# FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES AND SPEC-HEAD AGREEMENT

Emilce Sandra Rees

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of M. Phil
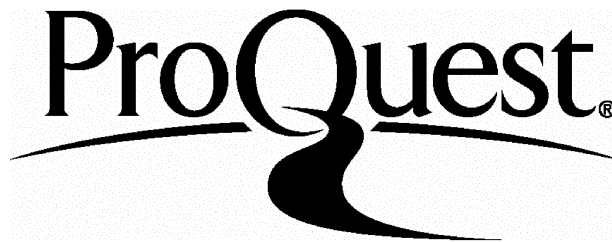in Linguistics

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

1993

ProQuest Number: 10016743

ProQuest 10016743

# ABSTRACT

In this work, we show that "doubling phenomena" in Romance reduce to Spec-head agreement relation within the phrase. Spec-head agreement is a licensing mechanism, part of UG, under which the doubled elements must be in a Spec-head configuration with each other. The discussion revolves around Romance languages primarily, although examples from other language families (eg Germanic) will be brought in. This study will concentrate on SPEC-head agreement which takes place within the maximal projection of functional categories, such as CP, AGRP-s, DP, NegP and AGRP-o. This presupposes the view proposed in recent GB literature that IP splits into further functional categories, such as subject and object agreement phrase and a Negation phrase. We also refer to the determiner as a functional category, heading its own projection, DP.

The range of doubled structures we survey include: subject clitic doubling in some Northern Italian dialects, negative doubling in French and Portuguese Creoles, and object clitic doubling in River Plate Spanish. A doubly-filled Comp is attested in some French varieties as well as in some Germanic dialects. Agreement of the complementizer with the head NP of the relative clause in French ("que-qui rule") can also be reduced to Spec-head agreement.

A solution to clitic doubled object NPs in terms of an AGRP-o allows us to abandon previous base generation analyses proposed for this construction. The clitic is considered not an argument but an affix-like head which can attach to a higher head, base-generated in Agr-o. The clitic, which shares phi-features with the object phrase, can double the latter because they stand in a SPEC-head configuration.

2

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# i. INTRODUCTION

The main concern of this work is the treatment within a GB framework of "doubling phenomena" in Romance. We examine the doubling of elements which involves functional categories. These constitute a "closed class", such as Comp (complementizer), Infl (inflection) - which we view in terms of AGRP-s and AGRP-o, that is agreement phrase subject and agreement phrase object -, Tns (tense), Neg (Negation) and, some authors propose, Det (determiner). These categories are heads which have their own (phrasal) maximal projection, in accordance with X' theory. Within the phrase, there is a basic relation which we will explore in detail as the "back-bone" of doubling phenomena: the relation of the head to its specifier. Government of the Specifier by the head plays a crucial role in GB grammar. We assume further that the head and the specifier are co-indexed and therefore they agree. Such agreement is overtly realised in some cases.

We see in Chapter 1, "SPEC-head Agreement in AGRP-s", that such SPEC-head agreement relation is relevant for the assignment of structural case to the subject position (a position defined configurationally as the SPEC of AGRP-s) by AGR-s. The phi-features they share are gender, number and person. These features in AGR-s can be morphologically realised, as we show is the case in the Northern Italian dialects, in which a subject clitic doubles the lexical NP in subject position. We view this case of subject-clitic doubling as an overt example of SPEC-head agreement in AGRP-s. Such agreement is feasible solely because the nominal phrase and the subject clitic fulfil the SPEC-head configuration requirement. We also review in Chapter 1 the nominal phrase, (regarded by some as a "mini" sentence), for which we support the view that agreement between a determiner and a noun is derivable from SPEC-head agreement in DP (the determiner being the functional category which projects as a head).

In Chapter 2, "SPEC-head 'agreement' in the Complementizer Phrase" we address the question of how the complementizer by virtue of being co-indexed with its SPEC shows overt agreement in some Germanic languages and dialects. In Romance, we find that the standard prohibition of a doubly-filled Comp can be relaxed for certain varieties of French (eg Canadian). All varieties of French present the alternation que-qui in relative clauses. While earlier analyses regarded que as the Complementizer and qui as the "true" relative pronoun,

more recent theories view French <u>qui</u> in the relative clause as <u>que</u> + agreement, that is as C being capable of taking on agreement features. The "agreement" features of C allow for verbal movement (V + I) into C, as attested in Germanic verb-second order. "V2 effects" have important consequences in Romance as well: they account for verb-clitic order not only in Old Romance but in Modern European Portuguese as well.

In Chapter 3, "SPEC-head agreement in the Negative Phrase" we focus on double negation (the presence of two negative constituents in the sentence). We assume the existence of Neg(ation) as an independent functional category, conforming to X' theory. In particular, we follow the view that the relation which holds between the two negative constituents is regulated by "the negative criterion", which states that a negative head must be in a SPEC-head relation with a negative operator (in SPEC). Most Romance languages present either pre- or post verbal negation: such distribution is viewed by some authors as resulting from a parametric choice of either a NegP being higher up than IP (TnsP) in "Italian type" languages or lower than it in "Piedmontese type" languages. Whether SPEC or head (or both) of NegP are filled is also subject to parametric variation. "Blocking effects" to verbal or clitic movement are observed as a result of a lexically filled Neg head.

In Chapter 4, "Clitic-doubled Constructions in Romance", we describe clitic doubling of object NPs and their distribution in Romance. Such instance of doubling is found in Romanian and Rio de la Plata Spanish. Clitic-left dislocation is attested in those varieties of Romance which allow clitic doubling, although the reverse doesn't hold. Base generation analyses argue that the clitic-NP pair are generated at D-structure. These analyses were conceived to account for clitic doubling, since earlier movement analyses of clitics held for structures in which the clitic and the NP-object were in complementary distribution but not for structures in which both constituents were present. The status of the clitic is claimed to be that of an argument in one theory, while others view the clitic as a "spell-out" of the Case features of the verb. The clitic is, in this respect, an inflectional affix, which is co-indexed with the NP it doubles. Other analyses combine base generation with movement in terms of SPEC-head agreement in a clitic phrase. The clitic is base-generated in the head position, which licenses a nominal phrase (which matches the clitic in person, number, gender and Case) in the SPEC of the clitic phrase. Some other accounts investigated regard the clitic as

a determiner (and hence a functional head) which can incorporate into V.

Finally in Chapter 5, "SPEC-head Agreement in AGRP-o", we detail why a base generation analysis fails when required to account satisfactorily for non-local movement such as 'clitic-climbing' (as in Romance causative structures) and for other clitic positions such as endo-cliticization as observed in Portuguese, in which the clitic occupies an "embedded" position in the compound verbal form. We pursue the idea that in Romance AGRP-o (Agreement Object Phrase) is "active". Evidence for AGRP-o comes from the fact that the past participle agrees with the object phrase in some Romance languages. We argue that "clitic doubling" is another instance of "agreement" in AGRP-o. The clitic (which we regard as an inflectional head) attaches to AGR-o and the nominal phrase to SPEC of AGRP-o (an argument position). Because these two positions are co-indexed the clitic and the NP it doubles share Case and phi-features, and consequently SPEC-head agreement holds.

# Chapter One

## SPEC-head Agreement in AGRP-s

### 1.1    SPEC-head agreement. Definition

In the Government and Binding model, relations between elements are expressed in terms of X-bar theory. It is at D-structure that it is determined how lexical items are put together into phrases. Basic lexical categories include N, V, Adj and P. Non-lexical categories such as Complementizer (C) and INFL (I) are also heads. Phrasal categories are projections of these heads. An X-bar structure is composed of projections of heads selected from the lexicon. In a structure of the form:

1)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{X''} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{ZP} \quad \text{X'} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{X} \quad \text{YP}
\end{array}
$$
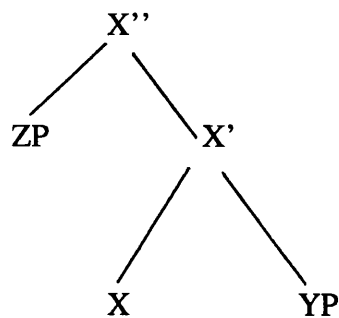
there are two "local" or basic relations: the Spec-head relation of ZP to X, and the head-complement relation of X to YP. It is assumed further that X-bar structures are restricted to the form above, and that head government (government by a head category) plays a crucial role in all modules of grammar.

The SPECifier of AGRP-s (the sentence) is the NP subject. Complements of lexical heads such as nouns or verbs are realised as YP, that is, maximal projections. In The name of the rose, for example, of the rose is the complement to the Noun name; in

I went to the cinema, to the cinema is the complement of the verb went. Languages vary as to whether the specifier and the complements are on the same side (to the left of the head X or to the right of it) or not. A language can be "head initial" or "head final", according to whether the complements precede or follow a head. In general the specifier occupies a position higher in the phrase structure than the complement position. The specifier is immediately dominated by the maximal level of projection, X" (also expressed as XP), and the complement immediately dominated by X'. The configuration in 1) is the "unmarked" order of a "head initial" language. In a head initial language the complement will follow the head and be ordered on the opposite side of the specifier. If a language is head final the complement will precede the head and will ordered on the same side as the specifier.

Functional categories, such as AGReement and NEGation also conform to the X-bar schema. Indeed, AGR is considered a head, which projects its own maximal projection, AGRP, and has a specifier and a complement:

2)
```
              AGRP
             /    \
            /      \
         SPEC      AGR'
                  /    \
                 /      \
               AGR    (Compl)
```
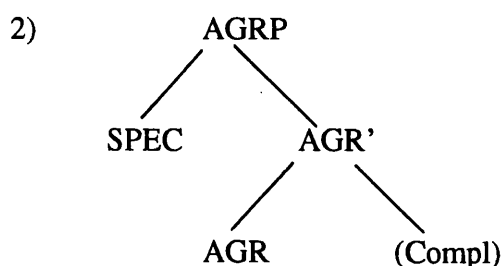
The standard assumption has been to consider the Spec-head relation to be relevant for the assignment of structural Case to the subject position (the subject being defined configurationally as the specifier of IP), while the object position is assigned Case under government by V. Under what Chomsky (1992) calls the minimalist program, modules of grammar such as Case Theory can be reformulated. Structural Case can be regarded as an expression of the SPEC-HEAD relation, with AGR (a collection of phi features such as gender, number, person) as head and the NP it Case-marks in its SPEC. Two AGRs are needed if two NPs require structural Case. Chomsky proposes that in the case where the VP has only one NP then one of the two AGR elements

will be 'active' - and the other AGR inert or missing. If AGR-subject is 'active' then the NP will have the properties of the subject of a transitive clause, thus determining the properties of Nominative-Accusative languages.

Relations in this "minimalist program" are expressed in terms of how local elements relate to the head X of the X-bar structure XP. Three relations are recognized: specifier, complement and adjoined. The specifier position is associated with morphological checking. AGR and T have two functions: they check the properties of V (which rises to T and AGR) and the properties of NP (which rises to the SPEC position) and thus assure that the NP-subject and V are properly paired. The movement of T to AGR varies from language to language: Belletti (1990) observes that in French only tensed verbs move to AGR, with the consequence that V does not move past the past participial AGR head in:

3) Jean n'a rien compris

   John hasn't understood anything

A similar sentence is ungrammatical in Italian:

4) *Gianni non ha niente capito

   John hasn't understood anything

This is argued by Belletti (ibid.) to be due to the fact that in French a lexical verb doesn't move to AGR if it is not combined with a morphological Tense inflection. In Italian the verb always moves to AGR. Hence in 3) the past participle in French cannot move to AGR-object because it lacks tense; in Italian, in 4) the verb moves over the VP-adjoined quantifier (niente) to reach AGR. This explanation relies on the existence of an Agreement-object phrase, which we shall fully discuss in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, Chomsky (1992) proposes that a language might allow either weak or strong inflection. After Pollock (1989) it is argued that languages such as French have "strong" AGR (ie the V-features of AGR are strong in French)[1], which forces overt

raising, whereas English-type languages have weak AGR, which blocks raising.

## 1.2    The Structure of IP

Early GB analyses dealt with categories such as S' and S for categories which traditionally were referred to as clause and sentence. However, S' and S do not follow the X-bar schema. IP, (the projection of INFL) is then equivalent to S(entence) in former models of GB grammar, properly expressed in the X-bar framework. The Sentence is in this respect a projection of an inflection node.

Let us look at the internal structure of IP closely. After Pollock (1989), inflection is not considered anymore as one constituent with two different sets of features, Tense and Agreement, but instead as an "articulated" structure: each of these sets of features is the syntactic head of a maximal projection, in this case Agreement and Tense Phrase (AGRP and TNSP). Another functional category, NEGation, is also considered in Pollock's theory to project its own maximal projection, NegP. Each maximal projection in IP is a potential barrier for certain types of movement. Pollock (ibid.) draws a comparison between English and French based on the evidence of verbal movement. Taking AGRP to exist in the IP structure of English and French, Pollock argues that AGRP is "defective" in Modern English, (that is, it is not an inherent barrier), but not in French. AGRP in both languages is a complement of Tense or Neg. IP is analysed by Pollock as Tense Phrase (TNSP) and is an inherent barrier for movement. In addition, there is a Negative Phrase (NEGP) which is also an inherent barrier. We shall discuss the properties of NegP in Chapter 3.

We have sketched so far the main functional components of the "sentence", all of them conforming to X' theory. At clause level, (former S'), we encounter a higher projection, CP, the complementizer phrase. This phrase is a projection of the functional head C, which also enters in an agreement relation with its own SPEC, as we shall see in Chapter 2. We shall next consider whether the structural relation of SPEC-head agreement realised at IP level can be found at a lower grammatical level.

We would like to see if this relation holds at the level of the nominal phrase.


## 1.3    The Structure of NP and DP


There are syntactic reasons to regard the Noun Phrase as a 'mini' sentence: in the NP we find SPEC-head agreement (overt in most languages) between the 'specifier' (for example, a determiner) and a head (a noun), in the form of overt features such as number, gender and person. This can be best appreciated in a Romance language, Spanish for example, in which such type of agreement holds:

9)
```
              NP
           /      \
        det         N'
         |          |
        esta        N
                    |
                 heroina
```
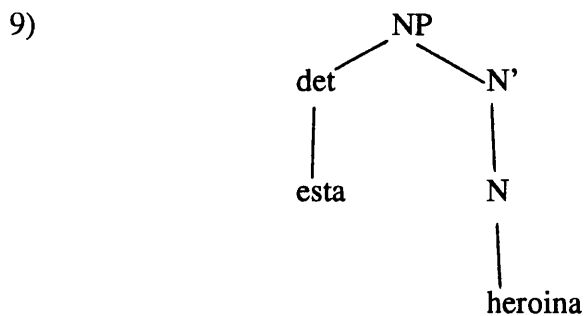
We can see that the determiner <u>esta</u> (this) and <u>heroina</u> (heroine) show morphological agreement, without which the nominal phrase is ungrammatical.


This evidence had led many to argue for the presence of INFL in the Noun Phrase. Abney (1987) views the NP as a sentence in this respect, a projection of the determiner, which is in his analysis regarded as a functional element. As such, it belongs to the same class as C and I. What is important for us is that D projects a phrasal node and takes a complement like other categories (D can select NP, AP, or Quantifier Phrases). In accordance with the X-bar schema, the SPEC position of DP can be filled with a maximal projection (XP), so that SPEC of DP is reserved as the 'subject' position of the nominal phrase. Abney points out that in many languages the NP structure is more like a sentence than in English, in that for example a possessed

13

Noun agrees with its possessor in the same way that the Verb agrees with the the subject. This is attested in Hungarian:

10) Mari vendeg - e - 0

the Mary-nom guest possd - 3rd p sing (= Mary)

'Mary's guest'

According to Abney (ibid.), only functional categories can host AGR; thus for Abney there is an AGR occupying a head position in the noun phrase: a possessed noun agrees with its subject in the same way that V agrees with its subject[2]. The existence of AGR in the sentence (that is in IP) leads Abney to argue in favour of the presence of an Infl node in the NP[3]. For Abney, the NP is headed by an element similar to INFL, (AGR). This INFL-like element is the determiner, the head D. The determiner is for Abney a non-lexical category, a functional head. In Hungarian, observes Abney, there is co-occurrence of agreement and nominative case, as in:

11) az en            kalap-om

the  I (nom.)     hat 1st sing

'My hat'

12)    a   Peter            kalap - ja

the Peter (nom)      hat 3rd sing

'Peter's hat'

In these examples, kalap agrees with its possessor, marking the person and number with an agreement marker (om for 1st person singular ja for 3rd person singular). This agreement marker and the possessor noun (in 11) en and in 12) Peter) are mutually dependent.

For this reason, Abney takes AGR to be attached to D; that is, the determiner is the lexical instantiation of the inflectional head. This can also be seen in the following Hungarian sentence:

13)   Peter mindes kalapja

      Peter's every hat

      'Each of Peter's hat'

Abney (ibid.) assigns the following configuration to the latter:

14)
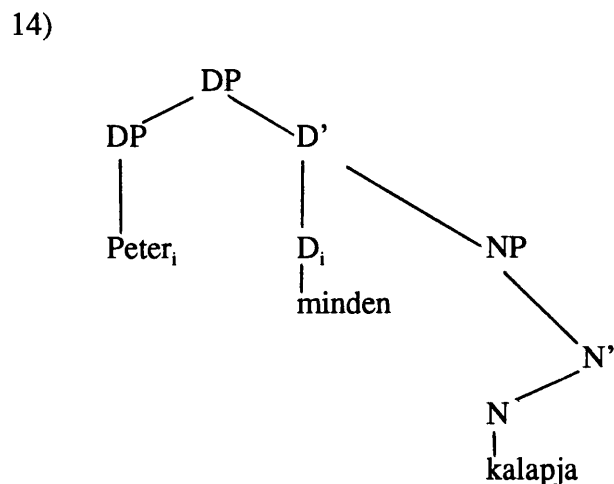


In the above structure we take the noun phrase in the SPEC of DP, <u>Peter</u>, to be co-indexed with D, in the same way that the SPEC of IP is co-indexed with I for agreement purposes. The function of AGR in D at S-structure is to assign case to the subject, <u>Peter</u>. Abney argues that a prohibition against doubly-filled Determiners holds in Hungarian at S-structure, but not at LF. This would permit the marker <u>ja</u> to raise to D at LF and case-assign <u>Peter</u>. This illustrates that the pattern of SPEC-head agreement is also present in the DP and that in languages like Hungarian it is morphologically articulated.

The existence of a CP in the nominal clause, because of the similarity between IP and NP (DP) has been thought plausible, and analyses presented for non-Romance languages such as Greek (Horrocks & Stavrou 1987), Turkish (Ouhalla 1988) and Hungarian (Szabolsci 1987) seem to show that such proposal is not far-fetched. These analyses maintain that the function of the complementizer, at clause level, is to nominalize sentences. At nominal level, Ouhalla (1988) proposes that in Hungarian

and Greek the C position is held by the determiner.

## 1.4 Agreement-Subject Phrase

There are two kinds of Verb-NP agreement in the sentence, one involving the subject NP, and the other involving the object NP. Following Chomsky (1992) we propose two agreement elements: the subject-agreement element, AGR-s, and the object-agreement element, AGR-o. Because of their Case assigning properties, configurationally we expect AGR-s to be "close" to the subject NP, while AGR-o should be "close" to the object NP. We shall deal with Agreement-object Phrase in Chapter 5. Both AGR-subject and AGR-object depend on a government relation between AGR and the NP. Essentially we are working with an IP structure such as the following:

15)

```
                    AGRP-s
                   /      \
                  /        \
              SPEC          AGR-s'
               |           /      \
               |          /        \
              NP      AGR-s      (TNSP)
                                      \
                                       \
                                     (NegP)
                                         \
                                          \
                                        AGRP-o
                                       /      \
                                      /        \
                                  SPEC          AGR-o'
                                               /      \
                                              /        \
                                          AGR-o         VP
                                                       /
                                                      /
                                                   V      ...
```

16
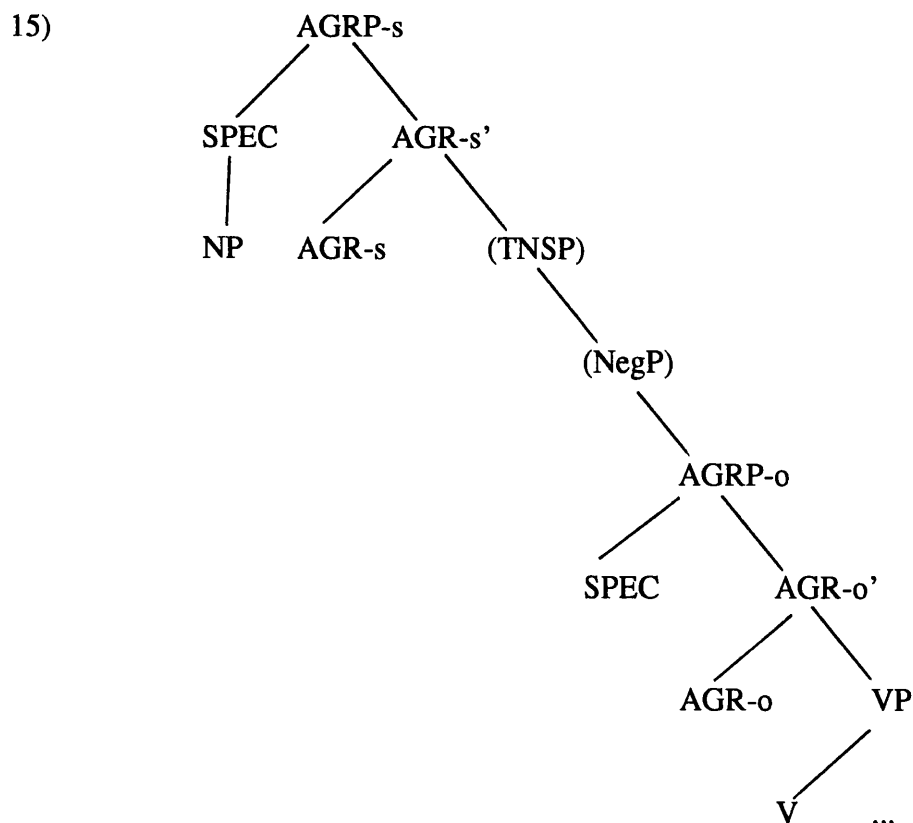
Further, it is assumed that the hierarchical order of the functional phrases (whether AGRP dominates TNSP or viceversa) is parametrized and is language-specific. (Other functional phrases such as NEGP are subject to the same parametrization). All functional phrases in the schema expand according to X-bar theory.

The most salient example of SPEC-head agreement is between the specifier and the head in AGRP-s, if we take Agr-s to be the maximal projection of INFL. In most languages the NP which occupies the SPEC position of IP overtly agrees with the verb, be it in number, person and/or gender. AGR-s is the functional head of the Agreement-subject phrase, to which V attaches in order to acquire inflectional features. The subject NP gets Case because it occupies the SPEC position of AgrP-s.

## 1.5 Subject clitic doubling

However, there is another instance of SPEC-head agreement in AgrP-s. Certain Northern Italian dialects such as Trentino and Fiorentino, as the data from the work of Rizzi (1986) and Brandi & Cordin (1986) show, seem to present subject clitics which "double" the subject pronoun. These dialects display properties of both Null Subject Languages and non Null Subject Languages (henceforth NSL). Trentino and Fiorentino require subject clitics in contexts in which standard Italian would allow null subjects, even when a lexical subject is present:

16)     Trentino: El Gianni el magna

           John eats


17)     Trentino: (pro) el magna

           (he) eats

18) Standard Italian:

Gianni mangia

John eats


mangia

(he) eats


In these dialects the subject NP is allowed to be phonetically null, like in 17), but then the subject clitic obligatorily appears. A sentence without the subject clitic is ungrammatical in these dialects:

19) Trentino: * magna

(he) eats


This is why they cannot be considered null subject dialects but only partially pro-drop dialects. Another characteristic of these dialects is that they present gaps in the paradigm of subject clitics: the subject clitic is optional for the 1st person singular of Fiorentino, and for the 1st person (singular and plural) and 2nd person plural of Trentino.


20) Fiorentino: (E) parlo

I speak


21) Trentino: Parlo

I speak


Parlem

We speak


Parlé

You(pl) speak

Rizzi (1986), among others, views the subject clitic as the 'spell out' of the pronominal features of AGR, overtly realised in these dialects. This trait, Rizzi (ibid) notes, was appropriately called "rideterminazione dell'accordo" in traditional Italian dialectology - reduplication of agreement. This he claims is akin to currrent approaches to null subject languages which argue that rich morphological agreement in the verbal system "recovers" the missing subject. This is also why the null pronominal form pro in null subject languages like Italian can occupy SPEC, AgrP-s, as it is governed by AGR-s in this position. In the Northern Italian dialects the subject clitic is the spell-out of AGR-s, that is, the "strong" AGR is realised in phonetic form and in concrete verbal morphology.

## 1.6 SPEC-Head Agreement in IP-subject

Northern Italian dialects of the kind described in the previous section provide a clear case where the NP-subject agrees in person, number and gender with the subject clitic. We would like to suggest that subject clitic doubling is an example of SPEC-head agreement in the AGR-s Phrase. However, this is not a unique phenomenon in Romance. Kayne (1983) argues that French has got subject clitics[4] in the NP-subject position (present SPEC,AGR-s) which cliticize to the verb at PF level. As a lexical subject can also occur, the latter is argued to attach to a TOP position:

22) Jean, il mange
    John, he eats

23)
```
              TOP'
             /    \
            /      \
          TOP       IP
           |       /  \
           |      /    \
         Jean   NP      I'
                 |     /  \
                 |    /    \
                 il  I      VP
                          /
                         /
                        V
                        |
                        |
                      mange
```
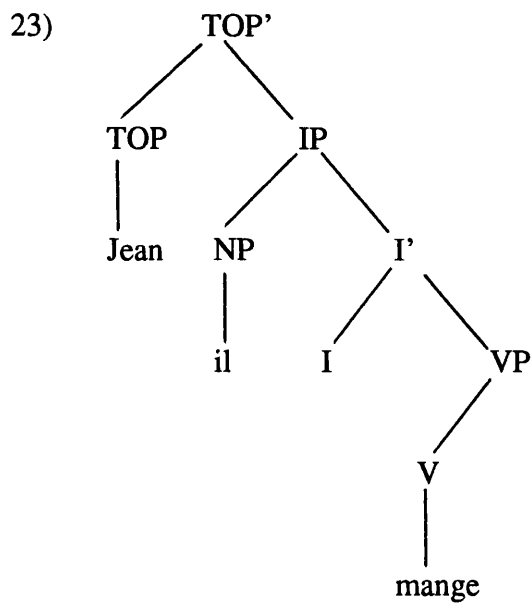
An analysis of the type in 23) is unsuitable for Northern Italian dialects. First of all, Trentino and Fiorentino subject clitics are not like French subject clitics, that is clitics at the phonological level, as they present gaps in the subject clitic paradigm (see 20 and 21). In addition, French is not a pro-drop language, so the subject has got to be syntactically realised. Sentence 22) is grammatically correct if there is a pause between Jean and il parle, that is, they are in complementary distribution, which is not the case in the Italian Trentino dialect:

Cf

24) French: *Jean il mange

   Jean he eats


25) Trentino: El Gianni el magna

   Gianni he eats


This suggests that the nominal phrase and the subject clitic are independent of each other. Both Jean parle and il parle are grammatical in French. This is not so in the Northern Italian dialects (Trentino: * El Gianni magna vs. el magna). In French, Rizzi (1986) argues then, (following Kayne (1983)), that subject clitics are base-generated in subject position (SPEC of IP) and then cliticize at the phonological level to the

20

verb. Lowering movements are not permitted in the grammar: this is why the subject clitic couldn't move from the [SPEC,AgrP-s] position to Agr-s in the syntax. However, there are some dialects of French, such as Pied Noir French, according to Ouhalla (1990), in which there is no phonological break between the NP subject and the clitic as there is in Standard French. In this respect Pied Noir French resembles the Northern Italian dialects and <u>Jean il mange</u> in this dialect could receive the analysis proposed for <u>El Gianni el magna.</u>

In the case of the Northern italian dialects, Rizzi (ibid.) concludes that the subject clitic does not occupy the SPEC of AGRP position, but that the lexical NP it doubles does. The subject clitic is base-generated in AGR-subject, and is the "spelling out" of the pronominal features of AGR. the structural representation favoured (after Rizzi (1986) and Brandi & Cordin (1986)) for these Northern Italian dialects has therefore the following configuration:[5]

26)
```
                AGRP-subject
               /            \
              /              \
           SPEC             AGR-s'
            |              /      \
            |             /        \
        El Gianni      AGR-s        VP
                        |          /
                        |         /
                        el       V    ...
                                 |
                                 |
                               magna
```
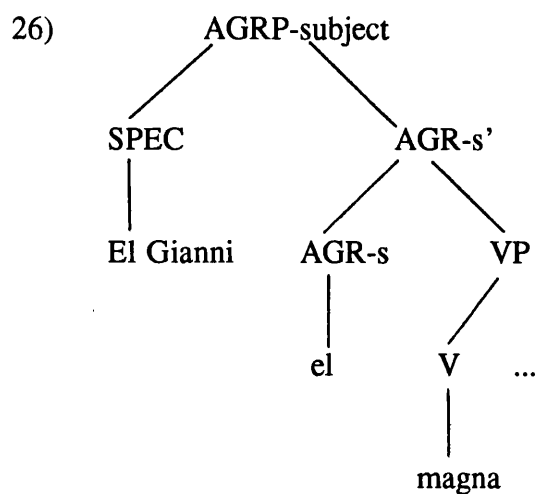
The subject clitic doubles a nominal phrase. The role of the clitic in these dialects is very much that of "rich" AGR in null subject languages such as Spanish.

# ENDNOTES

1. Kayne (1989) argues that AGR in reality is "weak" in French in comparison with Italian, which means that "weak" and "strong" AGR are relative properties. We shall discuss the role of AGR in Italian and French in the context of the grammaticality of clitic climbing in Chapter 4.

2. For Abney(1987) German also provides evidence that the determiner is the head of the noun phrase, since in German determiners display the full paradigm of person, number and gender marking, whereas nouns are marked, for the most part, only for number. The determiner position is the actual site of the NP grammatical features. Moreover, the determiner in German does not agree with the noun like a modifier would do:

    1) Der Mann

       The man

Some nominal clauses in regional dialects (Saxonian, Thuringia, Bavaria) lend themselves to a DP analysis even more than those of Standard German:

    2) dem Peter seine Schwester

       the Peter his sister

       'Peter's sister'

Cf.

    3) (Standard German): Peters Schwester

3. Some other authors such as Guéron (1986) have also argued for the existence of AGR in the determiner. Gueron's theory rests on the claim that in French, not in English, the definite determiner may be construed as a pronominal anaphor, ie. a pronominal with no independent reference, eg in:

1) Jean$_i$ lève [la main]$_i$

   John raises the (= his) head


Jean and la main form a lexical chain (a chain related by anaphoric binding). It is assumed (after Chomsky 1981) that 'a chain is a set of two or more nominals related by anaphoric binding, and interpreted as a single argument at LF'. Guéron states that because DET shows the features number and gender in French, the DET contains AGR. AGR in French is a pronominal. Therefore the definite determiner can function as a nominal when it contains AGR.


4. A pronominal subject in French must be overt, as French is not a pro-drop language. We find that French has two sets of pronouns: strong forms (moi, toi,lui/elle, nous, vous, eux/elles) and weak forms (je, tu, il/elle, nous, vous, ils/elles). Case is morphologically realised on the weak forms only. According to Haegeman (1991) the strong forms are like full NPs in that they have no overt Case-marking. Haegeman presents the following arguments in favour of considering French subject pronominal forms as clitics, as they show the following characteristics:


a. They must be adjacent to the verb (the only elements which are allowed to intervene are other clitics):


   1) * Il souvant va

      He often goes


   2) Il le voit souvant

      He sees it often


b. Morphologically, the weak subject pronouns behave like clitics as they form one word with the verb:

3) J'invite Jean

   I invite Jean


c. Subject noun phrases can have intervening lexical material before the verb:


4) Jean souvant va

   Jean often goes


d. Weak subject forms cannot be modified, whereas strong forms can:


5) * Ils deux vont au marché


   'They two go to the market'


6)  Eux deux vont au marché


e. Strong forms can be conjoined with other NPs, weak subject forms do not accept this:


7) * Jean et je voulons


   'John and I want'


8)  Jean et moi voulons


f. There are also phonological differences: strong forms can be stressed, weak subject forms cannot:


9) Lui partira demain


   'He will leave tomorrow'


24

10) * Il partira demain

5. Kayne(1972) proposed an analysis for French in which the clitic is base-generated as part of the verb. Such approach is reminiscent of current analyses which attach the clitic to I.

1)

IP
NP
I'
I
VP
V
Jean
il mange
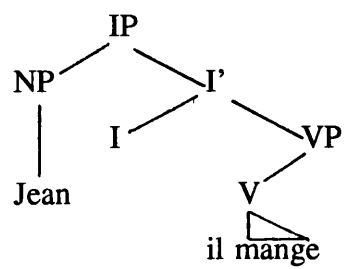
# Chapter Two

## SPEC-head "agreement" in the Complementizer Phrase

## 2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to show that spec-head agreement is also found in the structure of the complementizer phrase, in support of the standard assumption that a head is co-indexed with its SPEC. The data presented supports the claims that C (the head of CP) can show agreement features, a trait which explains much of the behaviour of "verb second" and related effects, both in Germanic and Romance languages.

As we will see, inflection in C is attested in the majority of cases in Germanic languages. While this might not be the case in Romance (with the exception of French, perhaps) we find that in Romance the presence of a lexically filled C (or movement of the verb to C) has consequences for the clitic-verb order in the sentence. We shall see that C agrees not only with its SPEC but with other functional categories, such as the head of IP (as proposed by Rizzi) or with elements higher up in the sentence structure (perhaps a TOP position as some authors propose). So we shall look at how C not only shows agreement features but how this agreement can be understood as a result of coindexation with other elements in SPEC position, not necessarily [SPEC,CP].

## 2.2 Complementizers are not relative pronouns

Traditional analyses have considered (English) that and (French) qui as having the same distribution as relative pronouns. This analysis resulted in that being categorized

as an equivalent of English <u>who</u> or <u>which</u>, and <u>qui</u> the nominative relative pronoun variant of objective relative pronoun <u>que</u> in French. Being classed as "pronominal wh-NPs", their fronted position was the result of the application of wh-movement:

English:

1) A girl that I saw yesterday

   A girl who I saw yesterday

French:

2) Les choses qui restent

   The things that remain


3) Les choses que tu caches

   The things that you hide


However we will support the view - now standard - that these two elements in question are to be considered complementizers in their respective languages. Radford (1988) details the reasons why we should consider <u>that</u> in English a complementizer and not a relative pronoun, as the two categories differ in the following ways, among others:


a. English <u>that</u> cannot function as a complement of a preposition:

Cf:

4) A meal for which nobody was prepared


5) * A meal for that nobody was prepared


b. English <u>that</u> is not marked for gender or 'animacy' as wh-pronouns are; <u>who</u> and <u>which</u> carry these features whereas <u>that</u> doesn't.


c. Complementizers in English occur only in tensed clauses whereas wh-constituents are not restricted in this fashion:

6) He is not a man that you can trust

7) *He is not a man that to trust

vs.

                                        *on*

8) He is not a man whom to trust

9) He is not a man whom you can trust

d. In some varieties of English the following sentence is grammatical although the object of the relative clause is doubled by an object pronoun:

10) These are the people that you wonder whether to denounce them or not

If <u>that</u> was base-generated as a relative pronoun would (in the object position to the verb <u>denounce</u>), the object position would be empty as <u>that</u> would have been fronted by wh-movement. We can see that this is not so. In the case above, then, we can see that <u>that</u> has been generated in the position of the complementizer of the relative clause in question.

Data from a variety of languages (and earlier periods of modern languages, English being a case in point) attest to the existence of a "full" [SPEC,CP] combined with an"overt" C. This manifests itself, in the majority of cases, in the form of an overt wh-pronoun and complementizer sequence, as the following examples show: (Radford, 1988):

11)    Old English:

        rod on ðaere ðe Crist wolde ðrowian

        cross on which that the Christ would suffer

        Contemporary spoken English:

        England put themselves in a position whereby that they took a lot of credit for tonight's game. (BBC announcer)

28

However, in contemporary standard English, the SPEC and the head of CP cannot both be filled, so the so-called 'doubly-filled comp' filter (as proposed by Chomsky & Lasnik 1977) has been proposed as a syntax mechanism to filter out outputs which contain both an overt SPEC and head in the complementizer phrase. This filter is simply stated as:

The SPEC of CP and C cannot be both filled.

Besides Old and Middle English (in main clauses), the "doubly-filled comp" effect is attested in a variety of languages such as Dutch, Bavarian, Norwegian, Flemish, Colloquial Moroccan Arabic, Frisian and Irish. I shall present some data from these languages in due course but first of all let us consider one Romance language in particular, French.

