CLITIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Dominique Sportiche

UCLA

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Abstract: An analysis of French and Romance clitic constructions in simple clauses is proposed reconciling the two dominant approaches on this topic. This analysis treats them as involving both movement and base generation and, as part of a larger research program, assimilates the syntax of clitics to that of other functional heads. Accordingly, a clitic is analyzed as heading its own projection and as licensing in its specifier a particular property of a designated argument agreeing with it in the relevant features (person, number, gender Case...). It is further argued that clitics subdivide in two types. The first type (such as French *en* or *le* assimilates to such functional heads as [+wh] complementizers or [+negative] heads licensing certain operator-like properties (e.g. wh or negative quantifiers). We show that (some) Germanic Scrambling is fundamentally similar to these clitic constructions. This leads us to postulate that the operator like property these clitics license is specificity in DPs as has often been proposed but that <u>reciprocally</u> the specificity of some DPS must be licensed in similar "clitic-like" configurations. In essence, this comes down to assimilating pronouns to bare operators (like bare wh-phrases *who, what, why*), and specific DPs to non bare operators with operator determiners (like *which book, what reason..*). The second type of clitics such as French *lui* are not linked to specificity. We suggest that these clitics should be analyzed as pure agreement analogous to AGR_O or AGR_S, presumably responsible for Case assignment (here Dative, i.e AGR_{IO}).

1. Introduction

1.1. Preamble

The existence of pronominal clitics in languages like French, and other (Romance) languages raise two questions, one of descriptive adequacy and one of explanatory adequacy. The question of descriptive adequacy asks what the correct structural analysis of constructions with these pronominal clitics is. How to structurally analyze clitics has been the subject of very substantial discussion ever since the earliest studies of the late 1960s, and much disagreement remains. I want to suggest an analysis that reconciles two main, but conflicting views on this problem.

The question of explanatory adequacy asks why language learners choose the analysis of pronominal clitics they do. This kind of question is the most central theoretical question "generative" linguists such as myself can ask about the analyses they propose; their field is defined by the fact that they ask these questions. It is unlikely that learners go through the kind of deductive reasoning that linguists go through: years of clever debate have not yet produced a consensus on the matter of clitics. How should learners reach such uniform conclusions on such complex systems on the basis of much more limited evidence than is available to linguists. It appears plausible to assume that the range of analyses that they can entertain at all is so restricted to start with that the choice is easy to make on the basis of the data available to them. In fact, in the extreme, it is conceivable that this range is a singleton. This most extreme position is the one I am going to suggest. Although I hope to substantiate this claim empirically, I independently believe that some such extreme narrowing of a priori possibilities is necessary: even the kind of extremely restrictive theories of syntactic structures proposed today allow so many possible syntactic analyses (possibly infinitely many) of any finite set of data as to make learning untractable (see Sportiche, 1993a).

At the most general level, I want to suggest that the kind of structural analysis that can be ascribed to clitic constructions is identical to those that can be ascribed to wh-constructions, negative quantifier constructions, focus constructions, and almost every other constructions that can reasonably be argued to involve XP-movement (NP or DP movement constructions, lexical anaphor constructions, quantifier scope constructions...), because there is only one kind of structural analysis available for these constructions in principle, namely movement demanded by specifier/head licensing. Substantiating this approach requires establishing its plausibility and accomplishments for each individual construction.

This is what I will do for clitic constructions in this paper. The general theoretical approach this is a part of is discussed in more detail in Sportiche (1993a) and some consequences for subject clitics are more specifically discussed in Sportiche (1993b).

1.2. Boundary condition on analyses

Every analysis of clitics must account for the facts that the items treated as clitics by French are treated as clitics by French. This is another side of the question of explanatory adequacy previously discussed. This very strongly suggests a fundamentally uniform analysis of clitics. For if universal grammar allows pronominal clitics to be analyzed in one of several ways, the question of converging on the right analysis for each individual case arises again, together with the problem of undertermination of theory by the evidence. Although a uniform approach to the analysis of clitics is not forced, it is clearly more desirable a priori and I will adopt it as working hypothesis. As we will see, this seems largely justified a posteriori. As will be clear, I also take as point of departure the idea that this uniformity also holds true crosslinguistically, at least as far as the most analyzed Romance languages such as Italian and Spanish are concerned. Work on these languages has revealed enough similarity of functioning with each other and French clitic constructions to warrant this assumption. How uniform can these analyses be? Surely they cannot be uniform to the point of identity (since pronominal clitics do behave differently). Minimally, we may assume that clitics are uniformly analyzed up to lexical differences. One important consequence of this assumption is the following: it is reasonable to argue for or against particular proposals concerning the analyses of pronominal clitic constructions by bringing any pronominal clitic to bear on the question (again up to lexical differences).

1.3. Outline of the central proposal

There are strong arguments in favor of each of the two widely held, and apparently incompatible, types of analysis of Romance clitics found in the literature. Illustrating with a French accusative clitic, clitics are argued to be either base generated in their surface position (Strozer 1976, Rivas 1979, Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1981, Sportiche 1983,..) or moved from the underlying XP* position (Kayne 1975, Kayne 1989, Sportiche 1990,..):

($N1)   Marie   les$_i$ aura   presentes XP$_i$*   a Louis

them   will-have   introduced-AGR$_i$ to Louis

Marie would have introduced them to Louis

Proponents of movement analyses have held that movement but not base generation can explain the condition of locality holding between the clitic and XP* and reminiscent of conditions on A-movement (traditionally attributed to the Binding Theory).

Proponents of base generation have held that it but not movement is compatible with the lack of complementarity between clitic and a full XP* (clitic doubling constructions). Although I do not consider the argumentation based on this observation convincing, as I discuss below, I will offer some reasons to support its conclusions.

These properties suggest that both movement and base generation are correct and this is what I will propose. Specifically: (i) All clitics are always base generated in preexisting slots, namely as X^0 heading their own projection and (ii) Clitic constructions may also involve movement.

Illustrating the basic idea with ($1), I suggest that the accusative clitic is a base generated head, call it Acc, selecting as its specifier an accusative DP*. This selection must be satisfied *by* LF by moving DP* to [spec,AccP]= DP^, as an instance of spec/head licensing:

($N2) $[_{AccP} DP^$ [$[_{Acc}les]$ [... aura presentes DP*$_{+acc}$ ...]]]

I will show how this approach reconciles the properties listed above and many other and can provide a unified analysis of clitics. This will lead to related proposals concerning clitic doubling, the treatment of participle agreement and the distribution of stranded quantifiers. I will also discuss why this approach is superior to recent alternatives such as Kayne's 1989 (clitic movement as successive head movement) and supports a version of Sportiche's 1989 or 1990 approach (clitic movement as XP movement followed by incorporation of X). Finally, we will propose that overt clitic morphemes split in two classes. Members of the first class, which include Accusative Clitics are similar to [+wh] complementizer or the head of NegP and characterize constructions resembling operator/variable configurations, which license parasitic gaps. We will propose that the presence of these clitics is a necessary and sufficient condition to license specificity in their associated argument phrase. We analyze Accusative Scrambling (in Dutch - and that should extend to German) as an instance of a clitic construction as in ($2) with XP^ filled and the head silent. Members of the second class, like Dative Clitics behave like Agreement Phrases. The projection they head are thus AGR$_{IO}$ responsible for

Dative Case, much in the same way that AGR$_S$ and AGR$_O$ are responsible for Nominative and Accusative Case properties.

2. Some preliminaries about French clitics and clitics in general

French (representative of many Romance languages) has a rich system of preverbal clitics. Their surface distribution is summarized by the template below:

($N3)   <u>French Clitic Template</u>

Nom	Neg	1st/2nd/Refl	3rdAcc	3rdDat predicate	Loc	Gen
il	ne	me/te/se/nous	le/la/les	lui/leur	y	en

As Perlmutter (1972) describes it, for each column of the template, no more than one clitic is allowed (so for example, it is not possible to have a 1st person accusative object and a 2nd person dative object at the same time). Furthermore, the third and fifth column cannot be filled at the same time (e.g. * *Je me lui montre / I shows myself to him)*. Why there are these vertical cooccurence restrictions (only one clitic per slot), these horizontal cooccurence restrictions (not both third and fifth) and why the clitics are ordered this way is not understood, and I have no light to shed on these questions.

Syntactic clitics are so called because they are claimed not to constitue autonomous syntactic units. Rather, they seem to form a unit with some host. Kayne (1975) argues that pronominal clitics adjoin to V in French (a conclusion with substantial cross Romance validity that Kayne 1991 refines by claiming that clitics adjoin to a functional category to which a verb may move). This is exemplified by the fact that they cannot be conjoined independently of their host nor can their host be conjoined independently of them:

($N4)   a.   *Jean le et les connait / John knows him and them

          b.   *Jean le connait et/ou respecte / John knows and/or respects him

These properties are not true for all clitics. Subject clitics (except for *on, ce*) alone allow the equivalent of ($4b), and other clitics which in principle may tolerate conjunction (because there are several different instances occuring in the same clitic slot) allow disjunction:

($N5)   a.   Il connait et respecte Marie

                    He knows and respects Marie

             b.   il ou elle connait Marie

                    he or she knows Marie

             c.   ?Pierre le ou les renverra

                    Pierre him or her will see

As Rizzi (1986) points out, facts like ($5a) as opposed to ($4b) indicate that the cluster of clitics is not homogeneous (and unstructured), and that there is a break, which he places after the negative clitic *ne*. In particular, this seems to indicate that subject clitics do not have to be syntactic clitics at all (although they may become syntactic clitics under certain circumstances, such as Complex inversion constructions, cf. Sportiche,1993b, and they look like phonological clitics, being devoid of possible stress...). The significance of examples of the ($5c) type in parallel with ($4b) is less clear. We will continue assuming that non subject pronominal clitics are syntactically cliticized, noting the potential problem raised by ($5c) (that is discussed in Sportiche, 1993b).

In non imperative clauses, the string of clitics immediately precedes the highest verb of its clause. In particular, it will always precede the highest auxiliary of its clause. This is illustrated below:

($N6)   a.   il le lui donnera / il le lui a donne / ils lui ont ete donnes

                    he it to-him will give/ ...gave/ they to-him were given

             b.   il ne le lui donnera pas / ils ne lui ont pas ete donnes

                    he not it to-him will give/ they not to-him were given

In infinitives, we find more evidence of the split in the clitic cluster noted by Rizzi (1986) and mentioned above. The negative clitic may be separated from subsequent clitics and precede the negative marker *pas*, all other clitics will immediately precede the verb and follow *pas*.

($N7)   a.   ne pas le lui donner / *ne le lui pas donner

not it to-him give-inf

b.   ne pas l'avoir donne / ne l'avoir pas donne

not it have given

c.   ne pas leur en avoir parle / ??ne leur en avoir pas parle

not to-them of-it have talked

d.   ne pas m'en avoir parle

not to-me of-it have talked

3. Types of previous analyses.

Previous analyses of the distribution of clitics can be broadly organized in two subclasses: lexical analyses and syntactic analyses. Lexical analyses claim that a clitic is in effect a derivational affix modifying the lexical entry of a predicate. To illustrate, the alternation between *lire un livre* et *le lire* would be one between a transitive verb *lire* and an intransitive *le+lire*. Initially, there is what at first appears to be a technical problem due to the fact that this derivational affix does not actually always show up on the verb that it intransitivizes (cf. section 2 above). This will lead to considerations strongly disfavoring this option. A lexical analysis claims that adding a clitic in a clause is on operation on the lexical entry of some lexical item. However, there are many cases in which a clitic appears on a verb with which it bears no lexical relation. By the principle of uniformity of analysis discussed in section 1.2 above, this dismisses these analyses altogether. The examples below illustrate this point:

($N8)   a.   Jean croit Pierre malade / Jean le croit malade

Jean believes Pirre sick/ Jean him believes sick

b.   Jean est semblable a son mere/ Jean lui est semblable

Jean is similar to his mother/ Jean to-her is similar

c.   Jean croit Pierre capable de tout/ Jean en croit Pierre capable

Jean believes Pierre capable of everything/ Jean of-it believes Pierre capable

d.   Jean veut manger la pomme/ Jean la veut manger

Jean wants to eat the apple/ Jean it wants to eat

e.   Jean a peint la cheminee de l'usine/ Jean en a peint la cheminee

Jean painted the chimney of the factory/ Jean of-it painted the chimney

In the a example, the clitic stands for an argument DP subject of a small clause bearing no thematic relation, hence no lexical relation with the main verb. Although it is possible to devise theories in which a DP is subcategorized by a predicate without being theta marked by it - hence bearing a lexical relation with it - such theories make it a mystery where subcategorization comes from and would require far stronger evidence that has ever been adduced in their favor to make them reasonable initial candidates. At any rate, none of the other examples could be so fixed. In the b and c examples, the clitic is an argument of the adjective and bears no lexical relationship to the main verbs. In d, the so-called *restructuring* constructions, an example ungrammatical in standard French but well formed in middle French or [its equivalent] in many (all?) varieties of Italian or Spanish, the clitic bears no lexical relationship to the verb it is affixed to. Instead, if anything, it might be argued to be lexically related to the embedded verb. In e, the clitic stands for a dependent of the head of the object DP. All these cases duplicate the central observation made earlier regarding the basic distribution of clitics: clitics appear on the highest verb of their clause (with provisions made for restructuring constructions). This essentially correct generalization is syntactic in nature and thus seems incompatible with a strictly lexical approach. At best, the detransitivization property would have to be coupled with a syntactic device insuring that the clitic morpheme shows up in its proper place. Of course, this is not to deny that there may be a lexical component to the distribution of clitics such as modification of Case properties of the affected predicate but we must conclude that the CL+V sequence is not an intransitive verb.

In fact, turning now to syntactic analyses found in the literature they all more or less have had a lexical component to them (such as Case absorption..). Syntactic analyses have typically assumed that the presence of a pronominal clitic say CL does not affect the thematic properties of the predicate Y the clitic stands for an argument of, say A. Consequently, by the Projection Principle, A is syntactically represented as some phrase XP* generated in its usual position. This conclusion seem warranted: a transitive <u>verb</u> as we just saw remains transitive even there is a clitic "standing for" its direct object. The question is to make explicit what *stand for* mean in structural terms and this is what the Projection Principle provides in part: clitic constructions obey the general schema [From now on, we will use XP* to refer to the argument position associated with a clitic]:

($N9) ....$CL_i$... [Y ... XP^*_i...] ...

For these syntactic analyses, the questions raised by clitic constructions have mostly concerned the nature of XP* and the properties of the relation between CL and XP*. Again, broadly speaking, past syntactic analyses can be grouped in two subsets: <u>Base Generation</u> analyses and <u>Movement</u> analyses. According to Base generation analyses, the clitic is essentially base generated in its surface position and XP* is to be analysed as a *pro* or a *PRO* somehow related to the clitic. According to movement analyses, XP* is to be analyzed as a trace. The second position is usually correlated to the assumption that XP* is litterally the trace of CL, a non necessary assumption (as discussed in Sportiche, 1990, and below).

Let us survey these two proposals.

4. Movement and Base Generation

The movement analysis is probably the oldest generative analysis and one that is adopted in Kayne (1975, 1989, 1990) and Sportiche (1989,1990). Base generation analyses are probably most widely held today in one form or another. They are advocated by Strozer (1976), Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982), Borer (1983), Bouchard (1982), Burzio (1986) or Roberge (1990) (see Borer, 1986 for a survey and references) for essentially the reasons discussed below in 4.1 and in Sportiche (1983) for somewhat different reasons not reviewed here.[1] We now briefly survey the motivations for each approach.

