of the verb to adjoin to the higher clitic head, and in these cases the clitic is more intrinsically linked to the host than in cases of proclisis (perhaps attached to it in the lexicon).

The relative order of clitics within the clitic cluster varies cross-linguistically and is therefore subject to parametrisation. The present account in terms of Clitic Phrases allows us to account for the different orders by linking them to a parameter of functional categories that determines the order of clitics.

5. Issues of Specificity and Animacy

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the requirements on CD discussed in the literature with respect to what has been analysed as a prepositional element, *a* in Spanish, that precedes the doubled DP. The presence/absence of this prepositional element has been linked to semantic properties of the object such as definiteness or specificity or an animacy/human feature. A number of studies have suggested that specificity/definiteness plays a central role in CD. Other studies propose that, for CD to be possible, this element is required, for Case theoretic reasons. I present evidence that shows that the presence of *a* is not a requirement for CD and that, in fact, these two phenomena respond to independent factors. I conclude, together with Kayne (1995) that the presence of this preposition-like element, is an independent property of the language, rather than a prerequisite for CD.

Firstly I present the data showing the correlation between the existence of CD and the presence of *a* and the accounts provided within the GB theory, in particular, Kayne's Generalization. Secondly, I show that it is also perfectly possible for CD to exist without the presence of a preposition-like element such as *a*. Thirdly, I argue that the fact that *a* and other such preposition-like elements are present both in clitic-doubling languages in structures where there is no CD, and in non-clitic doubling languages, as in prepositional accusatives, suggests that the two phenomena follow from independent factors. I then discuss the different proposals that have been made to explain the presence of *a* independently of CD and linking it to a specificity/animacy hierarchy. I propose that these characteristics play a role in the syntax and are encoded on the lexical items by means of syntactic features such as [± pronominal], [±human], [± animate], [±specific] that are responsible for the presence/absence of *a*.

5.2 The Controversial Status of 'a'

The status of *a* has generated much controversy in the various studies concerning the behaviour of objects and clitics in Spanish, as well as other languages. Traditional studies such as Bello (1970) suggest that *a* is required in the case of animate objects. Within a generative context, Kayne (1975) proposed what became known as Kayne's Generalization, which analysed *a* as a Case marker required for the object in instances of CD, because the verb assigned its Case to the corresponding clitic. More recently,

however, the presence of *a* has been analysed as responding to independent factors at play in Spanish, see Kayne (1995). It is this latter position that I adopt.

As well as the numerous examples of CD in Spanish already presented in previous chapters in which a preposition-like element, *a,* is required to precede direct objects, we also find elements similar to *a* in a variety of clitic-doubling languages. The following examples are from Borer (1986):

(534)   Clitic doubling in a VP (Romanian)
l$_i$-am văzut **pe** Popescu$_i$

him-have-I seen OM Popescu   (OM = Object Marker)
'I have seen Popescu.'

(535)   Clitic doubling in a PP (Lebanese Arabic)
hkit   ma -o$_i$ **la** Karim$_i$

talked-I   with-him   to Karim
'I talked with Karim.'

(536)   Clitic doubling in an NP (Modern Hebrew):
beit-o$_i$ **sel** ha-more$_i$

house-his   of the-teacher
'The teacher's house.'

The fact that the CD construction appears to correlate with the presence of a preposition-like element such as *pe* in Romanian, *la* in Lebanese Arabic, or *sel* in Modern Hebrew, and *a* in Spanish, contrasted with the absence of such an element in those languages that do not allow CD such as French and Italian, led Kayne (1975) to propose an analysis in terms of Case-theoretic properties that was intrinsically bound with the presence of this element. This is what became known as Kayne's Generalization and was subsequently adopted and/or adapted by numerous researchers, most notably with respect to Spanish by Jaeggli (1982, 1986).

According to Kayne's Generalization, since the verb assigns its Accusative Case to the clitic, no Case is left for the doubling NP and, therefore, a Case marker needs to be introduced simply to assign Case to the doubling NP. An immediate problem that arises is whether the clitic-doubled NP should be analysed differently from the one that does not have a co-referential clitic. Furthermore, according to Kayne's Generalization, the preposition governs the NP and, in that way, assigns it Case. Within the *Minimalist Program*, however, this mechanism for Case assignment does not hold as the very notion of government is discarded in Chomsky (1995a). The very notion of Case and Case assignment is under scrutiny (see Chomsky 1995a, 1998).

Jaeggli (1982, 1986) adopts and adapts Kayne's Generalization. Maintaining the basic tenets behind the generalisation, Jaeggli suggests that *a*, rather than assigning Case, 'transmits' it, introducing also the notion of Case matching. Following Kayne's Generalization, which indicated that the clitic absorbs Case, Jaeggli (1982) suggests that doubling can only occur when there is a Case assigner available to satisfy the Case requirements of the doubled NP (e.g. *a* in the case of CD in Spanish). He proposes that clitics absorb government and, as a result of this, also absorb Case. According to Jaeggli (1986) the property of absorbing Case is an idiosyncratic characteristic of individual clitics: certain clitics require that Case be assigned to them, so they are obligatory Case absorbers; others are only optional Case absorbers, i.e. they can be assigned Case but need not be; a third group of clitics do not accept Case at all. In Jaeggli's (1986) analysis, the preposition *a* which precedes the doubling NP, does not assign Case to it, but rather *transmits* the Case assigned by the verb. In this context he introduces the concept of Case *Matching* by means of which the Case assigner, in this instance the verb, and the transmitter of Case, the preposition *a*, are matched; the preposition is subsequently Case-matched with the NP.

With particular reference to CD and Kayne's Generalization, this kind of analysis is no longer tenable, not least with Kayne himself (see Kayne, 1995). Empirically speaking, data can be found to provide counterexamples to Kayne's Generalization as the following sections of this chapter show. Furthermore, from a theoretical point of view, the elimination of a stipulation such as Kayne's Generalization can only be a welcome result.

5.2.1 Clitic Doubling with no 'a'

Several studies have pointed out the existence of exceptions to Kayne's Generalization. Suñer (1988), for example, mentions several studies which suggest that numerous languages contradict Kayne's Generalization; these include subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects (Rizzi 1986), subject and object agreement markers in Swahili (Hinnebusch 1979), subject and object clitics in Pirahã (Everett 1986), and Pied Noir French (Roberge 1986). Also, Spencer (1991) points out that data from Macedonian, and other languages of the Balkans such as Modern Greek suggest that Kayne's Generalisation cannot be held (see George and Joseph, 1988).

The following Greek example from Smith and Tsimpli (1995) illustrates the possibility of CD without the need for a preposition or any other kind of marker to introduce the doubled element. Direct and indirect objects can be doubled by an accusative and a genitive clitic respectively. The following sentence exemplifies CD of a direct object:

(537)   To dhiavasa to vivlio
        it-read-1s the-Acc book
        'I read the book.'

Indirect objects in non-doubled constructions may appear as genitives or prepositional phrases:

(538)   O Stefanos edhose to vivlio sti Maria/tis Marias
        the-Nom Stefanos gave-3s the-Acc book to-the Maria/the-Gen Maria
        'Stefanos gave the book to Maria.'

However, in the case of doubling, only the genitive option is available for the doubled phrase:

(539)   O Stefanos tis-to-edhose to vivlio tis Marias/*sti Maria
        the-Nom Stefanos her-it-gave-3s the-Acc book the-Gen Maria/*to-the Maria
        'Stefanos gave the book to Maria.'

In the case of Macedonian, definite direct objects can be duplicated by a clitic, and indirect objects can be duplicated whether they are definite or not. Definite NPs are marked by the presence of a suffixed definite article (*-ot, -ta, -to, -te, etc.*). This is illustrated by the following Macedonian examples from Spencer (1991):

(540)   Mi   ja   dadoa smetka-ta
        1sing.-Dat   3sing.fem-Acc gave bill   -ART-fem
        'He gave me the bill.'