Kayne(1976) observes that French embedded tensed sentences are introduced by que, which in the following contexts cannot be deleted:
a. Verbal complement:

12) Elle a dit que tout va bien
    She said that all is well

b. Noun complement:

13) L'idée que Jean aurait pu faire ça est absurde
    The idea that Jean could have done that is absurd

c. Sentences embedded as subjects:

14) Que tu ais dit cela ne m'as pas surpris du tout
    That you could have said that doesn't surprise me

d. Tensed sentences associated with comparatives and related structures:

15) Juliette est aussi charmante que je le croyais

    Juliette is as charming as I thought


However, the only systematic case of <u>que</u> being absent in embedded tensed sentences is that of wh-constructions: embedded interrogatives and relative clauses:

16) On ne sait pas d'où elle vient

    We don't know where she comes from


17) La "fille" avec qui tu parles est un mec

    The "girl" with whom you talk is a guy


Kayne (ibid.) notes that wh-words in French, like <u>lequel</u> for example, cannot occur in the same context as <u>que</u>:

18) * Le champagne lequel je prefère n'est pas assez froid

    The champagne which I prefer is not cold enough


In these cases, <u>lequel</u> is replaced by <u>que</u>:

19) Le champagne que je prefère est maintenant froid

    The champagne that I prefer is now cold


This leads Kayne (ibid.) to conclude that <u>que</u> and wh-words are mutually exclusive in standard French, Cf:

20) *La fille avec qui que [tu parlais s'appelle Marie]


    'The girl with whom you talked is called Marie'


21) *La fille qu'avec qui [tu parlais s'appelle Marie]

This que then, occurring in relative clauses, is a 'complementizer', whereas lequel or qui are relative pronouns, defined by Kayne (ibid.) as 'any (complex) element which represents the spelling out in surface structure of a relativised NP'. Although in Standard French an overt wh-phrase co-occurring with the complementizer que is ungrammatical, such prohibition does not exist in some other varieties of French, in which they are not mutually exclusive:

Canadian French:
(Kayne, 1976):

22) La fille avec qui que je parle

The girl with who that I speak

23) Où que tu vas ?

Where that you go ?

24) De quoi que tu parles ?

Of what that you speak ?

25) Je me demande comment qu'elle a pu faire ça

I ask myself how she could have done that

This proves that both can be overt. However, in Standard French, like Standard English, this doubling is not attested.

Present approaches propose, however, that an "empty operator" moves to SPEC of CP, which can host phrasal categories such as wh-phrases preposed by wh-movement or empty operators:

26)  L'homme [que [ Jean a vu O ]]

27)  L'homme [$O_i$ que [Jean a vu $t_i$]]

31

The same treatment is conferred to English "covert" relative pronouns. In English we also find, in addition to overt relative pronouns (who, which, when, why), relative pronouns which are not phonetically realised. These have been termed by Chomsky (1981) 'empty wh-operators'. In

28) The book [ [C that[ I put O on the table]]]

like in French, the O(perator) stands for an empty (zero) relative wh-NP operator, which undergoes wh-movement:

29) The book [O [that [ I put t on the table]]]

Thus the S-structure has an empty wh-pronoun O as the leftmost constituent left of that, in [SPEC,CP]. This leads us to conclude that the SPEC-head agreement relation does not have to manifest itself overtly: both in standard varieties of French and English the presence of an empty operator in the SPEC of CP, co-indexed with its overt head (English that or French que) prove that this is so.

We shall see in section 2.3 how the complementizer can show agreement features which are morphologically overt in numerous languages. We shall next consider the theoretical implications of SPEC-head agreement in CP.

## 2.3 The Structure of CP

In the previous section, we have looked at examples that show that it is possible to have lexical material in both the SPEC and head of CP. When this is not the case, an empty operator is postulated in the SPEC position, or else an empty C.

I shall take as point of departure Rizzi(1990), as this work aims to explain in a principled manner the so-called doubly-filled Comp effect.

Take for example the following pair of (grammatical) English sentences:


30) Who do you think [t O [t left]]


31) Who O [t left]


Rizzi (ibid.) argues that their grammaticality is due to the SPEC of CP being filled with a wh-operator or a trace, which turns the head C from its "inert" head status to a proper head governor. This line of argument, based on the analysis proposed by Chomsky (1986b), allows us to express the relationship between the wh-operator (or trace) and the head C in terms of SPEC-head agreement. This is achieved via indexation of the head and its SPEC, as they follow the general pattern of agreement between a specifier and its head. This is not an abstract relation: Rizzi maintains that the SPEC-head agreement in the domain of Comp is necessary to create an appropriate head governor for the subject trace, occupying the SPEC of IP position. It is this relation which turns C into a head governor: I to C movement does not confer governing properties to C.

Let us next look at the "features" of C. Rizzi (ibid.) maintains that in English a complementizer to a tensed clause can be expanded as:


32)     C—▸that
        AGR


This expansion is optional: a tensed C can also be expanded as nothing at all. In standard English these two options are in complementary distribution. AGR, as we know, can be an independent head with its own inflectional projection (AGRP) or be assigned to another head as a feature (or set of features) for example assigned to C. In English that and an unexpanded C are considered inert for government, while AGR (or a head which has acquired agreement features) is a governor. If AGR is chosen for the head of CP it must be co-indexed with its specifier (which Rizzi regards as a primitive property of agreement): hence SPEC of CP must be filled by a wh-operator or trace.

A complement, in Rizzi's view, is governed in a stronger way than a specifier. This is why in the following configuration, t and t' do not have the same relation with respect to I:

33)
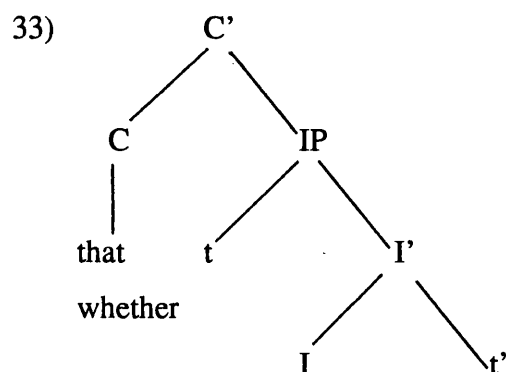


I governs its complement VP in the canonical direction of English (left to right), whereas it governs the subject in the non-canonical direction. By this definition, properly means canonically. Furthermore, it is proposed that a trace must be head-governed "within the immediate projection of the head", that is, governed by X within X'. Therefore, in:

34) * Who do you think [t' that [t left]]

t' antecedent-governs t but this does not meet the proper head-government requirement:

35)

```
                    VP
                   /  \
                  V    CP
                  |   /  \
               think SPEC  C'
                     |    /  \
                     t'  C    IP
                         |   /  \
                       that SPEC  I'
                            |    /  \
                            t   I    VP
                                     |
                                    left
```
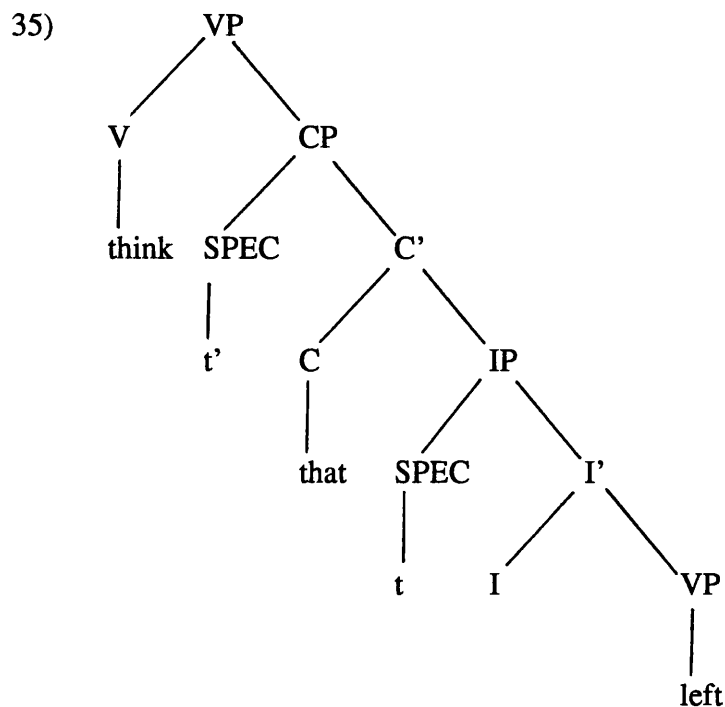
I does not govern t canonically (ie, from right to left). that (a head inert for government) does not govern t at all under the definition of head government[1].

In English, I to C movement does not confer governing properties to C. So that in:

36)

```
        CP
          \
           C'
          /  \
         C    IP
             /  \
          SPEC   I'
            |   /  \
           NP  I
```
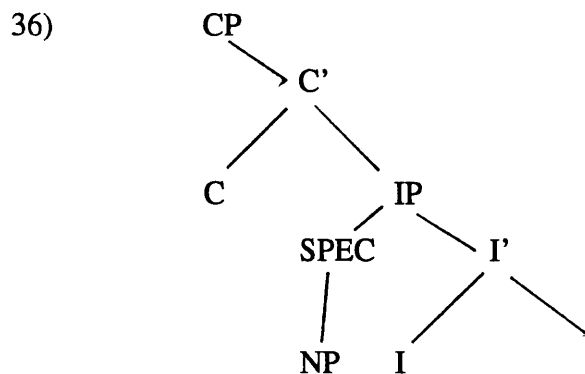
C is inert for government as I governs NP (after I-to-C movement) but not within its immediate projection, C' not being the immediate projection of I, and I' not containing the subject NP). Therefore in :

37) * who did [ t see Mary] (not emphatic reading)

the subject trace fails to be properly head-governed under this definition of government:

38)

```
          CP
        /    \
      who      C'
            /     \
          C         IP
          |        /  \
          I      NP     I'
          |      |     /  \
         did     t    I     VP
                     /       \
                    V
                    |
                   see
```
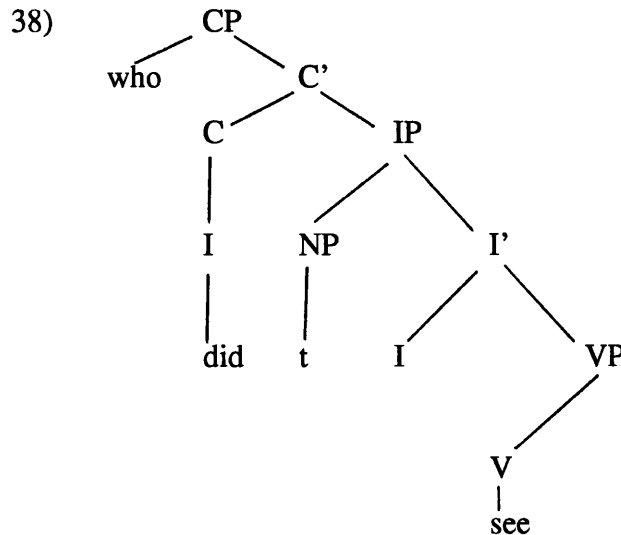
39) * Who do you think [ t that [t INFL left]]

and

40) * Who did [t INFL leave] (not emphatic reading)

are ungrammatical, because in 39) that (which is the head of CP, being in C) is inert for government, hence the ECP is violated[2]. This claim by Rizzi is based on the classical formulation of the ECP (Chomsky 1981), by which it is stated that a non-pronominal empty category must be lexically governed or antecedent governed. In 40) (also ungrammatical) it is assumed that the movement of the auxiliary to C involves substitution for C, only feasible if C is empty, in which case C is inert for government and the movement of the inflected auxiliary cannot turn it into a proper governor.

An intervening overt complementizer is not enough, if we go by Rizzi's analysis, to block antecedent-government relations. Recall that the early standard analysis of Comp involved only one position, so that the ungrammaticality of:

41) * Who do you think [ t' that [ t left ]]

was explained by the claim that t' couldn't antecedent-govern t because the c-command requirement on government was not fulfilled:

42)

```
           S'
          /  \
        /      \
      COMP      \
      / \        \ S
     /   \       /
    /     \     /
   /       \   /
  t'      that  t
```
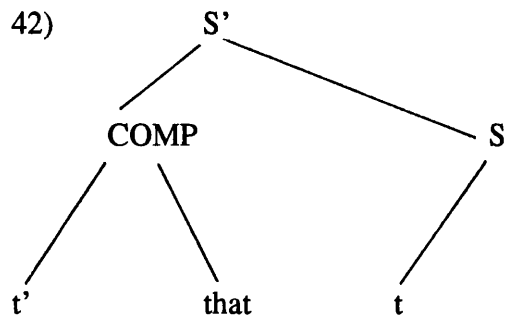
as the first branching node dominating t' was COMP, and t' couldn't antecedent-govern the trace t.

However, when the structure of CP is made to conform with X'-theory (in accordance with the analysis provided by Chomsky (1986b)), as we can see underneath, t' and that no longer occupy the same node: t' is in SPEC of CP and that in C:

43)

```
           CP
          /  \
        /      \
      t'       C'
             /   \
           C'     \
          /  \     \ IP
         C    \    /  \
         |     \  /    \
         |      \/      \
        that    t
```
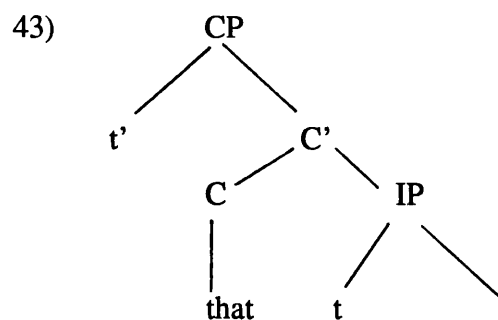
In short, there were theoretical reasons why an overt complementizer blocks antecedent government, but a null one doesn't, as we can attest by the ungrammaticality of :

44) * Who do you think [ t' that [ t left ]]

These reasons fail in recent theories. However, under Rizzi's theoretical framework

(that of relativized minimality[3]), the ungrammaticality of 'that - trace effects' in English is due to a violation of the head-government requirement, rather than to a violation of antecedent-government, since the trace in SPEC IP is not properly head-governed by C, and it couldn't be, since C, as we explained above, is not the immediate projection of the head I.

## 2.4 SPEC-head agreement: C and morphological inflection

Some languages show overt morphological modification of COMP when a wh-phrase moves to [SPEC,CP]. This is taken as further evidence that agreement in COMP takes place and as such is a generally available process in UG. We shall take the position that agreement between SPEC of CP and C is compulsory, be it overt or not.
Evidence for C and SPEC agreement is not confined to Indo-European languages. In non-Indo-European languages there is evidence for such form of agreement as well. Kinande, a Bantu language of Zaire illustrates this. In this language interrogative elements involve agreement in class between a wh-element in [SPEC,CP] and C (data from Schneider-Zioga (1987), quoted in Rizzi):

45) IyondI    y0        Kambale    alangIra
    who(cl.1)  that(cl.1)  Kambale    saw


46) EkIhI     ky0       Kambale    alamgIra
    what(cl.7) that(cl.7) Kambale    saw

In Indo-European languages the SPEC-head agreement phenomenon is quite well represented. Irish presents what Rizzi (ibid.) interprets as obligatory SPEC-head agreement with a trace, as the complementizer of a sentence from which a wh-phrase is extracted must change from go to aL. This change in the morphological form of C is taken to reflect the fact that SPEC-head agreement has taken place:

47) An rud    aL   shil me    aL duirt tu   aL  dheanfa $t$

The thing that  thought I that said you that you'd do  t


I shall concentrate on data from Germanic and Romance languages and see in which way C can be said to "inflect", but first of all, a look at English. We find that in Standard English there is no such thing as an "agreeing" form of C in declarative sentences:


48) I know that you are right


Modern English allows that (the relative complementizer) to be present only when the specifier of a relative clause is not filled with a wh-word. This implies that the following sentence is ungrammatical:


49) * The thing which that you drew


In middle English however this was a grammatical sentence, as it is nowadays in some other Germanic dialects and languages.

In earlier versions of the UG theory, a surface filter was thought to apply at S-structure to block the appearance of the wh-phrase and the complementizer, so that a COMP that contained both a wh-phrase and a complementizer was excluded as ill-formed - in such early version of the theory (Chomsky & Lasnik (1977)) a rule adjoined the wh-phrase in the COMP position, to the left of the complementizer.

The nature of C was stated as:


50) COMP    +/- WH


The expansion of COMP was -WH for the complementizer category that marks non-interrogatives (-WH elements such as that, for or null comp), and +WH for interrogatives (which, what, etc). A rule of deletion in COMP would then permit either element in COMP to delete freely to create the right output.

However, quite apart from the fact that the structure this filter was thought to apply

to at S-structure is now obsolete (as stated earlier COMP did not conform to X'
theory) a filter thus formulated would fail to distinguish cases in which a doubly-filled
COMP is not ungrammatical, such as in I-to-C movement in English or V2 in
German. In the spirit of Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), Rizzi (ibid.) proposes a typology
of complementizer types for a partial specification of different kinds of COMP, using
the following binary features:

51)    a +/- WH

       b +/- predicative


The combined features give the following output in English:


52) +WH -pred: (I wonder) what 0 [you saw t]


53) +WH +pred: The thing which 0 [you saw t]


54) -WH +pred: The thing Op that [you saw t]


55) -WH -pred: (I know)    that [you saw it]


In which:


        [+wh] C must co-occur with a [+wh] Operator in its SPEC at S-structure and
LF.


        [-wh] C can't occur with a [+wh] SPEC.


This feature specification is meant to demonstrate that SPEC-head agreement is
compulsory in the domain of COMP. Moreover, the    [+wh] specification is
compulsory for questions and the [+pred] specifies C for relative clauses.


In Modern English then we won't find:

56) * The thing which that happened

    +wh    -wh


not because a "Doubly-filled Comp" filter applies (as earlier analyses maintained) but because there is an inconsistent feature specification of SPEC and head of CP.

An overt C, Rizzi points out, may not be in absolute agreement with its A' SPEC, but with the head of a relative clause, eg:


57) The thing that t occurred is regrettable


It is argued that in the above sentence _that_ is in agreement with _the thing_. In Arabic we find that an overt C agrees with the subject of predication, for the head of a relative clause. So Rizzi proposes two types of agreement for the C position:


Agreement with SPEC of COMP is agreement with an A' position


Agreement with the subject of predication is agreement with an A position


Thus in English, the +pred C carrying A-Agreement is realised as _that_. Agreement with the subject of predication in relative clauses result in C being realised as _som_ in Scandinavian, and in French as _qui_.


## 2.5 SPEC-head "agreement" in Germanic languages and overt C


Haegeman (1991) states that movement to the head of CP in Germanic languages is supported by the observation that in certain Dutch and German dialects C has inflectional features which are overt. Recall that German and Dutch are classified as SOV languages in which the word-order typical of root clauses is "verb second" (and hence they are termed "V2 languages"). In English this is instantiated by the movement of the finite auxiliary to C, and of the wh-word to [SPEC,CP] in:

58) Whom will John t love t ?

Movement (of V to C) is triggered by preposing a wh-phrase (or a negative phrase) to [SPEC,CP] in English. This is explained by Haegeman (following an account by Lightfoot (1989) as due to the fact that once [SPEC,CP] is "activated" the head C must contain lexical material as well.

Germanic languages such as German and Dutch have the characteristic of having a "head-final" VP. In this case IP is also head final and it occurs to the right of VP. This is attested in embedded clases of the type:

59) (German) : (Es ist unmöglich) daß Hans das Buch/kauft hat
     *ge*
     ( It is improbable ) that Hans has bought the book

In which we can see that the auxiliary <u>hat</u> follows the non-finite verb.
For root declaratives and wh-questions,eg:

60) Kauft Hans das Buch ?
     Does Hans buy the book ?

61) Hans kauft das Buch
     Hans buys the book

the verb (after moving head to head to I, the closest c-commanding head position) moves to C. This entails that the subject moves from SPEC,IP to SPEC,CP in root declaratives:

62)

```
                    CP
                  /    \
            Hans       C'
                      /   \
                   C        IP
                   |       /   \
                   |     NP       I'
                   |     |       /   \
                 kauft   t     VP      I
                             /    \    |
                           NP      V   t
                          /____\   |
                         das Buch  t
```
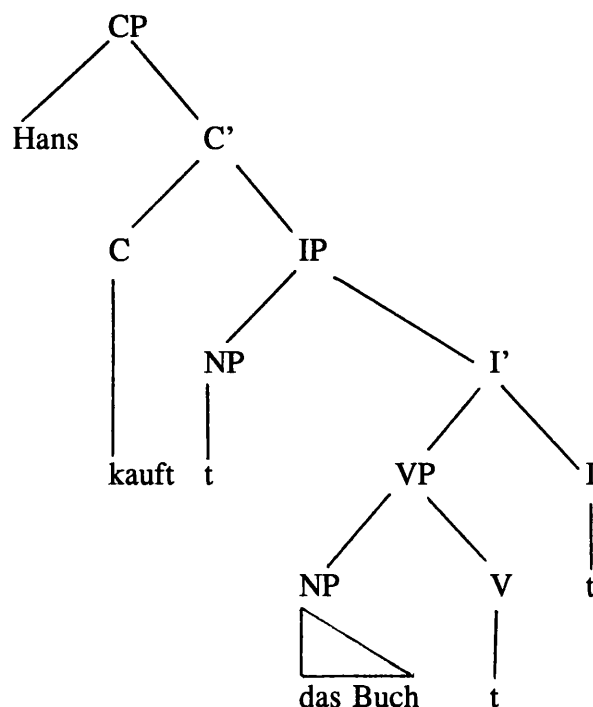
The head of CP, then, is shown to be capable of containing verbal lexical material, which leads Haegeman (1991) to remark that there is "a clear affinity" between verbal inflection and inflection in C.

This is also further argument for the SPEC-head agreement in the CP. Such agreement is further realised in Germanic dialects such as West Flemish, in which it is attested that the Complementizer dat, which introduces subordinate clauses is inflected for person and number:

Compare the following interrogative sentences with their embedded clause counterparts in West Flemish (data from Haegeman,1991):

63) Goa Jan noa Gent ?

    Does John go to Ghent ?

64) da Jan noa Gent goat

    that Jan goes to Ghent

65) Goan-k (ik) noa gent ?

    Go I to Ghent ?

66) dan-k noa Gent goan

that I go to Ghent


67) Goa-me (we) noa Gent ?

Do we go to Ghent ?


68) da-me noa Gent goan

that we go to Ghent


69) Goan Jan en Pol noa Gent ?

Do John and Paul go to Ghent ?


70) dan Jan en Pol noa Gent goan

That John and Paul go to Ghent


We can see from the above examples that the complementizer that has the forms da, dan-k, and dan inflected according to person and number.

Movement of the verb (V to I to C) seems to be obligatory in German and Dutch. In English this is only possible, as we have exemplified, when a wh-phrase or a negative phrase is moves to [SPEC,CP]. This is likely to be due to the fact that in Dutch or German the complementizers (dat and daß respectively) cannot be deleted as they are in English (Haegeman, ibid.):


71) * Ik denk Jan ziek is (Dutch)
'I think Jan is sick'

72) * Ich glaube Jan krank ist (German)
'I think Jan is sick'

This data suggests that C must be obligatorily filled in Dutch and German, and therefore in subordinate clauses there is a complementizer position (filled by dat or daß, which are not deleted). In main clauses, on the other hand, as there isn't a realised complementizer, the verb becomes the lexical material to fill the C position. Haegeman (ibid.) suggests that C must be filled in Dutch and German for reasons to

do with Case: it may so happen that Nominative is assigned from C in Dutch and German (and not from I, as it is in English)

However, the dialects of Dutch which show agreement in C are varied. Zwart (1991) quotes South Hollandic, Zeeuws Flemish, West Flemish, East Flemish, Groningen, East Netherlandic, Brabants and Limburgish as examples of such form of agreement. (Other Germanic varieties present this trait as well, such as Bavarian and Luxemburgish). It is not always the case that "C inflection" is identical to "I inflection": in some cases, the complementizer agreement morphology differs from verbal agreement morphology, as the following examples show:

In the following group of dialects inflection in C is akin to verbal inflection: (quoted in Zwart, 1991).

73) South Hollandic, (Van Haeringen 1939)

dat - (t) e   ze    kom  (m)  e
that - PL     they   come - PL

74) Groningen, (Von Ginneken, 1939)

of -s         toe   kom -s
whether -2sg   you   come 2sg

75) Luxemburgish, (Bruch 1973)

Géi  wuer   s   de   well-s
go    where 2sg  you  want 2sg

76) Munich Bavarian, (Kufner 1961)

damid - ds   komm  - ds
so that 2PL   come    2PL

45

(quoted in Law, 1991)

77) Bavarian, (Bayer 1984)

I woass dassts    ihr Spitzbuam seits
I know  that 2PL  you PL rascals are


Wenn-st    du  kummst
If(2sing)  you come


78) Frisian, (Hoekstra & Maracz, 1990)

Hy tinkt datst    do    jûn    komst
He thinks that 2sg  you tonight come 2sg


However, Zwart (1991) presents data which shows that the complementizer inflection can differ from verbal inflection:

79) Brabants (Zwart, 1991)

dat - de  gullie kom -t
that - 2Pl  you    come 2PL


80) East Netherlandic (Van Haeringen, 1958)

dat - (t) e    wij    speul - t
that   1PL    we    play  1PL


81) West Flemish (Haegeman 1990, Goeman 1980)

da - 0 - j        gie kom - t
that 2sg you(cl)  you  come 2sg

This is due to the fact, Zwart (ibid.) argues, that complementizer agreement is not like ordinary SPEC-head agreement found in IP. Complementizer agreement never shows a complete paradigm as it is commonly found in verbal inflection. His main hypothesis is that AGR-s moves to C. Rizzi (1990) takes the view that in Germanic languages the movement of I to C is possible because the verb is attracted by morphosyntactic features in C: that is, C is subcategorized to host an inflected verb. *Contra* Rizzi (1990), Zwart (ibid.) does not make reference to a feature specification of COMP, but proposes that AGR-to-Comp always takes place in all varieties of Dutch and German even when complementizer agreement is not overt. Such movement also accounts for the lack of that-trace effects in Dutch and other Germanic dialects.

French and West Flemish are instances of languages which present an agreeing complementizer in cases of subject but not object extraction. In West Flemish, however, this agreement is optional:

French:

82) Qui est-ce que tu penses t qui / * que est venu ?

who do you think has come ?


83) Qui est-ce que tu penses t que / * qui nous avons rencontré ?

who do you think we have met ?


West Flemish (Zwart,1991):


84) den vent da Valere peinst t da / die ons gezien eet

the man that Valere thinks t that/who us seen hat


85) den vent da Valere peinst da / * die me wunder gezien t een

the man that Valere thinks that / * who we have seen


For Rizzi(1990) French qui is que + agreement. Comp can be turned into a head governor by taking on agreement features. This agreement in French is restricted: it occurs only when the subject adjacent to C is extracted, and not with object extraction.

This selection for extraction seems to apply to West Flemish as well.

Rizzi's interpretation for the various cases of agreeing complementizers in Germanic dialects as a case of C agreeing with its complement IP and hence with its head I, so that French qui and West Flemish die get analyzed as a C that agrees with its SPEC (the trace) and its complement (IP). This takes place when the subject is wh-moved through the SPEC of C:

86) [ t' C [ t I ...]]

That is, t' agrees with C, t agrees with I and since t and t' are identical by transitivity C agrees with the maximal projection of I, the complement of C, ie IP.

Other authors such as Law (1991) consider the possibility of abstract verb movement at LF to account for Comp agreement in Germanic. The verb-second constraint and the lack of that-trace effect in these languages are assumed to hold at the LF-level of grammatical representation. The phi-features that C selects (as Rizzi 1990 claims) are argued by Law (ibid.) to have semantic correlates: [V + I] can only replace C at LF if they share the same phi-features. His analysis is based on a proposal put forward by Taraldsen (1986) for the Norwegian complementizer som, in which such complementizer is taken to be an expletive. Only those complementizers that have no inherent feature other than their categorial feature can be removed at LF by deletion if they have phi-features they can be removed by substitution. Law suggests that the French comp qui and wh-phrases in interrogatives and empty operators in relative clauses have a feature: [+Op] (operator). The complementizer que, however, lacks this feature, (it is only categorized as C ), and hence cannot be replaced at LF by [V + I]:

This is why subject extraction across qui is well-formed:
S-Structure: (Law,1991)

87) [CP Qui$_i$ [crois tu [CP qui [IP t$_i$ vient$_j$ + I [ VP t$_i$ ]]]]]]
     [+OP]           [+OP]     [+OP]

LF:

88) [CP Qui$_i$ [crois-tu [ CP [ vient + I]$_k$ [IP t$_k$ ]]]]]]

And object extraction across <u>que</u> is not:

S-structure:

89) * [Qui$_j$ [crois-tu [CP que [IP t$_j$ [vient$_i$ + I [VP t$_i$ ]]]]]]
    [+OP]              [+OP]

LF:

90) * [CP Qui$_j$ [crois-tu [CP [ O [IP t$_j$ [ [ vient + I ]]]]]]]

This alternative analysis makes use of the features in common that complementizers and verbal complexes share, while making use of LF.

The Scandinavian languages seem to allow a 'doubly-filled comp'. Danish presents data which supports the claim that languages can have a phonetically realised form for a [+wh] C and a [+wh] subcategorized Operator in SPEC position.[4]

In Danish we find such cases of agreement in relative clauses:

non-standard Danish

91) Den sne  som   der faldt i fjor
    The snow which that fell last year

Standard Danish:

92) Hin fandt en aeske i hvilken der lå et kostbart smykke
    She found a box   in which   that lay a precious piece of jewellery

49

93) Hvem der har lyst, kan gå med

   Who  that hast will, can come with

   Whoever feels like it, can come with us


Vikner(1990) argues in favour of an analysis in which, if C shows person and number agreement, this should be taken to be a direct manifestation of a feature [+I] in C. In Danish, the language Vikner concentrates on in his study, there are two types of elements that can fill C in relative clauses: som and der. Vikner argues, following Rizzi, that som and der have the same ability to properly govern the SPEC of IP as qui in French and die/da in West Flemish. 'Weak' complementizers such as at or no complementizer at all are ungrammatical:

Danish:


   Vi kender mange linguister...

   We know many linguists...


94) * [CP OP O [IP t vil laese denne bog ]]

                  will read this book


95) * [CP OP at [IP t vil laese denne bog ]]

           that     will read this book


96) [CP OP der [IP t vil laese denne bog]]

        that/who will read this book


97) [CP OP som [IP t vil laese denne bog]]

        that/who     will read this book


The complementizer der in Danish can be doubled, whereas som requires an empty

operator in [SPEC,CP]. This doubling, however, is marked (and regarded as colloquial):

( ?? means in Vikner's data that it is not accepted by all speakers)

98) ?? Jeg kender en pige [CP hvis hund der t spiser aebler]

    I know a girl whose dog that eats apples

99) ? Je ved [CP hvis hund der t spiser aebler]

    I know whose dog that eats apples

100) ? Jeg ved ikke [CP hvem du tror [ t der [ t har gjort det]]

    I know  not    who you believe that has done it

Danish <u>der</u> behaves like French <u>qui</u> and West Flemish <u>die</u>, in the sense that it must agree with its own SPEC and the SPEC of its complement. In other words, <u>der</u> is ungrammatical if there is an overt NP in [SPEC,IP]:

Cf.

    Vir kender en bog ...

    We know a book ...

101) * [CP OP$_i$ der [IP denne linguist$_j$ har last t$_i$ ]]

    that this linguist has read

When both SPECs are co-indexed, then <u>der</u> may occur:

    Vir kender en linguist ...

    We know a linguist ...

102) [CP OP$_i$ som$_i$ [CP t$_i$ der$_i$ [ t$_i$ vil laese denne bog]]

    who    that    will read this book

(this is regardless of <u>som</u> and leaving aside the CP representation chosen by Vikner,

which uses an iterated CP). In French then, <u>qui</u> is only possible when there is agreement between IP-SPEC and CP-SPEC:

> 103) Le cadre<sub>i</sub> que<sub>i</sub> tu penses [CP OP<sub>i</sub> qui<sub>i</sub> [IP t<sub>i</sub> a demissioné] ]
>
>   The manager that you think that(+agr) t has resigned

And the same claim holds for West Flemish, although <u>die</u> can be replaced by the normal complementizer <u>da</u> ( an option not open for French):
(From Bennis & Haegeman, quoted in Vikner, 1990):

> 104) Den vent da Pol peinst [CP OP die [IP t gekommen ist]]
>
>   The man that Paul thinks      that(+agr) come is
>
>   'The man who Paul thinks has come'

Some Germanic languages have a special complementizer for relative clauses. This is not a unique trait, as a special relative complementizer is found for example in Semitic languages: Hebrew has <u>?asher</u> and Standard Arabic has <u>?alladhi</u> (from Rizzi (1990)) These languages are assumed to have a C which is subcategorized as [+pred] which can also be [+wh]. The latter feature allows such complementizer to occur with an overt relative pronoun, as it is the case in Bavarian German:
(Russ, 1990)

> 105) Der Mann, den wo ich gesehen habe
>
>   The man  who that I saw yesterday

Some other Germanic varieties use a special complementizer for Relative Clauses but do not double the relative pronoun, as it is the case with Zurich and Bernese German (where a single complementizer, <u>wo</u> is unspecified for gender:

(Arquint,1982):

106) de Maa ⎫
    d Frau ⎬ wo geschter choo isch, si ggrüesst hend
    s Chind ⎭

The man/woman/child who yesterday came, they greeted

The discussion so far has covered the various manifestations of C: how C can "double" and how it can have different forms. We shall next consider how C can host a verb in verb-second languages.

As we have seen in the previous section, in Germanic languages (German, Dutch and Scandinavian languages) the subject moves to [SPEC,CP] from [SPEC,IP] and the inflected verb moves to C:

107) Johann$_i$ [hat [ t$_i$ Maria gesehen] INFL ]]]
    'Johann has seen Maria'

In these Germanic languages, C is said to be endowed with tense features, which "attract" I(NFL), which triggers V-2 structures in all main and some embedded tense clauses. This (according to Rizzi 1990) is what qualifies C for government of the SPEC,IP position, and thus makes it possible to have a subject trace in the above sentences.

In English, also a Germanic language, we find that I-to-C movement is no longer "productive", and hence we find that verb second is found in construction specific forms such as :

108) Barely had I seen him, that my heart sank

109) Not only was Mary a good friend, she was wacky as well

According to Rizzi (ibid.), this I-to-C movement is possibly triggered by a matrix clause C which is specified as [+ wh ], a feature which does not belong to the class

53

of potential governors nor does it turn C into a governor either.

Subject extraction from an embedded clause is found to be acceptable in German:

110) Wer hat sie gesagt [ t' [ ist gekommen ]]]
'Who has she said has come?'

English on the other hand, does not subject extraction across a full C:

111)  * Who do you think [ t' that [ t left ]]

Rizzi argues that it is not the position of INFL which brings about the difference between English and German (the former an SVO language, the latter an SOV language), but the nature of head government. A "linear" definition of government predicts that the subject trace will always be licensed in SOV languages, and that languages which are, like English, SVO, will not accept subject extraction. This is due to the nature of canonical government (after Kayne 1984). In English it is from left to right, which means that the subject trace will be on the "wrong side" of I for government. In German, canonical government is from right to left, hence the subject trace is, under this approach, governed.

A linear definition of head-government predicts no subject-object asymmetries in OV, Infl-final languages, which in fact is attested. It is not always the case that subject extraction is freely allowed in German. In some Northern varieties of German it has been found that subject extraction is less grammatically accepted than object extraction (Rizzi, ibid., data from Fanselow, 1987).
Cf:

112) ? Was glaubt Hans, daß Fritz  t  gestohlen hat ?
What does Hans believe that Fritz has stolen ?

vs.

113) * Wer glaubt Hans, daß t  das Auto gestohlen hat ?
Who does Hans believe that has stolen the car ?

Rizzi (ibid.) also reports subject extraction from a wh-island as worse than object extraction:

114) ?? Radios habe ich vergessen wie [ man t repariert]    ,
'Radios I have forgotten how one repairs '

115) * Linguisten habe ich vergessen wie [ t  Radios reparieren]
'Linguists I have forgotten how radios [they]
repair '

This asymmetry is explained in terms of Rizzi's hierarchical definition of government.

In subject extraction, I does not govern its SPEC position:

116) * Wer glaubt Hans, daß t das Auto gestohlen hat ?
'Who does Hans believe (that) has stolen the car? '

117)
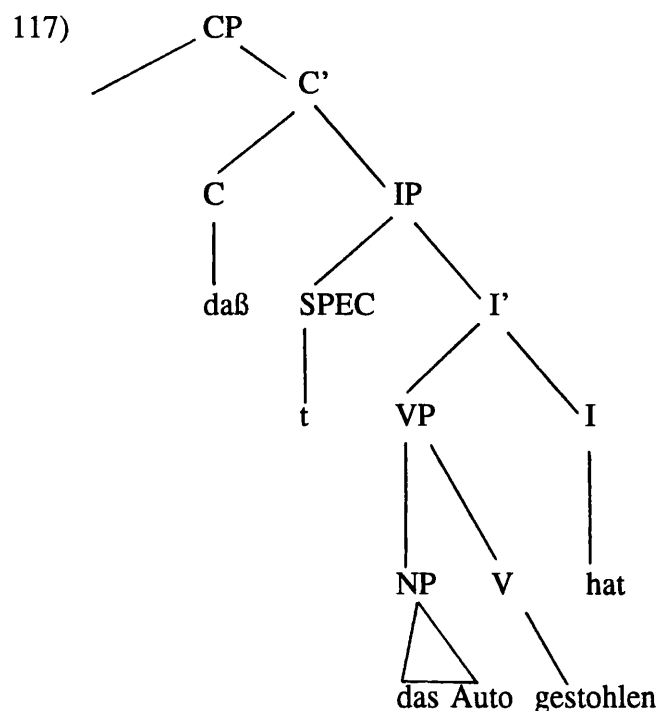


In this configuration we can see that I cannot license the subject trace in the IP specifier, as it is not governed in the immediate projection of the head I (the immediate projection of I, I', governs VP).