4.1. Complementary Distribution

One simple motivation for Kayne's (1975) movement analysis is the apparent complementary distribution between clitics and their associated XP* found in French illustrated below, where the c sentence contains one intonational phrase (i.e. no dislocation intonation, pause...):

($N10)   a.   Marie connait Louis

          Marie knows Louis

          b.   Marie le connait

          Marie him knows

          c.   *Marie le connait (a) Louis

          Marie him knows (to) Louis

Kayne (1975) suggests that clitics are base generated in the position XP* and are Chomsky-adjoined by a movement operation to an appropriate verb up the tree. Almost all the authors challenging Kayne's proposal have done it on the basis of the existence of Clitic Doubling constructions as are found in varieties of French (cf. Roberge, 1990), Spanish (Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, Jaeggli, 1982,...), Romanian, Hebrew, Arabic (Aoun 1981, Borer 1983....) and exemplified below:

($N11)   a.   l-am vazut pe Popescu / him-have-I seen OM Popescu (Romanian)

          b.   Lo vimos a Juan / him-saw-we Juan (River Plate Spanish)

In these constructions, both a clitic and a full phrase - the doubled phrase - seem to compete for the same grammatical function. In itself, this observation does not pose any particular challenge to Kayne's proposal. However, an analysis of these facts claiming that the doubled DP "occupies" XP* would appear fundamentally incompatible with a movement analysis. It is however quite difficult to conclusively establish this point. The position of the doubled XP* has been the subject of substantial debate, because of its assumed implications for the movement analysis. In general however, these discussions have concentrated on the external distribution of the doubling element. In order to preserve the movement analysis, one may try to claim that the doubled element is not XP* but rather an adjunct related to XP*. For example, Hurtado (1984) defends the idea that the doubled XP in ($11b) occupies the position of right dislocated phrases. Aoun (1981) defends a variant of this position. Jaeggli (1986) convincingly argues against these proposals, although he does not generally settle the wider question of whether or not the doubled XP is in an adjunct position (he only argues that they are not in dislocated position). However, as Pat Schneider (p.c.) remarks for Greek, doubled elements seem to occur in positions in which adjuncts are simply not tolerated, e.g. as subject of small clauses or ECM subjects:

($N12)   o Yiorghos tin-perimene [[tin Maria] na paraponiete]

          the G. CL$_{acc}$ expected the Maria$_{acc}$ subj complain

          George expected Maria to complain

This evidence concurs with Jaeggli's conclusions that the doubled element is not an adjunct and in fact has the same external distribution as XP*. From this it is quite reasonable to conclude that the doubling element is indeed XP*.

The fact that the doubled phrase has the same external distribution as the missing argument does not suffice however to establish the point. Indeed, it is conceivable that the doubled element may be in fact an adjunct as in (i) or an YP specifier as in (ii) to a silent X^0, head of XP* as illustrated below which would in effect further specify the intended content of the clitic element:

($N1200)

	(i)	XP		(ii)	XP*
	XP*		YP		YP
					X'
	CL		doubled element		doubled element CL
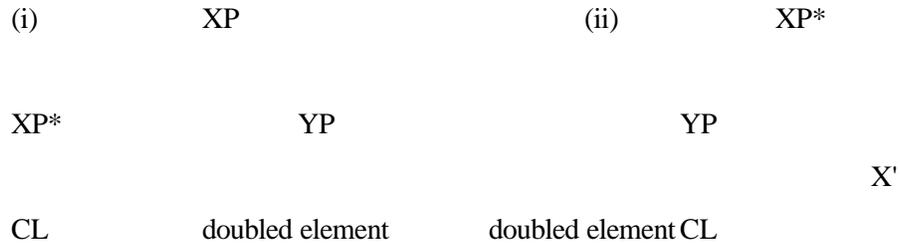
If this were the case, we would expect this doubled element to have the same external distribution as XP*. Until this question is settled, a non trivial matter, the movement approach is not challenged by the existence of clitic doubling constructions. Nor is it particularly supported by the appearance of complementarity in some cases. Although complementarity of distribution between clitics and XP* might have provided an argument for a movement analysis, there may be other ways of handling this complementarity inspired by the treatment of clitic doubled constructions, particularly as many authors have done, by capitalizing on "Kayne's generalization". Kayne observes that, in some languages and in some constructions at least, doubled elements must appear affixed by a morpheme (dative looking in Spanish, the OM in Romanian..) that does not appear in the absence of the clitic. One idea pursued by the proponents of base generation analyses attributes the presence of this morpheme on XP* to the loss of the Case XP* would normally receive to the clitic. Requiring Case for clitics will yield complementarity effects in languages lacking these rescuing devices, such as insertion of a special morpheme.

4.2. Movement properties

There are however much stronger arguments adduced in favor of a movement analysis. The strongest such arguments are based on the observation that the clitic/XP* relation displays defining distance properties of movement. We document these properties below in non doubled cases, strongly suggesting that movement is involved.

4.2.1.   SSC effects

One type of evidence Kayne(1975) used to corroborate his conclusions capitalized on the blocking effects of intervening subjects on (some type of) clitic placement (we will use *clitic placement* preanalytically, i.e to refer to the surface distribution of a clitic without taking a stand the mechanism responsible for it). One simple case is illustrated below:

($N13)   a.   Jean a laisse Pierre parler a Marie

              Jean let Pierre speak to Marie

        b.   Jean l'a laisse lui parler

              Jean him let to-her speak

        c.   *Jean lui a laisse Pierre parler

              Jean to-her let Pierre speak

        d.   *Jean le lui a laisse parler

              Jean him to-her let speak

Placement of the dative clitic cannot reach the main clause over the subject of the embedded clause suggesting an SSC effect. Whether an SSC effect in turn is a diagnostic of movement is less clear. One construal of the binding theory (e.g. Chomsky's 1981) takes it as a condition on representations and not necessarily on movement relationships per se, so that it can straightforwardly extend to antecedent/lexical anaphor dependencies. Expanding on Lebeaux (1983), antecedent/lexical anaphors relations have also been treated in terms of movement (cf. Chomsky, 1986b). If DP/trace or antecedent/anaphor anaphoric relations are indeed movement relations, obeying binding principle A is a diagnostic property of movement (although not necessarily an independent diagnostic property, as it might be, and very plausibly is, derived from the ECP/antecedent government).

4.2.2.   CED / ECP effects

Much more direct evidence in favor of a movement analysis comes from examining the kind of constituents out of which clitics can be extracted. Such data consistently suggest that movement is involved.

4.2.2.1 Extraction from PP

P-stranding under clear cases of movement is disallowed in French. For example, wh-movement of the object of the preposition is ill-formed (unless the P is pied piped):

($N14)   a.   Jean a vote pour Maastricht

                    Jean voted for Maastricht

           b.   *Quel traite Jean a-t-il vote pour t

                    which treaty John voted for

           c.   Marie est parti avec la valise

                    Marie left with the suitcase

           d.   * Quelle valise Marie est-elle parti avec t

                    which suitcase did Marie leave with

The same observations hold for stranding under clitic placement:

($N15)   a.   Jean a vote pour lui

                    Jean voted for him

           b.   *Jean lui a vote pour [sc] (for silent category)

                    Jean him voted for

           c.   Marie est parti avec elle

                    Marie left with it

           d.   *Marie lui est parti avec [sc]

                    Marie it left with

It is not true however that stranded Ps cannot be stranded at all. As Zribi-Hertz (1984) discusses, the equivalent of ($15) are perfectly well formed without the clitic:

($N16)   a.   Jean a vote pour

                    Jean voted for

b.   Marie est parti avec

           Marie left with

In these cases, the missing object is interpreted as referring to some discourse prominent entity, exactly as an overt pronoun object of the P is in ($15b and d). In fact, Zribi-Hertz (1984) argues that this missing element is best analyzed as a silent pronoun *pro*. If the [sc] in ($15) is a trace, the paradigm follows: ($15) patterns like ($14) and unlike ($16) because the relevant part of the ECP only applies to traces.[2]

4.2.2.2. Extraction out of DP

Patterns of extractability out of DPs make the same point: Clitic placement behaves exactly like a movement process. Extraction out of direct object DPs in French obeys a simple generalization (cf. Giorgi & Longobardi 1991, Sportiche, 1989, Valois 1991, for recent discussion):

($N17)   Extractability Requirement

              an XP may be extracted out of a DP in a given structure

              iff XP may otherwise appear as the possessor of this DP[3]

This generalization is illustrated by the paradigm below:

($N18)   a.   Jean a vu une/la photo de qui

                     Jean saw a/the picture of whom

          b.   dont$_j$ Jean a vu [une/la/*ma/*cette photo t$_j$]

                     of whom Jean saw a/the picture

          c.   Jean a lu une depeche de Paris

                     Jean read a dispatch from Paris

          d.   *D'ou$_j$ Jean a-t-il lu [une depeche t$_j$]

                      wherefrom did Jean read a dispatch

Only when the extracted phrase could otherwise be a possessor - this is blocked by the presence of another possessor like *ma* or a demonstrative like *cette* as in ($18b), or because only DPs and not

locative PPs may be possessivized as in ($18d) - can it be extracted. Sportiche (1990) and Valois (1991) propose that this pattern is explained by appealing to antecedent governement, a property required of traces but not of silent categories: Extraction of a post nominal XP must proceed through the [spec,DP] position guaranteing antecedent government and deriving the generalization in ($17):

($N19)   dont$_j$ Jean a vu [$_{DP}$ t$_j$ [la [$_{NP}$ photo t$_j$]]

The same pattern holds of clitic extraction:

($N20)   a.   Jean a vu une/la photo de qui

                      jean saw a/the picture of whom

             b.   Jean en$_j$ a vu [une/la/*ma/*cette photo t$_j$]

                      Jean of-him saw a/the/*my/*this picture

             c.   Jean a lu une depeche de Paris

                      John read a dispatch from Paris

             d.   *Jean en$_j$ a lu [une depeche t$_j$]

                      Jean therefrom read a dispatch

             e.   Jean vient de Paris/ Jean en$_j$ vient t$_j$

                      Jean comes from Paris? Jean thereforom comes

Note in particular that cliticization of the locative of origin is disallowed in the d sentence, eventhough it may in principle be cliticized as *en* as in the e sentence. Note also that the sc following stranded prepositions is allowed in these contexts, further supporting the contention that we are dealing with different kinds of gaps:

($N21)   a.   le / mon/ ce vote pour (cela)

                      the/my/this vote for (it)

             b.   mon depart avec (cela)

                      My leaving with (it)

4.2.3.   Participle Agreement

Participle agreement in French provides further reasons to adopt the movement analysis. Participles may (or must depending on the variety of French) agree with its accusative direct object when it precedes the participle. Agreement is excluded when the participle follows.

($N22)   a.   Jean a peint(*E) la porte

                         Jean painted the door

             b.   La porte que Jean a peint(E) t

                         the door that John painted

             c.   Jean l'a peint(E) [sc]

                         John it painted

($22b) illustrates this with a relativized object, ($22c) with a cliticized object. Under a movement analysis, these data make sense if, as Kayne (1989b) suggests:

(i) there is only one way to get agreement: Participle/object agreement is similar to subject/tense agreement in being the reflex of a relation between a head and its specifier.

(ii) there is an intermediate specifier (of the participial morphology) through which the moved object may (or must) transit.

Of course, only assumption (ii) is linked to a movement analysis. Assumption (i) is just a particular (and quite convincing) construal of how agreement arises. As Sportiche's 1989 or 1990 extensive discussion shows, there is substantial independent evidence for the existence of this intermediate position in French. At any rate, this account would attribute ($22c) the following analysis:

($N23)   le$_j$ a   [t$_j$ [peinte ...t$_j$]]

Under a base generation analysis, i.e. one in which the [sc] in ($22c) is *pro* or *PRO*, this configuration appear arbitrary. Assuming the object is *pro* is essentially saying the object remains postparticipial. Since the agreement in this case would have to be treated differently than in the subject/verb agreement case, there is no reason why the facts turn out this way rather than the other way around, i.e. agreement only with a postverbal object (that is agreement only with lexical objects).

Corroborating evidence for the movement plus spec/head approach is found when a fuller picture of agreement is presented. As mentioned, in some varieties of French (like mine), participle agreement is optional with direct object clitics. Now, in all varieties of French, the participle agrees with the subject (instead of the object) if the verb uses the auxiliary *etre* (including in passive constructions), and this agreement is obligatory.

($N24)   La porte a ete peint*(E)

             the door(FEM) was painted*(FEM)

Verbs using the auxiliary *etre* all are constructions with derived subjects: in all these cases (which include passive constructions and also reflexive constructions -cf. Sportiche, 1990 and Cortes, 1992), the superficial subject is an underlying object. So that there are two observations to account for: (i) First, why does NP-movement pattern with clitics in being able to trigger agreement; (ii) Secondly, why is NP-movement more restricted than clitics in that it must trigger participial agreement.

Both of these facts follow if clitic placement is analyzed as movement plus agreement under spec/head. First clitic placement and NP-movement both trigger agreement because they both involve movement (in fact XP-movement, as we will see later). Furthermore, it comes as no surprise either that wh-movement may (optionally) trigger agreement. Agreement on this account arises as a result of movement.

Secondly, a movement analysis of clitic placement can account for the second observation as follows. If both clitic placement and raising to subject involve movement, we expect that this movement may transit through the specifier position of the participial phrase. We may suggest that the intermediate step through the specifier of the participial phrase is optional in the case of clitic placement but not in the case of NP-movement: only in the course of the movement involved in clitic placement, this position may be skipped. This is consistent with what we know of NP-movement, namely that it is the most restricted kind of movement and the one subject to the strictest locality conditions, i.e. quite possibly more restricted than Clitic movement.[4] If any difference is found between NP movement and clitic movement, it is reasonable to expect more latitude for clitic movement. In particular, if movement though the participial specifier is available in principle for clitic movement and raising to subject (and it is, as agreement demonstrates) we expect skipping this position in the course of movement to be at least as available for clitic movement as it is for NP-movement and possibly more available. In other words, the French agreement pattern comes as no surprise. Note in particular that the opposite pattern

is predicted impossible (requiring participle agreement with object clitics and allowing but not requiring participle agreement with derived subjects). This seems correct: no variety of French (or, as far as I know, of Romance for that matter) patterns in the opposite way as the French just described. It is less clear how to get the same results in a base generation approach. There is no good reason why NP-movement or wh-movement should pattern in any way like clitics in being able to trigger agreement.

4.3. For base generation?

We now review reasons in favor of adopting a base generation analysis. Basically they are either lack of source arguments (there is no possible source from which the clitic could have moved) or impossibility of movement arguments (the distance between the clitic and its source are not allowed by movement).

4.3.1.   Ethical datives and inherent clitics

Two lack of source cases are illustrated by the ethical dative construction in ($N25a) and the inherent clitic construction in ($25b):

($25)   a.   Je t'acheterais un cadeau a Pierre

                     I tell ya, I would buy Peter a present

           b.   Pierre en a bave

                     Peter of-it drooled (= Peter suffered)

In the first example (the flavor of the meaning of which can be given by something like: it is preposterous even to think about buying a present to Peter), the clitic *te* (also possible with some other dative clitics but probably most natural with 2nd person sg) simply cannot be replaced by any full XP. In fact, the function of the clitic is not to link to any argument. This would seem to argue against a movement analysis for these clitic structures, and by uniformity, against movement analyses in general, for lack of a possible source. Example ($25b) illustrates the same point. The clitic *en* does not correspond to any XP slot. It would seem to be in some way part of the lexical entry of the verb *en-baver* but nevertheless behaves positionally like a regular clitic in preceding the auxiliary verb *avoir*. By uniformity, we would then expect all clitics to be part of the lexical entries of their predicate. As we

have discussed before, this is clearly an unacceptable conclusion, which might cast doubts on the requirement that clitics be unifromly analyzed.

However, as R. Kayne (p.c.) points out, the lack of source argument is seriously weakened by the existence of such English examples as *John perjured himself, John kicked the bucket...* In these examples, we have direct objects which, as part of an idiom, must somehow be listed as part of a lexical entry including the verb and at the same time be realized as an independent DP object eventhough they do not seem to receive any "real" theta role. If having a "real" theta role is not a precondition for DPs to occur as objects, the lack of source argument disappears: French inherent clitic verbs could just as well list a thetaless clitic object, which would then be subject to the normal rules of clitic placement. For ethical dative constructions, in which the clitic is not obviously related to the verb, we would have to allow the generation of an thetaless XP headed by the dative clitic which would then be subject to the normal rules of clitic placement.