(541)   Dajte mu   ja   kosüla-ta
        give 3sing.masc-Dat 3sing.fem-Acc shirt-ART-fem
        'Give him the shirt.'

(542)   Nemu mu   go   dadov.
        to-him 3sing.masc-Dat   3sing.masc/neuter-Acc I-gave
        'It was to him that I gave it.'

In these instances the element doubled is either a definite direct object or any indirect object. Notice that in Macedonian, CD is possible with inanimate direct objects. As in other cases of CD, the clitic and the doubling NP share features of gender, person, and number. These examples, as Spencer (1991) points out, are evidence against Kayne's Generalisation. Further examples from Berent (1980) show a more complete picture of the paradigm.

(543)   Marija go poznava ucenik-ot.
        Marija him knows the-pupil
        'Marija knows the pupil.'

(544)   Marija go poznava [toj ucenik].
        Marija him knows [that pupil]
        'Marija knows that pupil.'

(545)   Marija go poznava Vlado.
        Marija him knows Vlado
        'Marija knows Vlado.'

These three examples show CD in Macedonian with a variety of different direct objects. All three cases are instances of definite direct objects, (537) includes a demonstrative, and (538) a proper noun.

(546)   Mu   dadov edno penkalo   [na Vlado].
        to-him I-gave one pen   [to Vlado]
        'I gave a pen to Vlado.'

(547)   Mu   dadov edno   penkalo   [na eden ucenik].
        to-him I-gave   one pen   [to one pupil]
        'I gave a pen to a pupil.'

In the case of indirect objects, doubling is possible both with definite objects as in (546), and indefinite objects as in (547).

Examples of CD without a preposition-like element are not exclusive to these languages, however, and can be found in a variety of the language for which Kayne's Generalisation was first devised. Suñer (1988) provides the following examples of CD without *a* from Porteño Spanish.[81]

(548)   Yo la tenía prevista esta muerte.   (Denevi 1964, p. 102)
        I had foreseen (it) this death.

(549)   ¿Así que el tarambana de Octavio la liquidó su fortuna? (Kany 1969, p. 149)
        Isn't it true that the empty-headed Octavio squandered (it) his fortune?

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[81] Porteño Spanish is the variety spoken in the city of Buenos Aires.

(550) Lo último que escuché, claro que la encontré pesada la audición, fue el reportaje.

(Barrenechea and Orecchia 1979)

The last thing I listened to, of course I found (it) boring the (radio)-program, was the interview.

(551) Ahora tiene que seguir usándolo el apellido. (idem)

Now s/he has to go on using (it) the surname.

Note that, in all these examples, the doubled DP is [- human] and [- animate], but [+ specific]. See sections below for further development of this point.

Other languages also present CD without requiring an *a* element to be present. Ilari and Franchi (1985), quoted in Everett (1996), provide evidence from Biellese where CD is possible with the doubled NP not being marked by a preposition:

(552) i u purta-lo$_i$ via al liber$_i$

I Acc take-it^Acc away the book

'I took the book away.'

In this section I have shown that a variety of languages present data where CD can be found without a preposition-like element, which directly contradicts Kayne's Generalization.

Pirahã, a language typologically unrelated to the ones discussed so far in this section, also presents CD without requiring its doubling DP to be preceded by a preposition-like element, as the examples from Everett (1996) show:

(553) Kó?oí$_i$ (hí$_i$) sigíhií$_j$ (?ís$_j$) ohoiáipí   Subject and Direct Object CD

Ko?oi it meat he eat

'Ko?oi eats meat.'

(554) Kó?oí$_i$ sigíhií$_j$ (hí$_i$) (?ís$_j$) ohoiáipí   Subject and Direct Object CD

| Ko?oí meat it he eat

'Ko?oi eats meat.'

5.2.2 When 'a' is present without CD

As I have shown above, it is possible to find counterexamples to Kayne's Generalization in a number of languages which allow CD but do not require the

corresponding doubled DP to appear with a preposition-like element. It is also important to look at another kind of counterexample for Kayne's Generalization. Conversely to the examples of CD without *a,* we can also find constructions that present a preposition-like element such as *a,* but no CD. This is the case both in clitic-doubling languages and those that do not allow CD.

In Spanish, for every clitic-doubled construction we find a parallel non-clitic-doubled construction in which the direct object must nevertheless present an *a.* In other words, if *a* is required for Case-theoretic reasons to assign Case to the doubled element, as Kayne's Generalization suggests, why should it appear when there is no clitic to take away the Case from the object? Within a Government and Binding approach, only two possible solutions were available to solve this dilemma. We could either postulate an empty category that would appear in the position of the clitic in non-clitic-doubled constructions and require Case to be assigned to it; or we could provide a different analysis for the two direct objects in a clitic-doubled and a non-clitic-doubled construction, such as the following examples:

(555)   Lo ví a Juan.
         him saw-I to Juan

(556)   Ví a Juan.
         saw-I Juan
         'I saw John.'

Within a minimalist approach, however, neither option is acceptable. For reasons discussed in Chapter 3, the very notion of empty categories is highly undesirable, and can (therefore must) be eliminated on principled grounds. On the other hand, the idea of analysing the two direct objects above, i.e. *a Juan,* differently, for example, one as an adjunct and the other as an argument, seems highly inappropriate. Furthermore, since there is no reason to suppose that either the clitic-doubled or the non-clitic-doubled construction is more basic or can be derived from the other; it must be the case that CD and the presence/absence of *a,* follow from independent factors.

As the data discussed in Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming) show, a similar preposition-like element appears in a number of Italian dialects that do not allow CD at all. These constructions have traditionally been labelled prepositional accusatives. In the varieties discussed by these authors the preposition is usually, but not exclusively, *a.* Geographically, prepositional accusatives cover a very wide area, from the northern-most regions (including Switzerland) to Sardinia and Sicily. Just a few

examples can illustrate this phenomenon,[82] for further examples I refer the reader to Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming).

(557) ε na klɔ'ma **a** mes 'fiλ   Sent
       I have called to my son
       'I have called my son.'

(558) ε na klɔ'ma **a** mias 'fiλas
       I have called to my daughters
       'I have called my daughters.'

(559) ε na klɔ'ma **a** mes 'tʃans
       I have called to my dogs
       'I have called my dogs.'

It is important to point out that these dialects do not allow CD. However, they do allow, and in some cases require, the direct object to be preceded by a preposition. This clearly shows that the presence of the preposition is not linked to CD.

In this section I have shown that the link between the possibility of CD and the presence/absence of a preposition-like element such as *a* is far from the direct causal relation that Kayne's Generalisation indicated. The existence of CD and the presence of *a* appear to respond to independent factors. These data support the intuition put forward by Kayne (1995), namely that the presence of *a* in Spanish, and by extension in other languages, is the consequence of factors that are independent from the existence of CD.

5.2.3 Specificity and 'a' as a marker of Specificity

Having established that the factors triggering CD and the presence of *a* must be independent, let us now look why *a* might be required. The presence of the preposition *a* has traditionally been linked to a feature of specificity on the direct object which it precedes. The possibility for CD has also been linked to this notion of specificity. It is for this reason, I believe, that *a* and CD have been linked.

The proposals that present 'specificity' as a key issue in the motivation for clitic placement include Suñer (1991), Sportiche (1992), Corver and Delfitto (1993), and

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[82] These examples are purposely chosen from a variety of the Grison since such typology is more often associated with southern varieties, but, as numerous other examples show, this phenomenon can also be found elsewhere.

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Uriagareka (1995). Suñer (1988) and Enç (1991) both suggest that lexical items are inserted from the lexicon marked as [± specific].

