Clitic and Affix Combinations

Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today

Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today (LA) provides a platform for original monograph studies into synchronic and diachronic linguistics. Studies in LA confront empirical and theoretical problems as these are currently discussed in syntax, semantics, morphology, phonology, and systematic pragmatics with the aim to establish robust empirical generalizations within a universalistic perspective.

Volume 74

Clitic and Affix Combinations: Theoretical perspectives
Edited by Lorie Heggie and Francisco Ordóñez

Clitic and Affix Combinations

Theoretical perspectives

Edited by

Lorie Heggie

Illinois State University

Francisco Ordóñez

SUNY, Stony Brook

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Amsterdam / Philadelphia

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Clitic and Affix Combinations : Theoretical perspectives / edited by Lorie Heggie and Francisco Ordóñez.

p. cm. (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, ISSN 0166–0829 ; v. 74)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

1. Grammar, Comparative and general--Clitics. 2. Grammar, Comparative and general--Word formation. I. Heggie, Lorie. II. Ordóñez, Fernando. III. Linguistik aktuell ; Bd. 74.

P288.C575 2005
415'.7--dc22 2005062372
ISBN 90 272 2798 5 (Eur.) / 1 58811 611 5 (US) (Hb; alk. paper)

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

Table of contents

Names and addresses of contributors

Elena Anagnostopoulou
Department of Philology
University of Crete
74 100 – Rethymno
Greece
elena@phl.uoc.gr

Cedric Boeckx
Department of Linguistics
Boylston Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
cboeckx@fas.harvard.edu

Louis-H. Desouvrey
4765-A, Boul. Edouard Montpetit
Montreal, QC, Canada H3W IP6
lhd33@yahoo.com

Jeff Good
Department of Linguistics
MaxPlank Institute for
Evolutionary Anthropology
Deutscher Platz 6
04103 Leipzig
Germany
good@eva.mpg.de

David Heap
Department of Linguistics
University College 133
University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
N6A 3K7 CANADA
djheap@uwo.ca

Lorie Heggie
Department of Foreign Language
Illinois State University
Normal, IL 61790-4300
lheggie@ilstu.edu

Fabrice Nicol
ENA, rue Sainte-Marguerite
67000 Strasbourg
France
fabrnicol@noos.fr

Francisco Ordóñez
Department of Hispanic
Languages & Literatures
SUNY, Stony Brook
Stony Brook, NY 11794-3371
fordonez@notes2.cc.sunysb.edu

Milan Rezac
5, rue Saintonge
44000 Nantes
France
mrezac@chass.utoronto.ca

Sandra Stjepanovic
Department of Foreign Languages
P.O. Box 6298
West Virginia University
Morgantown, WV 26505
sastjepanovic@mail.wvu.edu

Adam Szczegielniak
304 Boylston Hall
Department of Linguistics
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
szczeg@fas.harvard.edu

James Yoon
Department of Linguistics
4080 FLB, 707 South Mathews Avenue
University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign
Urbana, Il 61820
jyoon@uiuc.edu

Juan Uriagereka
Linguistics
1401 Marie Mount
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742
juan@wam.umd.edu

Alan C. L. Yu
Department of Linguistics
University of Chicago
1010 59th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
aclyu@uchicago.edu

Clitic ordering phenomena

The path to generalizations

Lorie Heggie and Francisco Ordóñez
Illinois State University / State University of New York at Stony Brook

A number of different problems enter into the study of clitic and affix ordering phenomena, the first one being to identify the nature of the element. Once defined, factors that determine order can be traced to the phonology, the morphology, or the syntax. Because ordering can be idiosyncratic across languages, some linguists have proposed purely morphological accounts or have treated these data in constraint-based approaches. On the other hand, certain morpho-syntactic approaches give priority to the study of what is generally absent in clitic combinations or to the research of possible generalizations across languages. This more recent line of research suggests that syntax may be playing a more crucial role in the ordering of affixes and clitics than previously thought.

1. Affixes and clitics

Exploring and defining the nature of ordering phenomena across languages is the quintessential mission of linguistic research. No matter what the theoretical perspective might be, a linguist will need to know the order of the elements in a language artifact in order to determine meaning. Gaps, question words, nouns, verbs – these all need to be defined, interpreted, and behavior noted. However, while the ordering of words at the propositional level has occupied the time of many in syntax and the ordering of affixes have been studied extensively in morphology at the word level, the ordering of intermediate elements such as clitics has been less studied. Although we may have an observational level of understanding of these data, there are relatively fewer attempts to explain why clitics display the orderings that they do, be it a surplus of possibilities or a limiting of possibilities. This volume is a step in the direction of remedying this situation. In concert with earlier volumes that have directed their efforts to describe and explain clitic phenomena (Beukema & den Dikken 1999; Van Riemsdijk 1999; Gerlach &

Grijzenhout 2000; Boeckx & Grohmann 2003), this volume concentrates on the nature of clitic ordering, exploring a number of different ways to capture and explain these phenomena.

With the consideration of clitics comes a natural concern for affixes as well. Affixes display their own interesting set of ordering facts and also have been hypothesized in some cases to be the endpoint of a grammaticalization process involving the reduction of a word to a clitic and then to an affix. This pathway for the gradual transitioning of an element from one category to another is called a CLINE. For example, Hopper and Traugott (1993: 7) provide the following example of a cline of lexicality from English which results in a derivational affix.

(1) a basket *full* of eggs > a cup*ful* of water > hope*ful*

Motivating the path of the cline described in (1) are factors such as frequency and collocation, which conspire over time to provide this particular path of evolution for this affix. The grammaticalization process of an inflectional affix would be captured in the cline *content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix* (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 7).

It has been hypothesized that non-standard French provides an example of this process of inflectional grammaticalization; the subject clitic appears to be developing into an affix on the verb for some speakers. Thus, in standard French, there is a distinction between third person masculine *il* and feminine *elle* such that these are clearly referential elements, demonstrated in (2) and (3).

(2) *Je vois Jean à côté du mur. Il est grand et porte un*
I see John next to the wall. He is tall and wears a
chapeau.
hat
'I see John next to the wall. He is tall and is wearing a hat.'

(3) *Je vois Michelle à côté du mur. Elle est grande et porte un*
I see Michelle next to the wall. She is tall and wears a
chapeau.
hat
'I see Michelle next to the wall. She is tall and is wearing a hat.'

However in non-standard French, the subject clitic has been neutralized to the masculine and appears bound to the verb that follows. The following example from Lambrecht (1981: 40) typifies this type of sentence.

(4) *Ma femme il est venu*
My:FEM wife AGR is come
'My wife has come.'

Thus, we see what was once a clitic now behaving as an inflectional affix. The existence of competing grammars such as these is typical of the language change process and must always be kept in mind when examining clitic data because of the potential for changes in status, as will be demonstrated below.