Note finally that a base generation analysis faces somewhat of the same complication as a movement analysis. Since clitics usually are linked to argument position, inherent clitics and ethical datives would constitute an exceptional class of clitics. However, the base generation analysis does not entail the existence of an XP* corresponding to the clitic and in that it appears slightly simpler than the movement analysis. In sum we conclude that these constructions, although they pose problem, do not really help decide the issue and in particular do not invalidate a movement analysis..

4.3.2. Stranded Quantifiers in L-tous cases

The distribution of stranded or floating quantifiers seem difficult to reconcile with a movement analysis of clitics. Stranded quantifiers are illustrated in the following examples:

($N56)   a.   Les enfants ont *tous* mange

              the children all ate

         b.   Je les ai vu *tous*

              I have seen them all

Following Sportiche's (1988) proposal, we take it that the distribution of these quantifiers is determined in part by the position of intermediate traces of their antecedents: these quantifiers are in fact adjacent to a silent DP (trace, *pro* or *PRO*) bound by another (usually overt) DP they quantify over. Thus, in

($56a), the presence of the quantifier *tous* reveals that the subject of the sentence has raised from a lower position (yielding the VP internal subject hypothesis). Koopman (1991) and Schlonsky (1990) have convincingly argued that the mechanism of Q stranding under DP movement involves raising the DP through [spec,QP] as revealed by the fact that the Q agrees with the DP under stranding only in Hebrew (Schlonsky) or by the existence of phrases like *eux tous/them all* (Koopman) illustrating this intermediate step in English (in effect, a modern version of Kayne's 1975 Q-post analysis).[5]

There are actually two distinct ways of implementing Sportiche's 1988 basic idea in a way consistent with Koopman's and Schlonsky's proposals. The first one is to assume, as did Sportiche (1988) that a strandable Q is always generated with a DP complement. Stranding under this view is always under syntactic movement of this DP through the specifier position of the QP. An alternative is to postulate that this kind of Q may be generated in a wider variety of environments, e.g. as a Q taking a "VP" complement, and is understood to quantify over some DP moving through its specifier position (and thereby triggering agreement): *[$_{QP}$ DP$_i$ [tous [$_{VP}$ V...t$_i$]]]*. This last analysis of *tous* would be akin to that of other quantifiers appear to be both determiners and adverbials (e.g. *Il a vu beaucoup d'enfants, il a beaucoup vu d'enfants*). Either approach straightforwardly extends to case ($N57a) but not to ($57b-d):[6]

($57)   a.   Marie les a tous pris

                Marie took them all

           b.   Marie a toutes voulu [les manger]

                Marie wanted to eat them all

           c.   Il a tous fallu [qu'ils parlent]

                It was necessary that they all speak

           d.   Il a tous fallu [que Louis les lise]

                It was necessary that Louis read them all

In the last three examples, that we shall call L-tous cases (from Kayne's 1975 Leftward-tous rule) the stranded Q is higher than the clitic it modifies. In fact it is out of the clitic's clause altogether.[7] The fact that an intervening head, the complementizer *que*, does not block this construction indicates that, if the Q is placed by movement in its overt position, it does not move out of its clause by head movement but rather by XP movement. This movement is most plausibly of the A-bar type, given that NP-movement

out of a tensed clause is strictly forbidden in French. Sportiche (1988) attributed the possibility of c and d to the syntactic application of Quantifier Raising (QR).

Suppose we both adopt one the analyses of floating quantifiers described above and a movement analysis of clitics. This might be more precisely construed as follows: (i) the clitic is the head of the DP modified by or quantified over by *tous*, (ii) the clitic itself moves to its surface position, (iii) *tous* quantifying over this DP is licensed by this DP moving through the specifier position of the Q. Consider now what this would mean for a sentence like ($57d). The following configuration will need to be arrived at:

($N570) $[_{QP}$ [tous ... $[_{CP}$... $[_D$les$_i$] ... $[_{DP}$ t$_i$]

The clitic, i.e. the D head of the object DP, has incorporated to some host. If the stranded Q gets to its surface position by movement, and gets stranded by movement of its complement DP (or the head D of such a DP) out of QP, the raised QP will contain the unbound trace of this D or this DP. If, alternatively the stranded Q is base generated in the top clause, its licensing will require the following scenario: by LF[8], this DP will have to raise to the position [spec,QP] eventhough it would contain a trace of the incorporated clitic. This violates the requirement that traces be properly bound. This problem of course does not arise if the clitic is generated independently of the DP argument it is related to, a basic property of base generation analyses.

One potential way to remove this offending trace would require reconstructiion of this DP into the lower clause at LF. It is clear however that these leftward moved Q's have matrix scope, not embedded scope. This illustrated by the following pair:

($N180)   a.   Il aurait tous fallu que tu ne les aies pas vu

                           it would have been necessary that you see none of them

               b.   Il aurait fallu que tu ne les aies pas tous vu

                           it would have been necessary that you do not see all of them

As the paraphrases indicate, in the first sentence the Q must have scope wider than the embedded negation. If reconstruction was required, we would expect at the very least the Q to be able to take narrower scope than the embedded negation as in the second sentence.

4.3.3.　　　**Dative constructions and stranded quantifiers**

There is a second class of clitic constructions which superficially also seem to lack a plausible movement source for their clitics. The movement analysis makes the claim that the relation between the clitic and its associated XP* is a possible movement relation. The base generation makes no such claim (although there is a need under the base generation analysis, to elucidate the nature of the locality relation holding between the clitic and its associated XP*). The central paradigm I want to discuss, representative of the all constructions involving a dative clitic[9] is illustrated below:

($N26)　　a.　　　Je (*leur) ai offert un cadeau a tous les enfants

　　　　　　　　　I gave a present to all of these children

　　　　　　b.　　　Je (*a) leur ai (tous) offert un cadeau *(a) tous

　　　　　　　　　I them gave a present to all

　　　　　　c.　　　Ces garcons, *(a) qui j'ai (??tous) offert un cadeau ((a) tous)

　　　　　　　　　These boys, to whom I have (all) given a present (to all)

These examples show that a dative clitic may appear in conjunction with a stranded quantifier, but not with a full phrase. If this Q appears stranded by clitic placement in the normal dative position, this Q must be preceded by the preposition (or the Dative marker) *a*. Otherwise, it must be bare. These dative Qs cannot be stranded under wh-movement however. They may be very marginally stranded as bare Q in pre participle position. This behavior is in marked constrast with that of accusative objects, which both allow stranding of Q's under clitic placement and under wh-movement *Je les ai tous lus, ces livres que j'ai tous lu/ I them-have all read, these books, that I have all read*.

These examples constitute a serious problem for a movement analysis of clitics in the dative case. The complementarity clitic/full DP does suggests that the two positions be correlated by movement. But the difference between clitic placement and wh-movement with post verbal stranded Q preceded by *a* suggests otherwise: if clitics actually moved, why should they pattern any differently from wh-phrases. One possibility is that they do not move as phrases - unlike wh-phrases - but rather as heads throughout, an option consistent with some of Kayne's recent proposals and also with Kayne's (1975) handling of this problem. He suggests[10] that dative *a* may be transformationally inserted on a dative DP. The derivation of ($26c) would include the following steps: .. *offert [$_{Dative}$ [tous [$_{DP}$ qui]]] -->* DP-to-spec --> ... *offert [$_{DativeQP}$ [$_{DP}$ qui] [tous t]]*. At this point A-insertion on the <u>DP</u> *qui* (cf. *j'ai*

parle a eux tous/ I spoke to them all) and DP movement (wh-movement) may apply in either order. This forces *a* to be carried along with the moved phrase as desired. The problem is to force the opposite with clitic placement in ($26b). From the structure ... *offert [$_{DativeQP}$ [$_{DP}$ leur] [tous t]]*, pied-piping of an inserted *a* or insertion on a moved *leur* must be prevented. This behavior if clitic placement is DP movement, but would follow if *leur* moves as a D rather than as a DP, construing *a* as a property of the DP rather than of the D. If however we can show that clitic movement cannot be construed as head movement throughout, as we will in 5.3, it suggest that clitic placement in these structures is not the result of movement.

5. Analysis

Throughout, we restrict ourselves to case in which the clitic is associated with an argument XP*. Other cases, as discussed earlier, can be similarly treated.

5.1. Clitic Voices

The previous discussion suggests we have a contradiction. On the one hand, the search for explanatory adequacy strongly support a uniform analysis of clitic constructions. On the other, different clitic constructions seem compatible with different analyses. As mentioned in section 1.3, this contradiction may be resolved. Movement analyses have typically assumed that movement is movement of the clitic. None of the arguments supporting a movement analysis actually shows this. The first proposal we make is (i) to abandon the assumption made by movement theories, namely that the movement involved in clitic constructions is movement of the clitic.Base Generation analyses, on the other hand seem to be faced with a fundamental problem. It is particularly striking that the movement properties holding of the relation between a clitic and its XP* hold regardless of whether or not XP* is silent: in clitic doubling constructions as well, the clitic and the doubled phrase are in a possible movement relationship, in fact the exact same as in non doubled constructions. The second proposal we make is (ii) to abandon one assumption made by base generation theories, namely that no movement is involved.

If the clitic is not the element moved from the position XP*, we need to account for the fact that the clitic agrees with XP*. Thus, if the missing argument XP* is understood to be what is denoted by a

third person singular pronoun direct object, the clitic appearing in the structure is a third person singular accusative clitic. Furthermore, as we have discussed in section 2, clitics are so called because they do not form autonomous syntactic units. Rather, they seem to form a unit with some host. As Kayne (1989) points out, there is a natural interpretation of this clitic property in contemporary syntactic theory: the clitics are heads whose close syntactic connection with a host can be analyzed as a case of head to head movement incorporating the clitic head to the host head (or vice versa).[11] This immediately suggests that the agreement between a clitic and it corresponding XP* be viewed as an instance of agreement between a phrasal constituent and a head, a species of agreement naturally handled as a reflex of a relation between a head and its specifier (phrasal) and is consistent with the general idea that agreement is always a phrase/head relation between a specifier and a head.

In order to implement this agreement requirement as the result of a specifier/head relationship, we must provide a projection whose head is the clitic and whose specifier is a landing site for movement of the corresponding XP*. This is of course the proposal outlined in section 1. Without getting into much structural detail for the moment, remember that a typical clitic construction such as the one exemplified in ($1) below:

($1)	Marie	les_i	aura	presentes XP_i^*	a Louis
		them	would-have	introduced-AGR_i	to Louis
	Marie would have introduced them to Nick				

would, given that XP* is in this case a DP, receive the analysis indicated in ($2) below:[12]

$$(\$2) \qquad [_{AccP} DP^\wedge [[_{Acc}les] [... aura presentes DP^*_{[acc]} ...]]]$$

In order to achieve or sanction agreement, DP* will have to move to DP^ at some point. More generally, with each clitic slot of the clitic template given in ($3), there is a corresponding projection available. Call these projections *Clitic Voices*[13], and different instances Nominative Voice, Accusative Voice, Dative Voice ... Thus a sentence such ($N28a) will be associated with the structure in ($28b) (linear order irrelevant at this point):

($28)	a.	il le lui donnera
		he it to him will give

b.   NomV

XP^$_1$ Nom'

      Nom   AccV

         XP^$_2$ Acc'

            Acc   DatV

               XP^$_3$ Dat'

                  Dat.........   XP*$_1$..XP*$_2$...XP*$_3$
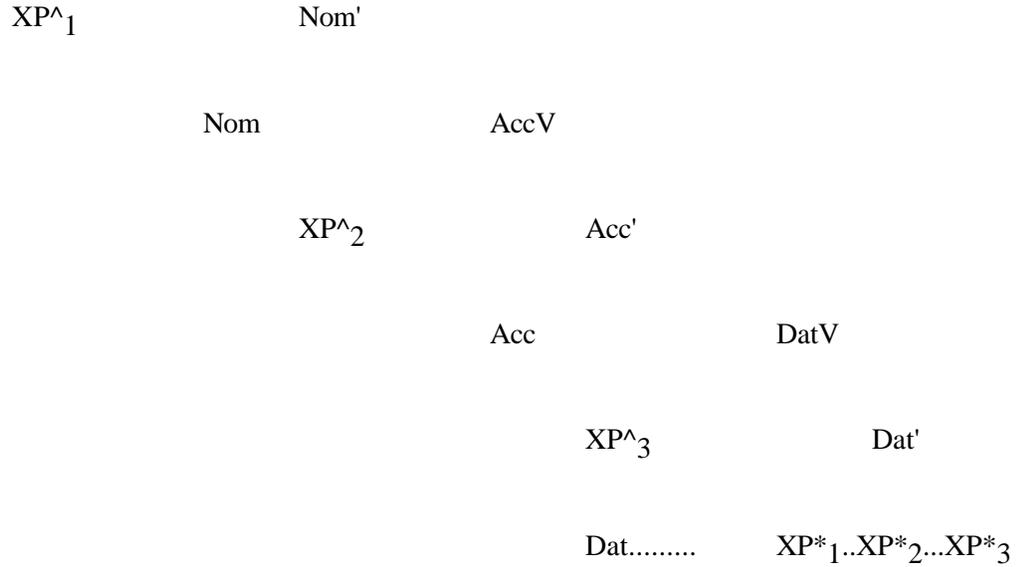
We must now answer the following questions:

($N29)   (i) how does this analysis reconcile movement and base generation

(ii) how is it compatible with the properties of individual clitic constructions.

(iii) what kind of movement is involved, what causes movement (linked to the question
     of what the function of these clitic projections is).

(iv) what is the nature of XP* (when it is silent)?

(v) what is the nature of the position XP^?

(vi) where are these clitic projections located in the structure of a clause

Of these, ($29iv) can be partially answered immediately. Reflexive, or rather *se* clitic constructions
behave differently from the others (See, Sportiche, 1990, and the references cited therein). In a non
reflexive clitic construction, a silent XP* is interpreted exactly as a pronoun would be. We therefore
postulate that XP* is *pro* (as did Sportiche, 1983, for exactly the same reason and see also Bouchard,
1982). XP* moves to XP^ where, ignoring further movement therefrom, it does not have to be bound.
PRO not only would not give rise to the right interpretation (of definite pronoun) in the absence of any
antecedent (and none is necessary in clitic constructions).[14] As *pro*, XP* needs to be properly identified,
which it is after movement to XP^, by the coindexed clitic head.

In effect, we are treating non reflexive clitic constructions, i.e. Accusative Voice, Dative Voice, Genitive Voice, Locative Voice and <u>Nominative Voice</u> as *"pro-drop"* constructions, again very much along the lines of Sportiche (1983) (see also Roberge, 1990, Bouchard, 1982). Sportiche (1993b) explores ways of extending this approach to pro-drop throughout, claiming in effect that subject agreement is not what licenses pro drop, but that Subject clitics are.

5.1.1.   The Clitic Criterion

We may now give a preliminary answer to question ($29iii) in relation to what causes movement. We have already noted the similar behaviour of wh-movement and Clitics with respect to agreement. Let us pursue the analogy with wh-movement one step further. We know that wh-phrases typically only overtly occur clause initially in specific clauses bearing the property [+Q] or [+wh]. Rizzi's 1991 captures this generalization by updating May' 1985 wh-criterion and by taking into account Chomsky's 1986a generalized X-bar proposal extending the X-bar schema to the complementizer system in a specific way as follows:

($N30)   <u>Wh-criterion or Q-criterion</u>:

At LF

i. A wh head must be in a spec/head relationship with a wh XP

ii. A wh XP must be in a spec/head relationship with a wh head

Satisfaction of this criterion will guarantee the proper distribution of wh-phrases at LF. We can treat clitics along similar lines. Assume that clitics license in XPs a particular property or feature [+F] (about which we will speculate in section 7, but that we may take for concreteness in French to be that of being a null pronoun). Assume further that this property may be licensed at LF only in an appropriate agreement relationship. On the analogy with ($30),[15] we may state:

($N31)   <u>Clitic Criterion</u>

At LF

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[16]

where the agreement reflex of the spec/head relationship is expressed by Case, number, gender and person agreement, at least in French. Thus, if a clitic is related to an XP*, this XP* will have to move in order to satisfy the Clitic Criterion ($31).

