# Deconstructing Catalan Object Clitics

by

Francisco Jesús Martín

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

New York University

January 2012

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Richard Kayne – Advisor

*I could be bound in a nutshell, and count myself*

*a king of infinite space – were it not that I have bad dreams*

Hamlet 2,2

# Dedication

Cette thèse est dediée à Fanny Raineau

i

als meus germans.

# Acknowledgments

The first and most important thank you goes to my advisor Richard Kayne. I have been extremely privileged to work with him and benefit from his extreme and deep knowledge of linguistics (whether it was through long discussions or very insightful comments). His intellectual thinking has been very inspirational and has helped me to set very high standards for my own thinking. Thank you!

I am also indebted to the rest of my committee: Mark Baltin, Cedric Boeckx, Stephanie Harves, and Alec Marantz. In particular, I want to thank Cedric Boeckx who has been extremely supportive and helpful during the entire process of writing my dissertation. Thanks a lot!

My experience at NYU would not have been the same without the many people that shared my experience with me over the years. Among the faculty, I would like to say a special thank you to Chris Collins for being an enthusiastic professor in especially the Field Methods Spring 2010, the best class ever.

I am thankful to Alec Marantz, Chris Barker and Lisa Davidson for their active roles as Chair of the department the first one, and successive Directors of Graduate Studies the two latter.

Thank you too to all the NYU graduate students who overlapped with me during my time at NYU and in particular those students in my cohort: Vincent Chanethom, Libby Coggshall, Danny Erker, Tricia Irwin, Dan Lassiter, Laziz Nchare, Mike Taylor, and Violeta Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado. In particular, I cannot imagine what my time at NYU would have been like without Violeta. Thanks Violeta! Thanks for every talk, every walk, every meal, every coffee, every laugh, and every single moment. Other students in other years that had an impact on my time here include Jon Brennan, Andrea Cattaneo, Simon Charlow, Amanda Dye, Karen Kuhn, Tim Leffel, Tom Leu, Inna Livitz, Neil Myler, Luiza Newlin-Lukowicz, Emily Nguyen, Jennifer Nycz, Marcos Rohena-Madrazo, Kevin Roon, Oana Săvescu, Jason Shaw, Jim Wood, and Eytan Zweig. To all of them, thanks! A special thank you goes to Tim "the M" Mathes!

I could definitely not have survived at NYU without the help of our wonderful secretary Teresa Leung as well as our Administrative Managers Lorraine Jerome and Aura Holguin. Thank you all!

Of the people in New York I've interacted with inside or outside linguistics, I want to sincerely thank Helena Aparicio, Roger Batson, Ane Berro, Guillaume Bogner, Kerry Neus Burke, Jessica Chen, Cassandra Collins, Cristina Cotumaccio, Alex Cuellar, Wenjin Cui, Jenny Curren, Keara Deppenbrock, Marcel den Dikken, Neil Fitzpatrick, Marta Font, Julie Gafnis, Aaron Gettler, Susana Huidobro, Yuniel Jiménez, Kevin Lambert, Rob Landrito, Richard Larson, Jason

Llamas, Gerard Mazón, Jennifer Nobile, Dennis Ott, Deepali Pallegar, Eduardo Peynetti, Isabelle Ricouard, Juan Romeu, Paco Serrano, Andy Smart, and Elsa Úbeda.

Previous to NYU Linguistics, my intellectual career benefited from the work and relationship with several people at several academic institutions, including the Universitat de Barcelona, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and the Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Among the many people I worked with I'd like to make three especial mentions: Salvador López Arnal, who started everything by triggering my lust for knowledge, Juan Uriagereka, for more things that I can even start to tell in this page, and Joana Rosselló for being my first mentor and inspiration in linguistics. These three figures are of paramount importance in my life, not only academic, and without them none of this would have ever been possible. To them goes the special award *sine qua non*.

Finally, I want to thank my family and friends. You guys are BY FAR the greatest thing in my life: Víctor Acedo, Celia Alba, David Álvarez, Juan Aparicio, Olga Arribas, Àngels Artigues, Isis Askobereta, Laia Balcells, Frederic Bartomeus, Miguel Ballabriga, Gemma Barberà, Lluís Barceló, Eva Bocanegra, Oriol Borrega, Will Bromberg, Rubén Broto, Yolanda Cabré, Antonio Campoy, Anna de Castro, Bernat Corominas, Roser Diaz, Maia Duguine, Montse Esteban, Francesc Felipe, Jordi Fortuny, Oriol Galgo, Gemma Gálvez, Juan González Cano, Yurena Gutiérrez, Mamen Guzman, Aritz Irurtzun, Miquel Jarque, Maite Jiménez, Nicola

Lampitelli, Begoña López, Jordi Magrinyà, Oriol Magrinyà, Juan Carlos Martín, Miguel Martín, Nuria Martín, Pepe Martín, Montse Martínez, Helena Mas, Rafael Morata, Mireia Oliva, Xavier Organvídez, Pau Pedragosa, Cristina Real, Francesc Roca, Sergi Rodríguez, Peter Roosvelt, Carles Rosés, Núria Rosés, Anna Salvador, Albino Santos, Bàrbara Soriano, Yolanda Toledo, Jeroni Tutusaus, Xavier Valderrama, and Anna Valls. Gràcies per cada segon que hem viscut junts.

*Et Fanny, tu me manques beaucoup, et peut-être c'est vrai que c'est mieux comme ça, mais je veux que tu saches que je suis vraiment ravi de t'avoir rencontré et d'avoir partagé tellement de choses avec toi. Sans toi cette thèse n'aurait probablement jamais existé. Elle t'est donc dédiée. À plus!*

# Abstract

This dissertation has several interrelated goals. The first is to shed light on the nature of the Catalan object clitic system, and the second to extend the proposal for Catalan to other Romance systems and beyond, ultimately contributing to our understanding of notions like case, clitic, and the structure of nominal phrases.

I put forward a syntactic structure that provides a unified solution to a whole ensemble of puzzles that have so far plagued the study of Catalan clitic pronouns. That proposal is based on the idea that dative clitics are complex syntactic structures that include accusative clitics and deictic features as part of their internal constitution. Such a proposal offers a unified account for ten puzzles related to Catalan object clitics. Those puzzles either have so far gone unnoticed, or haven't received a unified account in the literature. I distinguish between puzzles related to the morphological composition of those clitics, and puzzles related to their syntactic behavior. Among the former, we have three puzzles related to their φ-features (de)composition, namely gender, number, and person, and among the latter, we have puzzles related to the syntactic behavior of clitic clusters and single clitics. In the first case. I examine the problem of opacity, the Person Case Constraint, the flexible ordering possibilities of dative clitics, and the obligatoriness of dative, as

opposed to accusative clitics. In the second case, I look into three puzzles related to the syntactic behavior of individual clitics, namely clitic doubling, syncretism dative-locative, and the semantic specificity of accusative clitics.

Catalan morpho-syntax has been selected because it reflects certain properties of the human faculty of language, more directly, more unambiguously, and more compellingly than other languages. A close examination of the Catalan clitic system will enable us to not only describe the Romance (pro)nominal system more conspicuously, but also to draw conclusions regarding the essence of notions like case with more confidence and insight than what we could if we were to study another language.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ACC | *Accusative* | M | *Masculine* |
| CAT | *Catalan* | N | *Neuter* |
| COLL | *Colloquial* | NOM | *Nominative* |
| DAT | *Dative* | P | *Plural* |
| DEM | *Demonstrative* | PART | *Partitive* |
| DX | *Deixis* / *Deictic* | REFL | *Reflexive* |
| ENG | *English* | S | *Singular* |
| F | *Feminine* | SP | *Spanish* |
| FR | *French* | ST | *Standard* |
| IMP | *Imperative* | STR | *Strong pronoun* |
| INF | *Infinitive* | 1 | *First person* |
| IPS | *Impersonal* | 2 | *Second person* |
| IT | *Italian* | 3 | *Third person* |
| LOC | *Locative* | | |

# Chapter 1

# Introduction

## 1.1 General Remarks

This dissertation has several interrelated goals. The first is to shed light on the nature of the Catalan object clitic system, with a special focus on dative clitics. I put forward the thesis that dative clitics are not primitive, but rather complex grammatical items, built as a complex determiner phrase (DP) that crucially contains deixis (DX) and accusative clitics as its constituent parts. For short, in this introductory chapter I refer to that complex structure with the formula [D + DX] to be refined as the dissertation unfolds. The second goal is to extend the proposal for Catalan to other Romance systems and beyond, ultimately contributing to our understanding of notions like case, clitic, and the structure of nominal phrases, elements that are part of traditional grammatical studies, but also part of what is often called Universal Grammar. That is to say, the goals of this study pertain to both Catalan philology and General linguistics. Hamlet says that the whole world can

be found in a nutshell, and to some extent, the present work seeks to make the same statement. Throughout the dissertation, I take Catalan clitics as the starting point for claims that ultimately bear on the nature of human language as a whole, in accord with the uniformity hypothesis at the heart of modern generative grammar (CHOMSKY 2001).

Catalan morphosyntax has been selected here because it reflects certain properties of the human faculty of language, more directly, more unambiguously, and more compellingly than other languages. A close examination of the Catalan clitic system of the sort I attempt in the following pages will enable us to not only describe the Romance (pro)nominal system more conspicuously, but also to draw conclusions regarding the essence of notions like case with more confidence and insight than what we could if we were to study another language. This will be especially true when we examine the complex nature of Catalan dative clitics.

Before launching into the study proper, let me briefly touch on the methodology adopted in this study. Clitics, or weak pronouns more generally, have long attracted the interest of grammarians. In the context of traditional Catalan grammar studies, FABRA 1956, BADIA i MARGARIT 1994, and SOLÀ 1972 have all devoted sections or indeed separate chapters to what they call "*pronoms febles*" (literally, weak pronouns). In modern generative grammar, clitics have occupied the centerstage at least since KAYNE's 1975 seminal study of the French clitic system. Romance clitics regularly feature as one of the major success stories of modern com-

parative syntax. Within modern generative studies on Romance, some attention has been paid to Catalan, notably in works by Gemma Rigau, Eulàlia Bonet, Francesc Roca, or Francisco Ordóñez, among others, the contributions of whom will be discussed at length below, as they formed the basis of the present work. But it is fair to say that Catalan has not figured as prominently as some other Romance languages, especially French and Italian (dialects). This is a pity, for Catalan clitics have some unique morphosyntactic properties that make them ideally suited to understand Romance syntax, and beyond that, Universal Grammar. Indeed, I will claim below that certain Catalan clitics wear certain universal properties on their sleeves, as it were; properties which in other Romance languages are obscured by independent (syntactic, morphological or phonological) factors.

Let me conclude these brief introductory remarks by pointing out that because the present work intends to focus on data, and on conclusions that can be drawn from them, conclusions that I believe are novel, I will not be able to do justice to the vast literature on clitics, nor will I engage in heavily theoretical discussions and try to say that the analysis I propose is superior to existing ones. Although I have stood on the shoulders of giants for this (as in any other) work, I will let the data and the conclusions speak for themselves. I have also kept the highly theoretical analysis to a bare minimum, going into it only when necessary, and otherwise formulating the insights I want to convey in a manner more accessible to a wider readership.

### 1.1.1 Overview of the whole dissertation

Catalan object clitics[1] display a number of problems that either so far have gone unnoticed, or haven't received a unified account in the literature. Let me distinguish between two sets of in principle unrelated puzzles with Catalan object clitics. In a first set (or *Set A*) I group together some puzzles having to do with the internal morphosyntactic structure of Catalan object clitics, that is to say, with their decomposition in φ-features (person, number, and gender). I sometimes refer to this as the set of *φ-problems*. The second set assembles a number of puzzles that look into the external morphosyntactic behavior of the clitics (*Set B* or set of *syntactic problems*). Set B is in turn partitioned into two subsets: subset $B_1$ contains four puzzles that occur in the context of clitic clusters: (*i*) opacity, (*ii*) Person Case Constraint (PCC), (*iii*) flexible ordering of dative clitics, and (*iv*) obligatoriness of dative clitics. The elements of subset $B_2$ concern the behavior of individual clitics: (*i*) clitic doubling, (*ii*) dative-locative syncretism, and (*iii*) specificity of accusative clitics. Summing up:

A = {gender, number, person}

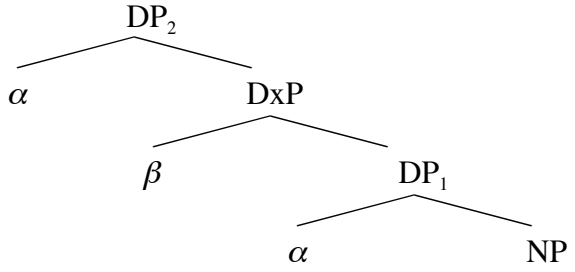
B = {$B_1$ = {opacity, PCC, obligatoriness, ordering}, $B_2$ = {doubling, dative-locative, specificity}}

[1] In this dissertation, by *object clitics* I mostly refer to accusative and dative clitics, leaving the partitive and locative clitics in a secondary plane. I will however dedicate some more thorough attention to the latter, especially to the so-called locative clitics, at several points in the dissertation.

I put forward a simple proposal that relates sets A and B, and provides a unified answer to the question on the nature of object clitics in Catalan and, I argue, in Romance. The proposal is based on the structure [D + DX], built up as in (1):

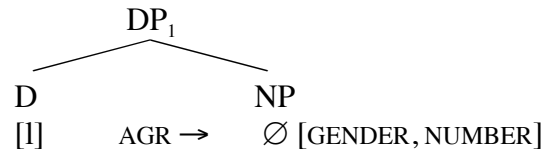
(1) a. $[_{DP2}\ \alpha\ [_{DxP}\ \beta\ \ [_{DP1}\ \alpha\ \ [_{NP}\ \ldots\ ]]]]$

b.




My proposal includes the following ideas: (*i*) If all we have is $DP_1$, headed by the definiteness morpheme [l], we have what I call *weak accusative clitics*, that is to say predicative, non-referential nominals (STOWELL 1989; DE HOOP 1995), as in (2). Those object clitics have gender and number features, and can only be third person. That is to say, predicative, non-referential DPs look as follows for Catalan:

(2) a.




b. Un helado me lo comería encantado [SP]

a ice-cream DAT.1S ACC.3SM eat.1S delighted

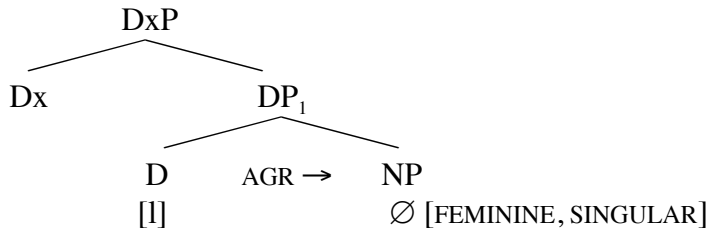
*I would be happy to eat ice cream*

(*ii*) DxP corresponds to a deixis phrase. That phrase, inspired in JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD's 2001 (also KAYNE 2008) ideas on the presence of a (locative) deictic phrase in all referring nominals. According to JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001, it holds universally that all referring nominal expressions contain place deixis. As a consequence of that idea, J&H postulate a DeixP in the extended nominal expression (exactly what I'm calling DxP) whose presence is crucial in the semantics of reference. That idea is going to be of paramount importance for the ideas put forward in the dissertation.

If DxP is present in the structure, it provides a referential index to $DP_1$ via the deictic head, and then the structure corresponds to *strong accusative clitics* (*ACC). This DX head also provides additional marking for the accusative DP in many languages, including Spanish accusative [a]-marking, with that [a] element being a deictic element. As I show below, this element can be considered deictic for the same reasons that its clitic counterpart (Catalan *hi*, French *y*, Italian *ci*, Paduan *ghe*, etc.) is considered a deictic element in KAYNE 2008. This distinction between strong *ACC and weak ACC is inspired in ENÇ 1991; DANON 2001, 2006; LIDZ 2006; and TORREGO 1998, among others, according to which accusative case morphology is optional in many languages with inanimate objects, and when it is present it indicates a specific reading. I also take into account the ideas in DE HOOP 1996 with respect to the division of objective case in strong and weak case. I come back to these ideas in chapter 3. An example of strong accusative, with specific

interpretation, and additional accusative [a]-marking (by hypothesis the realization of the DX head) is provided in (3):

(3) a.




b.

| A | la | chica, | la | vi | ayer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| to | the | girl | ACC.3SF | saw.1S | yesterday |

*I saw Mafalda yesterday*

As we see in the example, in Spanish the optional accusative marking is signaled by what has been called the prepositional accusative of full nominals or Differential Object Marking. As I point out below, that optional accusative marking in full nominals, namely the so-called preposition [a] coincides exactly with the dative marking of dative phrases.

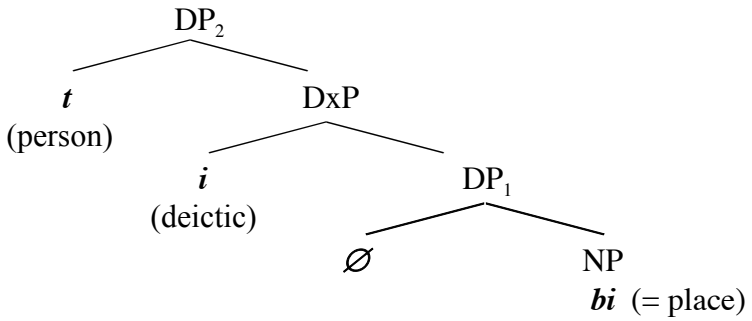
(*iii*) Finally, if $DP_2$ is also present in the syntactic derivation, then the whole structure corresponds to a dative clitic, which indeed includes as formatives both DxP and $DP_1$. This entails that the dative is the complex [D + DX]. This also entails that the dative is the whole compound, and can be lexicalized by overt pronunciations of different parts in different languages, as we will see in more detail

in chapter 3. The idea is that the definite morpheme [l] raises to $DP_2$ in this case, and dominates the other two projections. A transparent example of a dative clitic showing the form [D + DX] is provided by Catalan in (4). For the full details of this the reader is remitted to chapter 3:

| (4) | Els | hi | dono | el | llibre | a | els | nens |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ACC.3PM | DX | give.1S | the | book | to | the | children |
| | *I give the book to the children* | | | | | | | |

As we will see in chapter 3, person morphemes, that is to say, first and second person morphemes, are inserted directly in $DP_2$, rather than raising from $DP_1$ like in the case of the third person dative clitics. This will be justified on the basis that these clitics need the presence of DxP as a condition for their insertion. A transparent example of this is the Latin second person dative pronoun *tibi*, which as I show in section 3.3.2 below can be decomposed as [t + i + bi], with [t] a second person morpheme, and [ibi] a (distal) locative, decomposed in [i + bi]:

(5)



The previous discussion should also be extended to reflexive [sibi], where it is not that clear that [s] is a person morpheme. This topic is left for further research.

Another implication of my proposal in (1) is that accusative clitics (both strong and weak) correspond to intransitive definite determiners, in line with proposals in POSTAL 1966; ABNEY 1987; ROCA 1992, 1996; ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010, among others). Intransitive here just means no overt complement for the pronoun-like element, without denying the possibility of having a covert element sitting in that complement position.

Such claims entail, among other things, that dative clitics include accusative as part of their structure, that is to say, that accusatives constitute a proper subset of datives. Put it otherwise DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + *x*, where *x* = DEIXIS, according to my proposal, hence the structure [D + DX]. This structure has indeed been influenced by KAYNE's 1993, 2008 adoption of SZABOLCSI's 1986, 1994 ideas on possessives in Hungarian. I come back to this later in chapter 3.

Another aspect of my proposal has to do with person constraints of the different clitics involved in the structure in (1). In particular, I will show that it has to do with the general limitation of accusative clitics to the third person. It is a fact that these clitics are different to the rest of the clitic paradigm in several respects, including here their having gender, unlike the rest of them. From this I will interpret that in fact accusative clitics can only be third person or l-clitics. That is to say, the rest of the personal object clitics will have to be considered dative, as they

include a deictic feature (person). As a corollary, one I will discuss at length in section 3.6.1, those dialects of Spanish where dative clitics apparently take gender features will be shown to be in fact accusative rather than dative, in line with proposal in ROMERO 1997, 2001.

Before going into the details of how this proposal solves the two sets of puzzles A and B, let me make a brief summary of each of those problems. Let me start with what I am calling the φ-puzzles. Throughout this section, I just provide introductory remarks to the problems reviewed, deferring their complete description to chapter 2.

There are several asymmetries between accusative and dative with respect to their morphological constitution. With respect to gender, accusative clitics, or more precisely, third person accusative clitics (accusative l-clitics) present gender features in the whole paradigm (2a), while dative clitics do not (2b). Datives share this lack of gender with the personal object clitics, i.e. first/second person. Accusatives share the overt presence of gender features with phrasal nominals and definite articles.

(5) a. MASC, SG = *el,* FEM, SG = *la,* MASC, PL = *els,* FEM, PL = *les*

b. SG = *li,* PL = *els (hi)*

Some objections to this idea, in particular to the lack of gender features in the dative paradigm of Romance clitics will be examined in detail in chapter 3. As we will see there, some Romance languages, or varieties of languages, do show gender features in the dative clitics, like for instance in the case of Spanish *laista* dialects (ROMERO 1997, 2001; FERNÁNDEZ-ORDÓÑEZ 1999):

(6) a. Le dije la verdad [SP]
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told him/her the truth*

b. Le dije la verdad ]LAÍSTA SP]
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told him the truth*

c. La dije la verdad
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told her the truth*

The second φ-puzzle concerns number, where there is another asymmetry between the regular nominal plural of accusatives (7a) and the irregular pronominal plural of datives (7b):

(7) a. MASC, SG = *el* + *s* = MASC, PL = *els*
FEM, SG = *la* + *s* = FEM, PL = *les*

b. SG = *li* + *s* = **lis*

SG = *li* → PL = *els (hi)*

In this, again, while datives behave like the personal clitics (1st SG: *jo* - 1st PL: *nosaltres*; 2nd SG: tu – 2nd PL: *vosaltres*), accusatives behave like phrasal nominals and definite determiners (*el llibre – el**s** llibre**s*** 'the book – the books'). It is also of interest that apart from the morphological regularity of accusative plurals, their semantics is also transparent like that of nominal expressions. Thus, nominal singularity expresses the idea of one single element of the set expressed by the noun, while plurality is interpreted as more than one element of that same set. In the case of datives, or the personal clitics, however, it is not that clear that plurality amounts to more than one of the elements expressed by the singular. This is particularly clear in the case of the first person plural, where it is not the case that the first person plural WE amounts to more than one first person singular I, i.e. it is not true that WE = I + (*n* times) I.

The final φ-puzzle is related to person. While accusatives and datives seem to be syncretic in the personal clitics (8), a statement of syncretism that I will refine below, such syncretism does not hold for the third person (9):

(8) CATALAN FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECT CLITICS

*a*. Em dius la veritat *a'*. Em veus avui

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DAT.1S | say.2S | the | truth | | ACC.1S | see.2S | today | |
| | *You tell me the truth* | | | | | *You see me tomorrow* | | | |
| *b*. | Et | dic | la | veritat | *b'*. | Et | veig | avui | |
| | DAT.2S | say.1S | the | truth | | ACC.2S | see.1S | today | |
| | *I tell you the truth* | | | | | *I see you tomorrow* | | | |

(9) CATALAN THIRD PERSON OBJECT CLITICS

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a*. | Li | dius | la | veritat | *a'*. | El | veus | avui | |
| | DAT.1S | say.2S | the | truth | | ACC.1SM | see.2S | today | |
| | *You tell him /her the truth* | | | | | *You see him tomorrow* | | | |

In addition to the gender and number asymmetries just reviewed, the third person dative clitics of Catalan show an element [i] with no equivalent in the accusative fields. That [i] element has been considered to be a dative morpheme by some authors (like VIAPLANA 1980, BONET 1991, 1995, HARRIS 1995, or SOLÀ-PUJOLS 1998). However, the fact that that morpheme is only present in the third person dative clitics, but not in the dative personal clitics sheds some shadows on this idea. That [i] element, whose morphemic character will be one of the main topics in this dissertation, is unquestionably present in the dative singular clitic of Catalan (4a). In the plural, it is only present in the non-standard form [əlzi], usually written as '*els hi*', that is to say accusative plural masculine clitic *els* plus the so-called locative clitic *hi*:

(10) a. DATIVE SG = [li]

b. DATIVE PL = [əlzi]

Before moving on to the behavioral problems of Catalan clitics, let me point out that the coincidences between accusative clitics, nominal expressions, and definite articles on the one hand, and between dative clitics, and the personal clitics on the other will also be a hot topic in this dissertation. I will extract several interesting consequences from those coincidences, including the idea that those are two natural classes that, as such, entail syntactic particularities in each case.

Let's then move on to the behavioral problems of object clitics, starting with those related to clusters (set $B_1$). A first problem in this domain is related to the opacity of some clusters in Catalan. Thus, when an accusative and a dative clitic meet in a cluster, as in cases of multiple clitic left-dislocation (CLLD, in the sense of CINQUE 1990), there is opacity in the form of the clitics in that the number features of the clitic involved seem to be irrelevant. Thus, if both clitics are singular, as in (8a), the resumptive clitics are written l'hi, that is to say, third person singular masculine accusative clitic plus the so-called locative clitic.[2] In any other combination, i.e. if at least one of the clitics is plural, the cluster is 'els hi' (third person plural masculine accusative clitic + locative clitic), pronounced [əlzi]:

[2] Of interest here is the remark that this *l'hi* cluster sounds exactly like the dative singular clitic, i.e. [li]. I come back to this (maybe not so) surprising coincidence later in the text.

(11) a. El llibre, al nen, [li] dono demà [CAT]
The book to-the boy DAT.3S give.1S tomorrow
*I'll give the book to the boy tomorrow*

b. El llibre, als nens, [əlzi] dono demà
The book to-the boys DAT.3P give.1S tomorrow
*I'll give the book to the boys tomorrow*

c. Els llibres, al nen, [əlzi] dono demà
The books to-the boy DAT.3P give.1S tomorrow
*I'll give the books to the boy tomorrow*

d. Els llibres, als nens, [əlzi] dono demà
The book to-the boys DAT.3P give.1S tomorrow
*I'll give the books to the boys tomorrow*

It is as if the two dislocated phrases could be resumed by a single dative clitic. According to BONET 1991, 1995, this is due to the opacity of l-clitics, which leads them to mix their features. That kind of mix up also occurs in American Spanish, where sometimes the features of accusative-dative clitic clusters get interchanged (HARRIS & HALLE 2005):

(12) Ese vino$_i$ yo se$_j$ los$_i$ regalé a mis primos$_j$ [SP]

that wine I REFL ACC.3PM gave.1S to my cousins

*That wine, I gave it to my cousins*

In (12), we see how the accusative clitic is plural regardless of the fact that its antecedent 'that wine' is singular. The same, then, may be happening in Catalan. The problem for such a view is that the forms in Catalan are the same regardless of whether this is a clitic cluster or not, that is to say, whether we need an accusative clitic or not. In (13), we don't need the accusative clitic, but the clitic chosen are exactly the same as those in (11) above:

(13) a. [*li*] dono el llibre. [CAT]

DAT.3S give.1S the book.

*I'll give him/her the book*

b. [*əlzi*] dono el llibre

DAT.3P give.1S the book.

*I'll give them the book*

If the dative clitic has the same form, regardless of whether it resumes only dative or dative plus accusative, I think we can hardly argue that in the case of clitic clusters the features are mixed. It seems more to be the case that the dative clitic can

be the resumptive clitic for both phrases when both are necessary, just as in the following French example, where the accusative clitic is also optional:

(14) Le livre, à l'enfant, je lui donne [FR]
the book, to the boy, I DAT.3S give.1S
*I give the book to the boy*

Another of the behavioral puzzles that has captured a lot of attention in the literature is the fact that whenever a dative clitic is present in a cluster with an accusative clitic, the former imposes on the latter the requirement of being third person (PERLMUTTER 1971; KAYNE 1975; BONET 1991, 2008; ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2003; NEVINS 2006, ADGER & HARBOUR 2007; ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2007):

(15) a. *Le me presenta [SP]
DAT.3S ACC.1S introduce.3s
INTENDED: *He introduces me to him*

b. *Le te presento
DAT.3S ACC.2S introduce.1s
INTENDED: *I introduce you to him*

c. *Te me presenta
DAT.2S ACC.1S introduce.3s
INTENDED: *He introduces me to you*

d. *Me te presenta

DAT.1S ACC.2S introduce.3s

INTENDED: *He introduces you to me*

No other clitic imposes such a condition on the morphological structure of the other member of a clitic cluster. The question is then, what is it about the dative clitic that has such an effect? In this respect, it is also of interest that the repair strategies languages use to avoid PCC effects, normally involve changing the dative clitic for some other (default) clitic, for example the so-called locative clitic *hi* in Catalan, or spurious *se* in Spanish:

(16) CATALAN: *li* → *hi*

a. Li dono el llibre al Joan

DAT.3S give.3S the book to.the John

*I give the book to John*

b. *Li ‘l dono al Joan

DAT.3S ACC.3SM give.3S to.the John

INTENDED: *I give it to John*

c. L’ hi dono al Joan

DAT.3S LOC give.3S to.the John

*I give the book to John*

(17) SPANISH: *le* → *se* (*spurious* se)

a. Le doy el libro a Juan
DAT.3S give.1S the book to John
*I give the book to John*

b. *Le lo doy a Juan
DAT.3S ACC.3SM give.3S to John
INTENDED: *I give it to John*

c. Se lo doy a Joan
DAT.3S LOC give.3S to John
*I give the book to John*

As we see in (16) and (17), the repair strategy involves turning the dative clitic into some other clitic, normally some sort of defective clitic. This phenomenon has been the subject of much literature, and the explanations put forward to account for it range from morphology (BONET 1991, 2008), and syntax (ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2003; ADGER & HARBOUR 2007), to semantics (ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2007). Although the explanation in these accounts is placed in different components of the grammar, they all have in common the idea that the PCC arises when two similar features co-occur in two adjacent clitics.

The third puzzle related to the behavior of clitic clusters has to do with the fact that accusative and dative clitics differ in degree of obligatoriness:

(18) a. [əlzi] dono el llibre [CAT]
DAT.3P give.1S the book
*I give them the book*

b. *([əlzi]) (el) dono
DAT.3P ACC.3SM give.1S
*I give it to them*

(19) a. Juan te dijo la verdad [BASQUE SP]
John DAT.2S say.3S the truth
*John told you the truth*

b. Juan *(te) (la) dijo
John DAT.2S ACC.3SF say.3s
*John told it to you*

(20) a. J'ai donné le livre à l' enfant [FR]
I have given the book to the child
*I've given the book to the child*

b. Je (le) *(lui) ai donné
I ACC.3SM DAT.3S have given
*I've given it to him*

As I will show in full detail in chapter 2, accusative clitics can sometimes be silent in clitic clusters, but datives can't. This will provide important support to the proposal I put forward in chapter 3.

The fourth puzzle that affects clitic clusters is linked to the order variability we found in clitic clusters in different Romance languages, a variability in which dative clitics are normally involved (PERLMUTTER 1971; BONET 1991, 1995; and especially ORDÓÑEZ 2002). Consider, for example, the contrast between Italian and French. While in the combination of two third person clitics, accusatives precede datives in French, the opposite order obtains in Italian:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (21) | Jean | le | lui | donne | [FR] |
| | Jean | ACC.3SM | DAT.3S | give.3s | |
| | *Jean gives it to him/her* | | | | |
| (22) | Gianni | glie-lo | | da | [IT] |
| | Gianni | DAT.3S-ACC.3SM | | give.3s | |
| | *Gianni gives it to him/her* | | | | |

That order is normally consistent intralinguistically, but that doesn't have to always be the case. Thus, in some varieties of Spanish, such as the one spoken in

Murcia, the following two possible alternations have been reported to coexist preverbally (23) but not postverbally (24) (data extracted from ORDÓÑEZ 2002):

(23) a. Se me escapa [MURCIA SP]
REFL DAT.1S escape.3S

b. Me se escapa
DAT.1S REFL escape.3S
BOTH: *I'm losing it / It's getting away from me*

(24) a. Puede escapar-se-me
Can.3S escape.INF-REFL-DAT.1S

b. * Puede escapar-me-se
can.3S escape.INF-DAT.1S-REFL
*I could lose it*.

This is not a particularity of reflexive clitics, though. In the most common type of cluster involving datives, i.e. the double object construction, we find that flexibility too. Most Romance varieties impose a dative-accusative order:

(25) a. Me lo quiere dar [SP]
DAT.1S ACC.3SM want.3S give.INF

b. Quiere dár-me-lo

want.3S give.INF-DAT.1S-ACC.3SM

BOTH: *He wants to give it to me*

However, there's a group of languages such as Aragonese, Occitan, and Mallorcan Catalan where the opposite order is found (TEULAT 1976, *apud* ORDÓÑEZ 2002):

(26) a. La te dirai [OCCITAN]

ACC.3SF DAT.2S will-say.1S

*I will say it to you*

b. Lo me dussèt pas veire

ACC.3SM DAT.1S let NEG see

*You did not let me see it*

Interestingly, in the Occitan varieties reported by TEULAT 1976, the order is rigid in preverbal position as shown in (26a) or (26b), but it might be reversed in post-verbal position (27):

(27) a. Daussa-m lo [OCCITAN]

let-DAT.1S ACC.3SM

*Let me see it*

b. Daussa-lo me

let-ACC.3SM DAT.1S

*Let me see it*

This involvement of datives in optional placement, the flexibility they exhibit is then a surprising particularity that we must address.