Arguments in favour of an analysis linking the feature [+ specific] and CD in River Plate Spanish are provided by Silva-Corvalán (1984) and Suñer (1988). The following examples appear to indicate that CD is only possible if the doubled NP is specific:

(560) Lo¡ conocí al nuevo panadero¡.

cl-him met-1sg the new baker

'I met the new baker.'

(561) Juan la¡ sacó la nota¡ sin esfuerzo.

Juan it-fem-cl got-3sg the grade without effort

'Juan got the grade without effort.'

(562) *Juan la sacó una nota sin esfuerzo.

Juan it-fem-cl got-3sg a grade without effort

'Juan got a grade without effort.'

Suñer (1991) also discusses a specificity requirement on direct object clitic doubling in Porteño Spanish by which the doubled NP has to be [+ specific] as well as being [+ animate] as seen in the following examples (Suñer's (1991) 2 a-c):

(563) *La* ví a la niña / la gata.

her saw-I to the girl / the cat (f).

'I saw the girl/ the cat.'

These examples show doubling with a DP which is [+spec +anim +def].

(564) *La* ví a una mujer que vendía cobras.

her saw-I a woman who was-selling-(indicative) copperheads

'I saw a woman who was selling copperheads.'

This example, on the other hand, shows a DP which is [+spec +anim -def].

(565) Nunca (*lo*) conocí a alguien que fuera domador de fieras.

never him met-I to somebody who was-(subjunctive) wild-animal trainer

'I never met anybody who was a wild-animal trainer.'

Finally, in this case we find an instance where CD is disallowed with a [-spec +anim -def] DP. This seems to indicate that CD is only allowed when the direct object is specific. It does not, however, enlighten us as to the status of *a*. Suñer points out that

the accusative or 'personal' *a* that has been analysed as a specificity marker is not so in the case of quantified DOs. In (565) where *a* is obligatory, the DO is modified by a relative clause in the subjunctive which serves to indicate non-specific antecedents (Rivero 1977). The counterpart with a relative clause in the indicative is ungrammatical (566):[83]

(566)   *Nunca conocí a alguien que era domador de fieras.

(567)   (*La*) buscaban (a) una mujer que vendiera cobras.   [-spec +anim -def]
        her were-looking-they to a woman who sold-(subjunctive) copperheads
        'They were looking for a woman who sold copperheads.'

As mentioned above, the link between specificity and the presence of *a* is dropped in the case of quantified objects. We can find examples in which *a* occurs with quantified objects, but where CD is disallowed as the following contrasting pairs show.

(568)   (*Lo*) Ví a alguien.
        him saw-I to somebody
        'I saw somebody.'

(569)   No (*lo*) ví a nadie
        No him I-saw to nobody
        'I saw nobody.'

This seems to indicate that *a* can appear with non-specific objects when CD is not allowed.[84] Summarising:

(570)   CD is not possible with [- specific] objects

(571)   *a* is allowed with [- specific] objects

In the case of indirect objects, on the other hand, the specificity requirement does not seem to play any part whatsoever in the possibility of CD. Or at least some [- specific] objects, perhaps only [+ animate] or [+ human] ones. See below for further development. This is a clear illustration of the far less restricted occurrence of IO CD in general, as shown by the following examples (Suñer's (1991) 1 a-b):

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[83] For a theory on the interaction between the subjunctive mood and specificity, see Manzini (1996b)

[84] This is also further evidence against Kayne's Generalization.

(572) *Le* di agua a un / al vagabundo.   [+spec +anim ±def]

   1sg to-3sg gave water to a / to the bum

   'I gave water to a / the bum.'

(573) *Le* di agua a una / a la planta.   [+spec -anim ±def]

   1sg to-3sg gave water to a / to the plant

   'I gave water to a / the plant.'

(574) No *le* hablé a nadie.   [-spec +anim -def]

   1sg no to-3sg talked to nobody

   'I didn't speak to anybody.'

(575) *Les* dejaré todo mi dinero a los pobres.   [-spec +anim +def]

   I to-them will-leave all my money to the poor

   'I will leave all my money to the poor.'

This difference between DO and IO clitics is paralleled by the difference in frequency of occurrence between these two phenomena and the grammaticality variation across dialects.[85]

5.2.3.1 Specificity in Languages Other than Spanish

A number of studies point to a correlation between specificity and syntactic configurations in languages other than Spanish. These include Koopman (1989), Enç (1991), and Mahajan (1992). Koopman (1989), as reported by Laka (1993), makes a proposal for Dutch in which [+ specific] objects move outside the VP to receive Case, whereas [- specific] objects remain in the VP. According to Enç (1991), in Turkish, only [+ specific] objects receive overt accusative Case morphology. With reference to clitics, we find mentions of Specificity Effects in various languages such as Romanian (Steriade, 1981), Macedonian (Berent, 1980), and Greek (Kazazis and Pentheroudakis, 1976).

Studies in typologically diverse languages have shown possible connections between Specificity and agreement or cliticisation. Mahajan (1990) proposes that specificity is intrinsically linked to Object agreement.[86] Furthermore, Mahajan (1992) suggests the

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[85] Uriagareka (1995) provides a classification of clitics according to which accusative clitics are determiners, whereas dative clitics are agreement markers.

[86] This is relevant particularly in the light of studies such as Franco (1993) which have likened Spanish CD to Object Agreement. Although I shall not go down this path, it is nevertheless interesting to note that in both phenomena, specificity is crucial.

possibility of providing a unified account for the specificity requirement in the cases of clitic doubling and object agreement. With respect to the instances of object agreement in Hindi, in Mahajan's (1990) view, the object moves to a position governed by Agr only when this object is [+ specific]. He provides the following contrasting examples:

(576) Raam-ne   kitaab   parhii.
       Raam-Erg(masc)   book (fem)   read (Perf fem sing)
       'Ram read the book.'

(577) Raam   ek kitaab   parhegaa.
       Raam (masc)   a book (fem)   read (Fut masc sing)
       'Ram will read the book.'

The [+ specific] object in the first sentence has undergone movement to the Agr position, and, consequently, object agreement is instantiated; this, on the other hand, is impossible in the second sentence where the [- specific] object does not experience such movement.

The connection between CD and specificity is not universal, however. In a discussion of CD in Trentino, Cordin (1993) points out that doubling of an indirect object is not restricted by semantic features of the referent such as [± human], [± animate], [± specific] or [± pronominal] as the following examples illustrate (Cordin's 1 b-f):

(578) *(Ghe) dago   na nosela a l'orso.
       Dat.cl. give-1sg. a peanut to the bear
       'I'll give a peanut to the bear.'

(579) *(Ghe) dago   en buton ala machina.
       Dat.cl. give-1sg. a push   to the car
       'I'll give the car a push.'

(580) *(Ghe) dago el regal a qualchedun.
       Dat.cl give-1sg.the present to somebody
       'I'll give the present to somebody.'

(581) *(Ghe) dago   el regal   a elo.
       Dat.cl give-1sg. the present   to him
       'I'll give the present to him.'

(582) *(Te) dago   el regal   a ti.
       Dat.cl give-1sg   the present   to you
       'I'll give the present to you.'

In this respect Trentino is similar to Spanish. In the case of direct object, although these examples are rare, Trentino follows Standard Spanish in that it requires doubling when the argument NP is a pronoun.

(583)   *(Te) ho   ciamà propri ti.
        Acc.cl have Is called just you
        'I have called YOU.'

(584)   El *(me)   vol   mi.
        He acc.cl.   wants me
        'He wants me.'

Therefore certain constraints do apply to direct object CD in Trentino, and the features at play seem to be similar, only that Trentino has less stringent requirements for CD than Porteño or Standard Spanish.