This is why object extraction is more acceptable, as the trace is governed by the immediate projection of V (ie, V'):

118) ? Was glaubt Hans, daß Fritz t gestohlen hat ?
'What does Hans believe that Fritz has stolen ?'

119)

```
                    CP
              _____/ \
             /        C'
            /        / \
           /        C   \ IP
                  daß   / \
                       /   \
                    SPEC   I'
                     |    / \
                     |   /   \
                   Fritz VP   \ I
                       / \     |
                      /   \    |
                     /     V'  hat
                    /     / \
                  NP     /   \
                   |    /     V
                   |   NP      |
                   t          gestohlen
```
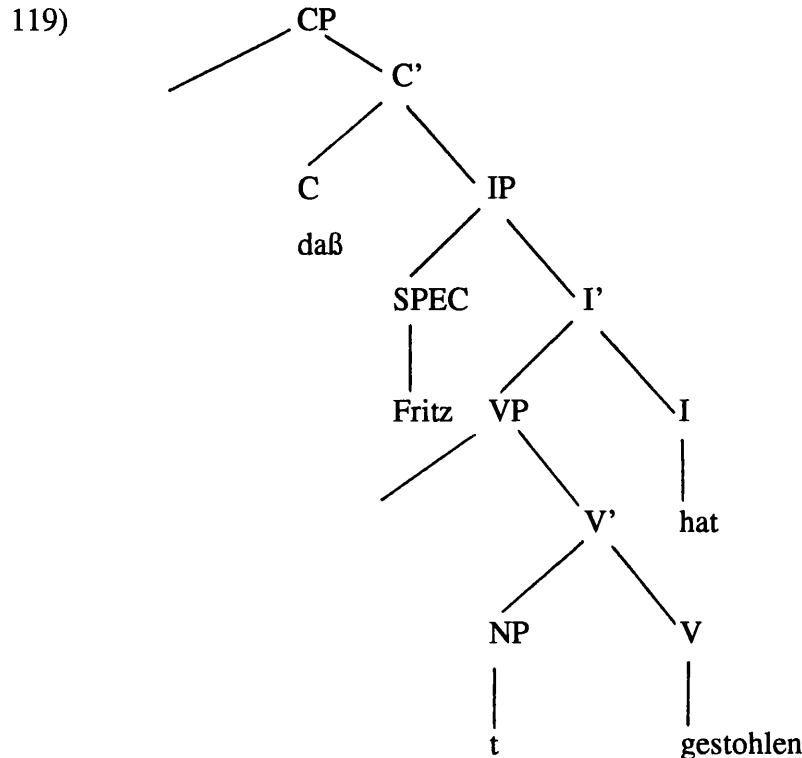
The hierarchical definition states then that a trace must be head-governed within the immediate projection of the head, a requirement which is not fulfilled in the case of English subject extraction in the presence of that (see section 2.2).

## 2.6 "V2 Effects" in Romance Languages with reference to SPEC-head agreement in CP

What some authors like Jensen (1990) call "the most striking feature of Medieval French Structure" and describe in terms of "inversion" (a change from S-V to V-S in the syntax) has been re-analyzed within the theory of generative grammar as a manifestation of V2 effects in Romance. These V2 effects are only attestable, like in German, in the main clause:

(data from Jensen, (ibid.):

> 120) plurent Franceis pur pitét de Rollant
>
>    cried the French for pity of Roland
>
>    'The French cried for pity towards Roland'

> 121) bon consel aroie je cier
>
>    good advice would I appreciate
>
>    'I would appreciate good advice'

Occitan was also a V2 language:

> 122) lo vers a faich Peirols
>
>    the verse has done Peirols
>
>    'Peirols has done the verse'

Lema and Rivero (1989) report that, the non-finite main verb precedes the pronominal forms not only in Old Spanish and Old French, but also in modern Rumanian and European Portuguese:

Old Spanish:

> 123) no mas atrever-me-ia a entrar
>
>    no more dare I would to enter
>
>    'I would no more dare to enter'

Modern Portuguese:

> 124) Dir-se-ia un povo predestinado
>
>    say-se(imp) would a people destined
>
>    'One would say a predestined people'

Modern Romanian:

125) Datu - v a vreodata prin gind sa faceti un ?

Given you has ever through mind subj. you make deed good?

'Has it ever occurred to you to do something good ?'

This verb-clitic order is evidence for Lema and Rivero that the non-finite verb moves to C. Such movement, they claim, is due in Modern Romanian to "illocutionary factors"; in Old Romance and modern Portuguese, it is due to the need to obey clitic-second constraints. Lema and Rivero (ibid.) propose that the verb moves to C in one whole swoop, without passage through I. We shall not pursue such line of argumentation because it violates the head movement constraint, even if the authors argue that such violation can be circumvented via co-indexation between I (which they call AUX) and V.

Adams (1987) reports that V2 effects and pro-drop (loss of obligatory subject pronouns) were concurrent features in Old French. Other Romance dialects in the period surveyed by Adams (12th and 13th century) such as Northern Italian dialects, Swiss Italian dialects, and Franco-Provençal presented V2 effects as well. They were also pro-drop dialects. These two features were not unrelated: null subjects were only allowed because these Romance dialects were V2, as the verb (in C, as we shall argue) was able to license a null pronoun in [SPEC,CP].

In Old French the pattern exhibited was: V2 effects and empty subjects in main clauses, and SVO order and lexical subjects in complement clauses[5]. These dialects, Adams (ibid.) notes, have today obligatory subject clitics. Once they lost V2 effects they were unable to license null subjects. These Romance dialects, however, seem to have evolved further than French: Adam (ibid.) points out that if the subject clitic is analyzed as part of inflection, then this is proof that they have once again become pro-drop (popular French is also developing along similar lines). The V2 is not lost to all Romance speaking areas. It is still present in Ladin dialects such as Gardenese and

Badiotto. The presence of V2 phenomena is not surprising as these dialects are spoken in the border between Italy and Switzerland, that is, in contact with Swiss German-speaking areas (and consequently with a V2 language).

In addition to "V2 effects" in Old Romance, we have "clitic second effects", that is, clitic pronouns appearing obligatorily in the "second position" in the clause. This has been analyzed in the literature via different approaches, but all using a CP or an equivalent.

Benincà (1991) looks into the process through which a proclitic pronoun becomes enclitic, traditionally expressed in terms of a syntactic "law" proposed by Tobler and Mussafia at the end of the 19th century, intended to explain "clitic-second effects" in Old Romance. The Tobler-Mussafia's law states that a clitic before a verb is ungrammatical in clause initial position, whereas it is grammatical both in sentence initial and in sentence internal position.

Benincà (ibid.) argues that the Medieval Romance languages are V2 languages, and that variation attested is due to the activation of a TOP position above CP. Those languages which do not make use of such position appear to be of a rigid V2 type. Of the group of languages surveyed, only Old French (12th and 13th century) seems to be a true V2 type: V moves to the head of CP (that is, to C), and the TOP phrase (proposed by Benincà) is not used:

126)  A cestes paroles respont la reine

To these words  answered the queen

'The queen answered to these words'

Benincà proposes that Medieval Northern Italian dialects such as Piedmontese, Venetian and FLorentine are not V2, as the verb does not appear in a strict V2 position but also in 1st, 3rd or 4th position. The preposed constituents are not in [SPEC,CP] but in TOP:

Florentine:

> 127) Quello che tu vorrai mi renderai e gli altri ti terrai
>
> What you want you will give back and keep back the rest

In these Northern Italian dialects the SPEC position of CP is considered to be occupied by an abstract operator, the evidence for which is the fact that proclisis (clitic-verb order) is attested. In Old French, only enclisis is possible (ie, Verb-clitic) because the SPEC of CP is empty.

We shall look at the interplay of a filled C and proclisis in the context of Portuguese clitics and use the fact that proclisis is grammatical and enclisis isn't in an embedded clause as proof that there is agreement in CP in Romance. The data shows that, for both the old Romance languages and the modern Romance ones that make use of the C position, a lexically filled C brings about proclisis. Movement of the clitic to C when C is filled is impossible, so that the clitic has to join V in I, with the resulting clitic-verb order. The data also shows, as expected, that the presence of an operator in [SPEC,CP] also brings about proclisis, since the clitic cannot be in C.

Another particularity of Old Romance was the absence of a complementizer, that is, que left unrealised in embedded relative clauses. Rizzi's explanation for this is related to the pro-drop properties of these languages. In Italian, being then (as it is now) a null-subject language, C doesn't need to turn into a governor as free inversion (a property of pro-drop languages) allow movement of the subject to C from post verbal position:
(Rizzi, ibid.):

> 128) faccenda [ OP C [ pro I tocca a noi] t]]
> 'For this is a matter (that) concerns us'

The following patterns emerge from Old Romance data where the complementizer is missing. In Old French, we find that a dependent clause could be joined paratactically (that is, without the use of a conjunctive element) to the main clause. In the early and central period of the Middle Ages, Jensen (1990) notes that que was found to be

missing in main clauses after verbs of volition, belief, or perception ("psych-verbs"):

129) dites al rei Hugun me prest sun divant

  Tell King Hugo to lend me his horn


130) ne quidez mie je vos hace

  do not believe (that) I hate you


131) vit son seignor pales estoit

  they saw (that) his lord was pale


The absence of the complementizer is also found in relative clauses when both the relative clause and the main clause are negated:


132) mais il n'a menbre ne li deueille

  but he has no extremity that does not cause him pain


133) il n'ont elme, ne soit quassez, n'escu qui ne soit depechiés

  they don't have a helmet that is not broken nor a shield that

  is not cut to pieces


According to Jensen (1990), it is less common to find that the accusative que has been deleted, although these sentences are also found:


134) n'i a celui n'aie fait honte

  there isn't a person whom I haven't insulted


Fifteenth century Italian also allowed relative clauses with a null complementizer. This deletion, according to Wanner (1981), is found both for subject and object relatives:

subject:

> 135) Ch'è faccenda *&* tocca a noi
>
> That is task     concern us
>
> 'For this is a matter that concern us'

object:

> 136) della roba *&* vi lascio si dice *&* ne viverebbono un anno
>
> from the stuff (that) he left it is said (that) they
>
> could live for a year

Wanner (ibid.) also observes that encliticization is ungrammatical in both che-clauses and 0-clauses in 15th century Italian:

> 137) * dice che/ *&* aresti-mi scritto

> 138)  dice che/ *&* mi aresti scritto

> 'he says you'd have written to me'

The "clitic second constraints" of Old Romance or modern European Portuguese, are traditionally expressed in terms of phonological laws (like Wackernagel's Law, formulated in 1892, to account for the fact that unstressed elements in German are to be found in second position) or syntactic laws such as the Tobler-Mussafia Law ( discussed earlier) in which it is stated that clitics must follow the verb in sentence initial but not in sentence internal position.

In Portuguese, enclisis (verb-clitic sequence) is grammatical in main clauses:

> 139) O Pedro encontrou a
>
>     Peter found her

Only proclisis (clitic-verb sequence), on the other hand, is grammatical in embedded clauses:

140) Dizem que o Pedro a encontrou

They say that Peter found her

This is a process attested also in the data from Old French: in relative clauses there is no accessible head of CP for V to move into, hence enclisis is not present:

141) OF: La premiere foiz que vos l'avez quis

The first time that you have looked for it

Taking Kayne's (1991) analysis as point of departure, it could be argued that enclisis results from the clitic moving to an empty I, and V moving to C. Proclisis would then result from the clitic left-adjoining to the finite verb in I.

In another approach to account for clitic-verb order in old Romance and for "second position" phenomena in general, Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) propose an intermediate projection between Comp and the INFL projection, which they term AGR1. This position, above AGR2 (AGR2 being the "traditional" AGRP) has the basic property of assigning nominative case. Furthermore, AGR1 attracts clitics or the inflected verb, which, Cardinaletti & Roberts (ibid.) claim, is related to the nominative assigning property of AGR1. This assignment is under government of the SPEC of AGR2 position, as we can observe from the position occupied by the constituents in the following structure:

142) Old French: Quant a eus est li rois venus

When to them is the king come

'When the king came to them'

143)

```
              CP
            /    \
         SPEC     C'
          |      /  \
      Quant C        AGR1P
          |         /    \
       [+wh] SPEC         AGR1'
               |         /    \
            a eus AGR1         AGR2P
                    |         /    \
                   est     SPEC      AGR2'
                            |       /    \
                          li rois AGR2     TP
                                    |      ◿
                                    t    t venus
```
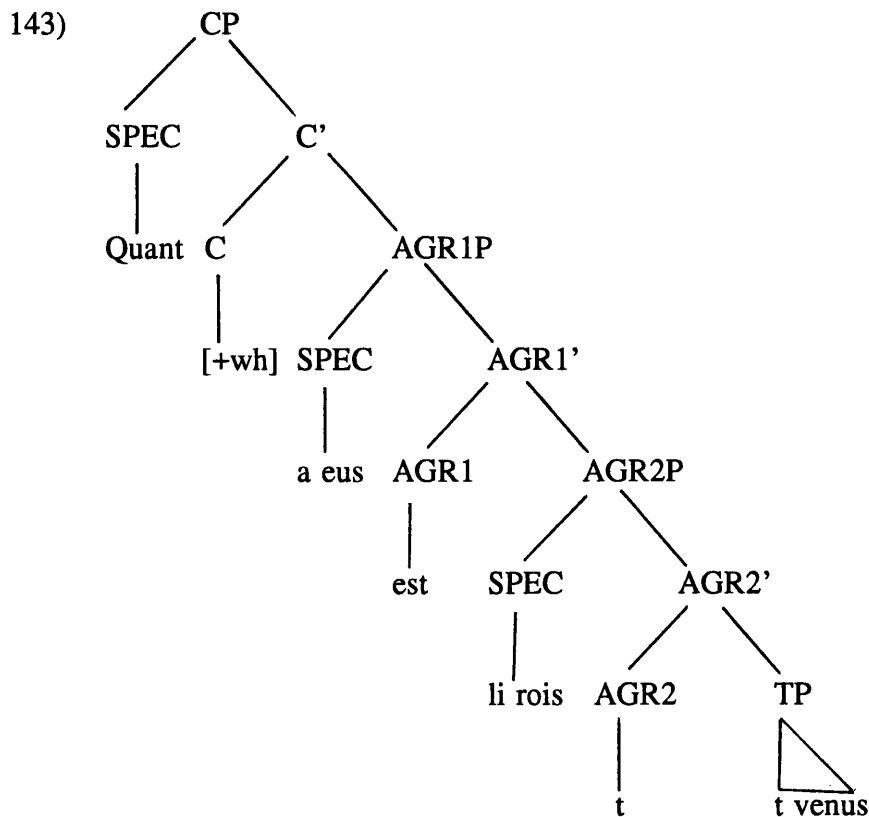
AGR1 can assign nominative case under government to the SPEC of AGRP2 position, considered a subject position. Languages use either SPEC AGR2 or SPEC AGR1 for nominative assignment. Old Romance languages (OF, OI, OS, OP) and EP are languages where enclisis is obligatory, that is there is a ban on clitics in first position. Enclisis then results from movement of the clitic to AGR1, and the verb moves independently to C,eg:

Old French:

144) [CP voit [AGR1 le [AGR2 li rois]]]

        saw     him     the king

    'The king saw him'

Both Medieval Romance and contemporary Germanic have their clitics attached to AGR1, a functional head independent from what is regarded as finite morphology, that is AGR2.

So in German we have:

145) ... daß es ihm der Johann gegeben hat

... that Johann has given it to him

146)

```
                    C'
                  /    \
               C        AGR1P
               |       /    \
              daß   AGR1     AGR2
                    / \     /    \
                  es ihm  NP      AGR2'
                          |       / \
                      der Johann gegeben hat
```
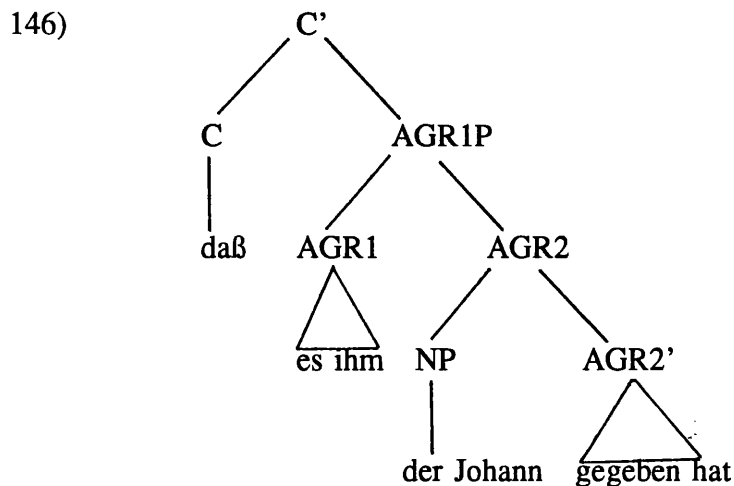
As we know, clitic second effects are not attested in modern French or Italian: (data from C & R, (ibid.)

147) MF:  La connais - tu ?

Do you know her ?

148) MI:  L'avessi io saputo in tempo ...

Had I known it in time ...

In this case, it is proposed that these modern Romance languages possess only one AGR position, to which the verb climbs and the clitics left-adjoin.

Manzini(1992) argues that operator features such as +wh, +f or +neg are generated in C, which causes V to move to C to incorporate these features. When C is empty, the clitic can move to C and V must move to C to incorporate the clitic. I (or T) can move to C and also in this case V must move to incorporate it . In this respect, Portuguese can be considered to be a V2 language (as opposed to Spanish or French)

in which we can claim that clitics move to C (after Madeira 1992):
Cf.

149) Portuguese: * O Pedro a encontrou

Peter found her


150) Spanish: Pedro la encontró

Peter found her


The above clitic-verb order results from the movement of the clitic to C in European Portuguese, whereas in Spanish the clitic attaches to I:


151) Portuguese:   [CP  V + cl [IP ...


152) Spanish:   [IP  cl + V [VP ...


There is no data to suggest that lexical material can occur between the clitic and the verb, hence the clitic and the verb cannot occur in two separate heads (ie, the clitic in C and the verb in I). This is why an analysis in which the verb is allowed to adjoin to the clitic in C (prior to passage via I) is put forward by Manzini (1992).


Processes such mezoclitization can be regarded as another example of "verb-second effects" in Romance. I shall not deal in detail with clitic behaviour in Portuguese. I want to show, nevertheless, that C plays a major role in clitic-verb order in this language.

We find that mesoclisis in Portuguese, (or so-called 'embedded clitics') is ungrammatical in subordinate clauses:
Compare:

153)  O Pedro dir-te-ia a verdade

Pedro would tell you the truth

vs:

154)  * Creio que [ o Pedro dir-te-ia  a verdade]

I think that Peter would tell you the truth

The use of the C position is crucial: if the clitic cannot move to it the verb (and I) cannot move to C to corporate the clitic either, hence the ungrammaticality of mesoclitization in this context.

Enclisis and mesoclitisization are blocked in matrix clauses if sentential negation is present:

An operator feature in C, [+ neg], could be argued to be present in cases in which enclisis and mesoclitization are blocked by sentential negation or a negative quantifier. After Laka (1990), an analysis is proposed by which negation is treated not as a head, but as a feature of a head, here a feature of C, and this negative feature is taken to be an operator feature.

155) O Pedro não a encontrou

156) * O Pedro não encontrou-a

'Peter didn't find her'

A negative quantifier has the same 'blocking' effect on enclisis:

157) Ninguém me ajudou

158) * Ninguém ajudou-me

'Nobody helped me'

Manzini (ibid.) points out that a SPEC-head configuration can be found between a negative quantifier or polarity item (such as ninguem, for example) and a [+Neg] - marked head (in this case C). Evidence for this is the fact that nao cannot appear when a negative quantifier is present:

159) * Ninguém não me ajudou

Nobody not helped me


In wh-questions, proclisis results from a SPEC-head relation between a full SPEC,CP and a C[+wh]. We can argue, following Manzini (1992), that the clitic can adjoin to [V + I] in C because C is categorized as [+wh]. V must move first to incorporate this feature. The evidence for this claim is that enclisis is not found in wh-questions:


160) Onde a encontrou o Pedro ?


161) * Onde encontrou-a o Pedro ?


'Where did Peter find her' ?


In yes-no questions, there is no operator involved, so enclisis results:


162) O Pedro encontrô-a no cinema ?

Did Peter find her in the cinema?


Another Operator feature in C can be [+ f], a feature at work with Universal Quantifiers, which behave like wh-words and negative particles, blocking enclisis. Again, this feature [+f] blocks clitic second:


163)* Todas as garotas ajudaram-me


164)   Todas as garotas me ajudaram


'All the girls helped me'


These features in C, then can be claimed to be responsible for verb-second effects in Germanic and for the different clitic behaviour in Romance.[6] We will claim then that

C is allowed to contain lexical material (be it a clitic or a verb in Romance) only if the SPEC position is filled, be it by the subject NP (in German) or by a wh-word (Portuguese and Old Romance) or by an 'abstract operator' (as proposed in some of the theories underlined in this chapter, both for Germanic and Romance). Whatever the operator features of [SPEC,CP] then, they match the 'operator feature' of C, as it is expected from SPEC-head agreement.

**ENDNOTES**

1. Rizzi (1990)'s formulation of head government is the following:

> X head-governs Y iff
>
> X ε { A, N, P, V, AGR, T }

> X m-commands Y
>
> no barrier intervenes
>
> Relativized minimality is respected

2. For those dialects of American English in which that-trace violations are accepted, ie.

> 1) Who do you think that left

is a grammatical sentence, Rizzi proposes that that carries AGR, so that C is a proper governor, and there is no choice between that (inert for government) and AGR.

3. Rizzi's (1990) definition of Relativized Minimality:

> X α governs Y only if there is no Z such
> that
> Z is a typical potential α-governor for Y
> Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X

4. We also find cases of [SPEC,CP] agreement represented in Norwegian, where the complementizer som appears only in embedded questions where the local subject is moved:

> 1) Vi vet hvem som t snakker mit Marit

We know who that talks with Mary

This is also found in Swedish (p.c):

2)     Vi vet vem som talar med Marit

       We know who that speaks with Mary

5. See section 2.3 for the properties of a governing C. A filled C in an embedded clause in Old French was unable to license a null pronoun in [SPEC,IP]. I suggest that this is to do with the absence of a [+INFL] feature in C (or the impossibility of verb movement to C). I am aware that this leaves unexplained the instances of a filled C and empty subjects in complement clauses in the same dialect, which were also attested in Old French. I shall not dwell on this matter further.

6. In Spanish clitics are more akin to agreement elements, hence they attach to AGR nodes.

Clitics in old Romance then, in which V2 effects are widely attested (see data) show similar behaviour to EP clitics. This is perhaps the result of a switch from clitics attaching to C to clitics attaching to I, that is a parametric change in Romance (see Manzini 1992)

# Chapter Three


## SPEC-head Agreement in the Negative Phrase


## 3.1 Introduction: Double Negation in Romance and Germanic


The main topic of this chapter is that Negation is a category in its own right, a functional category. Negation, like the Complementizer, heads its own X-bar projection.

The majority of Romance languages present only one negative morpheme to denote negation. French, on the other hand, uses two negative elements to achieve this:


> 1) Pierre ne parle pas beaucoup
>
>    Pierre not speak not much
>
>    'Pierre does not speak much'


We also find double negation in some Portuguese Creoles. In the islands of Sao Tomé, Principe and Annobon (Guinea Gulf) the creole variants of nãp are associated to another post-verbal negative morpheme. In these dialects, we find na combined with post-verbal realisations such as /wa/ or /fa/ (data from Teysssier (1986):


> 2) Sao Tomé  ê ndá, ê na vwa fa
>
>              he goes away, he not want not
>
>              'he goes away, he doesn't want to'
>
>
>              na ka be fa
>
>              not (asp) go (1st.sing) not
>
>              'I wouldn't go'

3) Annobon  ma n tendê f

me not understand not

'I don't understand'


4) Príncipe  zwa se'be lan-da fa

Joao knows swim not

Joao doesn't know how to swim


This feature is not unique to Romance; we find "multiple negation" in Germanic languages, such as English[1]:


5) He ain't got no money


6) He does not see anything


In the relevant dialects this is not a case of "two negatives making one affirmative", but double negation[2]. The situation is not unattested in other Germanic languages: Double Negation is also a trait of West Flemish:

(data from Haegeman, 1991):


7) Valère en-oa gisteren nie tegen zen voader geklaapt

Valère had not yesterday not to his father talked

'Valère hadn't talked to his father yesterday'


8) da Valère an niemand niets (en) -geeft

that Valère to no one nothing (neg part) gives

'that Valère doesn't give anything to anybody'


We shall come back to West Flemish in section 3.5.

Another Germanic language which presents double negation is Africaans (not surprisingly as Africaans has evolved from a Nederland dialect):

(data from Burgers, 1957)

9) Hy skryf nie 'n brief nie

He writes not a letter not

'He does not write a letter'


10) Ek het hom nie gisteraand gesien nie

I have him not last night seen not

'I have not seen him last night'


11) Hy ploeg met osse, nie met'n trekker nie

'He ploughs with oxen, not with a tractor (not)'


12) Sy staan nie op nie

She gets not up not

'She doesn't get up'


13) Hy stem nie toe nie

He doesn't agree


14) Hy het nog nie geskryf nie

He has yet not written not

'He has not written yet'


In Africaans, it is the first negative element that can be replaced by an "adverb-like" negative particle:


15) Hy lees nooit 'n boek nie

He reads never a book not

'He never reads a book'

16) Niemand het gekom nie

Nobody has come not

'Nobody has come'


17) Ek sien hom nêrens in die tuin nie

I see him nowhere in the garden not

'I can't see him anywhere in the garden'


18) Hulle het geeneen gesien nie

They have no-one  seen not

'They haven't seen anyone'


When the negative adverb is present, the negative particle <u>nie</u> can be dropped:


19) Hy skryf nooit (nie)

He writes never (not)

'He never writes'


With intransitive verbs, only one negative particle is needed:


20) Hy skryf nie

He writes not

'He doesn't write'


21) Dit betaam jou nie

It became you not

'It didn't suit you'


22) Hy skryf gewoonlik nie

He writes usually not

'He doesn't usually write'

It is worth pointing out that both negation particles appear post-verbally, (typically we would expect one particle to appear pre-verbally). However we shall not focus on the behaviour of double negation in Africaans here.

Multiple negation has not been a feature of French which has always been present in the language. Harris (1978) argues that in Old and Middle French what was originally a phonetic distinction between tonic and atonic forms of the negative (non and ne) became essentially a grammatical one: the element associated with the verbal phrase was ne, non being used in any other environment. Further, ne became reinforced by independent nouns such as pas, point, mie, goute, etc. The form pas (from Latin passum, 'step') became the prevailing form since the twelfth century, the preference for it being due to the fact that it was used in the Parisian region which was then as now a sociolinguistic trend-setter.

French is a fixed-stress language, which means that the stress falls on the last syllable of the intonational group. When the reinforcer pas was introduced, occurying as it did (and does) at the end of the intonational group, it became the element bearer of stress. Harris notes that a switch took place in French in which the negative element moved from a preverbal to a post verbal position, due to the phonological weakening of the pre-verbal element while its post-verbal negation element got strengthened because of the stress pattern of the language. The drop of ne in colloquial French has the same motivation. We shall next examine how the facts reviewed can be explained within a theoretical framework.

## 3.2 Negation as a functional category

Pollock (1989)'s work provides the best framework for discussion. Pollock proposes that French and English have, in addition to AGRP and TNSP, a maximal projection NEGP. It is assumed further that each projection is a potential barrier for certain types of movements. Moreover, French has an obligatory rule of verb raising to INFL, while English has a limited version of that rule, which only applies to have and be. Both

76

English and French share the following structure:

23) [$_{IP}$ NP I ([$_{NEG}$ not / pas]) [$_{VP}$ (ADV) V ...]]

In English the following sentence is ungrammatical because raising of V to INFL is ruled out:

24) *John likes not Mary

Lowering of INFL to V is also ruled out, hence the following sentence is also ungrammatical:

25) *John not likes Mary

In French, the same lowering of INFL to V is banned: hence the ungrammaticality of:

26) *Jean ne pas aime Marie

However, French allows overt V raising to INFL across Neg. The result is a grammatical construction:

27) Jean n'aime pas Marie
     'Jean doesn't like Marie'

We note that in this model the negative particle not doesn't block movement across it. The explanation proposed is in terms of raising or lowering of INFL, carried out across the negative head not/ne, thus apparently violating the Head Movement Constraint. Neg in this case is a head intrinsically inert for government. Because of this property, Neg does not count as a potential intervening head governor, so that not doesn't block movement.

The presence of TNSP (= IP), higher than NegP, is necessary for the negative head to attach to it, in Pollock's proposal. Evidence for this is found in French. The absence

of a tense phrase (TNSP) in participial clauses is argued to account for the difference between infinitives and participles with respect to their ability to take negation. Infinitival phrases have a TNS projection and allow ne pas; past participial phrases cannot be preceded by ne pas as TNSP is absent:


28) Pierre dit ne pas manger

Peter says not to eat


29) *Pierre a ne pas mangé

Peter has not eaten


The affixal head ne must attach to the head of the Tense Phrase[3], which it can do in the infinitive phrase but not in the participial phrase, and in addtion pas has to be "close enough" to ne. Pollock (1989) expresses such relationship in terms of a SPEC-head configuration in a NEGP: ne is the head of the French NegP and pas its specifier. Other negative adverbs such as plus, point, guère are argued to be in VP-initial position[4].


For ne...pas the following structure is suggested. The clitic ne must move in order to attach to Tense (that's why the linear order pas ... ne is unattested):

30)

```
              TP
            /    \
          NP      T'
                /    \
               T      NegP
                     /    \
                  SPEC    Neg'
                   |     /    \
                  pas  Neg    AgrP
                        |    /    \
                       ne  Agr    VP
```
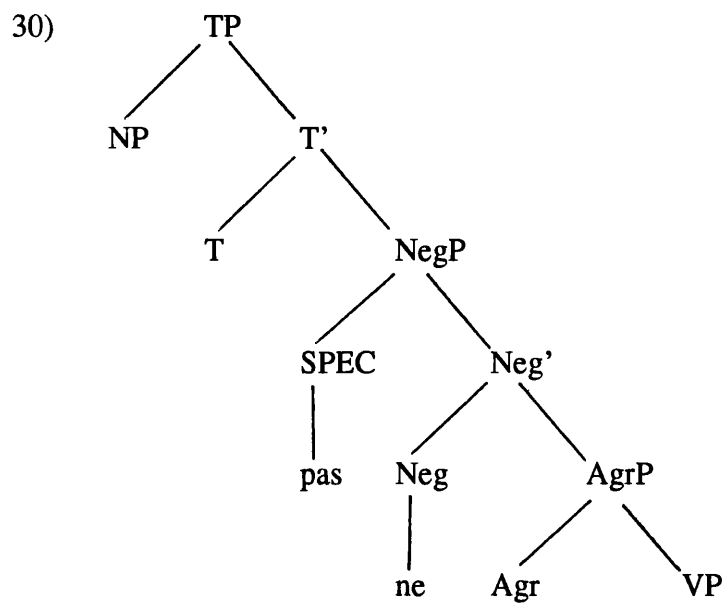
The negative particle n̲e̲ can pair with other elements besides p̲a̲s̲. In cases such as:

31) Pierre n'a rien vu

   Pierre hasn't seen anybody

Pollock proposes that r̲i̲e̲n̲ is generated as an NP complement of the verb, which adjoins to VP in its S-Structure position (ie it adjoins before the participle). Pollock does not make use of a NegP in this case[5]:

32)

```
              TP
            /    \
         NP        T'
         |        /  \
      Pierre  T      AGRP
             /\      /   \
           n' aⱼ   AGR     VP
                   |      /   \
                   eⱼ   NPₖ      VP
                        |      /   \
                       rien   V      AGRP
                              |      /    \
                              eⱼ   AGR      VP
                                        /      \
                                      NPₖ        VP
                                       |        /   \
                                       e       V      NPₖ
                                               |       |
                                              vu       e
```
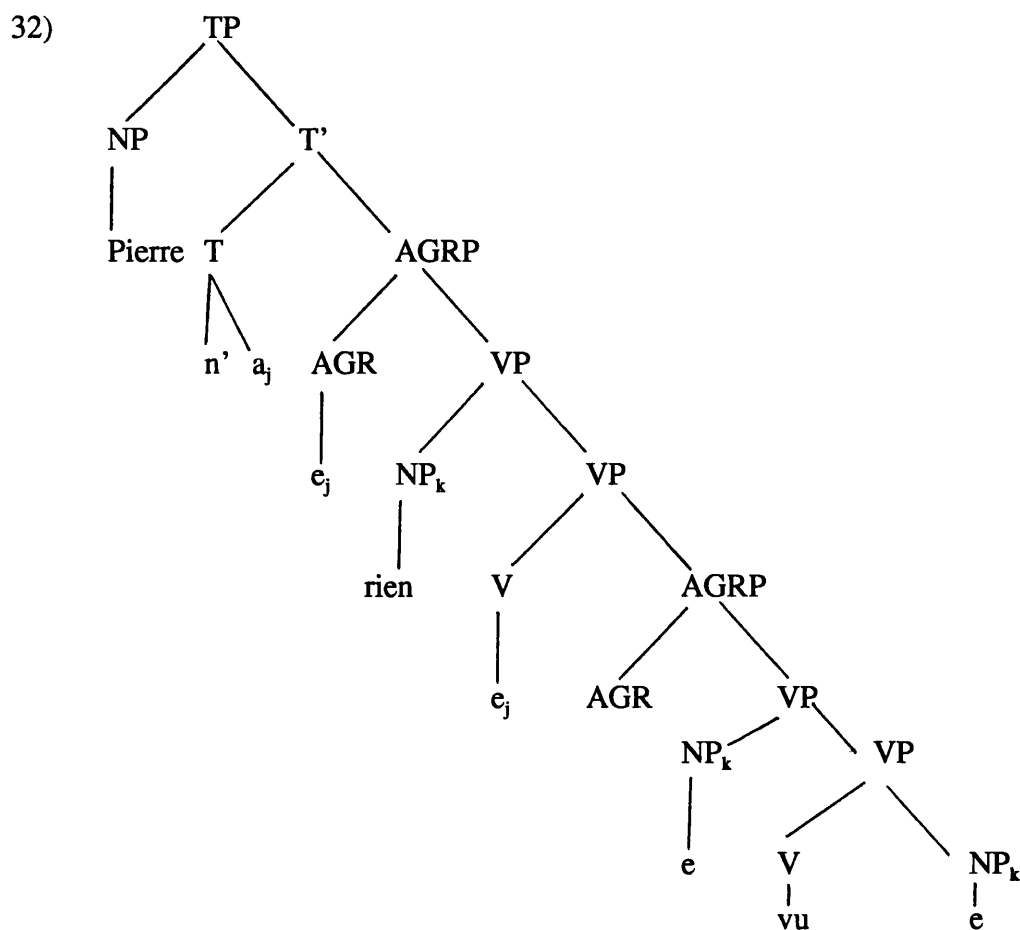
Negative items such as <u>personne</u> have a different distribution from words such as <u>rien</u>, for example <u>personne</u> cannot occupy a pre-participial position:

33) * Je n'ai personne vu

     I haven't seen anybody

Because of this, this is given a different analysis by Pollock: <u>personne</u> is generated as an object NP in post-participial position and <u>ne</u> is base-generated as head of a specifierless NegP, above the participial phrase. We shall look into the behaviour of words like <u>personne</u> in section 3.5.