Moving on now to set $B_2$, i.e. that of the behavioral problems of single clitics, a well-known fact concerning Romance dative clitics is clitic doubling. Clitic doubling or pronominal reduplication is a grammatical phenomenon in which clitic pronouns appear in verb phrases at the same time as the full-fledged phrases in argumental position they refer to, as opposed to the cases where those clitic pronouns are in complementary distribution with their doubled phrases. The phenomenon is well known in the literature where it has received extensive treatment in many different languages that include Albanian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Persian, and Spanish, among others. The conditions for clitic doubling vary from language to language but they must be clearly distinguished from clitic left- (or right-) dislocation (I will use CLLD for both kind of dislocations). Thus, in the case of CLLD, it is sometimes considered that the dislocated phrase is base-generated in a topic position and consequently the clitic –or *pro* in some analyses– occupies the argumental position (although the jury is still out on that topic). Assuming it is, this would explain why any kind of clitic, including accusative clitics,

must be doubled in that context, but virtually none of them except datives and (in some few varieties of Spanish) accusatives, are subject to clitic doubling.[34] Some examples will help us clarify (the sub-index indicates correference of the clitic and the bracketed phrase):

(28) a. Li$_i$ regalem el llibre [a en Joan]$_i$ [CAT]
DAT.3S offer.1P the book to the John
*We're offering the book to John*

b. (*Hi$_i$) posem el llibre [a la taula]$_i$
LOC put.1P the book to the John

c. *(Hi$_i$) posem el llibre , [a la taula]$_i$
LOC put.1P the book to the John
[b = c] *We're putting the book on the table*

Related to clitic doubling, there is another fact that that is a puzzle for dative, but not accusative clitics. Dative doubling (but not CLLD involving datives) can display defective number agreement in languages like Spanish. Accusative doubling however, in the varieties of Spanish where it occurs, is never defective:

[3] Whether the dative clitic is or not the same in contexts of CLLD, and clitic doubling is an interesting topic to which I come back in some detail in chapter 2.

[4] Also worth mentioning that accusative doubling seems to be widespread in Greek, and this might be related to Green having morphological case far more than Romance. This is another topic that I leave as a subject for further research.

(29) a. Le(s) dije la verdad a los niños [SP]
DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth to the kids
*I told the truth to the kids*

b. A los niños le*(s) dije la verdad
to the kids DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth
*I told the truth to the kids*

So this is another puzzle that makes dative clitics different from other clitics, in particular accusative, and has to be addressed by any proposal dealing with clitics.

Another puzzle that has to do somehow with the external behavior of dative clitics is their syncretism with locative clitics in Catalan and some other languages (not only of the Romance family). That syncretism is apparent in languages like Paduan (30), where the same overt morpheme works as both the dative and the locative clitic, or in Catalan, where according to RIGAU 1988, some inanimate datives are expressed as locatives (31), and where datives are reduced to locatives in contexts of clitic clusters (32):

(30) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
LOC give.1S the book
*I give him / her / them the book*

b. Ghe meto il libro

LOC put.1S the book

*I put the book there*

(31) a. En Joan *hi* donà cops (, a la porta) [CAT]

the John LOC gave.3s knocks to the door

*John knocked the door*

b. En Joan *li* donà cops ( a la Maria)

the John DAT.3S gave.3S knocks to the Mary

*John knocked Mary*

(32) a. El llibre l' hi dones? [5] [CAT]

the book ACC.3SM LOC give.2S

*Do you give him / her the book?*

b. Si me' n demana deu, n' hi dono dotze.

If DAT.1S PART ask.3S ten PART LOC give.1S twelve

*If he asks me for ten, I give him twelve*

An interesting aspect of this syncretism is the apparent incompatibility between dative and locative clitics in Catalan (33) and some other Romance languages, like for instance French (34). This problem arises when a locative and a dative l-clitic co-occur, for example in cases of multiple CLLD:

[5] This is written in standard orthography, as we see in the difference between *li* and *l'hi, a difference* I am denying here.

(33) a. No *els* *hi* portis res [CAT]

NEG DAT LOC bring.2S nothing

*Don't bring anything to them*

b. A casa seva, no hi portis res

to house POSS NEG LOC bring.2S nothing

*To their place, don't bring anything*

c. A casa seva, no /əlzi/ (*hi) portis res

to house POSS NEG DAT.3P LOC bring.2S nothing

*To their place, don't bring them anything*

d. A casa seva, no /li/ (*hi) portis res

to house POSS NEG DAT.3S LOC bring.2S nothing

*Don't bring anything to him / her to his / her place*

(34) a. A la fête, je lui (*y) ai parlé [FR]

to the party I DAT.3S LOC have.1s talked

*I talked to him / her at the party*

b. A la fête, je leur (y) ai parlé [FR]

to the party I DAT.3P LOC have.1s talked

*I talked to them at the party*

Although the effect in French is clearer in singular, it is also somehow visible in plural due to the optionality of the deictic clitic for many speakers. In any case,

this idea entails that *lui* in French should also be complex, including a deictic morpheme [i] in line with its normative counterpart [y]. That is to say, the French singular dative clitic could be something like [lu + y]., putting aside for the moment the presence of [u].

An interesting behavioral puzzle of object clitics in Romance is their correlation between object clitics and the semantic notion of specificity, posited by several authors including SUÑER 1988; URIAGEREKA 1995; FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 1999; ROCA 1992, 1996; or ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010). Thus, as first argued in SUÑER 1988, accusative, unlike dative clitics, cannot refer to nonspecific indefinites (35), or interrogative elements (36):

(35) a. *A ningún bedel lo veo trabajando [SP]
to no janitor ACC.3SM see.1S working
INTENDED: *I see no janitor working*

b. No le pido copias a ningún bedel
NEG DAT.3S ask.1S copies to no janitor
*I don't ask for photocopies to any janitor*

c. * Algún escritor famoso no lo he visto
some writer famous NEG ACC.3SM have.1S seen
INTENDED: *There is some famous writer, I have never seen*

d. A un famoso escritor, no lo he visto

to a famous writer NEG ACC.3SM have.1S seen

*I have never seen a famous writer* (specific interpretation)

(36) a. *A qui el veus? [CAT]

to who ACC.3SM see.2S

INTENDED: *Who do you see?*

b. ¿A qui li dones el regal?

to who DAT.3S give.2s the gift

*Whom are you offering the gift?*

The accusative clitic cannot associate to bare nouns either (37a), normally assumed to be non-specific. This is especially clear in languages with a partitive clitic like French, Italian, or Catalan (37b):

(37) a. Dinero, no (*lo) tengo [SP]

Money NEG ACC.3SM have.1S

*Money, I don't have*

b. Diners no (*els) / en tinc [CAT]

Money NEG ACC.3PM PART have.1S

*Money, I don't have*

In addition, as discussed by SUÑER 1988, in the dialects of Spanish where accusative doubling is allowed, there's a specificity restriction on the kind of phrases that can be doubled:

(38) a. La vimos a Mafalda [RIOPLATENSE SP]
ACC.3SF see.1P to Mafalda
*We saw Mafalda*

b. La vimos a la chica.
ACC.3SF see.1P to the girl
*We saw the girl*

c. *La vimos a alguna chica
ACC.3SF see.1P to some girl
*We saw some girl*

After giving a complete and extensive review of all these problems in chapter 2 of this dissertation, I put forward a unified solution to all of them in chapter 3. That solution is based on the idea I have presented above according to which dative clitics are complex DPs that contain accusative clitics and a deictic phrase as its constituent parts.

That proposal offers a unified account for the puzzles just reviewed. Let me explain briefly how here, differing a more complete explanation to chapter 3. One first thing to say is that this structure makes dative clitics be nominal, rather than

prepositional, and the same should go for phrasal dative in Romance, where the apparent preposition [a] is sometimes considered a case marker rather than a real preposition. However, as I will explain in chapter 3, φ-features are morphologically realized and semantically interpreted differently in different positions of the structure. That difference ends up making them behave differently, as if accusatives were nominal (like full DPs), and datives were pronominal (like the personal clitics). Following WILTSCHKO 2008, and STERIOPOLO & WILTSCHKO 2010, In particular, I will argue that while number and gender are interpreted as such in the lower NuP, and even DxP (hence the nominal-like qualities of accusatives), they are interpreted differently in the higher DP. For example, one particularly striking proposal I will make is that gender is interpreted as person in DP, but as gender in NuP and DxP. Although this claim might sound unmotivated, I think it will be justified along the lines of seeing person related to animacy, animacy as a noun class, and class as the same category than gender (PICALLO 2007, for instance). I will link that proposal to the apparent complementary distribution of gender and number in the pronominal and the verbal agreement domain of some Romance languages.[6]

[6] This discussion should also be extended to include language families like Semitic, where we do find gender distinctions in the personal pronouns, most often the second person singular (e.g. Hebrew). Maybe that Hebrew case could be explain along the lines of our explanation of the first and second person plural in Spanish below, that is to say, as that second person morpheme being bi-morphemic. I leave this interesting issue as another topic for further research.

With respect to number, I will also suggest that it is also interpreted differently in the different positions of the syntactic structure I propose for object clitics in Romance. Thus, while number is regular (nominal) in NuP and DxP, it is irregular (pronominal) in DP (where as we saw above there can be number disagreements in cases of dative doubling). This is visible not only in the irregular plural of dative clitics, but also in that of the personal clitics, where for instance French *nous* 'us' doesn't amount to *je* + *je* ''I + I' but rather to *je* + *tu* 'I + you' or *je* + *il* 'I + he' (CYSOUW 2003, WILTSCHKO 2008).

This is how the structure in (1) in the beginning of the chapter solves the φ-puzzles we've seen in section 1. However, it does more, because it also solves the behavioral problems. Thus, for instance, because person features are the expression of gender in the higher DP, the only person features available for the lower NuP and DxP are defective, i.e. third person features (BENVENISTE 1966 and subsequent literature on the non-person character of third person). This solves the PCC puzzle making it derive from a very simple structure, a result that I guess is welcome. The reader is referred to chapter 3 for a complete elaboration on this.

With respect to the ordering puzzle, the presence of the two DPs in the complex structure of datives makes it easier to account for it. The idea I explore is that there is no such thing as a morphological dative. Either the high or the low copy of the meta-morpheme $\alpha$, or even the meta-morpheme $\beta$ in the head of DxP, can end up lexicalizing the dative clitic with the other components of the complex

DP remaining silent. This might explain the standard version of the Catalan dative plural *els*, syncretic with the accusative masculine plural, or the inanimate datives of RIGAU 1988, which in turn also explains the syncretism between datives and locatives in Catalan and other languages.

Doubling is also easy to explain in my proposal, bearing in mind the fact that you need a clitic plus something else (a semantic restriction, say) to have phrasal datives. The presence of a high and a low position within the complex DP in (1), or even the presence of DxP in the structure may prove useful in this. Also, with respect to the specificity of accusatives, but not of datives, maybe it depends on being in or out of the scope of Dx, If you're under the scope of Dx, like in the case of the accusative, then you are specific, if you're out (like the dative), then this is not necessarily so. This last topic will not be a part of this dissertation, but rather left for postdoctoral research.

### 1.1.2 Main Claims and Purpose

The main claims I defend in this dissertation are the following:

- The notion 'dative clitic' is not primitive in Romance. Romance dative clitics are complex grammatical items, having as component parts an accusative clitic and a deictic (DX) feature. The structure of that complex dative clitic is then as follows: $[_{DP2}\ \alpha\ [_{DxP}\ \beta\ [_{DP1}\ \alpha\ [_{NP}\ \ldots\ ]]]]$. Any of those parts of the complex

can be overt or covert, and this explains its cross-linguistic representation throughout Romance.

- All the puzzles of the object clitics, including clitic doubling or the Person Case Constraint can be explained as a consequence of the complex structure of the dative.
- The interpretation of φ-features of clitics depends on what position those features occupy within the structure. Thus, for instance, gender and person features are two complementary realizations of the same feature in different positions of the complex dative DP.
- As in KAYNE 2008, the DX feature in the dative clitics gets there by inheritance from the existential part from which the dative structure derives via a possessive structure.
- As in POSTAL 1966, and subsequent literature, especially ABNEY 1987, Romance accusative clitics are intransitive definite determiners. They are thus different from the rest of the clitic paradigm. From that point of view, there are two different natural classes of clitics, namely nominal and pronominal clitics. Those two classes have different morphosyntactic properties, including base-generation site, movement properties, and internal structure. Thus, while accusative l-clitics are nominal, the personal clitics are pronominal. Dative l-clitics are both nominal and pronominal: they share properties with the accusatives l-

clitics, like the presence of the [l] morpheme, but they also share properties with the personal clitics, like lack of gender, or number irregularities.

- The personal clitics (first and second person) are all dative regardless of the function they play within the structure of the sentence. Because of the same logic, *laísta* Spanish feminine dative clitics will be shown to be accusative.

### 1.1.3 Main Assumptions and Theoretical Orientation

In this dissertation I assume the idea that not all the relevant items of the syntax of the sentences of the human language are spelled-out overtly. That is to say, I assume that there are silent elements active in the syntax. This can be accomplished in two ways: either (*i*) there are more fine-grained syntactic representations than what appears the eye, in the sense of a larger number of syntactic heads in a specific and fix ordering (POLLOCK 1989; RIZZI 1997; CINQUE 1999), or (*ii*) syntactic derivations are more complex than what appears the eye, and are built from smaller constituents and with a bigger number of restrictions (KAYNE 2000, 2005; KOOPMAN & SZABOLCSI 2000; KOOPMAN 2003). Although both trends will be considered in the dissertation when thinking about silent elements, I will consider that a fine-grained cartography of syntactic positions is on the basis of the uniformity hypothesis (CHOMSKY 2001, CINQUE 1999), according to which all languages express the same meanings with the same heads, the only difference between them being related to which of those heads are overt and which ones are not.

In that respect, then, I will assume the idea present for example in KAYNE 2006 according to which parametric variation is restricted to functional elements, i.e. which ones are pronounced. According to this idea, silent elements become so as a result of movement from their generation site to some kind of phase edge position. Therefore, I will assume that the features of the moving elements are checked in a Spec-Head configuration, instead of via Agree (as in more recent minimalist approaches).

I will also assume a distinction between heads and phrases, whereby heads are terminal nodes and phrases are non-terminal nodes.

With respect to clitics, I assume them to be phrasal. I adopt the idea first put forward in KAYNE 1975 according to which clitics are generated as part of a DP along with their "associate". I furthermore assume a movement approach to cliticization, in the spirit of KAYNE 1975 and subsequent literature. Clitics enter the derivation with their person and case features fully specified and undergo XP movement to the specifiers of Person and Kase projections to check uninterpretable person and case features in a Spec-head configuration

Something I remain agnostic about in this dissertation is the nature of syntactic movement, that is to say whether head movement or remnant movement have to be considered over the other. Most of my proposal displays head movement, but I do not intend to deny that there could be an equivalent derivation accomplished by means of remnant movement. Nothing I say in this dissertation re-

lies upon this particular topic. Related to this, I follow KAYNE 1984 and assume that the syntactic derivations follow binary branching.

Also related to movement, I will assume that for movement to take place there must be some kind of trigger. In this respect, I will assume KOOPMAN'S 1996 *Principle of Projection Activation*, according to which a projection is interpretable if and only if it contains overtly realized material at some point in the derivation.

Following a tradition in BAKER 1988; POLLOCK 1989; HALLE & MARANTZ 1993; or KAYNE 2006, 2008, among many others, I take the order of morphemes to directly reflect syntactic operations.

Following SĂVESCU 2009, I depart from current minimalist analyses (CHOMSKY 2000, 2001) in that structural case checking is not the by-product of checking the complete set of φ-features between a probe and a goal. Rather, different and independent functional heads checks person and case. As a result, the movement of clitics to their final position is triggered by the need to check those uninterpretable features.

Case syncretism will play a role in this dissertation. While I will assume that first and second person accusative and dative clitics are syncretic across Romance because they enter the derivation with valued person features, and then also case features (dative in this case), I will also argue that third person clitics are not specified for person, and therefore, they are also underspecified for case. This way, this dissertation departs from the assumptions of Distributive Morphology (HALLE

& MARANTZ 1993 and subsequent literature), according to which case features are not part of the narrow syntax but rather inserted post-syntactically.

I also assume the tripartition of the sentence and the DP, along the following parallelism (PLATZACK 2001; GROHMANN & PANAGIOTIDIS 2004, 2005):

(39) TABLE 1: *Parallelism sentences and nominals*

| CP | IP | (*v*P) VP |
|---|---|---|
| Ω-domain | Φ-domain | Θdomain |
| DP | IP | (*n*P) NP |
| Discourse Form | Grammatical Form | Thematic Form |

Another very important assumption in this dissertation is the recent proposal in HINZEN & SHEEHAN 2011, according to which grammatical deixis has a central status in the theory of grammar. According to these authors, grammar is organized so as to allow for a specific number of deictic strategies. At one end of the scale, grammar allows for maximally unspecific forms of reference, as in purely quantificational readings in the nominal domain, or in the form of reference to propositions that are possibly true and possibly false, in the clausal domain. At the other end of the scale, it permits maximally specific (rigid) reference, which shows in the form of reference to specific individuals in the nominal case and to truth-values in the clausal case. Somewhere between these extremes lie less rigid forms of ref-

erence, involving aspects of both strategies as observed with definite descriptions and factive clauses.[7] That idea that deixis will have a paramount role in the interpretation of DPs will be central for the proposal I will put forward in chapter 3.

Finally, the main framework in this dissertation is a comparative perspective on Romance languages (HAEGEMAN 1997, CINQUE 1999, KAYNE 2000, 2005, or CINQUE & KAYNE 2005, among others). This approach is particularly insightful in that it often reveals structures and derivational steps that might not be visible by looking at only one language. Different languages make different "choices" of what is overtly expressed and what remains silent, in this particular case with respect to which of the different elements that make up dative clitics is or not realized overtly.

[7] ARSENIJEVIC & HINZEN 2010 and HINZEN 2011 argue that the 'phases' of recent Minimalist theorizing (CHOMSKY 2008) precisely *are* the units of referential-deictic significance in language use: by computing phases, the grammar computes the structures that can be used in acts of reference to entities that are of different formal types. These can be conceptually characterized as 'objects' in the case of DP, 'events' in the case of *v*P, and 'propositions' in the case of CP. Within these three broad classes – which define the basic ontology of natural language – finer distinctions are possible. Thus, depending on the internal specification of the nominal phases (DP), reference can be to either masses or individuals. Reference to countable individuals or kinds arises derivationally, with relevant functional projections dominating a given lexical root, which otherwise will only denote a mass (BORER 2005). Similarly, depending on the Aspectual specifications of a verbalized root, an event can be either bounded or not. In the clausal domain, finally, reference can be to propositions, facts, or truth-values. Going further in this direction here, would take us to far afield, and therefore I leave the full application to Romance clitics of these very interesting ideas as subject for post-doctoral research.

### 1.1.4 Some Notes on Romance Object Clitics

The main focus of this dissertation is the internal structure of Romance object clitics. The literature on clitics is huge, so let me just mention a few basic references. On clitics in general, see ZWICKY 1977; KLAVANS 1995, HALPERN 1995, 1999; DIXON & AIKHENVALD 2002; and ANDERSON 2005. Basic references on Romance clitics include KAYNE 1975, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2005; BORER 1984, RIGAU 1988; SUÑER 1988; SPORTICHE 1990, 1995, 1996; BONET 1991, 1995, 2008; ROCA 1992, 1996; FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 1993; URIAGEREKA 1995; CARDINALETTI & STARKE 1999; LONGA, LORENZO & RIGAU 2001; ORDÓÑEZ 2002; CUERVO 2003; ORMAZABAL & ROMERO 2007, 2010; CATTANEO 2009, SĂVESCU 2009; among many others.

Clitics are weak pronouns, as opposed to strong pronouns (for a more fine-grained categorization of pronouns see CARDINALETTI & STARKE 1999). However, clitic pronouns differ from strong pronouns in important respects. In fact, I consider that the whole term *pronominal* is not entirely adequate if we understand this notion as referring to proforms being in the place of a noun (BALTIN & VAN CRANENBROECK 2010). Some pronouns aren't in the place of a noun, but rather of a PP. Moreover, clitics, unlike strong pronouns, are in complementary distribution with full (phrasal) nominals with respect to the places where they can appear in the sentence (examples from KAYNE 1975):

(40) a. Marie connaît mes amis [FR]

Marie knows my friends

*Mary knows my friends*

b. * Marie connaît les

Marie knows 3ACC.PL

c. Marie les connaît

Marie ACC.3PL speaks

*Marie knows them*

d. * Marie mes amis connaît

Marie my friends knows

e. Elle les connaît

She ACC.3PL speaks

Clitics, as pronouns, express morphological features (sometimes called φ-features), typically person, number, and gender. They do not have encyclopedic content (BONET 1991, ROCA 1996). Some of those features are actually spelled out, and some others aren't, as we will see once and again in this dissertation. As a result, object clitics are, unlike full phrases and strong pronouns, not autonomous syntactic or phonological units. They need a host to immediately attach to, most usually a (finite or non-finite) verb, or another clitic attached to a verb, with no other intervening element allowed in between (*cf*. FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO 1999):

(41) a. No te lo doy [SP]

NEG DAT.2S ACC.3SM give.1S

*I don't give it to you*

b. *Te lo no doy

2SG ACC.3SM NEG give.1S

(42) a. Hacerlo mal es un error

do.INF-ACC.3SM badly is a mistake

*Doing it wrongly is a mistake*

b. *Hacer mal lo es un error

do.INF badly ACC.3SM is a mistake

Another feature of object clitics we also see in the Spanish examples in (41) and (42) is that they can be *proclitics* and precede their verbal host or *enclitics* and appear after their verbal host, depending on a variety of factors. Normally, it depends on whether the host verb is finite or non-finite (infinitive, gerunds, and imperatives, basically). Those relative positions differ from language to language in Romance, but they are normally consistent within one language. Thus, while clitics in Spanish are proclitics when the host verb is finite, and proclitics when the host verb is not finite, in French clitics are only enclitics with imperatives:

(43) a. Il me les a donnés [FR]

he 1S ACC.3P has given

*He has given them to me*

b Il veut me les donner

he wants 1S ACC.3P give.INF

*He wants to give them to me*

c. Donne - les - moi (notice *moi* instead of **-me*)

give.IMP.2S ACC.3P 1S

*Give them to me*

Other characteristics of object clitics include their inability of coordination (44), or modification (45), a reflex of their weak character:

(44) a. Juan compra el libro y la libreta [SP]

John buys the book and the notepad

*John buys the book and the notepad*

b. * Juan lo y la compra.

John 3ACC.SM and 3ACC.SF buys

c. Juan lava y regala su camisa

John washes and offers his shirt

*John washes and offers his shirt*

d. * Juan la lava y regala
John 3ACC.SM washes and offers

(45) a. No te lo doy [SP]
NEG DAT.2S ACC.3SM give.1S
*I don't give it to you*

b. *Te lo no doy
2SG ACC.3SM NEG give.1S

Another important general aspect of clitics is that they lack referentiality or encyclopedic content on their own, and thus are dependent for interpretation on elements in the linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

All this cluster of properties has sometimes been interpreted as proof of the fact that clitics have an intermediate status between morphemes and words, a hypothesis I will consider at different points in this dissertation (*cf.* BONET 1991, 1995, 2002, BORER 1984, FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 2000, ROCA 1996, SOLÀ-PUJOLS 1998, SPORTICHE 1993, SUÑER 1988, among others). Thus, as suggested sometimes in the literature, and from a very traditional point of view, clitics seem to occupy a middle way between being morphological, and hence subject to the same restrictions at work in word-building processes, or being syntactic, and thus being manipulated as free morphemes by the syntax.

So, if clitics can be defined as bundles of φ-features without substantive or encyclopedic content whatsoever (i.e. as functional words), then we expect clitics to be decomposable in smaller morphemes expressing those features, ideally with each feature being expressed by a single morpheme (BONET 1991, 1995; KAYNE 2000: ch.8, or VIAPLANA 1980, among many others). An example of this approach is offered in KAYNE 2000, where the author elaborates on the decomposition of French and Italian possessives and other pronouns. According to Kayne, possessive pronouns such as *mes*, *tes*, *ses*, and accusative pronouns such as *les* (the latter homophonous to the definite article plural) would be composed of the morphemes *m*, *t*, *s*, and *l*, plus morphemes expressing agreement in number, namely *-es*. Kayne notices that it is quite uncontroversial that *m* and *t* are person morphemes, first and second person respectively. However, the status of *s* and *l* is not that clear. According to some authors, like BERNSTEIN 2008a, 2008b, the *l-*, like the *th-*/*d-* in Germanic languages, is a third person morpheme. Other scholars, though, consider *th-*/*d-* and *l-* to be definiteness morphemes (DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO 2002, LEONETTI 1999, or LEU 2005). Throughout the dissertation, I assume the former to be right, although nothing I say depends on this particular election.

In particular, even though I follow BENVENISTE 1966 and subsequent literature including KAYNE 2000, in considering third person to be a non-person, this doesn't say anything about whether [l] is or not a third person feature. The notion of person only makes sense when applied to the first and the second person. Per-

son, which is a deictic feature, can be defined (informally) as the grammatical category that indicates discourse roles, i.e. the individual participants (speaker/hearer) in a given discourse exchange, either as individuals (*j/yo-me* 'I-me' or *tu-te* 'you.SG') or as the individual participants with their respective understood associates (*nos-ens* 'we-us' or *(v)os-us* 'you.PL'). The first and second person morphemes for the singular and the plural simple forms *j/y-n* and *t-v*, respectively (see KAYNE 2000) are genderless. That is to say, these have to be obligatorily people, or entities metaphorically humanized.[8] However, the form that is called the third person does not contain a specification about any particular participant in the discourse. According to BENVENISTE 1966, the third person is a merely negative concept that is used to indicate the 'non-person', i.e. any other thing different from the speaker and the addressee. In that complement set we find not only humans, but all kind of things for which the notion of person does not apply or it is only *metaphorical*.[9] As I mention in more detail in chapter 3, following PICALLO 2007 among others, the person feature is simply a categorization variant of the abstract category *class* in pronouns, reason why gender and person might be in complementary distribution. This is also the case in many other languages

[8] Richie Kayne (p.c.) suggests that this might not be as clear as I put it, especially if we take into consideration the facts analyzed in ZRIBI-HERTZ 1980. In that paper, the author considers the context of TV commercials, where a shirt and a washing machine talk and different grammatical effects take place, like PCC violations. I leave the investigation of these interesting counterexamples as a topic for further research.

[9] Although I assume Benveniste's ideas about personhood in this paper, I keep using the term 'third person' for simplicity.

where first and second person pronouns do not have grammatical gender. For Picallo, *class*, or gender declension, is the relevant feature that characterizes entities distinct from the speaker or the addressee.

KAYNE 2000 also notices the asymmetry between *mes*, *tes*, *ses*, which can be possessive determiners and reflexive pronouns, and *les*, which can be neither possessive nor reflexive. It is also interesting that the reflexive third person pronoun in most Romance languages (French, Spanish, Catalan, etc.) uses the [s] rather than the [l]:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (47) | Se | compró | su | propio | coche | [SP] |
| | RFL.3S | bought | POSS.3SG | own | car | |

*He bought a car for himself (lit. He bought himself his own car)*

In addition to the reflexive, the *s-* is present in the paradigm of possessive determiners in most Romance languages, going back to Latin, which also used that morpheme in the possessive:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (48) | a. | mon | / | ton | / | son | / *lon | père [10] | [FR] |
| | | my | | your | | his / her | | father | |

[10] Strictly speaking, this generalization applies to third person singular in all Romance languages. However, the [l] is present in the possessive paradigm of some Romance languages, but only for the third person plural. French: *leur*, Italian: *loro*. It is interesting that these forms can be both dative and possessive, a topic not unknown in the literature: SZABOLCSI 1981, 1983, FREEZE 1992, KAYNE 1975, 2000.

One of the most debated aspect of the nature and behavior of Romance clitics concerns their base-generation site. There are two dominant hypotheses in this domain. The so-called *Movement Hypothesis* assumes that clitics are generated in argumental positions within VP and subsequently move toward the inflectional layer of the sentence (*cf*. KAYNE 1975, 1989, 1991, 1994). In contrast, according to the *Base-generation Hypothesis*, clitics are directly created in inflectional positions (BORER 1984, SUÑER 1988, FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 1989 among others). In this dissertation, however, I will not assume either of these theories entirely. Rather, I'm going to assume an intermediate hypothesis that has recently appeared in the literature, notably in works like ROCA 1992, 1996, or ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010. In this view, since accusative l-clitics have different properties than the rest of the paradigm, we can argue that they are base-generated in different positions too. According to this idea, accusative l-clitics would be generated in argumental position within the VP and then would move to inflectional positions, while dative l-clitics (and the rest of the clitic paradigm) would be base-generated in inflectional positions.

Now, the idea of a split in the clitic paradigm might receive at least two objections: (*i*) The movement hypothesis has always had the problem of clitic doubling (though see KAYNE 2000: chapter 7 for a proposal of solution). This solution solves in part that problem, because clitic doubling is a phenomenon that is mostly concerned with the personal clitics on the one hand, and the dative *l*-clitics

on the other. As we will see in chapter 2, accusative doubling is absent in Catalan, and in most dialects of Spanish, so it makes some sense considering that on the one hand, dative l-clitics do not have this problem, because they are not explained by the movement hypothesis, and on the other hand, that the accusative l-clitics are not affected by this problem either, because they do not double. However, this idea doesn't solve the problem for those Spanish dialects where accusative doubling does occur. So this is a problem for the theory of having even accusative l-clitics explained by the movement hypothesis.

On the other hand, the base-generation hypothesis, which treats the rest of clitics as object agreements markers, has the problem of the optionality of the dative clitic in dative doubling:

(49) a. Juan envió un libro a María [SP]
John sent.3S a book to Mary
*John sent a book to Mary*

b. Juan le envió un libro a María
John DAT.3S sent.3S a book to Mary
*John sent a book to Mary*

However, for many speakers (including myself) there is no real optionality here, and the clitic is obligatory. It is in fact quite the opposite: it is the dative full phrase what can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence:

(50) *(*Li*) he comprat un llibre ( a la Maria ) [CAT]

DAT.3S have.1s bought a book to the Mary

*I've bought Mary a book*

Therefore, strictly speaking, the clitic is the only obligatory element of a dative doubling construction. Following MASULLO 1992, I assume that without clitic doubling we do not have a real dative phrase argument, but rather a prepositional one, with all the properties of prepositions that dative *a* lacks. According to authors like STROZER 1976, MASULLO 1992, DEMONTE 1995, MASULLO 1992, or CUERVO 2003, the construction with and without the clitic correspond to two different constructions, and the dative one requires clitic doubling, i.e. requires the presence of the clitic. Thus, for MASULLO 1992, dative phrases don't have a real preposition, because this has been incorporated to the verb (in the analysis of Masullo). For this author, if the clitic can be omitted we do not have a dative-marked phrase, but rather a PP with a real preposition, and that entails that the particle *a* in many dative phrases of Romance is not a preposition but something else.[11] This presence of the dative clitics signals the presence of a dative phrase. That is proved by the fact that in the absence of the dative clitic, a real preposition can also show

[11] The concept of *preposition* (probably like that of any other lexical category) is quite imprecise in the literature. Definitions normally point out its structural distribution, i.e. the fact that they select a NP/DP to form a PP in turn embedded within a VP, but do not go into offering a real definition. Another difficulty is whether they constitute a closed lexical class (as argued by e.g, (TRASK 1993) or an open lexical class (as argued by e.g. SANCHO-CREMADES 2002). In this paper I stick to this blur idea and avoid going any further.

up in the phrase. Stated otherwise, if a real preposition is present (different from *a*), the dative clitic can't be correferential with the R-expression within the PP:

(51) a. Pablo le puso azúcar a el café [SP]
Pablo DAT.3S put sugar to the coffee

a'. Pablo (*le) puso azúcar en el café
Pablo DAT.3S put sugar in the coffee
(a = b) *Pablo put sugar in the coffee*

b. Pablo le cocinó una tarta a Andrea
Pablo DAT.3S baked a cake to Andrea

b'. Pablo (*$le_i$) cocinó una tarta para $Andrea_i$
Pablo DAT.3S baked a cake for Andrea
(a = b) *Pablo baked a cake for Andrea*

c. Pablo le lavó la bicicleta a Andrea
Pablo DAT.3S washed the bicycle to Andrea

c'. Pablo (*$le_i$) lavó la bicicleta de $Andrea_i$
Pablo DAT.3S washed the bicycle of Andrea
(a = b) *Pablo washed Andrea's bicycle*

So I think we can dispense with this, and consider that there is no argument here against the base-generation of dative l-clitics. In any case, this is just mentioned

here in the context of a general review of Romance clitics, but nothing I argue for in the dissertation relies upon adopting one of these three theories about clitics over the others.

### 1.1.5 Previous Analyses

#### *1.1.5.1 Kayne 1975*

The classical analysis of Romance clitics is KAYNE's 1975 treatment of several aspects of French grammar. Kayne proposes a transformational analysis of cliticization in French and shows its interactions with other syntactic phenomena. Kayne discusses several issues of French clitics and proposes some major theories that came to be some of the major theories in the field. For example, Kayne studies the distributional peculiarities of French clitics, which he considers to be transformationally adjoined to the V node.