In contrast with this diachronic perspective on the nature of the clitic-affix relationship, the synchronic view of clitics and affixes has concentrated on the characteristics that embody clitic behavior and make clitics different from affixes. Zwicky and Pullum (1983) provide a series of criteria that would distinguish affixes and clitics on the basis of the distinction between the reduced forms of *have* and *be* (*'ve, 's*) and the reduced form of the negation (*n't*). The criteria they propose are the following:

a. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their host, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stem. Clitics are more restricted in their distribution.
b. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
c. More morphological idiosyncrasies exist within affix groups.
d. There are no semantic idiosyncrasies for clitic groups, while we might obtain semantic idiosyncrasies for affixes.
e. Syntactic rules can affect syntactic words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
f. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

Although Zwicky and Pullum state their observations for the most part as tendencies rather than absolute universals, it is still interesting to examine more closely and apply the test to verbal clitics in Romance. For instance, consider (f) that states that affixes may not attach to material containing clitics. There are at least two cases in Romance in which elements considered to be affixes, such as the third person plural ending in Spanish (*-n*) or the future endings in Portuguese (*-ei*), are able to attach to clitics. The first examples are given by Harris (1995) for some varieties of Caribbean Spanish where *-n* attaches to a series of object and reflexive clitics:

(5) *Váya-n -se* ***-n*** / *váya -se* ***-n*** (from Harris)
go- 3pp-clitic-3pp / go -refl-3pp
'Go away.'

(6) *De -le* ***-n*** *un libro*
give-clitic-3pp a book
'Give a book to them.'

Our second example is taken from Portuguese in which the future person affix can follow the reflexive clitic *me* (Cunha & Cintra 1984: 311):

(7) *Calar -me* ***-ei*** */ Eu me calar* ***-ei***
be quiet-cl-3p future/ I me be quiet-3p future
'I will be quiet.'

What is intriguing about the examples above is that we see clitics taking on affix-like properties, as in (7) or affixes attaching to clitics, as in (5) and (6). Neither should be possible under "normal" circumstances. These data in fact illustrate a much larger context, that being the process of diachronic change. If the theory of grammaticalization is correct, then there will be these effects of shifting alliances within the lexical items. Thus, we should expect to find unusual cases as above that reflect the very close relation between affix and clitic.

Another generalization in Zwicky and Pullum where we find counterexamples is (e), which states that syntactic rules can affect syntactic words, but cannot affect clitic groups. Instead, we find that syntactic rules may affect clitic placement. For instance, clitic climbing is sensitive to wh-islands in Spanish, as shown in the following contexts in which the clitic can climb over a declarative complementizer but not over an interrogative one:

(8) *Tengo que comprar****lo****/* ***Lo*** *tengo que comprar*
I have that to buy -it/ It I-have that to buy
'I have to buy it.'

(9) *No sé si compar-****lo****/ *No* ***lo*** *sé si comprar*
NEG know whether to buy it/ NEG it know whether to buy
' I don't know whether to buy it.'

Clitics are also subject to syntactic processes such as Aux-to-Comp in Italian, as given in the following example from Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 168). They show that the auxiliary and the clitic occupy the position that the complementizer *if* would generally occupy. The analysis of this complementarity relies on the overt movement of the verb to Comp in (10a), therefore implying that the clitic has moved with the verb.

(10) a. *Gli avesse Gianni parlato*
to him-had Gianni talked
'Had Gianni talked to him...'

b. *Si Gianni l'avesse parlato*
If Gianni to-him had spoken
'If Gianni had spoken to him...'

Another generalization that seems problematic is generalization (d), which states that there are no semantic idiosyncrasies in the clitic group cases. It is important to notice that sometimes a clitic added to a verb results in some unexpected and idiosyncratic meanings. In French, for instance, the combination of *s'en* 'to oneselfsome' added to *vouloir* "to want" unexpectedly changes the meaning to 'to be mad at someone':

(11) *Tu en veux /Tu m' en veux /Je m' en veux*
You of it-want / You to me-of it want / I to me-of it want
'You want some.' / 'You are mad at me.' / 'I am mad at myself.'

Clitics might also show interesting gaps in the paradigms, contrary to the claim in generalization (b). For instance, standard French does not have the clitic *me* in post-verbal position; another version, the strong form *moi,* must appear. Observe that this does not occur with the third person clitic *le*. Thus, this is a paradigmatic gap that cannot be due to just the accentual pattern of the French system (cf. Kayne 2000):

(12) **Regarde-me/ Regarde-moi*
Look at -me/ Look at -me
'Look at me.'

(13) *Regarde-le*
Look at -him
'Look at him.'

In Spanish there is a gap in the paradigm on the combination of two third person clitics accusative/dative. Thus instead of a dative clitic surfacing in this combination, we find the reflexive *se* ("spurious *se*"):

(14) **Yo* ***le*** *lo di*
I DAT-ACC-gave
'I gave it to him.'

(15) *Yo* ***se*** *lo di*
I REFL-ACC gave
'I gave it to him.'

All these cases illustrate the difficulty of establishing clear criteria that distinguish clitics and affixes and, in that respect, it is in itself a research program. Keeping this caveat, the majority of the following papers reflect the current synchronic concern for elaborating and explaining the ordering possibilities of clitics. However, the project to correctly identify the nature of an element, whether clitic or affix, is inherently underlying any discussion related to these data. In the case of special clitics, the displacement of these elements allows for an easier identification process, but in the case of simple clitics and bound words, a debate may rage over whether the elements in question are affixes in the morphological component or clitics/bound words in the syntax.

Three articles in this volume explore the nature of identification of clitics, affixes, and their properties: Good and Yu, Yoon, and Uriagereka. Good and Yu (this volume) examines the behavior of two sets of agreement markers, one derived from historically suffixes and the other derived from pronouns, using the framework of Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). Interestingly, the distributional characteristics of these agreement markers lead to the conclusion that one is a suffix but that the other is a clitic. One piece of evidence is that the clitic is not flexible in its ordering possibilities, whereas the affix is.

Korean offers another example of this type of situation. Yoon (this volume) argues for the syntactic status of the elements in question within the generative paradigm while others such as Sells (1995) argue that these are affixes controlled by a morphological template. Yoon challenges the common lexicalist assumption that affixes are lexically attached and immune from the influence of syntactic principles. An example of the types of constituents under question is illustrated in (1). As can be seen, the elements in question cover a wide range of functional types – preposition, delimiter, conjunction, agreement.

(16) *Seoul*-***eyse-pwuthe-chelem-mankhum-man-ina-tul*** *hay-la*
Seoul-loc-from-like-as much-only-like/as if-con.plu do-imp
'(You all) behave at least in much the same way you have been behaving since you were in Seoul.' (H-B Lim 1996)
(con.plu = concordial plural)

This debate echoes one of the main axes of controversy in this research for all clitic types, whether or not an element is best treated in the morphology, the syntax, the phonology, or some combination thereof. The fact that some elements might be treated as affixes or as clitics is also crucial for the ordering issue as affixes tend to appear closer to word roots and clitics can appear in more peripheral positions in the syntactic word.

Related to these discussions is the work of Uriagereka (this volume), who examines a slightly different but related aspect of clitic behavior, clitic doubling, and attempts to create a generative syntax that addresses integral relations without any mention of event decomposition or clitic placement. He proposes the Inalienable Double Hypothesis based on intriguing data that takes into account the changes in reference that occur depending on the presence of possession or doubling. The ordering question comes into play as we consider whether or not a clitic should be characterized as an underlying determiner or not, and what the repercussions of such an analysis would be for the gramaticalization process.