Ouhalla (1990) argues that the difference between English and French resides in the position of the Negative Phrase in relation to the Tense or Agreement Phrase. This

typological difference corresponds to the fact that in English NegP is closer to the verb than TNS/AGR is, while it is the opposite in French. This typological difference is expressed in terms of the Negative Parameter:

> NEG selects VP (in English)
> NEG selects TNSP (in French)

In Ouhalla's analysis it is assumed that in English not is the negative head (and not, as Pollock proposes, the equivalent of pas[6]):

English:

34)
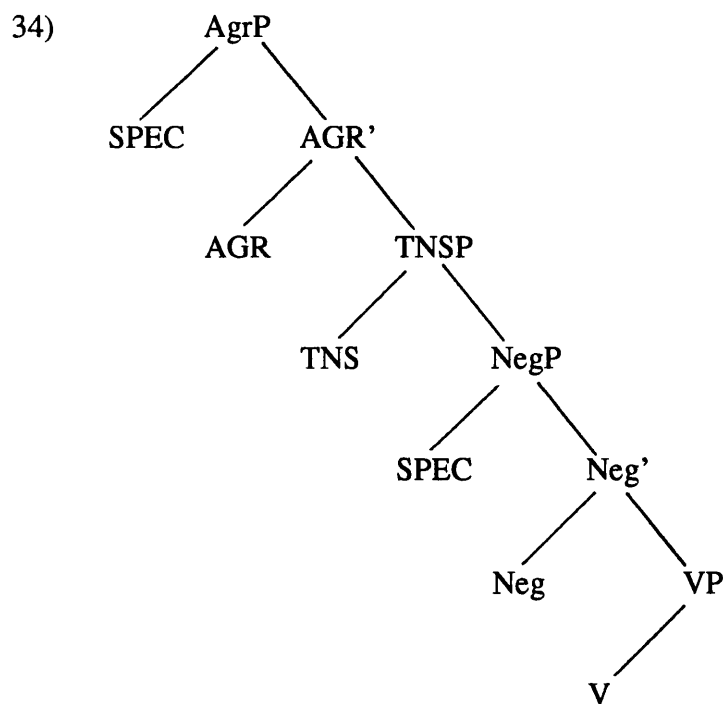


Ouhalla's analysis does not permit lowering of AGR; V cannot raise past Neg, because in English Neg (not being a head category) is non-affixal and does not allow movement through it. So this is why we find "do-support" in English, to "support" TNS/AGR[7]:

35) He does not like Mary


In French, we find:


36)

```
              AGRP
             /    \
          SPEC     AGR'
                  /    \
               AGR      NegP
                       /    \
                    Neg      TNSP
                            /    \
                         TNS      VP
                                 /  \
                                V    ...
```


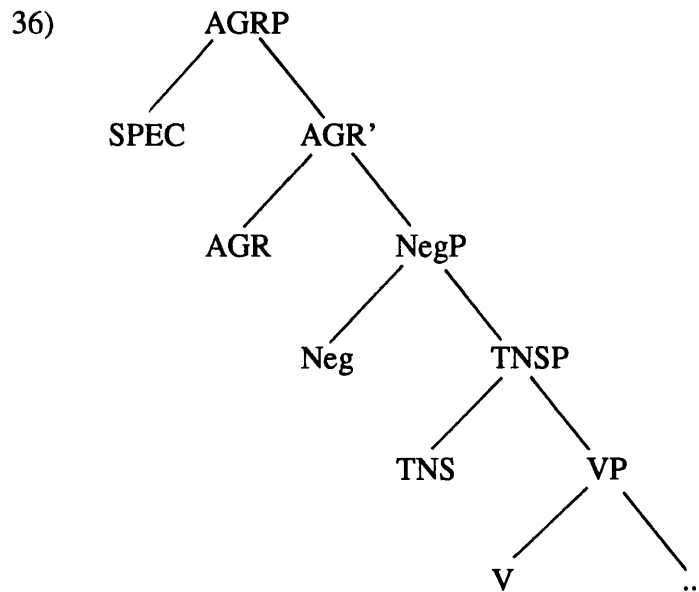In French, V moves to AGR via TNS and Neg. In French, however, <u>ne</u> is affixal in nature, and does not block movement through it. In French, <u>ne</u> is similar to an inflectional element: it can be absent in Colloquial French and cliticizes onto the verb. This feature of <u>ne</u> is consistant with NegP being inside AGRP and above TNSP. However Ouhalla (ibid.) argues that this position is hard to test, because of French future forms such as:


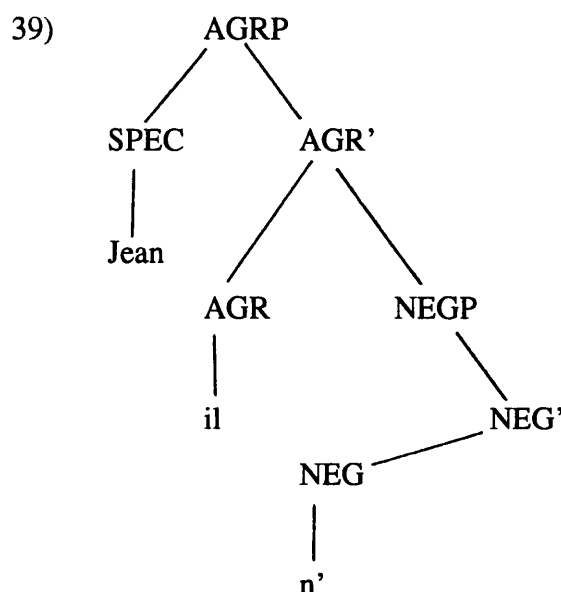37) Marie n'aimera pas Jean

   Mary won't love John


in which <u>ne</u> and AGR/TNS appear on opposite sides of V. However, there is evidence that AGRP is "higher than" NegP. Ouhalla points out that in Pied Noir French[8] we find:


38) Jean il n'est parti

   John he has not left

In the above example there is no phonological break between <u>Jean</u> and <u>il</u>; thus, as in the case of Northern Italian dialects, we take this to be an instance of the subject NP (John) being doubled by a clitic (il). Let us assume further that subject clitics are characterized as agreement elements. If this is so, in Pied Noir French the negative particle <u>ne</u> appears inside AGRP:

39)

```
            AGRP
           /    \
        SPEC    AGR'
          |     /  \
        Jean   /    \
             AGR    NEGP
              |        \
              il        \
                        NEG'
                  NEG —
                    |
                    n'
```

In short, in this section we have looked into the possibility of having the negative particle heading its own projection, NegP, the existence of which allows us to express double negation in languages such as French in terms of SPEC-head agreement.

### 3.3 A typology of negation

According to typological studies undertaken on negation (Dahl 1979, quoted in Ouhalla 1990), three groups of languages can be differentiated by their negation patterns in the syntax:

Group 1. Negation is expressed morphologically, and the negative markers are affixal or inflectional in nature. Negation in Turkish and Berber are cited as example of this,

together with the particle ne in French (and, Ouhalla argues, contra Pollock (1989), English not):

(data from Ouhalla,1990):

Turkish:

> 40) John elmalar-i ser-me-di-0
>
> John apples-ACC like-NEG-past(TNS)-3s(AGR)
>
> 'John does not like apples'

Berber:

> 41) Ur-ad-y-xdel Mohand dudsha
>
> NEG-will(TNS)-3ms(AGR)-arrive Mohand tomorrow
>
> 'Mohand will not arrive tomorrow'

In group one, the negative marker is a head (in this case of NEGP). The position of the Specifier in this group is argued to be occupied by an empty category (according to Ouhalla(ibid.) an empty operator).

Group 2. The negative element appears as an "adverb-like" particle. Swedish and colloquial French (which allows the particle ne to be deleted) exemplify this:
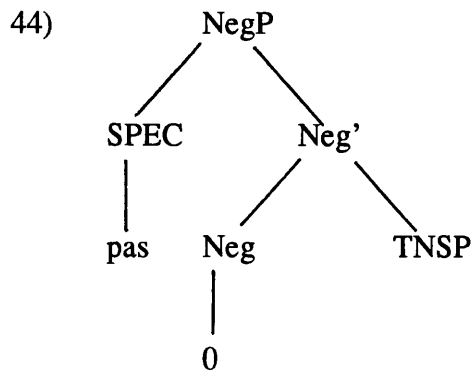
Swedish:

> 42) Jan köpte inte boken
>
> Jan bought not books

Colloquial French:

> 43) J'ai pas compris
>
> I haven't understood

In a language such as colloquial French the negation element, pas, occupies the
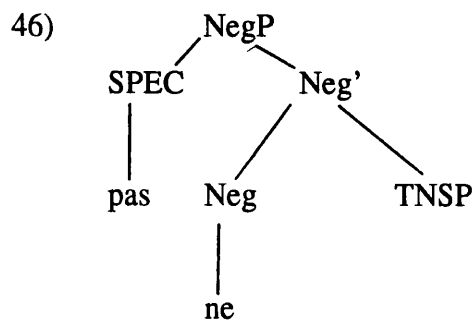
Specifier of NegP. The head is an abstract morpheme. (Pollock (1989) claims that <u>ne</u> is present at all levels and gets deleted at PF). The resulting configuration is the following:

44)

```
                NegP
              /      \
             /        \
          SPEC         Neg'
           |          /    \
           |         /      \
          pas      Neg      TNSP
                    |
                    |
                    0
```

Group 3. Negation is expressed in terms of two negative elements (a combination of traits from group 1 and 2). This has been amply illustrated in section 3.1. As we have seen, standard French is a case in point:

45) Marie ne resemble pas Vanessa Paradis

Marie does not look like Vanessa Paradis

Both the Specifier and the head of NegP are realised in standard French:

46)

```
                NegP
              /      \
          SPEC        Neg'
           |         /    \
           |        /      \
          pas     Neg      TNSP
                   |
                   |
                   ne
```

In addition to the division of languages taking into account whether both or either of the elements in the NegP (which would occupy SPEC or head respectively) are realised lexically, an alternative division can be drawn in terms of the hierarchical position of the Negative phrase (close to V or TNS/AGR), as Ouhalla (ibid.) claims

is the case for the difference between English and French with respect to negation. Zanuttini (1989) remarks that these three groups illustrate three stages of historical development of the negative phrase in any given Romance language, as well as being diachronically accurate for the contemporary Romance languages. Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan and Standard Italian illustrate the type of Romance languages in which the head and not the specifier of NegP is realised lexically. Occitan dialects and Piedmontese negation is realised postverbally, and this is viewed as evidence of a lexically realised SPEC. Standard French uses both strategies: the head ne and the SPEC pas are present, a feature which can be viewed as an intermediary stage between one or the other strategy.

## 3.4 Postverbal and pre-verbal negation in Romance: a theoretical approach

Following Pollock, Zanuttini (1990,1991) argues in favour of a NegP in Romance. Negative elements like Italian non, being pre-verbal, cannot be argued to pattern with adverbs since the latter never occupy such position in Italian: non occurs pre-verbally, immediately adjacent to the verb, whereas adverbs follow the verb:

47) Maria non ha ancora/mai telefonato

Maria hasn't yet/never called

This is not so in Piedmontese. Zanuttini (1990) observes that the negative marker nen has the same distribution as some sentential adverbs in this language:

Piedmontese:

48) Maria a parla nen

Maria doesn't talk

Cf:

49) Maria a parla anco/già/pi

86

Maria still/already/no longer talks

In Piedmontese, as opposed to standard Italian, <u>nen</u> is not in complementary distribution with other adverbs, so that the following construction is grammatical:

50) Maria la canta pi nen

Maria doesn't sing anymore

Negation does not pattern with any of the other functional categories: it is not a complementizer or an agreement element, at least not in Italian. According to Zanuttini, NegP is the left-most element in the clause. Evidence for the head status of Neg is the fact that negative heads block long clitic climbing (cf. Kayne, 1989):

51) * Ti devo non parlare

I mustn't talk to you

Zanuttini(1990) argues that the presence of a negative marker in the embedded clause blocks clitic climbing and makes the sentence unacceptable.

However, in Piedmontese <u>nen</u> doesn't block verb or clitic movement:

52) A-m lo da nen

$cl_{subj}$-$cl_{dat}$ $cl_{obj}$ gives neg

'He/she won't give that to me'

Given the different distribution of the negative elements Zanuttini (1991) puts forward an analysis which involves two distinct NegP projections within the sentence. Within Romance, Zanuttini claims, there are languages which have preverbal negation (which she calls 'Italian type' languages) and others which have post-verbal negation, (which she calls 'Piedmontese' type languages). Italian type languages comprise standard Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese and Romanian, as well as central and Southern Italian dialects and Eastern Rhaeto-Romance among others. 'Piedmontese type'

languages include Franco-Provençal dialects (eg Valdotain), Western and central Rhaeto-Romance and Italian dialects (among which we can cite Emilian, Milanese, Bergamasco (or Lombard in general) and "Piedmontese" proper). Non-standard French, known to drop the ne parti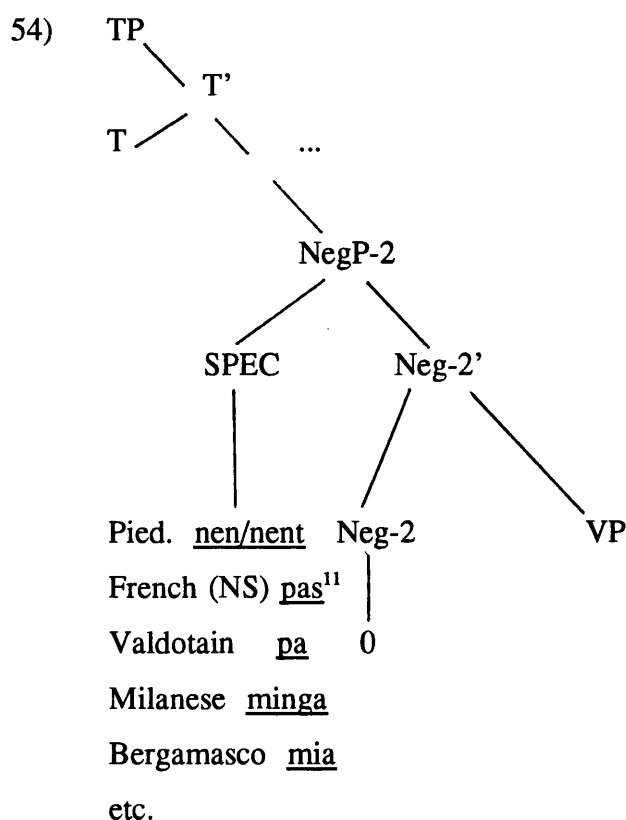cle, patterns with this group. This pattern leads Zanuttini to argue in favour of two distinct NegP projections: one which is structurally higher than the components of INFL (ie higher than TP) and one lower than TP but higher than VP, which she calls NegP-1 and NegP-2 respectively. NegP-1 selects TP whereas NegP-2 does not have this selectional restriction. Romance languages have either one of the two, with the following proviso: all negative quantifiers must raise at LF to SPEC of NegP. However, it is not the case that all pre-verbal negative markers are members of Neg-1 while all the post-verbal ones are in NegP-2. An example of this is Occitan pas, which is argued by Zanuttini to be in [SPEC,Neg-1] in spite of the fact that it is post-verbal.

Zanuttini (1990) points out that in the case of Italian, by assuming that NegP is higher than TP, then the stipulation that the negative marker must be a clitic and it must raise can be dispensed with, as it is base-generated to the left of the verb in NegP-1.

For 'Italian type' languages then, the following configuration results[9]:

53)    NegP-1

Neg-1'

Neg-1        TP

|

Italian non        T'

Spanish no        T        VP

Catalan no

Port.   nau

Roman. nu
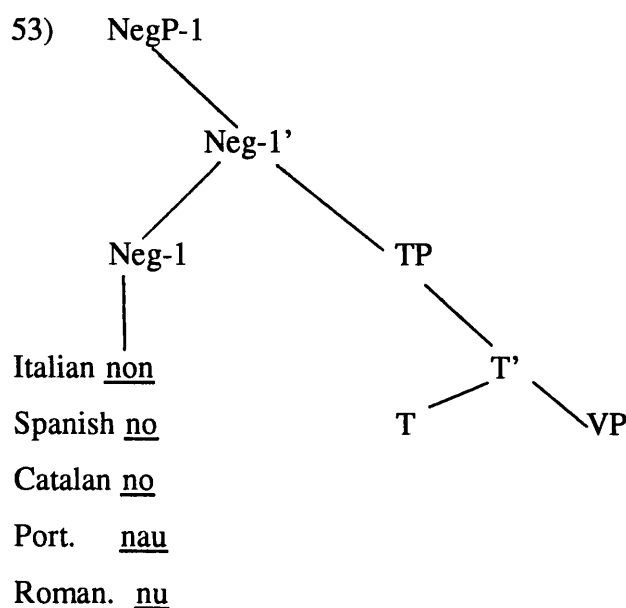
The following configuration results from the 'Piedmontese type' languages:[10]

54)
```
TP
  \
   \ T'
T /  \   ...
     \
      \
       NegP-2
      /  \
     /    \
   SPEC   Neg-2'
    |     /   \
    |    /     \
    |   /       \
Pied.  nen/nent  Neg-2      VP
French (NS) pas[11]  |
Valdotain   pa    0
Milanese   minga
Bergamasco mia
etc.
```

In the dialects and languages which only present post-verbal negation an empty negative head is postulated (following Pollock's account for non-standard French, in which the negative head is not realised).

Zanuttini(1990) shows that a NegP-1 can be generated only if it can find a TP (Tense Phrase) which the head Neg-1 can take as its complement. NegP-1 seems to be "parasitic" on this functional category. The evidence is related to the existence of two types of negative markers in Romance: in Italian, the sentential negative marker non immediately precedes the finite verb, whereas in Piedmontese, nen follows the verb. Moreover, when the verb is an auxiliary followed by a past participle, in Italian non precedes the auxiliary, while in Piedmontese nen follows it:

Italian:

55) Maria non vuole viaggiare

Maria doesn't want to travel

89

56) Maria non ha detto molto

Maria hasn't said much


Piedmontese:


57) Maria a parla nen tant

Maria doesn't talk much


58) Maria a l'ha nen parla tant

Maria (subj clitic) hasn't talked much


The pre-verbal negative marker in Italian is a head, which selects TP. The constraint against the occurence of the negative marker on the past participle in Italian is due to the fact that non takes TP as the complement. According to Zanuttini the past participle in Italian has no TP associated to it, so non cannot occur immediately to its left. The head of the negative phrase can only occur in a position where it can take TP as its complement.[12]


Negation cannot occur either with imperative forms, as "true imperative forms" are said to lack a TP projection:


59) * Non parla !

Don't speak !


The Italian negative non can occur with a suppletive form (borrowed from the indicative, the subjunctive or the infinitive) because these forms have a tense projection[13]. Italian borrows the infinitival form for the negative imperative:


60) Non parlare !

Don't speak !

Spanish, which has imperative forms for both second person singular and plural, negates the subjunctive:

61) No hables !

Don't speak ! (2nd p. sing)

62) No habléis !

Don't speak ! (2nd p. plural)

In Piedmontese, on the other hand, which has a "true" imperative form, we find that there is no constraint on the presence of the negative marker and the imperative form:

63) Parla nen !

Don't speak !

The difference in categorial status of <u>non</u> and <u>nen</u> explains their behaviour in relation to imperatives: <u>non</u> takes TP (present in the infinitive according to Zanuttini); <u>nen</u>, being according to this theory in [SPEC, NegP-2], doesn't select TP. Data from other Romance languages seem to support the claim that the imcompatibility between negation and imperatives is only found in languages which use pre-verbal negation (ie, the negative element is the "head" of NegP-1).

The claim that Piedmontese falls within a pattern akin to non-standard French is supported by similarities in the historical development of these two languages. Zanuttini(1987) points out that, not unlike present day French, Piedmontese used to have a pre-verbal negative particle <u>ne</u> (before 1700). By 1800 it got phonologically weakened to /n/ and it was reinforced by <u>nen</u> or <u>nent</u>, which originally was an NP occupying the direct object position (Cf French <u>pas</u>, Italian <u>mica</u>, etc., ie nouns which became adverbs). By mid 1800 the pre-verbal negative particle <u>n</u> disappears and only the post-verbal one, <u>nen</u>, was used (and also <u>pa</u> in some varieties of Piedmontese) as the negative marker. Interestingly, <u>niente</u> (in the Piedmontese form <u>gnente</u>) gets borrowed from Standard Italian to fulfil the role that <u>nen</u> had. Other varieties of

Piedmontese have strict pre-verbal negation (Calizzano, Sassello and Vico) while others present both elements (Cairo Montenotte variety). Post verbal negation in 'Piedmontese proper' is a relatively new phenomenon, and we witness the same process taking place in non-standard French.

A similar change in grammatical function can be observed in Portuguese Creoles. These creoles show the particularity that negative adverbs such as creolised forms of nunca are used as the negative marker, instead of não (or a Creolised form of the Standard Portuguese form). Teyssier (1986) presents data that shows that in these Creoles we can find a further example of two negative elements in the French mould, in some cases one of the elements gets weakened or is absent (like ne in non-standard French). Needless to say, these instances are candidates for a SPEC-head agreement analysis in the NegP (see sentences 2), 3) and 4). The negative adverb nunca, which usually occupies a post-verbal position, appears pre-verbally in these creoles. Like in Piedmontese, a negative word (in this case the temporal negative adverb nunca ) was "borrowed" from the standard language in order to reinforce the (probably weakened) negative marker. Teyssier(1986) notes that nunca was used in the speech of black Africans since the sixteeth century, problably as a negative emphatic form ('souci d'emphase'). Like in the pattern observed in contemporary Western Romance, pre-verbal negation was favoured, resulting in nunca occupying the position of the negative marker rather than that of an "adverb". Following Zanuttini (1991), we may argue that these Creoles underwent a switch from NegP-2 to NegP-1 negation pattern (ie, from [SPEC,Neg-2] to the head of [NegP-1]):

Examples from Teyssier (1986):

    64) Malacca, Malaysia

        Yo ngka ta bai

        I no   asp. go

        'I'm not going'

bos ngka santá

you no   sit

'you don't sit down'


el kumi, ngka ?

he eat,  no ?

'he eats, doesn't he ?


65) Ceylan Creole

eu nunca amá

I no have loved

'I haven't loved'


66) Java (Tugu Creole)

Eo nungku busca

I   no   look for

'I don't look for'


67) Batavia, Java

nocke save

not know

'not to know'


osie nocke cume munte

today no   eat   much

'today I don't eat much'


The use of what currently is a negative adverb as main negative form is also found in old texts in pidgin Portuguese or Proto-Creole-Portuguese:
(sixteenth century):

68) Vosso nunca conhecê

You    not   know

'You don't know'


69) Seora, nunca poder

Lady,  no   be able to

Lady, I can't


In popular European Portuguese, <u>nunca</u> was used as a simple negation in the sixteenth century, and this is also found in Asiatic Creoles today.


The situation is not uniform in all Portuguese Creoles. Some of them provide proof that the nature of the negative form is clitic-like. It is in some cases not clear-cut whether the negative particle derives from <u>nunca</u> or from <u>não</u> (or is a variant of a collapsed form). The clitic nature of the negative is evident from the fact that it attaches to the inflected verb:


70) Sri Lanka

ninquer

no want

'he doesn't want'


71) Tugu (Java)

nungkere

no want

'he doesn't want'


72) Tugu (Java)

nempodi

no can

'he can't'

73) Malacca

nggere (cf Port. 'não quer')

not to want

'he doesn't want'


nté ('não tem')

not to have

'he doesn't have'


mpodi ('não pode')

not be able to

'he can't'


The tendency in these Portuguese creoles has been to reduce the verb form to a single infinitival form, except for irregular verbs such as tem, é, pode, quer. The negative particle, in accordance with the expected behaviour of negative heads, cliticizes to these (third person singular) verbal forms, that is, it attaches to the inflected verb.


## 3.5 The Negative Criterion


In languages such as Spanish, Italian, Catalan, Portuguese and other Romance dialects we find the following distribution of doubled negative elements[14]:

Spanish:

74) No vino nadie

not came nobody

'Nobody came'


75) Nadie vino

'Nobody came'


95

76) * Vino nadie

The negative word <u>nadie</u> is said to behave in 74) as a polarity item, that is, it needs negation to be licensed (cf. English <u>anybody</u>, in <u>I didn't see anybody</u> ). The lack of a negative element to "license" its presence results in ungrammaticality, as we can see in 76. In 75, on the other hand, it behaves like a universal negative quantifier, with a negative meaning of its own (cf. English <u>nobody</u>)[15]. We shall not deal with the distribution of the negative elements such as <u>nadie</u> in interrogative or hypothetical environments as Zanuttini (1989) and Laka (1990) do, but concentrate on the relation betwen the polarity item and the negative word that licenses it. This relation can be seen in terms of negative concord, which is defined as the co-occurrence of two or more negative elements in the same clause which constitute a single negation. Zanuttini (1989) treats the co-occurrence of <u>non</u> and <u>nessuno</u> as a type of negative concord, and not as a case of sentential negation plus a polarity item. Negative concord does not imply that only two negative elements are involved. French shows that several negative constituents can be involved to express one instance of sentential negation (Haegeman & Zanuttini, 1991, henceforth H & Z):

77) Je n'ai jamais rien dit à personne

    I not have never nothing said to no-one

    'I haven't said anything to anybody'

In Germanic languages, each negative constituent carry its own negative force, as it is the case in Standard Dutch:

78) Ik heb niemand niet uit genodigd

    I have no one not invited

    I haven't invited no one

H & Z (ibid.) reserve the term negative concord to designate the relation between phrasal negative constituents: Negative concord reading is one between phrases and

not between a head and a phrase, as it is the case with French ne and pas. Because we are looking into doubling phenomena in languages, we would like a unified approach to both cases, ie between phrases and between a head and a phrase. Negative concord can also be found in west Flemish, as Haegeman (1991) shows. In this language, as in French, we can find two or more negative elements constituting one clausal negation:

79) da Valère niemand nie (en) -kent

　　　that Valère no one not (en) -knows

　　　'that Valère doesn't know anyone'

The negative phrase niemand must scramble out of its base position, VP, in order to enter a Negative Concord relation with nie. If this fails to happen, there will be no Negative concord and each element will have independent negative force, as in:

80) da Valère nie niemand (en) -kent

　　　that Valère not no one knows

　　　'that Valère does not know no one'

West Flemish has a pre-verbal negative clitic en, which co-occurs with nie or with a negative constituent such as niemand, or with both such constituents, in a Negative concord relation. This particle, however, cannot express sentential negation on its own. As H & Z (1991a) claim, ne is licensed by a clausemate negative constituent with sentential scope. West Flemish en, as French ne, can be viewed as the head of NegP. However, the particle en can only be licensed if a negative constituent has scrambled to a higher projection:

81) * da Valère [ketent me niets en is]

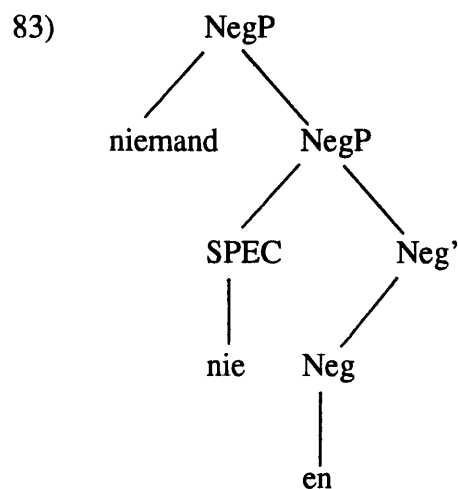82) da Valère me niets [ketent e (en) is]

　　　'that Valère with nothing satisfied is'

If the phrase _me niets_ doesn't scramble out of VP, the sentence, as we can see, is ungrammatical.

The negative constituent (_niemand, niets_) and the negative particle _en_ (the head of NegP) must be in a SPEC-head configuration at S-Structure. The negative (phrasal) constituent "scrambles" from its base position to the specifier position of NegP, a position which can host maximal projections. It is also assumed that these two negative constituents have identical scope. This relation between a negative head and a negative operator is formulated as "Negative Criterion", which states:

a. A negative operator must be in a SPEC-head relation with a negative $X^\circ$.

b. A negative $X^\circ$ must be in a SPEC-head relation with a Negative operator.

So in 80), _nie_ is [SPEC,NegP], and the negative clitic _en_ in [Neg]. This satisfies the negative criterion. Given that the [SPEC,NegP] is occupied by _nie_, the negative constituent _niemand_ (Haegeman proposes it is a negative operator) will take a scope position to the left of NegP (which Haegeman, following Rizzi (1991), assumes is adjoined to NegP, hence an A'position)[16]. The negative operator then is in a scope position, which has to occupy to satisfy the Negative Criterion: $\mathcal{L}$)

83)    NegP
      /    \
     /      \
  niemand   NegP
           /    \
          /      \
       SPEC      Neg'
         |        /
         |       /
        nie    Neg
                |
                |
               en

In some languages the Negative Criterion applies as early as S-structure while in other

languages it applies at LF. In West Flemish it is satisfied at S-structure, as the ungrammaticality of 84) shows:

84) * da Valère ketent van niemand en is
   'that Valère is pleased with no one'

This is due to the presence of niemand in its base position, which has not entered a SPEC-head configuration with en at S-Structure. (Haegeman points out that the sentence could be grammatical without en, but it would receive "an echoic interpretation"). If the Criterion is satisfied as LF, Haegeman goes on, the ungrammaticality of this sentence would be surprising.

In other languages such as Italian the Negative Criterion seems to be satisfied at LF. In Italian we find:
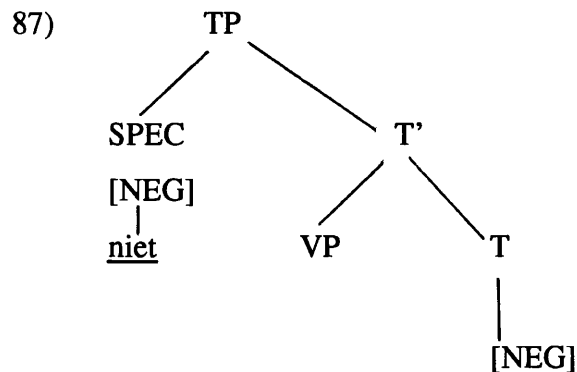
85) Non ho visto nessuno
   'I haven't seen anyone'

Haegeman assumes that nessuno occupies the object position, but in order to satisfy clause A of the Neg Criterion it will have to be in a SPEC-head configuration with the negative head non. This will be achieved if nessuno raises to [SPEC,NegP] at LF.

The possibility of Negative Concord for multiple negation in languages such as French and Italian is regarded by Zanuttini (1991) as a parametric option which depends on the position of NegP. In these Romance languages NegP is higher than INFL, whereas in languages without a NC reading for multiple negation NegP is lower down. Haegeman (1991) argues that for such parametrization to be true we must assume the presence of NegP, which is not a requirement of the Negative Criterion: it is stipulated that this Criterion is valid even when Neg is a feature assigned to another head (for example Tense), by analogy with Rizzi's Wh-criterion, which allows for the feature WH to be assigned to a functional head such as C or I. Haegeman (1991) suggests then, that in "Negative Concord" languages the feature NEG implies the presence of a NegP, while in non-NC languages this is not the case.[17] NC is not found in Dutch,
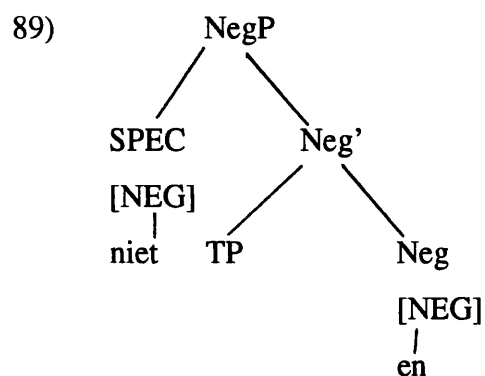
hence it is suggested that in Dutch there is no independent NegP:

86) dat zij niet werkt

    that she not works

    'that she doesn't work'

87)
```
                 TP
               /     \
             /         \
          SPEC          T'
          [NEG]        /   \
            |         /     \
          niet      VP       T
                             |
                           [NEG]
```

In West Flemish, in which, as we have seen, Negative Concord is attested, we find that NegP is present:

88) da-se nie en-werkt

    that she not en-works

    'that she doesn't work'

89)
```
                 NegP
               /      \
             /          \
          SPEC           Neg'
          [NEG]         /    \
            |          /      \
          niet       TP        Neg
                              [NEG]
                                |
                                en
```

(Note: it is assumed both Dutch and West Flemish are head final)

While we shall not endorse the proposal that non NC-languages lack a NegP projection, the presence of multiple negation (whether involving a head and a phrase

100

or several negative phrases) can be accounted for as resulting from a specifier-head configuration. This SPEC-head configuration is regulated by a general criterion, the Negative Criterion, applicable at S-Structure in some languages, and in other languages at LF.

## 3.6 Blocking effect of negative elements

Kayne (1989) proposes that <u>ne</u> in French is a functional category like I or C, the presence of which blocks clitic climbing:

90) * Jean l'a fait ne pas manger à l'enfant

Jean has made the child not eat

91) * Jean les ne voit pas

Jean doesn't see them

Kayne proposes that this is so because <u>ne</u> is a functional head, and as such it cannot L-mark its complement, VP. This means that VP remains a barrier. If clitics climb to attach to a higher projection the negative head will block antecedent government of the clitic to its trace in VP.

In Portuguese, we find that in non-embedded contexts enclisis (and mesocliticization) is blocked by sentential negation or by the presence of a negative quantifier ("polarity item"):

(data Madeira, 1992)

92) * O Pedro não encontrou-a

vs.        'Pedro didn't find her'

93) O Pedro não a encontrou

94) * O Pedro não dir-te-ia

vs.        'Pedro wouldn't tell you'

95) O Pedro não te diria

96) * Ninguém ajudou-me

vs.        'Nobody helped me'

97) Ninguém me ajudou

Manzini(1992) suggests that the presence of a negative feature [+neg] in C (even in cases such as 97) where there is no overt negative head) satisfies the Negative Criterion, as the Polarity Item and the [+neg] feature in C are in a SPEC-head configuration.

Enclisis is blocked (cf 92 vs 93) by the presence of não in C, which prevents the movement of the clitic to C, as we have seen in Chapter 2.

The blocking effect of negation depends on what constitutes a blocking category. Rizzi (1990) defines this in terms of relativized minimality: the blocking effect of an intervening governor is relative to the nature of the government relation involved. That is, if Z is a potential governor for Y, it will block government of the same kind from X.

Rizzi notes, (after Ross, 1983), that negation interferes with adverbial extraction but not with argument extraction in English:

98) Bill is here, which they (don't) know

102

99) Bill is here, as they (*don't) know

Rizzi argues that <u>not</u> in English is an A' specifier, (akin to <u>pas</u> in French) in a SPEC position and not a negative head[18]. This implies that if a non-theta marked element, like an adverbial, is extracted across negation, it won't be able to antecendent-govern its trace because of the presence of the negation, which qualifies as an A' binder.

Ouhalla(1990) provides a counterargument to Rizzi's analysis by claiming that <u>not</u> is the head of a NegP, and not a Specifier. Negative elements block V movement <u>across</u> them if they occupy the head position of NegP. Those which don't, such as <u>inte</u> in Swedish and <u>pas</u> in French, occupy SPEC of NegP. This is why verb movement is not blocked in these languages, as V, being a head, can only be blocked by a head category, such as a negative head.

In these languages the negative element occupies the SPEC of Neg position hence V movement is not blocked. In Swedish, Ouhalla proposes there is an abstract head which allows V-movement through it. In French, as we know, there is <u>ne</u>, which allows V to move through it ( [ne + V raise to I]):

100) Marie n'aime pas Jean
Marie doesn't love Jean

The reading of sentences is also affected by the scope of negation as negative elements block certain interpretations:

101) It is for this reason that I believe that John was fired

102) It is for this reason that I don't believe that John was fired

In 101) the clefted adverb can be related to the matrix or the embedded clause, in 102) (the negative rendering), only with the matrix. It cannot be associated with the embedded clause because negation blocks this reading. Ouhalla suggests that [SPEC,NegP] is occupied by an empty 'negative operator'(while <u>not</u> occupies the head

103

of NegP). This operator moves at LF to a higher position to define its scope over the rest of the sentence (like wh-phrases and quantifiers do). This empty operator is co-indexed with the overtly realised Neg head, via SPEC-head agreement. Ouhalla postulates that in languages where the SPEC of Neg (a negative operator) is an empty category it is expected that the head will be overtly realised, as the configuration in which SPEC of NegP is an empty category and the head an abstract morpheme is unattested (as it is in violation of the recoverability of the content of empty categories).

Whichever current approach we choose to favour, we conclude that the presence of negation does act as a blocking category for clitics, verbs and adjuncts. As we have seen, whether negation is spelled out as a specifier or a head of a negative phrase is language-dependent.

---

p. 98

i) The question arises how the analysis of negative concord as involving SPEC-head agreement in NegP accounts for multiple negation in 83). Haegeman assumes that <u>nie</u> is in [SPEC-NegP], and <u>en</u> in Neg, so this configuration satisfies the NC. Haegeman (1991) proposes that the NC also applies to <u>niemand</u>, which she says is "intrinsically a negative operator" which must meet clause A of the NC and scrambles to a scope position to the left of <u>nie</u> (as we can observe in 83). The movement of <u>niemand</u> is triggered by the negative criterion: because the [SPEC,NegP] is occupied by <u>nie</u> the negative operator will scramble to the first available left peripheral position. Haegeman goes on to state that " the NC interpretation of two or more negative constituents as in 83) depends on the stacking of negative operators on one NegP: each of these is in some sense in  SPEC-head relation with [the head] NEG".

**ENDNOTES**

1. We are not claiming that multiple or double negation is a feature limited to Romance or Germanic. The "clustering" of negative constituents in Hungarian have been interpreted as evidence of double negation in this language (Puskas, 1991, quoted in Haegeman, 1991). The analysis presented in terms of a SPEC-head configuration of a NegP is valid for these languages.