A second major idea in Kayne's work is the complementary distribution between clitics and and full dative phrases. This property is in itself one of the main arguments for Kayne's movement analysis of clitics, also advocated in KAYNE 1975, 1989, 1991, 1994; or SPORTICHE 1990 among many others.

Another strong point in Kayne's book is that, in certain cases, clitics appear on a lexical item of which they are not an argument, also known as clitic climbing, and this leads to a discussion of the locality constraints on cliticization.

Finally, Kayne analyzes the interaction of clitic placement and other transformations, especially the causative transformation, primarily in terms of the A-over-A constraint and the Specified Subject constraint. The main problem for Kayne's approach is clitic doubling, as we saw in section 1.1.4 above.

#### *1.1.5.2 Jaeggli 1982*

As we we said in the previous section, in front of the so-called "movement analysis of clitics" first proposed by Kayne, there is another family of theories known as "base-generation approaches to clitics", the more prominent advocates of which are building on RIVAS 1977; JAEGGLI 1982; BORER 1984; AOUN 1985; SUÑER 1988; or FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 1989 among many others. Jaeggli 1982 for example proposes an analysis, based on a previous proposal in RIVAS 1977, in which clitics are base generated in their inflectional site, and where the presence of a clitic absorbs government of the verb in order to account for the complementary distribution of clitics and full dative phrases. Indeed, since Case is assigned under government, the dative phrase would be Caseless (and the sentence consequently ungrammatical) unless it is independently governed by another element, e.g. a preposition. As a result, clitic doubling in languages like Spanish is taken as evidence for the independence of dative Case assignment from the verb. That is, indirect objects in Spanish do not appear to depend on the verb to get Case. This indeed raises a number of problems for PP clitics such as French *y* and *en*, which can

correspond to arguments that do not depend on the verb to get case, but which nevertheless cannot appear in clitic doubling constructions in standard French. Jaeggli simply dismisses such problems by saying at the onset of his study that he will have nothing to say about those clitics which Kayne analyzed as Pro-PPs.

Another major problem with Jaeggli's analysis is that he centers himself on the behavior of clitics in simple structures, and this means that he does not address one of the crucial problem raised by clitics, pointed out by Kayne in his work, which is that of clitic climbing, that is to say, the fact that they appear adjacent to verbs they are not a complement of. Indeed, in such cases it is not clear by which mechanisms the clitic can absorb case on the head of which it is an argument.

#### *1.1.5.2 Borer 1984*

Also a proponent of the base-generation analyses of clitics, BORER 1984 does deal with the problem of clitic climbing. This author suggests that the clitics are attached to the past participle at S-structure, and that they are moved to their final position by a rule R in the phonological component. However, the author doesn't provide any reason whatsoever to account for the fact that the auxiliary and the verb form a morphological unit: as pointed out by many authors this fails to accoun for facts such as that they can be separated by adverbials and parentheticals, or that they can be coordinated independently, or that liaison is optional between them.

### 1.1.6 A Note on Deixis

Even though the notion of deixis is very pervasive in the linguistic literature, its definition is not particularly simple. Although I end up just assuming a working definition for deixis, like most of the literature, I want to make explicit some considerations that might have some relevance for the proposals I put forward here.

According to LEVINSON 1983, deictics are grammatical elements used to point more or less directly to contextual information. Typical deictic expressions include demonstratives, first and second person pronouns, tense, certain place and time adverbials like *here* and *now*, and verbs such as *come* and *go*. According to the theory developed by the psychologist Karl Bühler in 1934, deictic expressions refer into what he called the *indexical field*, whose zero (or *origo*) is fix by the person who speaks (the first person), the place of utterance (the *here*), and the time of utterance (the *now*) (WEISSENBORN & KLEIN 1982). This entails three types of deixis: *person*, *space*, and *time* deixis. The meaning of these elements is deictic in the sense that they do not refer or name any particular entity on all occasions of use. Rather, they are variables or place-holders for some particular entity given by the context. Observe the following uses of some of what I am calling deictics:

(52) a. I want to go *there*

b. Je veux *y* aller [FR]

I want LOC go.INF

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| c. | *Ci* | voglio | andare | [IT] |
| | LOC | I-want | go.INF | |
| d. | *Hi* | vull | anar | [CAT] |
| | LOC | I-want | go.INF | |

For the sentences in (52) to be felicitous at all, it has to be contextually clear what the deictic clitic (*y, ci, hi*) or English *there* refers to. For example, if I see a picture of Aruba in the subway, I will say to my friend: *I'd like to go there next summer*, or if we speak in Catalan to each other I would say: *Hi vull anar l'estiu vinent*. Now, it might be argued that the fact alone that these elements retrieve their reference from the environment is not enough to consider them deictic. Anaphoric pronouns also behave in this way, and we would not call them deictic, at least if we stick to the common use of *deixis*, which as we have just said necessarily incorporates the speaker as the center of the indexical field (BÜHLER 1934), i.e. as the element with respect to which deictics get their reference. According to this objection, whereas demonstratives like *this* and *that* (and morphemes like *here* and *there*) do indeed make reference to the speaker (near the speaker vs. away from the speaker), the Romance elements (*hi, ci, y*) are completely neutral with respect to the speaker (i.e. when used as locatives, they are neutral with respect to the speaker, near or away). Although this is a valid argument, I think the problem is much more complex, and the reference to the speaker is not always so crucial in

some uses of deictics. Let me examine two clear cases of deictics and their behavior with respect to the idea that they depend on the reference to the speaker, namely French *ici* et *là* (equivalent to *here* and *there*), and the verbs *come* and *go*.

With respect to French demonstratives *ici* et *là*, they generally express the same opposition that *here* and *there* express in English: *ici* proximity to the speaker, and *là* distality from the speaker:

(53) a. Arrêtons nous ici [FR]
stop.IMP.1P us here
*Let's stop here*

b. Ne restez pas ici, allez là
NEG stay.IMP.2P NEG here go.IMP.2PL there
*Don't stay here, go there*

However, facts are not so clear-cut as it seems at first sight. *Là* can sometimes mean *here* too:

(54) a. Je reste là [FR]
I stay here

b. Marie est là
Mary is here

In these cases, we see how a clear demonstrative (and therefore deictic element) as *là* can also be rather neutral with respect to the speaker, in terms of proximality and distality. The meaning of these uses can only be distinguished by clues provided by the context of utterance, exactly as what happens with *hi*.

Second, it is usual to consider that verbs like 'to come' or 'to go' are deictic, in the sense that they incorporate the speaker as the point of reference with respect to which the action of coming is interpreted. For example, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'come' is defined as *"move or travel toward or into a place thought of as near or familiar to the speaker"*, whereas 'go' is conceptualized either neutrally with respect to the speaker, or as moving away from the speaker. However, in many languages, a telephonic interchange like the following would be absolutely standard:

(55) A: Could you please come to my office for a moment?

B: I'm coming right away (*cf.* #I'm going right away)

Catalan makes a pervasive use of the verb 'come' as 'going to where you are':

(56) A: Podries venir un moment? [CAT]

Could.2SG come.INF a moment

*Could you come by for a moment?*

B: Ara vinc (cf. # Ara vaig)

Now come.1S Now go.1S

*I'll come by in a minute*

Again, these clear deictic elements are not always clearly defined with respect to the speaker. Therefore, the fact that *hi* is not so specified either should not count as a proof against its deictic character. What makes it a deictic is the fact that it is used to point more or less directly to contextual information, that it does not refer or name any particular entity on all occasions of use; rather it is a variable or place-holder for some particular entity given by the context. From this point of view, maybe what we consider as two separate phenomena, namely deixis and anaphora, might turn out to be just two subcases of the same thing, as argued in VON HEUSINGER 2002.

Because of all these facts, the use of deixis I am going to incorporate to the dissertation is going to be a more technical one. I essentially take over the ideas on deixis in HINZEN & SHEEHAN 2011, according to which human language allows referential-deictic possibilities unparalleled in any non-linguistic system of reference or pointing. The most plausible – perhaps the only available – explanation for this fact is that human language is grammatically structured, unlike non-human animal communication systems. If so, grammar can be functionally viewed as a device of extended deixis, and we expect that its internal organization reflects this

fact. Those authors argue that no independent stipulation of objects of reference as primitives is needed, beyond what referential strategies the grammar affords. Specifically, Universal Grammar allows for essentially three such strategies in both the nominal and the clausal domains. If we interpret this fact against a phasal model of grammar (CHOMSKY 20001, 2008), and against a conception of phases as units of reference, it is suggestive to think that reference in human language is an edge phenomenon: it depends on how a phase closes at its edge. The more edge-heavy the phase becomes (through D or C phasal heads, or movement of phase internal material into these positions), the more referential the phase becomes, giving rise to object reference and fact reference in nominals and clauses, respectively. Only outside of argument positions, however, i.e. in matrix clauses or the final phase of a derivation, fully extensional forms of reference can be achieved.

In that line of thought, I am also assuming the ideas in JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001, and KAYNE 2008, in considering that all DPs incorporate a deictic element as part of their syntactic structure. In particular, JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001 claim that it holds universally that all referring nominal expressions contain place deixis. As a consequence of that idea, J&H postulate a DeixP in the extended nominal expression, exactly what I'm calling DxP in the structure above, and whose presence is crucial, according to them, is crucial in the semantics of reference. Although my proposal deviates in some respects from J&H's,

I'm going to essentially assume their arguments in this dissertation. The reader is referred to that paper for elaboration on their arguments on the topic.

## 1.2 Organization of the Dissertation

### 1.2.1 Chapter 2: The Many Puzzles of Catalan Object Clitics

Chapter 2 describes the puzzles of Catalan object clitics that motivate this dissertation. Focusing on Catalan, I inspect some of the many puzzles that have traditionally plagued the study of Catalan object clitics, plus some novel problems that have either so far gone unnoticed or haven't received detailed treatments in the literature about Catalan morphosyntax. I give a bird's-eye view of them all, in order to gather the basic features that will help me build up my proposal in chapter 3.

I establish a first set of puzzles dedicated to the internal morphological structure of the clitics, i.e. their decomposition in φ-features (gender, number, person). Then, a second set is concerned with the syntactic behavior of the clitics. I make a further subdivision of *Set B* into external puzzles occurring in the context of clitic clusters (set $B_1$), and external puzzles affecting simple clitics (set $B_2$). Set $B_1$ includes (*i*) the problem of opacity; (*ii*) the Person Case Constraint (PCC); (*iii*) the flexible ordering possibilities of dative clitics; and (*iv*) the obligatoriness of dative, as opposed to accusative clitics. Subset $B_2$ includes (*v*) clitic doubling, (*vi*)

syncretism dative-locative, and finally (*vii*) semantic specificity of accusative but not dative clitics.

### 1.2.2 Chapter 3: A Unified Proposal for a Solution

In this chapter, I put forward my proposal for a structure for dative object clitics in Catalan. That proposal is based on the idea that dative clitics are complex grammatical items that include accusative and deixis as part of their constitutive parts. I explain the solution first, and then see how it applies to the individual puzzles reviewed in chapter 2.

### 1.2.3 Chapter 4: Conclusion and Further Questions

In chapter 4 I lay out my conclusions, and point out to some possible directions to continue the research initiated in this dissertation.

# Chapter 2

# The Many Puzzles of Catalan Object Clitics

## 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe some puzzles of Catalan object clitics, i.e. dative and accusative, in order to unearth a number of structural and distributive irregularities that seem to reveal a hidden complex structure. Then, in the next chapter I will show that we can decompose those clitics into simpler components including features like D (DETERMINER), DX (DEIXIS), and φ-features gender, number, person). In the bulk of the chapter, I focus on Catalan, although I go into side discussions concerning other Romance languages, especially Spanish, French, and Paduan at several points throughout the chapter. I inspect some of the many puzzles that have traditionally plagued the study of Catalan object clitics, plus some novel problems that have either so far gone unnoticed or haven't received detailed treatments in the literature about Catalan (morpho)syntax. Most of those puzzles have been studied separately in works I will refer to along the chapter. However, some of them

have never been put in relation to the others. The goal of the chapter is not offering a fully detailed analysis of each of the ten phenomena presented. Rather I intend to give a bird's-eye view of them all, in order to gather the basic features that will help me build up my proposal in chapter 3.

To do so, I make the purely methodological decision of separating the puzzles in three thematic blocks, aiming only for description. Thus, I establish a first set of puzzles dedicated to the internal morphological structure of the clitics, i.e. their decomposition in φ-features (gender, number, person). This will be *Set A*, or the *Set of φ-puzzles*. Then, a second set is concerned with the syntactic behavior of the clitics and I label it *Set B*, or *Set of behavioral problems*. I make a further subdivision of *Set B* into external puzzles occurring in the context of clitic clusters (set $B_1$), and external puzzles affecting simple clitics (set $B_2$). Set $B_1$ includes (*i*) the problem of opacity; (*ii*) the Person Case Constraint (PCC); (*iii*) the flexible ordering possibilities of dative clitics; and (*iv*) the obligatoriness of dative, as opposed to accusative clitics. Subset $B_2$ includes (*v*) clitic doubling, (*vi*) syncretism dative-locative, and finally (*vii*) semantic specificity of accusative but not dative clitics:

(1) SUMMARY OF PUZZLES IN THIS CHAPTER

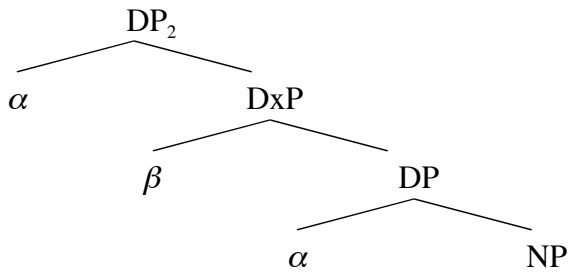
$$A = \{(i)\ \text{gender}, (ii)\ \text{number}, (iii)\ \text{person}\}$$

$$B = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} B_1 = \{(i)\ \text{opacity}, (ii)\ \text{PCC}, (iii)\ \text{obligatoriness}, (iv)\ \text{ordering}\} \\ \\ B_2 = \{(v)\ \text{doubling}, (vi)\ \text{dative-locative}, (vii)\ \text{specificity}\} \end{array} \right\}$$

I present these problems separately, leaving the establishment of the connections between them to chapter 3. There, I show not only that they are all indeed related, but also that a single syntactic structure, represented in (1), offers a unified solution for them:

(2) a. $[_{DP2}\ \alpha\ [_{DxP}\ \beta\ [_{DP1}\ \alpha\ ]]]$

b.




As a starting point, let me offer a complete list of the Catalan object clitics system for ease of reference throughout the dissertation:

(3) TABLE 2: *Catalan clitic pronouns*

| | | # | 1ST | 2ND | REFL | 3RD |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERSONAL CLITICS | ACCUSATIVE DATIVE | SG | *em* | *et* | *es* | *el, la* (ACC) |
| | | | | | | *li* (DAT) |
| | | PL | *ens* | *us* | | *els, les* (ACC) |
| | | | | | | *els (hi)* (DAT) |
| IMPERSONAL CLITICS | NEUTER | *ho* | | | | |
| | LOCATIVE | *hi* | | | | |
| | PARTITIVE | *en* | | | | |
| | IMPERSONAL | *es* | | | | |

In this dissertation I basically focus on the personal clitics, although reference to the so-called (for the time being) locative clitic *hi* and partitive clitic *en* will have an important weight as well. As a previous note, let me mention several caveats about this table:

(*i*) Here I provide the orthographic form of Catalan clitics, although what I argue for in the dissertation calls for a revision of that orthography in the sense that as it is, it hides the internal structure of especially the dative clitics. As a result, through the dissertation I often (although not always) use the phonological form of the clitics /li/, /əlzi/, or /i/ rather than, or at the same time as, the orthographic form.

(*ii*) Accusative and dative clitics are syncretic in the reflexive form, and in the first and second person. They are not syncretic in the third person clitics, or l-clitics, a term I borrow from DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO 2002 to abbreviate the expression "third person clitics starting by l". I provisionally distinguish between first and second person accusative and dative clitics, although I will end up collapsing them under one single label.

(*iii*) The plural dative l-clitic can have two forms, namely *els* /əls/ or *els hi* /əlzi/ (*cf*. BONET 1991, 1995, VIAPLANA 1980). The former is the normative form, used in high registers of the language, and in some Northwestern dialects. The latter is the colloquial form used in the varieties spoken in Central and North-

eastern areas of Catalonia (mostly Barcelona and Girona). It will be of interest for our analysis that when Catalan speakers write the colloquial form, they use the complex *els hi* /əlzi/, formed by what seems to be two separate clitics: the normative dative plural l-clitic *els* /əls/ (syncretic with the accusative masculine plural l-clitic) plus what is considered to be the locative clitic *hi* /i/.

As I said in the introduction to the dissertation, this examination of the Catalan clitic system will allow us not only to enter a new route to describing the Romance (pro)nominal system more conspicuously, but also to draw conclusions regarding the essence of notions like case with more confidence and insight than what we could if we were to study another language.

## 2.2 The φ-puzzles

The puzzles in Set A are related to the internal morphosyntactic composition of Catalan object clitics. I take as a starting point the basic ideas on Romance clitics I listed in section 1.4 above. Of paramount importance for what I will be saying below is the idea that clitics, as pronouns, are composed or morphological features, sometimes called φ-features typically including person, number, and (less often) gender. Whether case features are part of that composition or not, or even whether case features are to be treated as separate features, will be a topic of reflection in this dissertation (in chapter 4). Another basic assumption to be taken into account

is that only some of those features (i.e. not all of them) are actually spelled out, and some others aren't, as we will see once and again in this dissertation. In this chapter, I examine the problems that emerge when comparing accusative and dative clitics in Romance, with occasional references to other object clitics.

### 2.2.1 Gender

Catalan accusative l-clitics are different to the rest of the paradigm in being, along with strong (nominative) pronouns, the only ones to have component gender features. Neither the dative l-clitics nor the personal or reflexive clitics get gender features, however. The two following tables illustrate this point:

(4) TABLE 3: *Catalan pronouns with (overt) gender features*

| NUMBER | GENDER | STRONG | ACC |
|---|---|---|---|
| SINGULAR | MASC | *ell* | *el* |
| | FEM | *ella* | *la* |
| PLURAL | MASC | *ells* | *els* |
| | FEM | *elles* | *les* |

(5) TABLE 4: *Catalan personal pronouns without gender features*

| PERSON | NUMBER | STRONG | DATIVE |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1ST | SINGULAR | *jo / mi* | *em* |
| | PLURAL | *nosaltres* | *ens* |
| 2ND | SINGULAR | *tu* | *et* |
| | PLURAL | *vosaltres* | *us* |
| 3RD | SINGULAR | | *li* |
| | PLURAL | | *els (hi)* |

If we look for patterns in the two tables above, we can see that if gender is part of the internal constitution of a pronoun, then that pronoun is third person. The other direction doesn't work, in principle, as some third person dative clitics don't have gender features. This is similar to what happens to the other person pronouns, which don't get gender features either. Assuming for the moment that third person is not a real person, as I am going to argue *in extenso* in this dissertation following BENVENISTE 1966 and subsequent works, we can hypothesize that gender and person exclude each other in the domain of pronouns. Put it otherwise, gender and person seem to be in complementary distribution in that domain. For details on this see section 3.3.1.

Now, although this lack of gender of dative l-clitics and personal pronouns holds for the vast majority of Romance languages, it has some apparent counterexamples. On the one hand, the dative l-clitics' exclusion of gender features has three exceptions in the domain of Romance clitics, namely standard Italian, Romanian, and *laísta* Spanish. I leave Romanian out of this dissertation:

(9) TABLE 5: *Romance dative clitics with overt gender features*

| LANGUAGE | SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MASC | FEM | MASC | FEM |
| STANDARD ITALIAN | *gli* | *le* | *loro* | |
| LAÍSTA SPANISH | *le* | *la* | *les* | *las* |

The *laísta* varieties of Spanish do for instance do distinguish between masculine and feminine dative pronouns as shown by the following examples (ROMERO 1991, 1999):

(10) a. Le dije la verdad [SP]
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told him/her the truth*

(11) a. Le dije la verdad [LAÍSTA SP]
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told him the truth*

b. La dije la verdad
DAT.3S said.1S the truth
*I told her the truth*

Notice that this doesn't necessarily contradict the complementary distribution between gender and person features I have posited above, but rather contradicts the idea that dative must include something similar to person as part of their φ-feature composition. As a result, the interest of these three counterarguments to the dative l-clitic's lack of gender will be a general problem for the proposal of a solution I put forward in chapter 3 of this dissertation. I dedicate a complete section in chapter 4 to the specific problem of *laísmo*.

With respect to the lack of gender in first and second person pronouns, although it does hold for all the singular personal pronouns of Romance, it doesn't for a couple of well-known plural examples, and this raises an apparent problem for the idea that person and gender are in complementary distribution:

(12) TABLE 6: *Some gendered Romance first / second person pronouns*

| LANGUAGES | GENDER | 1ST PERSON | | 2ND PERSON | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| OCCITAN | MASC | *ièu* | *nosautres* | *tu* | *vosautres* |
| | FEM | | *nosautras* | | *vosautras* |
| SPANISH | MASC | *yo* | *nosotros* | *tu* | *vosotros* |
| | FEM | | *nosotras* | | *vosotras* |

However, this proves to be nothing but an apparent contradiction, if we follow HARLEY & RITTER 2002 in considering that these pronouns are (at least) bi-morphemic. Thus, they are composed of (at least) a morpheme expressing person and number, but not gender (*nos*, *vos*), and another morpheme expressing gender and number, but not person (*otros*, *otras*, literally 'other.MASC', 'other.FEM'). As a result, none of these four forms contains any morpheme whose feature specification consists of first and second person plus gender, but not number. As for the reasons why these forms might be bi-morphemic, as opposed to the other forms of the Spanish and Occitan paradigm, we can consider that first person plural has to be necessarily conceptualized as [speaker + other people], but never as a group of

speakers at the same time. The second person, on the other hand, can be considered as either [addressee + other people}, or as a group of addressees (CISOUW 2003). In fact, these bi-morphemic first and second person plural pronouns are not a particularity of Spanish and Occitan. They can also be found in French (*nous autres, vous autres*), or Catalan (*nosaltres, vosaltres*), although in these two latter cases it does not lead to gender distinctions.

In any case, the fact that accusative l-clitics are the only object clitics to have gender features, while dative and the personal clitics do not, seems to suggest that (*i*) accusative clitics belong in a different class of grammatical elements, along with definite determiners, and nominals in general, and (*ii*) that gender gets blocked for some reason in the dative l-clitics and the personal clitics.

On the base of these data, the questions that emerge are obvious: Why do strong pronouns and accusative l-clitics have gender exponents, unlike everything else in the pronominal paradigms or Romance? Or, focusing on the dative l-clitics, why do they lack gender features in most Romance languages except for the three exceptions seen above? And why only third person pronouns, i.e. the l-clitics, have gender but not the other persons? What motivates these asymmetries? These are part of the questions my proposal in chapter 3 will help us to address.

### 2.2.2 Number

The second φ-puzzle of Catalan object clitics has to do with the feature number. In this domain, we find another divergence between accusative l-clitics on the one hand, and dative l-clitics and the personal clitics on the other. Sticking for the moment to the l-clitics, we see that while accusative l-clitics exhibit regular nominal plurals, the plural dative is irregular, both in the normative form *els* and the non-normative form *els hi* (14). Catalan forms regular nominal plurals by adding an /s/ (or allomorphic variant) to the corresponding singular form:

(13) REGULAR ACCUSATIVE PLURALS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ACC, MASC, SG = | *el* | + *-s* | = | ACC, MASC, PL = | *el-s* |
| ACC, FEM, SG = | *la* | + *-s* | = | ACC, FEM, PL = | *le-s* |

(14) IRREGULAR DATIVE PLURALS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DAT, SG = *li* | | + *-s* | = | **lis* [12] |
| DAT, SG = *li* | | + *-s-* | | DAT, PL = *els (hi)* |

Notice that with the appearance of the /i/ in the colloquial Catalan plural dative l-clitic, we go from the dative singular l-clitic /li/ to the plural dative l-clitic /əlzi/. Hence, what seems to happen here is that in the dative plural the plural morpheme s (pronounced /z/ in this case) is interpolated between the /l/ and the /i/ of the singular.

[12] The form *lis* is attested in Valencian Catalan, and some other varieties.

This is a case of *distributed exponence*, a term used by SOLÀ-PUJOLS 1998, as an adoption of the solution put forward by BONET 1991, 1995. However, that can hardly be a solution, as Catalan doesn't resort to plural (or any other kind of morphological) infixation anywhere in its grammar (not in the colloquial domain, anyway), except when the dative l-clitic is involved.[13] Another example, discussed in BONET 1991, is the infixation of a partitive clitic /n/ within the dative plural l-clitic:

(15) De llibres, a ells, /əlz-ən-i/ [14] dono tres [CAT]
of books, to they, DAT.3P-PART-LOC [15] give.1S three
*I give them three books*

We see in the examples in (11) through (14), that while accusative l-clitics behave like phrasal nominals and definite determiners (16), dative l-clitics behave like the personal clitics (17):

[13] In normative Catalan, there are some examples of what looks like infixed plurals. Thus, the plural of *qualsevol cosa* 'any thing' is *qualssevol coses*, with two /s/ in *qualssevol*. This is limited to the written language, and has no reflect whatsoever in the spoken language, reason why I ignore it in the rest of the dissertation.

[14] I come back to the issue of the infixation of the partitive clitic within the plural dative clitic in section 3.3 below.

[15] Notice that in the glosses in (15), I have considered the element /i/ to be a separate locative morpheme. Let me stick to this traditional label here as a first approximation to be elaborated upon in chapter 3.

(16) REGULAR NOMINAL PLURALS

a. MASC, SG = *el llibre* + *-s* = MASC, PL = *el-s llibre-s*

b. FEM, SG = *la taula* + *-s* = FEM, PL = *le-s taule-s*

(17) IRREGULAR PRONOMINAL PLURALS

a. 1ST, SG = *jo* + *-s* = 1ST, PL = **jos*

b. 1ST, SG = *jo* → 1ST, PL = *nosaltres*

c. 2ND, SG = *tu* + *-s* = 2ND, PL = **tus*

d. 2ND, SG = *tu* → 2ND, PL = **tus*

It is also of interest that apart from the morphological regularity of accusative plurals, their semantics is also transparent like that of nominal expressions. Thus, nominal singularity expresses the idea of one single element of the set expressed by the noun, while plurality is interpreted as more than one element of that same set. In the case of datives, or the personal clitics, however, it is not that clear that plurality amounts to more than one of the elements expressed by the singular. This is particularly clear in the case of the first person plural, where it is not the case that the first person plural WE amount to more than one first person singular I, i.e. it is not true that WE = I + (*n* times) I. It is also of interest in the case of the dative l-clitics, in the well-known lack of number agreement that sometimes occurs in cases of clitic doubling between the dative l-clitic and the dative full phrase in argument position, in sentences like *Le* (DAT.3S) *di el libro* [*a los niños*] (DAT.3P). I

come back to this topic below. Let me just say for the moment that this is another example of the different kind of number we find with the dative and the accusative l-clitics. As we will also see in section 4.1, that lack of number agreement we find between dative l-clitics and their doubled phrase is ungrammatical in cases of accusative doubling in (the relevant dialects of) Spanish. The different morphology and different semantics of both kinds of plurals will be an important aspect of the proposal I put forward in chapter 3.

Finally, let me just say to conclude this section that the irregular plurals of Catalan dative l-clitics is not a property of only this language within the domain of Romance. In French, for instance, the plural of the dative singular l-clitic *lui* is not **luis*, but *leur*. In Italian, the plural dative in high registers of the language is *loro*, for both masculine and feminine. Italian has gender marking in dative singular *l*-clitics, at least in those high registers. The dative singular masculine is *gli*, and the feminine is *le*. In colloquial Italian, the dative singular is *gli* for both masculine and feminine. Other Romance languages have irregular plurals, but not of the same kind of Catalan, French or Italian. Paduan, for example, has a simple clitic *ghe* that is both the singular and plural dative third person clitic, and it's also the locative clitic. Other Romance languages have what seems to be a regular dative l-clitic. Spanish, for instance, seem to apply a simple pluralization rule, and adds a morpheme /s/ to the singular dative l-clitic *le*, i.e. *le* + *s* = *le-s*. The following table

summarizes the dative pronouns of a number of Romance languages, where we see the different pluralization:

(18) TABLE 7: *Some romance third person dative clitics*

| LANGUAGE | SG | PL |
|---|---|---|
| CATALAN | *li* | *els (hi)* |
| FRENCH | *lui* | *leur* |
| COLLOQ. ITALIAN | *gli* | *gli* |
| OCCITAN | *li* | *lor* |
| PORTUGUESE | *lhe* | *lhes* |
| SPANISH | *le* | *les* |

Ideally, the proposal I will put forward to explain the Catalan clitics, should be able to account for this variability within the Romance domain.

### 2.2.3 Person

The final φ-puzzle is related to person. Catalan dative clitics show syncretism with accusative clitics in most of the paradigm. This is clear for first and second person, and also for reflexive clitics (third person *s*-clitics). The paradigm for those cases is provided in table 7, where I provide the phonetic form of the clitics, without the epenthetic vowel /ə/, which can precede the main morpheme, follow it, or be elided, depending on regular phonological processes in the language. I provide examples in (20), where I give the orthographic form:

(19) TABLE 8: *Catalan syncretic dative accusative clitics*

| # | FIRST PERSON | SECOND PERSON | REFLEXIVE |
|---|---|---|---|
| SG | DAT = ACC = /m/ | DAT = ACC = /t/ | DAT = ACC.3S = /s/ |
| PL | DAT = ACC = /ns/ | DAT = ACC = /ws/ | |

(20) *a*. Em dius la veritat [16] *a'*. Em veus avui [CAT]

DAT.1S say.2S the truth ACC.1S see.2S today

*You tell me the truth* *You see me tomorrow*

*b*. Et dic la veritat *b'*. Et veig avui

DAT.2S say.1S the truth ACC.2S see.1S today

*I tell you the truth* *I see you tomorrow*

Syncretism however breaks with the l-clitics:

(21) TABLE 9: *Catalan non-syncretic dative-accusative clitics*

| | ACCUSATIVE | DATIVE |
|---|---|---|
| SG | MASC = /əl/ | /li/ |
| | FEM = /lə/ | |
| PL | MASC = /əlz/ | /əls/ - /əlzi/ |
| | FEM = /ləz/ | |

(22) *a*. Li dius la veritat *a'*. El veus avui [CAT]

DAT.1S say.2S the truth ACC.1SM see.2S today

*You tell him /her the truth* *You see him tomorrow*

[16] In my proposal in chapter 3 I will advocate for a revised orthography of the dative clitics, in order to reflect the internal structure I will propose for those clitics.

As I said above, there is important variation in the use of the third person plural dative l-clitic (VIAPLANA 1980, BONET 1991, 1995). Some varieties of spoken Catalan, mostly concentrated in Barcelona and Girona areas, do not use the normative /əls/ as the third person plural dative clitic. Rather, speakers add the /i/ element to the normative form, probably in parallel to the dative singular l-clitic /li/. Thus, the dative plural *l*-clitic ends up pronounced as [əlzi] in those varieties:

(23) [əls] / [əlzi] dono el llibre [CAT]
DAT.3P DAT.3P give.1S the book
*I give them the book*

The morpheme [l] in these clitics is considered a third person morpheme for some authors (example BONET 1991, 1995; BERNSTEIN 2008a,b), and a definiteness morpheme for others (DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO 2002, LEONETTI 1999, or LEU 2005 among others). For the time being, let me just assume that it is a definiteness morpheme, although nothing I will say in this chapter relies upon that particular election. (I come back to this topic in some more detail later on in this section). The initial vowel is a schwa [ə] that is considered epenthetic (VIAPLANA 1980). The feminine or plural morphemes are considered agreement φ-features (KAYNE 2000). The feminine morpheme in Catalan is also a schwa [ə], but it is clearly not epenthetic, but morphemic. The fact that the feminine morpheme behaves like the

epenthetic schwa in that it drops in front of words starting with a vowel (including auxiliary verbs) is due to general phonological properties of the language, something Catalan (24) shares with languages like French:

(24) L' havia vista abans i la veig avui [CAT]
ACC.3SF had.1s seen before and ACC.3SF see.1S today
*I'd seen her before, and I see her today*

As we have just seen in (21) above, dative l-clitics, unlike the accusative ones, do not show gender distinctions in Catalan (or most Romance languages, for that matter). Now, since masculine is not represented by overt morphemes, it is not surprising that the normative dative plural l-clitic, which lacks gender features, is syncretic with respect to the accusative plural masculine, i.e. with the accusative form without an overt gender morpheme.[17] This way, the dative singular [li] remains the only form of the normative paradigm, which has no syncretism with an accusative form, and also as the only one including the morpheme [i]. Indeed, if we take into account the non-standard form of the plural dative [əlzi], then both dative l-clitics share that [i], and both forms are different from the accusative.