The rest of the papers concentrate on the properties of elements uncontroversially identified as clitic pronouns. The fundamental interest that unifies all of these papers is the question of what determines order and restrictions of order on affixes and clitics. The orders in question may be variable across dialects within a language, variable across languages, or fixed, as in second clitic phenomena. Crucially, orders may be variable even within one grammar and one dialect, a point that has not been addressed in much of the literature (see Heap, this volume, and the references therein). There is also the question of whether the availability of different ordering options may diagnose the presence of an affix versus clitic. Yoon (this volume) and Nicol (this volume) present arguments from Korean and Romance, respectively, that clitic/affix combinations should be addressed in the syntax proper. They use various minimalist principles in order to account for the data. Anagnostopoulou (this volume) discusses certain restrictions on clitic sequences in Greek and Romance, and compares them to Icelandic. She crucially makes use of checking theory in order to explain the restrictions.

Two other syntactic approaches that make crucial use of Case are those of Desouvrey (this volume) and Rezac (this volume). In Desouvrey's examination of French, Italian, and Spanish facts, he proposes a syntactic analog to the Obligatory Contour Priniciple (OCP) that predicts clitic orders based on Case features on the verbs and clitics. Rezac, on the other hand, uses a constraint-based approach for Czech, arguing that there are no clitic-specific rules required to explain clitic climbing facts in this language.

Heap (this volume), offering more reflection on the phonological/morphological filters that might constrain the syntax, makes use of an optimality theoretic account enriched by a theory of feature geometry to account for variability in clitic combinations in different varieties of Spanish, both standard and non-standard. Access to a theory of hierarchical morphological structure such as Feature Geometry allows for a principled account of ordering variations across and within dialects in Spanish.

Within the last grouping, Boeckx and Stjepanovic (this volume) discover a strong parallel between sequences of wh-words and sequences of clitics in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian and tie this in an interesting manner to the concept of information structure. They propose two different agreement projections, an elaborated projection for Serbo-Croatian where the nodes are branching and one unique focus projection for Bulgarian where these elements group in a cluster. In a parallel move, while examining Polish data, Szczegielniak (this volume) posits that auxiliary clitics in this language are phonological manifestations of the morphological properties of the Fin^0 head, following Rizzi's (1997) expanded structure of the Left Periphery. To handle the over-generation of structures, he combines this approach with a phonological buffer that filters morpho-syntactic output.

The issue is how to best characterize clitics and their ordering possibilities. In addition to describing the available orders, the question of where in the grammar these properties should be implemented remains current. The papers advocate for an approach that recognizes the necessity of using several different modules of the grammar to account for clitic phenomena. Some approaches are primarily based on the syntax (Anagnostopoulou, Boeckx and Stjepanovic, Desouvrey, Nicol, Rezac, Szczegielniak, Yoon), but with the phonological and morphological components working as filters. This consensus would seem to have elements in common with the general approach proposed in Franks (1999). An alternative to this direction is proposed by Heap, who relies on purely morphological mechanisms such as the ones proposed by Bonet (1991, 1995) to account for the ordering and shapes of clitics. A more lexical approach to clitic/affix identification is provided by Good and Yu, who develop an HPSG analysis of Turkish. These approaches are rounded out by the analysis of Uriagereka, who develops the syntax with a strong emphasis on the predicational and semantic properties of the structures.

In this introduction, we explore issues related to the ordering of clitics and agreement affixes. We will thus flesh out in Section 2 the types of problems encountered when studying ordering phenomena in clitics that need to be considered when developing an analysis. Section 3 considers in depth various approaches to clitic ordering and the solutions that have been proposed. In the fourth section, we present three observations that need to be captured in any analysis that claims coverage of the clitic ordering problem and suggest potential directions for future research on these issues.

2. Why is "ordering" an interesting issue?

In this section, we will present an overview of the types of problems that need to be addressed when considering ordering phenomena. This is not intended to be an exhaustive listing, but will serve as a witness to the difficulty of the questions addressed in this volume. One aspect to be treated in the pages of this volume is whether the morphological status of an element as an affix or as a clitic is important for determining ordering. We also look at the problems that exist in determining the relative ordering between clitics and affixes. Related to this is the issue of how the second position restrictions interact with ordering. The lack of isomorphism between the ordering of arguments and the ordering of clitics is also addressed, as reflected in the unexpected gaps in clitic sequences.

A well-known type of special clitic that provides complex, idiosyncratic data is second position clitic phenomena (2P clitics), or the set of data congruent with Wackernagel's Law (Wackernagel 1892). This generalization captures the understanding that clitics prefer to appear in second position to the beginning of the sentence, and not at the beginning. In a number of interesting cases, the ordering of clitics seems tied to either second position to the first phonological word (2W) or second position to the first syntactic daughter (2D) of the sentence. Some languages such as Czech only allow for 2D while other languages such as Serbo-

Croatian, Luiseño, and Warlpiri allow for both possibilities (Halpern 1995). Below are some examples from Serbo-Croatian taken from Halpern (1995: 15), where all word orders are possible, as long as the 2P clitic is in second position.

(17) a. *Covek* *=je* *voleo* *Mariju.*
Man.NOM =AUX loved Mary.ACC
'The man loved Mary.'
b. Covek je Mariju voleo.
c. voleo je Mariju covek.
d. voleo je covek Mariju.
e. Mariju je covek voleo.
f. Mariju je voleo covek.

In this volume, analyses are offered for Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian. The debate surrounding the analysis of these data reflects the nature of the data. All agree that a phonological component is required to account for the sensitivity of the 'second position' to specifically phonological characteristics, such as intonational phrase integrity. Interestingly, two of these analyses develop syntactic views that interact with information structure or the Left Periphery (Rizzi 1997). Szczegielniak provides additional evidence for adopting Rizzi's (1997) expanded structure of the Left Periphery by arguing that auxiliary clitics are a phonological manifestation of the morphological properties of the Fin^0 head. Boeckx and Stjepanovic point out distinct parallels in clustering behavior between *wh*-words and clitic pronouns in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, an observation that they argue supports the notion that clitics have their own specific functional projection. Rezac, on the other hand, rejects a morphological templatic approach and develops a syntax for Czech where no uniquely clitic-specified syntactic device is used to describe clitic-climbing facts.

Taking now the case of special clitics in Romance languages, we find, at first glance, that there are no simple generalizations about the ordering of clitics across languages. Ignoring the fact that these languages do not have the same inventories of pronominal clitics, even the simple hypothesis that ordering universals be related to grammatical function cannot be supported. As shown below for Italian and French, we find that French favors the order ACC-DAT in the third person clitics and Italian requires the DAT-ACC ordering.

(18) *Jean le lui donnera*
Jean ACC-DAT will give
'John will give it to him.'

(19) *Gianni glielo darà.*
Jean DAT-ACC will give
'John will give it to him.'

As discussed in Halpern (1995), clitic ordering initially seems to be arbitrary. The question is whether we can identify universals in clitic ordering and what form these universals will take. Is it a matter of universal alignment constraints in an optimality-type framework that are ranked differently for different languages (Grimshaw 2001)? Is it a matter of different base-generated orderings of Case-marked constituents (Desouvrey, this volume) or prosody (Halpern 1995)? Or, will individual elements be defined differentially in a feature geometry in the morphology (Heap, this volume)? Or, should we be capturing these phenomena in relation to the topic-focus field (Boeckx & Spjepanovic, this volume)? Clitic phenomena touch on all these aspects of the grammar, a fact that contributes to the difficulty of the analysis.