Looking at this analysis in full generality, we see that a clitic construction is a (non-local) movement relationship between two XP's, XP* and XP^ mediated by a (clitic) head H, such that XP^=[spec,HP], so that XP* agrees with H. By LF, XP* must have move to XP^.

Some of the parameters of the constructions are then as follows:

($N32)   Clitic constructions parameters[17]

i.   Movement of XP* to XP^ occurs overtly or covertly
ii.   H is overt or covert
iii. XP* is overt or covert

All clitics constructions (involving a Cl/XP* dependency) we claim involve movement. The movement of XP* is to the specifier position of the projection headed by the clitic, where agreement between Cl and XP* is sanctioned. This approach treats clitics as complex agreement morphemes;[18] it derives the agreement relation XP*/Cl as an instance of a specifier/head relation, and it determines the locality relation between the Clitic and XP* as in effect being characterized by the necessary movement relation between XP^ = [spec,ClP] and XP*. This provides a general way of handling true clitic doubling constructions, i.e. clitic doubling constructions not analyzable as in ($1200). Superficially, (true) clitic doubled constructions differ from non doubled constructions in that XP* is overt in the first ones and covert in the second ones. So far, we have not specified whether movement should be overt or covert. When XP* is overtly realized in the XP* position, as might be the case in Spanish Clitic Doubled constructions, the analysis will postulate covert movement of XP* to XP^. This does not mean that movement of an overt XP* may not overt as well. I suggest later that this happens in Dutch Scrambling constructions. Similarly, when XP* is covert, movement may a priori be overt or covert. Settling this question will require checking the properties of the XP^/XP* relation in individual constructions.

If the parameters given in ($32) are independent, it is easy to see the kind of constructions each combination of the options in ($32) will give rise to:

A covert XP* moving overtly or covertly to XP^ with H overt gives rise to undoubled clitic constructions as in French or Italian or Dutch.

An overt XP* moving covertly with an overt H gives rise to clitic doubling constructions as might be illustrated by Spanish or Romanian.

An overt XP* moving overtly with H overt will give some object agreement constructions such as might be found in Lebanese Arabic. Clitic Left Dislocation Construction of Cinque (1991) may also be such a case or a case of overt movement of XP* to XP^ and then beyond, as is found in Romanian or Spanish wh-questions.

An overt XP* moving overtly with a covert H will have the appearance of simple phrasal movement . we argue that Scrambling of Specific DPs in Dutch is such an instance.

5.1.2.   The Position of Clitic Voices

We now adress question ($29vi). It subdivides in two: (i) where are the clitic projections generated within the clause? (ii) how are the clitic projections ordered w.r.t. each other. I will limit myself to the first question here and leave the second entirely open as its understanding requires resolving many issues about the internal structure of strings of clitics of which little is understood. Relevant to this determination are: (i) the Head Movement Constraint, which prohibits movement of heads to skip intermediate heads and (ii) Baker's Mirror Principle which claims that morphological constituent structure reflects syntactic constituent structure. Here we are only concerned with non nominative clitics which obey the basic generalization given in section 2:[19]

($N46) Clitics occur adjoined to the highest verbal element of the clause containing XP*.

Consider again the sentences given in section 2:

($6)   a.   il le lui donnera / il le lui a donne / ils lui ont ete donnes

                          he it to-him will give/ ...gave/ they to-him were given

              b.   il ne le lui donnera pas / ils ne lui ont pas ete donnes

                          he not it to-him will give/ they not to-him were given

($7)   a.   ne pas le lui donner / *ne le lui pas donner

                          not it to-him give-inf

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b. ne pas l'avoir donne / ne l'avoir pas donne

not it have given

c. ne pas leur en avoir parle / ??ne leur en avoir pas parle

not to-them of-it have talked

d. ne pas m'en avoir parle

not to-me of-it have talked

Pollock (1990) demonstrates the existence of two different head positions (which he takes to be T and Agr). He shows that French Tensed verbs raise from V to the highest of the two and French infinitival verbs raise from V to the lower of the two (except for auxiliaries which may marginally raise to the higher slot). I will assume the following construal his results: INFL is split between AGRs and T and with AGRs the higher one. The order of projections is thus (ne) AGRs (pas) T, with short V movement (of infinitivals) being to T and long V-movement (of tensed verbs) being to AGRs.[20] In clauses with one or two auxiliary verbs, we have the following relevant structures:

($N47) a. Tensed clauses

(ne) Cl AUX1+Tense (pas) (AUX2) Verb XP*

ne lui aura pas ete rapporte

not to-him will-have been brought-back

b. Tenseless clauses[21]

(ne) (pas) Cl AUX1+Inf (AUX2) Verb XP*

ne pas lui avoir ete rapporte

not to-him to-have been brought-back

Begin with tensed clauses ($47a). Given the possiblity of *?Pierre le ou les renverra* and the imperative order of AUX_1(+Tense)+AGRs+Cl (*renvoyons-les*, the morphological structure of the sequence Cl+AUX_1+Tense+AGRs seems to be Cl+[AUX_1+Tense+AGR]. By the Mirror Principle, the corresponding projections should be ordered ClP>AgrsP>TP>AuxP, with Aux raising to T, (then to Agrs) then to Cl. In particular, ClP should precede the position of the negative marker *pas*.

The tenseless clauses template ($47b) suggests otherwise: Pollock (1990) shows that verbs with infinitive morphology (glossed as -Inf here) do not (have to) raise to AGRs in infinitives. This is why they may follow the negative marker *pas*. The same considerations as above leading to the

morphological analysis Cl+[AUX$_1$+Inf], this suggests that the order of projections is AGRs>*pas*>ClP>TP>Aux$_1$P, hence AGRsP>*pas*>ClP>TP>InfP>Aux$_1$P in the absence of *pas*.

To allow a resolution of this contradiction in the ClP/AGRsP order, we need either to relax the Mirror principle so that it does not apply to clitics,[22] or to invoke lowering or some heads in some cases. The grounds to choose are quite narrow given what we uderstand of these matters. I will tentatively assume the first option for reasons that will become clear when we discuss Dutch Scrambling. Taking morphologies to head their own projections (with PM =participial morphology), we will have the following template for French, with each verbal element raising to the next head (*pas* not counting as one, cf Pollock, op.cit.):

($N48)   ClP AGRs *pas* T$_{[+tense]}$ (avoir PM$_1$) (etre PM$_2$) Verb
      ClP AGRs *pas* T$_{[-tense]}$ (avoir PM$_1$) (etre PM$_2$) Verb

If no HMC violations are allowed, clearly ClP must be higher than AGRsP. Because the heads of Clitic Phrases are clitics, some host must become available to them, namely Vs. In tensed clauses, the complex Cl+V can be formed as follows: following Chomsky's (1992) proposal of morphological checking, words are inserted in the syntax fully formed and morpheme ordering is checked under successive head movement to the relevant projections. V thus raises from V to T to AGRs. Either V then raises to Cl, or Cl was base generated on V and is checked under overt or covert raising or the verbal complex to Cl. In tensed clauses, an auxiliary verb may procedd similarly. A non auxiliary verb cannot raise beyond T, as Pollock shows. Since clitics must syntactically cliticized, either they must lower to V in T (which we may reinterpret as: they are base generated on V and checked under LF raising of V to Cl) or, marginally, they cliticize to a higher host viz. *n'en pas parler*, here the head of NegP *ne*.[23]

5.2. A second look at the various arguments

We now go back to each of the arguments for or against movement discussed earlier. Clearly, arguments for movement (i.e. those involving SSC, CED or ECP effects, as well as the pattern of participle agreement) pose no particular problems as we adopt a movement analysis. Left to handle properly are questions of complementary distribution and clitic doubling in the case of L-tous Stranding of quantifiers or quantifier doubling in dative constructions.

5.2.1.   Clitic Doubling

So far, we have concentrated mostly on standard French. Standard French appears not to not allow Clitic Doubling.[24], or by the cases of Complex Inversion *Jean est-il malade* which Sportiche (1993b) analyses as "clitic doubling". It is correct for object clitics if it is understood as requiring the lexical head of XP* to be silent. However some other varieties of French do and many Romance languages (and in fact non Romance languages) do as well. Recall that clitic doubling is the cooccurence of a clitic and of an overt XP* and that we have analyzed it as postponment of the necessary movement of XP* to XP^ until LF. In fact, there is nothing in the analysis presented so far that really bears on the overt/covert character of XP*: whether overt or covert, XP* will have to raise by LF to the right specifier so that the Clitic Criterion is met. Clitic doubling constructions and non doubled clitic constructions are analyzed exactly the same way: the problem is not to account for the possibility of clitic doubling. This central dilemma earlier accounts faced disappear. Rather the problem is to account for the distribution of clitic doubling and for the differences between clitic doubling and non doubled clitics.

We may preanalytically subdivide the problem of distribution in two subproblems (whose exact boundaries are of course unknown as yet): necessary distributional properties and (apparently) accidental distributional properties. If clitic doubling exhibits necessary properties, they should follow from its analysis. One such necessary property seem to be the following:

($N33)   If clitic doubling is allowed, it is always allowed with (stressed) pronouns.[25]

CL.D. Problem #1: why is ($33) true?

In the second category, we find questions such as: why does French disallow it while Spanish allows it? Why do different dialects of Spanish allow it in different circumstances, e.g. only with indirect objects, or only with indirect objects and pronominal direct objects...

CL.D. Problem #2: What accounts for the inter and intra linguistic distribution of Clitic Doubling.

Another kind of variable property is Kayne's generalization, already mentioned earlier (which does not appear to hold of all clitic doubling languages): it claims that bare objects may not be doubled, they

must be affixed by a dummy marker (typically a preposition, often the one otherwise inducing Dative Case).

CL.D. Problem #3: What accounts for Kayne's generalization

Unfortunately, apart from problem #1, I do not have good answers to provide to these problems. Past proposals can be incorporated within the present account, as I will do, but none of them is really satisfactory. Let us postpone the consideration of Problem #1 until we discuss the function of clitic projections in section 7.2. There, we will suggest a possible answer to the first problem.

As for Problem #2 and #3, I can suggest some speculations along the lines of similar problems arising in other constructions. We need to answer the following questions: (i) why do certain languages (or constructions) allow the cooccurence of overt clitics and overt XP* and others do not. (ii) why do certain languages (or constructions) allowing overt XP* dissallow its overt raising to XP^ while others do not. Adapting the line that the proponents of base generating clitics have proposed, we might rule clitic doubling out by appealing to Case theory. More specifically, we might argue that languages disallow realizing the same Case on two different nominal elements. Because Romance clitics are nomial and encode Case morphology, they cannot cooccur at the same time as a full Case marked XP* (unless an extra option exists to Case mark this XP* - Kayne's generalization). One way of implementing this idea pursues the analogy with wh-movement entertained earlier as follows. The output of syntactic wh-movement is subject to the doubly filled COMP filter. Suppose that just as the Clitic Criterion suggests a generalization of the WH-criterion to a more general principle of licensing (a general line pursued in Sportiche, 1993a), the doubly filled COMP filter generalizes in such a way that it covers Clitic projections or Voices as well. The general idea might be that functional heads such as certain Cs or certain Clitics cannot be simultaneously filled as their specifier if they encode a property overtly realized on this specifier (here this might be Case), a sort of principle of economy minimizing use of unecessary morphophonological overtness (similar in a sense to the "avoid pronoun" principle):[26]

($N34)   Doubly filled Voice Filter

* [$_{HP}$ XP [H...]]

where H is a functional head

and both XP and H overtly encode the same property P.

Clitic doubling may arise in a language if the clitic encodes no (relevant) property that the doubling phrase expresses - that might be the case in languages such as Lebanese Arabic that have a morphologically poorer clitic system than Romance or in Spanish where the insertion of a preposition embeds XP* under a P that makes the property expressed by XP* inaccessible to ($34). Another possibility, which we will utimately reject would be to limit the scope of ($34) to overt movement. XP* raising would behave in a way similar to what is assumed of LF wh-movement (possibly because ($34) is not operative on LF or because its effects can be trivially voided by deleting a semantically empty C). Delaying XP* movement until LF would then provide a way of preventing a violation of ($34) with an overt XP* in the presence of an overt clitic.

5.2.2.   Participle Agreement

Let us now return to participle agreement within the approach of clitic construction proposed here. The basic premiss we adopt is that put forth in Kayne (1989b): participle agreement (and agreement in general) is an XP/head relation that should be handled in a similar fashion as subject/tense agreement. Given that the latter is analyzed as a spec/head relation, the former should too. Pursuing the analogy, given that the subject agrees with T, and that this analyzed as T raising to an agreement head, AGR-S, we postulate that participle agreement is triggered by the moving of a phrase through the specifier position which we call $spec_{AGR-O}$ of an agreement head AGR_O to which the participle raises.[27]

                              --agreement--
($N35)   ...[$spec_{AGR-O}$ [[participle] ..... YP.....

Here, we limit ourselves to agreement with accusative DPs. As mentioned earlier, such agreement may not take place if the accusative DP overtly follows the participle. When it does not, as in clitic constructions, agreement is possible, but not necessary, except in a more formal registers. This is illustrated below:

($N36)   a.   Jean a peint(*E) la porte

Jean painted(*FEM) the door(FEM)

b.   Jean l'a peint(E)

This optionality is actually not an isolated fact of French participle agreement. The same is true of Catalan participle agreement in clitic constructions, as discussed in Cortes (1992). It is also true of Italian participle agreement in clitic constructions when the object clitic is not a 3rd person clitic.

($N37)   a.   Giovanni la ha accusata /*accusato

Giovanni has accused(FEM/*MASC) her

b.   Maria e Paola, vi ho visto/viste

Maria and Paola, I have seen(MASC-SG/FEM-PL) you(FEM-PL)

How should we handle this optionality?

First, subject/tense agreement suggests that agreement is not optional. If the agreement configuration is met, agreement takes place. In movement theories moving the clitic from the position XP* (essentially) to its surface position, the only way to get the right result is to provide two possible movement paths, one of which may skip the position spec$_{AGR-O}$. This is the proposal put forth in Sportiche (1990) (and also in an earlier draft of the present article). Sportiche (1990) adopts Kayne's proposal that if a clitic moves, the movement must involve head movement at some point, since the clitic does end up incorporated to the verb as only a head may. To reconcile this view of clitic movement as head movement with Kayne's analysis of agreement (which assumes XP movement) as well as with the Head Movement Constraint (Head movement from XP* to its surface position would violate this condition), Sportiche (1990) proposed that clitic movement is decomposed in two different steps: a first step as phrasal movement up to a position from which the clitic may incorporate as a head to its hosts without violating the HMC. Now consider a case of an accusative clitic not triggering agreement:

($N38)   l'avoir [$_{AGRP}$ spec$_{AGR-O}$ [$_{AGR'}$ [construit] ...XP...

The clitic head of XP must move out of VP and skip spec$_{AGR-O}$ to a position from which it may incorporate to the auxiliary. Since incorporation cannot be done from within AGR', and that there is no A-position available into which XP could move, we are led to assume that XP moves to some A-bar position XP' governed by the auxiliary where from the clitic may incorporate to *avoir*. That is, we are

forced to assume that clitic movement involve A-bar movement when participle agreement fails. This predicts that Accusative Clitics should be able to license parasitic gaps from this position XP'. This consequence appears to be contradicting Chomsky's (1982) or Sportiche (1983) conclusions, according to which these clitics do not license Parasitic Gaps. We return to this problem in section 6.2.2.

Consider now the optionality problem within the framework of the analysis of clitics proposed here.

($N39) $[_{ClP}$ XP^ [[le] ...$[_{AGRP}$ spec$_{AGR-O}$ $[_{AGR'}$ ...XP*...

The clitic does not move. Only its associated XP* does.[28] Under a skipping approach to agreement failure, we may claim that XP* moves to XP^ without moving through spec$_{AGR-O}$. We do not face the potential parasitic gap problem if XP^ is an A-position. If XP^ is an A-bar position, we do. We may also propose that agreement fails because movement of XP* does not occur early enough to feed the phonology, i.e. is delayed until LF. In other words, agreement is triggered if XP* movement takes place overtly in the syntax. Agreement is not triggered if movement of XP* takes place covertly at LF.