Now, what is this /i/ element in the dative l-clitics? According to some authors, it would be an epenthetic vowel characteristic of the third person dative l-

[17] FERRARI 2005 makes a similar point for Italian.

clitics (LÓPEZ DEL CASTILLO 1976). This is a really implausible option, as this would be the only case where that vowel would be an epenthesis in the whole Catalan phonological system. The epenthetic vowel in Catalan is by default the schwa /ə/. More plausible seems the proposal by BONET 1991, 1995; HARRIS 1995; or SOLÀ-PUJOLS 1998, according to which /i/ is a dative case morpheme. If this is so, and taking into account all we have said so far in this section, we can come up with the morphological decomposition for the Catalan dative l-clitics in (26), one I will revise after I put forward my proposal in chapter 3:

(26) MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION OF CATALAN DATIVE L-CLITICS

| DAT.3S | | | DAT.3P | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| / l | + | i / | / l | + | z | + i / |
| ↓ | | ↓ | ↓ | | ↓ | ↓ |
| definiteness | | dative | definit. | | plural | dative |

The problem for this proposal is that if /i/ really was a dative morpheme, why would it not show up in first and second person dative clitics:

(27) a. */mi/ compres el llibre [CAT]
DAT.1S buy.2S the book
*You buy me the book*

b. * /ti/ compro el llibre

DAT.2S buy.1S the book

*I buy you the book*

So the question is indeed, what is it about third person clitics that on the one hand gets in the way of the dative-accusative syncretism we see in the rest of the paradigm? On the other hand, what makes this /i/ morpheme show up in the dative l-clitics? My proposal in chapter 3 offers a principled answer to these two questions.

### 2.2.4 The morpheme [l]

To conclude this section, let me make some comments on the morphemic content of [l], whether it is a third person or a definiteness morpheme, or neither of these two. An important issue regarding clitic pronouns is whether they are actually related to definite articles. This position has some history in the literature, starting in POSTAL 1969, and with important landmarks in ABNEY 1987, ROCA 1992, 1996, URIAGEREKA 1995; KAYNE 2000; ELBOURNE 2001a,b; ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010, among others. For arguments against this idea see PANAGIOTIDIS 2002 and references therein.

I'm going to follow ROCA 1992, 1996 in considering that the clitics that actually can be put in relation with definite determiners are actually accusative l-clitics, rather than clitics in general. I'm going to assume that both definite deter-

miners and accusative l-clitics are contextual variants of the definiteness morpheme /l/ (plus the relevant agreement φ-features). In table 9 below, I show how accusative (pro)clitics are in fact homophonous with definite determiners in different Romance languages. Both contextual variants need a host to attach to: when that host is nominal we have a definite determiner; when the host is verbal, then we have an accusative clitic. Put it otherwise, if the complement of the definiteness morpheme is overt (an NP, a PP, or a CP), then it behaves like a definite determiner, if not then it needs to move up to find another host in the inflectional domain. The actual functioning of this procedure has received several implementations in the literature. For example, according to ELBOURNE 2001a,b the nominal or prepositional complement of a determiner can be erased, and this then enforces the merger of the determiner and the verbal head. In what follows, I give some arguments in favor of accusative l-clitics and definite determiners being the same.

As a first step in the argument, I assume the basics of ABNEY 1987's idea on pronouns as intransitive determiners. However, I limit the scope of Abney's proposal to the accusative l-clitics, and leave all the other pronouns, including first and second person pronouns, and dative l-clitics, as pure pronouns (and not determiners). This is different from what happens in English, where first and second person pronouns can be seen as determiners, according to POSTAL 1969, and subsequent literature. Romance languages don't allow constructions like (28), except as appositives which require the presence of a definite article (29):

(28) We linguists are millionaires

(29) Nosaltres *(els) lingüistes són milionaris [CAT]
We the linguists are millionaires
*We linguists are millionaires*

A second step I already mentioned comes from the fact that there is a quasi-total identity between accusative l-clitics and definite determiners in Romance:

(30) TABLE 10: *Romance accusative l-clitics and definite determiners*

| LANGUAGES | ACC CLITIC | | DEF DETERM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| SPANISH | ***lo*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ | ***el*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ |
| | ***los*** /pl,m/ | ***las*** /pl,f/ | ***los*** /pl,m/ | ***las*** /pl,f/ |
| CATALAN | ***el*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ | ***el*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ |
| | ***els*** /pl,m/ | ***les*** /pl,f/ | ***els*** /pl,m/ | ***les*** /pl,f/ |
| ITALIAN | ***lo*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ | ***il*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ |
| | ***li*** /pl,m/ | ***le*** /pl,f/ | ***li*** /pl,m/ | ***le*** /pl,f/ |
| FRENCH | ***le*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,m/ | ***le*** /sg,m/ | ***la*** /sg,f/ |
| | ***les*** /pl/ | | ***les*** /pl/ | |
| PORTUGUESE | ***o*** /sg,m/ | ***a*** /sg,m/ | ***o*** /sg,m/ | ***a*** /sg,f/ |
| | ***os*** /pl,m/ | ***as*** /pl,f/ | ***os*** /pl,m/ | ***as*** /pl,f/ |

As we see, both definite articles and accusative l-clitics share having gender and number features, and lacking person features (remember that I consider the morpheme /l/ to be an exponent of definiteness, rather than third person). This contrasts with dative l-clitics and first and second person pronouns, which lack gender

in most of Romance, with a few apparent counterexamples to which I come back. As a result, a complete set of φ-features is something accusative l-clitics share with definite articles, and third person strong pronouns.

Now, this idea is not without problems. As we see in the grey cells of table 9, the identity between accusative l-clitics and definite determiners is the norm in most of Romance, but finds two exceptions in the Spanish and Italian masculine singular items. Here I show that they aren't really an exception for Spanish, and assume that some similar explanation will account for it in Italian.

It is a very well-known fact that some Spanish indefinite determiners vary in form depending on whether they precede or follow a noun, or whether they appear in pronominal form, i.e. as a pronoun (BERNSTEIN 1993):

(31) a. He visto un / *uno libro [SP]
have.1S seen a a book
*I have seen a book*

b. He visto uno / *un
have.1S seen one one
*I have seen one*

As we see, when indefinite determiners –masculine singular in (31a)– precede a noun they have the form *un* 'a'. That form changes into *uno* 'a' when they are in pronominal form. Something similar occurs to other determiner forms of Spanish,

like possessives (*mi, mio* 'my, mine'). What I propose is that this is exactly what happens to the paradigm of the definite article and the accusative l-clitic. The form of the masculine singular article in Spanish can be analyzed as the definiteness morpheme /l/, plus an epenthetic vowel /e/ present for syllabification, as Spanish doesn't allow syllables without a vocalic nucleus. The epenthetic character of the middle front vowel /e/ is easily proven by the fact that it drops in contractions with prepositions like *a* 'to' or *de* 'of' yielding forms like *al* or *del* instead of *a el* or *de el*. That short form is used in front of nominals, but can't be used when the nominal is absent, in which case the morpheme /o/ is inserted to account for the missing nominal. This, in my view, gives indirect support to the hypothesis of ABNEY 1987 of (accusative) pronouns as intransitive determiners with an empty nominal complement. If the reason why the indefinite determiner or the accusative clitic get the morpheme /o/ was purely phonological it should not happen when they attach to a verb. But this doesn't happen, and therefore we can conclude that the [o] signals the empty nominal (BERNSTEIN 1993).

Another reason is that they have identical interpretations, namely they both are interpreted as definite, a concept that includes specificity and genericity, in line with ROCA 1992, 1996, and ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010. Accusative clitics are allowed in exactly the same contexts, specific and generic in Romance, where definite articles are, and this reinforces the idea that accusative clitics and definite

articles are connected, and separated from the other kinds of clitics. For extensive discussion see ROCA 1996.

Yet another argument is related to universal quantifiers. ROCA 1992, 1996; and ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010 consider that these quantifiers provide a very strong though indirect argument in favor of the idea that accusative clitics have a determiner origin. According to this, the construction corresponds to a floating quantifiers structure, where the clitic moves leaving behind the quantifier:

(32) a. /əlzi/ regalem el llibre a tots / alguns / molts
DAT.3P offer.1P the book to all some many
*We're offering the book to them (masc.) all / to some / to many*

b. Els veiem a tots / *alguns / *molts]$_i$
ACC.3PM see.1P to all some many
*We see them all / some / many*

Such a conclusion is supported by the fact that only universal quantifiers allow complements headed by the definite determiner:

(33) a. Quantifier [D NP]

b. Veig tots els llibres [CAT]
see.1S all the books

*I see all the books*

c. Veig alguns / bastants / molts (*els) llibres

see.1S some quite many the books

*I see some / quite a lot of / many books*

As we see, there is a correlation between the quantifiers that allow DP complements, and those that allow accusative clitics, and this would suggest the determiner status of accusative clitics, as well as providing support for the movement hypothesis for this kind of clitics.

In any case, what matters for the purpose of this chapter is the fact that accusative l-clitics, and definite articles share something, that separates them from dative l-clitics and the personal clitics in Romance, namely having gender features, and lacking person features. Not a coincidence, as I will argue in chapter 3. On the other side, the morphological specification of dative l-clitics and the personal clitics coincides with the morphological specification of nominative agreement, namely number and person features. So it seems that from this point of view, we do have reasons to separate two classes of elements: definite articles and accusative l-clitics on the one hand, and the dative l-clitics and the rest of the clitics on the other.

### 2.2.5 Summary of this section

Summing up this section, there are three puzzles concerning the morphological composition of Catalan object clitics: (*i*) only accusative l-clitics have gender features in the whole of the clitic paradigm; (*ii*) the number features of accusative l-clitics are morphologically and semantically different to those of the other clitics, including the dative l-clitics; and (*iii*) related to person, there is syncretism between accusative and dative clitics in the whole of the clitic paradigm except for the third person l-clitics, where it is broken by a morpheme-like element /i/ in the dative l-clitics.

Finally, the differences between accusative clitics (and definite determiners) on the one hand, and dative l-clitics (and the personal clitics) on the other, seem to point to a split in the paradigm in two natural classes of elements, with morphological and syntactic particularities. I elaborate on this in chapter 3, where I put forward an account that not only will give a unified solution to the φ-puzzles of set A (and set B), but will also motivate the two class split in the clitics paradigm, and justify their different behavior.

## 2.3 The Syntactic Problems of Clitic Clusters

Let's then move on to the behavioral problems of object clitics, starting with those related to clitic clusters (set $B_1$). When you take a global Romance look at clitics, you quickly realize that apart from the φ-puzzles just reviewed in section 2, which

affects most languages of the family, there are some other odd facts affecting the external (syntactic) behavior of object clitics, especially the dative l-clitics. As I said in the introduction to this chapter, I'm going to distinguish between the set of external problems affecting to clitic clusters on the one hand (and in this section), and those of individual clitics, subject matter of section 4. The four puzzles I have in mind are (*i*) the problem of opacity, i.e. the existence of opaque clitic clusters that affect datives more than other clitics, clitic clusters that end up being curiously dative-like in appearance (BONET 1991, 1995), (*ii*) the fact that the presence of dative clitics influences the shape of other clitics in their vicinity much more than other clitics do, i.e. the so-called Person Case Constraint (PCC) (PERLMUTTER 1971, KAYNE 1975, BONET 1991, 1995, 2008, ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2003, ADGER & HARBOUR 2007, ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2007 (among many others); (*iii*) the bigger obligatoriness of dative clitics over other clitics in clitic clusters; (MARTÍN 2009); and (*iv*) the more flexible ordering possibilities of dative clitics (PERLMUTTER 1971, BONET 1991, 1995). Summarizing:

(34) Set $B_1$ = {(*i*) opacity, (*ii*) PCC, (*iii*) obligatoriness, (*iv*) ordering}

Some of these puzzles are better known than the others (e.g. the PCC), and have been the subject of more intense theoretical investigation. As I investigate them, I would like to ask the reader to not only focus on the phenomena (which are fasci-

nating in themselves), but also keep asking *why*? Why is it that speakers of (colloquial) Catalan use the form /əlzi/ as the plural dative l-clitic, instead of the normative /əls/? Why is it that opaque clitic forms tend to affect, and involve, dative clitics? Why is it that the presence of dative clitics has such an influence on their clitic neighbors? Why aren't dative clitics optional? Why is it that dative clitics have a less fixed position in clitic clusters? Those are the questions from this section to bear in mind when we turn to chapter 3 of this dissertation.

### 2.3.1 Opacity

Clitic opacity is a well-studied phenomenon in the literature for Catalan since at least BONET 1991, 1995. In BONET 1995, *clitic opacity* is defined as the non-transparent output of clitic combinations in which the resulting forms do not coincide with the form of the clitics in isolation. A case in point is the so-called *spurious se* in Spanish, where third person dative l-clitics *le(s)* become "*se*" when they combine with a third person accusative clitic:[18]

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (35) | a. | El | premio, | lo | dieron | a | Pedro | [SP] |
| | | the | prize | ACC.3SM | gave.3P | to | Peter | |

[18] Notice that *se* replaces both the singular and the plural dative l-clitic, and as a result number agreement gets neutralized. This fact will be taken into account in the proposal of a solution in chapter 3.

b. A Pedro, le dieron el premio
to Peter DAT.3S gave.3P the prize
c. A Pedro, el premio, se / * le lo dieron
to Peter the prize, SE DAT.3S ACC.3SM gave.3P
ALL: *They gave the prize to Peter*

A similar case is the related fact in (Standard) Italian, where the combination of an impersonal clitic *si* and a third person reflexive clitic *si* surfaces as "*ci si*", rather than the more transparent "*si si*", where *ci* corresponds to the locative clitic, corresponding to Catalan *hi* (CINQUE 1995):

(36) a. Lo si sveglia [IT]
ACC.2SM IMPERS wake-up.3S
*One wakes him/it up*
b. Se lo compra
REFL ACC.3SM buy.3S
*He / She buys it for himself / herself*
c. Ci si lava (*cf*. *si si)
LOC IMPERS washes
*One washes oneself*

It is interesting to note in this context that, as MANZINI & SAVOIA 2002 observe, the dative clitic coincides with the locative clitic in the majority of Northern Italian dialects, as well as in many dialects of Central and Southern Italy.

(37) a. a g 'dag kwas-'ke? (MODENA IT)

I DAT.3S give this

*I give this to him*

b. a g al / la / i / li 'dag

I DAT.3S ACC.3SM ACC.3SF ACC.3PM ACC.3PF give

*I give it/them to him*

c. a g 'met kwas-'ke?

I LOC put this

*I put this there*

d. a m g la 'met

I REFL.1S LOC ACC.3SF put

*I put it there (for myself)*

e. a se g 'met dla 'roba

it IMPERS LOC puts some stuff

*Some stuff is being put there* (LIT: One puts some stuff there)

Coming back to Catalan, a case of opacity that will have a special role in this dissertation is the simultaneous occurrence in Catalan of an accusative and a dative clitic. Thus, in cases of multiple left-dislocation, there is opacity in the sense that the number features of the clitics involved seem to be irrelevant. Thus, if both clitics are singular, as in (38a), the resumptive clitics are written *l'hi*, i.e. third person singular masculine accusative clitic + locative clitic. That cluster indeed sounds exactly as the dative singular clitic, i.e. [li]. In any other combination, i.e. if at least one of the clitics involved is plural, the cluster ends up written as 'els hi', a form which is entirely coincident with the form of the third person plural dative l-clitic, which is indeed pronounced as [ǝlzi]:

(38) a. El llibre, al nen, [li] dono avui [CAT]
The book to-the boy DAT.3S give.1S today
*I'll give the book to the boy tomorrow*

b. El llibre, als nens, [ǝlzi] dono avui
The book to-the boys DAT.3P give.1S today
*I'll give the book to the boys tomorrow*

c. Els llibres, al nen, [ǝlzi] dono avui
The books to-the boy DAT.3P give.1S today
*I'll give the books to the boy today*

d. Els llibres, als nens, [əlzi] dono avui
The book to-the boys DAT.3P give.1S today
*I'll give the books to the boys tomorrow*

e. Els llibres, als nens, *els li / *li'ls [19] dono
The book to-the boys ACC.3PM-DAT.3S DAT.3P-ACC.3PM give
*I'll give the books to the boys*

It is as if the two dislocated DPs could be resumed by a single (non-standard) dative clitic. According to BONET 1991, 1995, this is due to the opacity of l-clitics, which leads them to mix their features. That kind of mix up also occurs in American Spanish, where sometimes the features of accusative-dative clitic clusters get interchanged (HARRIS & HALLE 2005):

(39) Ese vino$_i$ yo se los$_i$ regalé a mis primos [SP]
that wine I REFL ACC.3PM gave.1S to my cousins
*That wine, I gave it to my cousins*

In (39), we see how the accusative clitic is plural regardless of the fact that its antecedent 'that wine' is singular. The same, then, may be happening in Catalan. The problem for such a view is that the forms in Catalan are the same regardless of

[19] I should note that one of the expected but ungrammatical transparent forms, *li'ls*, can be found in varieties of Valencian Catalan.

whether this is a clitic cluster or not, that is to say, whether we need an accusative clitic or not. In (40), we don't need the accusative clitic, but the clitic chosen are exactly the same as those in (38) above:

(40) [li] / [əlzi] dono el llibre [CAT]
DAT.3S DAT.3P give.1S the book.
*I'll give him/her - them the book*

If the dative clitic has the same form, regardless of whether it resumes only dative or dative plus accusative, I think we can hardly argue that in the case of clitic clusters the features are mixed. It seems more to be the case that the dative clitic can be the resumptive clitic for both DPs when both are necessary, just as in the following French example, where the accusative l-clitic is also optional:

(41) Le livre, à l'enfant, je (le) lui donne [FR]
the book, to the boy, I ACC.3SM DAT.3S give.1S
*I give the book to the boy*

Now consider an even more spectacular case of opaque clitic form, coming from certain Catalan dialects, especially those spoken in the Barcelona area (BONET 1991, 1995). In this case, the clitics at stake are the neuter clitic *ho* and the parti-

tive clitic *en* (ablative according to Bonet). When both clitics combine, the combination surfaces as [li] (often written as *l'hi*), which is precisely the form corresponding to the dative singular l-clitic:

(42) a. Això, ho trauré de l' armari després [CAT]
this NEUT take-out.1S from the closet later

b. De l' armari, en trauré això després
from the closet PART take-out.1S this later

c. Això, de l' armari, [li] - * [n'ho] trauré després
this from the closet DAT.3S PART-NEUT take-out.1S later
ALL: *I will take this out of the closet later*

A very similar opaque phenomenon in the same Catalan dialects occurs when the partitive clitic *en* is combined with a third person accusative clitic *el*.

(43) a. El jersei, el trauré del calaix [CAT]
the sweater ACC.3SM take-out.1S from-the drawer

b. Del calaix, en trauré el jersey
from-the drawer PART take-out. 1S the sweater

c. El jersei, del calaix, [li] / *l'en trauré
the sweater from-the drawer DAT.3S ACC.3SM-PART …
ALL: *I will take the sweater out of the drawer*

On the fact of it, the resulting form corresponds to the colloquial dative plural clitic (*els hi*), but the interesting thing, which will turn out to be very significant for the analysis offered below, is that the dative in the example at issue is singular. It is the accusative that is plural.

The final opaque form I will discuss, again from Catalan, also involves the third person dative clitic. Consider the following examples:

(44) a. De pomes, en donaré als nens [CAT]
of apples PART give.1S to-the children

b. Als nens, [əlzi] donaré pomes
to-the children DAT.3P give.1S apples

c. De pomes, als nens, [əlzəni] donaré
of apples to-the children DAT-PART-LOC give.1S

d. De pomes, als nens, *[əlz-ən] / * [ən-əls] …
of apples to-the children ACC.3PM-PART PART-ACC.3PM
ALL: *I will give apples to the children*

Here we see the infixation of the partitive clitic [ən] within the dative plural l-clitic [əlzi], a process I will examine in greater detail in chapter 3.

Putting all these facts together, we see how striking it is that most situations of opacity described in BONET 1995 result in a dative-like element:

(45) a. {[ARG], [OBL]}[l(z)i] + [NEUT]/u/ = [əl(z)i]

b. [OBL]/i/ + [NEUT][u] = [li]

c. [ARG 3RD] [l(a)(z)] + {[GEN], a} = [li]

d. [GEN]n/ + {[GEN], a}l/n/ = [ni]

e. {[GEN], a}/ni + [NEUT]/u/ = [li]

Four out of five cases give rise to [li], and even the fifth opaque output ends in [i], a marker that many take to be associated with dative case (VIAPLANA 1980; BONET 1991, 1995; HARRIS 1995, SOLA-PUJOLS 1999, among others).

In conclusion, clitic opacity raises many issues that I will not discuss in this section, leaving them for chapter 3, where I give the details of my proposal. However, one of the issues that I do want to highlight here concerns the generalization made by BONET 1995, according to which the opaque output forms in clitic combinations always result in another clitic form that exists in the grammar of the language in point, indicating a closed system. Bonet is here drawing our attention to the fact that in situations of opacity, not just any curious form appears; rather, independently attested forms engage in new combinations or are put to new uses. Existing clitics are thus recycled, a phenomenon also noted in LONGA, LORENZO & RIGAU 1998, who showed that while Catalan has a rich paradigm of object clitics (accusative, dative, locative, partitive, neuter), each used for more specific pur-

poses, languages like Asturian, Galician and certain Spanish dialects resort to a 'recycling' strategy in order to palliate the deficiencies of their clitic paradigms.

This recycling phenomenon is what I would like to put to use to analyze Catalan dative clitics like *li* (singular) and plural (*els hi*); specifically, I will be arguing that what we call dative is somehow a combination of accusative (or rather definiteness) + deixis: dative singular *li* being in fact *l'hi*, and normative dative plural *els* being in fact *els hi*, with the locative clitic covert. As I will argue below, then, dative is not a primitive grammatical notion.

### 2.3.2 Person Case Constraint

Let me now turn to the third puzzle associated with Catalan object clitics, namely the fact that dative clitics influence the nature of surrounding clitics far more than any other clitic does. Witness:

(46) a. * Le me presenta [SP]

DAT.3S ACC.1S introduce.3s

INTENDED: *He introduces me to him*

b. * Le te presento

DAT.3S ACC.2S introduce.1s

INTENDED: *I introduce you to him*

c. * Te me presenta

DAT.2S ACC.1S introduce.3s

INTENDED: *He introduces me to you*

d. * Me te presenta

DAT.1S ACC.2S introduce.3s

INTENDED: *He introduces you to me*

The problem with the clitic combination in (46) was noticed for Spanish and French by PERLMUTTER 1971, and KAYNE 1975, who dubbed it the **Me-lui*/I-II Constraint. BONET 1991, the most extensive study on this topic, called it the Person-Case constraint (PCC). The constraint says that in situations where there are two object clitics, the accusative/direct object clitic must be third person. Such facts have received a lot of attention in the literature ever since. In French, for example, first and second person clitics can never co-occur, and a third person reflexive is never allowed to combine with a first or second person clitic:

(47) a. * Il me t' a presenté [FR]

he DAT-ACC.1S DAT-ACC.2S has presented

*He has introduced me to you/ you to me*

b. * Il me s' est presenté.

he DAT.1S REFL is introduced

*He has introduced himself to me*

PERLMUTTER 1971 further noted that while third person accusative clitics are compatible with first and second person dative clitics, a third person dative l-clitic cannot co-occur with a first or second accusative clitic:

(48) a. Roger me / te l' avait recommandé [FR]
Roger DAT.1S DAT.2S ACC.3SM had recommended
*Roger had recommended him to me/to you*

b. * Roger me lui avait recommandé
Roger ACC.1S DAT.3S had recommended
INTENDED: *Roger had recommended me to him*

Now, BONET 1991 noted that at least for some speakers of Catalan a combination of first and second person clitics is more acceptable.

(49) % Te m' ha recomanat la Mireia [CAT]
2S 1S has recommended the Mireia
a. *Mireia has recommended me to you*
b. *Mireia has recommended you to me*

This led Bonet to distinguish between a strong and a weak version of the PCC, respectively exemplified in (50) and (51):

(50) THE STRONG VERSION

The direct object has to be third person

(51) THE WEAK VERSION

If there is a third person, it has to be the direct object

According to BONET 1991, the PCC affects combinations of phonologically *weak* elements (like clitics or agreement markers) and becomes active in contexts like those of (a) ditransitive vebs, (b) causative constructions with infinitives, (c) benefactive constructions, or (d) datives of inalienable possession. It is however not active for ethical datives (MORIN 1978, POSTAL 1980):

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (52) | Elle | me | lui | a | tire | dessus | [FR] |
| | she | DAT.1S | DAT.3S | have.3S | shot | at | |
| | *She has shot at him* | | | | | | |

However, I have had difficulty replicating the judgments given by Bonet. Virtually all speakers of Catalan I asked about it behave according to the strong version of the PCC. For this reason, in this dissertation I focus on this strong version of the PCC. (For other counterexamples in other Romance languages see SĂVESCU 2009 (for Romanian), BONET 2008 (for Catalan)).

Be as it may, the thing is that whenever a dative clitic is present in a cluster with an accusative clitic, the former imposes on the latter the requirement of being third person (PERLMUTTER 1971, BONET 1991, 1995 among many others). No other clitic imposes such a condition on the morphological structure of the other member of a clitic cluster. The question is then, what is it about the dative clitic that has such an effect? Consider this:

(53) *Al director, me [li] recomana la Maria [CAT]
to-the director, ACC.1S DAT.3S recommends the Mary
INTENDED: *Mary recommends me to the director*

In this sentence we have two object clitics. The dative is third person and the accusative is first person. The result is ungrammatical. However, if this were reversed, that is, if the dative is first person and the accusative third person, the sentence is then fine:

(54) El director, me 'l recomana la Maria [CAT]
the director, DAT.1S ACC.3SM recommends the Mary
*Mary has recommended me the director*

We also obtain an acceptable sentence if instead of two object clitics, one of them is replaced by a full phrase, in particular when third person dative is replaced:

(55) La Maria em recomana al director [CAT]
the Maria ACC.1S recommends to-the director
*Mary has recommended me to the director*

In this respect, it is also of interest that the repair strategies languages use to avoid PCC effects, normally involve changing the dative clitic for some other (default) clitic, for example the Catalan locative clitic *hi*, or Spanish spurious *se*:

(56) CATALAN: *li* → *hi*

a. Li dono el llibre al Joan
DAT.3S give.3S the book to.the John
*I give the book to John*

b. * Li ‘l dono al Joan
DAT.3S ACC.3SM give.3S to.the John
INTENDED: *I give it to John*

c. L’ hi dono al Joan
DAT.3S LOC give.3S to.the John
*I give the book to John*

(57) SPANISH: *le* → *se* (*spurious* se)

a. Le doy el libro a Juan
DAT.3S give.1S the book to John
*I give the book to John*

b. * Le lo doy a Juan
DAT.3S ACC.3SM give.3S to John
INTENDED: *I give it to John*

c. Se lo doy a Juan
DAT.3S LOC give.3S to John
*I give the book to John*

As we see in (56) and (57), the repair strategy involves turning the dative clitic into some other clitic, normally some sort of defective clitic. This phenomenon has been the subject of much literature, and the explanations put forward to account for it range from morphology (BONET 1991, 2008), and syntax (ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2003; ADGER & HARBOUR 2007), to semantics (ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2007). Although the explanation in these accounts is placed in different components of the grammar, they all have in common the idea that the PCC arises when two similar features co-occur in two adjacent clitics.

There are three reasons why I want to devote space to the PCC in this dissertation: the first is because it is a fact about clitics that will be of importance in

the proposal I will put forward in the next chapter. Second, the PCC is really tied to the presence of a dative clitic, one of the foci of this work. Other clitics don't have that kind of influence. For example, nominative clitics, in languages that have them, don't impose such restrictions on direct object clitics. (PERLMUTTER 1973, KAYNE 1975, BONET 1991, 1995, 2008). Finally, Catalan is special in the strategy it uses to circumvent the PCC effect. In fact, not only is Catalan special, but also I believe that the special strategy it uses tells us a lot more about the nature of dative clitics, and object clitics in general, than other languages would.

Thus, many languages overcome the effects of the PCC by avoiding one of the clitics or agreement elements that enter the constraint. For instance, Spanish uses a strong pronoun in the place of the dative clitic:

(58) a. Me recomendó a Pedro [SP]
ACC.1S recommended to Peter
*He/she recommended me to Peter*

b. * Me le recomendó
ACC.1S DAT.3S recommended

c. Me recomendó a él [20]
ACC.1S recommended to him
*He/she recommended me to him*

[20] Notice that in these cases, there is no clitic doubling, a fact of interest for chapter 3.

As discussed by BONET 2008, the strategy used by Catalan in ditransitives is very different: the two clitics are kept, but one of them, the dative one changes its shape; instead of the third person clitic /li/ the 'locative' clitic *hi* (/i/) shows up:[21]

(59) a. Al president, m' hi recomana en Miquel [CAT]
to-the president, ACC.1S LOC recommends the Michael
*Michael has recommended me to the president*

b. * Al president, me li recomana en Miquel
to-the president, ACC.1S DAT.3S recommends the Michael
INTENDED: *Michael has recommended me to the president*

It is a fact that *hi* /i/ is used as the standard locative clitic in Catalan, as the following example illustrates. (The terminology locative clitic is revised later):

[21] In Majorcan Catalan, the accusative clitic precedes the dative, but the same repair strategy is found.

(i) La me recomanen [MAJORCAN CAT]
ACC.3SF DAT.1S recommend.3P
*They recommend her to me*

(ii) a. *Me li recomanen
ACC.1S DAT.3S recommend.3P
INTENDED: *They recommend me to him/her*

b. M' hi recomanen
ACC.1S LOC recommend.3P
*They recommend me to him/her*

(60) A Barcelona, avui no hi seré, però hi aniré [CAT]
to Barcelona, today NEG LOC be.1S but LOC go.1s
*I will not be in Barcelona today, but I will go there*

Bonet does not take the *hi* that surfaces in PCC contexts to be locative. Following seminal work by RIGAU (1978, 1982), Bonet points out that *hi* is also the clitic used for inanimate datives. Let me briefly summarize Rigau's arguments, using examples supplemented by Bonet.

When an animate dative object is represented by a clitic, the clitic is *li*, as shown in (61b). However, when in the same construction, the dative object is inanimate it can be represented by the locative clitic *hi* (62b) (RIGAU 1982):

(61) a. En Joan donà cops a la Maria [CAT]
the John gave blows to the Mary
*John struck Mary*

b. En Joan li donà cops
the John DAT.3S gave blows
*John struck her*

(62) a. En Joan donà cops a la porta
the John gave blows to the door
*John struck the door*

b. En Joan hi donà cops

the John LOC gave blows

*John struck it*

Even though *li* can be used for inanimate datives, *hi* cannot be used with animates:

(63) a. En Joan li donà cops (a la porta) [CAT]

the John DAT.3S gave blows (to the door)

*John struck it*

b. * En Joan hi donà cops (a la Maria)

the John LOC gave blows (to the Maria)

INTENDED: *John struck her*

It is not always the case that *hi* with inanimates is used with a locative interpretation,[22] as illustrated by (64b) and (65b); again (64b) and (65b) differ from (64a) and (65a) only in terms of animacy of the dative object and the use of the clitic (RIGAU 1978, 1982):

[22] This is not unique to Catalan. As noted in KAYNE 2008, locative morphemes often take over (inanimate) 'dative-like' functions, as in the following examples, from English and French. More on this below.

(i) We spoke thereof

(ii) Jean pense à quelque chose → Jean y pense [FR]
John thinks to some thing John LOC thinks

(64) a. Al meu fill, li dedico molt de temps [CAT]
to-the my son, DAT.3S devote.1S much of time
*I devote lots of time to my daughter*

b. A això, hi dedico molt de temps
to this, LOC devote lot of time
*I devote lots of time to this*

(65) a. Als empresaris, el Govern [əlzi] dona molt
to-the businessmen, the Government DAT.3P gives much
*The goverment gives a lot to the businessmen*

b. A les crítiques, el Govern hi dona importància
to the criticisms, the Government LOC gives importance
*The Government cares about criticism*

RIGAU 1978, 1982 also argues that inanimate dative objects like the one in (62) above have a very different behavior from real locatives in other respects. For instance, when *donar cops* 'give blows' is replaced by the verb *colpejar* 'to strike', the dative object becomes an accusative object, and this happens regardless of the animacy of the dative object, as shown in (66) and (67), which are identical:

(66) a. En Joan colpeja la Maria [CAT]
the John strikes the Mary
*John strikes Mary*

b. En Joan la colpeja

the John ACC.3SF strikes

*John strikes her*

(67) a. En Joan colpeja la porta

the John strikes the door

*John strikes the door*

b. En Joan la colpeja

the John ACC.2SF strikes

*John strikes it*

Real locatives can never become an accusative object when a light verb plus a noun is replaced by a verb:

(68) a. En Joan fa un viatge a Roma [CAT]

the John makes a journey to Rome

*John makes a journey to Rome*

b. En Joan hi fa un viatge

the John LOC makes a journey

*John makes a journey there*

(69) a. En Joan viatja a Roma

the John travels to Rome

*John travels to Rome*

b. En Joan hi viatja

the John LOC travels

*John travels there*

Finally, RIGAU 1978, 1982 shows that in wh-questions, inanimate datives receive a different pronoun than real locatives (inanimate datives receive *a què* 'to what', while real locatives receive *on* 'where').

As we saw above, linguists like VIAPLANA 1980, and MASCARÓ 1986 (also BONET 1991, using a different set of features) have interpreted the colloquial dative l-clitic [əlzi] as expressing dative case through the morpheme [i], the same morph that appears in the singular [li]; the morpheme [l] expresses third person both in the dative and the accusative. Under this view, the clitic *hi* that appears in the PCC-repair sentences, which has been argued to be an inanimate dative, is the [i] morpheme corresponding to dative case. In these analyses the morpheme [i] expresses case, but not gender, number or person. In section 3, I develop a different analysis, but for now I want to highlight how the special repair strategy used by Catalan bears on the nature of the dative "*els hi*". Once we understand the latter, we may even be able to use the special repair strategy to shed light on the nature of the universal PCC constraint. It is indeed significant that the locative clitic [hi] used to repair PCC violations is the same [hi] that surfaces in the colloquial dative form *els hi*.