2. Horn(1991) provides data on double negation in English, particularly doubly negated adjectives, of the type:

      1) Student athletes ? Not unthinkable

or double negation carried by the verb:

      2) I'm not disenjoying it

We shall leave aside the question whether in these cases two negatives do make a positive statement (ie, is not uninteresting equal to interesting )

3. Zanuttini (1990) maintains that such requirement can be expressed as a one way implication: if NegP then TP.

4. Evidence for such XP-initial adjunction is present in colloquial French:

      1) Il ne faut rien que tu dises

        It is not necessary that you say anything

Pollock (ibid.) argues that here rien has attached to CP.

5. Pollock (1989) assumes a higher and a lower VP, ie the clause contains two VP projections:

      [TP [AgrP [VP a [AgrP [VP vu ]]]]]

6. Pollock (ibid.) equates English <u>not</u> to French <u>pas</u>. This is because Old English had a negative pre-verbal adverb <u>ne/na</u> that was "strengthened" by <u>not/nought</u> (Mossé, quoted in Pollock, 1989). In the fourteeth century <u>ne/na</u> became optional, so that only the post verbal negation particle was found:

    1) He ne held it noght

    2) My wyfe rose nott

    3) Cry not so

The situation above is by no means confined to English. Zanuttini (1991) observes that this is what has come to be known as the "Jespersen's cycle": 1. the negative marker is phonetically weakened, becoming a clitic; 2. it is strengthened by another element (a noun phrase or an adverb), 3. the weakened form is lost, while the other element becomes the "true" negative marker.

7. Other analyses (Cf Zanuttini (1990) propose that the negative element <u>n't</u> in English is the functional head, whereas <u>not</u> is the adverb-like element which adjoins to the SPEC position (of a maximal projection)

8. Pied Noir French is the variety of French spoken by the ( chiefly white) French descendant Algerian population.

9. Examples:(from Zanuttini, 1989)

    1) Italian: Gianni non ha telefonato a sua madre

    2) Spanish: Juan no ha llamado a su madre

    3) Catalan: El Joan no ha trucat a sa madre

4) Portuguese: Joao não ligou para sua mae

5) Rumanian: Jon nu-i telefona mamei lui

'John hasn't called his mother'

10. Examples (Zanuttini, 1991, and Sanga, 1987):

Piedmontese:  A-m lo da nen

French:       Il ne veut pas me le donner

Valdotain:    Mè lo donna pa

              'He/she won't give it to me'

Milanese:     El l'ha minga scrivvu
              He has not written

Bergamasco:   'L só mía
              I don't know

11. Standard French differs from Non-Standard French in that the negative head is realised most of the time; so while _pas_ attaches to SPEC of NEgP-2 the head _ne_ attaches to the head (Neg) of NegP-2. The final S-structure configuration is achieved when _ne_ rises because of cliticization so that it attaches to T (with the verb) and not to the head of NegP-1.

12. Zanuttini (1990a) also mentions absolute constructions as one type of clause which are argued by Belletti to have no tense projection at all. They are impossible with

intransitive verbs and rare with passives. They are grammatical with unaccusatives as we can see:

1) Arrivata in ritardo, Maria non ha trovato posto a sedere

   (Arrived) late, Mary didn't find a place to sit

Because TP is absent, these constructions cannot be negated:

2) * Non arrivata in tempo, Maria non ha visto i gruppi tedeschi

   not (having arrived) in time, Maria didn't see the German bands

13. Italian has only one "true" imperative form, in the second person singular:

1) Telefona !

   Call! (2nd sing)

The form used for the plural has got the same morphological form as the indicative form, hence it doesn't qualify as a "true" imperative:

2) Telefonate !

   Call ! (2nd plural)

14. The principal modern forms in Romance languages (such as Spanish nada, 'nothing') were derived from words which were negative in Latin. French, on the other hand, used in the negative doubled construction words which originally had a positive sense (aucun, personne, rien, jamais, plus) and which took their negative sense by their co-occurence with ne. At an earlier stage, the particle ne in French became present in these constructions even when these negative words were fronted:

1) Personne ne vient

   Nobody comes

Harris (1978) points out that Classical Latin preferred the structure:

> 2) Nunquam veniet
>
>   Never will he come

to either

> 3) Non umquam veniet

or

> 4) Non numquam veniet

The negative particle non was used in conjuction with explicitly negative forms such as nunquam, nihil, nemo, nullus. Double negation was avoided in the literary language, whereas in vulgar Latin the double negative prevailed.

15. Laka (1990) defends the hypothesis that there aren't two groups of "n-words" (negative words) but only one set, ie. negative polarity items.

16. The SPEC-head configuration of negative elements which is required by the Negative Criterion can involve other functional categories such as CP. Haegeman shows that in West Flemish the negative head en can raise with the finite verb, to attach to C. A negative constituent, niets, can move to [SPEC,CP] in cases such as:

> 1) Niets en-ee Valère gezeid
>
>   Nothing (en)-has Valère said
>
>   'Valère has said nothing'

17. Haegeman raises an important objection to such analysis: standard English has no NC and we wouldn't perhaps want to say that it lacks an NegP projection.

18. Rizzi(1990) argues that not/pas can be specifiers to other projections:

Quantifier Phrase: pas beacoup     not much, not at all

Adjective Phrase: pas capable     not capable

# Chapter Four

## Clitic-doubled constructions in Romance

## 4.1 Introduction: Clitic Doubling and CLLD

This chapter deals mainly with the description and analysis of object clitic doubling in Romance. This phenomena received a great deal of attention in the early 80s, with resulting syntactic theories (the majority advocating base-generation) which we will examine in turn. Both base-generation and movement approaches of those years have provided the background for recent syntactic studies within GB theory.

Before discussing clitic doubling in Romance, let us define what it is meant by "clitic". Spencer(1991) states that clitics are "elements which share properties of fully fledged words, but which lack the independence usually associated with words. They can't stand alone, but have to be attached phonologicaly to a host". In the traditional linguistic literature for example, English contracted verb forms and the articles the,an are referred to as clitic forms.

In GB theory, the nature of the clitic pronoun has been regarded as "purely inflectional" by some, whereas for others give the object clitic argument status.

In Romance languages the distribution of the pair clitic-lexical NP varies from language to language and within one language there are dialectal variances. What I shall focus on is the phenomenon called "clitic doubling", which I shall define as the doubling of the object NP by a clitic which agrees in number, person and gender with the object NP. I shall also make particular reference to Spanish.

In all varieties of Spanish the dative object is doubled by the dative clitic (le or les):

1) Maria le dió una carta a Juan

   Mary (him) gave a letter to John

Pronominal objects are doubled in <u>all</u> varieties of Spanish as well:

2) Le dí una flor a ella

   (her) I gave a flower to her

3) Lo ví a él

   (him) I saw him

In addition to this, in the so-called "River Plate dialect" of Spanish (defined by an area which roughly covers Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and part of Chile) we find that the direct object can be doubled by an accusative clitic. No doubling of the direct object is possible in Standard Spanish. As a rule, in these South American Spanish varieties, the direct object is only doubled if it is animate:

4) Lo veo a Juan

   I see (him) John

5) Lo veo al niño

   I see (him) the boy

6) Lo veo al gato

   I see (it) the cat

Only definite NPs can be doubled:

7) *La ví a una estudiante

   (her) I saw a female student

The reason why only definite NPs are doubled will be fully dealt with in Chapter 5,

111

related to the "definiteness effect" (Belletti 1988). However, definiteness is not required of indirect objects :

8) Le dí un libro a una chica

(her) I gave a book to a girl

In the indirect object "inalienable construction", definiteness is also not required:

9) Le duele la cabeza a la/una estudiante

(her) the head hurts (to) a student

'A (female) student has got a headache'

The appearance of a clitic doubling an indirect object is not dependent on any particular feature of animacy or definiteness of the NP. This has been used by Jaeggli(1982) as an argument to consider Indirect Objects in Spanish as Prepositional Phrases rather than Noun Phrases. We remark further that the clitic in indirect object constructions can be optional, although these constructions would be regarded as stylistically marked:

10) Di el libro a María

I gave the book to Mary

These constructions involve a clitic-doubled NP. The fact that the clitic and the NP are not independent is corroborated by the absence of an intonational break preceeding the doubled NP with right dislocations, because an intonational break (marked ## ) appears before the NP:

(from Jaeggli, 1986):

lo

11) Los nativos/vieron pasar hace unos días ## el buque inglés

The natives saw the English ship sailing by some days ago

Another characteristic which sets this construction apart from clitic doubling is the fact

112

that the NP following the intonational break is not preceded by the preposition <u>a</u> (in Jaeggli's theory, a case marker). Since this is not considered a case position, a "case assigner" is therefore redundant.

In French, we encounter both left and right dislocations of the NP-object:
Right dislocation:

12) Je l'ai avalé, la pilulle

I took it, the pill

Left dislocation:

13) La pilulle, je l'ai avalé

The pill, I took it

Neither case is considered 'doubling' of the NP in French, because of the intonational break (signalled in writing by the comma)[1].

There are in fact two other constructions that should be mentioned with reference to clitic-object NP doubling:

1. Clitic-Left Dislocation of an NP (henceforth CLLD)

14) Al libro, no lo quiero

The book, I don't want it

15) A Juan, no lo vi

John, I didn't see him

16) Al auto, no lo compro

The car, I don't buy it

2. Topicalization of a phrase (without resumptive clitic)

> 17) Buen gusto, me parece que Fergie no tiene
>
> Good taste, I think that Fergie hasn't got

Topicalization involves fronting without clitic doubling. Rivero (1980) differentiates between topicalization and left dislocation, by claiming that topicalization involves movement whereas left-dislocation is the result of base-generation. A further differentiation is drawn by Jaeggli (1982): In Spanish left dislocation involve definite phrases, whereas topicalization (no resumptive pronoun involved) involves indefinite phrases.

This strict division is not altogether tenable, as we find left-dislocations involving indefinite phrases (indirect objects and direct objects):

(Jaeggli, 1982):

> 18) A un chico de 3 años, yo no le regalo ese libro
>
> To a three-year old child, I wouldn't give that book

> 19) A una casa, yo creo que uno no se la compra facilmente
>
> A house, I think that one doesn't buy (it) easily

This type of CLLD with an indefinite NP doubled by an accusative clitic is found to be "impossible" by Jaeggli. I disagree on this judgement.

Because I shall deal in depth with the NP in relation to the clitic which doubles it I shall not deal with Topicalization, and Left dislocation, without clitic doubling.[2]

Cinque (1979) argued (a view radically changed in 1990) that left-dislocation in Italian involved movement. The fact that the following extractions are ungrammatical in Italian indicates that that Left Dislocation is sensitive to island constraints. Cinque (1979) notes, quite rightly, that such facts argue strongly against a base-generated derivation and in favor of a movement analysis for Left Dislocation.[3]

a) Extraction out of a complex NP:

> 20) * Anna, non possiamo diffondere la notizia che le manca un anno di vita.
>
> Anna, we can't spread the news that she's got one year to live

b) Extraction out of a coordinate structure:

> 21)* Da Piero, sono uscito e ci sono andato.
>
> From Peter's house, I went out and went away

c) Extraction out of a subject sentence:

> 22)* Di Carlo, che tu ne tema ancora la presenza è preoccupante
>
> That you are still afraid of Carlos's presence is worrying

In a more recent analysis, Cinque(1990) differentiates between Left Dislocation and CLLD along the following lines. In Italian, LD allows for only one left dislocated phrase:

> 23) Quella città, non sono mai stato là
>
> That town, I've never been there

CLLD, on the other hand, has no limit to the "left dislocated" phrases:

> 24) Di vestiti, a me, Gianni, in quel negozio, non me ne ha mai comprati
>
> Of dresses, to me, Gianni, in that shop, has never bought of them to me

In CLLD, maximal phrases (eg PP, AdjP, etc.) can be doubled by the clitic, whereas in LD we only find NPs (as in English John, I know him well).

The following are the categories which can be left-dislocated in Italian and doubled by a clitic:

Adj Phrase:

25) [Bella], non lo è mai stata

Beautiful, she's never been


Past Participle Phrase:


26) Non sono stati colpiti, o lo sono stati non molto

They haven't been hit, or they have been (but) not much


Prepositional Phrase:


27) [Al mare], ci siamo già stati

To the sea, we have been (there)


The fact that left dislocated phrases are subject to island constraints seems to argue in favour of the presence of a movement rule, which leads Cinque (1979) to conclude: 'The PS-solution is to be rejected not only because it requires an unnecessary broadening of existing mechanisms, but more crucially because it misses important generalizations, that a movement analysis automatically captures'.


According to Cinque(1979), only object referential NPs and partitive NPs require, when dislocated, a 'pronominal copy' (ie, an object clitic pronoun) to be left behind:


28) * Il vino, prendi tu     (cf. Il vino, lo prendi tu)

The wine, you carry     The wine, you carry it


29) * Vino, ho molto     (cf. Vino, ne ho molto)

Wine, I have a lot     Wine, I have a lot (of it)


All the other constituents that are Left Dislocated, only optionally require to be doubled by a clitic.

A similarity between CLLD and clitic-NP doubling is that resumptive clitics in CLLD are optional except for object clitics (lo, la, li, le). This would not favour an analysis in which CLLD and clitic-doubling are not explained both via base-generation or via a movement analysis, as this would fail to capture important features that these two constructions share.

Cinque(1990) takes sensitivity to islands and connectivity into account but argues against a movement analysis of CLLD and in favour of base generation of the left-dislocated phrase. The latter should not be analysed as involving move-α in spite of the fact that the construction shows properties which are considered diagnostic of the presence of move-α, such as sensitivity to island conditions and the ability of splitting idioms[4].

According to Jaeggli(1982), in Spanish extraction is freer than in Italian, which led him to argue that the left dislocated phrases were base-generated. This is partly corroborated by the partial grammaticality of the following sentences:

> 30) Este curso, a quien se le ocurrre la idea de tomarlo
>
> This course, who would have the idea of taking it

> 31) El libro, abri el cajón del escritorio y lo encontré
>
> The book, I opened the desk drawer and I found it

> 32) De Carlos, que tengas miedo me preocupa
>
> Charles, that you should be afraid of him worries me

Leaving aside the question of whether the left-dislocated phrase undergoes movement or not (and as we can see from the literature, Cinque himself has changed his opinion on this) it is right to point out that CLLD in Italian is sensitive to island constraints whereas Spanish seems to allow left dislocated constructions to a greater extent.

The second test for diagnosing wh-movement proposed by Cinque (1979) is the ability

of splitting idioms, that is, fronting the NP part of the idiomatic expression. This is attested in Italian, which is taken as further proof that a movement rule is at work: (examples from Cinque,1977)

idiom: andare nel pallone
    go in the balloon

    33) Nel pallone, non ci vai mai, tu ?
        Don't you ever get confused ?

idiom: tirare moccoli
    to throw candles

    34) Moccoli, non ne tiri ?
        'Don't you ever swear ?'

idiom: tirare le cuoia
    to draw the leathers

    35) Le cuoia, le tirerai prima tu !
        'You will kick the bucket first !'

However, idioms cannot be "split" in this fashion in Spanish:

    36) 'hacer fuego'
        to make a fire

    37) *Fuego, no lo hizo
        A fire, he didn't make

    38) 'sentar cabeza'
        settle head, ie 'settle down'

39) *Cabeza, no la sentó

Settle down, he didn't


This could be due to the fact that some idioms do not cliticize in Spanish, and hence the NP part of the idiom cannot be doubled by a clitic and fronted. Jaeggli (1982) argues that idioms in Spanish do not contain thematic NPs (ie they carry no $\Theta$-role) and tend to be indefinite in character, eg:

idiom: 'tener miedo'

to be afraid


40) Juan tuvo miedo

Juan was afraid


41) *Juan lo tuvo

John had it


The fact that the NP part of the idiom can be fronted in Italian and not in Spanish is not a conclusive argument in favour or against wh-movement applying to left-dislocated phrases, as it seems to be related to the nature of the NP in the idiom, whether they can be cliticized or not.


We shall conclude this section by expressing the following generalization: languages which have clitic doubling will have CLLD, a generalization which also seems to apply to non-Romance languages such as Greek (Agouraki,1992). In Italian Clitic Doubling is ungrammatical, so the reverse is not true. The absence of the preposition a preceding the NP-object is evidence for some authors (Jaeggli,1982) that Italian could not allow doubling of the object. This state of affairs is captured (at least descriptively) in Kayne's generalization (1975): 'a clitic-doubled' direct object in "clitic doubling" languages cannot be bare. It must be introduced by a preposition'. Such description is fulfilled in River Plate Spanish. We shall deal with the theoretical implications of the precence of the preposition a preceding the doubled object NP in section 4.2.

## 4.2 Base generation theories for clitic doubled NP objects

We shall eventually abandon an analysis in which the clitic and the NP are base-generated, in order to express such relationship in terms of SPEC-head agreement, in chapter 5. However, we shall consider that early analyses which dealt with this issue and upheld base generation presented important contributions towards the understanding of the relationship of the clitic and its NP counterpart and of course towards establishing the nature of the clitic element.

The first standard treatment of object pronominal clitics has been the 'movement analysis' (Kayne 1975), in which clitics are base-generated postverbally as complements to V ( V cl). A 'clitic-placement' rule moves them pre-verbally in those Romance languages which have pre-verbal object clitics at S-structure, such as French.

In his analysis presented in 1982, Jaeggli was to argue against the derivation of clitic pronouns via a movement transformation as proposed by Kayne(1975). In Kayne's approach, clitics are generated in the NP object position and cliticized to the verb by an obligatory movement rule (a "clitic placement" rule).
Thus, to generate

(Spanish)

42) Lo veo

I see it

we would have a base structure with the clitic in post-verbal position:

43) [$_{VP}$[veo] [lo]]

to which a "movement rule" applies, placing the clitic pre-verbally:

44) [$_{VP}$[[lo] [veo]] [e] ]

120

This theory, as Jaeggli points out, was constructed by Kayne in order to account for the impossibility of clitic doubling in French, ie. the fact that clitics and NPs are in complementary distribution in this language. However, we know of the existence of other Romance dialects such as River Plate Spanish which allow the object NP to be doubled by a clitic. Jaeggli argues that a rule which moves the clitic (considered then 'a pronominal copy' of the phi-features of the object NP) to a pre-verbal position would violate antecedent - trace relationship. Another argument used by Jaeggli (ibid.) against a movement analysis is that it does not explain how inherent reflexive clitics such as <u>se</u> in French, could possibly be generated post-verbally and then moved to a pre-verbal position. (Although Kayne (1975) himself points out that there are instances of "inherent" <u>se</u>, such as in

45) Elle s'est dédite le lendemain
    She recanted the following day

in which the reflexive <u>se</u> must be part of the lexical entry of the verb, and hence be base-generated)

Another of Jaeggli's counter-arguments is the existence of the so-called benefactives or ethical structures in Spanish, of the type:

46) Me le arruinaron la vida a mi perro (cuando cambiaron el sofá)
    They ruined my dog's life (when they changed the settee)

in which we have both a direct object (<u>la vida</u>) and an indirect object (<u>a mi perro</u>) plus a benefactive clitic <u>me</u>. This benefactive clitic cannot be argued to have been generated in post-verbal position.

Hence Jaeggli, following Rivas (1977), favours an analysis in which the base is allowed to generate a pair clitic-NP in their respective S-structures. Either (or both) of the elements of this pair can be lexically realised. A clitic-NP agreement rule would then pair the clitic with a corresponding NP. A rule of 'clitic / NP deletion' applies next, which deletes either the clitic or NP, or neither of them as in the constructions

of doubled accusative objects. The right grammatical output is then achieved:

47) Juan lo vio

    John saw him

48) Juan vio al chico

    John saw the child

49) Juan lo vio al chico

    John (him) saw the child

In the case where the object NP is left lexically unrealised (as in 47) ) Jaeggli (1982) argued that a null anaphoric pronominal element, PRO, takes its position. In a structure such as

50) [clitic + V  NP]

(where we take the clitic to be accusative and doubling the post verbal NP), the verb structurally governs the direct object NP and the clitic, on the principle that the verb governs its complements. Still, Jaeggli wishes to restrict government [5] so that only one element is governed by the verb, following a "minimal distance" principle. He proposes that the clitic 'absorbs' government, so that the verb cannot simultaneously govern the accusative clitic and the direct object NP. In this case, the clitic is said to absorb " s-government" (that is, strict subcategorization feature government, a more restrictive sub-case of c-government, or categorial government, that is, government of a particular lexical category). In this type of government the clitic is co-superscripted with a feature +F in the verbal matrix, and this co-superscripting is unique. Objective case is also assigned by s-government. This theory accounts for clitic doubling in the following way. In a sentence such as:

51)  Maria lo vió a Pedro

    Mary (him) saw Peter

the clitic absorbs s-government and gets Case from the verb. The post-verbal NP is ungoverned, and thus gets no Case. This is in violation of Case theory, for if the NP is lexical it must get Case in order to pass the Case Filter. Notice that in the NP-doubled constructions there is a preposition a before the doubled NP. This is argued by Jaeggli (1982) to be the "extra Case Assigner" which confers Case to this NP. The lack of clitic doubling in Italian and French, eg:

52) (Italian) *Lo ho visto (a) Gianni

I saw (him) John

53) (French) *Je l'ai vu (a) Jean

I saw (him) John

is argued to result from the absence of a Case assigning preposition before the postverbal NP. So Jaeggli argues that his theory of base-generation explains the complementary distribution of clitics and lexical NP objects in French and Italian, as clitics and NP objects receive Case by the Verb. If both are present, a language needs an extra Case Assigner like a preposition before the direct object NP, an option not available in French or Italian. There are, on the other hand, 'true' prepositions a which do not allow the object to cliticize:

54) Je pense à toi

'I think of you'

55) * Je te pense

These do not case-mark and the complement is a 'true' prepositional phrase. Otherwise, Jaeggli (1986) takes the preposition a to be a device to transmit Case to the NP.

Jaeggli (1986) quite rightly replaces the "universally available" empty pronominal

category PRO he makes use of in his (1982) analysis with the "parametrically available" empty category pro for the post-verbal phonetically unrealised NP in the clitic construction.

The subject position in null subject languages ("pro-drop languages) is filled by pro. This is true in Spanish:[6]

> 56) pro tengo una bicicleta en casa
>
> (I) have  a bike at home

> 57) pro tienen tiempo de salir
>
> (they) have time to go out

The null subject of tensed sentences, *pro*, patterns the way overt pronouns do, which makes it an empty category different in nature from the null subject of infinitives (PRO). Jaeggli (1989) observes the following similarities between overt pronouns and pro, which set them apart from PRO:

a) overt pronouns and pro can be resumptive:

> 58) Juan, es impossible que él llegue tarde

> 59) Juan, es impossible que pro llegue tarde

> 'John, it is impossible that he should be late'

PRO cannot:

> 60) *Juan, es imposible PRO llegar tarde
>
> John, it is impossible to arrive late

b) overt pronouns yield cross-over effects, and so does pro. The following sentences show that both an overt pronoun and pro are sensitive to CO in interrogative constructions:

61) ?* A quién$_i$ acusó [ la mujer$_j$ con quien$_j$ [ él$_i$ bailó [e]$_j$ [e]$_i$ ]]?

62) ?* A quién$_i$ acusó [ la mujer$_j$ con quien$_j$ [ pro$_i$ bailó [e]$_j$ [e]$_i$ ]]?

'Who did the woman with whom he danced accuse ?'

c) Spanish allows both null thematic subjects and null expletive subjects, but no expletive is allowed as subject of an infinitive:

63) El/pro dijo que pro le parece que Juan mató al perro
    He/pro said that it seems to him that John killed the dog

64) * Es posible PRO agradarle que María esté enferma
    (It) is possible to please him that Mary is sick
    Mary's being sick possibly pleases him

In theoretical terms pro occupies a position governed by INFL, whereas PRO is ungoverned. pro must be identified by a governor 'rich" in features, this governor being AGR in IP. This is why null subject languages can afford to have a null subject: because their agreement system is rich enough for the subject position to be filled by pro.

The analysis argued for in Jaeggli (1986) (contrary to Jaeggli 1982), is one in which the clitic is no longer independent of, but rather part of the verb. As such the clitic governs the position occupied by the NP-object, allowing pro in such position:

65) NP [[[ lo$_i$ ] [V] ] pro$_i$]

The clitic doubling the position occupied by pro is considered to be a separate "word" syntactically, but dominated by V. So it is the clitic which "identifies" pro, as it is the element with a particular set of pronominal features such as person, number, gender which governs pro.[7]

So far we have dealt with a base-generated approach to account for the doubling of the direct object NP, that is, the "marked" option of clitic doubling. We shall deal with the doubling of the indirect object, also following a base generation approach, in the next section.

## 4.3 Treatment of Indirect Objects in a Base Generation Approach

In Jaeggli (1982) it is argued that indirect object NPs are true prepositional phrases. The argument for this is that they don't need to be definite (like direct objects) to be doubled, and in addition the preposition a preceding the indirect object cannot be optional.

In Jaeggli(1986) dative clitics in Spanish are optional case absorbers. This means that they can be assigned case but need not be. In Jaeggli (1986) the verb assigns accusative and dative case to its complements directly; that is, there is no "extra" element used as a Case assigner. In

66) Le di una flor a Maria

I gave a flower to Mary

the preposition a is not a Case assigner but a Case marker; dative case has been assigned by the verb to a Maria; le, according to Jaeggli (1986) doesn't absorb Case. Three kinds of clitic pronouns are then differentiated:

126

a. <u>obligatory case absorbers</u> (that is, clitics that require Case), eg accusative clitics. Spanish accusative clitics are deemed to be obligatory Case absorbers (together with French accusative and dative clitics[8]) because they occur in strict complementary distribution (in Standard Spanish and Standard French) with direct objects which are not preceded by the marker <u>a</u>:

Spanish:

> 67) * La compré la casa
>
> (it) I bought the house

In order to account for the variety of Spanish which allows doubling, an extra mechanism is needed so that the NP object can pass the case filter. The preposition <u>a</u> preceding the object NP is hence the "saving device".

b. <u>optional Case absorbers</u> (case may be assigned to the clitic but need not be): eg. dative clitics in Spanish. Indirect object NPs in Spanish possess the following descriptive properties:

a. they don't need to be in strict complementary distribution with the post-verbal NP, as accusative and dative NPs need to be in French, or accusative clitics in Standard Spanish are:

> 68) Le dijeron a Juan la verdad
>
> (him) they told John the truth

b. they don't need to be definite to be doubled:

> 69) Le dije a una chica la verdad
>
> (her) I told a girl the truth

c. the clitic doubling can be in some contexts optional:

> 70) Dije a Juan la verdad
>
> I told John the truth

These properties of dative clitics in Spanish is what led Jaeggli in his earlier theory (1982) to regard the post verbal doubled NP in a clitic doubled dative construction as a prepositional phrase, rather than an NP.

Jaeggli(1986) argues in favour of the optionality of case absortion along the following lines. If the complement position is lexical, the dative clitic does not absorb Case: the NP does. In cases where there is only the clitic present, then the clitic absorbs Case. In Spanish:

> 71) Le di el disco a Maria
>
> (her) I gave the record to Mary

the clitic does not get case but the indirect object complement does (by the verb). This explains why in Standard Spanish the clitic can co-exist with the NP: because it doesn't need to be assigned Case.

c. some clitics do not accept Case at all: Spanish 'ethical' clitics and intransitive reflexive verb clitics (for example Spanish reflexive se) seem to be exempt from Case absorption altogether.

The existence of sentences such as:

> 72) Me voy al cine
>
> I'm going to the cinema

> 73) Maria se rio de Pedro
>
> Mary laughed at Peter

74) Juan se quedó callado

   John kept quiet

show the existence of reflexive clitics which, according to Jaeggli, do not receive Case (or if they do it must be a special Case unassignable to NPs). Notice that these reflexive clitics are different from the ones attached to transitive reflexive verbs, of the kind:

75) Maria se lavó (a sí misma)

   Mary washed herself

The reflexive clitic of a reflexive transitive verb like <u>lavarse</u> (to wash oneself) represent an additional argument to the verb: it is possible to omit the clitic in 84) without making the sentence ungrammatical (this is not so for sentences 85) to 88) above.

Another type of construction which contains clitics which cannot be assigned Case is the so-called ethical dative construction, of the type:

76) El perro me le  manchó  el pantalón a mi niño

   The dog eCL dCL stained the trousers to my child


   eCL: ethical clitic

   dCL: dative clitic

The "ethical clitic" <u>me</u> implies that I was somehow affected by the fact that the dog stained my child's trousers, more likely to be negatively so if I am not pleased with the result. The 'affected entity' cannot be expressed by means of a prepositional complement:

77) * El perro le manchó el pantalón al niño a mí

   The dog dCL stained the trousers to the child to me

129

The ethical clitic me seems to receive no Case at all from the verb, as the verb has allocated all its Case features: accusative case to el pantalón and dative case to al niño (recall that le, which doubles the dative NP al niño is an optional case absorber). This leaves the ethical clitic me unassigned, and is an argument used by Jaeggli to show that ethical clitics do not require Case absorption.

Finally, a word on the thematic properties of clitics. As we know, the verb has two main Θ-roles: external Θ-role, which it assigns to the subject NP, and internal Θ-role which it assigns to the complement NPs (objects of the verb). In the [cl V NP] structure, this direct object Θ-role can only be assigned to the NP-object position, following the Projection Principle, and not to the clitic position. Clitics, by virtue of being referential expressions, must be linked to Θ-roles, if this is not so, the sentence is ungrammatical:
(Spanish):


78) * Juan le fue
        John CL went
            dat


The above sentence is ungrammatical because the clitic fails to be thematically interpreted. The verb has only one Θ-role to assign, (as the verb ir (go) in Spanish is intransitive) and the clitic can't double the subject position. On the other hand, ethical datives do not seem to be linked to a specific Θ-role; Jaeggli suggests that they seem to provide a Θ-role to the verb themselves ("benefactive" or "affected" Θ-role). Other clitics as se in


79) Maria se cayó
        Mary fell


are co-indexed with the subject (in this case Maria ), which satisfies the requirement that it should be thematically interpreted. Another case where the clitic seems to

contribute to a special Θ-role of the verb is the clitic in the "inalienable possession" construction:

80) Le duele la cabeza a Maria

    iCL hurts the head to Mary

    Mary's head hurts

    iCL: inalienable clitic

Here the dative clitic doubles the NP complement, but it is associated with a verb which does not accept the "goal argument" reading that true datives have. This role could be taken to be "inalienable possession" (since la cabeza is an inalienable part of the indirect object a Maria).

To summarize, pronominal clitics are linked to a thematic role because they are referential expression. The linking of a clitic to a Θ-role of V is not compulsory, as it is the case in the 'ethical' clitics.

An alternative base-generation analysis of the clitic-NP pair is given by Borer (1983). She advocates an analysis in which the clitic c-commands and governs the co-indexed NP. The clitic is said to absorb the Case features of the verb (or is itself the spell-out of case features). The co-indexed NP gets case from a case-assigning device (a in Rio de la Plata Spanish, pe in Romanian etc.) The concept we would like to retain from her theory is that for Borer the rule of 'Clitic Spell-out' is an inflectional rule. The clitic is assumed here to be a feature of the head. As such, it governs the doubled NP and as part of the head (V) takes the doubled NP as its complement[9].

The clitic is not an argument (it doesn't occupy an A-position) but an inflectional affix, part of the head constituent V. It is a nominal element though[10], and as such it contains a referential index. The clitic and the NP-complement are obligatorily co-indexed. Rather than have a special co-indexation rule, Borer claims that this follows directly from the properties of Θ-role assignment. If the clitic and NP fail to be co-

131

indexed, the Projection Principle will be violated. If the NP complement is not lexically filled, it is expanded as [e] and not as PRO as Jaeggli suggests. For the purpose of the Empty Category Principle ( [e] must be properly governed) clitics can function as proper governors [11].

Dative clitics, like their accusative counterparts, are a spell-out of the dative case features of the verb. Borer argues that verbs have unspecified case slots and that these Case slots will be spelled out as accusative under adjacency and as dative Case when the verb is not adjacent. So a verb like servir (in Spanish) would be subcategorized as:

81) servir  NP        NP
        [case]    [case]
          acc.      dat.

However, such subcategorization does not account for dative doubling (obligatory in standard Spanish) and its absence in French, nor does it account for the cases in which the indirect object in French is adjacent to the verb, as in:

82) Jean a téléphoné à ses parents
    Jean has phoned his parents

Therefore Borer(1983) proposes that two mechanisms are at work in the assignment of dative case:

1. The Case slot would be marked for case, ie [+dative]: therefore téléphoner would be marked:

83) téléphoner  NP
        [à  ]

2. An à-insertion rule would apply in the following context:

84) à insertion


$\emptyset \rightarrow$ à / [VP .... $\rightarrow$ NP]


This rule can insert à before an indirect object or direct object (the type of argument is left unspecified). This rule would aply where à-insertion is needed and would be blocked in cases where the preposition is selected by the verb (as in French téléphoner)[12]. Starting from the different process of dative case assignment Borer accounts for clitic doubling in River Plate Spanish and for its absence in French: River Plate Spanish uses à-insertion where French doesn't.


All in all, we endorse the fact that Borer's theory moves towards considering clitics as inflectional features rather than arguments, which breaks away from previous treatments of object clitics.


## 4.4 Extraction of the NP object in the clitic-NP pair construction in Romance


In this section, we will review the environments in which the object clitic doubles an extracted NP object. The NP-object can be moved to an A' position via wh-movement in River Plate Spanish and in Romanian. This implies that wh-phrases can be doubled by an object clitic. Cinque(1990) states that, as a rule, 'whenever a clitic may double a moved phrase in some wh-movement constructions it may do so in all other constructions displaying the properties of wh-movement, and it may also double a corresponding unmoved phrase. In Italian, however, a clitic cannot double a moved wh-phrase, and, as we know, the clitic cannot double an unmoved phrase either: (Cinque, 1990):

Italian:

> 85) * (A) chi lo conoscete ?
>     Who (him) do you know ?


133

86) * Lo conosciamo a Gianni

      (him) we know Gianni


Therefore Cinque's prediction holds, as neither the doubling of the moved or unmoved phrase are permitted.


In Spanish, according to Jaeggli (1982), three possibilities obtain in the case of extraction of the NP (or, expressed in other words, of the doubling of a wh-phrase by an object clitic):


In dialect A, extraction of the type:


87) * A quién lo viste pro

      Who did you (him) see ?


is ungrammatical. This is the case in Standard Spanish. Here pro (the empty pronominal category base-generated in the NP-object position) is said to be governed and co-indexed with a case-marked clitic. In this dialect Jaeggli assumes a constraint of the type "A pronominal must be Operator-free" applying. In this case, however, pro is bound by the Operator a quién and hence it is ungrammatical.


In dialect B, such extraction is permitted:


88) A quién lo viste pro ?

      Who did you (him) see ?


It is assumed that the condition that a pronominal must be Operator-free doesn't apply. This is because quantifier-like expressions like a quién do not behave like true quantifiers, but more like referential expressions, and hence they don't bind variables at all (like pro).

Extraction is possible from clitic-doubled indirect object position in both dialects, and in Standard Spanish:

89) A quién le dijiste la verdad ec ?

   Who did you tell (him) the truth ?

Recall that in Jaeggli's theory (1986), dative clitics are optional case absorbers. Case is then assigned to the complement position (ie the Operator position). The clitic won't absorb case and without case it won't be able to allow pro in the complement position, but an empty category (a variable: ec) will be licensed which will be bound by the Operator, so extraction is allowed.

As already remarked, clitic doubling is also found in Romanian and, as expected, so are clitic-doubled wh-phrases.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) notes that there is in Eastern Romance (Romanian) a high correlation between clitic-doubled wh-phrases and specificity. According to Sorin, depending on the percolation of wh-features, wh-phrases can function either as NPs or as quantifiers. She observes the following:

a. Only direct object with a specific reading require clitic doubling under wh-movement:

wh-extraction:

   90) Pe care baiat l-ai vazut ?

   91) *Pe care baiat ai vazut ?

      'Which boy (him) have you seen ?'

relative clauses:

   92) Baiatul pe care l-am vazut

135

93) *Baiatul pe care am vazut

'The boy who (him) I have seen'

Notice that only the absence of clitic with the <u>pe cine</u> structure (which also means <u>who</u>) is grammatical:

94) Pe cine ai vazut ?

95) *Pe cine l-ai vazut ?

'Who have you seen ?'

According to Sorin, the distribution of the doubling depends on the definiteness of the wh-moved constituent: <u>care</u> structures are not quantifiers whereas <u>cine</u> structures are. The latter acquire quantifier status by virtue of having intrinsic quantifier features. Wh-phrases, as they are maximal projections, do not bear intrinsic semantic features: they inherit these from the wh-quantifier. The fact that <u>care</u> needs an obligatory accusative clitic indicates that <u>care</u> does not function as a syntactic quantifier, which means (in Sorin's theory) that <u>care</u> doesn't transfer its features to its maximal projection.