5.2.3.2 Definiteness

Another feature that has been described as playing a central role in determining the possibility of doubling in certain languages is [± definite]. In Albanian and Modern Greek, as reported by Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976), doubling of definite objects by a clitic involves examples such as the following:

(585)   E panë   kështjellën?   Albanian
        it we -saw   castle-the
(586)   Tó eídame tó kástro?   Modern Greek
        it we -saw the castle
        'Did we see the castle?'

(587)   Kështjellën e panë   dje   Albanian
        castle-the it   we -saw yesterday
(588)   Tó kástro tó eídame khtés   Modern Greek
        the castle it
        ' We saw the castle yesterday.'

As Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976) recognise, it is usually the case that indefinite objects are not subject to doubling, as shown by the following examples from Modern Greek:

(589)   Soû plékö éna polobér
        to-you I-knit one sweater

(590) *Soû tó plékö éna polobér
       to-you it I-knit one sweater
       'I'm knitting you a sweater.'

Equivalent sentences in Albanian have also been analysed as ungrammatical or at best exceptions in studies such as Buchholz (1968) and Lopasov (1973), as in (591):

(591) */??? Po   ta   dërgoj një fotografi[87]
       (particle) to-you-it I-send one photo
       'I am sending you a photo.'

Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976) claim that far from being exceptions, these instances of doubling of an indefinite direct object can be analysed within the general Balkan rule of Direct-Object Reduplication or DOR, provided that the preceding discourse and non-linguistic context are taken into account. It is on the basis of such factors that they postulate the existence of two kinds of indefiniteness: they classify indefinite direct objects into 'specified' ones, i.e. those previously mentioned in the discourse, which are therefore subject to DOR, and 'non-specified' ones i.e. those that constitute new information and are not subject to DOR. This amounts to making reference to the feature [± specific]. The same authors mention the fact that in Romanian reduplication of indefinite direct objects is far from uncommon, but complicated by the fact that an added criterion to take into account is whether the direct object refers to a person or not.

5.2.4 'a' as a marker of [+ Human] / [+ Animate]

Traditional grammarians have described the element *a* as a requirement of [+ human] objects, and the label 'personal' *a* has often been used. As Suñer (1988) quotes from the well-known traditional grammarian Bello (1970, p. 294) "animacy alone suffices for *a* to appear with the accusatives of *alguien* 'somebody', *nadie* 'nobody', *quien* 'whoever'". 'Animacy' does not seem accurate enough to label the features at play in these cases, as these direct objects could not be interpreted as, for example, 'an animal.' The direct objects must definitely be people, therefore, the most accurate feature to use here would be [± human].

(592) Ví *(a) alguien.
       saw-I *(to) somebody
       'I saw somebody.'

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[87] ta = të 'to you' + e 'it'.

(593) No ví *(a) nadie.

no saw-I *(to) nobody

'I didn't see anybody.'

(594) ¿*(A) quién viste?

to who saw-you

'Who did you see?'

By way of contrast, we can see that this is clearly not possible with the corresponding non-human quantified objects; i.e. *algo* 'something', *nada* 'nothing', and *que* 'what', which are [- human]:

(595) Ví (*a) algo.

saw-I (*to) something

'I saw something.'

(596) No ví (*a) nada.

no saw-I (*to) nothing

'I didn't see anything.'

(597) ¿(*A) qué viste?

to what saw-you

'What did you see?'

From these data we should conclude that, at least in the case of quantified objects, *a* can only appear with [+ human] objects.

5.2.5 'a' with [-Human] Objects

However, certain varieties of Spanish, e.g. Porteño Spanish, seem to allow, and in some cases even require, the presence of *a* with non-human objects. Nevertheless, as the following examples show, this flexibility only extends as far as [+ animate] objects:[88]

(598) Ví (a-)-l perro.

saw-I (to-)-the dog

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[88] According to Gelderen (1997), in languages such as Urdu/Hindi agreement of the verb with a coordinate subject depends on whether the NPs are animate or inanimate (see Platts, 1873 [1967]; Barker, 1967 [1975]; McGregor, 1972 [1977]; and Davison, 1988).

(599) Lo ví (a-)-l perro.
       it saw-I to-the dog
       'I saw the dog.'

As opposed to the examples with quantified objects these objects can be clitic-doubled.

The importance of the animacy feature in CD can also be seen in Romanian, where DPs with non-human referents cannot be doubled as the examples from Gierling (1997) indicate (if these sentences were clitic-doubled, they would become ungrammatical):

(600) Astept autobuzul.   (+def, ±spec)
       wait(I) bus-the
       'I am waiting for the bus.'

(601) Citesc articolul pe care mi l-ai dat.   (+def, +spec)
       read(I) article-the pe which me him-have(you) given
       'I'm reading the article you have given to me.'

(602) Am citit un articol, care-ti va placea.   (-def, +spec)
       have(I) read an article which-you$_{Dat}$ will like
       'I'm reading an article which you will like.'

(603) Am citit multe articole.   (-def, -spec)
       have(I) read many articles
       'I've read many articles.'

Gierling (1997) proposes, following Suñer (1988), that clitics are stored in the lexicon with their features specified, and that in the case of Rumanian, they are specified as [+ human] and are therefore incompatible with [-human] DPs. However, she admits that this cannot account for why clitics can also refer to non-human entities when CD is not at stake or when the doubled DO is topicalised.

The fact that these objects are [+ animate] is not sufficient to allow CD, they also have to be [+ specific]. This is not the case, however, with a non-human, non-animate object such as *auto*. In this case, neither CD nor 'a' are allowed.

(604) (*Lo) ví (*a-)-l auto.
       him saw-I to-the car
       'I saw the car.'

It must be said that, in these varieties, CD is possible even if the animate object is quantified.

(605) Ví (a) algun perro.
       saw-I to some dog
       'I saw some dog.'

(606) No ví (a) ningun perro.
       no saw-I to any dog
       'I didn't see any dogs.'

There are some examples however, also discussed by Suñer (1988), in which the direct object, preceded by *a* and allowing CD can hardly be considered [+ human] or even [+ animate], Suñer's examples 13 a and b.

(607) ... lo vamos a empujar al ómnibus.   (recorded)
       ... it 1PL-are going   to push the bus
       '... we are going to push the bus.'

(608) Lo quiero mucho **a** este arbolito porque me lo regaló mi mamá.   (spontaneous)
       'I love this little tree a lot because my mother gave it to me.'

Another such example, recorded by myself shows the presence of 'a' and clitic doubling with a [- human], and [- animate] DO:

(609) A ese tema no lo quiero tocar.   (radio interview)
       a that subject no cl want discuss
       'I don't want to discuss that subject.'

So far, the simplest conclusion seems to be that *a* appears mostly with [+ human], or possibly [+ animate] [+ quantified] direct objects; and that those examples where these restrictions do not apply are rare exceptions that can be interpreted pragmatically as [+ animate]. However, we can find many more, far less exotic examples than those discussed by Suñer, where a [- human] and [- animate] direct object is preceded by *a*.

(610) La escuela apoyó a la comitiva.
       the school supported to the committee
       'The school supported the committee.'

(611) El gobierno censuró a la prensa.
       the government censored *a* the press
       'The government censored the press.'

These objects can be cliticised, and CD is also possible in the relevant dialects as the following sentences show:

(612)   La escuela la apoyó (a la comitiva).

(613)   El gobierno la censuró (a la prensa).[89]

The direct objects in these cases, are [+ specific], but are not [+ human] or [+ animate], but they do require *a*. A possibility would be to use a loose interpretation of these features and say that, pragmatically, *la comitiva* y *la prensa* are in fact [+ human], simply by virtue of being 'made up of people.'