Before closing this section, I would also like to relate the repair strategy that according to BONET 1991, 1995 is used by Catalan in PCC context with certain opaque forms that obtain when an accusative clitic is combined with a locative clitic. In this case, the dative clitic *li* surfaces. (Both phenomena will be accounted for by the analysis I will put forward in chapter 3):

(70) a. Això, ho portaré a Sabadell [CAT]
this NEUT take.1S to Sabadell

b. A Sabadell, hi portaré això
to Sabadell LOC take.1S this

c. Això, a Sabadell, [li] portaré (*cf.* *hi ho / *ho hi)
this to Sabadell DAT.3S take.1S
ALL THREE: *I will take this to Sabadell*

(71) a. El jersei, el trauré del calaix
the sweater ACC.3SM take-out.1S from-the drawer

b. Del calaix, en trauré el jersei
from-the drawer PART take-out.1S the sweater

c. El jersei, del calaix, [li] trauré (*cf.**l'en / *ne'l)
the sweater from-the drawer DAT.3S take-out.1S
ALL: *I will take the sweater out of the drawer*

### 2.3.3 Obligatoriness

The third puzzle that affects the behavior of clitic clusters is related to the fact that dative clitics seem to have a higher degree of obligatoriness. A clear example is the combination of accusative and dative clitics:, where while the accusative can be dropped, the dative can't:

(72) a. [*əlzi*] dono el llibre [CAT]
DAT.3P give.1S the book
*I give them the book*

b. *([*əlzi*]) (el) dono
DAT.3P ACC.3SM give.1S
*I give it to them*

This is not limited to accusative - dative clusters though. It also occurs in cases where the dative l-clitic co-occurs with other clitics, like neuter clitics (73), partitive clitics (74), or locative clitics (75). We can interpret these cases as either being opaque, as we did in section 3.1, following BONET 1991, 1995, or as being cases of clitic dropping. For example, in (73), the neuter clitic drops, and the dative l-clitic makes all the work of the complex clitic cluster *li ho or *ho li, both of which are ungrammatical:

(73) a. Això, ho donaré a l' Oleguer [CAT]
this NEUT give.1S to the Oleguer

b. A l' Oleguer, li donaré això
to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.1S this

c. Això a l' Oleguer, [li] donaré (*li ho/*ho li)
this to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.lS

ALL: *I will give this to Oleguer*

Above in the chapter, we saw how in the case where we need a dative and a partitive clitic at the same time, Catalan sometimes produces the form [ǝlzǝni], where the partitive clitic gets somehow infixed in the dative clitic. However, in my elicitation of data with native speakers, only few of them actually produced that form. Most of them produced the form [ǝlzi] instead, i.e. the dative plural l-clitic. It is as if both strategies were allowed for speakers, that is to say, as if the pronunciation of the partitive clitic was somehow optional, an optionality that doesn't hold for the dative clitic:

(74) a. De pomes, als nens, [ǝlzi] donaré [CAT]
of apples to-the children DAT.3P give.1S
*I will give apples to the boys*

a. *De pomes, als nens, en donaré
of apples to-the children PART give.1S

Finally, another interesting form of elision seems to be at stake whenever we need the co-occurrence of a locative and a dative clitic. It is interesting that there seems to be some apparent incompatibility between dative and locative clitics in Catalan (75). This problem arises when a locative and a dative l-clitic (either singular or plural) co-occur:

(75) a. No [əlzi] portis res [CAT]
NEG DAT bring.2S nothing
*Don't bring anything to them*

b. A casa seva, no hi portis res
to house POSS.3SF, NEG LOC bring.2S nothing
*To their place, don't bring anything*

c. *A casa seva, no [əlzi] hi portis …
to house POSS.3SF, NEG DAT.3P LOC bring.2S
INTENDED: *To their place, don't bring them anything*

d. * A casa seva, no [li] hi portis …
to house POSS.3SF, NEG DAT.3S LOC bring.2S
INTENDED: *To his / her place, don't bring him / her anything*

This clitic dropping is not a particularity of Catalan. It also occurs in some varieties of Spanish, like the one spoken in the northern areas of Spain (76), French

(77), or Walloon (78) to name but a few. In the case of Walloon, for instance, it is common for the accusative clitic to drop in imperative contexts in the presence of a dative clitic (Cedric Boeckx, p.c.):

(76) a. Juan le dijo la verdad [BASQUE SP]
John DAT.3S say.3S the truth
*John told you the truth*

b. Juan le dijo [23]
John DAT.3S say.3s
*John told it to you*

(77) a. J'ai donné le livre à l' enfant [FR]
I have given the book to the child
*I've given the book to the child*

b. Je lui ai donné
I DAT.3S have given
*I've given it to him*

(78) a. Don -em -el [WALLOON]
Give DAT.1S it
*Give it to me*

[23] Notice that in this case, the dropping of the accusative clitics leaves with *le*, instead of the spurious *se*, which is the form the dative had as part of the clitic cluster:

b. Don- em!

Give me

*Give it to me!*

The opposite effect, that is to say, the dropping of the dative clitic from a cluster where it is present is virtually impossible in all of these languages:

(79) a. [*əlzi*] dono el llibre als nois [CAT]

DAT.3P give.1S the book to-the boys

*I give the boys the book*

b. * ([*əlzi*]) (el) dono

DAT.3P ACC.3SM give.1S

INTENDED: *I give it to them*

(80) a. Juan le dijo la verdad [BASQUE SP]

John DAT.2S say.3S the truth

*John told you the truth*

b. * Juan la dijo

John ACC.3SF say.3s

INTENDED: *John told it to you*

(81) a. J'ai donné le livre à l' enfant [FR]

I have given the book to the child

*I've given the book to the child*

b. * Je le ai donné

I ACC.3SM have given

INTENDED: *I've given it to him*

(82) *Donne -l! [WALLOON]

Give -it

*Give it to me*

These facts will receive a clean explanation in my proposal in chapter 3.

### 2.3.4 Ordering Possibilities

The fourth puzzle related to the behavior of clitic clusters, is linked to the order variability we found in clitic clusters in different Romance languages, a variability in which dative clitics are normally involved (PERLMUTTER 1971; BONET 1991, 1995; and especially ORDÓÑEZ 2002). I am going to dedicate this section to the fact that the order of otherwise equivalent clitics display different stereotypical orders, something that has been documented by several researchers (see especially ORDÓÑEZ 2002). Consider, for example, the contrast between Italian and French. Whereas in the combinations of two third person clitics the accusative precedes the dative in French, the opposite order obtains in Italian:

(83) Jean le lui donne [FR]

Jean ACC.3SM DAT.3S give.3S

*Jean will give it to him/her*

(84) Gianni glie-lo da [IT]

Gianni DAT.3S-ACC.3SM give.3S

*Gianni will give it to him/her*

Even internal to one language, the order found in clitic clusters does not appear to be fixed once and for all, depending as it does on the syntactic context. Just for instance, in French the order accusative-dative shifts to dative-accusative, if the dative is first or second person:

(85) a. Jean me l' a donné [FR]

John DAT.1S ACC.3SM have.3S given

*John gave it to me*

b. * Jean le m' a donné

John ACC.3SM DAT.1S have.3S given

These facts were perhaps most compellingly brought to the attention of syntacticians by TERZI 1999, who focused on the following Greek contrasts. Whereas pre-

verbally, the order is dative-accusative rather than accusative-dative, either order is found with clitics appearing post-verbally, e.g. in imperative contexts:

(86) a. Mou to diavase [GREEK]
DAT.1S ACC.3SM read.3S
*He/she reads it to me*

b. * To mou diavase
ACC.3SM DAT.1S read.3S

(87) a. Diavase mou to!
read.3S DAT.1S ACC.3SM

b. Diavase to mou!
Read ACC.3SM DAT.3S
BOTH: *Read it to me*

This is far from being a peculiarity of Greek. Similar facts can be found in Romance. For example, in French, for some speakers, the following possibilities are equally acceptable in imperatives, but only one order is possible in declaratives:

(88) a. Donne -moi -le [FR]
give.IMP STR.1S ACC.3SM

b. Donne -le -moi [24]

give.IMP ACC.3SM STR.1S

*Give it to me*

(89) a. Tu me l' as donné

You DAT.1S ACC.3SM have.2S given

*You gave it to me*

b. * Tu le m' as donné

You ACC.3SM DAT.1S have.2S given

However, flexible ordering in clitic clusters can also be found with pre-verbal clitics. For example, in some Spanish varieties such as the variety spoken in Murcia, the following two possible alternations have been reported to co-exist:

(90) a. Se me escapa [MURCIAN SP]

REFL DAT.1S escape-3s

b. Me se escapa

DAT.1S REFL escape-3s

*I'm losing it* (LIT: It's getting away from me)

[24] I'm going to skip over the fact that in these sentences, we don't actually have a dative first person clitic 'me', but rather a strong pronoun 'moi'. For more information on this, see KAYNE 1975, among others.

Such flexibility disappears in post-verbal environments in that same variety:

(91) a. Puede escapar - se - me [MURCIAN SP]
can.3S escape.INF REFL DAT.1S
*I could lose it*

b. * Puede escapar - me - se
can.3S escape.INF DAT.1S REFL

ORDÓÑEZ 2002 reports comparable facts for Judeo-Spanish, and for the Baix-Ebre variety of Catalan:

(92) a. Se mos eskapa [JUDEO-SPANISH]
REFL DAT.1P escape-3S

b. Mos se eskapa
DAT.1P REFL escape-3S
BOTH: *We're losing it* (LIT: It's getting away from us)

(93) a. El livro puedia kayer-se-mos
the book could fall.INF-REFL-DAT.1P
*The book could fall*

b. * El livro puedia kayer-mo-se
the book could fall.INF- DAT.1P-REFL

(94) a. Me s' escapa [BAIX-EBRE CAT]

DAT.1S REFL escape.INF

*I could lose it*

b. Mos s' escapa

DAT.1P REFL escape-3S

BOTH: *I'm losing it* (LIT: It's getting away from us)

(95) a. No podia escapar - se ' m

NEG could escape.INF REFL DAT.1S

*This couldn't get lost* (LIT: it couldn't get lost to me)

b. * No podia escapar - me - se

NEG could escape.INF DAT.1S REFL

Interestingly, none of the above dialects permits the appearance of a third person dative before the reflexive *se*:

(96) a. Se le escapó [MURCIAN SP]

REFL DAT.3S escaped

*It escaped to him*

b. * Le se escapó

REFL DAT.3S escaped

Another example of ordering asymmetry in preverbal and postverbal positions is found in Valencian Catalan (TODOLÍ 1998). In this language, the post-verbal order is the mirror image of the pre-verbal order, as the following examples illustrate:

(97) No li s' acaba la paciència, però pot acabar-se-li
NEG DAT.3S SE finish.3S the patience but can.3S finish.SE-DAT.3S
*He hasn't run out of patience, but he could run out*

(98) Te s' acaba o està a punt d' acabar-se-te
DAT.2S REFL finish.3S or is.3S to point of finish-SE-DAT.2S
*You are running out of it, or you are about to run out of it*

Notice that so far, all the examples of flexible ordering among clitics involve the dative. Even in the most common type of cluster involving dative, namely the double object construction, we find that kind of flexibility. In most Romance languages the Dative-Accusative order is normally the unmarked one

(99) a. Me lo quiere dar [SP]
DAT.1S ACC.3SM want.3s give.INF
b. Quiere dár me lo
want.3S give.INF DAT.1S ACC.3SM
BOTH: *She wants to give it to me*

But there is a group of languages such as Aragonese, Occitan, and Mallorcan Catalan where the opposite, Accusative-Dative order order is found:

(100) a. La te dirai [OCCITAN]
ACC.3SF DAT.2S say.1s
*I will say it to you*

b. Lo me dussèt pas veire
ACC.3SM DAT.1S let.2S NEG see.INF
*You did not let me see it*

Interestingly, some Occitan varieties reported in the literature show that while the order is rigid in preverbal position as shown in (98a) or (98b), it might be reversed in postverbal position, which reminds what we found in Greek and French above (TEULAT 1976):

(101) a. Daussa - m - lo [OCCITAN]
let.IPT DAT.1S ACC.3SM

b. Daussa - lo - me
let.IPT DAT.1S ACC.3SM
BOTH: *Let me see it*

Before finishing this subsection on the ordering possibilities of dative clitics, I want to bring into this discussion something we mentioned earlier, namely the fact that sometimes it is as if dative clitics could wrap themselves around other clitics, as in the following example, where the partitive clitic [ən] seems to be infixed in the dative plural l-clitic [əlzi]:

(102) De pomes, als nens, [əlzəni] dono [CAT]
of apples to-the children DAT-PART-LOC give.1S
*I give apples to the boys*

If this is so, the ordering flexibility discussed in this section may not be too surprising. The illusions of optionality of dative clitic placement may be due to different varieties pronouncing some but not all the portions of what makes up a dative clitics in different contexts. If this idea is on the right track, it would again suggest that we could think of a decomposition of the notion of datives into simpler components. This idea will be explored at length in chapter 3.

## 2.4 The Syntactic Problems of Single Clitics

Let's now move to set $B_2$, i.e. that of the external behavioral puzzles of single clitics. Remember that the problems I deal with in this section are the following:

(*i*) clitic doubling, (*ii*) the syncretism between dative and locative clitics, and (*iii*) the semantic specificity of accusative but not dative clitics:

(103) SUMMARY OF PUZZLES IN THIS SECTION

$B_2$ = {doubling, dative-locative, specificity}

### 2.4.1 Clitic doubling

Let me start with one of the most famous problems with clitics in Romance, namely clitic doubling (CD). CD or pronominal reduplication is a grammatical phenomenon in which clitic pronouns appear accompanying verbs at the same time as full-fledged phrases in argumental position they are coindexed with (104), as opposed to the cases where those clitic pronouns are in complementary distribution with their doubled phrases (105):[25]

| (104) | Jo | ( $li_i$ ) | regalo | el | llibre | [a | en | Joan]$_i$ | [CAT] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I | DAT.3S | offer.1S | the | book | to | the | John | |
| | I'*m offering the book to John* | | | | | | | | |

[25] For the time being, I'm leaving aside the phenomenon of CD with strong pronouns. I do this for two reasons. First, because the doubling of strong pronouns doesn't distinguish between dative and accusative in most Romance, and thus I think it hides the relevant facts, at least for the purposes of this dissertation. Second, and most importantly, because I'm assuming the arguments in RIGAU 1988, according to which strong pronouns in sentences like (*i*) or (*ii*) are not, unlike full phrases, in an argument position but rather in a dislocated position. As a result, these sentences would be cases of CLLD rather than CD:

| (i) | Lo | vi | a | él | [SP] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ACC.3SM | saw | to | STR.MS | |
| | I saw him | | | | |

| (*ii*) | Le | doy | el | libro | a | ella |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DAT.3S | give.1S | the | book | to | STR.FS |
| | I gave her the book | | | | | |

(105) a. María vio la casa [SP]

Marie saw the house

*Mary saw the house*

b. * María vio la

Marie saw 3ACC.PL

c. María la vio

Marie ACC.3PL saw

*Marie saw it*

d. * María la casa vio

Marie the house saw

The phenomenon is well known in the literature, and has received extensive treatment in many different languages that include Albanian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Greek, Persian, Rumanian, and Spanish, among others. The conditions for CD vary from language to language but they must be clearly distinguished from clitic left- (or right-) dislocation (CLLD for both kind of dislocations). For example, although the clitic is in principle optional in cases of CD, it is obligatory in CLLD:

(106) a. (Li) regalem el llibre a en Joan [CAT]

DAT.3S offer.1P the book to the John

*We're offering the book to John*

b. El llibre *(el) compraré avui

the book ACC.3SM buy.1S today

*I'm buying the book today*

Also, in cases of CLLD there is an intonational break between the dislocated full phrase and the rest of the sentence, where the clitic is, while no such break takes place in CD (JAEGGLI 1986, BLEAM 2000). Finally, CLLD in Romance is allowed with all kind of clitics, and for many different languages (French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Rumanian, among others), while CD is almost exclusively allowed for dative clitics and some very limited cases of accusative clitics, for a much more limited range of languages (Spanish, Rumanian, and to a lesser extent Catalan). More on this below in this same section.

Another difference between both phenomena is that while number agreement between the dative clitic and the dative phrase is optional in Spanish in CD, it is obligatory in cases of CLLD (a fact I come back below):

(107) a. Le(s) dije la verdad a los niños [SP]

DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth to the kids

*I told the truth to the kids*

b. A los niños le*(s) dije la verdad

to the kids DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth

*I told the truth to the kids*

I don't intend to discuss these two questions in depth, but rather point out a couple of short descriptive notes about them. For the purposes of this dissertation, and concerning CD, I limit the scope of my investigation to two main puzzles that will be of interest for the account I put forward in chapter 3: (*i*) Why would two elements that have the same thematic role, and same syntactic function co-occur within a single sentence?; and (*ii*) Why is CD more clearly related to dative than to any other clitic? Let me start by the first.

With respect to (*i*), it is a fact that both clitics and full phrases can be in complementary distribution, as we saw in (105) above. In that case, either of them can appear alone within the sentence without the other, and either is enough to satisfy the sub-categorization requirements of the verb. So the question is then what happens when both are present at the same time. This has been a traditional problem for the movement analysis of clitics (KAYNE 1975, and subsequent literature). If the clitic originated in argumental position and then moved to inflectional positions, why would the two elements co-exist in the same sentence? The answers to this question have been multiple within the field of study of clitics. Several accounts have been proposed. For some authors, in the case of CLLD the dislocated phrase is base-generated in a topic position and consequently the clitic –or *pro* in some analyses– occupies the argumental position (AOUN 1981, BLEAM 2000). Such a hypothesis would allow to maintain the Movement Hypothesis of clitics (KAYNE 1975, and subsequent literature). Another possible set of answers has

however raised problems for the Movement Hypothesis and in support of the Base-generation Hypothesis (BORER 1984, and subsequent literature). Some of these answers have to do with the idea that the clitic would be the spell-out of features of the verb, namely case and φ-features. In this view, the clitic would not be an independent element that receives a theta-role or even case, but rather would be analyzed as an agreement morpheme like those present in subject-verb relationships (nominative agreement). This idea was first suggested in BORER 1984, and has also been supported by SUÑER 1988, SPORTICHE 1993, 1996; or FRANCO 1993, among others). I leave the topic here, as it doesn't directly influence the development of this dissertation.

With respect to (*ii*), it is a fact that CD, unlike CLLD, is more clearly related to datives than to any other clitic. Thus, for instance, Catalan CD is only possible with dative clitics (108), but CLLD is possible with all kind of clitics (109):

(108) CLITIC DOUBLING

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Li | dono | el | llibre | al | Joan | [CAT] |
| | DAT.3S | give.3S | the | book | to.the | John | |
| | *I give the book to John* | | | | | | |
| b. | * El | compro | el | llibre | | | |
| | ACC.3SM | buy.1S | the | book | | | |
| | INTENDED: *I buy the book* | | | | | | |

c. * Hi posem el llibre a la taula
LOC put.1P the book to the table
INTENDED: *We're putting the book on the table*

(109) CLITIC LEFT-DISLOCATION

a. Els llibres *(els) compro jo [CAT]
The books, ACC.3PM buy.1S I
*I buy the books myself*

b. A la taula *(hi) posem el llibre ,
to the table LOC put.1P the book
*We're putting the book on the table*

Also of interest is the fact that CD seems to be limited to dative in most languages showing it. A case in point is Catalan, as we have just seen, because only dative CD is allowed there. However, a more interesting case is Spanish, where we see that accusative doubling is ungrammatical in virtually all the dialects of Spanish, except for a couple of well-known exceptions, mostly Rioplatense Spanish (*cf.* SUÑER 1988, RODRÍGUEZ-MONDOÑEDO 2007, or BELLORO 2008 among many other references). Even more interestingly, accusative doubling also pops up in some *leísta* varieties, in which the accusative masculine l-clitics *lo* (sg) and *los* (pl) are replaced in some cases by the dative-like l-clitic *le* and *les* (*cf.* BLEAM 2000 and references therein). The fact that dative doubling is so widespread but accusa-

tive doubling so limited will give us an important argument in favor of the account in chapter 3.

This is not all, however. As we saw in (104) above, a third puzzle related to CD is the fact that for dative, but not accusative l-clitics, CD involves defective number agreement:

(110) a. Le(s) dije la verdad a los niños [SP]
DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth to the kids

b. A los niños le*(s) dije la verdad
to the kids DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth
BOTH: *I told the truth to the kids*

(111) a. /li/ / /əlzi/ dono el llibre als nens' [CAT]
DAT.3S / DAT.3P give.1S the book to-the boys

b. Als nens, [*əlzi*] / *[li] dono el llibre
to-the boys DAT.3P DAT.3S give.1S the book
BOTH: *I give the book to the boys*

It is also worth noting that defective agreement always involves singular of the clitic and plural DP, never the opposite, i.e. plural clitic, singular DP:

(112) *[əlzi] dono el llibre al nen [26] [CAT]

DAT.3P give.1P the book to-the boy

*I' give the book to the boy*

Finally, it will be of interest for chapters 3 and 4, the fact that this kind of defective agreement in CD with dative l-clitics, affects neither accusative CD in the relevant varieties (113a), nor *laísta* dialects of Spanish where we find different forms for masculine and feminine l-clitics (113b):

(113) a. La*(s) vi a las chicas [RIOPLATENSE SP]

DAT.3S(3P) saw.1s to the girls

*I saw the girls*

b. La*(s) dije la verdad a las niñas [LAISTA SP]

DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth to the girls

*I told the truth to the girls*

### 2.4.2 Syncretism DAT-LOC

Another puzzle that has to do somehow with the external behavior of dative clitics is their syncretism with locative clitics in Catalan and some other languages (not

[26] Although the facts are not so well-known in Catalan as in Spanish, I have elicited many examples of this kind of defective number agreement in Catalan, probably because of the influence of Spanish. I leave a deeper inspection of these facts as a subject for further research.

only of the Romance family). That syncretism is especially clear in languages like Paduan (114), where the same overt morpheme works as both the dative and the locative clitic, or in Catalan, where according to RIGAU 1988, some inanimate datives are expressed as locatives (115), and where datives are reduced to locatives in contexts of clitic clusters (116):

(114) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
LOC give.1S the book
*I give him / her / them the book*

b. Ghe meto il libro
LOC put.1S the book
*I put the book there*

(115) a. En Joan *hi* donà cops (, a la porta) [CAT]
the John LOC gave.3s knocks to the door
*John knocked the door*

b. En Joan *li* donà cops ( a la Maria)
the John DAT.3S gave.3S knocks to the Mary
*John knocked Mary*

(116) a. El llibre l' hi dones? [CAT]
the book 3ACC.SM LOC give.2S
*Do you give him / her the book?*

b. Si me' n demana deu, n' hi dono dotze.
If DAT.1S PART he-asks ten PART LOC give.1S twelve
*If he asks me for ten, I give him twelve*

An interesting aspect of this syncretism is the apparent incompatibility between dative and locative clitics in Catalan (117) and some other Romance languages, like for instance French (118). This problem arises when a locative and a dative l-clitic co-occur, for example in cases of multiple CLLD like the examples in Catalan we saw in (75) above, repeated here as (117) for convenience, or the example in French in (118):

(117) a. No [əlzi] portis res [CAT]
NEG DAT bring.2S nothing
*Don't bring anything to them*

b. A casa seva, no hi portis res
to house POSS.3SF, NEG LOC bring.2S nothing
*To their place, don't bring anything*

c. *A casa seva, no /əlzi/ hi portis …
to house POSS.3SF, NEG DAT.3P LOC bring.2S
INTENDED: *To their place, don't bring them anything*

d. * A casa seva, no /li/ hi portis …
to house POSS.3SF, NEG DAT.3S LOC bring.2S
INTENDED: *To his / her place, don't bring him / her anything*

(118) A la fête, je lui (*y) ai parlé [FR]
to the party I DAT.3S LOC have.1s talked
*I talked to him / her at the party*

This idea entails that the dative singular l-clitic of French *lui* should also be considered complex, including a deictic morpheme [i] in line with its normative counterpart [y]. That is to say, the French singular dative clitic would be at least [lu + y], putting aside for the moment the presence of [u].

In order to empirically support the relationship between dative and locative, we need to find languages where either they co-occur as in Catalan, or where the locative can express the dative. Although it is rather common to acknowledge that there is an intuitive relationship between locative and dative, the common fact is that most Romance languages either do distinguish them (French, Catalan, or Italian) or do not have a locative clitic (Spanish, Portuguese).

However, there do exist languages where the property we are looking for holds. In some of these languages, datives and locatives cannot be distinguished. For example, LASSITER 2004 analyzes the case of Hittite, an extinct language of the Indo-European family. According to Lassiter, this language had a case used for

both locative and dative markings, called dative-locative, with endings *-i/-ya* in the singular. Since dative case is more common cross-linguistically, Lassiter concludes that the dative-locative case of Hittite can be reduced to dative.

Similar cases can be found in Romance. As we saw above, according to the Catalan normative, the dative singular *l*-clitic has to be written *li*. However, when this clitic appears in combination with other clitics, it is orthographically reduced to the locative *hi* (pronounced [*i*]). In those cases, the locative case does the role of the dative, as shown in the interaction with accusative (119a), and partitive (119b), or as the repair strategy for the PCC (119c):

(119) a. Li dones el llibre o no l' hi dones?
DAT.3S give.2S the book or NEG ACC.3SM LOC give.2S
*Are you giving him the book or not?*

b. Si me' n demana un, n' hi donaré dos.
If DAT.1S PART he-asks one PART LOC give.1S two
*If he asks me for one, I will give him two*

c. Avui t' hi presentaran al president
Today ACC.2S LOC introduce.3P to-the president
*Today you will be introduced to the president*

Some scholars (e.g. WANNER 1977, quoted in BONET 1995) have considered this

apparent reduction of *li* to *hi* as a mere case of phonological constraint on identical sequences like *el li*. However, since in Valencian or Occitan such combinations are possible, it therefore doesn't seem to be a case of pure phonology.[27]

A related fact occurs in colloquial French, where dative singular *lui* is often reduced to the so-called, for the time being, locative *y* (Dominique Sportiche, pc):

(120) J' y parlerai à elle (*cf*. Je *lui* parlerai à elle) [FR]
I LOC speak.1S to STR.SF
*I'll speak to her*

Another instance of the relationship between dative and locative clitics is provided by RIGAU 1982. As we saw above, Rigau documents Catalan dialects where the locative clitic (121a) sometimes substitutes the standard dative clitic (121b):

(121) a. En Joan hi donà cops, a la porta [CAT]
the John LOC gave knocks to the door
*John knocked the door*

[27] Again, Valencian and Occitan are interesting, because they allow sentences like (*i*):
(i) El llibre al xiquet li ' l compraré [VALENCIAN]
the book to-the boy DAT.3S ACC.3SM buy.1S
I''ll buy the book to the boy
Although I do not go into this topic further here, let me suggest that this might be a case of poly-definiteness of the morpheme [l] similar to the one we find in Greek definite determiners.

b. En Joan li donà cops a la porta
the John DAT.3S gave knocks to the door
*John knocked the door*

Another case along the same lines is provided by many Italian dialects where the dative clitic and the locative clitic are homophonous (MANZINI & SAVOIA 2002, KAYNE 2008):

(122) a. *Ghe* dago el libro [PADUAN]
LOC give.1S the book
*I give him/her/them the book*
b. *Ghe* meto el libro
LOC put.1S the book
*I put the book there*

(123) a. a g 'dag kwas-'ke? [MODENA ITALIAN]
I DAT.3S give this
*I give this to him*
b. a g al / la / i / li 'dag
I DAT.3S ACC.3SM ACC.3SF ACC.3PM ACC.3PF give
*I give it/them to him*

c. a g 'met kwas-'ke?

I LOC put this

*I put this there*

d. a m g la 'met

I REFL.1S LOC ACC.3SF put

*I put it there (for myself)*

e. a se g 'met dla 'roba

it IMPERS LOC puts some stuff

*Some stuff is being put there* (LIT: One puts some stuff there)

According to KAYNE 2008, the underlying form of the dative sentence in (122a), and presumably (123), involves the presence of a silent third person dative clitic, alongside the overt locative clitic. This means, that sentence (122a) should be thought as (124). I critically review this proposal, and give my own alternative, in chapter 3:

(124) DAT.3 ghe dago el libro

Finally, the co-occurrence of dative and locative clitics is overt in other languages apart from Catalan. A very interesting concerning that happens in Latin. The internal structure of its dative personal pronouns is quite revealing, in that the dative

seems to be a locative morpheme (and thus, a deictic morpheme, somehow), plus something else. In (125), I reproduce the paradigm of singular personal pronouns in Latin. Remember that Latin does not have third person pronouns per se, and uses demonstratives to cover that function (another interesting thing that I will consider in chapter 3):

(125) TABLE 11: *Latin Personal pronouns*

| | 1st | 2nd |
|---|---|---|
| NOMINATIVE | *ego* | *tu* |
| ACCUSATIVE | *mē* | *tē* |
| GENITIVE | *meī* | *tuī* |
| DATIVE | *mihi* | *tibi* |
| ABLATIVE | *mē* | *tē* |

I am going to suggest that at least the dative personal pronouns are complex. It is clear, because of the other pronouns in the paradigm, that [m] and [t] are first and second person morphemes respectively. As a result, the dative pronouns seem to be person features plus something else, i.e. [m+ihi] and [t+ibi]. The question is the semantic import of [ihi] and [ibi].

Let me start by the latter. We know that in Latin, *ibi* is a locative adverb or demonstrative pronoun in Latin, sometimes translated to English as *there*, i.e. a distal locative morpheme. We also know that *ibi* has *hic* as the other member of that paradigm, and that *hic* is often translated to English as *here* (PANHUIS 2006). So the second person pronoun *tibi* might have the structure [t + ibi], i.e. [second

person + locative]. We would expect then that the first person pronoun had the same structure, i.e. person feature [m] + locative [ihi]. Now, in itself [ihi] does not correspond to any locative element in Latin. The closest element we can find is the abovementioned first person demonstrative or adverb *hic*,. So let us assume that [ihi] contains a reduced version of *hic*. This is close, but we still have the problem of the first vowel in *mihi*. To examine this problem let me go back to the second person dative *tibi*.

We have seen above that the suffix *ibi* is a locative element. Interestingly, however, *ibi* is part of the following class of words (PANHUIS 2006):

(126) TABLE 12: *The paradigm of ibi*

| **DEMONSTRATIVE** | **INTERROGATIVE** | **RELATIVE** | **INDEFINITE** |
|---|---|---|---|
| ibi<br>*there* | ubi<br>*where*? | ubi<br>*where* | alicubi<br>*somewhere* |

So if the latter is correct, *ibi* and *ubi* have a relationship in Latin similar to that of English *there* and *where* (something also visible in *that* and *what*, or *then* and when). That is to say, the class of words in (126) suggests that *ibi* could be considered bimorphemic, as it forms a minimal pair with the interrogative and relative pronoun *ubi*. The latter, in turn, should be bimorphemic, and I think this prediction is borne out: [*u*-] is an interrogative particle in Latin (equivalent to English *wh*-), present in other interrogative words like *unde* 'whence?' or 'from where?' (op-

posed to *inde* 'thence or from there'), *utrō* 'which way?', or *utrōbī* 'in which place?'. That [u-] is also part of the *qu-* element of many other interrogative words in Latin, like *quis* 'who' or *quid* 'what', where *qu-* is the base for many of the interrogative words of Romance languages.

Therefore, it seems that we can decompose *ubi* in [u + bi], i.e. [interrogative + place] with the meaning 'what place', or 'where'. But then, analogously, *ibi* should also be decomposable and have the structure [i + bi]. As we have just said, [-bi] is likely to mean 'place' something confirmed by two facts: (*i*) Firsly, by the fact we have just seen above that *utrō* means 'which way?' in Latin, but *utrōbī* means 'in which place?'. It is interesting in this respect that *utrōbī* can clearly be analyzed as [utrō + bī], where [bī] means 'place'. (*ii*) Secondly, by the fact that *bi* seems to mean 'place' in Sardinian (JONES 1993):

(127) Bi nke nd' at issitu tres [SARDINIAN]
PLACE LOC PART AT exited three
*There came three of them out of there* (i.e. there = that place)

So the remaining question is about [i-]. Interestingly, and as we have seen once and again in this chapter, [i] is (at least part of) the so-called locative pronouns of some Romance languages (French *y*, Catalan *hi*, Italian *ci*). However, since we argued that these elements are not really inherently locative, but rather deictic, let us

assume that [i] is really that, a deictic. Therefore [i + bi] would have the structure [deictic + place].

So we may consider that the structure of *tibi* is really [t + i + bi], that is to say [second person + deictic + place]. Then, by analogy, the structure of *mihi* must also be [m + i + hi], i.e. [1st person + deictic + place]. These facts are of enormous interests because they show that the relationship between datives and locatives in Romance comes from the Latin source. I will come back to this in the framework of my proposal in chapter 3.