A construction such as:

96) Pe cine$_i$ ai vazut e$_i$ ?
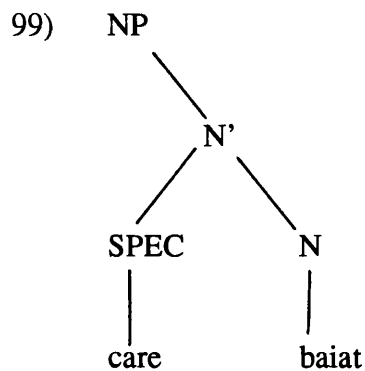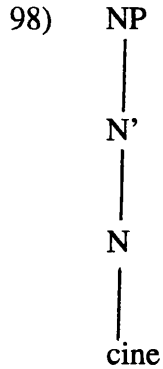     Who have you seen e ?

will have quantifier-variable status, whereas:

97) Pe care baiat l'ai bazut ?
     Which boy (him) have you seen ?

will be the result of movement without quantification. Such difference is reflected

136

structurally: Sorin argues that <u>cine</u> is generated in the N position and <u>care</u> is generated in the SPEC N' position[13]:

98)    NP
|
N'
|
N
|
cine

99)    NP
\
N'
/   \
SPEC    N
|         |
care    baiat

In Sorin's (1990) theory (after Chomsky 1981) variables bear case and clitics are allowed to absorb Case (Cf Jaeggli 82)[14]. In <u>Pe cine$_i$ ai vazut e$_i$</u> ? the empty category in the direct object position is a variable: it occupies an A position and is marked for case and is correctly bound by <u>cine</u>. However, in <u>*Pe cine l$_i$-ai vazut e$_i$</u> ? <u>cine</u> doesn't bind the variable e$_i$ ; the clitic <u>l</u>- has absorbed case and hence <u>e$_i$</u> lacks Case. The conclusion derived from this is that wh-variables <u>cannot be doubled by accusative clitics</u>. However, variables can be doubled by dative clitics in Romanian. Jaeggli (1982) relates the difference between direct object and indirect object to categorial status (NP vs PP respectively) but this claim is not applicable to Romanian as the NP is morphologically marked for dative Case[15]:

100) Ion a aratat fetita publicului

John has shown the-girl to-the-public


Sorin accounts for the difference in terms of Case: in both Romanian and Spanish direct objects are assigned accusative case under government by the verb, whereas indirect objects are inherently case-marked (by morphological Case in Romanian and by a preposition a in Spanish). Accusative case is therefore a structural case assigned at S-structure by a verbal category; inherent Case is assigned at D-structure. Therefore we can have:


101) Cui l-ai trimis bani e ?

Who him have you given money ?

'Who have you given money to ?'


that is, both an empty category and a clitic. Indeed the case requirement for variables is not applicable in the case of inherent Case (as empty categories appear at S-Structure and inherent case is not assigned at this level). Sorin bases this on the assumption that inherent Case is relevant for lexical elements but not for empty categories: she observes that inherent cases are not assigned, but just "marked", and that "marking" is only relevant for lexical categories. Hence in a (dative) quantification structure as above the dative clitic (on which inherent Case is realised) can be optional, and its presence is irrelevant for the variable status of the empty category it binds. Where ordinary clitic doubling applies, Sorin adopts Jaeggli's analysis, ie $cl_i$ V (prep) $NP_i$:


102) $l_i$-am vazut pe $Ion_i$

(I) him have seen John


that is, the preposition pe assigns Case to the doubled NP and the clitic absorbs Case assigned to the argument position [16].

## 4.5 Clitic movement analyses

As we have already seen the most influential syntactic analysis advocating movement was presented by Kayne (1975). In this analysis it is assumed that the object clitic is generated in the post-verbal position, that is, the position where non-pronominal NPs are generated. The clitic is then moved and attached to the V-node to yield:

103)

```
        V
       / \
      /   \
     /     \
   les      V
```
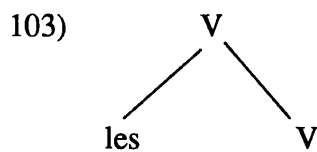
Such movement analysis was used to explain the fact that clitics and NPs are in complementary distribution in French. Jaeggli (1982), as we have seen, has argued that such movement analysis overlooked the possibility of clitic-NP doubling (indeed, it was meant to explain why such doubling was ungrammatical in French). A base-generation approach is then the alternative. We shall see, however, that contemporary movement analyses of clitics manage to accommodate clitic doubling without resorting to base generation. First of all we must examine how clitics fare in a more up-to-date movement approach.

One important argument against a base-generation analysis is the fact that it fails to account in a straightforward way all the positions that a clitic may occupy. For example, Borer's account of 'clitic climbing' in causative constructions (eg Juan lo hizo traer, 'John had it brought') has to rely on extra mechanisms (Case-tiers, etc) to conform with the claim that the clitic has been generated in the position it occupies at S-structure. Borer(1986) is herself aware of the fact that "extra mechanisms" are required for base generation. In a movement analysis, furthermore, the clitic would be base-generated in its argument position and would get automatically Case and Θ-role from the verb, while this option would not be available in an analysis which generates the clitic in its S-Structure position.

The movement approach is still present in more recent proposals put forward by Kayne (1989,1990). In these instances the "landing site" of the clitic (once it has moved) is discussed. If the clitic is to move pre-verbally, we have to consider which category it is going to attach to. It could left-adjoin to V (or right-adjoin) or else attach to a functional head. Romance clitics have only two options: attachment to a functional head (I) or to a verbal head (V). 'Clitic climbing' ('Gianni li vuole vedere') or lack of it ('Jean veut le voir') provide the evidence to support the claim that clitics attach to I or V. Notice that clitics, being heads, may attach to a head, but not to a maximal projection.

On the other hand not all the research done in the field have concentrated on base generation vs movement. Other mechanisms available in the grammar have been considered to explain clitic-NP doubling. We shall look at alternative approaches put forward by Uriagereka (1990) and Sportiche (1992) in particular.

Uriagereka (1990) views clitic placement as an instance of head movement, in terms of incorporation of the clitic in V (after Baker & Hale 1988)[17]. 'Clitic placement' is differentiated from 'cliticization': the former is a syntactic process whereas the latter is a phonological phenomenon.

Uriagereka's analysis takes from point of departure the well-known observation that Romance determiners and clitics have the same lexical origin and have kept the same morphological form. Cliticization of the determiner of a post-verbal NP onto the verb seems to be allowed in Galician. This cliticization is optional:

104) comemos o caldo

we ate the soup

cliticized construction:

105) comemo-lo caldo

we ate the soup

We also find that obligatory cliticization takes place with object clitic pronouns (along the lines discussed for other Romance varieties):

106) comemo-lo

   we ate it

In Galician, there appears to be two dialects where determiner cliticization can take place. In dialect A only the determiner of an object can cliticize to the verb (as in 105) above). In dialect B the determiner of other categories is allowed to cliticize, for example the determiner of an adjunct phrase:

107) queren vi-lo luns

   they want to come on Monday

Because determiners are heads, they can incorporate. This is the result of a syntactic process and not of morphological cliticization.

In dialect B, we can have a determiner incorporating from an adjunct construction:
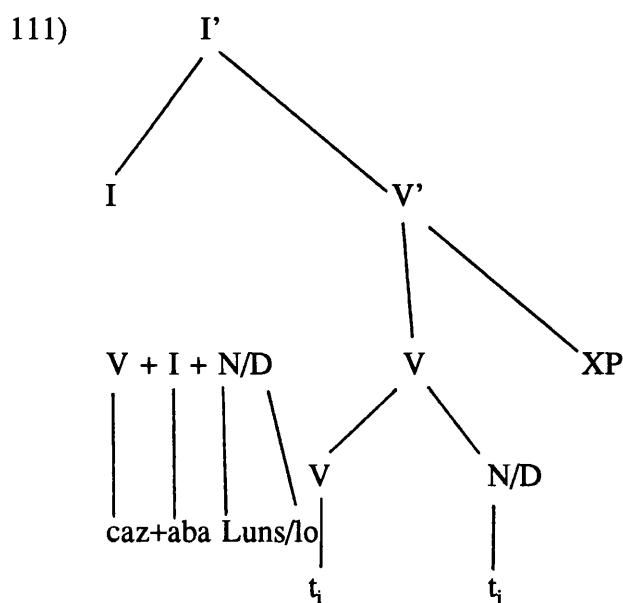
108) con ela falamos o Luns da Feira

   'with her we talked the Monday which was a market day'

109) con ela falamo-lo lunes da Feira

Adjunct incorporation is however ruled out:

110)* O Furquito cazaba-Luns
   Furquito hunted on Monday

Given the structure:

111)

```
                    I'
                  /    \
                /        \
              /            \
            I               V'
                            |  \
                            |    \
                            |      \
    V + I + N/D             V       XP
    |   |   |  \           / \
    |   |   |    \        /   \
    |   |   |      \     V     N/D
    |   |   |        \   |      |
    caz+aba Luns/lo  |   |      |
                     t_i         t_j
```

The trace of V (which has risen to I), $t_i$ blocks government of $t_j$ by <u>Luns</u> but not by <u>lo</u> .This is because <u>lo</u> is a functional category and therefore can cross a lexical head (the trace of V), whereas <u>luns</u> is a lexical category and its movement is blocked by a similar category (under the appropriate version of relativized minimality, cf. Baker & Hale (1988)). Thus only functional incorporation is possible in Galician, and not lexical incorporation. Clitic climbing (also found in Galician) depends to a large extent on the fact that a clitic can climb as long as it doesn't cross any functional element (like Infl for example):

112) Vimo-los cazar o porco bravo

We saw them hunt wild pig

The verb <u>cazar</u> is in its infinitival form and consequently it carries no inflection. Evidence for this claim is the fact that clitic climbing is ungrammatical if the clitic crosses an inflected infinitive:

113) *Vimo-los cazaren o porco bravo

We saw them hunt(INFL) wild pig

142

Cliticization of the determiner of an adjacent NP is different from "standard" cliticization of the object clitic. Uriagereka follows the view that clitic structures and nominal structures with a definite article are identical, except for their complements: in the clitic structure a determiner like lo, before being incorporated onto the verb, takes an empty pronominal category (pro) as complement:

114) [[ comemo ] lo] [ t [pro]]
        we-ate it

The complement of normal determiners, on the other hand, is an overt NP:

115) [ [comemo] lo ] [ t [caldo]]

Notice that functional incorporation com-emo-lo shows that V has incorporated to the left of I whereas the pronominal clitic has incorporated to the right of the complex, which is contrary to what Kayne (1989, 1991) proposes (clitics only attach to the left of the functional category). Otherwise determiner cliticization is very much like standard object cliticization, which favours an analysis of clitics as determiners.

Other recent approaches aim to combine both movement and base generation in order to account for clitic-doubled constructions. Sportiche(1992) remarks that movement analyses so far have assumed that movement implies movement of the clitic. He however abandons such position to put forth an analysis in which it is the doubled phrase that moves, and not the clitic. Hence Romance clitic-doubled constructions are treated as involving both movement and base generation. In this approach the syntax of the clitics is assimilated to that of other functional heads. In this model the clitic heads its own projection and it licenses a nominal phrase in its specifier which matches it in person, number gender and Case. Sportiche (ibid.) concludes that the properties that both movement and base generation were meant to bring out are correct, and hence a combination of both approaches is viable: movement explains the locality condition between the clitic and the doubled position (along the lines of A-movement) whereas base generation is designed to explain the lack of

143

complementarity between the clitic and the full NP.

Sportiche's proposal is the following: all clitics are base generated in pre-existing slots as X°, heading their own projection. The agreement between a clitic and its corresponding doubled phrase (XP) is an instance of SPEC-head relation. A projection is thus provided whose head is the clitic and whose specifier is the "landing site" for movement of the corresponding NP. All clitic constructions involving a CL/XP dependency involve movement of the XP to the SPEC position of the projection headed by the clitic. If a clitic is related to an XP, this XP will have to move to satisfy the clitic criterion at LF:


116)   Clitic Criterion


i. A clitic must be in a spec/head relationship with a [+F] XP

ii. A [+F] XP must be in a spec/head relationship with a clitic


A clitic licenses in XPs a particular property or feature [+F] at LF only in an appropriate agreement relationship. If a clitic is related to an XP, the latter will have to move to satisfy the Clitic Criterion. Sportiche illustrates with the following construction:
(French)


117) Marie les$_i$   aura presentés   XP$_i$
     Marie will have introduced them


This would be analysed thus:


118) [ DP$_i$ [ les [... aura presentés  DP$_i$ ...]]]


The post-verbal DP (= NP) will have to move to the SPEC of the clitic phrase ("accusative voice" projection in Sportiche's terminology) to conform with the clitic

criterion. In cases where the relationship of the clitic to the doubled phrase is a "long distance" one (eg clitic climbing) Sportiche allows for movement of the clitic to a higher head.

The agreement phrase and the clitic phrase are claimed to be identical by Sportiche, except for two properties that set them apart: agreement (subject/verb or participial agreement) does not require the agreeing phrase to be specific, whereas object clitics do. Another difference under this approach is that the SPEC of an Agreement Phrase is an argument position, whereas that of a Clitic Phrase is an A' position. Sportiche's analysis is the one we shall favour as the clitic-NP pair reduces to SPEC-head agreement.

# ENDNOTES

1. Jaeggli (1986) points out that left and right dislocation in Spanish are not, like their French counterparts, mutually exchangeable:

Left dislocation:

> 1) (A) la actriz, el productor que la encontró en la fiesta quiso comunicarse con su agente.
>
> The actress, the producer who met her at the party wanted to contact her agent.

Right dislocation:

> 2)* El productor que la encontró en la fiesta quiso comunicarse con su agente, a la actriz.
>
> The producer who met her at the party wanted to get in touch with her agent, the actress.

Jaeggli argues that left dislocation does not involve movement in Spanish and is thus base-generated. Right dislocation involves movement, from an arguement position to a right peripheral adjoined position.

2. Cinque(1990) distinguishes between CLLD and Topicalization in Italian (one the result of base generation, the other of wh-movement according to his account) by proposing that Topicalization involves movement of an empty operator. This entails that a 'resumptive' clitic is impossible with a topicalized object, though it is obligatory with a CLLD object:

TOP    [TOP Gianni$_i$] [CP Op$_i$ [IP ho visto e$_i$]

3. We can find left-dislocated phrases in other languages such as German. The fact that the left-dislocated phrase in German is case-marked by the verb (we presume in the position where it originated) argues against a base-generation analysis:
(from Cinque, 1977)

> 1) Den Professor (acc.) , sie lobten ihn
>    The professor, they praised

4. Cinque(1990) gives various reasons to argue against a movement analysis of CLLD, among others:

a) the clitic is unable to license a parasitic gap. If CLLD was the result of movement then a parasitic gap would be expected to be grammatical. Such movement would result in the presence of an operator in [SPEC,CP], which would be co-indexed with the clitic and the parasitic gap at S-structure. In Italian, CLLD with parasitic gaps is ungrammatical:

> 1) * Gianni, l'ho cercato per mesi, senza trovare e
>      John, I've looked for him for months, without finding

Thus the resumptive clitic in Italian CLLD does not license parasitic gaps.

This is also attested in Standard Spanish relative clauses (after Chomsky, 1982):

> 2) * La computadora de que me hablaste, que la han arreglado sin desarmar e,
>      ahora anda bien
>      'The computer you told me about, that they fixed without taking to pieces,
>      now works well'

b) CLLD and subjacency

147

There are some grammatical CLLD structures which subjacency would exclude if they were derived by wh-movement:

3) Loro, il libro, credo che a Carlo sia sicuro che non glielo daranno mai

Them, the book, I reckon that Charles is sure they'll never give it to him

These left-dislocated constituents would normally yield a subjacency violation because of crossing consecutive wh-islands (ie a Carlo and il libro by loro). Ungrammaticality arises in Italian when two consecutive wh-islands are crossed:

4) * ? Gianni, a cui non so [quando si saprà [cosa daranno t]] e andato via

John,to whom I don't know when it will be known what they will give,

is gone away

c) ne-cliticization is preserved under wh-movement, but not under CLLD:

wh-movement:

5) Quante credi che ne siano andate smarrite ?

How many do you think have been lost (of them) ?

CLLD:

6) * Quattro, credo che ne siano andate smarrite (non distrutte)

Four, I think that they have been lost (not destroyed)

5 Government is taken to be after Chomsky 1981 as follows:

α governs ß

if α c-commands ß

and no major category boundary appears

between α and ß

6. A pro-drop language like Spanish also allows the fully realised pronoun, although this option is marked:

1) Yo tengo una bicicleta en casa

I have a bike at home


2) Ellos tienen tiempo de salir

They have time to get out


7. Chomsky(1982) argues along similar lines. He observes that pro appears only as the subject of a sentence with AGR in a pro-drop language, which is characterized as being "rich enough" in inflectional features. Such notion he qualifies further: "rich enough" means that AGR is specified for Case. Thus in pro-drop languages the empty category subject governed by AGR is pro with Case. Subject clitics of some Italian dialects are given as illustration by Chomsky of the "spelling out" of the AGR element in question. He extends similar ideas to the empty category associated with a clitic. If this position is pro rather than an NP-trace then the clitic must govern it. Chomsky regards the pair [clitic, EC] as a chain, and likewise the pair [clitic, lexical NP], (one of the elements carrying case by mechanisms discussed in Jaeggli (1982) or Borer(1983)). Other authors, however, such as Rizzi (1986) use the notion of chain for the clitic-empty category pair but conclude that it corresponds to an NP-trace chain (and hence that the clitic is an argument).


8. French direct and indirect objects are considered to be NPs, and as such direct and indirect clitics are said to absorb Case obligatorily. In Spanish only accusative clitics are obligatory Case absorbers. In French there is strict complementary distribution between the clitic and the doubled indirect object NP: if the clitic is present (unless it is a case of a "benefactive" or "ethical" clitic or an inherent reflexive clitic as above), then the clitic absorbs Case. In French, the preposition appearing before the indirect object Noun, as in:

149

1) Je donne une voiture à Paul

I give Paul a car


is considered to be a marker of the dative case, and not an independent case assigner, as the NP receives dative case from the verb.


9.The structure of Borer's clitic doubling looks like the following:



$$X + cl_i$$
$$cl_i + X \qquad NP_i$$
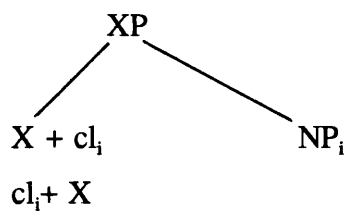
in which:


X= V (Romance)

X= V, P, N (Semitic)


10. Clitic pronouns cannot be considered NPs because they differ from NPs in the following way (Borer,1986):

a. They don't present the internal structure of NPs

b. they can't take specifiers of any sort

c. they can't take complements

c. they can't be modified

d. they don't allow conjunction like NPs do:

Cf.

1) Jean mange les pommes et le gateau


2) *Jean les et le mange


11. The notion of Proper Government (Borer 1983) is as follows:

α properly governs ß iff


150

α governs ß and

i. α is [+V], or

ii.α is coindexed with ß

12. French may use an à-insertion rule in cases such as


1) Marie a fait téléphoner Jean à ses parents

   Mary made Jean telephone his parents


This is because téléphoner cannot assign case to ses parents directly in this causative construction.


13. The difference between (bare) quantifiers and quantified NPs have also been noted to correlate with a structural difference by Cinque(1990). Bare quantifiers stand in his analysis as instantiations of N whereas quantifiers in quantified NPs attach to the SPEC node of NP.

This difference is brought out in Italian by the contrast between left dislocated structures with (bare) quantifiers and those with quantified NPs. The former do not require a resumptive clitic while the latter do:


3) Qualcuno troverò di sicuro per questo compito

   Someone (or other) I shall find for this task surely


4) Tutti i tuoi errori, prima o poi, li pagherai

   All your mistakes, sooner or later, you'll pay (them)


Cinque correlates this difference with a semantic property of the interpretation of the NP: its referential (specific) vs. non referential status. The clitic is obligatory with a specific referential NP, but not with a "pure" quantifier NP.


14. The definition of variable after Chomsky (1981) is as follows:


151

α is a variable if and only if

α is an empty category that

a) occupies an A-position

b) is bound by a quantifier

c) is case-marked


15. Farkas(1978) remarks that the indirect object in Rumanian is inflected for case and it is always referential. The case is carried by the article:


    1) lupo illui : lupului

    'of' or 'to' the wolf


16. As Borer(1983) points out, clitic doubling entails the presence of the preposition pe, but the presence of the preposition pe in Romanian does not entail doubling:


    1) Am vazut pe altcineva

       I-have see (pe) somebody else


This is an example in which pe is present and no clitic doubling is involved. Steriade (1980) identifies the environments in which clitic doubling is possible in Romanian. The general rule, akin to River Plate Spanish, is that clitic doubling is obligatory if the direct object is specific or definite and either pronominal or human, and impossible otherwise:


+specific

+pronominal  2) Am vazut-o pe ea

            I-have seen-her her


+specific

+human

-pronominal   3) L-am vazut pe Popescu

(him) I-have seen Popescu


+specific

-definite

+human    4) O caut pe o fata de la noi din sat

            her I-am-looking-for a girl from our village


(NB: specific is defined by Steriade as 'an expression the identity of whose referent is either known to the speaker or uniquely determined by the referential expression itself. Indefinite qualifies any expression whose referent has not been previously mentioned in the discourse').


The indirect object doubles if it is specific and pronominal or definite and pronominal. If these conditions are not fulfilled clitic doubling will be optional with the IO noun (and only if it is human).


+specific

+pronominal  5) I-am dat cartea ei

            her(dat) I-have given the book to-her


+specific

-pronominal

+human    6) (I) -am dat cartea lui Popescu

            him(dat) I-gave the book to Popescu


17. Uriagereka is aware of the fact that Baker's theory involves incorporation of nouns while his involve the incorporation of determiners.

# Chapter Five

## SPEC-head Agreement in the Object Phrase: a proposal for object clitic doubling

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we shall reject base generation analyses for the object clitic-NP pair and suggest that such relationship can be expressed in terms of SPEC-head agreement in the Object agreement phrase (AGRP-o). The clitic (which we regard as an inflectional head) attaches to AGR-o and the nominal phrase to SPEC of AGRP-o (an argument position), where it receives Case. These two positions are co-indexed and therefore share phi-features in common.

### 5.2 Two arguments against base generation of object clitics: Clitic climbing and 'endoclitics' in Romance

Base generation of clitics, in particular the types of analyses used by Jaeggli (1982) and Borer (1983) do not seem to account satisfactorily for non-local phenomena such as "long distance" clitic climbing, of the type:

> 1) Juan lo quiere ver
>
>    John it wants to see
>
>    'John wants to see it'

in which the clitic is said to have climbed to the matrix IP.

Indeed, Jaeggli (1982) does not specifically deal with clitic climbing of the type above at all, concentrating on Spanish causatives of the type:

2) Le hicimos [llamar a sus padres] a Juan

   'We made Juan call his parents'


in which the clitic is said to be part of the V' constituent which gets fronted by a causative rule along the lines of Kayne's (1975) *faire*-infinitive movement rule.


Borer's (1983) analysis follows Kayne (1975), Quicoli (1976) and Jaeggli (1982) in proposing that causative constructions in Romance involve the fronting of elements from a subordinate clause, and addresses the issue of the position of the clitics in the matrix clause, within a base generation approach. Borer follows Rivas (1977) in the claim that when fronting takes place the verb must be fronted along with the complements which it structurally subcategorizes for. For example in:


3) Maria [le hizo escribirles (una carta) a los chicos] a José

   Mary made José write a letter to the children


we would say that escribir in this case subcategorizes for a dative and an optional accusative complement. Borer further argues that the domain of complementation is the domain of government by the head, hence when a verb strictly subcategorizes for a complement, it governs it. The verb in causative constructions then, gets fronted with its complements. Borer explains the distribution of the clitics which correspond to the subject of the subordinate clause by claiming that the clitic is dative whenever the second verb is immediately followed by a complement, and accusative when it isn't:


4) Maria [le hizo tocar la flauta] a Juan

   Maria made Juan play the flute


($V_2$, tocar, is followed by the accusative complement la flauta, hence the clitic is dative)

5) Maria [lo hizo venir 0 ] a Juan

    Maria made Juan come

($V_2$, <u>venir</u> is not followed by a complement, hence the clitic is accusative). For cases in which the clitic attaches to either $V_2$ or $V_1$, as in:

6) Maria la hizo escribir

'Maria had it written'

7) Maria hizo escribirla

Borer proposes that since both verbs govern the NP position the clitic can adjoin to either verb.

As we can see from the discussion above, extra mechanisms have to be introduced into the grammar in order to account for the placement of clitics, regardless of the categorial status given to them in different analyses (whether they are regarded as arguments, following Jaeggli (1982), or as the 'spell-out' of features, after Borer (1983)).

Another instance where an explanation for the behaviour of clitics along the lines of base generation would encounter problems is accounting for the traditionally termed 'endoclitics' of European Portuguese, in which the object clitics find themselves in an embedded position in compound tenses, of the type:

8) (eu) aprende-lo-ei

    I learn it will

    'I will learn it'

This peculiarity seems also to require an analysis which does not base generate them, but which allows the clitics to 'climb' and attach to what is apparently an embedded

position (cf. for instance Lema & Rivero 1990).

It is difficult to account for the behaviour of object clitics in these two cases by advocating a base-generation approach. Alternative analyses in which movement of the clitic is allowed seem more appropriate. We shall first look at proposals dealing with "long distance" clitic climbing.

## 5.3 Clitic Climbing

Kayne (1989a) maintains there is a correlation between the possibility of clitic climbing and the fact that the languages that allow clitic climbing have null subjects. This is tied up to the fact that Romance languages which license null subjects have a "strong" agreement system, and consequently a "strong" INFL (in Kayne's words). This is why clitic climbing is not possible in contemporary French, as the agreement system is "weak" and I is "weak". Morphologically this is attested by the lack of inflectional endings in the French verbal system, a neutralization of verbal person marking (Cf Je parle, tu parles and ils parlent all realised as /parl/ in the spoken language) In Kayne's theory, "strong" I lexically marks (henceforward L-marks) VP, which allows the clitic to move to matrix AGR.

We find the following contrasts between a non-null subject language (French) and a null-subject language (Italian):

cf.

9) French: * Pleut


'It rains'


10) Italian: Piove


Further, we observe that clitic climbing is impossible in French, whereas it is possible

157

in Italian:

cf.

>11) French: * Jean les veut voir

>'John wants to see them'

>12) Italian: Gianni li vuole vedere

These differences are explained in Kayne's theory by attributing a crucial role to INFL, which allows us to do away with restructuring rules[1] to account for clitic climbing. The following differences can be viewed as a parametric variation in the Romance languages ('strong' or 'weak' AGR):

a) a Romance language that licences null subjects has "strong" I, which L-marks VP even if V does not raise to I - this allows the clitic to move to I, (crossing a VP-adjoined adverb if there is one). This was indeed the case in early French:

>13) Jean veut les bien faire
>
>John wants them well do
>
>'John wants to do them well'

In contemporary French only the following sentence is grammatical:

>14) Jean veut bien les faire
>
>John wants well them do
>
>'John wants to do them well'

In Modern French, I is not "strong" enough to L-mark VP - hence the clitic will not move out of VP, as VP remains a barrier.

b) Italian is like early French in the sense that clitics can "climb" out of VP as I is strong enough to L-mark it, so that VP is not a barrier:

15) (Italian)  Gianni li vuole [PRO vedere]

John wants to see them


Kayne (ibid.) proposes that in French the clitic has only the option to attach to V; in Italian to either V or I. In this approach, clitics are regarded as heads. Because they are heads, irrespective of the language, they adjoin to a head and never to a maximal projection.

Kayne suggests that post-infinitival clitics are only possible in null subject languages like Italian:


16) (French) : Lui parler serait un erreur


'To speak to him would be a mistake'


17) (Italian): Parlargli sarebbe un errore


In Italian, because I can L-mark VP, the head of VP, $V_{inf}$, can climb out of VP and attach itself to C (after the clitic has climbed out of VP and attached itself to I)[2]. It is also argued that if I is strong enough to L-mark VP on its own then the head V might be expected to move out of VP without passing through I. In French, I cannot L-mark VP, hence neither V nor the clitic can climb out of the infinitival VP. Hence the clitic can only go as far as attaching to V, yielding 16)[3].


Negative particles can block clitic climbing. Being functional and not lexical heads (like C or I), they cannot L-mark their sister category - so clitics cannot climb past them:

French:

18)* Jean les ne voit pas


'John doesn't see them'


19) Jean ne les voit pas

Italian:

20) * Gianni li non vede

'John doesn't see them'

21) Gianni non li vede

This is also attested in 'long distance' clitic climbing:
Italian:

22) * Gianni li vuole non vedere

23) Gianni non li vuole vedere

'John doesn't want to see them'

The clitic does not move from the embedded I to the matrix I position in one step. In other words, 'long distance' clitic climbing is ruled out because from the matrix I the clitic will not antecendent-govern its trace in the embedded I - a trace included in a non-L-marked IP - as CP counts as a barrier by inheritance. (C , being a functional head, doesn't L-mark IP. Consequently IP remains a barrier and CP inherits barrierhood from IP). Therefore movement of the clitic through an intermediary head, C, on its way out of VP to reach matrix I, is necessary. Let's look at Italian:

24) Non ti saprei [che [C [PRO dire t ]]
    I wouldn't know what to tell you

analyzed by Kayne as:

25) $cl_j$ + I...[$_{CP}$ [wh-phrase] $C_j$ [$_{IP}$ ... $I_j$ [$_{VP}$...[e]$_j$... ]]

The clitic pronoun ti reaches the embedded I prior to moving through C. There will

be a trace in C which will properly govern the trace in I of the lower IP (as IP is not an inherent barrier, government across it is permissible).

Clitic climbing is blocked if C contains lexical material. A sentence like Italian:

26) * Gianni li vuole che Maria veda

Gianni them wants that Mary see

'Gianni wants Maria to see them'

is ungrammatical because the clitic li cannot move through C since C is occupied by che. Hence there is an ECP violation as the trace of the clitic won't be properly governed from matrix I.

The clitic cannot move from its base position to C without passing through lower I. If this was the case, C would not L-mark IP and IP would remain a barrier. So the clitic adjoins to lower I and then the whole constituent [cl + I] moves to C. This movement of [cl + I] is necessary because IP needs to be L-marked in order to void barrierhood and allow clitic climbing to matrix IP.[4]

Most standard cases of clitic climbing involve subject control or raising. This being the case, the matrix and embedded subject (PRO) are themselves co-indexed. Therefore, passage of the clitic from embedded I to matrix I is allowed by the co-indexing of the two AGR:

Italian:

27) Gianni lo vuole [PRO fare]

'John wants to do it'

This is why object control with clitic climbing does not occur, as I to I movement would result in coindexation of 2 Infl heads (Agr) whose subjects are not themselves coindexed.

161

Furthermore, in Italian and Spanish clitic climbing is ungrammatical if the matrix verb is impersonal, as 28) shows:

28) * Lo bisogna PRO fare

Though clitic climbing is only possible with the class of verbs that allow subject control to take place, there are however subject control verbs in Italian which either do not allow it or partially allow it. Italian <u>volere</u> does, but <u>detestare</u> does not comfortably do so:
Cf:

29) Gianni la vorra vedere
   'Gianni will want to see her'

vs

30) ?* Gianni la detestava vedere
   'Gianni hated to see her'

What is clear from Kayne's proposal is that Romance clitic climbing depends on a 'highly articulated theory of conditions on antecedent government' (Kayne, ibid.) along the lines of Chomsky (1986b). Because clitics are viewed as heads, we can make full use of a theory which allows head-to-head movement. The syntax of clitic climbing relies then on I to (C to) I movement, which evidently goes against a base generation solution for clitics.

## 5.4 On the presence of 'embedded clitics' in compound forms in European Portuguese

In European Portuguese (henceforth EP), object clitic pronouns appear to take a morphologically 'embedded' position in the future and conditional verbal forms:

>     31) eu dir-lhe-ia  a verdade
>
>         I would tell him/her the truth

>     32) (eu) aprende-lo-ei
>
>         I will learn it

However, the presence of the clitic pronoun in such position is not due to its base generation in situ, but to the movement of the clitic from its base position. In order to account for this, we will follow Kayne(1991) in assuming that the clitic attaches to a functional category. Such analysis allows clitic movement to be head to head movement, and does not contravene the Head Movement Constraint.

Lema & Rivero (1990) propose the following for Old Spanish conditional and future forms, which are, as we can see, essentially those of Modern European Portuguese: Old Spanish:

>     33) doblar vos he la soldata
>
>         I shall double you your wages

>     34) $[_{CP}[$C' Doblar$_i$ $[_{IP}$ [I' [vos + he] $[_{VP}$ t$_i$ la soldata]]]

This analysis allows for movement of the infinitival part of the verbal constituent into C. Non-finite raising, or V-to-C movement apparently goes against the 'locality' of the HMC, since V bypasses the intervening AGR-s on its way to C. It is argued that the presence of the clitic triggers V-to-C movement. In EP and Old Spanish, Lema & Rivero (ibid.) argue, V-to-C movement is one way of complying with clitic second

163

constraints (as in these Romance languages a non-tonic pronominal cannot be CP initial). Lema & Rivero (ibid.) further propose that V and AUX in the analysis above form an extended chain and their coindexation prevents a HMC violation. Under this analysis, in EP 32) the clitic lo moves from Agr-o to TNS to AGR-s (assuming we allow for the existence of an AGRP-o and AGR-s). In its passage via AGR-s and TNS, it picks up the agreement/tense affix ei, so that the whole complex moves to AGR, ie:

35) [lo + TNS+ AGR] = lo-ei

What is the nature of the verbal form that moves into C ? We shall argue, following Lema & Rivero(ibid.), that it is the infinitival form. Historically, present-day (synthetic) future and conditional forms in Portuguese or Spanish evolved from Latin compound verbal forms, consisting of an infinitival form and the avere auxiliary, eg: EP:

36) chegar-ei

I shall arrive

37) chegar-ia

I would arrive

EP also has an inflected infinitival form, which agrees with the subject of the clause. This could lead us to argue then, that in EP the inflected infinitive as its name obviously suggests, does pick up agreement and tense (reflected in its morphology), but that the 'uninflected' infinitive does not. Indeed, long head movement is not excluded from being viable in the literature. This is the case of the proposed V raising over NEG (a head) on its way to AGR-s in Chomsky (1989). In:

38) John I (neg) AGR write books

Chomsky (1988) assumes raising of V to AGR, which leaves a trace and forms [V + AGR]. Then this complex element rises to I over neg forming [V-AGR-I] and

leaving AGR trace. Although this step violates the HMC, AGR-trace deletes at LF, leaving [e], defined as "a position lacking features". Once the trace of AGR is deleted there will be no ECP violation at LF. Let us take into account as well that in null subject languages such as Italian, Kayne (1989) proposes that Infl is 'strong' to allow V to climb out of VP _without_ requiring passage though it, which would violate HMC. In 32) Long head movement can be applied to the passage of the verb _aprender_ to C (if we assume the AGR-s position is occupied by the [lo-ei] element) as _aprender_ we argue is an infinitive form.

As an alternative to Lema & Rivero (ibid.) one can adopt an analysis along the lines of Kayne (1991), in which adjunction of the infinitive to I' accounts for clitic attachment. Kayne postulates a node for the infinitive, INFN to which V attaches.

For Italian, Kayne argues that the infinitive left adjoins to T', and clitics left-adjoin to T. We could therefore have the following structure for '(eu) dir-lhe-ia':
↳ European Portuguese

39)

(eu)

```
                        T'
                       /  \
              [V+INFN]       \
                 |            T'
                dir         /   \
                          T      INFP
                         / \        \
                       cl   T        INF'
                        |   |       /    \
                       lhe  ia    INF     AGRP-O
                                   |          \
                                   e          AGR-O'
                                             /     \
                                          Agr-O     VP
                                            |       / \
                                            e      V   NP
                                                   |    \
                                                   e     e
```
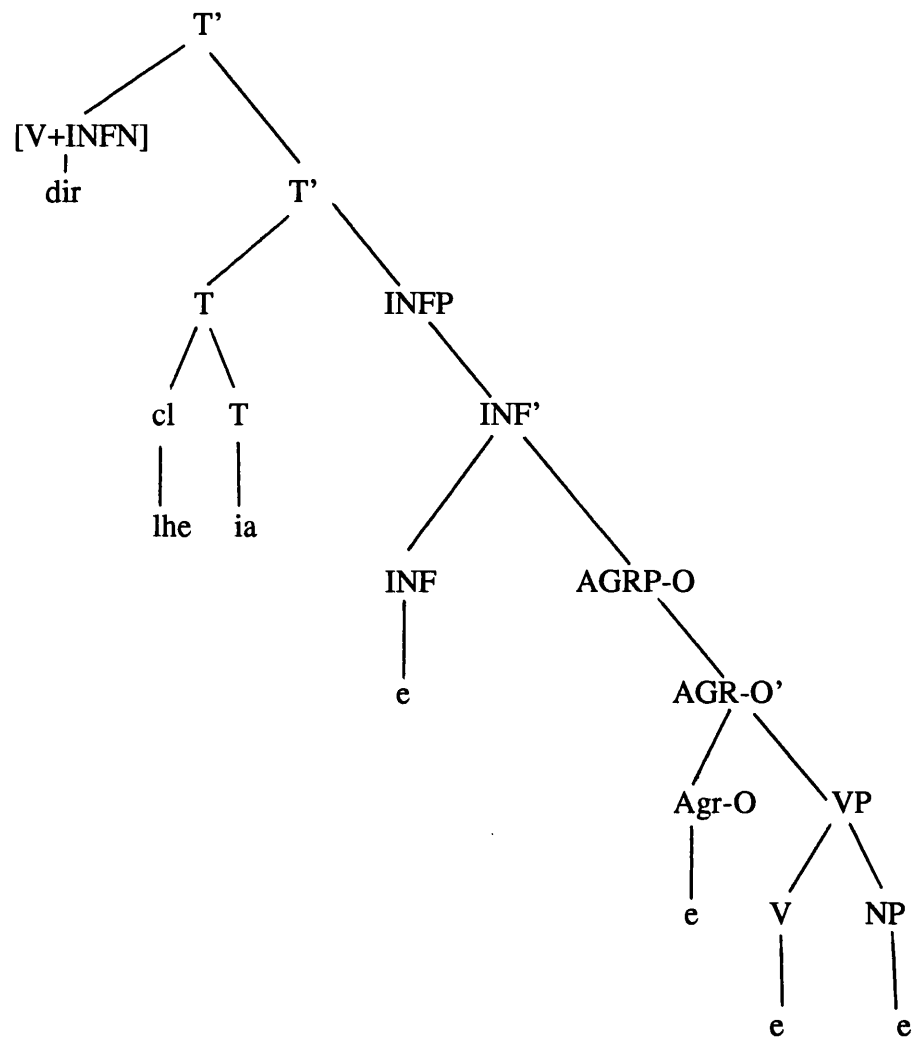
In this way, by using adjunction to T' we are able to do without the V-to-I-to C analysis in Lema & Rivero (ibid.). However the fact that endoclisis is a root phenomena strongly argues in favour of Lema & Rivero's analysis.