5.2.6 Ergative Splits

As hinted at in previous sections, a strong link appears to exist between the presence of *a* and the properties of the relevant object in terms of the features [± pronominal], [± human], [± animacy], [± specificity], and [±quantified]. This is very reminiscent of the hierarchies proposed in the typological literature to account for what has been termed the Ergative Split (see Silverstein 1976 among others). These phenomena include splits in Tense/Aspect and splits across person as well as clause type (see Dixon 1979 for the data involved and Jelinek 1993 for a critical review). Several studies have attempted to explain the facts involved in Ergativity by recourse to 'pragmatic' explanations, such as the expectations and beliefs of speakers and other elements involved in the communicative context. However, studies such as Jelinek (1993) have proposed a syntactic analysis on the basis of the presence of a parametric feature [+ Pronominal Arguments] and its interaction with the Definiteness Hierarchy.

Person hierarchies suggest a split between first and second persons on the one hand, and the third person on the other. Within the more pragmatically-oriented studies this has been described as a split between 'Local' and 'Non-local' arguments, the intuition being that the speaker and hearer in the speech act can be considered 'Local', whereas 'outsiders', i.e. third persons, are 'Non-Local.'[90] A much quoted early study of person hierarchies can be found in Silverstein (1976), who provides a ranking of referring expressions along the lines of the following scale:

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[89] Other possible examples include:
    (i)   Las Naciones Unidas expulsaron a Cuba.
    'The United Nations expelled Cuba.'
    (ii)   El director invitó a los institutos.
    'The director invited the institutes.'

[90] This labelling is adopted from Hockett (1966) who first proposes it in a study of person hierarchy in Algonquian.

(614) 1&2 > 3 > proper > human > animate > inanimate

     pronouns   nouns   common nouns

     Accusative ->   <- Ergative

This, according to Silverstein, provides a 'natural explanation' for ergative splits and person hierarchies: for any one specific language or dialect, the Ergative split takes place at some point along this scale. In a further elaboration of the account, Dixon (1979) suggests that it is the natural egocentricity of human beings that makes them see themselves (i.e. the speaker) as the most natural agent, with the interlocutor or addressee as the next most likely agent[91] and so on. Other studies of a somewhat different flavour, but always focused on pragmatic accounts include Mallinson and Blake (1981) and DeLancey (1981). Mallinson and Blake (1981) suggest that this person hierarchy can be explained in terms of 'topic worthiness' or the fact that talking about themselves is more interesting for the speaker and hearer than talking about others or about objects. DeLancey (1981) explains this in terms of the 'attention flow' which involves the interlocutors more than those outside the speech act.

This kind of analysis in terms of the 'egocentrism' or centrality of the speaker and hearer to the speech act would suggest that first and second pronouns should be present in higher numbers. This does not seem to be the case, and there seems to exist evidence to the contrary (see Wierzbicka 1981). However, the main problem with these accounts is not one of statistical evidence, but rather of a conceptual nature. As Jelinek (1993) points out, if the explanation for these person splits were to be found in pragmatic and/or psycholinguistic facts, we would be right to expect these to be present universally, which is obviously not the case. Furthermore, the fact that the presence of the person splits appears to correlate with the presence of rich inflection would point to the existence of a syntactic process that could be parametrised.

Jelinek (1993) proposes that the person hierarchy is primary but is motivated by a semantic property of pronominal arguments, i.e. definiteness. She also suggests that the person hierarchy can be seen as a kind of subject/object asymmetry. She proposes a difference in the locality value of the arguments in a transitive sentence with Local arguments required to be external and Non-local arguments internal. To replace the

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[91] This would also explain why certain languages present some degree of ranking within Local arguments. However, it is not always the case that the first person outranks the second, and there doesn't seem to be as consistent a split as between Local and Non-local arguments. Furthermore, as Jelinek (1993) points out, plural pronouns which may include both Local and Non-local referents, seem to show a greater degree of variation in person hierarchies.

pragmatic or discourse-related explanation of these facts, she proposes an account using the semantic feature of definiteness of the following form:

(615)   All Local arguments are definite

(616)   All indefinite arguments are Non-local

She proposes that definite and indefinite arguments differ in their hierarchical distribution in the syntactic tree, with definites required to be 'higher' in the tree than indefinites. She further connects the definiteness hierarchy with the presence of the feature [+ Pronominal Arguments].

Although we would not like to say that Spanish is typologically related to the languages traditionally described as Ergative, there appears to be an interesting correlation between the kind of split found in these languages and certain characteristics of the Spanish clitic paradigm. The generalisations we can draw from the data presented above can be summarised as follows. Specificity does seem to be a requirement for direct object CD in Spanish, both with animate and inanimate objects[92] as illustrated by the following examples:

(617)   La vi a María.
         her saw-I to María
         'I saw María.'

(618)   Lo vi al árbol.
         him saw-I to-the tree
         'I saw the tree.'

On the other hand, when we look at the presence of *a*, the picture seems slightly more complex. With [+ specific] direct objects, *a* is required, whether CD is instantiated or not, and whether the object is animate or inanimate, as the previous and following examples show.

(619)   Vi *(a) María.
         saw-I to María
         'I saw María.'

---

[92] A certain degree of dialectal variation may occur, by which certain dialects may allow [+ animate] objects to be doubled more readily that [- animate] ones.

(620) Ví (a-)-l árbol.

saw-I to the tree

'I saw the tree.'

In the case of an inanimate objects, the *a* is optional when there is no CD, and its presence/absence varies across dialects; but in the example with CD, the presence of *a* seems to be preferred.[93]

(621) Lo ví *(a-)-l árbol.

him saw-I to the tree

'I saw the tree.'

If we turn to [- specific] direct objects, we know that CD is not allowed, but *a* may be allowed, or even required when the object fulfils certain other requirements, i.e. when it is [+ quantified] by a [+ human] quantifier such as *alguien, nadie,* or *quien,* or when it is [+ quantified] and has an overt [+ animate] object. These two instances are illustrated by the following examples:

(622) Ví *(a) alguien.

saw-I to somebody

'I saw somebody.'

(623) Ví *(a) algún perro.

saw-I to some dog

'I saw some dog.'

Further evidence for the disassociation of CD and the presence of *a*, as well as for the plausibility of an analysis in connection with an animacy hierarchy can be found in prepositional accusatives. Those found in Italian dialects and discussed by Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming) present restrictions with respect to the use of these prepositions that are very reminiscent of those present in Spanish. Savoia and Manzini (forthcoming) point out another sort of restriction, aspectual in nature, with respect to the occurrence of prepositional accusatives, that concerning verbs of the type *ho/tener.* These verbs do not admit prepositional accusatives, as the following examples from Spanish show:

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[93] It is difficult to get precise judgements on these examples as they are considered ungrammatical in the prescriptive tradition.

(624)   María tiene dos hermanas.
        'María has two sisters.'

This is so across the dialectal spectrum of Spanish varieties, as well as Italian. This further restriction becomes particularly important in the light of the link between the aspectual structure of the phrase and definiteness/indefiniteness.

In this section I have shown that the facts involved in ergative splits present interesting parallels with the discussion of cliticisation and the *a* requirement; and that the phenomena can be accounted for by means of the features [± pronominal], [± human], [± animate], and [± specific]. Previous studies such as Lois (1982) and King (1984) have proposed that the reason for the presence of 'a' in Spanish lies with a combination of certain features of the object which include [+ animate], [+ specific], and [+ referential], and this is also at the root of my proposal. The dialectal variations discussed above can be explained according to whether the different dialects require *a* to be present with different objects or not.

5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown that the two phenomena linked through Kayne's Generalization, i.e. CD and the presence of *a*, respond to independent factors. It is clear that these two phenomena are not as directly linked as previously thought since we can find numerous counterexamples to the generalisation. These include instances of CD with no preposition-like element required and a preposition-like element required in non-clitic-doubling languages and in non-clitic-doubled sentences in languages that allow CD.