Either option seems compatible with the function of spec$_{AGR-O}$, although the second one seems simpler: as mentioned, only accusatively Case marked NPs have access to spec$_{AGR-O}$. This restriction can be explained if object agreement and Accusative Case are two sides of the same coin. Adopting Chomsky's 1991 or Sportiche's 1990 views on the subject, we take spec$_{AGR-O}$ to be the position in which Accusative Case is obligatorily sanctioned at LF: Accusative NPs must in the end move to (or through) spec$_{AGR-O}$. If agreement is present, this means that XP* movement to XP^ through spec$_{AGR-O}$ takes place overtly. If agreement is absent, the delaying view assumes that this exact same movement is delayed until LF. The skipping view is forced to assume that XP* moves to XP^ skipping spec$_{AGR-O}$, but Accusative checking later needs to incorporate spec$_{AGR-O}$ in the movement chain (e.g. by moving the trace of XP* to spec$_{AGR-O}$).

The delaying approach (movement of XP* to XP^ is LF movement - in Chomsky's 1992 terms movemtn is procrastinated) seems more straightforward than the skipping approach and I will tentatively adopt it - at least for accusatives - for two reasons: (i) there are good grounds for believing that XP^ should count as an A-bar position - see section 7 on Dutch Scrambling (ii) Accusative clitics do not license parasitic gaps -see section 6.3. There are however a number of problems that I now mention. First, wh-movement may also optionally trigger participle agreement in a clause containing an accusative wh-trace.[29]

($N40)   Quelle maison as-tu construit(E)

               which-FEM house have-you built(FEM)

               which house did you build

In this case, movement is obviously overt. The delaying approach is thus not an option. Only the skipping option is. If the skipping option must be appealed to for wh-movement, it comes as no cost for Clitic constructions.

Secondly, if XP* movement to XP^ may be delayed until LF, we might expect clitic doubling to be allowed if the Doubly Filled Voice filter is an S-structure filter. Consequently, clitic doubling should surface in all French dialects allowing optional participial agreement with accusative clitics, a prediction contrary to fact. This indicates, in a way consistent with Chomsky's 1992 minimalist assumptions, that this filter is not specifically an S-structure filter but rather an LF filter, and this is what I will assume.

Thirdly, we have seen in section 4.2.2 that *lui* object of prepositions displays CED effects. This used to be taken as a diagnostic property of overt syntactic movement. Again, to be consistent, we must deny the validity of this conclusion, whxih raises very general problems about the apparent lack of CED effects for covert movement. We leave this general problem, which also arises as a consequence of Chomsky's 1992 proposals, unaddressed here.

5.2.3.   Stranded Quantifiers

We can now return to the properties of stranded quantifiers discussed earlier in 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. One type of problem was created by the examples:

($57)   a.   Marie les a tous pris

                  Marie took them all

          b.   Marie a toutes voulu [les manger]

                  Marie wanted to eat them all

          c.   Il a tous fallu [qu'ils parlent]

                  It was necessary that they all speak

          d.   Il a tous fallu [que Louis les lise]

                  It was necessary that Louis read them all

The analysis of clitics we propose allows a simple treatment of these facts: in all cases, XP* will be analyzed as moving to the specifier position of the Q *tous*. If *tous* is actually moved to its surface postion, we may analyze XP* as [pro_i [tous [$_{DP}$ t_i]]. This QP raises to XP^, whence it moved to its surface position by A-bar movement:[30]

($N58)   [$_{QP}$ *pro* [tous [$_{DP}$ t]]$_j$] fallu [que Louis [t_j les lise t_j]

This approach to ($57b,d) extends straightforwardly to the sentences below, which do not involve clitics modified by Qs but bare Q DPs:

($N59)   a.   Marie a tout voulu manger

                Marie wanted to eat everything

          b.   Il a tout/rien fallu [que Louis lise t]

                It was necessary that Louis read everything/nothing

                (=there is nothing that it was necessary for Louis to read)

Alternatively, we may generate *tous* in the matrix clause and raise a *pro* XP* to its specifier (whether overtly or covertly with different predictions concerning agreement, parasitic gaps...).
A similar approach extends to the problematic cases of ($26):

($26)   b.   Je leur ai offert un cadeau a tous

                 I them gave a present to all

          c.   *Ces garcons, qui j'ai offert un cadeau a tous

                 These boys, whom I have given a present to all

the obligatory vs impossible pied piping of the dative marker can now be attributed to a difference between overt and covert movement: wh-movement of the DP [a qui] must pied pipe the dative case marker. In the clitic case we may claim that overt movement is prevented by the insertion of the Dative marker *a*. The structure would include *leur...XP** with an unmoved XP* of the form [a+[$_{DP}$ pro] [tous t]].

5.3. Head movement and Clitic Placement

Our analysis of clitics imposes boundary conditions on the analysis of Clitic Climbing (and of Restructuring constructions). In what follows, we explore this issue within the context of a proposal made in Kayne (1989) as to the treatment of clitic movement and of its critique.

Clitic movement is typically clause bound, a property we have not yet discussed. In the short generative tradition, this property has most often be taken to follow from assimilating clitic placement to some kind of NP movement. This was always a problem: the locality of NP-movement used to be handled by assimilating NP-traces to anaphors, a reasonable assumption if the trace of the clitic is phrasal. However, the movement analyses typically assume that clitic placement was movement of the clitic itself, which seemed to share no other property with NP-movement than locality (which had led Sportiche, 1983, to conclude that clitic placement did not involve movement).

Theories reducing locality constraints of NP-movement rules to the ECP, such as Chomsky (1986a and 1986b) and more precisely to antecedent government do not face this problem. The apparent similarity between NP-movement and clitic placement can be derived even if clitic placement is not phrasal movement. In particular, if clitic placement is head movement, locality effects will be found too since traces of heads are subject to antecedent government as well. This is in fact the view taken in Kayne (1989). He proposes to treat clitic movement as head movement throughout: in our terms, the head of XP* moves as a head from its base position to adjoin to its host head. This view is at odds with what we are suggesting. We do treat clitics as heads. As such, they may move as heads do, and in fact they do.[31] But we claim the fundamental relation between Cl and XP* is not one of head movement. Kayne's (1989) analysis of clitic placement as head movement throughout seems to be contradicting Kayne's (1989b) proposal about participle agreement that we have adopted here. If clitic placement is head movement, agreement of the object with the participle can no longer be seen as an XP/Y^0 specifier/head relation. Furthermore, Kayne's proposal makes it surprising that participle agreement may be triggered by clitic placement, NP-movement (as in passives..) and Wh-movement, the last two being clear cases of phrasal movement (cf. section 4.2.3).

5.3.1.   Restructuring and Clitic Climbing

Kayne wants to correlate the possibility for a clitic to leave its VP, the possibility of clitic climbing in restructuring constructions (see below) and the licensing of null subjects (pro-drop) and trace them

all to the same property, namely whether or not INFL is strong enough (to make a VP boundary transparent to movement). What actually matters for Kayne's analysis is not so much that clitic movement be head movement from XP* on. Most of his proposals can be preserved if a clitic can escape its minimal VP only by head movement. What happens inside the VP is not really relevant.

Our position and his can be reconciled by altering Kayne's 1989 proposal along the lines of Sportiche (1990): as previously discussed: clitic movement could be XP movement VP internally or more precisely within AGR$_O$P - triggering agreement - followed by head movement.[32] Although this would preserve most of Kayne's 1989 analysis, it appears incompatible with the data discussed below in ($45). The main type of evidence Kayne (1989) presents to independently support the idea that clitic movement is head movement involves showing that intervening heads intercept clitic movement, an expected "minimality" effect. Below, we discuss one such case. The others could be discussed in a similar way.

There are apparent violations of the clause boundedness effect on clitic placement in so-called restructuring constructions, present in earlier stages of French and in contemporary Italian and Spanish among others.

($N41) a. Pierre le voulait [lire XP*] (* in modern French)

    Pierre it-wanted to read

  b. Gianni li vuole vedere (Italian)

    Gianni them-wants to see

  c. lo quiero ver (Spanish)

    (I) want to see him

These constructions raise many more questions that we can answer here. Here we ask what is the process by which the clitic appear in the top clause. The most common view is that the process of clitic placement in these restructuring constructions is identical to that found in simple clauses. The appearance of clitic climbing derives from the prior application of another process. This other process, Restructuring, affects the syntactic structure in such a way that normal application of clitic placement will have the clitic climbing effect. Since this scenario is independent of the precise characterization of clitic climbing, it is perfectly compatible with our analysis.[33]

Kayne (1989) suggests a substantially different view illustrated in the diagram below:

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                             ------------
($N42)               INFL  ....  [..cl+INFL   .... t  ....]
                             ---------------
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He suggests that clitic placement in Restructuring constructions is different from normal clitic placement: clitic climbing arises because these constructions involve raising of a lower INFL to a higher INFL. The clitics climb because, being adjoined to the lower INFL, they get a ride up to the higher INFL, so to speak. The central data Kayne cites supporting this proposal is due to Rizzi (1982). It shows that, in a restructuring construction of colloquial Italian,[34] an intervening head in C blocks clitic climbing, while an intervening XP in [spec,CP] does not, strongly suggesting a Head Movement Constraint effect of some sort. In this variety of Italian, we find clitic climbing out of infinitival indirect questions:

($N43)   a.   ?Mario, non lo_j saprei [a chi affidare t_j]
                    Mario, I would not know to whom to entrust him

           b.   *Su questo problema, non lo_j saprei [se consigliare t_j]
                    On this problem, I would not know whether to advise him

The significant observation is this: the complementizer *se*[35] blocks clitic climbing while the wh-phrase *a chi* does not. This is a clear indication that head movement is somehow involved, interfered with by the intervening head *se*.

For us, these data might appear at first unexpected, if we fundamentally always treat clitic placement as a case of phrasal movement rather than head movement. We would expect an intervening phrase to block clitic placement and an intervening head not to interfere. As heads, object clitics can incorporate to some head, say INFL. Thus we may in principle adopt Kayne's treatment of restructuring constructions. It would be extremely suspicious however, if the surface distribution of clitics in a restructured clause were identical to that found in a comparable simple clause even though the processes involved are fundamentally different.

Further data provide interesting clues. First of all, Rizzi (1982) reports that the data in ($43) with climbed clitics is mirrored by Object Preposing (see Burzio, 1986, Rizzi, 1978 for discussion and description of Object Preposing):

($N44)   a.   ?Certe riposte non si sanno mai come dare

Certain answers si never knows how to give

One never knows how to give certain answers

b.   *Certe riposte non si sanno mai se dare

Certain answers si never knows whether to give

One never knows whether to give certain answers

Object Preposing of this sort behaves like clitic placement: it is usually clause bound, except in clitic climbing contexts. In restructuring contexts allowing a clitic to climb out of its clause, an object may also be preposed out of its clause. Following Burzio (1986), call this Long Object Preposing (LOP). This preposing is an instance of movement to subject position of the main clause (that may occur in the presence of the clitic *si*), as evidenced by the agreement reflex on the matrix verb. Since object preposing is clearly a case of phrasal (DP) movement, why is it blocked by an intervening head and not by an intervening phrase?

From the earliest approaches to Restructuring (such as Evers, 1975, for Dutch, or Rizzi, 1978 for Italian) to recent ones (such as Kayne, 1989) Restructuring has been postulated to involve incorporation of some head from the lower clause (V, or INFL) to a head in the higher clause (V or INFL). We expect that process to be sensitive to intervening heads, and thus to be blocked by a C but not by a [spec,CP]. Taking the possibility of LOP to be contingent on Restructuring being available predicts the data: in ($44b), *se* blocks Restructuring. The context for LOP is not met.

The same line of explanation can now be applied to the cases of Clitic climbing in ($43). Clitic climbing itself is not blocked by *se*, but it may not apply if Restructuring cannot. There is no need to suppose that clitic placement itself is head movement. Furthermore our analysis can straightforwardly capture the coextensiveness of clitic climbing and LOP, since both are phrasal movement. In this connection, the facts of ($44) might appear surprising from the point of view of Kayne's proposal, or from the point of ours since we see that the intervening wh-phrase does not block phrasal movement over it. Since LOP is an instance of A-movement, this is less surprising. In the spirit of minimality

effects, we would not expect an intervening A-bar position such as [spec,CP] to interfere with A-movement.[36]

5.3.2.   Agreement and Restructuring

Not only is there no need to take clitic placement to be Head movement. There is also some evidence supporting directly supporting the idea that clitic placement must involve some phrasal movement beyond the smallest VP containing XP*. Our reinterpretation of Rizzi's data together with the analysis of clitic climbing as another instance of XP* movement predicts the clustering of clitic, wh, or NP movement constructions w.r.t. Participle agreement. Furthermore, it predicts that participle agreement should be available on either main clause or embedded clause participle in restructuring constructions, which is correct:

($N45)   a. Li_j vorrei [aver gia $[e_j]_{XP*}$ letti/*letto $[e_j]_{XP*}$]

I would want to have already read them

b. Li_j ho $[e_j]_{XP*}$ voluti/*voluto leggere $[e_j]_{XP*}$

I have wanted to read them

c.   Non li_j avrei $[e_j]_{XP*}$?saputi/*saputo a chi dare $[e_j]_{XP*}$

I would not have known to whom to give them

In all these cases, the participle must agree with the preposed clitic (remember that participle agreement is obligatory in standard Italian with 3rd person clitics), thereby demonstrating the presence of a phrasal element related to the clitic, namely XP*, in the bottom clause of a restructuring construction as in ($45a), or in the top clause, be it a regular restructuring construction as in ($45b), or an exceptional wh-island restructuring construction as in ($45c). This last case is particularly significant since we are clearly dealing with a biclausal structure. This means that clitic placement must involve moving an XP* out of a clause and a fortiori out of a VP.

6. Clitics, Binding, Parasitic Gaps and the nature of XP^

We now turn to a discussion of the properties of individual clitics in French. We essentially limit ourselves to some "Cased" clitics, i.e. Genitives, Accusatives, Datives, ignoring the clitic *se* and Predicate *le*. Nominative Clitics are discussed in Sportiche (1993a).[37]

6.1. Clitics and Binding Theory

In this section we explore how clitics interact referentially with other nominals. Non Reflexive Clitics have often been treated as pronominal elements of some sort. The main reason, which has led us to analyze XP* as *pro*, is that they are understood the way pronouns would. Another, more directly relevant reason is based on their behaviour with respect to coreference or binding with other nominals. Just like a pronoun, a clitic must disjoint in reference from a nominal c-commanding it in its clause or its governing category, but may be coreferential or bound by a more remote nominal:

($N66)   a.   Marie l'a vu

                  Marie saw her

          b.   Marie dit que le lion l'a vue

                  $Marie_j$ says that the lion saw $her_{j \text{ or } k}$

          c.   Personne ne dit que le lion l'a vue

                  $Noone_j$ says that the lion saw $her_{j \text{ or } k}$

These data do not establish whether it is the clitic itself that counts for the interaction. It may be the position of the clitic itself, it may be the position of XP*, or it may be the position XP^ (or it may be some other presumably intermediate, position, a possibility we will not consider here). Only the present approach postulates the existence of XP^. If it turned out that it is XP^, it would strongly support our approach.

First of all, note that the c-command domain of the clitic and that of XP^ are (almost) identical. If it turns out that it is one the two that is relevant for binding effects, we will not be able to decide which one is actually relevant on empirical grounds. However, simplicity considerations favor XP^: referential dependencies are minimally found between potentially denoting elements, i.e. DPs. If the clitic itself mattered, we would have to extend this to include heads. If, on the other hand, it is DP^, nothing further needs be added.