Another point in common between datives and locatives is the fact that in many unrelated languages, including English, Romance, Hindi, Hungarian, or Japanese, the dative adposition is also a locative or rather directional preposition:[28]

(128) a. I give a book to Mary

b. I'm going to Barcelona

c. Je donne un livre à Marie [FR]
I give.1S a book to Mary
*I give a book to Mary*

d. Je vais à Barcelone
I go.1S to Barcelona
*I go to Barcelona*

[28] Thanks to Mark Baltin for pointing this out.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that the co-occurrence of dative and locative clitics also happens in other languages of the Romance family, and this seems to give further support to the relationship between the two elements, maybe to the idea that they are in fact a composite element. KAYNE 2008 mentions the case of Sardinian (*apud* JONES 1993):

(129) Narra - bí - lis
Tell LOC DAT.3P
*Tell them (about it)*

All in all seems to provide support to the idea that there is some kind of relationship (and often syncretism) between dative and locative clitics. Such co-occurrence, I will argue, must always happen, regardless of whether one of the two elements remains silent. The silent one is normally the locative, although as we will see, it can sometimes be the dative. Again, my proposal will have nice things to say about these facts.

### 2.4.3 Object Clitics and Specificity

The final behavioral problem of object clitics I'm concerned with in this chapter is the correlation between object clitics, especially accusative clitics, and the semantic notion of specificity posited by several authors including SUÑER 1988;

URIAGEREKA 1988, 1995; ROCA 1992, 1996; FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO 1999; or ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010). Thus, as first suggested by SUÑER 1988, accusative clitics are inherently marked for specificity. Unlike dative clitics, they cannot refer to nonspecific indefinites (130), or interrogative elements (131):

(130) a. * A ningún bedel lo veo trabajando [SP]
to no janitor ACC.3SM see.1S working
INTENDED: *I see no janitor working*

b. No le pido copias a ningún bedel
NEG DAT.3S ask.1S copies to no janitor
*I don't ask for photocopies to any janitor*

c. * Algún escritor famoso no lo he visto
some writer famous NEG ACC.3SM have.1S seen
*I haven't seen a famous writer* (non-specific interpretation)

d. A un famoso escritor, no lo he visto
to a famous writer NEG ACC.3SM have.1S seen
*I have never seen a famous writer* (specific interpretation)

(131) a. * ¿A qui el veus? [CAT]
to who ACC.3SM see.2S
INTENDED: *Who do you see?*

b. ¿A qui li dones el regal?

to who DAT.3S give.2s the gift

*Whom are you offering the gift?*

Accusative l-clitics cannot associate to bare nouns either, normally assumed to be non-specific. This is especially clear in languages with a partitive clitic like French, Italian, or Catalan (132b). Such restriction doesn't affect dative l-clitics, which can refer to noun phrases headed by bare nouns (133):[29]

(132) a. Dinero, no (*lo) tengo [SP]

Money NEG ACC.3SM have.1S

*Money, I don't have*

---

[29] Some restrictions apply, however, to dative full phrases headed by bare nouns. For example, the sentence in (130) is ungrammatical with an unqualified bare plural:

(i) * Les dieron queso a chicas [SP]
DAT.3P gave.3P cheese to girls
INTENDED: They gave cheese to girls

That same type of restrictions on bare plurals applies to preverbal subject positions (*ii*), but not to direct objects (*iii*), or as postverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs (*iv*):

(*ii*) *Chicas comieron queso
girls ate.3P cheese
INTENDED: *Girls ate cheese*

(*iii*) Hoy he conocido chicas
today have.1S met girls
I have met girls today

(iv) Hoy vinieron chicas
today came.3P girls
Some girls came yesterday

The reasons why bare plurals find restrictions as dative arguments within the VP might be related to the reasons why bare plurals find restrictions in preverbal subject position. This again suggests a closer relationship between datives and nominatives, than between those two and accusatives (and certain postverbal subjects).

This subject, as others concerning the relationship between dative objects and subjects is of the greatest interest. However, I will not pursue it in the dissertation.

b. Diners no (*els) / en tinc

Money NEG ACC.3PM PART have.1S

*Money, I don't have*

(133) Les dieron queso a familias de pocos medios

DAT.3P gave.3P cheese to families of little means

*They gave cheese to poor families*

In addition, as discussed by SUÑER 1988, in the dialects of Spanish where accusative doubling is allowed, there is a specificity restriction on the kind of phrases that can be doubled:

(134) a. La vimos a Mafalda [RIOPLATENSE SP]

ACC.3SF see.1P to Mafalda

*We saw Mafalda*

b. La vimos a la chica.

ACC.3SF see.1P to the girl

*We saw the girl*

c. * La vimos a alguna chica

ACC.3SF see.1P to some girl

*We saw some girl* (non-specific interpretation of 'some girl')

As we see, dative doubling is not subject to the restrictions accusative doubling is. This is the last puzzle I am concerned with, and as all the others mentioned in this chapter, will be accounted for in the next

# Chapter 3

# Proposal of a unified solution

## 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I elaborate on the idea that dative l-clitics are complex grammatical items, i.e. not primitive but rather composed from more basic features in a formally adequate manner. After having reviewed in the previous chapter some puzzles of object clitics in Catalan, I build from those pieces and put forward a structure for dative clitics that offers a unified solution to all of them. That solution is based on the idea that both accusative and locative clitics are somehow constitutive parts of the dative l-clitics. That is to say, while I take accusative and locative clitics to be more primitive, atomic notions (ideas to be refined below), the dative clitic has a hybrid and complex nature. But what does this mean formally? Stated otherwise: what is a clitic such that it can be of the complex, dative-kind?

## 3.2 The Proposal in a Nutshell

In this section, I draw a bird's-eye view of the solution I propose for the ensemble of puzzles described in chapter 2. Then, in the rest of the chapter I give the details of how that proposal applies for each individual puzzle.

The idea I have in mind is putting forward a syntactic structure for clitics, and that that structure may allow us to explain the puzzles for Catalan, and then be extended to the rest of Romance. Because of the overarching character of my proposal, I don't intend to pay in-depth attention to any possible aspect of the individual puzzles I deal with. Just like in the previous chapter with respect to their description, I rather aim at offering some hints on the directions to follow for the puzzles considered as a whole, although this will indeed entail looking in *some* more detail to each of them individually. The directions hinted at here will then be the bases for further individualized projects in the post-doctoral years to come.

From an intuitive point of view, the proposal is quite simple. The structure I am going to draw is based on the idea that dative clitics are complex grammatical entities that contain accusative clitics as one of its several constituent parts. As a first approximation to be further refined, let me put it like this:

(1) DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + *x*

As I say, this is just a first approximation, so before going further, we need to answer at least two questions concerning the equation in (1):

(2) (*i*) In what sense can an accusative clitic be a part of a dative clitic?

(*ii*) What is *x* in the equation?

So let me first answer these two questions before going back to the actual proposal. I proceed this way because the proposal will build on the answers to (2).

### 3.2.1 Accusative as part of the dative

Least but not last with respect to (2*i*) is the intuitive idea that the accusative clitic can be part of the dative clitic, in just the same way we could consider an accusative full phrase can be a part of a dative full phrase.

Thus, in most of Romance, the difference between accusative phrases (3) (cliticized as accusative clitics in (4)) and dative phrases (5) (cliticized as dative clitics in (6)) is normally based, at least in the surface, on the presence of an extra marking in the case of the dative phrases: *à* in French, *a* in Catalan, Italian, or Spanish, etc. Square brackets intend to illustrate this fact:

(3) a. Veig [la noia]$_{ACC}$ [CAT]

see.1S the girl

b. Je voit [ la fille]$_{ACC}$ [FR]

I see.1S the girl

BOTH: *I see the girl*

(4) a. La veig [CAT]

ACC.3SF see.1s

b. Je la voit [FR]

I ACC.3SF see.1S

BOTH: *I see her*

(5) a. Li dono els llibres [ a [ la noia]$_{ACC}$ ]$_{DAT}$ [CAT]

DAT.3S give.1S the books to the girl

b. Je donne les livres [ à [ la fille]$_{ACC}$ ]$_{DAT}$ [FR]

I give.1S the books to the girl

BOTH: *I give the books to the girl*

(6) a. Li dono els llibres [CAT]

DAT.3S give.1S the books

b. Je lui donne les livres [FR]

I DAT.3S give.1S the books

BOTH: *I give him/her the books*

As we see in these examples, the difference between the accusative complement 'the girl' [la noia]$_{ACC}$ in (3a) for instance, and the dative complement 'to the girl' [a

[la noia]$_{ACC}$ ]$_{DAT}$ is marked in Catalan and in French by the overt presence of the preposition, or preposition-like morpheme *a*. If this is so, at the phrasal level, what happens at the level of clitics? We see that the object phrases 'the girl' in (3) are cliticized as the accusative clitics *la* 'the.SG.FEM' in (4). On the other hand, we see that the dative phrases 'to the girl' in (5), are cliticized as the dative singular clitics in (6). So one legitimate question is whether the accusative clitics in (4) are part of the dative clitics in (6) in the same intuitive sense that the accusative phrases in (3) seem to be part of the dative phrases in (5).

In this same intuitive sense, it is probably worth mentioning the fact that in Catalan, but especially in Spanish, there is a gradation in the marking with [a] of dative and accusative phrases. Thus, while all dative phrases are marked with [a] in the two languages, only part of them are in the case of accusative full phrases, a phenomenon called Differential Object Marking (BRUGÈ & BRUGGER 1996; TORREGO 1998, 1999, AISSEN 2003; LEONETTI 2004, RODRÍGUEZ-MONDOÑEDO 2007 among others). That is to say, the accusatives phrases that are [a]-marked are just a subset of the dative phrases that are [a]-marked. This also suggests that accusative is a subset of the dative.

Another sense in which accusative clitics can be a part of dative clitics is based on ideas from the typological tradition according to which there is a cross-linguistically valid *case hierarchy*. For a recent hierarchy along those lines see the *nanosyntactic* proposal in CAHA 2009, for who there is a hierarchy of inclusion of

simple cases in more complex cases. In (7), the > signs are supposed to mark inclusion of the left member into the right member, that is to say, in a case like $x > y$, $x$ is included in $y$:

(7) NOM > ACC > GEN > DAT > INSTR > COM

Thus, the idea of accusative case as part of the dative idea is not new in the literature as shown by this proposal by Caha. Caha's proposal is more ambitious than the one I put forward in the dissertation, in that it aims for wider coverage of languages and cases. I do not discuss his proposal here for it might take too far afield from my more modest purposes here. If anything, my proposal could be seen as evidence in favor of Caha's idea, although a fully developed analysis of this idea is left as a subject for further research. In any case, the case hierarchy, sometimes called the case sequence, expresses the idea that case systems develop in a particular order, beginning with nominative systems, then nominative - accusative, then nominative - accusative - genitive, etc.

Finally, some data from chapter 2 are also illustrative of the idea of the inclusion of the accusative in the dative clitic. For example, we saw how sometimes a single dative clitic seems to be enough to resume what should be two clitics, a dative plus an accusative in different languages. The opposite, i.e. a single accusative clitic as enough to resume what should be an accusative plus dative cluster, is always ungrammatical:

(8) a. Le livre, à l'enfant, je lui donne [FR]
the book, to the boy, I DAT.3S give.1S

b. * Le livre, à l'enfant, je le donne
the book to the boy, I ACC.3SM give.1S
BOTH: *I give the book to the boy*

If the dative clitic is enough to resume what should be a dative and an accusative cluster it might be because the accusative is somehow included in the dative, in line with my hypothesis here.

### 3.2.2 Deixis as *x*

Let's now move on to (2*ii*), i.e. to the question of what the import of *x* is in the equation in (2), namely DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + *x*. Again, if we look at the phrasal data in (3) and (5) above, the intuitive answer should be that *x* corresponds to the preposition or preposition-like element [a]. But what is the morphological, syntactic, and semantic import of that [a]? The topic has been the subject of much literature, without an answer so far. (STROZER 1976, JAEGGLI 1982; BRANCHADELL 1992). I don't comment further on this except to just say that that [a] seems to have sometimes a kind of directional meaning, when datives have something like a goal (9a) or benefactive (9b) thematic role (θ-role). Some other times, however, it seems to have a possessive, and therefore a somehow more static, meaning (9c).

And yet some other times it seems to have neither directional nor possessive meaning, but to express some kind of mental experience (9d). All the examples in (9) come from HUIDOBRO 2009: [30]

(8) a. Susana le mandó una carta a Juan [SP]
Susana DAT.3S sent.3S a letter to John
*Susana sent a letter to John* (θ-ROLE: Goal)

b. Susana les preparó un te a sus amigos
Susana DAT.3P prepared.3S a tea to her friends
*Susana prepared a tea for her friends* (θ-ROLE: Benefactive)

c. Susana le cortó el pelo a Juan
Susana DAT.3S cut.3S the hair to John
*Susana cut John's hair* (θ-ROLE: Possessor)

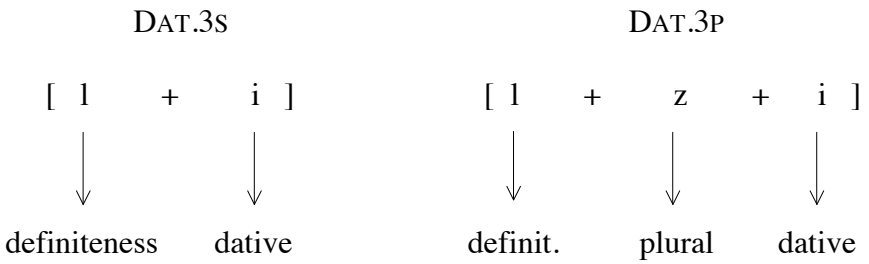
d. A Susana le gustan / encantan las manzanas
to Susana DAT.3S like.3P / adore.3P the apples
*Susana likes / adores apples* (θ-ROLE: Experiencer)

[30] In fact, that is not even all, as (9) only reports argumental datives. HUIDOBRO 2009 distinguishes even more uses of the /a/ element in 'quirky' subject datives, ethical datives, or solidarity allocutive datives. Even though this great variety of uses are all called dative, it is quite possible that they occupy different positions in the clause, which may give the appearance of word order flexibility if we are not careful in teasing these various datives apart. As a matter of fact, the semantic diversity of datives just reviewed brings to mind the great diversity of so-called applicative constructions, the extensive literature on which has subclassified them into high-applicatives, middle-applicatives, and low-applicatives, where the height metaphor refers to the point of origin of these applicatives in the clause (PYLKKANEN 2002, 2008, CUERVO 2003, JEONG 2006, 2007, and much related work). Like datives, applicatives refer to a class of additional verbal arguments.

As we see, the semantic contribution that might be ascribed to the grammatical item [a] is very broad indeed.

Now that is with respect to dative phrases. How about the dative clitics, our center of interest here? What is the content of that *x*? The case of the Catalan dative l-clitics is particularly illustrative in this respect, as we saw in their morphological decomposition in chapter 2:

(10) MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION OF CATALAN DATIVE L-CLITICS




Let's assume for the moment, as we did in chapter 2, that the definiteness morpheme /l(s)/ corresponds somehow and approximately to the accusative clitic, and that therefore the dative clitic is at least bi-morphemic. If that is so, a first idea would be that *x* = [i] in (10). Therefore, the equation DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + *x* can be put as in (11):

(11) DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + [i]

What is that [i], though? In my interpretation, not a dative morpheme, as suggested by BONET 1991, 1995, HARRIS 1997, SOLÀ-PUJOLS 2000. The dative is the whole complex, not a part of it. Otherwise, why would that [i] not appear in other dative clitics (first/second person)?

So if not a dative morpheme, what? The possibility I'm going to argue for is that this is actually a deictic morpheme, following KAYNE's 2008 proposal. According to Kayne, the morphemic constituency of sentences involving datives (12) patterns with sentences involving existential constructions (13), in that in those two types of sentences there is this kind of deictic morpheme, exemplified for Romance by French *y*, Italian *ci*, Catalan *hi*, or Paduan *ghe*:

(12) a. Els hi dono el llibre [CAT]
ACC.3PM LOC give.1S the book
*I give them the book*

c. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
LOC GIVE.1S the book
*I give him the book*

(13) a. There is a book on the table

b. Il y a un livre sur la table [FR]
EXP DX have.3S a book on the table

c. C' è un libro sul tavolo [IT]
DX is a book on.the table

d. Hi ha un llibre a la taula [CAT]
DX have.3S a book to the table
ALL: *There's a book on the table*

e. Ghe ze un libro [PADUAN]
DEIX is a book
*There is a book*

In the interpretation of KAYNE 2008, the so-called, for the time being, locative morphemes in the dative sentences are the same ones present in the existential sentences. In his proposal, the reason why dative sentences in some Romance languages use what looks like a locative clitic is based on the relationship dative sentences have with possessive and existential sentences. According to Kayne, there is an embedding relationship between these three types of sentences. The expletive deictic in the dative gets there via 'inheritance'. Dative sentences embed within them possessive sub-sentences that can contain an expletive, in turn inherited from the existential sub-sentence the possessive structure in turn embeds (a claim Kayne makes following SZABOLCSI 1986, 1994). That is to say, the deictic morpheme originates in the existential construction, and moves up the embedding structure, until it reaches the dative.

For example, in a language like Paduan, with the expletive dative *ghe*, we would have the following structure:

(14) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
DX give.1S the book
*I give {him/her/them} the book*

b. $[_{DAT}$ … ghe$_i$ … $[_{POSS}$… <ghe>$_i$ … $[_{EXIST}$ … <ghe>$_i$ … ] ] ]

The argumentation KAYNE 2008 develops goes along the following steps. First, he argues that the terminology "locative clitic" for elements like English *there*, Paduan *ghe*, French *y*, or Italian *ci* is misleading, as these elements are used in non-locative contexts like the following:

(15) a. Jean y pense [FR]
John DEIX think.3SG

b. Gianni ci pensa [IT]
John DEIX think.3SG
BOTH: *John thinks of it*

c. We spoke thereof [ARCHAIC ENG]

In addition, these same "locative clitics" appear in the existential constructions we saw in (13) above where it is not clear that they are locative either. Kayne argues that these elements could be closer to the English *there* that appears in the following non-standard English sentence:

(16) That there car ain't no good

The idea is that all these instances of deictic clitics, like the one in purely locative sentences like (17), correspond to the same element:

(17) We went there yesterday

The question is indeed what kind of element is that? To answer that question, Kayne starts by noticing that just as in (16) *there* modifies an overt noun, in all the other instances it is conceivable that it also modifies a noun, although that noun might remain silent, both in English and the other languages:

(18) a. We went [there PLACE] yesterday

b. We spoke [there THING of]

c. Jean [y THING P] pense [Fr]

This move links these items to demonstratives, which are well-known instances of deictics, and this allows Kayne to call them deictic too. I do that too.

The example of Paduan above, repeated as (19a), provides an instance of that. According to Kayne, (19a) would have the structure in (19b), with a silent dative clitic:

(19) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
DX GIVE.1S the book
*I give him the book*

b. DATCL ghe dago il libro

This complex structure is not visible in Paduan as the dative clitic is silent. However, the same very structure is visible in other languages. Kayne provides the example of Sardinian (20a), to which I'd like to add the equivalent example of Catalan in (20b) (I skip over the different word order in the two languages here):

(20) a. Narra -bi - lis [SARDINIAN]
tell LOC DAT.3P

b. Digue -ls -hi [CAT]
tell DAT.3P LOC
BOTH: *Tell them about it*

The next step in the argumentation by Kayne relates the deictic modifiers in existential sentences to the so-called associate noun (underlined in the example):

(21) There is <u>a book</u> on the table

This links the expletive deictic in this sentence to the ones above, in the sense that they all are deictic modifiers of a noun. Now, to account for the fact that *there* ends up in initial position, Kayne offers a derivation like the following, where *there* starts as a modifier of the indefinite *a book*:

(22)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| … [there a book] | ==> | raising of 'a book' |
| … a book$_i$ … [there t$_i$] | ==> | merger of V |
| … is a book$_i$ … [there t$_i$] | ==> | remnant movement |
| … [there t$_i$]$_k$ is a book$_i$ … t$_k$ … | | |

According to Kayne, the split in [there a book] is explained along the same lines SZABOLCSI 1986, 1994 explains possessive sentences in Hungarian. In Hungarian, possessive sentences start inside the internal argument of an existential verb. This is the first step of the embedding structure we saw in (19b) above:

(23) BE [$_{DP1}$ … possessive DP2 …]

In Hungarian, if the possessive DP2 is indefinite it must split, and go out of the larger DP1, in which case it gets dative case.

Kayne then links this fact about Hungarian possessives to the fact that according to MORO 1997, the Italian expletive deictic *ci* can occur in the possessive sentences of some Italian dialects:

(24) Gianni c' ha una sorella
John DX have.3S a sister
John has a sister

According to Kayne, the derivation of such sentence would start like the one of the existential sentence in (22) above, with the indefinite *una sorella di Gianni* as the noun modified by the expletive deictic *ci*:

(25) … [ci una sorella di Gianni]$_{\text{indef DP}}$ ==> raising of 'una sorella di Gianni'
… [una sorella di Gianni]$_i$ … [ci $t_i$ ] … ==> merger of V
… è [una sorella di Gianni]$_i$ … [ci $t_i$ ] … ==> remnant movement
… [ci $t_i$ ]$_k$ …è [una sorella di Gianni]$_i$ … $t_k$ …

Now, if the derivation stopped here, we would have an existential sentence, namely *C'è una sorella di Gianni*. However, extending the derivation *à la*

SZABOLCSI 1086, 1994, we can extract the possessor *Gianni* from [una sorella di Gianni], ending up in subject position of the verb. To do so, however, Kayne abstracts away from the fact that now the verb is HAVE instead of BE, and also from the (maybe related) fact that the preposition *di* 'of' is not present anymore in the structure:

(26) … [ci $t_i$ ]$_k$ … ha [una sorella Gianni]$_i$ … $t_k$ … ==> raising of the possessor
… Gianni$_m$ [ci $t_i$ ]$_k$ … ha [una sorella $t_m$ ]$_i$ … $t_k$ …

Kayne then concludes that the facts in Italian are similar to those in Hungarian. These Italian possessive sentences end up embedding an existential structure (from which initially they derive), and therefore they embed an existential structure in which the expletive deictic originates. That is to say, the expletive deictic ends up being a part of the possessive structure of these languages, because it is inherited from the existential sub-sentence it embeds.

Finally, Kayne considers that dative structures originate in the same way. That is to say, in a sentence like *Ghe dago un libro* 'I give him/her/them a book', the expletive deictic *ghe* starts as a deictic modifier of the associate, namely 'un libro'. This proposal, according to Kayne, rests on two points: (*i*) sentences with a verb corresponding to GIVE can be thought of as arising through the embedding of a HAVE-like structure within a causative structure; and (*ii*) HAVE-sentences in a

certain number of Italian dialects and speakers show an overt expletive, as in *Gianni c'ha una sorella* 'John has a sister', where *ci* is that deictic expletive. Assuming these two points, Kayne concludes that *ghe* appears in the dative sentence via inheritance from the underlying existential structure the derivation of the dative sentence starts from.

Finally, before moving on the actual proposal I am going to make in this dissertation, namely a syntactic structure for Catalan object clitics, let me go back for a moment to the deictic nature of the so-called locative clitic [hi], and see if we can apply the same arguments to the [a]-element that appears in phrasal datives. As we have just seen, according to Kayne First, the terminology "locative clitic" for elements like English *there*, Paduan *ghe*, French *y*, or Italian *ci* is misleading, as these elements are used in non-locative contexts like the following:

(27) a. Jean y pense [FR]
John DEIX think.3SG

b. Gianni ci pensa [IT]
John DEIX think.3SG
BOTH: *John thinks of it*

c. We spoke thereof [ARCHAIC ENG]

The idea is that all these instances of deictic clitics, like the one in purely locative sentences like (17), correspond to the same element:

(28) We went there yesterday

Now, consider the case of the so-called preposition [a], presence in most of Romance. This preposition has no doubt a locative or directional meaning, visible in sentences likes the following:

(29) a. J' habite à Paris [FR]
I live in Paris
*I live in Paris*

b. Je vais à Paris
I go to Paris
*I go to Paris*

(30) a. Tours is 120 miles to the south of Paris

b. I'm going to Paris

However, just like the examples of the locative clitic above we saw above, this preposition goes beyond the locative-directional meaning:

(31) a. Jean pense à Marie [FR]
John thinks to Mary
*John thinks of Mary*

b. Le livre est à Jean

the book is to John

*The book is John's*

(32) a. It matters to me

b. The book belongs to John

This use of the preposition [a] (and its English counterpart [to]) in non-locative contexts, suggests that like in the case of [hi], the locative uses are but particular cases of a a more general meaning. Additionally, we must also take into account that the locative clitics *hi*, *y*, *ci*, *ghe*, are in a complementary distribution with the preposition [a], in the sense that one stands for the other in excluding contexts:

(33) a. Jean pense à Marie → Jean y pense

John thinks to Mary John DX thinks

*John thinks of Mary* *John thinks of her*

b. Le livre est à Jean → Le crayon y est aussi

the book is to John the pencil dx is too

*The book is John's* *The pencil is his too*

c. Il va à Paris → Il (*a) y va

He goes to Paris He to DX goes

*He goes to Paris* *He goes there*

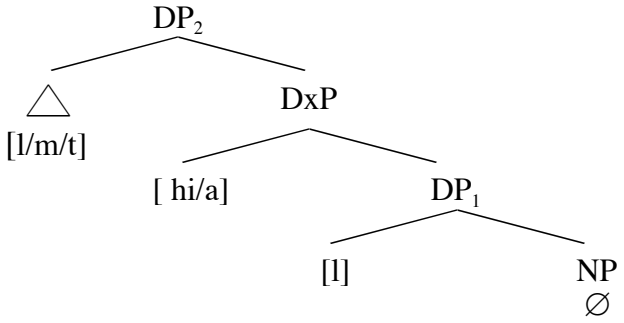
This complementary distribution seems to suggest that the two elements are contextual allomorphs of the same underlying element. My proposal is going to be that that's exactly the case, and that both elements will be the realization of the head DX in different contexts. To see that, let me now go to my actual proposal.

## 3.3 The syntactic structure

So now that I have answered the two questions in (2) above, let me go back to the structure I want to put forward for dative clitics. The structure I propose is based on LEU 2009 analysis of demonstratives, and looks as follows for Catalan:

(34) a. $[_{DP2}\ \alpha\ [_{DxP}\ \beta\ [_{DP1}\ \alpha\ ]]]$

b.




Some notes on this structure: By putting actual Catalan morphemes in the structure I intend to show the different positions those morphemes can display in the structure, not actual presence or coexistence. Thus, for example the definiteness morpheme [l] can occupy the head of the downstairs $DP_1$, or raise to the head of the

upstairs $DP_2$. In the former case, we have an accusative clitic (weak ACC or strong *ACC), which patterns morphologically and semantically with the definite determiners. In the latter case, the [l] raises to $DP_2$ and ends up occupiying the same position occupied by person morphemes [m] (first person singular), or [t] (second person singular). This is significant because of my hypothesis of considering the dative l-clitics as part of the pronominal clitics (along with the personal clitics), in front of the accusative l-clitics (the determiner clitics).

Another note on the syntactic structure above is the presence of [a] and [hi] in DX. As I said in the previous section, these two elements are in complementary distribution and both have a deictic meaning, rather than locative or directional, which is just a particular case of the deictic meaning. Let me specify though that I am not claiming that DxP should be understood as a case phrase of any sort. In this dissertation I am not considering case as a φ-feature, and I follow the usual idea in the literature of considering case to occupy a dedicated projection (KP), which is part of the (extended) inflectional layer of the sentence, a.k.a. IP. That is to say, whether [a] in particular ends up being a case marker or a preposition should be something to be decided higher up in the structure, and not as part of the composition of the nominal phrase, which is the main subject of this dissertation.

In any case, this structure does make clear my proposal of having dative clitics include accusative clitics as part of their structure, that is to say, that accusatives constitute a proper subset of datives. And this justifies why I proposed

the equation in above, according to which DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + *x*, where now *x* = DEIXIS, according to my proposal, hence the (simplified) structure [D + DX]. This structure has the influence by KAYNE's 1993, 2008 adoption of SZABOLCSI's 1986, 1994 ideas on possessives in Hungarian, in a sense to which I come back later on in the chapter.

It's also important to notice that any part of this structure is subject to occur overtly or covertly depending on a variety of factors. That is then the reason that explains the variety of dative pronouns we find in Romance. Thus, different languages, or different considerations in the same language, lead to leave unpronounced different parts of the structure in (34), and this yields the different typology of dative clitics in Romance, with regular use of epenthetic vowels for syllabification. Take these three examples:

(35) a. **CATALAN**

| **DAT.3S** | | | **DAT.3P** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [ *l* | + | i ] | [ *l* | + *s* | + *i* | ] |
| ↓ | | ↓ | ↓ | ↓ | | ↓ |
| determ. | | deictic | determ. | plural | | deictic |

b. **SPANISH**

| **DAT.3S** | | | | | **DAT.3P** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [ *l* | + | ∅ | + | e ] | [ *l* | + | ∅ | + | e | + *s* |
| ↓ | | ↓ | | ↓ | ↓ | | ↓ | | ↓ | ↓ |
| determ. | | deictic | | epenth. | determ. | | deictic | | epenth. | plural |

c. **PADUAN**

**DAT.3S / DAT.3P**

[ ∅ + ghe ]

↓ ↓

determ. deictic

On the cross-linguistic variation see section 3.6.2. It is also important to remark that it is the whole structure in (34), that is to say $DP_2$, what corresponds to dative clitics. As justification for this tripartite structure, I follow in part proposals on the interpretation of objects in BELLETTI 1988, DE HOOP 1996, or TORREGO 1998, 1999. Thus, in a nutshell, if only $DP_1$ is present, and nothing above it, in particular not the DX head, the l-clitic is interpreted as a non-specific, incorporated clitic (36), provided with gender features that come from the NP it directly c-commands. Such a clitic cannot be considered accusative for the reasons I provide in section 3.5.3:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (36) | Un | helado | me | lo | comería | encantado | [SP] |
| | a | ice-cream | DAT.1S | ACC.3SM | eat.1S | delighted | |
| | *I would be happy to eat an ice cream* | | | | | | |

If the DX head is present over $DP_1$, but the DP layer is absent, then we have an strong accusative clitic, which gets a referential from the DX. This move gives DP1

an argumental interpretation, i.e. the interpretation of a strong case, in line with what is proposed in BELLETTI 1988, DE HOOP 1996, or TORREGO 1998, 1999.

(37) A la chica, la vi ayer
to the girl ACC.3SF saw.1S yesterday
*I saw the girl yesterday*

Of interest, and related to the topic, is the fact that in (32b) the dislocated direct object is marked with what is called accusative [a], or Differential Object Marking (TORREGO 1998, 1999, LEONETTI 2004, RODRÍGUEZ-MONDOÑEDO 2007 among others). The presence of that [a] element in Spanish has been the subject of much literature. In most accounts it is linked to specificity or animacy, as shown by the following examples:

(38) a. Busco a un secretario que {habla / *hable } ingles
seek.1s to a secretary that speak.3S.IND speak.3S.SJV English
*I'm looking for a secretary that speaks English* (seek >∃, *∃ > seek)

b. Busco un secretario que {*habla / hable } ingles
seek.1s a secretary that speak.3S.IND speak.3S.SJV English
*I'm seeking a secretary that can speak English* (*seek >∃, ∃ > seek)

One of the most reliable tests for specificity in Spanish is the one first observed in RIVERO 1977, based on the mood of the verb in restrictive relative clauses. According to this idea, neither can specific objects take a subjunctive relative clause, nor can nonspecific objects take an indicative relative clause. In these examples, we see both how an (animate) object marked with accusative [a] can't take a subjunctive relative clause, and how an (animate) object without [a]-marking can't take an indicative relative clause. This is yet another proof of the fact that seemingly accusative objects can have different interpretations, and in consequence that we expect that apart from dative objects, we will have two different kinds of accusative objects. In my proposal, I want to defend the idea that we have three different kinds of objects associated to the three different layers I propose in the structure I put forward for object clitics in this dissertation: dative objects are associated to the DP layer, strong accusative (*ACC) objects ([a]-marked objects) are associated to the DxP layer, and weak accusative objects are associated to the NuP layer.