The independent factors involved in the distribution of CD and *a* can be accounted for by means of a parametrisable hierarchy of features of a similar kind to the one proposed for Ergative splits, i.e. [± pronominal], [± human], [± animate], [± specific]. In the case of Spanish, CD is allowed only if the direct object being doubled possesses a [+ specific] feature, and blocked if it does not. The presence of *a* presents rather more complex requirements involving [+ animate], [+ human] and [+ quantified] objects in different combinations.

6. Conclusions

The present thesis presents a theoretical account for the presence and behaviour of clitics and clitic doubling in Spanish. In the conclusions I would like to turn the attention to the place these phenomena have in cases of impairment and language acquisition.

6.1 A Savant's Perspective

In their study of Christopher, a polyglot savant, Smith and Tsimpli (1995)[94] point to an interesting grouping of constructions. In their analysis of English dislocation and topicalisation structures, they found that Christopher had considerable difficulty assessing these structures. Whereas in the presence of constructions that involve operator-movement (e.g. restrictive relative clauses, embedded interrogatives, *easy-to-please* constructions, parasitic gap constructions and clefts) Christopher's judgements were those that would be expected of a native speaker; this was not the case when confronted with instances of dislocation and topicalisation. Christopher invariably corrected all such instances of dislocation and topicalisation, replacing them in the following way,[95] examples from Smith and Tsimpli (1995, pp. 51-52):

(625)   Susan, I met her yesterday.   [R]
        I met Susan yesterday.

(626)   Me, I don't like football.   [R]
        I don't like football.

(627)   I met her yesterday, Mary.   [R]
        Yesterday, I met Mary.

(628)   I sent it to Mary, that book about the Greek islands.   [R]
        I sent that book about the Greek islands to Mary.

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[94] This is a detailed study of the abilities of Christopher, a polyglot savant, who, despite being unable to look after himself, and incapable of succeeding at the simplest everyday task, has extraordinary linguistic ability. His native language is English, and he has some knowledge, ranging from fluency to the basics, of Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Modern Greek, Hindi, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Welsh. He has great facility for picking up languages, as was demonstrated when the researchers exposed him to Berber. Furthermore, he shows great ability at word games in various languages. For further detail I refer the reader to Smith and Tsimpli (1995).

[95] The first sentence of each pair is the one presented to Christopher by the researchers, followed by [OK] if he accepted it, or [R] if he rejected it, in which case it is followed by Christopher's suggested correction.

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Consistent with the rejection of dislocated and topicalised construction in English, Christopher also rejected clitic-left dislocation constructions in Greek, Italian and Spanish, as the following examples show (Smith and Tsimpli 1995, p. 107).

Greek

(629) Tis Elenis, o Yanis dhen tis-to estile to gramma.   [R]
       the-Gen Eleni, the-Nom Yanis not her-it sent the letter
       'Yanis didn't send the letter to Eleni.'
(630) O Yanis dhen estile to gramma tis Elenis.
       the-Nom Yanis not sent the letter the-Gen Eleni

(631) Tu pedhiu tu kani mathima i Maria.   [R]
       the-Gen child him-make-3s lesson the-Nom Maria
       'Maria teaches the child.'
(632) Tu pedhiu kani mathima i Maria.
       the-Gen child does lesson the-Nom Maria

Italian

(633) Le notizie, Maria le ha sentite.   [R]
       the news, Maria them has heard
       'Maria has heard the news.'
(634) Maria ha sentito le notizie.
       Maria has heard the news

Spanish

(635) *A la película, Juan la vio.   [R]
       to the film, John it saw
       'The film, John saw it.'
(636) *Juan vio a la película.
       John saw the film.

Notice that in the case of Spanish dislocation, the stimulus utterance presented to Christopher was ungrammatical in many dialects due to the presence of *a* with an inanimate object, something which, as Smith and Tsimpli point out, Christopher failed to correct in his amended version. This could be seen as lending support to the idea of an Ergative Split, as discussed in Chapter 5. Christopher simply has the judgements of a dialect that allows *a* with [- animate] objects such as Porteño Spanish.

Moving on to clitic-doubling in Modern Greek, the authors observe that again Christopher corrects most instances of right-dislocation or clitic-doubling as the following examples show (Smith and Tsimpli 1995, pp. 108-110):

(637)   O Petros mu tin ipe tin istoria.   [R]
        the Petros me-her-told the story
        'Petros told me the story.'

(638)   O Petros mu ipe tin istoria.
        the Petros me told the story

(639)   Tin exo idhi dhiavasi afti tin efimeridha.   [R]
        her-have-1sg already read this the newspaper
        'I have already read this newspaper.'

(640)   Idhi exo dhiavasi afti tin efimeridha.
        already have-1sg read this the newspaper

(641)   To dhiavasa to vivlio.   [R]
        it-read-1sg the-Acc book
        'I read the book.'

(642)   Dhiavasa to vivlio.
        read-1sg the book

(643)   Tis edhikses tis fotografies sti Maria?   [R]
        them-showed-2sg the pictures to-the Maria
        'Did you show the pictures to Maria?'

(644)   Edhikses tis fotografies sti Maria?
        showed-2sg the pitures to-the Maria

(645)   O Petros tis to edhose to dhoro tis Marias.   [R]
        the-nom Petros her-it-gave-3sg the-Acc present the-Gen Maria
        'Petros gave the present to Maria.'

(646)   O Petros tis to adhose.
        the-Nom Petros her-it-gave-3sg
        Petros gave it to her.

(647)   Mi tis to paris to vivlio.   [R]
        not her-it take-2sg the-Acc book
        'Don't take the book from her.'

(648)   Mi tis paris to vivlio.
        not her take-2sg the-Acc book

(649) Tis aghorasa ena vivlio ja ta jenethlia tis, tis Maria.   [R]
       her-bought-1sg one book for the birthday hers the-Gen Maria
       'I bought Maria a book for her birthday.'

(650) Aghorasa ena vivlio ja ta jenethlia tis Marias.
       bought-1sg one book for the birthday the-Gen Maria
       'I bought her a book for her birthday of Maria...For Maria's birthday.'
       [Christopher's translation]

In the light of Christopher's consistent rejection of these structtures, Smith and Tsimpli (1995, p. 111) ask the question that has been addressed and answered affirmatively in this thesis: 'should LD, CLLD, topicalization, and clitic-doubling be grouped into one natural class on the basis of formal similarities specifiable at (some) linguistic level?' Christopher's blanket rejection of all these constructions provides supporting evidence for the proposals made in this thesis concerning the unified treatment of CD.

6.2 The Acquisition of Clitics

Everett (1996) discusses data related to the acquisition of clitics in Brazilian Portuguese and French. For Brazilian Portuguese, he presents the following data from children from 6-13 years old:

(651) me   pega   eu
       1s-Dat catch-Imp   1s-Nom
       'Catch me.'

(652) pega eu

(653) me pega-me

(654) me pega-me eu

(655) *pega-me

(656) *pega-me eu

Havrkort and Weissenborn (1991), quoted in Everett (1996), propose that there are three stages in the acquisition of clitic-verb order in French positive imperative constructions, namely:

Stage 1: clitic-verb

Stage 2: clitic-verb and verb-clitic

Stage 3: verb-clitic

Further study and analysis of data concerning cliticisation and different kinds of CD is undoubtedly required. However, it is evident that both ordering possibilities (i.e. enclisis and proclisis) are instantiated. Furthermore, CD of the traditional sort can be found (651) as well as cl-cl doubling (653). The only form that appears in child language, but not in adult data is the one with two clitics an a pronoun as (654). Pending further collection and analysis of data, I assume this to be a transitional stage.