As part of this puzzle, another well-known area of difficulty involves the fact that certain clitic combinations that logically should exist in fact never surface. This problem is highlighted in Romance and other rich agreement languages where pronominal clitics display some rather idiosyncratic properties. Generally, clitics in these languages may correspond to arguments, adjuncts, or predicates. Given a set of clitics specified in the lexicon of a given language, one might expect to find the combination of two arguments, an adjunct and a predicate, or an argument and an adjunct. However, there are examples from various languages that show that in certain cases, one of the logically available combinations does not have a correspondence; in other words, there is a lack of isomorphism between argument structure and clitic combinations.

The most well-known of these patterns is probably the *me-lui* constraint, first discussed in Perlmutter (1971). This pattern describes a situation where, if dative and accusative clitics are present in the same sentence, the accusative element must be third person. In French, we see the following data as an instantiation of this generalization.

(20) a. **Il me lui présentera.*
He-me.ACC him.DAT will-introduce
'He will introduce me to him.'

b. *Il me présentera à lui.*
He me.ACC will-introduce to him.DAT

c. *Il me le présentera.*
He me.DAT-him.ACC will introduce
'He will introduce him to me.'

Bonet (1995) argues for a larger understanding of the facts by extending the range of data to include ergative-absolutive languages such as Basque. Data such as those in (21) support the notion that the simultaneous presence of dative and absolutive carry the same constraints as the combining of dative and accusative. In (21b), the first person absolutive clitic seems to render the sentence ungrammatical.

(21) a. *Azpisapoek etsaiari misilak saldu d -Ø -izki -o -te*
traitors-ERG enemy-DAT missiles-ABS sell -3ABS -3DAT -3ERG
'The traitors sold missiles to the enemy.'

b. **Azpisapoek etsaiari ni saldu na -i -o -te*
traitors-ERG enemy-DAT me-ABS sell -1ABS -3DAT-3ERG
'The traitors sold me to the enemy.'

Our understanding is thus that the problem is one of presence of these elements in close proximity as opposed to an ordering paradox. In the following generalization in (22), Bonet describes the constraint, where the presence of a dative agreement or a dative clitic blocks accusative/absolutive agreement other than third person.

(22) If DAT, then ACC/ABS = 3rd person.

Ormazabal (2000) expands on Bonet's generalization by observing that unaccusative verbs in Basque provide a counterexample to the generalization in (22) while generally adhering to it. He argues that the presence of morphological subject agreement on the verb is an underlying precursor to the the infelicitous construction in (20a), a fact that will always obtain in NOM-ACC languages, as described in Burzio's Generalization. However, ergative languages do not require ergative agreement in all cases, and, in those examples, the generalization above does not apply. This case is illustrated for Basque in (23) below.

(23) a. *Jon etorri Ø- zai -t*
Jon-ABS come 3ABS -1DAT
'Jon came to me.'

b. *Joni joan na -tzai -o*
Jon-DAT go 1ABS -3DAT
'I went to Jon.'

Ormazabal thus reformulates the generalization in the following manner.

(24) If DAT *and* NOM/ERG, then ACC/ABS = 3rd person.

He thus draws the conclusion that the present constraint is linked to the presence of a subject agreement, a conclusion that implies that the entire syntactic clausal agreement structure is involved in the *me-lui* constraint, that is, the syntax-morphology interface.

The assumptions determining the underlying structure of clitic constructions thus become crucial to the solution. Nicol (this volume) exploits movement and a microparameter on the visibility of Case-syncretism to address this topic; Anagnostopoulou (this volume) argues that person restrictions derive from multiple Agree, creating implications for the distribution of indirect objects and quirky subjects cross-linguistically. In these cases, a consideration of the syntax is germane to the discussion.

Another example of an ordering paradox occurs when a certain ordering is disallowed depending on the grammatical function that the clitics represent; clitic combinations are in fact sensitive to the argument status of the clitics involved. French provides an example of this situation in the form of *le* + *y*. The clitic *le* may behave as the accusative third person masculine clitic or as the predicate clitic. The clitic *y* is a locative pronoun. When *y* is an adjunct of the verb, these two pronouns cannot be combined, as demonstrated in (25d) and (26d) below. These clitics may, however, appear alone.

(25) a. *Prosper a été président à Paris.*
Prosper has been president in Paris.
'Prosper was president in Paris.'
b. *Prosper y a été président*
Prosper there-has been president
'Prosper has been president there.'
c. *Prosper l'a été à Paris.*
Prosper it-has been in Paris.
'Prosper has been so in Paris.'
d. **Prosper l'y a été*
Prosper it there has been
'Prosper has been so there.'

(26) a. *Il a donné le livre à Marie au congrès.*
He has given the book to Marie at the conference.
'He gave the book to Marie at the conference.'
b. *Il y a donné le livre à Marie.*
He there-gave the book to Marie
'He gave the book to Marie there.'
c. *Il l' a donné à Marie au congrès.*
He it-gave to Marie at the conference
'He gave it to Marie at the conference.'
d. **Il l'y a donné à Marie.*
He it-there-gave to Marie
'He gave it to Marie there.'

Given the data above, one might surmise that French does not allow the pronominal ordering of *le* + *y*. However, the following data provide the context where this ordering is allowed.

(27) a. *Il a mis le livre sur la table.*
He put the book on the table

b. *Il l'y a mis.*
He it-there put.
'He put it there.'

The difference between (27) and (25)–(26) is one of the argument status of the locative preposition. In (25) and (26), *y* is an adjunct while in (27), *y* is an argument of the verb. Note, however, that adjunct status does not disallow a pre-verbal position of the locative pronoun, as shown in (25b) and (26b). Also, as illustrated in (28), the locative adjunct may surface preverbally when the dative is fronted as well as the accusative pronoun.

(28) a. *Il le lui y a donné.*
He it-to her-there-gave
'He gave it to her there.'

Thus, we see a prohibition on a specific clitic combination that seems determined under very specific conditions that make appeal to syntactic notions such as grammatical function.

Another difficulty regarding clitics involves when clitics may be absent. In the following example taken from colloquial Catalan, it seems that speakers have the choice of saying the two pronouns or one or the other, but cannot leave out the clitics altogether.

(29) a. *Jo li ho diré*
I to him-this will say
'I will say it to him.'
b. Jo ho diré
c. Jo li diré
d. *Jo dire

Thus, we need a way in which to predict the required versus optional presence of clitics.

The opposite situation occurs when speakers add clitics that are not arguments of the verb, often called the "ethical dative." These clitic pronouns play a stylistic function, as in (30).

(30) *Et un sourire que Möller te vous lui aurait bien refilé une baffe.*
And a smile for which Möller for you(familiar)-for you-to him would well give a smack
'And a smile that Möller would have really given him a smack in the face for you.'
(Aragon, *La Semaine sainte.* (Baylon & Fabre 1995: 38))

Interestingly, not only is there a supplemental pronoun *te*, but the sequence of pronouns looks deceptively similar to the pronominal sequence highlighted under the *me-lui* constraint, the difference being in this example that the second person pronouns are benefactive instead of accusative. Case, as a morpho-syntactic element, often makes these subtle distinctions. The syncretism behind the two different *vous* 'to you/for you' or *lui* 'to him/for him' is common to morphological systems; the grammatical relation marked by Case is thus crucial to a number of analyses. As observed in (Kayne 2000), there is a significant challenge in the identification of multiple properties for the same form. Nicol (this volume) uses this dilemma to his advantage in ferreting out the microparameter distinctions across Romance dialects.