Secondly, to distinguish between XP^ and XP*, we need to find one of two configurations (given that XP^ or the clitic must c-command XP*). Find a DP c-commanding XP* but not XP^. Or, find a DP that XP^, but not XP* c-commands. It is difficult to find convincing cases of the first configuration. The second one however can be constructed in French:

($N67)   a.   Jean a presente l'auteur de ce livre$_j$ a l'editeur de ce livre$_j$

                John introduced the author of this book to the publisher of this book

          b.   Jean a presente son$_j$ auteur a l'editeur de ce livre$_j$

                John introduced its author to the publisher of this book

          c.   *Jean en$_j$ a presente l'auteur a l'editeur de ce livre$_j$

                John introduced its author to the publisher of this book

Coreference between the two DPs *ce livre* is possible as in (the admittedly awkward) ($67a), even if the first one is pronominalized to *son* (presumably a D coindexed with a *pro* in [spec,DP]) as in ($67b)). Cliticizing this first DP yields an unacceptable form. Superficially, it is the clitic that matters. We conclude that it is the position XP^ that matters for binding effects.[38] has to do with the status of the position XP^ associated with this clitic *en*. Movement to XP^ from XP* is from within a DP and thus must be A-bar movement (See, Sportiche, 1990, or Valois, 1991 for discussion. Principle C must therefore be formulated so as to require names to be A-free as well as A-bar free. The conclusion that [spec,*en*] is an A-bar position in these cases is strengthened by the inability of XP^ to provide a possible binder for an anaphoric element, since they require A-binders: *Jean$_j$ a presente [le frere de [Pierre]$_k$]$_l$ a [son propre]$_{j,*k,l}$ pere / Jean$_j$ a en$_k$ presente [le frere]$_l$ a [son propre]$_{j,*k,l}$ pere / Jean introduced the brother of Pierre to his own father*.

    To show that we are not merely dealing with a linearity effect, we should be able to reverse the judgment of ($67c) by removing the offending DP from the c-command domain of the clitic, while keeping the same relative ordering of the two, despite the right branching structure of French. The following paradigm illustrates this possibility:

($N68)   a.   Jean n'a pas critique l'auteur de ce livre [a cause de ce livre]

                Jean did not criticize the author of this book because of this book

          b.   *Jean n'en$_j$ a pas critique l'auteur [a cause de ce livre$_j$]

In ($68), coreference between the two DPs *ce livre* is possible. The sentence is ambiguous as to whether the causal adjunct is in the scope of the negation or not. We get the two readings: (i) It is not because of this book that John criticized its author, (ii) It is because of this book that John did not criticize its author. In ($68b), with the first DP cliticized as *en*, the first reading becomes more difficult

if at all available but the second remains. We may interpret this state of affairs as follows. Under the second reading, the causal adjunct is outside the scope of negation, hence outside the c-command domain of *en* (or its associated XP^. Under the first one, the causal adjunct is within the c-command domain of *en*, hence within the scope of the negation, but the corresponding reading is excluded as a Principle C effect.

The preceding reasoning, based on French, do not depend on the level at which the binding theory applies since movement of XP* to XP^ is overt in French. However, there are theoretical and empirical reasons to want the Binding theory to hold at LF. The empirical reasons are well known (reconstruction effects...). The theoretical reasons are twofold. First, Binding theory deals with matters of (possible) referential interpretation. It should therefore operate on and only operate on the level(s) relevant for referential interpretation, namely LF. Secondly, as Chomsky (1992) discusses, there are reasons to doubt the existence of a well defined level of S-structure. Since the Binding theory cannot be assumed to hold exclusively at D-structure, there are only two options: Binding Theory holds everywhere, hence at LF, or it only holds at LF. So it holds at LF. What does this mean for prohibition principles such as Principle B or C (a pronoun cannot be bound within..., a name cannot be bound..) as opposed to prescriptive principles such as principle A (an anaphor must be bound within..). This means that the prohibition must either be met at LF, or everywhere, hence at LF. In particular, the conclusion we reached for French should also hold in cases of Clitic Doubling, where raising of XP* to XP^ is delayed until LF. That is the case is shown in Varela (1988).

6.2. Clitics and Parasitic Gaps

6.2.1.   Genitive *en*

We mentioned earlier a conclusion reached in Chomsky (1982) based on Italian examples and discussed in Sportiche (1983) to the effect that Clitics do not license Parasitic Gaps. Descriptively, parasitic gaps are licensed in the following S-structure configurations (linear order irrelevant):

($N69)   .... A-bar binder .... RG .....[... PG ...]$_K$

Where the A-bar binder binds both gaps, and there is no c-command between the real gap (RG) and the parasitic gap (PG). IF K is the most inclusive constituent containing PG but not RG, overt movement

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from the position PG must be possible to a position immediately dominated by K (See Aoun and Clark's 1985 A-bar anaphor treatment, or Chomsky's 1986a 0-subjacency treatment for discussion). This last condition was not recognized at the time of Chomsky (1982). Some clitics do license parasitic gaps. Using again the genitive clitic *en*, we have grammatical forms such as:

(\$N70)   a.   Marie en$_j$ a presente [le frere e$_j$] a [la soeur e$_j$]

Marie of-him introduced the brother to the sister

b.   *Marie en$_j$ a presente [le frere e$_j$] a [cette soeur e$_j$]

Marie of-him introduced the brother to this sister

c.   dont$_j$ Marie a presente [le frere e$_j$] a [la soeur e$_j$]

of whom Marie introduced the brother to the sister

In (\$70a), *en* is interpreted as linked both to the argument of *brother* and the argument of *sister*. The second gap is inaccessible to movement of *en*, being in a PP. But movement within the PP must be unimpeded, as exemplified by the unacceptability of (\$70b) under the relevant reading, in which the demonstrative *cette* blocks DP internal movement (see previous discussion in 4.2.2). This kind of sentences is very closely reminiscent of sentences of the type (\$70c) with wh-movement, extensively studied in Tellier (1991), and convincingly analyzed there as involving parasitic gaps. They essentially behave in identical ways, apart from the differences due to the position of the A-bar binder, i.e. wh in [spec,CP] vs *en*.

A number of important conclusions flow from these observations. First, just as in the case of the binding theoretic argument of the previous section, we may simply attribute this licensing of parasitic gaps to the presence of the appropriate A-bar binder XP^. Alternatively, we may envision extending the theory of parasitic gaps licensers to include (certain kinds of) heads. But again, this last move appears otherwise unmotivated.

We conclude that the existence of parasitic gaps with *en* shows that:

(i) *en* clitic placement is actually phrasal movement

(ii) [spec, *en*] is an A-bar position.

Because of uniformity we certainly want to extend these two conclusions to all clitics. Extending the first is what we have been proposing here. Extending the second raises some difficulties concerning parasitic gaps with Accusative clitics which we now discuss.

6.2.2.   Accusatives and Parasitic Gaps

By uniformity, we would like treat all [spec,ClP] as A-bar positions and not A-positions. This conclusion is probably incorrect for clitics not linked to Case such as Reflexives *se*, which we will ignore here. As for Cased clitics, they do not do not seem to license parasitic gaps except of course for *en*. Concerning 3rd pers Datives, we will conclude that XP^ is an A-position. At any rate, the question only arises for accusatives, because, for a variety of reasons, the relevant configurations are difficult or impossible to construct with others clitics.[39]

An illustration of this failure for Accusatives is found in Chomsky (1982), based on some data of Luigi Rizzi's given below (RG=t, PG=e):

($N71)   a. I libri che li dobbiamo far mettere t nello scaffale [invece di lasciare e sul tavolo]

les livres que nous devons lui faire mettre t sur l'etagere au lieu de laisser t sur la table

the books that we must make him put on the shelf instead of leaving on the table

b. Glieli dobbiamo far mettere t nello scaffale [invece di lasciare e sul tavolo]

Nous devons les lui faire mettre t sur l'etagere au lieu de laisser e sur la table

we must make him put them on the shelf instead of leaving on the table

($71a) is acceptable, ($71b) is not. In essentials, the relevant structure is ($N72):

($72)   .

.

.   K

.

gli (li) dobbiamo far   mettere t   invece di lasciare e

In ($71a), *t* is bound by the relative operator, which also c-commands *e*. Neither *e* nor *t* c-commands the other, and *e* is free to move up within K.[40] Let us consider the clausal structure more carefully. Four positions are relevant: XP^, XP*, PG and [spec,AGR$_O$P].

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(\$N73)   AccV

     XP^   Acc'

       Acc   ...AGR$_O$P

       le   [spec,AGR$_O$P]   AGR$_O$'

             AGR$_O$ .... XP*   PG
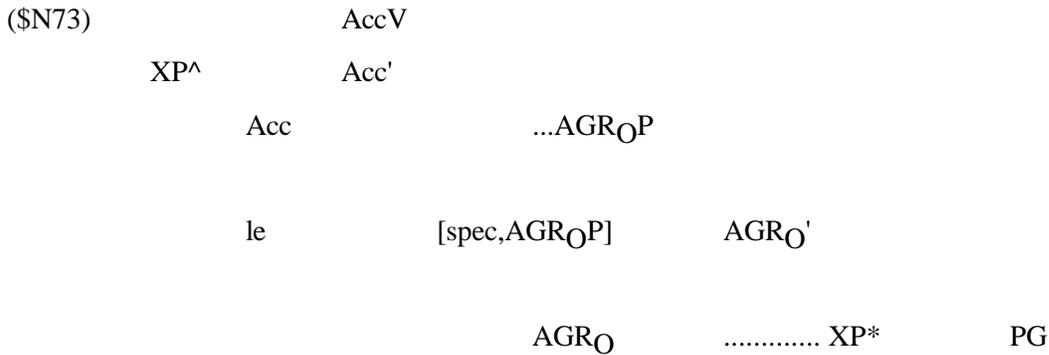
We know that [spec,AGR$_O$P] is an A-position (as it may be an intermediate landing site for raising to subject). At LF, we must have a chain (XP^, [spec,AGR$_O$P], XP*) to both license Accusative Case and the clitic. If movement of XP* to XP^ is overt and if XP^ is an A-bar position, we should expect parasitic gaps to be licensed, even in simple clauses, contrary to fact viz. *Louis les a offense(s) en insultant / Louis offended them by insulting (them).*

In order to circumvent this problem, we may try either to argue that XP^ is not an A-bar position or that raising of XP* to XP^ must be delayed until LF. As mentioned earlier I will argue that the Accusative XP^ must be an A-bar position; I thus suggest adopting the second option. That raising of an accusative XP* may be delayed until LF is independently motivated by the optionality of participle agreement. However we must now argue that raising of XP* to XP^ <u>must</u> be delayed until LF in French (otherwise PG should be licensed when movement is overt) even when participle agreement obtains. This is because participle agreement does not seem to interfere with PG licensing: Parasitic gaps may be licensed whether agreement obtains or not viz. wh-movement of a direct object XP* to [spec,CP] as *?Quelles maisons as-tu construit(es) sans habiter /which houses have you built-(Fem) without inhabiting*. This means that (i) movement of XP* to [spec,AGR$_O$P] may take place overtly, (ii) it does not license parasitic gaps (this is consistent with its A-position status) (iii) it does not force movement to XP^.

In sum, French (or Italian) Accusative clitics do not license PGs because they involve LF raising to XP^. This means that there is no principled bar against accusative clitics licensing PG. They should in a language or in a construction where overt movement of XP* to XP^ is possible. This is for example the case of French genitive Clitics. It is also the case with Accusative Scrambling in Dutch which we later argue can be viewed as overt movement of XP* to XP^=[spec,AccP] (via [spec,ARG$_O$P]), where

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XP^ is the specifier of a silent clitic head. The relevant fact here is that Accusative Scrambling does license PGs, i.e. XP^ is an A-bar position.

6.3. The nature of XP^

We may now turn to question ($29v). ($N76) lists a number of properties distinguishing A and A-bar positions:

($76)   i.   Movement to an A-position obeys the SSC, not movement to an A-bar position.

ii.   Movement to an A-position must be from an A-position, movement to an A-bar position may be from an A-bar or an A-position.

iii. Movement to an A-position must be from a Caseless position, movement to an A-bar position can be from a Case position (and must be, if it is from an A-position).

iv. An A-position can be a Case position, an A-bar position cannot be.

v.   Movement to an A-bar position but not to an A-position licenses parasitic gaps.

vi. Movement to an A-position does not create Weak Crossover effects, movement to an A-bar position may, (if the moved element is not "referential").[41]

vii. A-positions qualify as binders for lexical anaphors, A-bar positions may not.

6.3.1.   Genitives

The conclusion that $XP^\wedge_{en}$ = [spec,*en*] is an A-bar position and only an A-bar position is consistent with all these properties. Corresponding to the list in ($76), we find:

i.   It does not obey the SSC (*Marie en croit [Louis capable t] / Marie of-it believes Louis capable.*

ii.   Movement to it is from an A-bar position: extraction out of DP must be through [spec,DP], an A-bar position (cf. Sportiche, 1990, Valois, 1991).

iii. Genitive Case is assigned DP internally: movement to $XP^\wedge_{en}$ is from a DP-internal Case position.

iv.   same as above

v.   parasitic gaps: as discussed above

vi.   irrelevant: XP^ is *pro*, hence referential.

vii. movement to XP^$_{en}$ does not provide an antecedent for lexical anaphors, as noted previously:

*Jean$_j$ a presente [le frere de [Pierre]$_k$]$_l$ a [son propre]$_j$, *$_k,l$ pere / Jean$_j$ a en$_k$ presente [le frere]$_l$ a [son propre]$_j$, *$_k,l$ pere / Jean introduced the brother of Pierre to his own father.*

6.3.2. Accusatives

The behaviour of Accusative clitics suggest this conclusion should be extended to them. Accusative Case is assigned independently of and lower than the specifier of its clitic voices. Movement to these specifiers is thus movement from (or through) Cased positions, indicating that these specifiers are A-bar positions. We have already discussed parasitic gaps only relevant with accusatives. Weak Cross Over is irrelevant as in the case of *en*. It is at best difficult to construct relevant examples to test criterion (vii).[42]

The only criterion that might favor the idea that the specifier of these clitics is an A-position is (i). We may distinguish between violations of the SSC and intervention effects of INFL or T. The SSC cases discussed in section 4.2.1 does not distinguish between the two since the INFL of the embedded clause might be rich enough to block clitic placement, since an intervening INFL system (e.g. the presence of T or similar elements) seems to block all clitic movement. Given the other criteria, we conclude that XP^ of Accusatives is an A-bar position.

6.3.3. Locatives

The case of locatives would seem to lead to the same conclusion, if the question makes sense. There is no principled reason why the specifiers of clitic voices should be DPs or should be allowed to contain DPs. The properties of all other clitics we have so far discussed does suggest that XP^ in these cases are DPs. If locatives are also DPs, the specifier of locative *y* would seem to be best analyzed as an A-bar position, since *y* placement violates the SSC. The SSC itself is surely violated with *en*, as seen above. Examples similar to (*Marie en croit [Louis capable t] / Marie of-it believes Louis capable* violating the SSC can be constructed for the clitic *y* (*Louis croit [Marie fidele a ses idees] / Louis y croit [Marie fidele] (Louis believes Marie faithful to her ideas/ Louis there believes Marie faithful)* with the locative extracted from inside the small clause).