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Appendix - Clitic Doubling

This appendix contains a brief summary of some facts concerning CD from Albanian, Catalan, Colloquial French, Hebrew, Lebanese Arabic, Macedonian, Modern Greek, Pirahã, Romanian, Spanish, Trentino, and Yagua. The sources for these examples are indicated throughout. For more detail, I refer the reader to the original works.

Albanian

Torrego (1994b)

(1)　　Agini　e　pa　　Sokolin
　　　　Agin-def cl　see Sokol-def
　　　　'Agim saw Sokol.'

Catalan

Rigau (LI Squib) presents data from Catalan that show the possibility of doubling accusative and dative clitics:

(2)　　La Maria m'　　　　estima [$_{NP}e$].
　　　　Mary　me(Acc)　　loves
(3)　　La Maria m'　estima a mi.
　　　　Mary me(Acc) loves to me(Acc)
　　　　'Mary loves me.'

(4)　　La Maria m'　ha donat un llibre [$_{NP}e$].
　　　　Mary　me(Dat) gave a book
(5)　　La Maria m'ha donat un llibre a mi.
　　　　Mary me(Dat) gave a book to me(Dat)
　　　　'Mary gave me a book.'

Colloquial French

In a study of subject clitic doubling in Colloquial French, Roberge (1988) proposes a definiteness requirement on the lexical NP associated with a subject clitic.

(6)   La fille elle va chanter.
        the girl she go to-sing
        'The girl will sing.'
(7)   Une fille elle va chanter.
        'A girl will sing.'
(8)   Une fille va chanter.

Modern Greek

Agouraki (1993)

Clitic Doubling

(9)   ta   éfere   ta lulúdhia o   Vassílis
        them-cl brought-he   the flowers the Vassilis-Nom
        'Vassilis did bring the flowers.'
(10)   tis   stílane tis Marías   lulúdhia
        her-cl sent-they   the Maria-Gen flowers-Acc
        'They did send María flowers.'
(11)   tha   ta   ziyízi   ekató   kilá
        will   them   weigh-e   a hundred   kilos-Acc
        'He must weigh a hundred kilos.'

The differences between Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Doubling in Greek are that in CD the object DP appears to the right of the verb, and the verb is obligatorily interpreted as focussed.

Hebrew

Borer (1984)

Clitic doubling in an NP

(12)   Beit- a   sel ha-mora.   Indirect genitive Object
        House gen.cl. of the teacher
        'The teacher's house.'

Macedonian

Torrego (1994b)

(13)   Go vide tatka si
       him he saw father to-self
       'He saw his father.'

Piraha

Everett (1987, 1996)

In Pirahã it is possible to double direct objects, subjects, possessor NPs, and object of postpositions.

(14)   Kó?oí$_i$ (hí$_i$) sigíhií$_j$ (?ís$_j$) ohoiáipí   Subject and Direct Object CD
       Ko?oi it meat he eat
       'Ko?oi eats meat.'

(15)   Kó?oí$_i$ sigíhií$_j$ (hí$_i$) (?ís$_j$) ohoiáipí   Subject and Direct Object CD
       Ko?oi it meat he eat
       'Ko?oi eats meat.'

(16)   [$_{NP}$Kohoibiíhai$_i$ (hi$_i$) kaiíi$_j$] (?i$_j$) bigíkaobíi   Possessor CD
       Kohoibiihai   it house he fell
       'Kohoibiihai's house fell down.'

(17)   ti [$_{PP}$?íbaisi (?i) ?igío] ?opítahá   Postpositional Object
       I   wife her with depart
       'I deaprted with my wife.'

According to Everett (1996) CD in Piraha does not impose restrictions on the doubling phrase and, as the examples show, does not respect Kayne's Generalization.

Romanian

Steriade (1981)

(18)   Am vàzut-o pe ea   DO CD
         have-Is seen-Cl her   +specific[1], +pronominal
         'I have seen her.'

(19)   (L)-am vàzut pe Popescu.   DO CD
         Cl. haveIs. seen pe Popescu   +specific, +human, -pronominal
         'I have seen Popescu.'

(20)   O caut pe o fata de la noi din sat   DO CD
         CL I-am-looking-for a girl from our village   +specific, -definite, +human
         'I am looking for a gril from our village.'

(21)   (I)   am   dat   cartea lui Popescu.   IO CD
         Dat.cl have-Is. given   the book to Popescu
         'I have given the book to Popescu.'

(22)   *(I)   am   dat   cartea ei.   IO CD (pron)
         Dat.cl have-Is. given the book her (dat.)
         'I have given the book to her.'

(23)   Am   incercat sà-(*i)   rup trei piciuare unei mese.   inalienable
         HaveIs. tried   to dat.cl.   break three legs to a table   possession
         'I have tried to break three table legs.'

(24)   Caut un bucatar.   No CD w/definite DO
         Look Is. a chef
         'I am looking for a chef.'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) discusses the correlation in Rumanian betweeen the doubling of clitcs, wh-extraction and specificity. She points out that:

Only a specific direct object requires clitic doubling under wh-movement:

(25)   Pe care baiat *(l-)   ai   vàzut?
         pe which boy *(him) you-have seen?
         'Which boy have you seen?

(26)   Baiatul pe care *(l-)   am   vàzut
         the boy pe who *(him) I-have seen
         'The boy whom I have seen.'

---

[1] Steriade's (1981) defines 'specific' as 'an expression the identity of whose referent is either known to the speaker or uniquely determined by the referential expression itself', whereas 'indefinite qualifies any expression whose referent has not been previously mentioned in the discourse.'

However, with the interrogative form *pe cine*, which also means 'who', doubling is impossible:

(27) Pe cine (*l-)ai vàzut?
who (*him) you-have seen
'Who have you seen?'

Dobrovie-Sorin analyses this as evidence of the definiteness requirement, considering *cine* structures as quantifier, unlike *care* structures.

Spanish

Strozer (1975), Rivas (1977), Hurtado (1984), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Suñer (1986, 1988, 1991)

Spanish has both Accusative and Dative clitics, but no Subject clitics.

In the case of Accusative clitics there is considerable microparametric variation as to whether doubling is possible or not. All varieties require doubling in the case of a pronominal object, however,when the object is a full DP, certain varieties prefer doubling but others reject it as ungrammatical. There are restriction in terms of the semantic characteristics of the object such as animacy and specificity, but see the body of this thesis for discussion.

(28) (Lo) vimos a Pedro.
Cl. saw Ip. a Pedro
'We saw Pedro.'

(29) *(Lo) vimos a él.
Acc.cl saw Ip.a him.
'We have seen him.'

Dative clitics are optionally doubled in all varieties, whether the doubling element is a pronoun or a full noun phrase, with doubling being the preferred option in Porteño Spanish.

(30) (Le) entregué el libro   al profesor.
Dat.cl. gave Is. the book   to the professor
'I have given the book to the professor.'

(31)   *(Le) entregué   el libro   a él.
        Dat.cl. gave Is.   the book   to him
        'I have given the book to him.'

One specific case of Dative CD is the inalienable possession contruction (32); also, in certain varieties, we observe the occurrence of ethical datives (33).

(32)   *(Le) duele la cabeza a Mafalda.
        Dat.cl. aches the head to Mafalda
        'Mafalda's head aches.'

(33)   El nene no me hace los deberes.
        the boy not to-me do the homework
        'The boy doesn't do the homework'

Freyre (1979) contrasts these structures involving inalienable possession with those involving possession and belonging. In the case of parts of the body and other instances of inalienable possession, the notions of possession and belonging-to coincide, however, a contrast can be established when this is not the case as the following examples from Goldin (1972, p. 377-378) illustrate:

(34)   Ricardo le vio la braga a Juana.
        Ricardo le saw the panties to Juana
        'Ricardo saw Juana's panties.'

(35)   Ricardo vio la braga de Juana.
        Ricardo saw the panties of Juana
        'Ricardo saw Juana's panties.'