We see that in the interpretation of objects in many languages, where there is a difference between the accusative and some other cases, considered weak. For example, in Russian, Turkish, Hebrew, like in Spanish, there is a difference between the interpretation of objects if accusative marking appears on the object DP. In Turkish, unmarked objects can only be non-specific, unlike accusative marked objects, which are specific. Something similar occurs in Finnish, and Russian:

(39) TURKISH (ENÇ 1991)

a. Ali bir piyano-yu kiralamak istiyor

Ali one piano-ACC rent.INF wants

*Ali wants to rent a (certain) piano*

b. Ali bir piyano-∅ kiralamak istiyor

Ali one piano rent.INF wants

*Ali wants to rent a (nonspecific) piano*

(40) FINNISH (DE HOOP 1996)

a. Presidentti ampui lintua

President shot bird.PART

*The president shot at the bird*

b. Presidentti ampui linnum

President shot bird.ACC

*The president shot the bird*

(41) RUSSIAN (KAGAN 2008)

a. načal'nik trebujet pribyli

boss demands profit.GEN

*The boss demands (that there must be) profit*

b. načal'nik trebujet pribyl

boss demands profit.ACC

*The boss demands the (actual) profit*

Finally, if the $DP_2$ layer is present, then we have the complex dative clitic, which includes a copy of the definiteness morpheme originated in the lower $DP_1$ (the accusative clitic) as its head, and the rest of the structure, especially the deictic phrase:

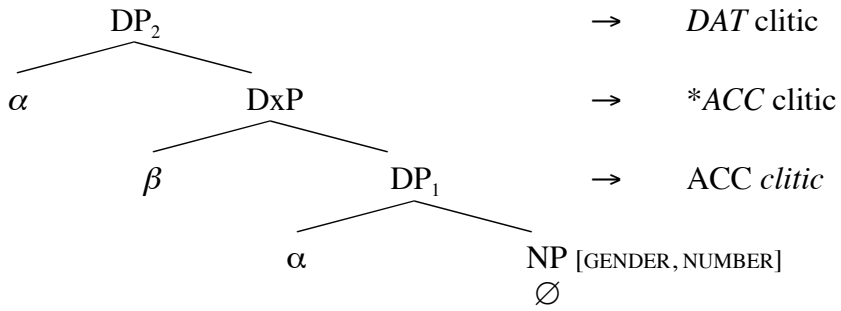
(42)

| Els | hi | dono | el | llibre |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ACC.3PM | DX | give.1S | the | book |

*I give the book to them*

In any case, this is a summary of the different interpretations of object clitics as a function of which layers are present in the structure:

(43)

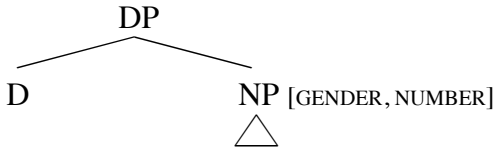



In what follows, I provide justifications for each of these layers.

### 3.3.1 **Lower DP**

In the derivation of the structure I propose for dative clitics in this dissertation, a first possibility is having the lower DP only, headed by a D that can be realized as a [l] morpheme:

(44)




In line with JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001, I claim that this DP, because of the lack of a deictic layer, receives a weak or predicative, i.e. non-argumental interpretation. The distinction between strong and weak interpretations dates back to MILSARK 1974 (see also BARWISE & COOPER 1981). According to this idea, determiners can be divided in these two classes depending on their syntactic behavior. According to Milsark, the difference is based on the fact that weak determiners, and the noun phrases they head (*i*) can appear in the English existential construction with there-be (45), and (*ii*) they are banned from what CARLSON 1977 dubbed *individual-level predicates* (46) that denote permanent properties like *tall*, or *American*, as opposed to *stage-level predicates*, which express temporal properties such as *drunk*, or *ready*:

(45) a. There is {*every man / *most men / *the men} in the garden

b. There is {a man / sm man} in the garden.

c. There are {three men / few men} in the garden

d. There is coffee on the stove

(46) a. {Every man / the man} was tall

b. {All men / the men / most men} were tall

c. *Sm man was tall

d. Coffee is tasty (universal reading only)

From this distinction, Milsark concluded that the difference between strong and weak determiners is that the former are interpreted quantificationally, while the latter are interpreted non-quantificationally, as cardinality predicates. He proposed that the existential construction allows only non-quantificational noun phrases because the function of that construction was to existentially quantify the material contributed by the postverbal nominal. I follow this, and I use scopal tests in this dissertation to distinguish between strong and weak interpretations (FODOR & SAG 1982, KRATZER 1989, DIESING 1992, LEONETTI 2004, among others). Strong readings are associated with wide scope interpretations, and weak readings with narrow scope interpretation. That is to say, I associate strong readings with referential expressions, i.e. with expressions understood as denoting particular entities in the

universe of the discourse, for which their reference is established independently of the cardinality of other denotations.

That this interpretation is possible for weak accusative clitics is proved by the fact that they can appear in existential contexts (47a), unlike strong accusative clitics (47b):

(47) a. Un piano siempre lo hay en su casa
a piano always ACC.3SM have in POSS.3 house
*There is always a piano in his house*

b. *Este piano siempre lo hay en su casa
this piano always ACC.3SM have in POSS.3 house
INTENDED: *There is always this piano in his house*

Weak accusative clitics like the one in (47a) might be considered recycled clitics in the sense of LONGA, LORENZO & RIGAU 1998. They are used because Spanish lacks a more specific clitic to use in this kind of contexts. In languages like Catalan, French, or Italian, they might not be used in existential contexts like these. However, the fact that they appear in Spanish points to the fact that accusative clitics do have a weak interpretation.

Another argument in favor of these two different interpretations of [l]-pronouns is the fact that in recent times various proposals on pronominal systems

in a variety of languages have claimed that pronouns are syntactic objects that may have different internal structure and morphosyntactic properties. In particular, DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO 2002 have argued that pronouns cannot uniformly be conceived as DPs dominating a more or less complex internal structure. (Similar arguments can be found in ZAMPARELLI 2000). Following their insight, PICALLO 2007 has suggested that Catalan and Spanish [l]-pronouns instantiate two of the three morphosyntactic types proposed by DÉCHAINE & WILTSCHKO. The two types are abstractly represented in (48) where NU stands for number:

(48) a. $[_{Nu}\ [NU]\ [_{Class}\ [CLASS]\ [_{N}\ N\ ]]]$

b. $[_{D}\ D\ [_{Nu}\ [NU]\ [_{Class}\ [CLASS]\ [_{N}\ N\ ]]]]$

Although I disagree with the name NuP used by Picallo, I think is important to notice that she provides strong support in favor of weak interpretations of accusative [l]-clitics. Thus, as is known, strong pronominal forms may be linked to a linguistic antecedent but cannot be interpreted as bound variables if a clitic or a null subject (henceforth, "*pro*") is available. There is also a series of constructions where pronominal dependence (i.e. an anaphoric interpretation) can only be obtained if a clitic or a *pro* is used. These constructions include indefinites within opaque contexts as in (49a), generic expressions as in (50a) and donkey sentences as in (51a), among other expressions where specificity or presupposition of existence for the

relevant linguistic antecedent are absent. The strong (i.e. DP) pronominal counterparts of l-clitics or *pro* in (49b), (50b) and (51b) respectively, can only be interpreted as deictic or co-referent (indicated via indices), at best:

(49) a. Vol conèixer un príncep$_i$ i convertir-lo$_i$ en granota
want.3S meet.INF a prince and turn-ACC.3SM in frog

b. Vol conèixer un príncep$_i$ i convertir-lo$_i$ a ell$_{\#i/j}$
want.3S meet.INF a prince and turn-ACC.3SM to STR.SM
en granota
in frog
BOTH: *She wants to meet a prince and turn him into a frog*

(50) a. Un / el parisenc compra plaça de parking si *pro$_i$*
a the Parisian buy.3S space a parking if *pro*
té cotxe
have.3S car

b. Un / el parisenc compra plaça de parking si ell$_{\#i/j}$
a the Parisian buy.3S space a parking if *pro*
té cotxe
have.3S car
*Parisians buy a parking space if they have a car*

(51) a. Si una professora$_i$ té un becari$_j$,
if a professor have.3s a advisee
pro$_i$ l$_j$' aconsella
pro ACC.3SM advise.3S

b. Si una professora$_i$ té un becari$_j$,
if a professor.F has a advisee.M
ella$_{\#i/h}$ l' aconsella a ell$_{\#j/k}$
STR.3SF ACC.3SM advise.3S TO STR.3SM
*If a professor has an advisee, she advises him*

Picallo suggests that the contrasts between clitics/pro and strong forms just mentioned can be syntactically reflected by assuming that they are categorically distinct. Strong forms are DPs, but clitics and *pro* are not. Indeed, Picallo argues that although Romance l-clitics have traditionally been known as definite pronouns, they do not appear to convey "definiteness" if it is broadly understood as expressing a unique property of an object. The only content clitics and *pro* have is their formal gender (or *class* in the term used by Picallo) and grammatical number, which replicate the corresponding formal feature content of a linguistic antecedent or of a contextually salient nominal expression.

Picallo further assumes, following an original proposal by KAYNE 2000, that l-pronouns have no person features. Here, Picallo takes into account the fact

that person and gender are practically in complementary distribution in the Catalan mono-morphemic pronominal domains. This is also the case in many other languages where first and second person pronouns do not have grammatical gender (BENVENISTE 1966). For Picallo, *class*, or gender declension, is the relevant feature that characterizes entities distinct from the speaker or the addressee. Person characterizes the individual participants (speaker/hearer) in a given discourse exchange, either as individuals (CATALAN: *jo-em* 'I-me' or *tu-et* 'you.SG') or as the individual participants with their respective understood associates (*nos-ens* 'we-us' or *(v)os-us* 'you.PL'). The first and second person morphemes for the singular and the plural simple forms *jo-nos* and *tu-vos*, respectively (see KAYNE 2000) are genderless. In passing, Picallo mentions the possibility that the person feature is simply a categorization variant of the abstract category *class* in pronouns, but does not pursue that idea in her paper.

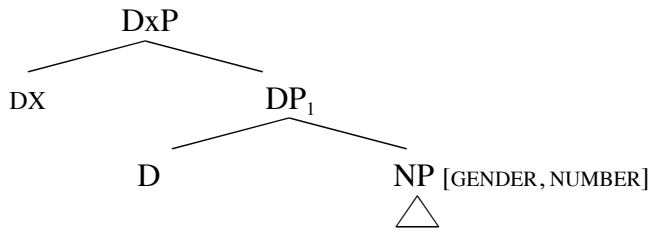
Although the technical details of my proposal are different from those of Picallo in ways that I do not discuss here, as they would take us too far afield, the essential things I want to take into account is the fact that the presence of the [l] does not guarantee a strong interpretation of a DP. As I have already said, I follow JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001 (and HINZEN & SHEEHAN 2011) in considering that the strong interpretation is provided by the deictic layer we are going to argue for in next section.

Another important thing to say about accusative l-clitics (whether weak or strong) is the fact that they have gender and number features, which I associate to their direct agreement with their direct relationship with their complement NP. I take nouns to be lexically marked for gender in Romance, in line with proposals in HARRIS 1991, FERRARI 2005, PICALLO 2007 and others. As a consequence, gender is an inherent part of the noun phrase. Gender is then also a part of $DP_1$, which is where the [l] morpheme is inserted in the structure, in the proposal of PICALLO 2007. As we have seen, that [l]-morpheme is the same in accusative clitics, and in both cases it has the same range of interpretations, namely strong, weak, generic, etc. (ROCA 1992, 1996; ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010). This analysis, going back to POSTAL 1966, captures the fact that [l]-pronouns are often identical to determiners or historically derived from demonstratives, both being traditionally analyzed as D-elements, and both having gender and (regular) number features.

### 3.3.2 Deixis Phrase

The next layer in the derivation is the deictic phrase. In the derivation of the structure I propose for dative clitics in this dissertation, we see that the lower part is a DP which receives a weak interpretation in the absence of the deictic layer. Now, when the deictic layer, but nothing else is present, we are in front of a strong DP. In this section I justify this DxP layer:

(52)



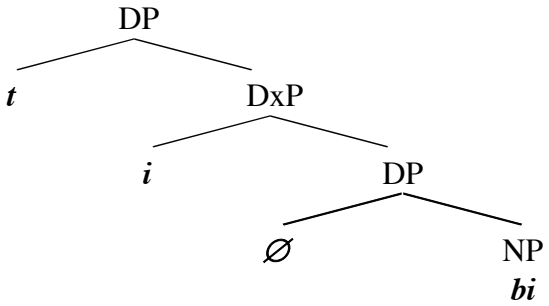

Some conceptual support in favor of idea that DPs incorporate a deictic phrase comes from two sources. On the one hand, I am following JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD's 2001 claim that it holds universally that all referring nominal expressions contain place deixis. As a consequence of that idea, J&H postulate a DeixP in the extended nominal expression, exactly what I'm calling DxP in the structure above. That DxP is crucial, according to the authors, in the semantics of reference. Although my proposal deviates in some respects from J&H's, I'm going to essentially assume their arguments in this dissertation. The reader is referred to that paper for elaboration on their arguments on the topic.

On the other hand, I also assume the arguments in HINZEN & SHEEHAN 2011 according to which deixis plays a central role in grammar. In essence, the presence of the deictic layer is what allows pronouns to refer to external elements of the world. According to these authors, grammar is organized so as to allow for a specific number of deictic strategies. At one end of the scale, grammar allows for maximally unspecific forms of reference, as in purely quantificational readings in the nominal domain, or in the form of reference to propositions that are possibly

true and possibly false, in the clausal domain. At the other end of the scale, it permits maximally specific (rigid) reference, which shows in the form of reference to specific individuals in the nominal case and to truth-values in the clausal case. Somewhere between these extremes lie less rigid forms of reference, involving aspects of both strategies as observed with definite descriptions.

From a more empirical point of view, the presence of deictic elements in pronouns finds extra support in Latin. As we saw in chapter 2, the internal structure of Latin dative pronouns seems to incorporate a locative morpheme (and thus, a deictic morpheme, as we have argued above). As we saw, the clearer case is the second person singular dative pronoun tibi, decomposable as a first approximation into two component parts, namely second person [t] + locative [ibi] 'there', and then as [t + i + bi], that is to say, as second person [t] + deictic [i] + place [bi]. In my proposal, this would be something like this:

(53)




Just a note to say that the idea of the personal pronouns being DPs fits in this proposal, where the personal pronouns and the dative pronouns are the same kind of

element. This also fits with the arguments in JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001, according to which personal pronouns, like any other DP, incorporate deictic features (proximal, distal). I don't discuss these topics any further here.

Also of importance, is the fact that in some languages we saw in section 2.4.2 of this dissertation, the dative and what I am calling deictic clitics can be syncretic. This again suggests the presence of a deictic layer in the DP that ca n take over the syntactic function of the dative phrase:

(54) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
LOC give.1S the book
*I give him / her / them the book*

b. Ghe meto il libro
LOC put.1S the book
*I put the book there*

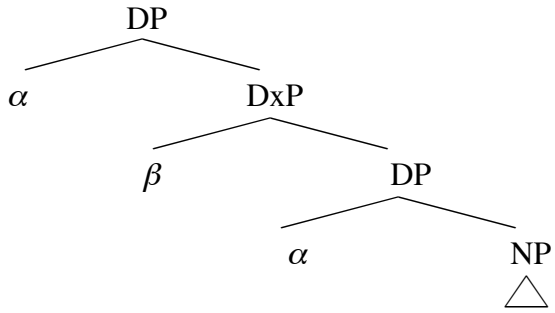
(55) a. En Joan *hi* donà cops (, a la porta) [CAT]
the John LOC gave.3s knocks to the door
*John knocked the door*

b. En Joan *li* donà cops ( a la Maria)
the John DAT.3S gave.3S knocks to the Mary
*John knocked Mary*

### 3.3.3 Dative DP

Finally, the justification for the higher DP layer has conceptual and empirical support. Remember that this is the structure I am arguing for dative clitics:

(56)




This structure is inspired in LEU's 2008 structure for Germanic noun phrases. LEU 2008 focuses on the structure of demonstratives and suggests that noun phrases like 'this man' contain a two-DP layer (roughly: [[*this here*] *the man*], with *here* and *the* being phonetically null in most, but not in all languages. Leu argues for a 'double' DP structure, where traditional D-head material (e.g., demonstrative) sits in the specifier of a dominating D-head, acting as modifiers of the latter (76):

(57) $[_{DP}\ [_{D(em)P}\ Dem^0\ [_{AdjP}\ Adj^0\ [\ t_{NP}]]]\ D^0\ [_{NP}\ N^0]]$

If I am right in saying that dative clitics also contain the locative or deictic [hi] in Catalan, then there are rather strong reasons to believe that dative clitics are DPs because they would contain a key ingredient of DPs, namely the deictic part, in

agreement with JAYASEELAN & HARIPRASAD 2001. As many typological studies have shown, particularly those focusing on the phenomenon of grammaticalization (see in particular HEINE & KUTEVA 2007), determiners and demonstratives (prototypical D-elements) develop (i.e., grammaticalize) out of locative elements. As LEU 2008 nicely puts it, the Germanic proximal demonstrative *this* is really [the + here], a structure very similar to the one I am attributing to dative pronouns. Put differently, the D-layer builds on the presence of a locative modifier. If this is so, then, we would be forced to conclude that if dative clitics contain a deictic (*hi*), then they project to the D-layer. Moreover, the presence of a D-layer would also account for the lack of gender marking on dative clitics, if D is the locus of Person marking, as suggested by many researchers, notably LONGOBARDI 2006. Remember that I am considering that the higher D is not only the locus for the higher occurrence of the [l]-morpheme, present in the structure [D + DX] that I am attributing to dative clitics. It is also the locus for the insertion in the DP of person features (that later can be checked in some PersonP in the inflectional layers of the sentence, in line with SĂVESCU 2009). This is shown by the Latin dative pronoun above.

An interesting idea related to the similarities between demonstratives in the proposal of Leu. and datives in my proposal is the fact that these two kinds of items are subject of doubling in Romance and beyond. Thus, as shown by GROHMANN, K. & P. PANAGIOTIDIS 2004, 2005, Greek shows demonstrative dou-

bling in structures like the following, where the proximal demonstrative *afta* 'this' is doubled but what seems to be the definite determiner *ta*. In (57), I do not include in the glosses the information of the fact that all the members of the noun phrase are nominative plural neuter:

(58) a. afta ta nea fenomena
this the new phenomena
b. ta nea afta fenomena
the new this phenomenon
BOTH: *These new phenomena*

This kind of doubling is also present in some Romance languages like Spanish, or French, a grammatical item BERNSTEIN 1997 calls reinforcers):

(59) a. El libro este [SP]
the book this
b. Ce livre -là [FR]
this book here
both: *This book*

The fact is that the two structures which show the structure [D + DX], namely demonstratives in the proposal of LEU 2008, and datives, in my proposal show doubling seem to indicate something going on in that position, and I think suggests the necessity of having an extra DP layer.

### 3.3.4 Summary of this section

In this section I have justified the presence of the three layers of the structure I propose. The interpretive, morphological, and syntactic differences I have detected make it desirable to have such a kind of tripartite structure. Whether the names I have chosen for those structures are entirely adequate, or they should be called differently is a topic I leave aside here. In what follows I am going to show how my proposal offers a unified solution to all the puzzles of Catalan object clitics reviewed in chapter 2.

## 3.4 The Proposal Applied to the φ-puzzles

An interesting general remark about the structure I have put forward in the previous section is the fact that because of the different syntactic position of the definite morpheme [l], in DP, Dx, or NuP, each one of those instances should have different morphological and syntactic properties. I think this holds very clearly in the case of their φ-features, which in turn will lead to them behaving differently at a syntactic level, i.e. it will lead us to also account for the behavioral puzzles.

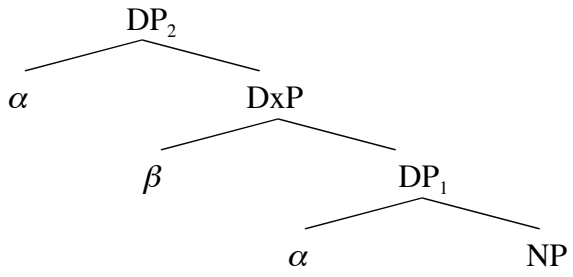
### 3.3.1 The Complementary Distribution of Gender and Person

In this section, I conflate the analysis of gender and person features, which in chapter 2 were treated in different sections. The reasons why I take this move will become evident as the section unfolds, but are already suggested in its title.

For starters, let me remind you that with respect to gender, the questions we want to answer are the following: Why do strong pronouns and accusative l-clitics have gender exponents, unlike everything else in the pronominal paradigms or Romance? Or, focusing on the dative l-clitics, why do they lack gender features in most Romance languages except for the three exceptions of standard Italian, laísta Spanish, and Romanian? And why only third person pronouns, i.e. the l-clitics, have gender but not the other persons? What motivates these asymmetries?

With those questions in mind, let me now go back to the proposal of a structure I'm making for dative l-clitics in Romance, and see how I propose it accounts for them:

(63)



Concerning gender, I partially follow the *Distributed Gender Hypothesis* in STERIOPOLO & WILTSCHKO 2010, according to which gender is a syntactically heterogeneous feature that occupies different positions in the syntactic structure. In consequence, while gender is interpreted as such in the lower $DP_1$ (hence the nominal-like qualities of accusatives), they are interpreted differently in the higher $DP_2$, the reason why found in the presence of the DX head, which might have a blocking effect, for both gender and number, and might force the interpretation of gender features as person features, given the complementarity between the two markers that is known in some Romance languages. Thus, an important fact about Romance languages is that first and second person pronouns do not have gender features as we saw in section 2.2.1 above. The only gender present in Romance pronouns is in the so-called third person, which following BENVENISTE 1966 or KAYNE 2000, and against the ideas is NEVINS 2003, I do not consider to be person features. The only exceptions for Romance are the plural pronouns of Spanish and Occitan shown above to be bimorphemic, and contain a morpheme that expresses person but not gender ([nos], first person plural, for instance), and another morpheme that expresses gender but not person ([otras] 'other.FEM.PL').

Beyond pronouns, this complementarity has an important correlate in the domain of verbal agreement, and has been noticed in the literature before (see for instance CORBETT 1998 or KAYNE 2000, among others). Thus, it is a fact that while nominative (subject-verb) agreement in French or Catalan is agreement in

number and person (6a-b, 7a), participial agreement, which could be considered a form of object agreement, is agreement in gender and number features:

(64) a. Paul a peint les femmes [FR]
Paul have.3S painted the women
*Paul has painted the women*

b. Les artistes ont peint les femmes
the artists have.3P painted the women
*The artists have painted the women*

c. Paul les a peintes
Paul ACC.3PF have.3S painted.PF
*Paul has painted them (i.e. the women)*

(65) a. En Pere ha pintat les parets [CAT]
the Peter have.3S painted the walls
*Peter has painted the walls*

b. En Pere les / *els ha pintades
the Peter ACC.3PF ACC.3PM have.3S painted.PF
*Peter has painted them (i.e. the walls)*

In (64a-b) and (65a), the auxiliary verb agrees with the subject, and the past participle remains unchanged in both sentences. Now, in (64c) and (65b), we see that

when we have an (accusative) l-clitic preceding the auxiliary –the usual position for object clitics in French and Catalan– the participle agrees with the clitic and with the following adjective in gender and number, but not in person, as participles are impersonal forms of the verb.

Now, the obvious question is to what extent the verbal agreement facts reviewed in this section can be related to the facts on clitics reviewed in the precedent section. A possible answer might relate both sets of facts to the different character of the dative and the accusative clitics, suggested in SPORTICHE 1996, ROCA 1996, or ORMAZÁBAL & ROMERO 2010. According to these authors, accusative clitics have a pronominal status, related to that of determiners (POSTAL 1966, ABNEY 1987, ELBOURNE 2001a,b), while dative clitics are a form of agreement, closer to nominative. Accusative agreement is in gender and number just as what happens in the case of the definite article with respect to the noun (66a), while dative agreement (66b) affects person and number, as in nominative agreement (66c):

(66) a. Las paredes blancas [SP]
the.PF walls.PF white.PF
*The white walls*

b. A { mi me / ellas les } dijo la verdad
to STR.1S DAT.1S STR.3PF DAT.3P told the truth
*He told the truth {to me / to them}*

c. El niño come / * comen patatas

The boy eat.3S eat.3P potatoes

*The boy eats potatoes*

If this complementary distribution of person and gender happened to be real, then we could infer that somehow the third person dative l-clitics include some kind of feature that is similar to person in that it makes them unable to get gender features as part of their morphological constitution. That feature should be the deictic feature of the dative pronouns.

In any case, this complementarity puts in competition two elements of distinct categories: D (for person) and N or *class* (for gender). This effectively renders the complementarity mysterious: if person and gender are of distinct categories, why should they compete? However, under the analysis proposed here following PICALLO 2007, person can be equated with the higher occurrence of the underlying category *class*, and gender with the lower N-occurrence. In effect, person can be treated as a high gender marker or class marker for animacy. The complementarity can now be understood like any other complementarity in generative grammar, for example the sort of complementarity that arises in movement contexts, where only one occurrence in a movement chain can be pronounced (either the high one: *what will you eat?*; or the low one: *you will eat what?*). Person is a

modified gender marker, a marker of type N modified by a demonstrative like item (a deictic that essentially allows the gender marker to take on a discourse role).

Now, in the context of my proposal of having the two occurrences of the D-morpheme [l] to capture the complementarity of gender and person marking, and assuming I'm right in that person is simply the higher occurrence of the gender / animate class feature, it is tempting to view the phenomenon of *laísmo* as the result of some linguistic varieties of Spanish choosing the low occurrence of [l] as the one to be realized morpho-phonologically, in which case gender marking on dative clitics is expected:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (101) | A | Maria | la | dije | la | verdad |
| | to | Mary | ACC.3SF | said.1S | the | truth |
| | *I said the truth to Mary* | | | | | |

Recall that the lower occurrence in dative is the closest one gets to an accusative form, where gender is typically expressed. More on this in section 3.6.1.

By the same reasoning, since pronominal forms are inherently marked for person, even so-called accusative forms, we now have to say that they have to be taken to instantiate the higher occurrence of D in a dative structure. That is to say, first and second person clitics, even accusative ones, are to be treated as dative clitics underlyingly. This doesn't raise any contradiction because as I have already

said, dative is not a primitive notion. Interestingly, treating inherently [+person] accusatives as datives may explain the [a]-marking of some phrasal accusative clitics. This [a] would correspond to the locative element that is dominated by the higher occurrence of D in dative structures.

## 3.2 Number

With respect to number, I am following Wiltscchko 2008, in considering that there is more than one instance of number in the structure, one being inflectional, a Number P over NP in many analyses, and another which is suppletive morphologically, and semantically irregular. Again, this is due to the fact that number, like gender, is interpreted differently in the lower DP1, which has nominal like features, from the interpretation it gets in the higher pronominal like $DP_2$. As we saw in section 2.2.2 above, while number is regular (nominal) in $DP_1$, it is irregular (pronominal) in $DP_2$. This is visible not only in the irregular plural of dative clitics, but also in that of the personal clitics, where for instance French *nous* 'us' doesn't amount to *je* + *je* ''I + I' but rather to *je* + *tu* 'I + you' or *je* + *il(s)* 'I + he' (CYSOUW 2003, CORBETT 2000).

Remember, than the puzzle with number in Catalan object clitics was that the plural is irregular morphologically: we do not go from the dative singular [l]-clitic [li] by means of adding a plural morpheme [s]. Rather, the plural dative [l]-clitic in colloquial Catalan is [əlzi]. As we saw, what seems to happen here is that

in the dative plural the plural morpheme s (pronounced /z/ in this case) is interpolated between the [l] and the [i] of the singular form, in what we saw was called a case of *distributed exponence* by BONET 1991, 1995, or SOLÀ-PUJOLS 1998. However, that can hardly be a solution, as Catalan doesn't resort to plural (or any other kind of morphological) infixation anywhere in its grammar (not in the colloquial domain, anyway), except when the dative l-clitic is involved.[31] My proposal solves this puzzle, because it separates the two morphemes of the dative. The [l]-morpheme is inserted in the lower $DP_1$, where it gets number features in a regular (nominal) way, through NuP, which is part of $DP_1$. Then, that morpheme raises to DP2 in the course of the derivation, and ends up preceding the deictic clitic [hi]. The same, indeed, should happen in the singular case, thus proving the bimorphemic character of [li], decomposable as [l + i].

Also of interest, apart from the morphological irregularity of dative plural clitics, it's their semantics. Thus, accusative number expresses the usual distinction between nominal singularity as one single element of the set expressed by the noun, and plurality as more than one element of that same set. However, in the case of datives, or the personal clitics, however, it is not that clear that plurality amounts to more than one of the elements expressed by the singular. This is particularly clear in the case of the first person plural, where it is not the case that the

[31] In normative Catalan, there are some examples of what looks like infixed plurals. Thus, the plural of *qualsevol cosa* 'any thing' is *qualssevol coses*, with two /s/ in *qualssevol*. This is limited to the written language, and has no reflect whatsoever in the spoken language, reason why I ignore it in the rest of the dissertation.

first person plural WE amount to more than one first person singular I, i.e. it is not true that WE = I + (*n* times) I. But it is especially intersting in the case of the dative l-clitics, in the lack of number agreement we saw that happens in cases of clitic doubling between the dative l-clitic and full phrase in argument position.

(67) a. Le dije la verdad a los niños [SP]
DAT.3S tell.1s the truth to the kids
*I told the truth to the kids*

b. A los niños le*(s) dije la verdad
to the kids DAT.3S(3P) tell.1s the truth
*I told the truth to the kids*

The lack of number agreement in (67a), even though it refers to a plural seems to indicate some difference in the plural downstairs and upstairs. On the other hand, the fact that this lack of agreement cannot occur in cases of CLLD seems to be due to something that also happens in some languages, where subject-verb agreement seems to be able to be defective when the subject is postverbal, but not when it is pre-verbal. Observe the following examples. In Northwestern Catalan, number agreement can be defective between the subject and the verb, only if the subject is postverbal (68). In Trentino, gender agreement between the nominative clitic (and

the past participle) and the subject can be defective with postverbal subjects, but not with preverbal subjects (69): [32]

(68) a. Enguany arriba turistes [NORTH-WESTERN CAT]
this.year arrive.3S tourists
*This year, there will be tourists*

b. Els turistes han / *ha arribat
the tourists have. 3P have.3S arrived.PART
*The tourists have already arrived*

(69) a. Gl'**è** venuto la Maria [TRENTINO]
NOM.3SM-is arrived the Mary
*Mary has come*

b. La Maria la è venuta
the Mary NOM.3SF is arrived.PPART.FEMSG
*Mary has come*
(from BRANDI & CORDIN 1989)

Something of this kind might explain the difference between defective number agreement in cases of dative doubling, and the obligatory number agreement be-

[32] This is actually the content of Greenberg's universal 33 (GREENBERG 1966), according to which: "*When number agreement between the noun and the verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb precedes and the noun is in singular.*"

tween the clitic-left dislocated dative phrase, and its resumptive dative clitic. In any case, this also suggests an interesting connection between dative clitics as forms of agreement, similar to nominative agreement of the sort we have just seen in (68) and (69). I leave this topic for further postdoctoral research.

## 3.4 The Proposal Applied to Clitic Clusters

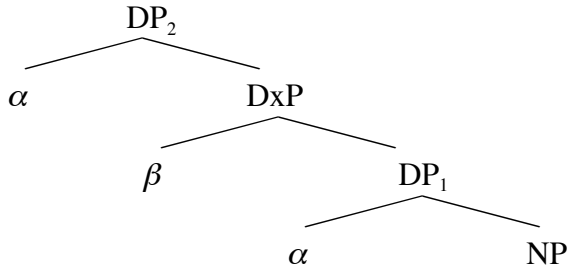
Moving on to the syntactic puzzles of clitic clusters, we are going to see how the structure I put forward in this dissertation offers a unified account solution for all of them too. In a nutshell, in this section I show how that because person features are the expression of gender in the higher DP, the only person features available for the lower $DP_1$ are defective, i.e. third person features., and this will solve the PCC puzzle making it derive from a very simple structure. With respect to the ordering puzzle, the different positions the [l]-morpheme can occupy in the complex structure of the dative clitic (or the demonstratives, in the proposal by LEU 2008), offers a simple account as well. This will entail, as I show in sction 3.4.3, that since there is no such thing as a morphological (atomic) dative, either the high or the low occurrence of D, or even the deictic morpheme [hi] in the head of DxP, can end up lexicalizing the dative clitic with the other components of the complex DP remaining silent. This might explain the standard version of the Catalan dative plural *els*, syncretic with the accusative masculine plural, or the inanimate datives

of RIGAU 1988, which in turn also explains the syncretism between datives and locatives in Catalan and other languages.

### 3.4.1 Opacity

The problem of opacity arises in the case of clitic combinations where the final forms of the clitics in the cluster do not coincide with the form of the clitics in isolation, and in most cases the cluster ends up resulting in a dative-looking clitic form (see section 2.3.1 above for the whole details). So how does the complex syntactic structure [D + DX], repeated in (63), solve the problem of opacity?