Another type of doubling in clitic phenomena involves post-verbal, lexical doubling of the clitic element, as illustrated below.

(30) *le* *vi* *el* *cordón* *a* *ella.*
her saw-I the cord to her
'I saw her cord.' (Uriagereka, this volume)

These cases, studied by Uriageraka, pose the interesting problem of the interaction between obligatory doubling and clitic ordering. Clitics in these cases do not belong to the argument structure of the verb but to the more complex structure of the doubling Determiner Phrase (DP), according to Uriagereka's analysis. As in the case of ethical dative pronouns, syntactic approaches to clitic ordering face the question of how to yield the same results on ordering and syntactic distribution for clitics that have very different syntactic sources (e.g., argument, ethical dative, element internal to the DP).

The last category of clitic ordering problem to be presented here are the cases where a clitic spontaneously changes form under certain conditions. A well-known example of this state of affairs is spurious *se* in Spanish. The following example is taken from Desouvrey (this volume).

(31) *Juan* **le/se* *lo* *dio.*
Juan it/it.ACC him.DAT gave
'Juan gave it to him / her.'

In sentences such as (31), the normal dative clitic (=*le*) must change to what appears to be a form syncretic with the reflexive, but only when in the presence of the accusative clitic pronoun (=*lo/s, la/s*). Any account of clitic ordering phenomena will want to be able to account for this unexpected choice of clitic in the grammar.

We have presented in this section an overview of the types of questions central to a discussion of ordering phenomena in clitics and agreement affixes. These are the problems that must be addressed when considering the nature of clitics. In the next section, we will provide an overview of the theoretical approaches to clitic ordering that have been suggested in the literature. Where does the ordering occur in our conception of grammar? Is it best to take a derivational approach in the syntax or morphology, a non-derivational approach such as Optimality Theory, or a representational approach such as Feature Geometry? Do we need to combine these in some creative way? This is the interesting theoretical question to be addressed.

3. Representative approaches to clitic combinations

3.1 Templatic approaches

The first person to tackle some of the problems presented above in a generative framework was Perlmutter (1971) in his book *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. In this work Perlmutter proposes a series of filters that would account for all the possible combinations of clitics. According to Perlmutter, one filter is sufficient to account for all permutations of clitics in a language. Using Spanish, he shows that all the possible combinations of two clitics can be expressed by the following simple templatic filter.

(32) SE-I-II-III (DAT)-III (ACC)
Se me/ se nos / Se te/ se os / se le/ se lo/ me lo/ te lo

In a similar fashion, Wanner (1974) proposes the filter in (33) for Italian:

(33) MI-VI-TI-CI-GLI-SI-NE {LO LA LI LE} -SI

Templates like (32) and (33) have the advantage of capturing the symmetry and transitivity properties of the ordering of two clitics in a language like Spanish. However, several problems have been uncovered in languages like Italian. Wanner (1974) demonstrates that the transitivity property does not follow in Italian. The three relevant clitics in Italian are *ne* 'of it', *si* (impersonal) and *lo* (ACC). While *ne* precedes *lo* as in (34), *lo* precedes *si* as in (35). Accordingly, given the nature of transitivity, *ne* should precede *si*. This, however, is not the case, as demonstrated in (36).

(34) *Ne* *la* *convinse* *facilmente*
of it.GEN it.ACC convinced easily

(35) *Lo* *si* *vede*
it.ACC Si.IMP sees

(36) **Ne* *Si* *vede*
of it.GEN Si.IMP See

Another example that does not follow transitivity is the case of the so-called *me lui* constraint. This restriction, first formalized by Perlmutter, points to the fact that a first- or second person accusative clitic cannot precede a third person dative clitic. This situation is illustrated in (39), where *me* (ACC) precedes *lui* (DAT) and results in an ungrammatical sentence. However, given the facts in (37) and (38), where *le* follows *me* and then precedes *lui*, we would expect the sentence in (39) to be grammatical, given the properties of transitivity.

(37) *Il me le donne*
he me.DAT it.ACC gives
'He is giving it to me.'

(38) *Il le lui donne*
he it.ACC him.DAT gives
'He is giving it to him.'

(39) **Il me lui donne*
he me.ACC him.DAT gives
'He is giving me to him.'

The *me lui* constraint led Perlmutter to propose a negative constraint next to the positive filters proposed above. This negative constraint would disallow *me lui* altogether, thereby protecting the perception of the importance of transitivity to grammar.

Perlmutter's perspective on clitic combinations has been further developed by Bonet in recent years. Bonet, in the spirit of distributed morphology proposed by Halle and Marantz (1993), argued that morphology be considered its own component with its own internal structure and that processes of clitic combination take place in that component. Although she does not deny that there may also be syntactic movement of clitics, in Bonet's framework, clitics are subject to the rules of templatic morphology. Contrary to S-structure, which only contains filters and constraints, the morphological component is more structured and contains fields, principles and specific operations that link, de-link and erase features coming from the different syntactic elements. Bonet (1995) takes the view that this morphological component acts on the different arguments in the syntax and maps them into different slots in the template. According to Bonet (1995), templates contain two types of slots: those of whole clitics and those of morphological features. The mappings into whole clitics or morphological features depend on different factors (e.g., first/second versus third) in each dialect. The strength of this approach has been that it is able to account for variation in ordering between dialects, something that syntactic accounts up until now have found difficult to address (but see Nicol, this volume).

The template Bonet proposed for standard Catalan is in (40). First and second person clitics would map into a clitic while the clitic for *en* would map into a feature.[1]

(40)	1	2	3	4	5	6
	CL	CL	CL	[Arg]	[GEN]	[OBL]
	|	|	|			[NEUT]
	Arg	Arg	Arg			
	|	|				
	1	2				

Although templates are able to capture a description of the data, one inherently problematic aspect of the templatic approach to clitic combinations is that these templates mix different types of information. For instance, Perlmutter's templates contain information from two different categories: syntax and phonology (ACC/DAT vs. *se*). In Bonet's approach, templates include feature and syntactic constituency information as well as whether the clitics are arguments or non-arguments (a distinction relevant to the syntax). In addition, they contain morphological features internal to the clitic itself such as person and gender. Gender is a morphological feature that generally does not play a role on the possible combinations of clitics.[2] This is not the case with person, which crucially determines which combinations are possible.

Another broader question posed by templates, one that we would like to focus on in this introduction, is whether they can exclusively determine the order of clitics. Perlmutter maintains the position that templates are the only factor responsible for clitic ordering. Bonet claims that orderings are primarily determined by templates, but that, in some cases, certain syntactic factors may come into play (Bonet 1991).[3] The most difficult challenge posed by this mixed position is finding the criteria that will decide when the ordering is determined on one level or the other.

One solution to this problem is to take the strong position that templates exclusively determine clitic ordering. This tactic, however, leads to giving up important generalizations on clitic combinations. Interestingly, it is possible to find ordering generalizations when the different possibilities for clitic combinations are captured with respect to their morphological properties and syntactic position. These important generalizations are precisely the ones captured by Anagnostoupoulo (this volume) and Nicol (this volume). For instance, Nicol's article focuses on the fact that Romance languages generally show the dative first/second person clitic before the accusative clitic. Nicol ties the existence of this general order to the fact that first and second person are syncretic in the Romance languages that he examines. Anagnostoupoulo, crucially links the existence of the *me-lui* restriction to more general principles of checking theory that can cover different syntactic phenomena such as the impossibility of first- and second person dative or nominative case with a quirky subject in Icelandic.