Goldin (1972) points out that in the first instance Juana was wearing the panties when Ricardo saw them, which is not the case in the second example. What Freyre (1979) adds is that in the first example there is no commitment as to who the said panties belong to whereas in the second they are assumed to belong to Juana. This shows that possession and belonging-to may diverge in instances other than inalienable possession and that this is indicated by means of the presence/absence of the relevant clitic.

A detailed summary of the facts concerning accusative and dative clitics is presented by Jaeggli (1982, p.14), which clearly shows the contrast between Peninsular and Porteño Spanish (his Standard and River Plate Spanish) (examples added by myself):

(36)

	Standard Spanish	River Plate Spanish
Indirect Objects Non-Pronominal		
Goal IO	optional (Le) entregué el libro al profesor. Dat.cl. I-gave Is. the book to the professor 'I have given the book to the professor.'	optional (highly preferred) idem
Poss. IO	obligatory *(Le) duele la cabeza a Mafalda. Dat.cl. aches the head to Mafalda 'Mafalda's head aches.'	obligatory idem
Pronominal	obligatory *(Le) entregué el libro a él. Dat.cl. gave Is. the book to him 'I have given the book to him.'	obligatory idem
Direct Objects Non-Pronominal		
Inanimate	impossible (*Lo) vimos el edificio. Acc.cl we-saw the building.	impossible idem
Animate, Specific	impossible (*Lo) vimos a Pedro. Acc.cl. saw Ip. a Pedro 'We saw Pedro.'	optional (preferred) (Lo) vimos a Pedro. Acc.cl. saw Ip. a Pedro 'We saw Pedro.'
Pronominal	obligatory *(Lo) vimos a él. Acc.cl saw Ip. a him. 'We have seen him.'	obligatory idem

Spanish presents reflexive clitics which can also be doubled by a DP.

(37)   La nena se   lava   el pelo a sí misma.
        The girl to-her washes the hair to her-self
        'The girl washes her own hair.'

Lebanese Arabic

Clitic doubling in a PP Borer (1986)

(38)　　hkit　　ma¿-o_i　la Karim_i

talked-I with-him to Karim

'I talked with Karim.'

Torrego (1994b)

(39)　　sefit-o la Karim.

saw-she-him (to Karim)

'She saw Karim.'

Trentino

<u>Object Clitic Doubling</u> Cordin (1993)

Tretino presents both dative and accusative clitic doubling. However, as has been pointed out for many other languages, wheareas the occurrence of dative CD appears to be unconstrained, accusative CD is far more restricted.

In the case of dative CD, Trentino dos not present semantic constraints such as [+/- human], [+/- animate], [+/- specific] or [+/- pronominal].

There are also no contraints in terms of what theta role can be fulfilled by the dative NP, i.e. whether it is a goal, a possessor, an experiencer or a benefactive.

<u>Subject Clitic Doubling</u> Rizzi (1986), Brandi & Cordin (1986), Cordin (1993)

(40)

El Gianni el magna.

the Gianni SC eats

(41)　　El magna.

SC eats

(42)　　*Magna.

eats

'Gianni eats.'

(40) shows the subject NP doubled by the subject clitic *el*; (41) is an instance of *pro* subject, but the subject clitic is still present; finally, (42) shows the ungrammatical example without the subject clitic.

There is no definiteness requirement in subject clitic doubling in Trentino, and quantifiers can freely cooccur with coreferent SCls (cf. Brandi and Cordin (1981) for Trentino facts, and Bouchard (1982), Jaeggli (1984), and Safir (1985) for various analyses of the data).

(43) Qualche putel l'   é vegnú.
      some boys   they   have come
      'Some boys have come.'

(44) Una putela   l'   ei vegnuda.
      a girl   she   has come
      'A girl has come.'

Yagua

Everett (1989)

Doris and Thomas Payne classify Yagua clitics into two sets, according to which element they double.

Set I Clitics

Set I clitics are those that double subjects, genitives and obliques. They are proclitics. The first example of each group illustrates the word order found without doubling; the second that found obligatorily with doubling

Doubled Subject:

(45) Pauro$_i$ púúchi-níí$_j$
      Paul carry-3sg.cl
      'Paul carries her.'

(46) Sa$_i$-púúchi Pauro$_i$-níí$_j$
      3sg.cl-carry Paul-3sg.cl
      'Paul carries her.'

(47) *Pauro$_i$ sa$_i$-púúchi -níí$_j$

Doubled Genitive:

(48) Alchico rooriy
Alchico house
'Alchico's house'

(49) Sa_i-rooriy $Alchico_i$
'Alchico's house'

(50) *$Alchico_i$ sa_i-rooriy

Doubled Oblique:

(51) Nurutu viimú
alligator inside
'Inside the/an alligator'

(52) Sa_i-viimú $nurutu_i$
'Inside the/an alligator'

(53) *$Nurutu_i$ sa_i-viimú

Set II Clitics

These are those that may only double direct and indirect objects and postverbal unaccusative subjects. They are enclitics and immediately precede their double. Everett (1989) draws a generalisation from conclusions presented in Payne (1985) and Payne (1989) to the effect that in the presence of more than one object, the one closest to the verb does not require to be doubled, whereas the one farthest from the verb prefers doubling.

Doubling of Direct Objects - this is optional when the object occurs directly to the right of the verb, but strongly preferred everywhere else. The clitic should immediately precede its double, no matter what the host turn out to be.

(54) Sa-púúchi(nii_j) $Anita_j$.
3sg.cl-carry(-3s.gcl) Anita
'He carries Anita.'

(55) ?/* Sa-púúchi Pauro Anita.
'Paul carries Anita.'

(56) Sa-púúchi Pauro-nii_j $Anita_j$.
'Paul carries Anita.'

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(57)   Sa$_i$-púúchi Pauro$_i$ rooriy viimú-níí$_j$ Anita$_j$
         3sg.cl-carry Paul house into-3sg.cl Anita
         'Paul carries Anita into the house.'

Doubling of Indirect Objects - is obligatory when the argument NP is absent, but optional when it is present.

(58)   *Sa-saay.

(59)   Sa-saay-níí-rà
         3sg.cl-give-3sg.cl.-3sg.INAN.cl
         'He gives it to him.'

(60)   Rodrigo saay-(níí$_i$) ravichú$_i$-ray
         Rodrigo give-3sg.cl rock-1sg.cl
         'Rodrigo gives me the rock.'

(61)   Sa-dáátya-(níí$_i$) António$_i$ *(-ra$_j$) niquee-jada$_j$.
         3sg.cl-know-3sg.cl Antonio-3sg.INAN.cl talk-infinitive
         'He teaches Antonio the word.'

Doubling of Unaccusative Subjects - Everett (1989) points out that this analysis applies to all intransitives doubled by Set II clitics.

(62)   Machíturu-numaa(-níí) António.
         teacher-now(-3sg.cl.) Antonio
         'Antonio is now a teacher.'

(63)   Muuy-numaa-téé-0-rà   jaay-say.
         there-now-emph-(?)-3sg.INAN.cl   heart-tree
         'There now is its (the tree's) heart.'

Everett (1989) points out that NPs that double Set II clitics tend to be interpreted as definite with the following provisos. It is not necessary to double a definite object unless it is non-adjacent to the verb:

(64)   Núúda$_i$-jiya-numáá jíy$_i$-rooriy-mu-jú
         1pl.EXC-go-now COR-house-LOC-DIR
         'We (exclusive) go not to our house.'

Occasionally, it is possible to double indefinite objects, despite the general trend mentioned above:

(65)   Jíy$_i$-duu-tááta-níí$_j$ jamiryi tiitáju$_j$.
         2sg.cl-blow-mode-3sg.cl selection all
         'You have to shoot a selection of all kinds.'

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