(63)




Let me first of all say that, of course, nothing in the present account of the nature of clitics forces opacity. I assume, like much recent work in morphosyntax (cf. HALLE & MARANTZ 1993) that morphology is a component of the grammar that takes syntactic structures to be instructions for the insertion of specific word forms. The greater the inventory of specific word forms (the 'vocabulary') is, the less chance there is to find opaque forms. For example, whereas Spanish has a case

of opacity known as the spurious *'se'* rule, Valencian Catalan allows for a sequence of identical clitics in similar circumstances:

(64) a. Als xiquets, les coses, els les portaré hui
to-the boys the things DAT.3PL ACC.3SF bring.3S today
*I will take the things to the boys later*

b. Als xiquets, els llibres, els els portaré hui
to-the boys the things DAT.3P ACC.3SM bring.3S today
*I will take the things to the boys later*

Clearly, some languages (or dialectal variants) are more flexible or tolerant morphologically than others. But the present account predicts that if opacity arises, opaque forms should be dative-like, as opacity emerges in the case of clitic combination, and the dative clitic is the most natural output of clitic combination, by definition. Given our analysis of what the nature of dative clitics is, we expect situations like the following:

(65) a. Els llibres, els donaré a en Quim demà
the books ACC.3PM give.1s to the Quim tomorrow

b. A en Quim, li donaré els llibres demà
to the Quim DAT.3S give(1st) the books tomorrow

c. Els llibres, a en Quim, [aJzi] donaré demà
the books to the Quim [alzi] give.1s tomorrow
ALL: *I will give the books to Quim tomorrow*

We also expect dative clitic forms to be the output of clitic fusions like (66c), where the dative 'incorporates' the accusative:

(66) a. Això, ho donaré a l' Oleguer [CAT]
this NEUT give.1S to the Oleguer
b. A l' Oleguer, li donaré això
to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.1S this
c. Això a l' Oleguer, [li] donaré (*li ho/*ho li)
this to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.lS
ALL: *I will give this to Oleguer*

Even when neither of the clitics in the input is dative, we expect the appearance of dative forms, as in the following examples:

(67) a. Això, ho portaré a Sabadell [CAT]
this NEUT take.1S to Sabadell

b. A Sabadell, hi portaré això

to Sabadell LOC take.1S this

c. Això, a Sabadell, [li] portaré (*cf.* *hi ho / *ho hi)

this to Sabadell DAT.3S take.1S

ALL THREE: *I will take this to Sabadell*

Our analysis also enables us to understand situations where a dative clitic form is split by another clitic:

(68) a. De pomes, en donaré als nens [CAT]

of apples PART give.1S to-the children

b. Als nens, [əlzi] donaré pomes

to-the children DAT.3P give.1S apples

c. De pomes, als nens, [əlzəni] donaré

of apples to-the children DAT-PART-DX give.1S

d. De pomes, als nens, *[əlz-ən] / *[ən-əls] …

of apples to-the children ACC.3PM-PART PART-ACC.3PM

ALL: *I will give apples to the children*

Recall that datives are to be understood as combinations of two clitics, the accusative and the deictic. In normal situations, this combination gives the impression of

there being a single clitic ([li] or [əlzi]) but at the level of "deep structure", if I may use this somewhat dated generative terminology, dative is a compound. What I find particularly interesting in the case at issue is that the intercalated clitic is a partivive clitic, which expresses a part-whole relationship like a genitive of possession does. This is significant because typological research on case forms has revealed the existence of a cross-linguistically valid "case hierarchy" (for the most recent treatment, see CAHA 2009):

(69) nominative > accusative > genitive > dative > instrumental > comitative.

The case hierarchy, sometimes called the case sequence, expresses the idea that case systems develop in a particular order, beginning with nominative systems, then nominative - accusative, then nominative - accusative - genitive, etc. By hypothesis, like all other hierarchies discovered so far, the case hierarchy is grounded in conceptual representations. What is of importance to us is the fact that the case expresses part-whole relations (the genitive) occupies a position between the accusative and the dative on the case sequence. The opaque form [əlzəni] is a direct reflex of this, as the part-whole clitic finds itself intercalated between the accusative and the locative part of the dative clitic.

To repeat, the present account cannot predict whether opacity will be found in a given language, but it predicts that if some opacity arises, which forms are

more likely to be involved because vocabulary is always finite, leading to some recycling, and because datives are already composite forms, hence highly suitable to express the output of clitic combinations.

### 3.4.2 Person Case Constraint

As we saw in section 2.3.2 above, the PCC is one of the problems of Romance clitics that has received more attention in the literature. Of the many possible ways to define it, I choose the one I gave in chapter 2, namely, the one that says that dative clitics in a cluster influence the nature of the other members of the cluster. In particular, accusative clitics can only be third person in the presence of a dative clitic of no matter what person. That is to say, the constraint says that in situations where there are two object clitics, the accusative/direct object clitic must be third person. In French, first and second person clitics can never co-occur, and a third person reflexive is never allowed to combine with a first or second person clitic:

(70) a. * Il me t' a presenté [FR]
he DAT-ACC.1S DAT-ACC.2S has presented
*He has introduced me to you/ you to me*

b. * Il me s' est presenté.
he DAT.1S REFL is introduced
*He has introduced himself to me*

If we have a dative third person and an accusative first or second person, the result is ungrammatical (71). However, in the opposite case, i.e. the dative is first or second person and the accusative is third person, the sentence is then fine (72):

(71) *Al director, me /li/ recomana la Maria [CAT]
to-the director, ACC.1S DAT.3S recommends the Mary
INTENDED: *Mary recommends me to the director*

(72) El director, me 'l recomana la Maria
the director, DAT.1S ACC.3SM recommends the Mary
*Mary has recommended me the director*

The question is then, how does the syntactic structure I have put forward in this dissertation accounts for the influence of dative clitics on the accusative clitics? Remember that in my account, the accusative clitic is a part of the dative clitic. Remember too that I considered that person features are the expression of gender in the higher $DP_2$. As a result, because person is not available at the lower nominal level of $DP_1$ the only person features available for the lower $DP_1$ are defective, i.e. third person features (BENVENISTE 1966 and subsequent literature on the non-person character of third person). I think this is a welcome result of my proposal.

### 3.4.3 Obligatoriness

The third puzzle of clitic clusters is related to the fact that dative clitics seem to have a higher degree of obligatoriness than other clitics. The question is again indeed how does the structure I propose acoount for this puzzle? Remember that a clear example is the combination of accusative and dative clitics, where while the accusative can be dropped, the dative can't. This is especially clear in some European Spanish varieties, like those spoken in the Basque Country, or in French:

(73) a. Juan te dijo la verdad [BASQUE SP]
John DAT.2S say.3S the truth
*John told you the truth*

b. Juan * (te) (la) dijo
John DAT.2S ACC.3SF say.3s
*John told it to you*

(74) a. J'ai donné le livre à l' enfant [FR]
I have given the book to the child
*I've given the book to the child*

b. Je (le) *(lui) ai donné
I ACC.3SM DAT.3S have given
*I've given it to him*

Catalan clitic clusters show a similar paradigm in examples like the following, where the form of the dative plural l-clitic does not change regardless of the necessity or not for an accusative clitic. In fact, the presence of the accusative clitic is banned for most speakers I have questioned about it:

(75) a. [*əlzi*] dono el llibre [CAT]
DAT.3P give.1S the book
*I give them the book*

b. [*əlzi*] (*el) dono
DAT.3P ACC.3SM give.1S
*I give it to them*

As we saw in section 2.3.3, this is not limited to accusative - dative clusters. It also occurs in cases where the dative l-clitic cooccurs with other clitics, like neuter clitics (76) or partitive clitics (77):

(76) a. Això, ho donaré a l' Oleguer [CAT]
this NEUT give.1S to the Oleguer

b. A l' Oleguer, li donaré això
to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.1S this

c. Això a l' Oleguer, [li] donaré (*li ho/*ho li)
this to the Oleguer DAT.3S give.1S
ALL: *I will give this to Oleguer*

Let me remind the reader that, if dative clitics are complex, composite units, then it is expected that they sometimes allow for the intercalation of another clitic:

(77) De pomes, als nens, [əlz-ən-i] donaré [33]
of apples to-the children DAT.3P-PART-DX give.1S
*I will give apples to the boys*

I think my account offers a neat account for this puzzle too. Because the dative clitic already includes the accusative clitic it is expected that it can be elided without losing the information provided by the accusative.

### 3.4.4 Ordering Possibilities

Finally, the last of the puzzles with clitic clusters can also be accounted for in my proposal of a complex syntactic structure for the dative clitic. As we saw in section 2.3.4, some cases of opacity also shed light on the factors giving rise to the sort of

[33] It is suggestive to think that if the partitive clitic is the clitic of the NP, it would be expected that as part of the dative clitic can also be elided. This topic is left as a subject for further research.

clitic ordering flexibility discussed in chapter 2. Consider the following Spanish examples, mentioned in BONET 1995:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (78) | a. | El | libro | a | ellos | quién | se | lo | prestó? |
| | | the | book | to | them | who | SE | ACC.3SM | lent. 3S |
| | b. | El | libro | a | ellos | quién | se | los | prestó? |
| | | the | book | to | them | who | SE | ACC.3PM | lent. 3S |
| | | BOTH: *Who lent the book to them?* | | | | | | | |

Here the antecedent of the indirect object is plural (*ellos* 'them'), while the antecedent of the direct object clitic is singular (*el libro* 'the book'). In (78a), from European Spanish, the accusative clitic is correspondingly singular (*lo*). In many American dialects, however, the accusative clitic surfaces with a plural marker (*los*), in spite of the source being singular. That plural marker can only come from one place: the third person dative clitic, which has become *se* by the so called *spurious se* rule. In other words, here we get fusion not at the clitic level, but at the feature level. Another example of the same process is found in some colloquial Mexican and Uruguayan Spanish varieties:

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (79) | a. | Si | ella | me | quiere | comprar | el | caballo, | | [SP] |
| | | if | she | DAT.1S | wants | buy | el | horse | | |

yo se lo venderé

I SE ACC.3SM sell.1S

*If she wants to buy my horse, I will sell it to her*

b. Si ella me quiere comprar el caballo, [COLL SP]

if she DAT.1S wants buy el horse

yo se la venderé

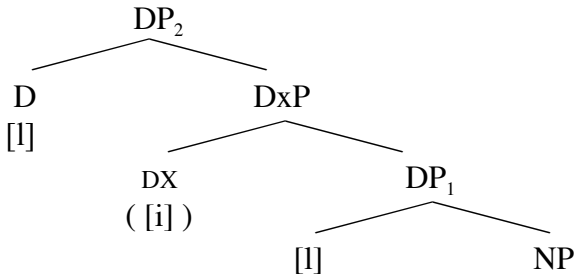
I SE ACC.3SF sell.1S

*If she wants to buy my horse, I will sell it to her*

In (79b), the source for the accusative clitic is masculine singular (*el caballo* 'the horse') but the clitic surfaces with the feminine marker [a]. Similarly to (78b), this marker has to come from the dative clitic, whose source is feminine (*ella* 'she').

This phenomenon should come as no surprise given our analysis: since dative clitics contain the accusative, properties of datives are expected to surface on the accusative. This example is in a certain, abstract sense related to Person-Case Constraint effects, where the presence of a dative influences the shape of the accusative. Now, if we go back to the derivation of dative clitic forms I proposed earlier in this section we see that in fact, structurally, there are two occurrences of the definiteness morpheme [l]: one in the lower $DP_1$, the other in the higher $DP_2$ that dominates the entire nominal structure, repeated here for convenience:

(80)




Numerous works in generative grammar have shown that situations of multiple occurrences of this sort give rise to variation in word order, with some languages choosing to pronounce the higher occurrence, and some other languages choosing the low occurrence; in yet another languages, the two occurrences may be in free variation. For example, English allows both:

(81) John picked up the book / John picked the book up

Several researchers (e.g., PESETSKY 1995) have related this alternation to the dative alternation (82), where in the first instance, the "*to*" of the dative phrase would undergo elision when adjacent to the finite verb:

(82) a. John gave Mary a book

b. John gave a book to Mary

My structure for dative clitics gives us the same opportunity to capture word order variation in clitic clusters: either the higher occurrence of [l], or the lower one con-

tained in the larger Deixis Phrase. This idea will be enough to account for at least some of the instances of order alternations discussed by ORDÓÑEZ 2002, presented in section 2.3.4 above.

Another source of word order flexibility comes from the fact that by its very weak semantic nature, datives, especially animate, [+person] datives, are capable of playing many roles: not only do they express the goal argument of a verb, they can also express discourse roles (such as ethical datives), which by hypothesis are base-generated in a higher portion of the clause, less closely connected to the verb. This could explain the isolated, high position of datives in situations like (83) and (84), from Franco-Provençal (Chenal 1986) and 17th century French respectively (examples from ROCA 1992):

(83) T' an të deut lo?
DAT.2S have.3P they said ACC.3SM
*They said it to you*

(84) Jean nous veut les donner
Jean DAT.1P wants ACC.3P give
*Jean wants to give them to us*

It may also explain why certain clitic ordering options found in pre-verbal contexts disappear in post-verbal contexts, if we assume, as seems plausible, that in post-

verbal environments, only the low, argumental occurrence of the clitic, the one most closely associated with the verb, can be selected.

Finally, the complex nature of datives could also explain ordering alternations in imperatives, such as the following example from some varieties of French, discussed above:

(85) a. Donne -moi -le
give.IPT STR.1 ACC.3SM

b. Donne -le -moi
give.IPT ACC.3SM STR.1
BOTH: *Give it to me*

What is interesting, and what I think has not been discussed in the relevant literature is that this type of alternation in imperatives, at least in these varieties of French, is restricted to first-person dative clitics. Thus, the following is impossible:

(86) a. donne -le -lui
give.IPT ACC.3SM DAT.3S

b. *donne -lui -le
give.IPT DAT.3S ACC.3SM
BOTH: *Give it to him/her*

This restriction seems to suggest that we are dealing with a higher dative, and again as soon as we talk about a higher and a lower occurrence, we expect word order variation.

## 3.5 The Proposal Applied to Single Clitics

Moving on to the syntactic puzzles of single clitics, in this section I show how the structure I put forward offers a unified account solution for them too. As I am about to show, clitic doubling can be accounted for in my proposal bearing in mind the fact that you need a clitic plus something else (a semantic restriction, say) to have phrasal datives. The presence of a high and a low position within the complex dative DP, or even the presence of DxP in the structure may prove useful in this. I also show how the relationship of clitics and demonstratives favors my proposal.

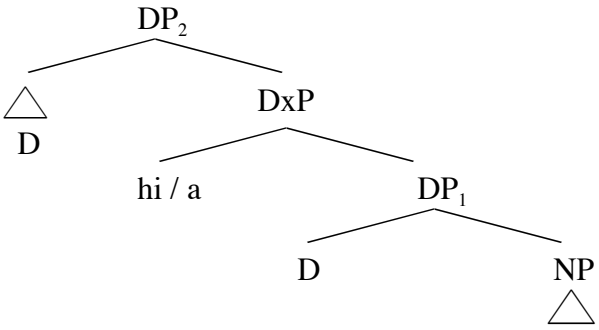
### 3.5.1 Clitic doubling

Remember that the problem of clitic doubling (CD) is that of an object clitic appearing in a sentence at the same time as full-fledged phrases in argumental position, as opposed to the cases where those clitic pronouns are in complementary distribution with their doubled phrases. Also remember that an important aspect of clitic doubling in some Romance languages, especially Spanish is the fact that they can sometimes display defective number agreement (See section 2.4.1 for details and examples). As I pointed out in that section, for the purposes of this disserta-

tion, I only focus on two questions concerning CD: (*i*) Why would two elements that have the same thematic role, and same syntactic function co-occur within a single sentence? And (*ii*) Why is CD more clearly related in Romance to datives than to any other clitic?

With those two questions in mind, let's see what my proposal can do for them.

(87)




With respect to (*i*), the idea I want to hint at in this dissertation is based on the presence of the two D positions in the complex DP structure. Just as in the regular case I describe, the [l]-morpheme raises from the lower D to the higher D, and then has the DX head as part of its internal structure, the same might happen when the lower $DP_1$ has an overt NP complement, and therefore it is a full nominal.

Another interesting aspect of clitic doubling is related to what we said about the similarities between demonstratives in the proposal of LEU 2008. and datives in my proposal, namely the fact that these two kinds of items participate in

doubling structures in Romance and beyond. Thus, as shown by GROHMANN & PANAGIOTIDIS 2004, 2005, Greek shows demonstrative doubling in structures like the following, where the proximal demonstrative *afta* 'this' is doubled by what seems to be the definite determiner *ta*. In (57), I do not include in the glosses the information of the fact that all the members of the noun phrase are nominative plural neuter:

(88) a. afta ta nea fenomena
this the new phenomena
b. ta nea afta fenomena
the new this phenomenon
BOTH: *These new phenomena*

This kind of doubling is also present in some Romance languages like Spanish, or French. This kind of grammatical items is what BERNSTEIN 1997 calls reinforcers):

(89) a. El libro este es para mi [SP]
the book this is for me
b. Le livre là est pour moi [FR]
the book here is for me
both: *This book is for me*

The Spanish case in (89a) is clearer than the French case, as it shows the demonstrative in postverbal position, and the definite article in preverbal position. I do not discuss this in depth here, just point out the facts because of the strong similarities they bear with respect to the the structure [D + DX] I propose for dative phrases. If demonstratives in the proposal of LEU 2008, and datives, in my proposal show doubling, this might indicate that somehow the fact of having a definite morpheme [l] plus a deictic morpheme may have something to do with the doubling facts. The case is just hinted at here, and its in-depth study is left as s subject for post-doctoral research.

Of course, one problem for the proposal in this section is that if I'm saying that the DX head can be realized as either [a] or [hi], what happens when we have both, in sentences like *Li dono el llibre al nen* (I give the book to the boy)? The answer I would like to hint at is that (*i*) in fact [a] is a case marker, rather han a preposition and that (*ii*) as such, [a]-marking in the dative, as in the so-called [a]-marked accusatives is assigned/checked in the inflectional layer of the sentence, probably in *v*P, as proposed by TORREGO 1998, or RODRÍGUEZ-MONDOÑEDO 2007. As justification for (*i*), there are several facts argued for in the literature. JAEGGLI 1982 considers that the dative is an NP in French, but a PP in Spanish. BRANCHADELL 1992 considers that Jaeggli is wrong and that all Romance dative DPs are actually DPs and that [a] is not at all a preposition but a case marker. Branchadell's idea is shared by STROZER 1976, RIZZI 1988, CUERVO 2003, and

others.[34] JAEGGLI 1982 supports his idea that datives in French are DPs with evidence showing that whereas a dative clitic, for him a DP, is able to bind a floating quantifier, a *PP clitic* like *y* (his terminology) lacks that ability:

(90) a. Cettes femmes, je leur ai envoyé des fleurs à toutes
these women I DAT.P have sent flowers to all.PF
*I sent flowers to all these women*

b. *Ces projets, j' y ai réflechi à tous
these projects I DX have.1S reflected to all.PM
*I've reflected about all these projects*

c. *Ces villages, on y envoi des troupes dans tous
these villages IPS DX send.3S troops in all.PM
*We send troops to all these villages*

RIZZI 1988 makes a similar claim, based on the fact that dative clitics can be doubled by a quantifier introduced by [a], while clitics that cliticize PPs (like locative *hi* in Catalan) cannot:

[34] KAYNE (1975: 153-ff) has pointed out the existence of datives in French that can in very few cases lack the preposition. I do not deal with such cases here:
(i) Elle leur cassera tous les deux la gueule [FR]
She DAT.P break.FU all the two the face
*She'll break both of their necks*

(91) a. Gianni vi parlera a tutti [IT]
John DAT.2P talk.3S to all
*John will talk to you all*

b. *Gianni ne parlera di tutti
John PART talk.FU of all
INTENDED: *John will speak about you all*

Another argument in favor of [a] as a case marker rather than a proposition is offered in BRANCHADELL 1992. In Spanish, the light verb *hacer* 'to do' can sometimes incorporate its direct object, and thus become a new verb. If there was a dative indirect object of the light verb, the dative becomes an accusative, as shown by the pronoun *la*, in (92b):

(92) a. Le hice una visita a María [SP]
DAT.3S made a visit to Mary
*I visited Mary*

b. A María, la visité ayer
to Mary ACC.3SF visited.1s yesterday
*I visited Mary yesterday*

The point made by Branchadell is that if the object incorporating to the verb is a true PP, then it remains a PP:

(93) a. Juan hace un trabajo sobre el dativo [SP]
John does a work on the dative

b. Juan trabaja sobre el dativo
John work.3s on the dative
BOTH: *John works on the dative*

Another argument is due to STROZER 1976, who supports the character of the [a]-marker as a case marker with arguments based on anaphoric relations. She notes that, in Spanish, anaphora is possible for dative [a]-phrases with respect to a clitic (94a), whereas the same does not hold for PPs introduced by real prepositions (94b), directional [a] (94c) or a preposition [a] lexically required by the verb (94d):

(94) a. El policía $le_i$ asustaba a $ella_{i/*j}$
the policemen DAT.3S frightened to her
*The policemen frightened her*

b. Nada (*$le_i$) funciona sin $ella_{*i}$
Nothing DAT.S work.3S without she
*Nothing works without her*

c. Juan (*le$_i$) fue de compras a París$_i$
John DAT.3S went of purchases to Paris
*John went shopping to Paris*

d. Juan (*le$_i$) renunció a ella$_i$
John DAT.3S renounced.3S to her
*John renounced to her*

Finally, JAEGGLI 1982 argues against the character of preposition of the dative [a] in Spanish based on the coordination of IO in sentences like (95). Thus, since French [a] is not a preposition, it disallows the marking of a coordinated IO with a single *à* (95a) and then it requires the presence of as many *à* as conjuncts (95b):

(95) a. *Ils ont parlé *à* [Marie et le directeur]
they talked.3p to Mary and the director

b. Ils ont parlé [à Marie] et [au directeur]
they talked.3p to Mary and to-the director
*They talked to Mary and the director*

However, according to JAEGGLI 1982, this does not happen in Spanish, and that would prove that in this language, unlike in French, [a] is a true preposition that assigns case to the dative DP:

(96) Les compraron una casa a [María y el director]
DAT.3P bought.3P a house to Mary and the director
*They bought a house for Mary and the director*

However, several arguments can be opposed to Jaeggli. First, as noted by CUERVO 2003, the inversion of the members of the conjunction leads to degraded grammaticality:

(97) a. *?Les compraron una casa al director y María
DAT.3P bought.3P a house to-the director and Mary
*They bought a house for the director and Mary*

b. ok Les compraron una casa al director y a María
DAT.3P bought.3P a house to-the director and to Mary

More evidence comes from the defective agreement that sometimes occurs between dative clitics and dative DPs, whenever the DP is in canonical postverbal position. Example:

(98) Le compraron una casa a sus hijas
DAT.3P they-bought a house to their daughters
*They bought a house for their daughters*

Defective agreement is incompatible with a coordinated IO with a single *a*, but possible with an *a* for each conjunct:

(99) a. Le compraron una casa a María y al director
DAT.3S bought a house to Mary and to-the director
*They bought a house for Mary and the director*

b. *Le compraron una casa a María y el director
DAT.3S bought a house to Mary and to-the director
*They bought a house for the director and Mary*

For these reasons, I conclude (although nothing I say relies on this conclusion) that we are justified in thinking that the dative [a] in both Catalan and Spanish works differently from typical prepositions, and that suggest it is a case marker of some sort. Now, this proposal has problems that are not usually addressed. In particular, if the particle [a] is a case marker, where is it situated within the architecture of the DP? Is it just a morphological mark on the DP? Does it have a dedicated functional projection therein? Is it an adjunct? Is it on the specifier? Is it incorporated to D? These questions are left as subject for further research.

With respect to the locus of [a]-marking as *v*P, I don't justify this any further here. Some arguments in favor of this idea are provided in MARTIN 2010.

### 3.5.2 Syncretism DAT-LOC

Finally, the last puzzle of the dative clitics, has to do with the apparent syncretism in many languages between the dative and the locative clitic. Remember some cases in point from section 2.4.2 above:

(100) a. Ghe dago il libro [PADUAN]
LOC give.1S the book
*I give him / her / them the book*

b. Ghe meto il libro
LOC put.1S the book
*I put the book there*

Remember that I was assuming the arguments in KAYNE 2008, according to which the underlying form of the dative sentence in (90a) involves the presence of a silent third person dative clitic, alongside the overt locative clitic. This means that (100a) should be thought as (101):

(101) DAT.3 ghe dago el libro

The simultaneous presence of the dative and the deictic clitic that Kayne posits for Paduan is overt in other languages, as we saw in section 2.4.2, for instance Sardinian, Catalan, or Latin:

(102) a. Narra -bí - lis [SARDINIAN]

Tell LOC DAT.3P

*Tell them (about it)*

b. No els hi diguis res [CAT]

NEG DAT LOC bring.2S nothing

*Don't bring anything to them*

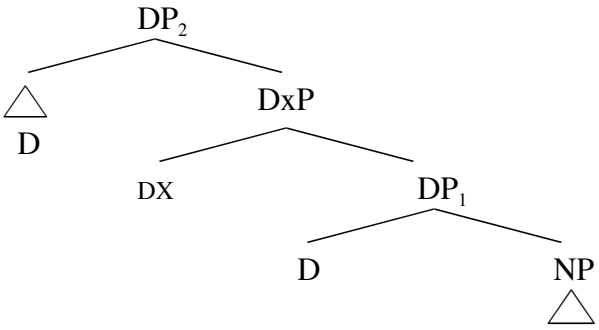
a. Is t-ibi fortunas nostras narrabit [LATIN]

DEM.3SM 2S-LOC fortunes our.ACC.P tell.3S.FUT

*He will tell you all our fortunes*

All in all seems to provide support to the idea that there is some kind of relationship (and often syncretism) between dative and locative clitics. Such co-occurrenc must always happen, regardless of whether one of the two elements remains silent. Be as it may, the fact I want to point out here is that my structure can account for that. Because the dative can be lexicalized by any part of the complex dative phrase, the others remaining silent, it is expected that the dative can has the form of an accusative (standard Catalan third person plural dative: *els*), the form of a locative (Paduan *ghe*), or the form of a dative plus a locative (Catalan [els+hi], Sardinian [bi+lis], or Latin [t+ibi]. Let me represent this:

(103) a.




| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CATALAN: | [l(s)] | [i] | L(S) | |
| PADUAN: | D | [ge] | D | Capitals indicate silent elements |
| SARDINIAN: | D | [bi] | [li(s)] | |
| FRENCH: | [l] | [ui] | D | |
| SPANISH: | [l]-e | DX | D | -e indicates a epenthetic vowel |

## 3.6 Problems for the proposal

### 3.6.1 Some Gendered Dative Clitics

In this dissertation I have put forward the thesis that the complex constitution of dative l-clitics blocks the presence of gender features in them, unlike what happens with the accusative l-clitics. However, I already observed in the introductory chapter of the dissertation, that lack of gender features in the dative paradigm of Romance clitics finds three counterexamples in Romance, namely Spanish *laista* dialects (ROMERO 1991, 1999), standard Italian, and Rumanian. In these languages,

dative l-clitics do show gender distinctions, as we saw in table 5 above, repeated here for convenience:

(104) **TABLE 5**: *Romance dative clitics with overt gender features*

| LANGUAGE | SINGULAR | | PLURAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MASC | FEM | MASC | FEM |
| STANDARD ITALIAN | *gli* | *le* | *loro* | |
| ROMANIAN | *lui* | *ei* | *lor* | |
| LAÍSTA SPANISH | *le* | *la* | *les* | *las* |

This presents a problem for this dissertation for which I do not have an account as of now. I do not have anything to say about Romanian, and very little to say about Italian, so in this section I will make a few comments on *laísta* Spanish mostly based in Romero 1997, 2001.

Let me first however make a couple of short notes about Italian dative clitics. The first note has to do with the fact that in current colloquial Italian, the use of the indirect object pronoun *gli* in place of the dative feminine clitic le, and even the plural dative clitic *loro* is absolutely common:

(105) a. Li invitai a casa e [COLL IT]
DAT.3P invite.1s to home and
gli offrii un aperitivo
DAT.3SM offer.1s a appetizer

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Li | invitai | a | casa | e | [STAND IT] |
| | DAT.3P | invite.1s | to | home | and | |
| | le | offrii | un | aperitivo | | |
| | DAT.3SF | offer.1s | a | appetizer | | |

BOTH: *I invited her home and I offered her an appetizer*

In spoken and casual language *gli* also tends to supplant the plural dative clitic *loro*. Although these distinctions are maintained in standard Italian, it suggests that something is going on here with the dative clitics with respect to their gender and number features. That something doesn't occur in the accusative clitics of Italian or most other Romance languages. That is expected if we are to treat both kind of clitics separately, as I have proposed in this dissertation, with accusative clitics as part of the dative, and gender and person being in complementary distribution.

The second observation about Italian is that in cases of dative-accusative clusters the dative clitic takes always the form of the dative singular masculine clitic *gli*, regardless of gender and number of the antecedent. Thus, dative *gli* combines with accusative *lo* (masculine, singular), *la* (feminine singular), *li* (masculine plural), *le* (feminine plural) and partitive *ne* (meaning "of it" or "of them") to form *glielo*, *gliela*, *glieli*, *gliele*, *gliene*:

(106) a. Gliel' hai detto a Maria

DAT.3SM-ACC.SM have.2s said to Mary

*You have told Mary*

b. Gliene hai dato una a Gianni

DAT.3SM-PART have.2s given one to John

*You have given one to John*

Again, this is expected in the hypothesis we have developed in this dissertation, according to which the φ-features of dative clitics are different to those of accusative clitics, and the latter are included in the composition of the former.

In any case, this is just a couple of notes and by any means I intend to say that this accounts for the Italian case. Much more research would be needed in this domain, and I leave it for the long period or post-doctoral research ahead of me.

Let's then move to the case of Spanish laismo. In this section, I will essentially follow the proposals with respect to this phenomenon in Romero 1997, 2001. An in-depth study of the phenomenon is also left as a subject for post-doctoral research.

It is a well-known fact that in some varieties of Spanish we can find gender distinctions in the dative l-clitics, as shown in the following examples:

(107) a. Le dije la verdad [SP]

DAT.3S said.1S the truth

*I told him/her the truth*

b. Le dije la verdad ]LAÍSTA SP]

DAT.3S said.1S the truth

*I told him the truth*

c. La dije la verdad

DAT.3S said.1S the truth

*I told her the truth*

As we see, it seems as if in those dialects, the dative l-clitic has gender, directly contradicting my claim of the complementary distribution of person and gender in the complex dative clitic I have suggested in the dissertation. Now, as we are going to see, the distribution of la as a presumed dative clitic is far from clear. The distribution of the feminine version of the clitic is much less widespread than that of the regular dative clitic le in those dialects. The following examples show this very clearly. For example, in cases of passive sentences, la cannot be used:

(108) a. El premio le fue concedido a Juan [SP]

the prize DAT.3S was awarded to John

The prize was awarded to John

b. El premio *la / le fue concedido a Maria
the prize ACC.3SF DAT.3S was awarded to Mary
INTENDED: *The prize was awarded to Mary*

Another aspect where *laísta* Spanish cannot use the gendered version of the dative clitic is in cases of sentences including the so-called passive se. In that kind of sentences, the agreement of the verb is with the objects, as shown in (109):

(109) a. Juan vende los libros [SP]
John sell.3S the books
*John sells the book*
b. Se venden los libros
se sell.3P the books
*The books are sold*

However, like in the case of the periphrastic passive, when these sentences also include a dative clitic, this is exactly the same in standard and in *laísta* Spanish:

(110) a. A María se le enviaron los regalos a casa [SP]
to Mary se DAT.3S send the presents to home
b. *A María se la enviaron los regalos a casa
to Mary se ACC.3SF send the presents to home

BOTH: *Mary was sent the present home*

Another case where laista Spanish can't use the gendered dative clitic is with inanimate indirect objects:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (111) | a. | | Le | pusieron | el | mantel | a | la | mesa | [SP] |
| | | | DAT.3S | put.3P | the | tablecloth | to | the | table | |
| | b. | * | La | pusieron | el | mantel | a | la | mesa | [SP] |
| | | | ACC.3SF | put.3P | the | tablecloth | to | the | table | |

BOTH: *They put tablecloth on the table*

Now, in the context of my proposal of having the two occurrences of the D-morpheme [l] to capture the complementarity of gender and person marking, and assuming I'm right in that person is simply the higher occurrence of the gender / animate class feature, it is tempting to view the phenomenon of laísmo as the result of some linguistic varieties choosing the low NP occurrence of the dative as the one to be realized morpho-phonologically, in which case gender marking on dative clitics is expected, as in (112):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (112) | A | Maria | la | dije | la | verdad |
| | to | Mary | ACC.3SF | said.3S | the | truth |

*I told Mary the truth*

# Chapter 4

# Conclusions and further questions

## 4.1 Conclusions

The most important message of this work has been that an understanding of dative clitics can go a long way towards accounting for many puzzling properties of the Romance clitic system. By using data mainly, but not exclusively drawn from Catalan, chosen because it is more revealing than other varieties when it comes to dative clitics, I have argued that dative clitics are composite clitics. Dative, I have claimed, is not a primitive, atomic notion, but rather a combination of an accusative part and a deictic part, transparently revealed by the dative pural clitic *els hi* in Colloquial Catalan. This view of dative clitics has enabled me to make sense of several phenomena related to clitics that have attracted a lot of attention in the technical literature: morphological irregularities, opacity, flexible clitic ordering,

deletability, the Person Case Constraint, the syncretism between datives and locatives, and to a lower extent (to be improved in future work) dative doubling, and accusative specificity.

The analysis proposed here shows that it would be wrong to take the morpheme [i], as found in the Catalan clitic singular form [li] to be the dative case morpheme: dative case cannot be reduced to a single ingredient, it necessarily depends on the combination of more elementary units. In the language of chemistry, one could say that "dative clitic" is a molecular, not an atomic notion.

This leads me to make two more points concerning clitics. The first is that if I am right about the nature of dative clitics, the latter is perhaps one of the best illustrations of a truly uniquely human grammatical concept.

The second, and final point I want to make in this work is that in a certain sense, the Romance clitic system would be much simpler in the absence of dative clitics. Unlike Ordóñez and many others, who take opacity, flexible ordering and constraints on clitic combination to be something general about clitics, I have argued that these three phenomena are tied to the existence of dative, compound clitics. Just like compound interests in economy, compound clitics quickly lead to a dramatic increase of combinatorial complexity: when a system feeds on itself (as Rigau and Bonet have noted, the clitic system is a closed system), its complexity can reach dizzying heights. This is what happens with the Romance clitic system: as soon as they allowed clitic combination, crystallized as dative clitics, the system

develops unique properties that are responsible for the continued attention to clitics in linguistics. But although these special properties have led linguists to call Romance clitics 'special clitics' (ZWICKY 1977), the present work has argued that the dative clitic is the really special one.

## 4.2 Further questions

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*New York, Fall 2011*