A final problem with a templatic approach is that since templates are formulated in the morphology component (Bonet 1995; Halle & Marantz 1993; Harris 1995) or in S-structure (Perlmutter 1971), ordering is determined exclusively after the clitic placement has taken place, according to these models.[4] This is either done in a post-syntactic component, as in distributed morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993), or in a filter, as in Perlmutter (1971). On these assumptions, clitic combinations should be insensitive to the syntactic configurations in which they occur. There should be no difference between the distribution of one clitic alone and the combination of that clitic with another one. Syntax would move the clitics together and morphology would determine the order between them. However, this is not always the case, as demonstrated in (25)–(28) above, and by others such as Terzi (1999), Ordóñez (2002) and Cardinaletti (2000). For instance, Terzi (1999) shows that double object clitics in Cypriot Greek can have a flexible order in post-verbal position in imperatives as in (42), but not in pre-verbal position in finite clauses such as in (41). Moreover, she demonstrates that the post-verbal flexible order is sensitive to whether the verbal form is imperative or if it contains a finite form in Cypriot Greek, as in (42) and (43). Imperatives allow both word orders whereas finite sentences have only one order available to them.

(41) a. *Mou to edosan.*
me it gave-3pp

b. **To mou edosan.*
it me gave-3pp
'They gave it to me.'

(42) a. *Dos' mou to!*
give-IMP me it

b. *Dos' to mou!*
give-IMP it me
'Give it to me!'

(43) a. *Ethkiavasen mou to.*
read-2ps me it

b. **Ethkiavasen to mou.*
read-2ps it me
'(S/he) read it to me.'

The extent to which proponents of the templatic approach have to allow for language-specific, context-sensitive, and/or non-morphological input into individual grammars is the extent to which the analysis is rendered complex. These difficulties of a purely morphological approach to clitic combinations have prompted some researchers to consider more closely a syntactic approach to clitic ordering in a search for increased coherence in the analysis of these structures.

3.2 A representational approach to clitic ordering

In recent years, however, a number of researchers have also appealed to representational approaches such as Optimality Theory to tackle the problems posed by clitic ordering and the existence of non-transparent forms such as spurious *se* in (31). We will consider the proposal from Grimshaw (1997) that argues that these two problematic issues can be fully captured in Optimality Theory, an approach that relies on an input-output mapping structure in phonology, syntax or morphology. For each input, the grammar evaluates an infinite set of output candidates and selects the best candidate. Constraints are violable and languages differ with respect to how constraints are ranked and which constraints are therefore active. For instance, in some Romance languages, the combination of direct object clitic with indirect object clitics can result in an idiosyncratic output. For example, in Spanish, we have the case where, instead of the indirect object clitic, the reflexive one appears, the so-called spurious *se* clitic discussed in example (31). In French, we have the straightforward case where the dative clitic does not change.

(44) *Juan* ***se*** ***lo*** *dará*
Juan SE.REFL. it.ACC will give
'Juan will give it to him/her.'

(45) *Jean* ***le*** ***lui*** *donnera*
Jean it.ACC him/her.DAT will give
'Jean will give it to him/her.'

Grimshaw (1997) proposes that the variation be captured by positing a constraint against sequences of morphologically identical functional heads, a constraint similar to the obligatory contour principle (OCP) in phonology. It avoids the sequence of two third person clitics. This constraint is ranked high in Spanish, but not in French and is therefore overtly expressed only in Spanish. The emergence of the unexpected clitic *se* is tied to its unmarked nature. *Se* is not specified for person, gender, number or case and, therefore, it is the best available clitic for the input.

In a more recent article, Grimshaw (2001) proposes that the general problem of clitic ordering in Romance can also be better understood under Optimality Theory. By incorporating the idea from phonology that there are alignment constraints, she proposes that some of these constraints can explain the order in which clitics appear in combination. Thus, in French there is a constraint that requires the alignment of the dative (dat) to the right (DatRt), a constraint that is ranked higher than the alignment of the accusative (acc) to the right (AccRt). The fact that dative is ranked higher explains why the combination of two different third persons accusative and dative in French should be *le lui* while the combination of a first/second person, which is not specified for case under her analysis (**C**=not specified for case), with a third person yields *me le* and never *me lui*, as shown in the following two tables (☞ indicates optimal candidate).

Table 1. French: first person + accusative

Input [1dat+3acc]	DatRt	AccRt
☞ a. (1**C**) (3acc)		
b. (3 acc) (1**C**)		*!

Table 2. French: third person dative + accusative

Input [3 acc+ 3dat]	Dat Rt	AccRt
☞ a. (3acc) (3dat)		*
b. (3 dat) (3acc)	*!	

In Italian the orders are obtained simply by having Dative Right play no role in the combination. Accusative Right (AccRt) ensures that all combinations of first/second person and third person and also the combinations of two third person clitics will yield an output in which the accusative clitic is on the right. The following table serves only to explain why person clitics that are not specified for case (**PC** = person clitic not specified for case) appear to the left when they are combined with a clitic specified for case.

Table 3. Italian: accusative + non-accusative

Input [+R 3 +3 acc]	AccRt	PersLft
☞ a. (**PC**) (3acc)		*
b. (3 acc) (**PC**)	*!	

In Spanish, however, the combination of a first or second person clitic with a third person clitic is obtained by having the clitic with Case specification obey the constraint Case Right (CaseRt). Contrary to Italian, person clitics generally are on the right and, therefore, there is a constraint Person Right as well.

Table 4. Spanish: first or second person with third person

Input [1 dat +3 acc]	Case Rt	PersRt
☞ a. (1**C**) (3acc)		*
b. (3 acc) (1**C**)	*!	

Assuming that third person clitics are also specified for person, there would be a contradictory requirement between Case Right and Person Right when there are two third person clitics in combination in Spanish, since one of the third person clitics would have to appear on the left. According to Grimshaw, it is precisely this contradictory requirement that leads to the impossibility of *le lo* in Spanish. The only clitic that could possibly occupy that position would be the one clitic not specified for person or case (+R = reflexive; **P** = unspecified for person; **N** = unspecified for number; **C** = unspecified for case) i.e, the clitic *se*.

Table 5. Spanish: first or second person with third person

Input [–R 3 sg dat+ –R 3sg acc]	Case Rt	PersRt
a. (–R 3sg dat) + (–R 3sg acc)		*
☞ b. (+R **P N C**) +		
(–R 3 sg acc)		
c. (**R** 1 sg C) + (–R 3 sg acc)		*!

We have observed that an optimality theoretic approach describes clitic combinations and restrictions by adopting a theory in which alignment constraints interact and lead to a contradiction that then requires the need for the language to adopt an unexpected sequence of clitics in order to resolve the contradiction. Under these circumstances, the best clitic is the one that has no person or case specification, the impersonal/reflexive *se* in Spanish, resulting in the output of *se lo*, instead of **le lo*.[5] The exploitation of underspecification in this approach is attractive and is revisited in Heap (this volume) under a Feature Geometry approach and in Nicol (this volume) in a minimalist approach.