Having established that clitics can move and attach to a functional category, we shall next proceed to examine the nature of NP object-clitic doubling - and propose an analysis in which the agreement object phrase plays a major role.

## 5.5 Evidence for Agreement object phrase: an overview of Past Participle Agreement in Romance Languages

In some Romance languages, the past participle is found to agree with the object NP in the sentence. Historically, the past-participle begun life as a purely adjectival form (Vincent, 1982)[5]. The distribution of past participle and object agreement across Romance languages and dialects is varied. For example, Modern Occitan (Smith 1991) presents agreement between the past participle and the following direct object NP:

40) Los nóstres morts li an pas **portada miseria** a el.
    Our dead haven't brought misery to him

41) Crenhas pas, Maria, perque as **trobada gracia** davant Dieu
    Don't be afraid Mary, because you found grace before God

Such form of agreement is attested historically in thirteeth century Italian (data from Vincent, 1982):

42) Bito s'avea **messa la piu ricca roba di vaio**
    Bito had put on himself the richest cloak of fur

and nineteenth century Italian (Smith (1991):

43) se qualquno ha **fatte concessioni** (Milan, 1863)
    if somebody has made concessions

44) le operaie [...] non hanno più **aperta bocca**
    the workers [...] haven't opened their mouths anymore

According to Kayne (1989), this form of agreement is also found in modern literary

Italian, as well as in the contemporary Salentino and Corese dialects[6].

Some authors, such as Smith (ibid.) link this form of agreement between the past participle and the NP-object to the thematic role of the post participial NP. If the NP in question agrees with the past participle then it should not be regarded as a proper argument of the verb, but the whole structure should be considered a fixed idiom. These NPs are according to Smith <u>circumstantial complements of the verb</u> and not 'true' direct objects, and hence can agree with the past participle. These complements agree with the past participle if they are used in a figurative sense, for example, the use of <u>coûter</u> in French:

Non-figurative use:

    45) Les douze francs que ce livre avait coûté

        The twelve francs that this book had cost

Figurative use:

    46) Toute **la peine** que vous nous aurez **coûtée**

        All the pain you will have cost us

        'All the pain you will have caused us'

Same agreement for figurative use is found in Occitan:

    47) Aqui manjam de noiridura bona qu'a pas **costada la vida**

        de cap d'animal

        Here (people) eat good food that hasn't cost the life of any animal

Sardinian also shows agreement with post participial NP, as well as presenting object clitic agreement:

168

(Sardinian logudorese dialect, Blasco Ferrer (1986)):

48) Apu allutas cuatru stiáricas

I have lit four candles


49) e tando, ída l'has ?

and then, have you seen her ?


50) **allos** haias **clamados** invanu ?

have you called them in vain ?


This is also found with clitic and a left dislocated NP:


51) sa baca, l'amus **morta**

the cow, we have killed


52) iusta peta bi l'apo **mandata** deo d'eris

this meat, I sent it [to him] yesterday


In French, however, we do not find cases of agreement of a post-participial NP:


53) * Paul a étaintes les bougies

Paul has put out the candles


With pre-verbal elements such as object clitics or wh-phrases two situations obtain in standard French:


a. There is no agreement with the past participle:


54) Paul les a étaint

Paul has extinguished them


169

55) Combien de bougies  Paul|étaint ?
    _a-t-il_
    How many candles has Paul put out ?


b. There is agreement with the past participle:


56) Paul les a repaintes

    Paul has repainted them


57) Combien de tables as tu repeintes ?

    How many tables did you repaint ?


This is the most common case of past participle agreement (that is, to find clitic agreement and wh-phrase agreement in a given language or dialect), not only in standard French but also in varieties of Occitan, the Vaudois dialect and in the Normandy and Brittany dialects.

However, avere and its Romance cognates are not the only auxiliary form which can combine with an agreeing past participle. We know that in Standard Spanish, for example, the object NP does not agree with the past participle if the auxiliary verb is haber. The situation is quite different if tener is involved, as tener (and its cognates) has a 'semi-auxiliary' status in Spanish and of 'full' auxiliary in other Romance languages and dialects.


Let us look at the interplay between the derivatives of tenere and avere in Romance.[7] In Southern Italy, Sardinia and Iberia both can be found used interchangeably as far back as Latin, when both had full possessive value.


In Modern Spanish we find the use of tener in idiomatic structures of the type:


58) Tengo **escrita la carta**

    I have the letter written

    'I've finished writing the letter'


170

where we find agreement between the past participle and the post-verbal NP. This usage of tener is said to have lost its value of possession, as in:

59) Tengo una nueva camisa

I have a new shirt

or inalienable possession, as in:

60) Tengo los ojos negros

I have black eyes

This semantic change, in addition to its distribution, has been used as an argument to identify the auxiliary status of tener when used with a past participle. Tener has undergone a change from lexical to grammatical function : it has become an auxiliary: Eg:

61) Tengo pintada la casa

I have painted the house

'I am through painting the house'

62) Tengo pedido el libro

I have ordered the book

'I have had the book ordered'

63) Te tengo dicho que no hagas eso

I have told you not to do that

'I've told you (many times) not to do that'

Because tener, when used with a past participle, cannot be equated to haber (for semantic reasons), its auxiliary status is controversial (Harre, 1991). Quite apart from the consideration whether tener in these instances can be considered an auxiliary or not in Spanish, it is the presence of tener that allows the presence of a past participle which agrees with the object NP (a fact that has led traditional grammarians to analyse

this participle as an adjectival participle rather than a verbal one).

By contrast, we know that in Spanish such post participial agreement is not found with the perfective tenses, which use <u>haber</u>:

> 64) He escrito una carta
>
>     I have written a letter

However, in Galician and Portuguese it is <u>tener</u> (in the form <u>ter</u>) which has become fully grammaticalized as the current auxiliary of perfective tenses. The verb <u>ter</u> underwent the same evolution as <u>habere</u> in vulgar Latin, achieving auxiliary status in these Romance languages in the seventeeth century. The earlier structure with participial agreement has survived in contemporary Portuguese, in which the two following sentences haven't got the same meaning:

> 65) Tem **escrita a carta**
>
>     He has (got) the letter written

and

> 66) Tem escrito a carta
>
>     He has written the letter

Harris (1982) maintains that in Galician (which lacks a compound perfect paradigm), the following sentence:

> 67) Teño feito
>
>     I have done (that)

has a different reading from Spanish:

> 68) He hecho
>
>     I have done

We can see from the data above that in Portuguese and Galician and in certain idiomatic uses in Spanish we find past participle agreement in structures where forms historically derived from <u>tenere</u> are present. However, the use of such agreement is not "neutral" as it is in French, but carries meaning in these Romance languages.

We shall next look at how past participial agreement can be approached within a model of grammar which allows an Agreement-Object Phrase.

## 5.6 Agreement Object Phrase and its role in Past-Participle and Object Agreement

From the data presented in section 5.5 we can isolate two instances of past participle agreement:

a) The past participle agrees with its object (lexical NP or clitic)

b) The past participle agrees with the (fronted) wh-phrase

For both cases of participle agreement Kayne(1989) proposes an underlying structure of the type:

69) NP Vaux [AGRP-o AGR-o [VP V-pp NP]]

in which the object NP position is filled by either the clitic or the wh-phrase respectively.

In French, where agreement of the past participle is triggered by clitic movement, Kayne (1989) argues that the clitic has raised from its post-verbal D-structure position to a position governed by AGR-o. Such position in this account is SPEC of AGRP-o. The clitic then adjoins to matrix AGR. However, there are reasons to believe that the

173

clitic does not move to SPEC of AGR-o position; this is a maximal projection or phrasal position (for XP categories) to which the clitic as a head does not belong. When a past participle agrees with a wh-phrase, as in 57), Kayne proposes that the wh-phrase adjoins to AGRP-o, which is in a government relation to AGR-o.

In this theory, Kayne argues that the tensed auxiliary 'avoir' is not the case assigner, but that the past participle is (after Belletti (1988)). For Belletti, verbs with passive morphology are unaccusative verbs[8] because they can't assign structural case (nominative and accusative, assigned and realised at S-structure). The argument of the unaccusative verb appears as the inverted subject and the pre-verbal position is filled with a lexical expletive:

> 70) French:  Il est arrivé trois filles
> Three girls arrived

This post-verbal NP must be indefinite, ( a definite noun is defined by Belletti as a) an NP whose SPEC is the definite article and b) proper names). Hence we can't have:

> 71) English: * There is the man in the room

> 72) French:  * Il est arrivé la fille
> The girl has arrived

This 'definiteness effect' is also attested in passive constructions:

> 73) French: Il a été tué un homme
> A man has been killed

> 74) French: * Il a été tué l'homme
> The man has been killed

Belletti(ibid.) concludes that verbs with passive morphology can be considered unaccusatives because they can't assign structural accusative Case, and not because they lack case-assigning properties. Assignment of an inherent Case is not suspended under passive morphology. For example in German, passive morphology in:

75) Ihm wird geholfen

He (dat.) was helped

allows <u>helfen</u> to assign dative Case but <u>lieben</u> cannot assign accusative case, as we can see in:

76) *Ihn wird geliebt

He is loved

In Baker (1988) the passive morpheme itself counts as the external argument of the verb at D-structure. This is based on the morphological fact that some features are interpreted as features of the external argument of the verb in some languages. Hence passive morphemes are taken to be arguments which receive the external Θ-role and later combine with the verb. As arguments, Baker claims, they generally have the meaning of a kind of semidefinite or indefinite pronoun, rather similar to <u>someone</u> or <u>something</u> in English. This passive morpheme appears in INFL and has the status of an argument, and it receives an external Θ-role from the verb[9]:

A similar approach based on incorporation of the verb within the past participial morphology is taken by Belletti(1990) to account for agreement and accusative marking in past participial clauses of the type:
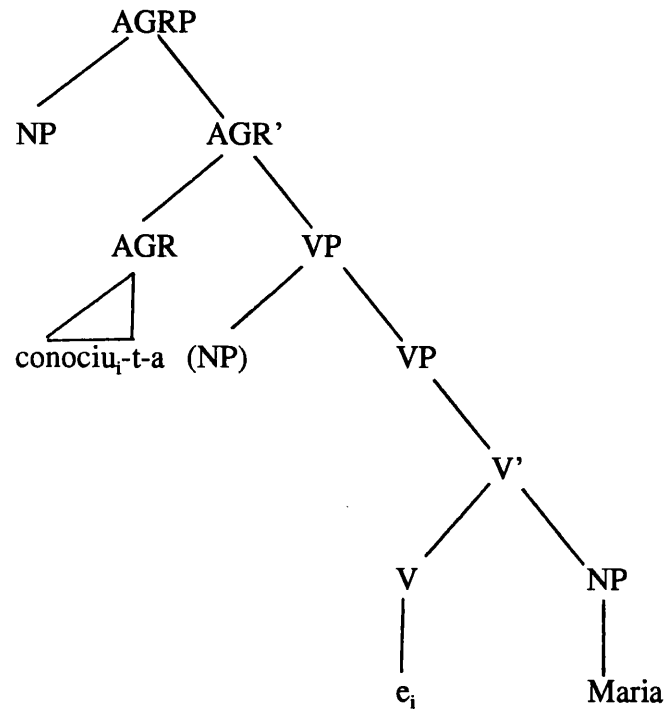
77) Italian: Conociuta Maria,...

Known Mary ...

The reason why agreement is possible and obligatory in these instances (bearing in mind that such agreement is never found in full clauses) Belletti argues, is to do with

the necessity of Case marking the direct object NP. The accusative Case-assigning properties of the verb are blocked once the verb incorporates within the past participle morphology. The verb in the AGR (INFL) position agrees with its governed direct object:

78)

```
              AGRP
             /    \
           /       \
        NP          AGR'
                   /    \
                 /       \
              AGR         VP
             /▱|         /  \
      conociu_i-t-a (NP)      VP
                               \
                                V'
                               /  \
                             /     \
                           V        NP
                           |        |
                           e_i      Maria
```

These analyses deal with realised agreement. However, agreement of the past participle with the wh-phrase (or the clitic) is optional in French. According to Kayne (1989b), in Italian, the paradigm of clitic agreement with the past participle without wh-phrase agreement with the past participle within the same dialect is "robust", ie, the following pattern holds in Italian:

79) Paolo le ha viste

    Paolo has seen them


80) * Le ragazze che Paolo ha viste

    The girls that Paolo has seen

This trait is also shared by Catalan, some varieties of Occitan, the French Beuil dialect, and also attested in Corsican, Milanese, Cremonese and Bolognese (for data origin see Kayne (1989b)). What is unattested however is the combination of wh-object agreement and no clitic agreement with the past participle.

This shows that these two subcases of past participle agreement are linked, although are not always found together. Kayne concludes that adjunction of NP to the IP complement of the auxiliary (ie, to AGRP-o) is not an automatically available option in Romance, even in a language like French which allows clitic agreement with the past participle.[10]

Kayne's analysis makes use of two mechanisms to deal with participial agreement:

      a) passage of the clitic through SPEC of AGR-o

      b) an extra mechanism such as AGRP-o adjunction for wh-phrases

Besides the patterns attested in Romance, the theoretical explanation given for the inability of the wh-phrase to use the SPEC of AGR-o is that the wh-phrase, (eg in French <u>combien de tables</u>) is an operator.

## 5.7 Agreement Object Phrase and Clitic Pronouns in Romance

Let us consider the theoretical reasons for having an Agreement object phrase. The structure of AGR-o conforms to the X-bar structure:

81)

```
              AGRP-o
             /      \
          SPEC      AGR-o'
                   /      \
                AGR-o      VP
                          /  \
                         V    NP
```
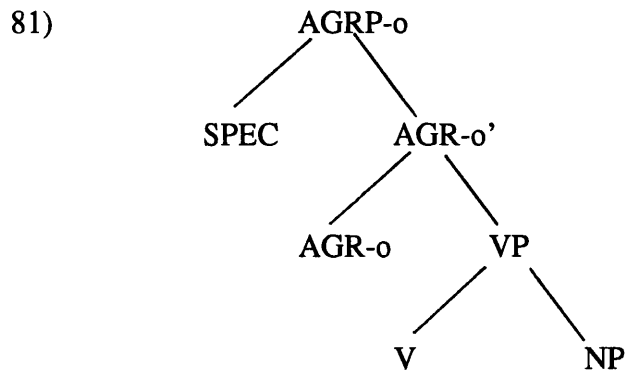
The SPEC-head agreement relationship in AGR-o allows for an analysis of the behaviour of clitic pronouns in Romance, where some kind of agreement is involved, as it is the case with past participle agreement (as we have seen). The existence of AGR-o also allows us to propose an alternative analysis to that of Jaeggli's (1982) base generated one for clitic-doubled NP objects in River Plate Spanish. After Kayne(1991), we shall adhere to the proposal that clitics have the option of attaching to a functional head. This allows for clitic climbing in Spanish of the sort:

82) Juan lo quiere comer

John wants to eat it

We shall further consider clitics to be "syntactic affixes" in the spirit of Borer(1983); clitics will be the "spell-out" of morphological features, that is, the "spell-out" of AGR. Structural Case is correlated with agreement.If the subject of a sentence gets nominative case because it occupies SPEC of AGRP-s, a position where it can get case-marked by AGR-s, we should expect an analogous mechanism to be at work for assigning structural case to the object. The object should then pass through a position where it can get case-marked, and such position should be SPEC of AGRP-o. The object NP then, gets accusative Case as it stands in a Specifier-head relation with AGR-o, hence the NP object moves to SPEC of AGRP-o to get case. The specifier position is an argument position, where arguments get case-marked by the head (AGR). Then for (Spanish):

83) Juan vio un film

Juan saw a film


we have:


84)

AGRP-s

SPEC          AGR-s'

Juan     AGR-s          AGRP-o

vio$_i$     SPEC          AGR-o'

un film$_j$     AGR-o          VP

e$_i$     V          NP

e$_i$          e$_j$
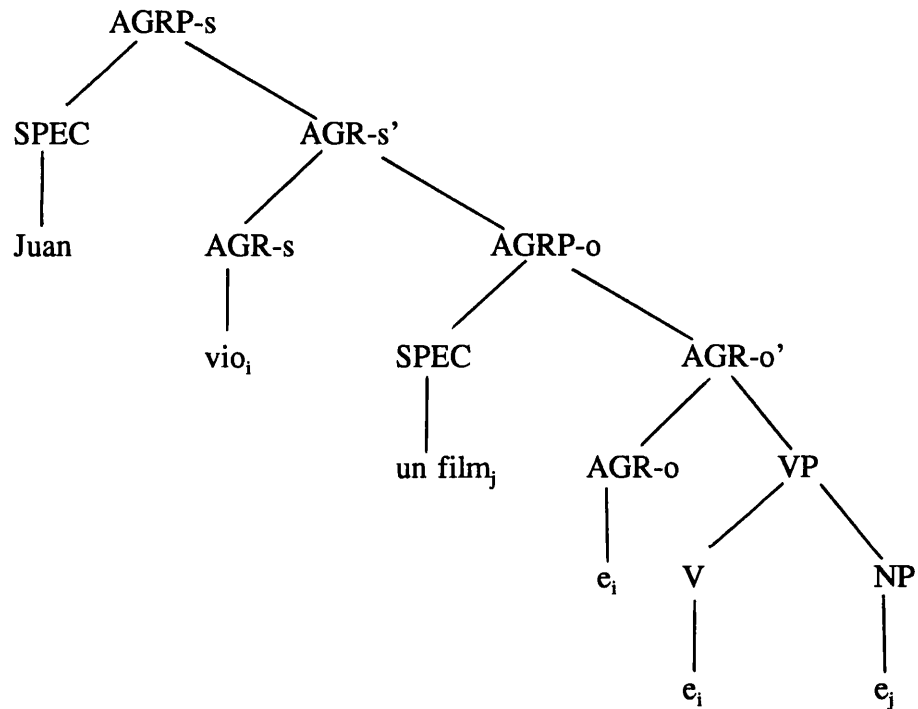

But as we know, the object can also be a clitic, and not a full NP. We shall claim that clitics get Case via the same mechanism that allows for case-matching features between SPEC and AGR. After Borer (1983) we assume that the agreement relation which holds between SPEC and AGR allows the clitic to get Case: the clitic is a spell-out of AGR. So in the instances where only the object clitic is present as in:


85) Juan lo vio

John saw it


The following is proposed:


179

86)

```
                        AGRP-s
                       /      \
                      /        \
                   SPEC        AGR-s'
                    |         /     \
                    |        /       \
                  Juan    AGR-s       AGRP-o
                          /\        /
                         /  \     SPEC    \
                        /    \            \
                       /_____\          AGR-o'
                      lo_i vio_j         /    \
                                        /      \
                                     AGR-o      VP
                                       |       /  \
                                       |      /    \
                                       e_i   V      pro_i
                                             |
                                             |
                                             e_j
```
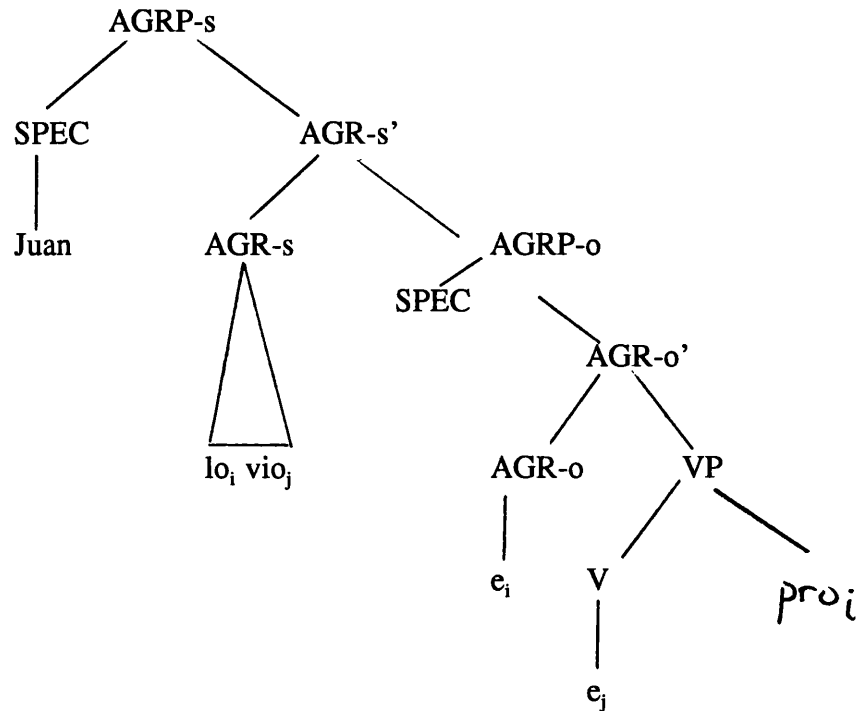
In this case we                       need to have a base-generated pronominal empty category as Jaeggli(1982, 1986) would have for cases where the clitic is     co-indexed with an NP. In the case of subject NP doubled by a clitic, in Northern Italian dialects for example, it is the rich morphological specification of agreement in the verbal inflection which is said to "recover" the missing subject (in cases such as el magna, where the NP subject is not present)(Rizzi (1986). It is to be expected that in a null-subject language like Spanish the same process is at work: rich agreement "recovers" the missing NP object in cases such as Juan lo vio, as the clitic retains the features for gender, number and person. _t)_

We shall see next how we can integrate clitic doubling of the object NP into the above account.

180

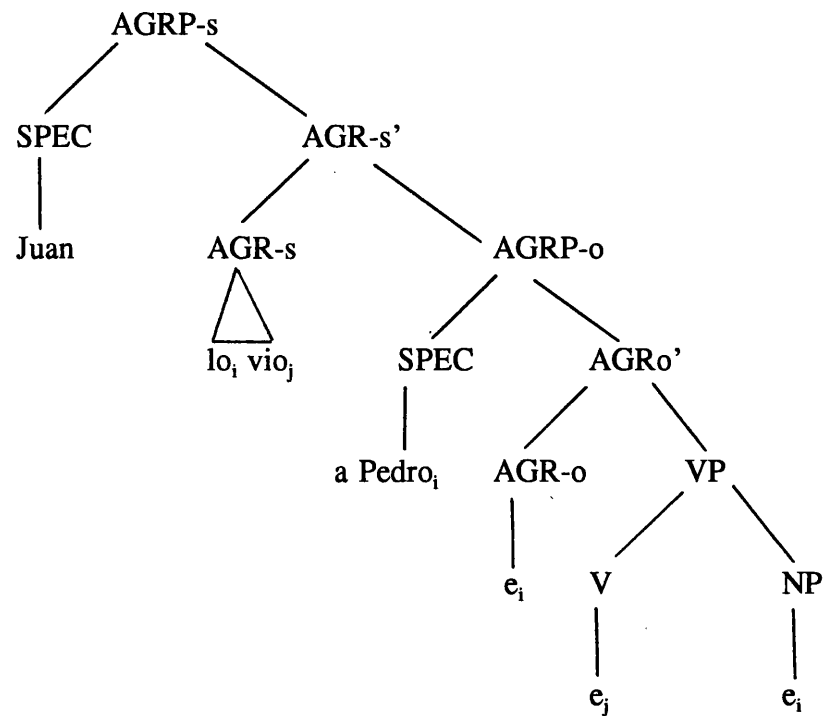## 5.8 A proposed analysis for NP-object clitic doubling

For the clitic -doubled structure such as:

87) Juan lo vio a Pedro
   John saw Peter

we will argue that the clitic is a spell-out of the features of the NP which is in post-verbal position in D-structure. Recall that accusative is not assigned at D-structure, being a structural Case. .                                         . The postverbal NP will move to SPEC of AGR-o, where it will get Case. Because SPEC of AGRP-o and the head AGR-o,              · are co-indexed, Case gets transmitted to both of them. AGR-o is not an argument position, SPEC of AGR-o is. The complement NP, once in SPEC of AGR-o transmits its index to the clitic. The clitic and the NP obligatorily agree in number,gender and person features. For this reason we don't need to make use of rules such as the Complement Matching Requirement as formulated by Borer (1983), but we can state that the agreement relation between the NP and the clitic follows directly from the  relation between SPEC and head, that is, it conforms to X-bar theory. We only assume that there is a specifier position where phrases can appear, and a head where agreement-like elements such as clitics can attach. So we have the following S-structure:

88)

AGRP-s

SPEC      AGR-s'

Juan    AGR-s      AGRP-o

$lo_i\ vio_j$    SPEC     AGRo'

a $Pedro_i$   AGR-o    VP

$e_i$    V      NP

$e_j$      $e_i$

The verb theta-marks its complement <u>a Pedro</u> at D-structure. The NP moves to SPEC of AGRP-o where it gets Case at S-tructure. This analysis correctly predicts that the clitic does not get a Θ-role, firstly because it is not an argument, and secondly because it never occupies a Θ position. ii) , iii), iv)

## 5.9 Definiteness Effect: why only definite NPs can be doubled

Some authors, for example Mahajan (1990,1991) rely considerably on the notion of specificity for the case marking of NP objects.

Specificity plays an important role in those Romance languages where the NP object can be doubled by a clitic. Romanian and River Plate Spanish are instances of such doubling. By what precedes, these cases of doubling are instances of SPEC-head agreement in AGRP-o.

Specific NPs are the only ones allowed to be doubled in RP Spanish:

89) La vi a la profesora

I saw the lecturer


90) * La vi a una profesora

I saw a lecturer


Mahajan(1991) proposes that both AGR-o and V can assign structural case to an NP, that is objects can be structurally case marked either by V or by AGR-o in accordance with their specificity. According to this analysis, non-specific objects get structurally case marked by V within the VP, whereas specific objects get case marked by AGR-o. Structural case can be assigned under agreement but does not require agreement.
In the case where the NP is specific, it moves through the SPEC of AGRP-o position, where it gets Case from AGR-o. Another position where specific NPs can receive case is in SPEC of VP, but in this position there is no agreement between the object NP and the verb. Finally, non-specific NPs get structural Case from V; no agreement is found in this case between the verb and the object NP.


In Mahajan's proposal, the SPEC of AGRP-o is the position where object clitics and wh-operators, which are specific, get Case. SPEC of VP is where specific objects get Case-marked. Finally, non-specific objects can only get structural Case in a post-verbal position.
Mahajan proposes a specificity filter, along the following lines:


Only specific NPs can (and must) be structurally Case Marked by AGR. Non-specific NPs must receive structural case in some other manner. $\vee)$


For French clitic and wh-agreement with a past participle, we find that the clitic and wh-phrase move through SPEC of AGRP-o. Mahajan assumes that clitic doubling is syntactically similar to the participial agreement process, that is why Romanian clitic doubling under wh-movement and clitic doubling of ordinary direct objects are both

analyzed as passage through SPEC of AGRP-o:


91) Pe care (baiat) *(l)-ai vazut ?

    pe which (boy) (him) have you seen ?

    'Which boy did you see ?'


92) L-am        vazut pe Ion

    him-(we) have seen pe John

    'We saw John'


In Romanian then there is a clitic instead of agreement. Since the clitic surfaces attached to the auxiliary, Mahajan assumes that the clitic has moved to AUX from AGR-o. In 91), the wh-phrase <u>Pe care</u>, which is specific, moves through SPEC AGR-o position. The clitic then moves to AUX.
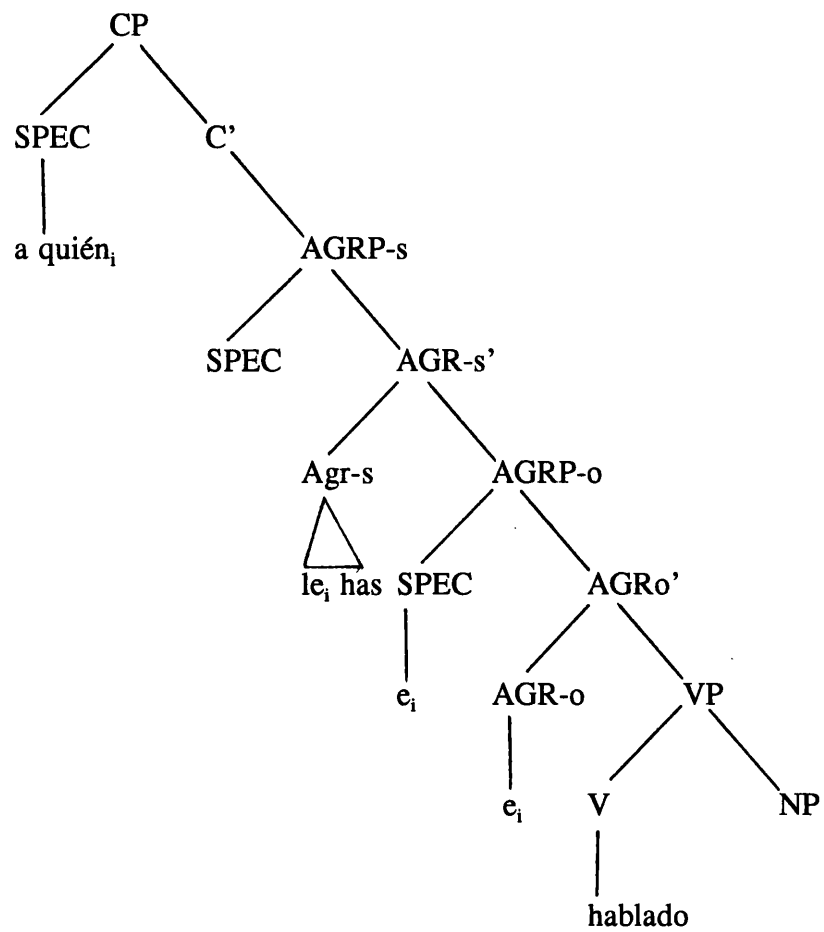

Specificity is important since a specific object cannot receive Case from V (as outlined). In this theory the specific object NP therefore moves to SPEC of AGRP-o and receives Case from AGR-o. This licences the clitic. Non specific objects hence do not allow clitic doubling.


Let's assume that RP Spanish works like Romanian, since analogous sentences are grammatical :


93) A quién le has hablado ?

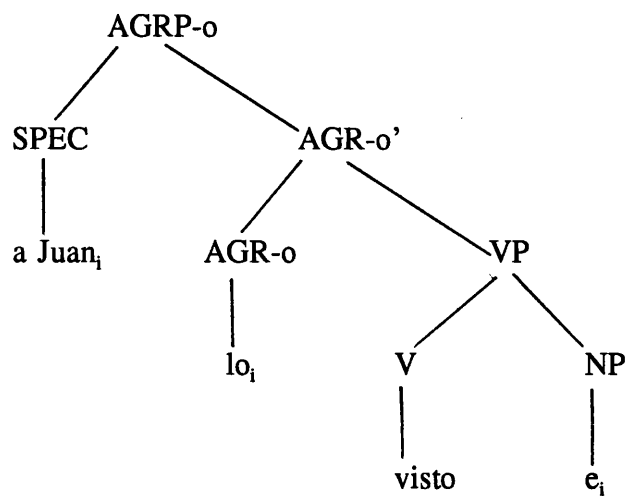    To whom (him) have you talked?

    'Who did you talk to ?'


94) Lo hemos visto a Juan

    Him (we) have seen to John

    'We saw John'


184

95)

```
                        CP
                       /  \
                    SPEC   C'
                     |       \
                  a quién_i  AGRP-s
                            /    \
                         SPEC   AGR-s'
                                /    \
                            Agr-s    AGRP-o
                            /\       /    \
                          le_i has SPEC   AGRo'
                                   |      /   \
                                  e_i  AGR-o   VP
                                        |     /  \
                                       e_i   V    NP
                                             |
                                          hablado
```

For clitic doubling (showing only AGRP-o, before V-movement to AGR-s) we have:

96)

```
              AGRP-o
              /    \
           SPEC   AGR-o'
            |     /    \
         a Juan_i AGR-o   VP
                   |     /  \
                  lo_i  V    NP
                        |    |
                      visto  e_i
```

185

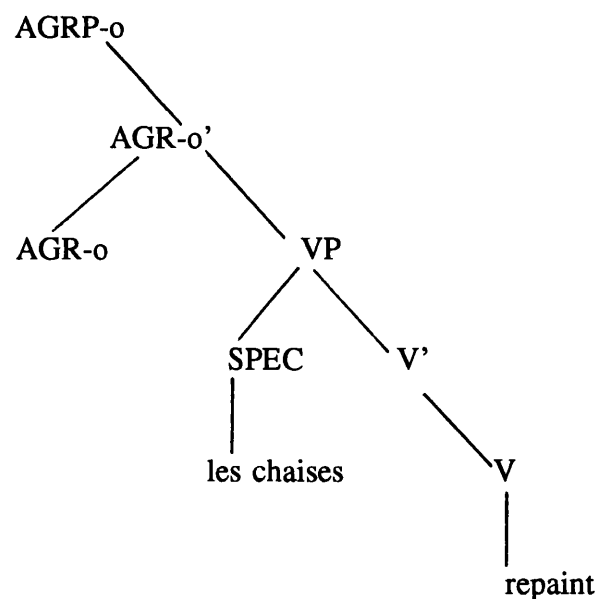Mahajan(1991) proposes that in French we have:

97) Paul a repeint les chaises

Paul has repainted the chairs

and not:

98) *Paul a repeintes les chaises

Paul has repainted the chairs

because the NP object is a specific NP, and under this approach it cannot be allowed to get case in the complement position of the verb. Therefore it gets case marked by AGR-o, but case assignment is under government and not agreement. (V will move as usual to AGR-o and to produce SVO order):

99)

```
AGRP-o
     \
      AGR-o'
     /      \
  AGR-o      VP
           /    \
        SPEC     V'
         |         \
     les chaises     V
                     |
                   repaint
```

For non-specific NPs, eg:

100) J'ai vu une fille

I have seen a girl

Mahajan (ibid.) argues that these 'non-agreeing' objects receive structural Case in their

D-structure position, and hence do not move to another Case position.

When considering the environments where an object NP in principle can be clitic-doubled we find that there is no a priori reason why doubling is not permitted with verbs such as pesar, costar, valer:

> 101) La mesa pesa 50 kgs
>
> The table weighs 50 kgs

> 102) *La mesa los pesa a los 50 kgs

> 103) La mesa cuesta £100
>
> The table costs £100

> 104) *La mesa las cuesta a las cien libras
>
> The table costs (them) £100

We might say that verbs of 'measuring' such as pesar or costar select a measure NP (like 60 kgs), which is not a "true" object NP but a 'measure phrase', which we might call an adjunct.

Rizzi(1988) observes that lexically-selected measure phrases pattern on a par with unselected measure phrases in that they cannot be extracted from wh-islands. We can assume then, that there are two kinds of verbs pesar :

> 105) Juan pesa bananas
>
> John weighs bananas

> 106) Juan pesa 60 kg
>
> John weighs 60 kg

One is 'agentive' pesar, selecting an NP it can case-mark. The other is 'stative' pesar,

selecting an adjunct, which it doesn't case mark. Extraction from a wh-island proves the difference between NP adjunct phrases and 'real' NPs. In Spanish as in English, extraction of an adjunct leads to an inner island violation, whereas a 'true' direct object can be extracted without leading to ungrammaticality.

Let's take extraction of a case-marked NP:

107) Qué se pregunta Juan cómo pesar t ?

What does John wonder how to weigh t ?

The answer will be <u>bananas</u> and not <u>60 kg</u>.

Cf.

108) * Cuánto se pregunta Juan cómo pesar t ?

How much does John wonder how to weigh t ?

Above we are trying to wh-extract an adjunct (<u>how much</u>), which is ruled out as ungrammatical. Both complements, the nominal and adjunct can be Θ-marked by V, but only the objective complement can be case-marked. This case-marking makes doubling and extraction over a wh-island possible. Adjuncts, on the other hand, because they are not case-marked, can neither be doubled nor extracted over a wh-island.

Another piece of evidence concerning the extraction of adjuncts is the restriction over extraction from a negated constituent. If we extract an object NP from an inner island, the result is grammatical:

109) Qué [ no crees [ que Maria perdió t ]] ?