6.3.4. Datives

Turning now to datives, a different picture emerges. The dative object of an adjective can cliticize:

($N77)   a.   Marie$_j$ lui est [t$_j$ toute devouee]

          Marie is entirely devoted to him/her

        b.   Marie *lui/*me croit [Louis tout devoue]

          Marie believes Louis entirely devoted to him/me

        c.   A qui Marie croit-elle [Louis tout devoue]

          To whom does Marie believe Louis entirely devoted to

The unacceptability of ($77b) suggests that Dative clitics are subject to the SSC. The minimal constrast of dative clitics in ($77b) with Datives wh-phrases ($77c) further supports singling out Dative clitic placement as A-movement, since it is demonstrably diverging from wh-movement w.r.t. to SSC configurations.[43] Although this might seem inconsistent with the facts of ($77a), where a dative clitic has moved over (the trace of) a subject, Rizzi (1986) has argued that those were restructured constructions thus resolving the inconsistency (cf. also Stowell 1991). Taking seriously the other criteria in ($76), we have to conclude that movement of a Dative XP* to [spec,*lui*] must be from a Caseless position. To accomodate this consequence, I suggest treating the Dative Voice not as a clitic voice but rather as the dative equivalent of AGR_O or AGR_S, i.e. as the locus of assignment, or checking of Dative Case, in effect then AGR_{IO} (Indirect object agreement).[44]

6.3.5.   Summary

Overall, we have the following picture in French: different clitics differ as to the A/A-bar status of the specifier of their Voice, and whether or not they allow (or require) overt raising of their associated XP* to their XP^. Both *en* and *le,la,les* (as well as *il* if Sportiche, 1993 b is correct) have A-bar specifiers, while *lui,leur* have A-specifiers. Furthermore, movement of a genitive XP* to the specifier of *en* may (must?) take place overtly, while movement is necessarily covert for Accusative XP*. In the case of Datives, we have seen some evidence in 5.2.3 that movement may be delayed until LF. As we will see, the discussion of the function of Clitic voices provide independent reasons to treat the specifiers under discussion as A-bar positions. So does the analysis of Scrambling in Dutch in section 7 as XP* movement in our terms, since Scrambling does license PGs.

Two issues remain unresolved that have much larger implications than the analysis of clitics proper. First, the issue of the locality of clitic placement to an A-bar XP^, sensitive to what we have called intervening INFL material remains unsettled. It should be noted that the very same question arises for other processes, most notably here for the locality of Scrambling in Dutch, but in general for some cases of long distance anaphora (cf. Koster and Reuland, 1991) and such dependencies as that between the negative head *ne* and negative quantifiers like *personne*. Second, the treatment of apparent differences in properties between overt and covert movement, be they sensitivity to the CED, licensing of parasitic gaps..., is left open.

7. Scrambling in Dutch, The Clitic Criterion and Specificity

7.1. Dutch Scrambling

In this section, we briefly discuss Dutch Scrambling, and show why it can be analyzed exactly like Clitic constructions in French (possibly all the same conclusions would hold of German, given Moltmann, 1990). Let us begin by summarizing the findings of Koopman (1988) on direct objects on which the following discussion relies entirely.

7.1.1. Accusative Scrambling

Throughout this section, we limit the discussion to direct objects. Dutch has clitic objects. Specific full DP objects, non specific objects and clitic objects (pronominal and specific) all have a different distribution. Non clitic specific objects must occur higher than than the negative marker *niet* and may occur lower or higher than adverbs such as *waarschijnlijk*. Clitics must occur higher than all of these different elements. We illustrate these observations now (with examples from Koopman, 1988 throughout):[45]

($N84)   a.   Hij heeft 't waarschijnlijk (*'t) niet (*'t) gezien

                    He has   it probably   not seen

        b.   Hij heeft Jan waarschijnlijk (Jan) niet (*Jan) gezien

                    He has   J probably   J   not seen

Non specific objects must occur essentially what appears to be VP initially. Furthermore, they must follow VP external particles, such as the negative particle *niet*, sentential adverb such as *waarschijnlijk (probably)* or particles such as *maar (but), toch, nu (yet), al (already), eens (once).*

($N85)   a.   Pak   't maar /maar *'t

Take it but "Go ahead, take it"

b.   Pak dat boekje maar (?*dat boekje)

Take that book "maar"

c.   Pak maar een boekje/ (*een boekje maar)

Take "maar" a book

Koopman concludes[46] that besides the base position for objects, three positions are needed: one VP initially (for case assignment reasons, she claims) where non specific objects occur, one for specific objects (which she claims is high enough to be governed by a - sometimes covert - inflectional head) and one for the clitics (which she claims are incorporated to this inflectional head) as in the diagram below in ($N86a) which we compare with the analysis of French given in and repeated here as ($86b):

($86)   a. $[_{IP}$ $[_{I'}$ $[$ CL+$[_I$ $]$ <u>specifics</u> maar niet $[_{VP}$ <u>non-specifics</u>

b.   F CL avoir pas AGR$_O$ PM Verb

The analysis of Romance clitics we have pursued so far as well as the structural analysis of the middle field of a French clause provides an interpretation of the data consistent with Koopman's conclusions: we can take the VP initial position to which non specific raise to from their VP internal base positions to be [spec,AGR$_O$P], where Accusative Case is assigned/sanctioned (Dutch differs in that respect from French in requiring S-structure movement to this position). The position of specifics is nothing else but XP^=[spec,*het*], i.e. the specifier of the Accusative Voice. In Dutch, as in French, the Doubly Filled Voice Filter is operative, preventing simultaneous appearance of the clitic and the Accusative specific object. If the object is null, the clitic head of the accusative Voice reappears, but just like in French, must incorporate to a higher functional projection. The fact that the adverb *waarschijnlijk* may either preceded or follow XP^ simply indicates that it does not interfere with the government by this Functional head of the Clitic Voice and its head.

Note finally that this Clitic Voice in Dutch must appear quite high in the structure, and in particular higher than the position of the negative *niet*. If Sportiche (1993a) is correct in analyzing *niet* as a negative adverb corresponding to French *pas* and not to French *ne*, we have some justification for taking the position of the clitic Voices in French to be where we assumed they were in 5.1.2.

7.1.2.   Dative Scrambling

Dutch has dative clitic pronouns appearing in the same position as other clitics as shown in ($N87a).[47] Datives can also scramble, much like accusatives. When they are specific they must move out of the VPs to a position adjacent to that hosting scrambled accusatives. There are several differences with Accusatives. First, Datives must move in front of such particles as *maar* even if they are not specific. And they must always precede the direct object, if there is one. In particular, if a specific direct object has been scrambled, the indirect object, whether specific or not must precede it. These observations are illustrated in ($87 b,c). Finally, Datives do not license Parasitic Gaps, whether scrambled or not.

($87)   a.   Hij heeft 'm waarschijnlijk (*'m) deze brief niet (*'m) geschreven

            He has to-him probably this letter not written

        b.   Hij heeft Jan deze brief waarschijnlijk niet geschreven

            Hij heeft Jan waarschijnlijk deze brief niet geschreven

        ?*Hij heeft deze brief waarschijnlijk Jan niet geschreven

        ?*Hij heeft waarschijnlijk deze brief Jan niet geschreven

            He probably has not written this letter to Jan

        c.   Verzoek iemand maar om uit te stappen

        ?*Verzoek maar iemand om uit te stappen

            Ask someone to get off

Besides the failure to license parasitic gaps, which cannot be made much of in the present context since datives seem to fail to license PGs quite generally, these facts can get a straightforward interpretation within the system of assumptions we have developed here.

We analyze scrambling of Datives as movement to the specifier XP^ of the Dative Voice, headed by a (covert) dative clitic. Suppose, as we have discussed for French, that the dative clitic is in fact heading AGR_{IO}. We expect the dative object to move overtly to [spec,AGR_{IO}P]. Indeed the fact that direct objects must, when non specific, occur VP initially (in fact in [spec,AGR_O] as discussed above) indicates that Case licensing in Dutch must be satisfied at S-structure. If the AGR_{IO} projection is higher than the Accusative Voice in Dutch, an indirect object will have to scramble out of VP to a position preceding that of specific direct objects.

7.1.3. Scrambling, Parasitic Gaps and Locality

If Accusative Scrambling is nothing else than movement to XP^, the fact that it licenses parasitic gaps as noted by Bennis and Hoekstra (1984):

($N88) dat ik deze boeken [zonder t in te kijken] aan Jan doorverkoop

that I these books without   in to look   to J   sell

that I sold these books without looking into (them)

support the conclusion that XP^ may be an A-bar position. Furthermore, the fact that Scrambling is local despite being movement to an A-bar position, and the fact that it is local in the same way as clitic placement (i.e. is apparently blocked by a certain type of INFL material - Accusative Scrambling may violate the SSC but may not violate the "Tensed S Condition".) makes our conclusions concerning the locality of clitic placement and the need to appeal to some additional locality principle more plausible (although unfortunately not explained).

7.2. The Clitic Criterion and the Function of Clitic Projections

7.2.1. Licensing Specificity

So far, we have only assumed clause (i) of the Clitic Criterion:

($31)   Clitic Criterion

At LF

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

There is one property of Dutch Scrambling that we have left unaccounted for, namely the fact that Accusative or Dative specific DPS must raise to XP^. I suggest that we derive this property by enforcing clause (ii) of the Clitic criterion above, choosing the property [+F] to be specificity. This means that at LF, specific DPs will have to raise to their corresponding XP^.[48] will go through. In other words, as Sportiche (1993a) proposes, just like [+wh] Cs license wh-phrases, and [+neg] heads license negative quantifiers and polarity items, [+focus] heads (overtly realized as a particle in various languages such as Chinese *shi* -cf. Chiu, 1992- and phonologically realized in intonational contour in English or French) license focalized items..., some clitics (in French *il, le, en*, i.e. clitics "with" structural Case - Nominative, Acccusative, Genitive) license specificity in DP's. This provides an answer to question (\$29iii).

   If this approach is on the right track, we need to reformulate somewhat the Clitic Criterion. In Dutch, specificity is licensed within particular projections the heads of which are not necessarily clitics. They may in fact be silent. Upon reflection, it is clear that the fact that the heads of these projections are clitics in French is accidental. Anticipating on Sportiche (1993a), we replace (\$31) with (\$N89). There is a set of properties $P_1...P_n$, that phrasal categories may have or lack (such as Specificity, Wh, Neg, Focus, Scope, ...) which we denote by assigning these categories the features $[+/-F_1],...,[+/-F_n]$. If $[+/-F]$ is a representative of such features:

(\$89)   <u>Generalized Licensing Criterion</u>

At LF

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

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

If [+F] denotes specificity, the corresponding heads in French will either be clitics or possibly silent (see below in next section). In Dutch, the corresponding head will be clitics in case the specific element is *pro*. If the specific phrase to license is lexical, the corresponding head is silent. From this perspective, we can return   to CL.D problems # 1 from section 5.2.1. Since pronouns are

quintessentially specific DPs, we expect that if anything is doubled, i.e. singled out as specific by a clitic marking specificity, it will at least include the archetype of specific DPs, i.e. pronouns.

Generalizing the Clitic Criterion so that it, Rizzi's wh-criterion (and Haegeman and Zanuttini's Neg Criterion, etc..) are special cases of a more general licensing requirement fits well with our conclusions that XP^ is an A-bar position. All the other cases involve operators of some sorts which, because of the respective criterions will have to be in a specifier /head relationship with their licensing head. As operators, they should, we expect, end up at LF in an A-bar position (as is certainly the case both wh-phrases and negative quantifiers). If the analogy is indeed to be complete, we expect XP^ to be an A-bar position.[49]

7.2.2. Datives, Clitics and Agreement

Not all elements classified as objects clitics license specificity. Although all object clitics in French do, it is not telling since the only doubled elements are (silent) pronouns anyway.[50] Cross Romance data consistently suggests that Dative clitics, as opposed to others are not bijectively linked to specificity (See, Suner, 1988, 1992, for Spanish or Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, for Romanian). This suggests that we should be extend to other Romance languages the conclusion we reached for French (and Dutch), that is that a Dative clitic is not like other clitics, which head specificity licensing projections with A-bar specifiers. Rather a Dative clitic is the head of an agreement projection devoid of interpretive consequences, and assigning or licensing Dative Case in its A-position specifier.[51]

Of course, this does not exclude the existence of a projection licensing specificity in Datives. In fact, because of the GLC ($89), such a projection is required. This means that in the functional system of a clause, two systems of projections coexist: Case licensing Projections and Specificity Licensing projections. This considerably complicates the question of explanatory adequacy raised in the introduction. Limiting ourselves to Nominative, Accusative and Datives, we have as many as six functional projections. This raises a number of new questions which we will not adress here: Which ones overtly occur? On what basis does the language learner decide the answer to the previous question? Why is specificity licensing Case driven?

From a broader perspective, it is the question of the synchronic and diachronic relationship between agreement and clitics that is raised. Fundamentally, our answer is that they are identical, both being heads agreeing with phrasal specifiers. They also differ. Agreement, as is clear from French

subject/verb agreement or participial agreement imposes no particular interpretive requirement on the agreeing DP, while some clitics obviously do, namely specificity. Another related aspect is that Clitic Voices have A-bar specifier, while AGRPs have A-specifier. Finally, a clitic linked to a DP is typically unique, while a same DP can trigger agreement on several different categories (as e.g. passivized objects triggerring agrreement on both T and on participles).[52] This is consistent with the many traditional proposals making agreement as weakened pronouns

8. Concluding Remarks

8.1. On Related Questions and Proposals

The ideas presented here concerning clitic constructions have consequences or suggest research directions for a number of open questions which we will not pursue in detail here.[53] Three of the most lively research question relating to clitic constructions that we have not adressed here are the interaction of clitic doubling with Weak Cross Over discussed for example in Suner (1988, 1992) and Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) and Clitic Left Dislocation Constructions discussed by Cinque (1990) and elsewhere, which we have briefly alluded to, and the general problem of Scrambling crosslinguistically.

8.1.1.   Clitic Left Dislocation

From the present perspective, it is tempting to take Clitic Left Dislocation (in Italian or Greek) to be similar to the kind of clitic doubling found in French with Quantifiers to the left of the clitic, i.e. obligatory movement of the doubled element to or beyond the specifier of the clitic it is associated with, because "true" clitic doubling is not allowed. The specifier of the clitic voice would provide the position Iatridou (1990) postulates exists wherefrom the dislocated constituent is moved in her analysis of this construction in Greek.

8.1.2.   Weak Cross Over

It should be clear how the present proposals affect WCO. Clitics may have either free A-positions or specific A-bar positions as specifiers and are quite high in the structure of the clause: depending on

what kind of specifiers a particular clitic has, the effects on Weak Crossover of the existence of this position will be radically different. Roughly, we expect specificity inducing clitics to remove WCO effects entirely, probably because the doubled element simply does not qualify as WCO inducer (see Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, or Lasnik and Stowell, 1991 for discussion): this is what is reported to take place by Suner (1988) (the same is true of Romanian accusative doubling):[54]

($N91) a. [A cuales de ellos]$_j$ no los aguanta ni su$_j$ madre

Which ones of them can't even their mother stand

b. [A cuales de ellos]$_j$ dijo su$_j$ madre que no los aguanta

which ones of them did their mother say that she can't stand

On the contrary, we expect non specificity inducing clitic doubling such as Dative doubling in Spanish to possibly remove WCO within its clause but not beyond (much as discussed in Mahajan (1990) in a slightly different setting). This appears to be found in Spanish and (for some speakers of) Romanian in which the b example is less acceptable than the a example:

($N92) a. A quien$_j$ le$_j$ hablo su$_j$ madre

who to-him speaks his mother

b. A quien$_j$ dice su$_j$ madre que le$_j$ dieron un premio

who says his mother that to-him they-will-give a prize

The straightforward interpretation is that the pronoun *su* in the a sentence is bound from an A-position in the a sentence, namely the specifier of the dative clitic voice. No WCO effect arises. In the b sentence, there is no such available A-position (the relevant specifier is in the embedded clause), and the WCO effect reappears.

8.1.3.   Scrambling and Agreement

It should be apparent that some of the ideas that we have presented here have been anticipated in different forms. The approach to clitic (doubling) emphasizing the agreement relation between the clitic and the doubled element such as Strozer (1976), Rivas (1977), Sportiche (1983) or Suner (1988) would naturally lead to our proposal, if the contemporary construal of agreement is taken seriously.