Optimality Theory captures some of the recalcitrant phenomena of clitic combinations and it does so in an elegant way. The problematic question in this approach is how to decide what we take to be the constraints available in each language. Attempts have been made to restrict the nature of a possible constraint. For instance, in phonological theory, constraints might be ultimately grounded in phonetic or typological reasons (Kager 1999). Bresnan and Aissen (2002) advocated for a theory of optimality whose constraints are functionally motivated. These perspectives have in common that constraints must be universal and that universality is supported by some functional, typological or phonetic reason (Kager 1999).

One difficulty related to Grimshaw (1997, 2001) is that her analysis violates this universality requirement in some cases. Observe that three languages, French, Italian, and Spanish, have exactly the same clitic order – dative first/second person and third person accusative. However, three different combinations and rankings of constraints with different specifications are hypothesized to give exactly the same order of clitics in the three languages. Thus, Accusative Right and Dative Left for French, Accusative Right and Person Left for Italian, and Case Right and Person Right for Spanish yield the same order of clitics across these three Romance languages.[6] The expressed goal above is that, especially in the case of languages that are so closely related, the generalization of identical output could be captured by constraints that are more similar than dissimilar.

The problem of defining constraints on constraints also surfaces in the multiple explanations available regarding spurious *se*. One of the explanations is that the surfacing of *se* is due to the OCP. According to this explanation, the OCP is highly ranked in Spanish, but not in French or Italian, and, therefore, the language avoids the surfacing of two very similar clitics through the insertion of the unspecified spurious *se*. The second explanation claims that there is a contradictory requirement in Spanish between Person Right and Case Right when there are two third person clitics. This contradiction results in the surfacing of a default unmarked clitic, the spurious *se*. In order to choose between these two explanations, one must investigate and determine what a constraint should look like and whether it should be phonetically, functionally, or typologically motivated.

Another crucial question regarding this perspective is deciding how the input is going to be characterized. Consider the case where the third person clitic *lo/la* in Spanish is specified for person and is in conflict with appearing on the left edge of a clitic combination, following the constraints in Table 3. In this set, we have two constraints – Accusative Right and Person Left. If the pronoun is accusative, it should be to the right and if it has person, it should be to the left. It is only the ranking of these constraints that allows us to decide on the order. The problem is that an approach that relies on referring to person features as a primitive is necessarily limited, given discussions such as those in Uriagereka (1995, this volume) and Kayne (2000), where the properties of some third person clitics appear to be more determiner-like than argument-like. Another case that would create difficulties is the predicate clitic, which does not carry reference yet has the form of an accusative third person clitic; it does not interact with person clitics at all. The constraint thus makes inaccurate predictions unless the constraints address each case individually, resulting in a proliferation of constraints. It is precisely this unconstrained nature of the input in orthodox OT that Heap (this volume) seeks to remedy, with Feature Geometry as a constraint on possible inputs.

In this last section, we have argued that Optimality Theory seems a promising and interesting way to explain the different problems posed by clitic combinations. However, more work needs to be done on the restriction of two different aspects of the theory: constraints on constraints and how to characterize the input. Insights into these areas may then lead to a more explanatory analysis of the data. At present, the different rankings of constraints describe the facts where languages differ, but do not provide interesting generalizations across the different languages. We turn to the goals of an explanatory analysis in the following section.

4. Future inquiries

As we have seen throughout this introduction, research on clitic combinations, especially templatic and optimality approaches, has tended to focus on understanding the irregularities found in clitic or affix combinations. More recently, however, there has been a newfound interest in understanding the more general properties of clitic combinations. For instance, the investigation of universal gaps in the combinatorial possibilities of clitic groups, exemplified in the *me lui* constraint, has been recently developed within the domain of syntax (see Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Ormazábal & Romero 2003). As a consequence, new lines of investigation are expanding. In this section, we review some of the general clitic properties in Romance languages that will need to be explained. In some cases the stated observations seem to lend themselves easily to a syntactic explanation; in other cases we simply point them out and leave them open for further research. Some of these observations have to be understood as implicatures. Namely, once certain conditions are established, we observe certain gaps in the paradigm. The remarks to be made below are thus programmatic and should be understood as guidelines for future research.

> Observation I
> The clitic combination of first and second person dative object with a third person accusative object yields first or second person before third person.

Languages tend to prefer this ordering and tend to change in this direction (cf. Wanner 1974). There are no attested cases of the reverse change.[7] If ordering is arbitrary, why would we not find a change in the reverse direction?

> Observation II
> In a language with non-syncretic clitics for third person, the dative form must precede the accusative form.

An obvious counterexample to this observation, French *le lui*, is arguably not a counterexample if we agree with Kayne (2000) and Laenzlinger (1998) that *lui* is not of the same category as accusative *le* but has a more complex morphological structure, i.e., it is syncretic with the stressed pronoun. Two sets of facts support this position. One, *lui* seems morphologically more similar to weak pronouns like *moi* and *toi* than clitics like *me* and *te*. For instance it can appear after a preposition, as in (46).

(46) *Pour moi / pour lui*
For me / for him

Second, *lui* also allows the change in order in imperatives that is allowed in some regional dialects, as in (47) and (48), precisely as do the stressed pronouns (Morin 1979: 308).

(47) *Donne-le-moi / Donne-moi-le*
Give it to me

(48) *Donne-le lui / Donne-lui-le*
Give it to him/her

Observation III
It is often the case that the combination of a non-syncretic dative and a non-syncretic accusative clitic is impossible when both are third person.[8] In cases of suppletion, if the language has a locative clitic, then the locative clitic may take the position of the dative argument, when dative and accusative third person are combined. There is no language in which the opposite is true; the locative never replaces the accusative.

For example, in French, a transitive dative may use the locative *y* rather than the dative pronoun *lui* when the object is inanimate, as in (49a). However, the locative can never replace an accusative clitic by itself, as demonstrated in (49c). [9]

(49) a. *Réponds à la letter* → *Réponds-y*
answer to the letter answer there
'Answer it.'
b. *Réponds à Jean* → Réponds-lui
answer to John
'Answer him.'
c. *Donne-le* → **Donnes-y*
give it give there
'Give it.'

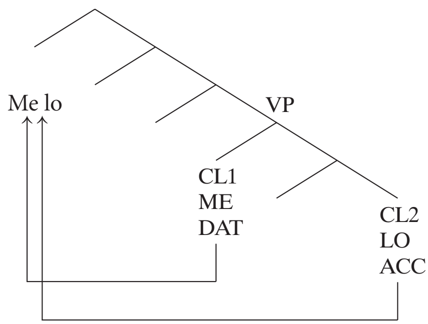
It is our hope that such generalizations can lead to deeper explanations of not only clitic phenomena, but also, the nature of argument-marking and its constraints, both morphological and syntactic. To provide an example of this process, consider the fact that, when dative elements lose their preposition, the order becomes dative-accusative.[10] We see this phenomenon across ditransitive constructions in Germanic languages like English, as in (50) (cf. Kayne 1984; Larson 1988).

(50) a. Give the book to me.
b. Give me the book.

Whatever analysis we adopt for the Germanic construction, we want to adopt one along the same lines for the Romance counterpart, as captured in Observation I.

The ultimate analysis will crucially depend on the underlying, orginating structure of the clitics and the order in which they merge into their landing site. For example, Anagnostopoulou (2003: 299) argues that dative moves first and the accusative moves later, using the process of "tucking in," as illustrated below. Desouvrey (this volume) also pushes deeply into this question.