What don't you believe that Mary lost ?

If we extract an adjunct NP from an inner island the resulting sentence is less acceptable:

110) * Cuánto [ no crees [ que esto cuesta t ]] ?

How much don't you think this costs ?


111) * How much [ don't you think [ that this costs t ]] ?


Ross (1983) (quoted in Rizzi's paper) observes that negative elements induce object/adjunct asymmetries of the type (his examples):


112) Who do you think we can help t ?


113) Why do you think we can help him t ?

vs.

114) Who don't you think we can help t ?


115)   * Why don't you think [t' [ we can help him   ]] ?


Rizzi (1988) explains the asymmetry between direct objects and adjuncts in terms of referentiality. This generalization, also put forth by Aoun(1985) and Cinque (1991), states that 'referential elements are (marginally) extractable from islands whereas non-referential elements are not'. In this case, the NP-object of, say, comer (to eat) is a referential element, but not the NP-adjunct of, say, pesar. Referential elements, are case-marked, in Spanish then they can be clitic-doubled in object position.
Cf

116) Juan pesa el bebé

Juan weighs the baby


117) Juan lo pesa al bebé

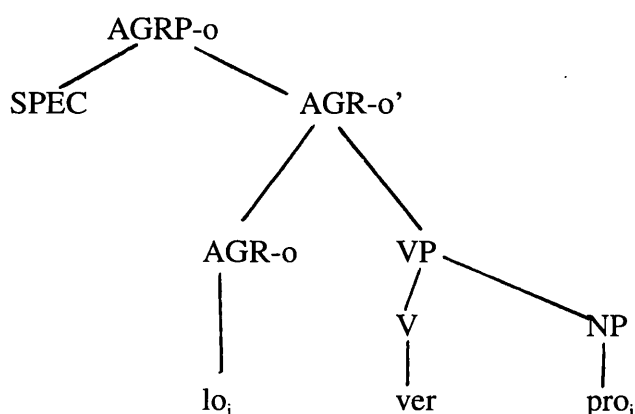Juan (him) weighs the baby

vs.


118) Juan pesa 100 kilos

Juan weighs 100 kilos


189

119) * Juan los pesa a los 100 kilos

Juan (them) weighs 100 kilos

---

i) In the analysis of <u>Juan lo vio</u> the question arises as to whether SPEC AGRP-o is empty.

I assume that it is filled by a pronominal empty category, as indicated below:



pro can move to [SPEC,AGRP-o] where it can get case via SPEC-head agreement with

AGR-o. Theta assignment is satisfied at D-structure, like it would be were pro lexically

realised. The clitic is -as already said- a spell-out of AGR-o. And as already said, we take it

to be an inflectional element, <u>not an argument</u>, hence it does not need to be theta-marked.

ii ) In a structure such as <u>Juan lo habia visto a Pedro</u> the question arises whether the AGR-o

clitic excorporates from the past participle to move to AGR-s. Indeed there is nothing in the

theory to suggest that this is not possible.

iii) As for the question how my system handles doubling of indirect objects, I'd argue that the same SPEC-head agreement mechanism holds as throughout. The clitic doubling of a dative object would be associated with a corresponding projection (which we could name AGRP-I)

iv) If a Pedro is assigned case normally via SPEC-head agreement, the question may legitimately be asked why the preposition a is necessary, i.e, why Kayne's generalization holds. As I discussed in Chapter 4 a is a marker of animacy. As Jaeggli (1982) points out, one particularity of Spanish that differentiates it from other Romance languages is the presence of a preceding a direct object:

Cf:

> *lo veo Juan

> *veo Juan

> veo a Juan

> lo veo a Juan

> I see Juan'

Irrespective of clitic doubling, the sentence is ungrammatical if the object is not preceded by the preposition. I claim that a is generated together with the object NP as a marker of animacy and definiteness. It is not a case assigning mechanism.

v) As for the question how inanimates and indefinites are assigned case in Spanish, I assume it is by SPEC-head agreement in the AGRP-o, like for animates and definites. Mahajan in this respect represents an alternative approach to the use of AGRP-o.

## ENDNOTES

1. Restructuring rules transform a biclausal structure into a simple sentence, creating a verbal complex consisting of the main and the embedded verb.

Rizzi (1982) proposes a restructuring rule in Italian syntax which optionally re-analyses a terminal substring V (P) V as a single verbal complex, automatically transforming the underlying bisentential structure into a simple sentence. Therefore

    1) Gianni deve presentarla a Francesco

becomes:

    2) Gianni [la deve presentare] a Francesco

    'Gianni must introduce her to Francesco'

In this instance the bracketed construction is analysed as a single verbal complex. If restructuring didn't apply, the structure would remain bisentential:

    3) Gianni deve [presentarla a Francesco]

However, Rizzi's approach does not base-generate the clitic but relies on a clitic placement rule which adjoins the clitic to the main verb.

One other similar restructuring rule is that proposed by Kayne (1975) for causatives in French:

    4) Jean a fait [Marie tomber dans l'eau]

becomes:

    5) Jean a fait tomber Marie dans l'eau

    'Jean has made Marie fall in the water'

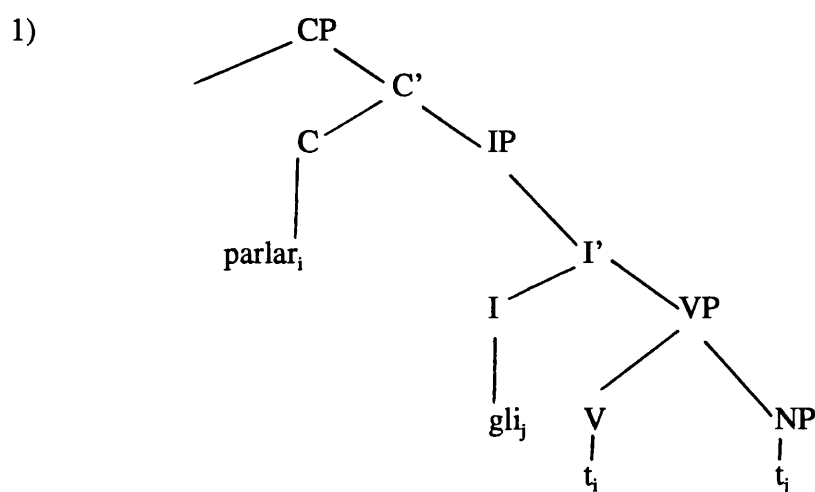Again, the _faire + infinitive_ rule fulfills the same function as a restructuring rule, in

that the original bisentential structure becomes one verbal unit.

2. The S-structure of:

(Italian): Parlargli (sarebbe un errore)

   To speak to him would be a mistake

would be:

1)

```
            CP
         ／    ＼
              C'
           ／    ＼
          C        IP
          |         ＼
        parlar_i      I'
                   ／    ＼
                  I        VP
                  |      ／    ＼
                gli_j    V       NP
                         |        |
                        t_i      t_j
```

3. However in Kayne (1991) a different analysis is put forward. Following William's (1981) proposal regarding right-headedness in morphology, Kayne (ibid.) assumes that in Italian:
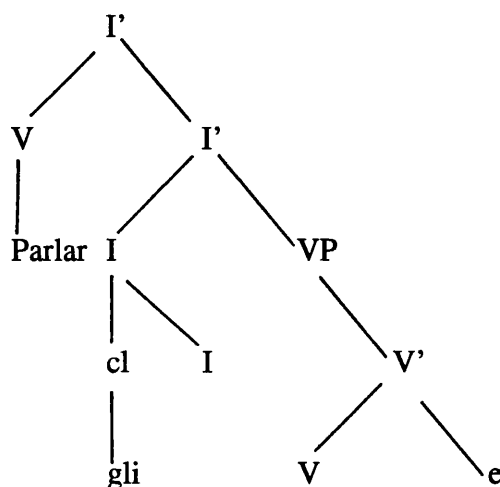
1) Parlargli sarebbe un errore

   'To speak to him would be a mistake'

the clitic gli is left-adjoined to an empty head position, (an abstract Infl node). V then moves leftwards over I, adjoining to I':

2)      V ... cl + I [ VP [Ve ] ]

3)

I'
/\
V   I'
|  /\
Parlar I  VP
|\    \
cl  I   V'
|      /\
gli   V  e

Finite verbs however, do not behave so:

4) *Sarebbe assurdo che tu parlassigli

It would be absurd that you should talk to him

V needs to move through I to pick up a suffix. On the other hand, if V is an infinitive, it doesn't need to. This analysis is based on proposals by Torrego (quoted in Kayne 1991) according to which in finite sentences there is no such abstract I as there is in infinitive sentences, while the infinitive is not obliged to merge with T and AGR.

4. Kayne maintains that

1)  * Non li so se fare

    'I don't know whether to do them (or not)'

is ungrammatical in Italian because se is not a true wh-phrase but a complementizer and as such occupies C. C in the above sentence is occupied, and hence the clitic cannot move via C to reach matrix I. However, it must be pointed out that an equivalent sentence in some varieties of Spanish (although not in Standard Spanish)

is not altogether ungrammatical:

2) No lo sé si hacer

I don't know whether to do it

In agreement with Emonds (1985) Kayne takes _if_ in English to be a lexical complementizer, hence in C (Cf Italian _se_). _Whether_ is not a lexical complementizer, but a wh-phrase in the spec of CP. Hence:

3) * He doesn't know if PRO to go to the movies

is ungrammatical because _if_ occupies the C position and a lexically-filled C counts as governor, therefore PRO would be governed and it mustn't be.
This holds for French:

4)   * Marie ne sait pas si aller au cinema

Yet _se_ in Italian (and in Spanish) seems to be compatible with control:

5) Maria non sa se andare al cinema   (It.)

6) Maria no sabe si ir al cine   (Sp.)

But, not in Brazilian Portuguese:

7)   * Maria non sabe se ir ao cinema

'Mary doesn't know if to go to the cinema'

Kayne suggests a correlation with the Null Subject Parameter which is not sufficient, because other null subject Romance languages such as Occitan and Sardinian pattern with French. What seems to correlate with the possibility of 'control with if', is the distribution of infinitive-clitic order:

|  | inf. + cl | cl + inf | si + inf |
|---|---|---|---|
| Italian, Catalan and Spanish: | + | - | + |
| French, Occitan Sardinian | - | + | - |

So, prima facie, control with i̲f̲ correlates with infinitive-clitic order. That is, it is attested in languages which present infinitive-clitic order. Only Brazilian Portuguese is considered to belong to the kind of Romance language with exclusively pre-verbal clitics (Madeira, 1992). Hence the fact that control with i̲f̲ is not grammatical seems to tally.

Furthermore, Kayne also notes that Piedmontese, Milanese and Paduan, 'partial null subject languages' (these languages have a subject pronominal clitic) pattern with Italian, Catalan and Spanish, as they accept control with i̲f̲ and are also infinitive-clitic languages.

Control with s̲i̲ may be linked to other syntactic traits of the Romance language in question (perhaps clitic-infinitive order, as Kayne proposes).

5. Both the present participle and the perfect participle in Latin had their origin as adjectival forms. The verbal adjective -̲t̲u̲s̲ referred to qualities or states, t̲a̲c̲i̲t̲u̲s̲, d̲o̲c̲t̲u̲s̲,̲ s̲c̲i̲t̲u̲s̲. They were originally neutral as to voice, (cf. a̲d̲u̲l̲t̲u̲s̲,̲ n̲u̲p̲t̲a̲) and they didn't refer to past events (Palmer, 1968).

The Romance 'periphrases' such as h̲a̲b̲e̲r̲e̲ +̲ p̲a̲s̲t̲ p̲a̲r̲t̲i̲c̲i̲p̲l̲e̲ and e̲s̲s̲e̲ +̲ p̲a̲s̲t̲ p̲a̲r̲t̲i̲c̲i̲p̲l̲e̲ eventually replaced the Latin inflected (synthetic) forms.

Vincent (1982) observes that the early uses of the h̲a̲b̲e̲r̲e̲ and past participle construction had a causative meaning in:

1) in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent (Cicero)

in that province capital great invested they have

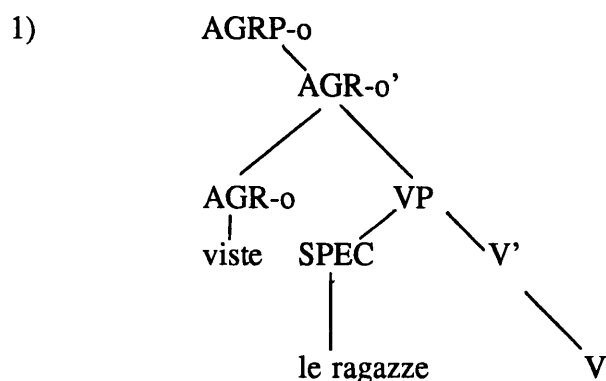that is, with a causative reading as:

2) 'they have had great capital invested in that province'

and not, at this stage:

3) 'they have invested great capital in that province'

The so-called deponent verbs were, according to Vincent (ibid.) parallel to passives in form but not in meaning, such as <u>locutus est</u>, <u>profectus est</u>, etc. These behave like Italian unaccusative forms (although Vincent does not use this term), in the sense that they can involve an inchoative verb (a verb which expresses a change of state: cf Italian <u>é diventato</u>). Etymologically they go back to medio-passives and indicate an activity which involves the subject.

6. One possible explanation, according to Kayne(1989) is that the object NP, say, <u>le ragazze</u>, moved out of VP, where it can be governed by AGR-o. Mahajan (1991) suggests that specific objects such as <u>le ragazze</u> would attach to SPEC of VP where they would get Case by AGR-o under government rather than agreement (where agreement will also hold):

1)        AGRP-o

```
1)          AGRP-o
                 \
                  AGR-o'
                 /     \
                /       \
          AGR-o          VP
            |           /    \
          viste     SPEC      V'
                      |         \
                      |          \
                  le ragazze      V
```

7. Salvi(1987) states that <u>habeo</u> was originally a synonym of <u>teneo</u> 'to keep' which came to mean possession, and eventually lost this meaning. With the 'semantic

emptying' of _habeo_, the participle loses its adjectival character and becomes verbal: In stage 1, the sentence:

1) habeo epistulam scriptam
   have-1st sg. letter-acc written-acc

meant 'I have a written letter' and not 'I have written a letter'. Salvi remarks that _scriptam_ is an object complement and not an attribute, in the same manner that in Italian _gli occhi_ and _aperti_ are two separate constituents in:

2) Tengo gli occhi aperti
   I have my eyes open

The participle _scriptam_ behaves syntactically as an adjective. In stage 2, we see the frequent coincidence between the subject of _habeo_ and the subject of the participle, a trait often found with verbs expressing intellectual activities:

3) haberem a Furnio tua consilia cognita
   had 1st sg. from Furnius your intentions-ACC known-pl-ACC

The logical subject of the participle is the same as that of _habeo_ (the result of his/her knowing).

Thus there was a switch from meaning which expressed the possession of the result of an action (where _habeo_ was the 'construction pivot' - in Salvi's words), something like 'I own the result of the past action' to a construction which denoted the past action itself: 'I performed the action in the past'.

8. Perlmutter (1978) (quoted in Baker 1988) argues that there are two distinct classes of verbs which take only a single argument. One class, which he calls the "unergatives", takes a true subject, that is, an external argument to the verb, at D-structure. The other class, the "unaccusatives", does not theta-mark an external

argument since the NP-subject is an internal argument, generated in the object position at D-structure.

An example of the "unergative" class (traditional [NP V] D-structure):

1)(Italian):  Gianni ha telefonato

John has telephoned

Verbs which belong to the unaccusative class are those which appear in a [e V NP] D-structure:
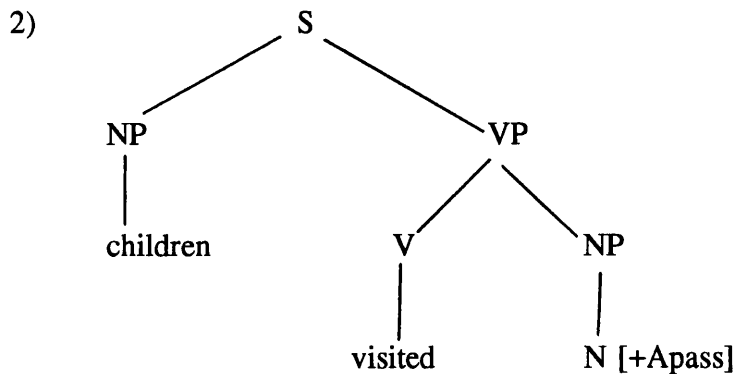
2)(Italian):  Gianni è arrivato

John has arrived

In this class of verbs the NP-subject moves from object position to subject position, and it tends to be non-agentive.

9. Baker (1988) also gives an account of antipassive structures, a special case of noun incorporation. The antipassive has been characterised as a case in which a morpheme is added to a transitive verb, and the verb thematic direct object appears as an oblique phrase instead of a surface direct object.
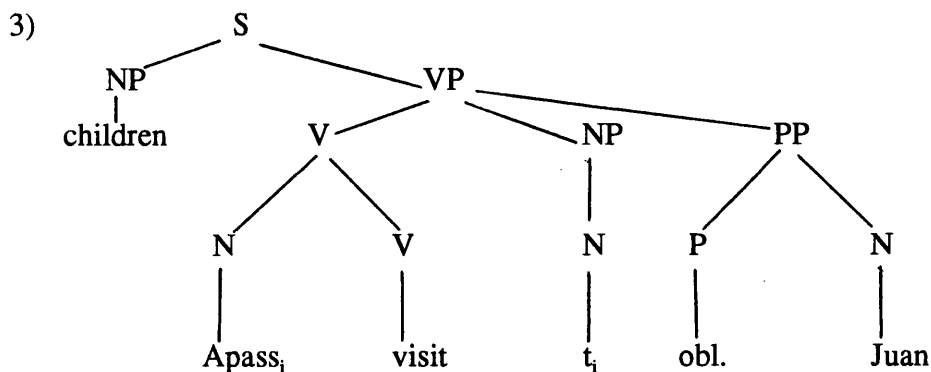
Example of antipassive in Chamorro, Austronesian (from Gibson, 1980, quoted in Baker 1988):

1) Man -man - bisita i fanagu' un  gi  as  Juan

Pl -apass- visit  the children  oblique Juan

'The children visited Juan'

The oblique PP is like the by-phrase in the passive in English, and is dispensable. The antipassive morpheme is generated in the direct object position at D-structure, where it is assigned object Θ-role.

2)

```
                    S
              /           \
           NP              VP
           |             /     \
        children        V       NP
                        |        |
                     visited   N [+Apass]
```

This antipassive morpheme undergoes head movement, adjoining to the governing verb, yielding:

3)

```
                    S
              /           \
           NP              VP
           |          /    |      \
        children     V     NP      PP
                   /   \    |     /    \
                  N     V   N    P      N
                  |     |   |    |      |
               Apass_i visit t_i obl.  Juan
```

Baker (ibid.) finds an obvious parallel between antipassives and the clitic doubling constructions of River Plate Spanish. He remarks that while it is wrong to claim that Spanish clitic doubling is a kind of antipassive, since the distribution and interpretation of the Spanish clitic is different from the antipassive morpheme, there is in both cases a "doubling" mechanism involved. The antipassive is doubling in that it has the patient phrase as an adjunct, "doubling" the Θ-role of the antipassive morpheme.

10. Some Northern French dialects also have the combination of past participle agreement with pre-verbal clitic and wh-phrase agreement, whereas some Italian dialects also have clitic agreement but no wh-agreement. Kayne suggests that this asymmetry could be due to the "extra complexity" of the IP-adjunction structure.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abney, S. (1987) *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect.* PhD Dissertation, MIT.

Adams, M. (1987) From Old French to the Theory of PRO-drop. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, Vol 5*, 1-32.

Agouraki, Y. (1992) Clitic-Left Dislocation and Clitic Doubling: A Unification. In H. van de Koot (ed.), *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 4*, 45-70.

Aoun, Y. (1985) *Generalized Binding.* Foris, Dordrecht.

Aoun, Y. (1985) *A grammar of Anaphora.* MIT Press, Cambridge.

Arquint, J. (1982) *Die Viersprachige Schweiz.* Benziger, Zürich.

Baker, M. (1988) *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing.* Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Baker, M. and Hale, K. (1990). Relativized Minimality and Pronoun Incorporation. *Linguistic Inquiry 21:2*, SD 289-297.

Bayer, J. (1983) COMP-Node in Bavarian Syntax. *The Linguistic Review 3*, 209-274.

Belletti, A. (1988) The Case of Unaccusatives, *Linguistic Inquiry 19*, 1-34.

Belletti, A. (1989) On the Morphosyntactic Nature of the Sequence AUX + PP in Italian. ms. Université de Genève.

Belletti, A. (1990) *Generalized Verb Movement.* Rosenberg and Tellier, Turin.

Benincà, P. (1991) Complement Clitics in Medieval Romance: the Tobler-Mussafia Law. In H. van Riemsdijk and L. Rizzi (eds.) *Eurotyp Working Papers 8.* Tilburg University.

Bierwisch, M. (1992) Funktionale Kategorien - Thema mit Variationen. Paper delivered at the Grammatik Arbeitsgruppe of the Sprachwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Berlin (East).

Blasco Ferrer, E. (1986) *La lingua sarda contemporanea. Grammatica del Logudorese e Campidanese.* Edizione della Torre, Cagliari.

Blasco Ferrer, E. (1984) *Storia Linguistica della Sardegna.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie. Niemeyer, Tubingen.

200

Borer, H. (1983) *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages.* Foris, Dordrecht.

Borer, H. (1986), (ed.), *The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics: Syntax and Semantics 19.* Academic Press, New York.

Borer, H (1986) I-subjects. *Linguistic Inquiry 17*, 375-416.

Borer, H. (1989) Anaphoric AGR. In O. Jaeggli and K. Safir (eds.), *The Null Subject Parameter.* Kluwer, Dordrecht

Bouchard, D. (1984) *On the Content of Empty Categories.* Foris, Dordrecht.

Bouchard, D. and Hirschbuhler, P. (1987) French Quoi and its Clitic Allomorph QUE. In Neidle, C. and Nuñez Cedeño (eds.) *Studies in Romance Languages.* Foris, Dordrecht.

Brandi,L. and Cordin, P. (1986) Subject Clitics in Two Italian Dialects: A Perspective on the Null Subject Parameter. *Journal of Italian Linguistics, Vol 8:2*, 1-24.

Brandi, L. and Cordin, P. (1989) Two Italian dialects and the Null Subject Parameter. In O. Jaeggli, and K. Safir, (eds.), *The Null Subject Parameter.* Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Burgers, M. (1957) *Teach Yourself Africaans.* English Universities Press Ltd., London.

Burzio, L. (1986) *Italian Syntax.* Reidel Inc, Dordrecht.

Cardinaletti, A. and Roberts, I. (1991) Clause Structure and X-Second. Ms. Università di Venezia and Université de Genève

Chomsky, N. (1977) On wh-movement, in P. Culicover, T. Wasow and A. Akmajian,(eds.), *Formal Syntax.* Academic Press, New York.

Chomsky, N. and Lasnik, H. (1977) Filters and Control. *Linguistic Inquiry 8*, 425-504.

Chomsky, N. (1981) *Lectures on Government and Binding.* Foris, Dordrecht.

Chomsky, N. (1982) *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Chomsky, N. (1986a) *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use.* Praeger, New York

Chomsky, N. (1986b) *Barriers.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Chomsky, N. (1989) Some notes on the Economy of Derivation and Representation.

*MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 10*, Cambridge, Mass.

Chomsky, N. (1992) A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics 1*. MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Cinque, G. (1977) The Movement Nature of Left-Dislocation. *Linguistic Inquiry 8:2*, SD, 397-412.

Cinque, G. (1979) Left Dislocation in Italian. A Syntactic and Pragmatic Analysis. In *Cahiers de Lexicologie Vol. 34*. Quemada, Paris.

Cinque, G. (1980) On Extraction from NP in Italian. In *Journal of Italian Linguistics, Vol 5: 1/2*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Cinque, G. (1991) *Types of A' Dependencies*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Contreras, H. and Rojas, J. N. (1972) Some remarks on Spanish clitics, *Linguistic Inquiry 3:3*, SD, 385-392.

Contreras, H. (1986) Spanish bare NPs and the ECP. In Bordelois, I., Contreras, H. and Zagona, K., (eds.), *Generative Studies in Spanish Syntax*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1990) Clitic Doubling, Wh-Movement and Quantification in Romanian, *Linguistic Inquiry 21:3*, 351-397.

Emonds, J. (1985) *A Unified Theory of Syntactic Categories*, Foris, Dordrecht.

Fanselow, G. (1987) *Konfigurationalität*. Narr, Tübingen.

Farkas, D. (1978) Direct and Indirect Object Reduplication in Romanian. Chicago Linguistic Society 14th Regional Meeting, CLS, Chicago.

Farrell, P. (1990) Null Objects in Brazilian Portuguese. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 8:3*, 325-346.

Guéron, J. (1986) Inalienable Possession, PRO-Inclusion and Lexical Chains. In J. Guéron, H-G. Obenauer and J-Y. Pollock, (eds.), *Grammatical Representation*, Foris, Dordrecht.

Haegeman, L. (1991) *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Haegeman, L. (1991) *Negative Concord, Negative Heads*. Paper presented at the Going Romance Conference. Utrecht.

Haegeman, L. and Zanuttini, R. (1991) Negative Heads and the NEG Criterion. *Linguistic Review 8*, 233-251.

Haegeman, L. (1992) *Theory and Description in Generative Syntax*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Haiman, J. (1991) From V/2 to Subject Clitics: Evidence from Northern Italian. In Traugott, E. and Heine, B., (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Typological Studies in Languages 19:2*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Harre, C. (1991) *Tener + Past Participle*. Routledge. London & New York.

Harris, M. (1978) *The Evolution of French Syntax. A Comparative Approach*. Longman, London.

Harris, M. (1982) The 'Past Participle' and the 'Present Perfect' in Romance. In Vincent, N. and Harris, M. (eds.), *Studies in the Romance Verb*, Croom Helm, London.

Harris, M. and Ramat, P.(1987), (eds.), *Historical Development of Auxiliaries* (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 35) Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Harris, M. and Vincent, N.(1988),(eds), *The Romance Languages*. Croom Helm, London.

Horn, L. (1991) Duplex Negatio Affirmat ... The Economy of Double Negation. In Dobrin, L., Nichols, L and Rodriguez, R. (eds.), Papers from the 27th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Part 2: The Parasession on Negation.

Horrocks, G. and Stavrou, M. (1987) Bounding Theory and Greek Syntax: evidence for wh-movement in NP. In *Journal of Linguistics 23:1*, 79-108.

Iatridou, S. (1990) Clitics and Island Effects, ms. MIT.

Iatridou, S. and Kroch, A. (1992) The Licensing of CP-recursion and its relevance to the Germanic Verb-second Phenomenon. In *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax 50*, University of Lund.

Jaeggli, O. (1982) *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Foris, Dordrecht

Jaeggli, O. (1986) Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled NPs and Extraction. In Borer, H. (ed.) *The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics: Syntax and Semantics 19*. Academic Press, New York

Jaeggli, O. and Safir, K. (1989) The Null Subject Parameter and Parametric Theory. In Jaeggli, O. and Safir, K. (eds.), *The Null Subject Parameter*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Jensen, F. (1990) *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax*. Max Niemeyer

Verlag, Tubingen.

Jones, M. (1988) Sardinian. In Harris, M. and Vincent, N.,(eds), *The Romance Languages*. Croom Helm, London.

Kato, M. and Tarallo, F (1986) Anything YOU can do in Brazilian Portuguese. In O. Jaeggli and C. Silva-Corvalán, (eds.), *Studies in Romance Linguistics*, Foris, Dordrecht.

Kayne, R. (1972) Subject Inversion in French Interrogatives. In J. Casagrande and B. Saciuk (eds.), *Generative Studies in Romance Languages*. Newbury House, Mass.

Kayne, R. (1975) *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Kayne, R. (1976) French Relative 'que'. In Hensey, F. and Luján, M. (eds.), *Current Studies in Romance Linguistics*. Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C.

Kayne, R. (1983) Chains, categories external to S, and French Complex Inversion. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 1*, 107-139.

Kayne, R. (1984) *Connectedness and Binary Branching*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Kayne, R. (1989a) Null Subjects and Clitic Climbing. In O. Jaeggli, and K. Safir, (eds.), *The Null Subject Parameter*. Kluwer, Dordrecht

Kayne, R. (1989b) Facets of Romance Past Participle Agreement. In P. Benincà (ed.) *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*, Foris, Dordrecht

Kayne, R. (1989c) Notes on English Agreement, ms. Graduate Center, City University of New York.

Kayne, R. (1991) Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry 22:4*, 647-686.

Kayne, R. (1991) Italian Negative Infinitival Imperatives and Clitic Climbing, ms Graduate Center, City university of New York.

Koopman, H. (1984) *The Syntax of Verbs*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Laka, I. (1990) *Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*. PhD Dissertation, MIT

Law, P. (1991) Verb Movement, Expletive Replacement and Head Government *Linguistic Review 8*, 253-285.

Lema, J. and Rivero, M-L. (1989) Inverted Conjugations and V-Second Effects in Romance. In Laeufer, C. and Morgan, T. (eds.) *Theoretical Analyses in Romance Linguistics (1992)*, J. Benjamins, Amsterdam. Selected papers from the XIX Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Columbus, Ohio.

Lema, J. and Rivero, M-L (1990) Long Head Movement: ECP vs. HMC. In *Proceedings of NELS 20*. GSLA. Amherst. Mass.

Lema, J. and Rivero, M-L. (1990) Types of Verbal Movement in Old Spanish: Modals Futures and Perfects, ms. University of Ottawa.

Lobo, T. (1990) Observaçoes sobre a sinclise pronominal no século XV e nas variantes europeia e brasileira do Portugues contemporaneo. Actas do 6o. encontro da Associaçao Portuguesa de Linguística.

Madeira, A. (1992) On Clitic Placement in European Portuguese. In H. van de Koot (ed.) *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics Vol. 4.*

Mahajan, A, (1989) Agreement and Agreement Phrases. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 10*, 217-252.

Mahajan, A. (1991) Clitic Doubling, Object Agreement and Specificity. Proceedings of the North-Eastern Linguistic Society 21 (Annual Meeting), ed. Tim Sherer, 263-277.

Manzini, R. (1983) On Control and Control Theory. *Linguistic Inquiry 14:3*, 421-446.

Manzini, R. (1992) Second Position Dependencies. Paper delivered at the 8th Workshop on Germanic Syntax, Tromso, Norway.

Maaßen, C. (1992) Reflexivklitika (sich/se) und Argumentstruktur (im Deutschen und Spanischen). Paper delivered at the Grammatik Arbeitsgruppe of the Sprachwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Berlin (East).

Ouhalla, J. (1988) *The Syntax of Head Movement: A Study of Berber.* PhD Dissertation, University College London.

Ouhalla, J. (1990) Sentential Negation, Relativized Minimality and the Aspectual Status of Auxiliaries. *The Linguistic Review, 7*, 183-231.

Ouhalla, J. (1991) *Functional Categories and Parametric Variation*, Routledge, London.

Palmer, L. R. (1968) *The Latin Language*. Faber and Faber Limited, London.

Pizzini, Q. (1976) Conditions on Clitic-Movement in Portuguese. *Linguistic Analysis, Vol. 2:3*, 199-223.

Pizzini, Q. (1981) The Placement of Clitic Pronouns in Portuguese. In *Linguistic Analysis, Vol 8:4*, 403-430.

Platzack, C. (1992) Complementizer Agreement and Argument Clitics. In *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax 50*, University of Lund.

Pollock, J.-Y. (1989) Verb Movement, UG, and the Structure of IP, *Linguistic Inquiry 20:3*, 365-424.

Radford. A. (1988) *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. CUP

Raposo, E. (1987) Case Theory and INFL-to-COMP: The Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese, *Linguistic Inquiry 18:1*, 85-109.

Rivero, M-L. (1980) On Left-dislocation and Topicalization in Spanish. *Linguistic Inquiry Vol. 11:2*, 363-393.

Rivero, M-L. (1986) Parameters in the Typology of Clitics in Romance and Old Spanish, *Language, Vol. 62:4*, 774-807.

Rivero, M-L. (1986) Binding in NPs. In Bordelois, I., Contreras, H. and Zagona, K., (eds.), *Generative Studies in Spanish Syntax*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Rizzi, L. (1982) *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht. Foris.

Rizzi, L. (1986) On the Status of Subject Clitics in Romance. In O. Jaeggli and C. Silva-Corvalán, (eds.) *Studies in Romance Linguistics*, Foris, Dordrecht.

Rizzi, L. (1988) On the Status of Referential Indices. Paper presented at the Workshop "The Chomskian Turn", Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, April 1988.

Rizzi, L. (1990) *Relativized Minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Roeper, T. and Willliams, E. (1987) (eds.), *Parameter Setting*. Reidel, Dordrecht.

Russ, C. (1990) *The Dialects of Modern German: a Linguistic Survey*. Routledge, London.

Salvi, G. (1987) Syntactic Restructuring in the Evolution of Romance Auxiliaries. In Harris, M. and Ramat, P. (eds.) *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Sanga, G. (1987) *Lingua e Dialetti di Bergamo e delle Valli*. Fondo Emma Giudici Lubrina, Bergamo.

Silva Duarte, I. (1983) Variaçao Paramétrica e ordem dos clíticos. In *Revista da*

*Facultade de Letras, No. especial comemorativo do 50o. aniversário da RFL*, 158-178.

Smith, J. (1991) Thematicity and "Object"-Participle Agreement in Romance. In D. Wanner and D. Kibbee (eds.) *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 69*, J. Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam.

Sportiche, D. (1992) Clitics, Voice and SPEC-head licensing. GLOW, Lisbon (abstract).

Sportiche, D. (1992) Clitic Constructions, ms. UCLA.

Spencer, A. (1991) *Morphological Theory*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Steriade, D. (1980) Clitic Doubling in the Romanian wh-constructions and the analysis of Topicalization. *Chicago Linguistic Society 16th Regional Meeting*, CLS, Chicago.

Stowell, T. (1989) Subjects, Specifiers and X' Theory. In *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Suñer, M. (1991) Two Properties of Clitics in Clitic-Doubled Constructions. In Huang, J. and May, R. (eds.) *Logical Structure and Linguistic Structure: Cross Linguistic Perspectives*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Szabolcsi, A. (1987) Functional Categories in the Noun Phrase. In I. Kenesei (ed.) *Approaches to Hungarian, Vol 2*, University of Budapest.

Taraldsen, T. (1987) Clitic/Participle Agreement and Auxiliary ALternation in Romance. In Neidle, C. and Nuñez Cedeño (eds.) *Studies in Romance Languages*. Foris, Dordrecht

Teyssier, P. (1986) La Negation dans les Créoles Portugais. In *Morphosyntaxe des Langues Romanes. Actes du XVIIe Congrés International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes, Vol. 4, Aix-en-Pce*. Niemeyer, Tübingen.

Uriagereka, J. (1990) Head Movement and Transparency, ms. University of Maryland.

Vergnaud, J-R. and Zubizarreta, M-L. (1992) The Definite Determiner and the Inalienable Constructions in French and English. *Linguistic Inquiry 23:4*, 595-652.

Vikner, S. (1990) *Verb Movement and the Licensing of NP-Positions in the Germanic Languages*. PhD Dissertation, Université de Genève.

Vincent, N. (1982) The Development of the Auxiliaries habere and essere in Romance. In Vincent, N. and Harris, M. (eds.) *Studies in the Romance Verb*.

Wanner, D. (1991) Surface Complementizer Deletion: Italian che - 0. In *Journal of Italian Linguistics 6:1*, 47-82.

Weinberg, M.-B. (1987) *El Español Bonaerense: Cuatro Siglos de Evolución Lingüística (1580-1980)* Hachette, Buenos Aires.

Williams, E. (1981) Argument Structure and Morphology. *The Linguistic Review 1*, 81-114.

Wunderlich, D. (1992) Funktionale Kategorien: Was ist das ?. Paper delivered at the Grammatik Arbeitsgruppe of the Sprachwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Berlin (East).

Zanuttini, R. (1989) *The Structure of Negative Clauses in Romance*. Paper presented at GLOW, Utrecht.

Zanuttini, R. (1990) Two Types of Negative Markers. *Proceedings of NELS XX, GLSA, Vol. 2* , University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Zanuttini, R. (1990) On the Relevance of Tense for Sentential Negation, ms. University of Pennsylvania.

Zanuttini, R. (1991) *Syntactic Properties of Sentential Negation: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Zanuttini, R. (1992) Constraints on LF-movement: TP as barrier for Negative Quantifiers. GLOW, Lisbon (abstract).

Zimmermann, I. (1992) Funktionale Kategorien in Sätzen und Substantivgruppen. Paper delivered at the Grammatik Arbeitsgruppe of the Sprachwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Berlin (East).

Zubizarreta, M-L. (1987) The Lexical and Syntactic Representations of Noun Phrases. In *Levels of Representation in the Lexicon and in the Syntax*. Foris, Dordrecht.

Zwart, J-W. (1991) Verb Movement and Complementizer Agreement, ms. University of Groningen and MIT.