On the question of the analysis of Scrambling, the works of Koopman (1988) on the internal structure of VP in Dutch or that of Mahajan (1990) on Scrambling and Case assignment in Hindi are prominent precursors. Expressed in our terms, Mahajan's analysis of Hindi assimilates AGR_OP and Accusative Voice, leading to the view that Accusative Case is assigned differently to specific DPS and non specific DPs. If we are correct, this view is inadequate for Romance languages as there is no more specificity requirement for accusative objects triggering object agreement (See Sportiche, 1990, for examples) than there is a specificity requirement for nominative subjects triggering agreement on verbs/tense. More generally, we want to keep Accusative Case assignment and Accusative Voice separate. Given the existence in Hindi of participial agreement similar to that found in Romance, we will want as we do in French, take AGR_O to materialize as participial agreement in Hindi. We then might reinterpret Mahajan's work as providing substantial and independent support for the existence of an Accusative Voice. Mahajan (1990) also postulates a relationship between the landing site of Scrambling (his Argument shift) and some agreement projection (his AGR_O which is a conflation of our AGR_O and clitic), and suggests a typology of scrambling roughly distinguishing between clause bound Scrambling (his argument shift) and non clause bound scrambling (his adjunction to XP scrambling). As Dutch illustrates, there seems to be two types of (clause bound) scrambling: one for Case assignment purposes to an AGR projection, and one for Specificity Reasons to a (clitic) Clitic Voice. It is tempting to recast the results of recent work on Scrambling in the Germanic languages and the dichotomy found there (see Vikner, 1990) in terms of whether movement is to an Agreement Projection (A-movement) or to a Voice Projection (A-bar movement), and distinguishing both from the kind of unbounded scrambling more akin to English Topicalization.

8.1.4.   Summary and Problems

First of all, we analyze clitics as agreement heads or morphemes. Each clitic heads its own projection, which we call a Clitic Voice and, in a way similar to the general treatment of agreement between a head and a phrase, agrees wit its specifier. This specifier is in turn linked by a movement dependency with the argument position the clitic agrees with.

Beyond this fundamental uniformity, clitics split in two classes depending on whether they have interpretive import or not.

When they do not (datives in Romance), we observe a number of correlated properties. Their associated argument (XP*) is not required to display any particular interpretive property. Their

specifier (XP^) is an A-position. The XP^/XP* relation is subject to the SSC. The movement from XP* to XP^ does not license parasitic gaps and may relieve weak crossover effects only in restricted configurations.

When they do (accusatives in Romance), their associated argument is required to be specific. Their specifier (XP^) is an A-bar position. The XP^/XP* relation is not subject to the SSC (although it is not unbounded). The movement from XP* to XP^ licenses parasitic gaps and relieve weak crossover effects throughout.

We leave a number of questions open and observations unaccounted for. We offer no reason why is there such a uniformity across the Romance languages in treating Datives as Agreement and Accusatives as a Specificity licenser. This is particularly striking given that, for example, doubling of direct objects in Rio de la Plata Spanish starts behaving like doubling of indirect objects if the doubling clitic is Dative like (the so-called *leismo*).

Similarly, we claim that Specifity of DPs is always licensed through movement to the specifier of an appropriate head. This was partly motivated by the obligatoriness of Scrambling in Dutch. Yet not all specific DPs overtly (must) scramble. We have no account of this disparity (although here an analogy with wh-movement with or without pied piping is obviously promising).

8.2. Conclusion: Modularity and Uniformity of Licensing

Beyond the particular problem of clitics, this proposal instantiates the general approach presented in Sportiche (1993a) according to which all non strictly local dependencies are of the same structural type. Taking phrases (such as DPs) to be a matrix of properties, some lexical and some "scopal" in a general sense, the fundamental idea can be formulated as requiring that every single scopal property of every phrase must be satisfied in a specifier/head relationship with an appropriate head whose unique function is the licensing of this particular property very much the way wh-movement is thought of. The centerpiece of this conception is the Generalized Licensing Criterion given in ($89), which proposes a fundamentally uniform approach to property licensing. At the same time, this conception yields a highly modular view of constituent structure in which the organization of a clause can be seen as made of a succession of groups of projections, each meant to license a particular property type. Thus for French, we have roughly the following clausal organization:

Operator licensing   Case licensing   Thematic Licensing

WH   NEG   SPECIFICITY   AGR-S AGR-IO AGR-O VP

C   ne   Clitics   Agreement   lexical projection

where the projections for operator-like property licensing are the highest and projections licensing thematic properties the lowest.

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[1]Note that Sportiche alone, it seems, has argued for both positions: some burden is on him to reconcile these two positions.

[2]The base generation analysis could be salvaged if the [sc] in ($15) were a PRO: it could be ruled out by the "PRO Theorem". Because Ps are governors (if not proper governors), this appears dubious, unless as Jaeggli (1982) has argued, a clitic may absorb the government property of the predicate selecting

XP*, here of the P. This view is criticized in Sportiche, 1983, on the grounds that Government is a configurational property, not a lexical property. Furthermore, the evidence Jaeggli bases his case on is inconclusive, as shown by Suner, 1988 (cf. also Borer, 1983).

[3]More precisely, if the XP could bind [spec,DP].

[4]We have not yet discussed what kind of movement clitic movement could be. See 6.3.

[5]This proposal might find direct support even in French as non stranded Qs are pronounced *tous ([tu])/all-masc, toutes ([tut])/all-fem*, but stranded Qs are *tous ([tus], toutes ([tout])*. The difference in form for the masculine form can be taken to indicate that number agreement between the Q and the DP only occurs under stranding, in a way reminiscent of the Hebrew data. Note that gender agreement seems to obtain regardless of stranding, a surprising fact under this view but not unlike subject verb agreement in standard Arabic in the SV and VS orders (cf. Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche, to appear, for discussion).

[6]The distinction corresponds to the distinction made in Kayne, 1984, chapter 4, between Q as anaphors and Q as quantifiers. Our discussion in this section can be seen as an update of this distinction in the framework of Sportiche, 1988.

[7]The c and d cases are perfectly acceptable for me. They are sometimes judged as ?. Movement out of a clause is only possible from infinitivals or subjunctives.

[8]At the latest. If the analysis of the [tu]/[tus] alternation is correct, this configuration will have to have been reached by S-structure.

[9]I report my own judgements here, at the "standard" register. So far as I can tell, they hold for all cases involving dative clitics e.g. indirect objects, affected objects of locative prepositions (*Je leur ai tire dessus/I shot at them*), and inalienable possession constructions - see Vergnaud and Zubizaretta, 1991 - (*Les livres lui sont tombes des mains/ the books fell from his hands*). In that, I differ from what is reported in Kayne, 1975, (e.g. he gives *cela leur est tous arrive* as deviant. It is fine for me) who paints a much more complicated and much more dialectally detailed situation.

[10]We update his proposals, essentially in the way we construe his Q-post.

[11]Kayne also proposes that the clitic/XP* relation is head movement, a view to which we return below in 5.3.1

[12]This analysis is a contemporary instantiation of Sportiche's 1983 analysis, which argues that (i) the clitic is a morpheme not occupying a phrasal position (i.e. a head, in contemporary terms) (ii) its relation with its associated argument is one of agreement (which is now instantiated as spec/head). Sportiche's

1983 analysis of clitics conformed almost exactly to the schema adopted here, in a way reminiscent of Kayne's 1972 analysis of French subject clitic constructions.

[13]By extending a usage adopted in some French traditional grammars for Reflexive Clitics and in some Spanish traditional grammars for Accusative Clitics as well (cf. the references in Suner, 1988). There is also a theoretical rational to lump together active, passive, reflexive and other clitic voices discussed in Sportiche 1993a.

[14]This is the part that does not necessarily apply to *se* constructions.

[15]Sportiche 1993a argues that this analogy is far from accidental and extends to all other type of non local head/phrase or phrase/phrase relations.

[16]We add this second clause for symmetry at this point. It will be discussed in section 7.

[17]I use "overt movement" to mean syntactic movement, i.e. feeding the phonology, as opposed to LF movement, which doesn't, even if the moved category is covert.

[18]But not identical to as agreement morphemes: clitics possess properties other than regular subject or object agreement morphemes that make them akin to pronouns.

[19]Given the discussions of Kayne (1975, 1990) and Rizzi (1986), it seems that Nominative clitics are not syntactic clitics (except the indefinite *on* or in certain constructions like Complex Inversion). Their distribution is discussed in Sportiche, 1993b).

[20]Thus I assume that AGRo is not involved at all, based on the fact that it must be available for participle agreement on a participle.

[21]the order (ne)-Cl+AUX_1+Inf-(pas)-(AUX_2)-Verb is also marginally possible (cf. Pollock, 1990), but irrelevant here

[22]The idea would presumably to reduce the scope of the mirror principle to inflectional morphemes, which are we may analyze as morphemes subcategorized by the hosting head. Because clitics are not litterally inflectional morphemes, they would be ignored. Thus they would behave in a way analogous to phrasal adjuncts, which, even though they may intervene in a string, do not interrupt government or selection. This specific relaxations of the HMC w.r.t. to clitics would take the following form: we woudl presumbly place the object clitic projection just below or just above T; in a relativized minimality spirit we would allow the verb to raise beyond ClPs to some higher projection (T or AGRs) to which the clitics may then incorporate.

[23]See Sportiche, 1993a, for arguments to the effect that *ne*, the head of NegP is higher than AGRs.

[24]This standard description is somewhat incorrect if it is taken to mean that the XP* must be null, as is shown by doubling of clitics by stranded quantifiers.

[25]Another candidate (which seems true of Romance and is related to problem #2 below in the text): if Clitic doubling is allowed of Accusatives, it is allowed of Datives (but not vice versa).

[26]The idea that XP*/XP^ coexist with a clitic only one of which may surface is not unlike Kayne, 1972 analysis of French subject clitic constructions. A similar idea with wh-movement is developped in Cheng (1991). At this point the formulation in ($34) is tentative in particular concerning the set of relevant properties that ($34) is sensitive to.

[27]This view is essentially Kayne's (op.cit). Many questions relating to object agreement will not be adressed here. A detailed look at this proposal and its implications is found in Sportiche, 1990. There and in Chomsky (1991) (see also Mahajan, 1990, for closely related although somewhat different views), it is argued that participle agreement with Case marked DPs is limited to Accusative DPs, the two properties being different reflexes of the same underlying configuration. Detailed discussions of many complex cases are also examined there.

[28]Let us note that this analysis of clitic placement is consistent with that of Sportiche, 1989, 1990. The present analysis specifies that the position XP' of the text about ($38) is XP^, or is reached after movement through XP^. We conclude later that it is indeed XP^.

[29]Although there exists an agreement asymmetry between wh-movement and clitic placement. We use the fact that skipping is necessary for wh-movement to reinforce the plausiblity of this approach for the optionality of agreement under clitic placement. The facts are more complex: agreement with wh-movement, when it takes place belongs to a more formal register that agreement with clitic placement (Burzio, 1986 reports the same observation for Italian). Furthermore, as Kayne (1989b) discusses, there are varieties of Romance which have agreement with clitics and lack agreement with wh-phrases (as standard Italian). The reverse situation is not found.

[30]See Kayne, 1984, for a discussion of the differences and similarities with wh-movement w.r.t. ECP etc...

[31]Rightward incorporation of subject clitic *il* in Complex Inversion constructions or Subject Clitic inversion are such instances *(Louis) est-il fatigue/Is Louis/he tired*. See Sportiche, 1993b, for further discussion.

[32]This is not the only option. Another option is to revise the theory of agreement to make all species of agreement related to head movement, as attempted in a talk given by Taraldsen at the 1992 GLOW conference.

[33]Kayne expresses doubts as to the correctness of a restructuring approach to clitic climbing. The general issue here is one of domain extension: clitic placement or Object preposing (see below ($44) can operate over a larger domain (two clauses) than otherwise possible. The earlier approaches made restructuring collapse two clauses into one, by incorporating the bottom verb into the top one. These

approaches are no longer compatible with basic theoretical principles but their effect can be mimicked by head movement of some head in the lower clause to the main clause with a concomitant domain extension - see Sportiche, 1990. Kayne in fact adopts such an approach as we see below: his restructuring is raising of the bottom INFL to the top one.

[34]This (somewhat marginal) case of restructuring requires the higher verb to be in a subjunctive mood. Apparently, the same facts hold of Catalan.

[35]See Kayne, 1991 for arguments that *se* is a complementizer

[36]We conclude later that Clitic placement is also A-bar movement of a different sort than wh-movement. Clitic climbing over a wh-phrase is nevertheless allowed, either because of this difference (reflected in the fact that [spec,CP] is not a possible intermediate site for XP*) or because Italian allows wh-island violations.

[37]Throughout in this section *en* is meant to be the genitive complement of nominals and adjectives and not the *en* of quantity, unless otherwise indicated.

[38]One significant consequence that we elaborate on later in section 6.3.

[39]Datives or Locatives XPs do not license PGs, quite generally and for poorly understood reasons. In the case of Datives, it might be related to the specifier of Dative Voice being an A-position, especially if Mahajan's 1991 approach concerning the analysis of Parasitic gaps is correct. Only structurally Case marked NPs appear to license parasitic gaps, i.e. Nominative, Accusatives and Genitives. Relevant configurations cannot be constructed for Nominatives clitics.

[40]The reason why Rizzi uses complex causative constructions to illustrate his point is that, in a simple clause, it is difficult to guarantee that - in our terms - XP* does not c-command PG while the clitic does (especially given that at the time, the clitic was thought to be more or less inside VP). Sentences like ($71b) circumvent this problem.

[41]cf. Sportiche, 1983, and Lasnik and Stowell, 1991 for a more comprehensive discussion.

[42]Since *Marie* is a possible antecedent for *propre* in *Louis a cru [Marie$_j$ fiere de ses propres$_j$ idees] / (Louis believed Marie proud of her own ideas)*, a possible example might be if the indicated structure is correct **Louis l$_j$'a fait [[croire t$_j$ epuise] a son propre$_j$ auteur] / (Louis made its own author believe it out of print)*.

[43]See Kayne's 1975, detailed discussions, and also Sportiche, 1990.

[44]Given that Dative clitics have an A-position XP^, they should never license PGs. We expect that Dative Scrambling in Dutch should not license PGs, as appears to be the case.

[45]In embedded clauses,we would get ..*Om dat hij 't waarschijnlijk (*'t) niet (*'t) gezien heeft (because he it probably not seen has)* or ..*om dat hij Jan waarschijnlijk (Jan) niet (*Jan) gezien heeft (because he Jan probably not seen has)*. Koopman notes that care should be taken to avoid contrastive or focal stress on the objects.

[46]Koopman offers many other arguments not reproduced here, e.g. pied piping of non specific DPs is obligatory under VP-preposing, but not for specific DPs, clitics exhibit clitic climbing..

[47]One potential difference with Romance clitics is whether the order of clitics is fixed or not. Dutch, or German may substandardly allow for alternative clitic orderings.

[48]In particular, the reasoning we appealed to in section 6.3

[49]We intend the analogy with wh-movement to be pushed as far as possible. Thus, Specific DPs in PPs or complements to Ns, adjectives... will be licensed under movement to a the specifier of specificity licensing head (situated in the structure presumably where Romance clitics are) very much in the way wh-phrases in situ are licensed in the framework of the Wh-Criterion, i.e. by covert movement, Pied Piping...

[50]Sportiche, 1993b, shows that this conclusion for objects extends to French Nominatives as well except for the indefinite *on*. Just as in the object cases, there might be cross linguistic variation here: Trentino Subject Clitics have been argued not license specificity and thus constitue a Nominative counterpart to our analysis of Datives.

[51]We will not elaborate on this last proposal here but I would conjecture that a number of facts can be linked to this proposal: (i) the obligatory presence of the dative clitic *le* in dialects of Spanish in wh-extraction of an indirect object (e.g. *A quien *(le) regalaron un auto /Who did they give a car to*), (ii) participle agreement with superficial subject in Indirect object reflexive constructions with non clitic direct objects (e.g. *Maria si e comprata/??comprati libri /Maria se li e *comprata/comprati (Maria bought books/them for herself)*) and similar (dialectal) facts in French, e.g. *Marie s'est construit(e) un abri/ Marie built a shelter for herself*

[52]I would conjecture that the cases of doubled clitics such as *Je le veux le voir/ I want to see him* found in certain Romance dialects or in child speech reflect a stage or a grammar in which the clitic *le* is treated as a pure agreement marker.

[53]Some we do not discuss here at all are the so-called Accusative Case markers in languages like Hebrew or Turkish. Given they are linked to specificity, they should be viewed as the analogue of clitic doubling particles rather than Case markers.