(51)



Interestingly, the same explanation supports observation II as well, namely that non-syncretic third person clitics never pattern with accusative first and dative second. Once again, dative must precede accusative.

With respect to the special behavior of French *le lui*, one might adopt Laenzlinger's (1998) solution and propose that since *lui* belongs to the class of weak pronouns according to Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), it would be unable to adjoin to the same head as the clitic *le*. According to Laenzlinger, it would have to be adjoined to a lower inflectional projection. This can be understood by assuming that weak pronouns occupy positions such as AGR_{O} while clitics are attracted to a higher position such as Tense. In this case, the type of movement of *lui* and the type of movement of *le* would not interfere since *lui* belongs to the weak pronoun subclass.

Finally, the restriction against two consecutive third person clitics captured in Generalization III can be understood as a restriction against adjoining to each other two clitics specified for Case, following Laenzlinger (1998). This constraint can be reduced to a checking problem, as proposed by Nicol (this volume) or addressed in the morphology, as suggested in Heap (this volume). On the view suggested in Kayne (2000), first and second person are not specified for Case as they are syncretic between dative and accusative and, therefore, can be freely adjoined to a Case clitic, (e.g., *lo* in Spanish). Many other languages use the locative clitic to circumvent such a restriction on the combination of two third person clitics as the locative is not specified for Case either. Alternatively, some languages such as Spanish use the reflexive, the spurious *se* form in this instance. Given that Spanish does not have a locative clitic, we tentatively hypothesize that a language that has a locative clitic will not use a reflexive such as spurious *se* for the default function. Languages that do not have a locative clitic appear to have other options available to them, such as the default reflexive clitic, as in Spanish. In each instance, the default clitic pronoun is not specified for Case, the relevant morpho-syntactic feature.

Many of the above mentioned facts about clitic combination phenomena might be explained by different parts of syntax, such as movement theory, checking theory, and case theory. These tools are only starting to be exploited and they provide the possibility for new solutions to old problems. We are not, however, suggesting that all of the solutions will be found in the syntax. Some data, like the amalgamation of forms in the Italian *glielo* (Dat 3 person – Acc 3 person), may very well find their best solution in the morphology. One of the most important challenges facing the study of clitic combinations is trying to delimit what belongs to the syntax and what belongs to the morphology or phonology. In this introduction and through this book we are suggesting that more syntactic mechanisms might be explored to explain some of the observations above. We believe that this type of study is crucial to work on the interfaces between syntax and morphology and phonology.

Notes

1. [ARG] = Argument, [GEN] = Genitive, [OBL] = Oblique, and [NEUT]=Neutral.

2. Note, however, the following contrast in Rumanian: *L am v zut.* I saw him/it (masc.) but *Am v zut-o.* I saw her/it (fem.). The only factor determining postposition in the latter case is grammatical gender. Other pronouns follow the masculine pattern (preposed to the finite verb) (Heap, personal communication).

3. This is what she proposes for the ordering of clitics in Italian vs. Spanish (Bonet 1991:45, Note 22).

4. In other models which do not assume a hierarchical structure of components, such as Sadock (1991) or Jackendoff (2002), this issue does not arise since all levels (syntax, morphology, phonology)work in parallel. The question for those models is how to restrict the mapping of these different modules, and why and how the mapping diverges.

5. See Grimshaw (2001) for a very different approach to *se* where the pronoun is fully specified.

6. As pointed out by a reviewer, the use of different constraints for different languages is true only of one particular OT analysis and may not necessarily be the case for others working in this framework.

7. See Pearce (1991) on the diachronic change from the earlier *ilum mihi* order to the *mihi ilum* order now predominant across Romance. A few isolated varieties still maintain vestigial usage reflecting the older LO ME order, including Mallocran (Bonet 1991:74) and Old Aragonese (Heap, personal communication).

8. Again, French *le lui* is not a counter-example; *lui* may be considered a weak pronoun as in Laenzlinger (1998).

9. According to Heap (personal communication), colloquial Québécois French provides us with the case where, when both arguments are expressed, the locative may surface to substitute for both, as in (i), while the facts in (49c) still hold.

i. *Donne-le-lui* → *Donnes-y*
give it to him give there
'Give it to him.

10. There are a number of intricate questions when both elements are pronominal that we will leave open to further research. Most dialects have the order in (i), as we would expect from the double object construction. However, there are literary British dialects that also allow (ii):

i. Give me them (non-standard American and British English)

ii. Give them me (literary British English)

References

Anagnostopoulou, E. 2003. *The Syntax of Ditransitives: Evidence from clitics.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Baylon, C. and P. Fabre. 1995. *Grammaire systématique de la langue française.* Poitiers: Editions Nathan.

Béjar, S. and M. Rezac. 2003. "Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects." In *Romance Linguistics: Theory and acquisition*, A. Pérez-Leroux and J. Y. Roberge (eds). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Beukema, F. and M. den Dikken. 1999. *Clitic Phenomena in European Languages.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boeckx, C. and K. Grohmann. 2003. *Multiple Wh-Fronting.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bonet, E. 1991. Morphology after Syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance. PhD Dissertation, MIT.

Bonet, E. 1995. "Feature structure of Romance clitics." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13: 607–647.

Bresnan, J. and J. Aissen. 2002. "Optimality and functionality: Objections and refutations." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 81–95.

Cardinaletti, A. 2000. "On different types of clitic clusters." *Workshop on the Antisymmetry Theory of Cortona*, May 15–17.

Cardinaletti, A. and M. Starke. 1999. "The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns." In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe,* H. van Riemskijk (ed.), 145–234. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cunha, C. and L. Cintra. 1984. *Nova Gramática do Português Contemporâneo.* Lisboa: Edições João Sá da Costa.

Franks, S. 1999. "Clitics at the interface." In *Clitic Phenomena in European Languages*, F. Beukema and M. den Dikken (eds), 1–46. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gerlach, B. and J. Grijzenhout. 2000. "Clitics from different perspectives." In *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax,* B. Gerlach and J. Grijzenhout (eds), 1–29. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Grimshaw, J. 1997. "The best clitic: Constraint conflict in morphosyntax." In *Elements of Grammar,* L. Haegeman (ed.), 169–196. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Grimshaw, J. 2001. "Optimal clitic positions and the lexicon in Romance clitic systems." In *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*, G. Legendre, J. Grimshaw and S. Vikner (eds), 205–240. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Halle, M. and A. Marantz. 1993. "Distributive morphology and the pieces of inflection." In *The View from Building 20; Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger,* K. Hale and J. Keyser (eds), 111–176. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.

Halpern, A. 1995. *On the Placement and Morphology of Clitics*. Stanford CA: CSLI.

Harris, J. 1995. "The morphology of Spanish clitics." In *Evolution and Revolution in Linguistic Theory*, H. Campos and P. Kempchinsky (eds), 168–197. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Hopper, P. and E. Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackendoff, R. 2002. *Foundations of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kager, R. 1999. *Optimality Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kayne, R 1984. *Connectedness and Binary Branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Kayne, R. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laenzlinger, C. 1998. *Comparative Studies in Word Order Variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lambrecht, K. 1981. *Topic, Antitopic and Verb Agreement in Non-Standard French.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Larson, R. 1988. "On double object construction." *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335–392.

Lim, H-B. 1996. "Kyochakso-wa kyochakpep-uy cenglip-ul wihaye," (Toward a theory of agglutinating elements and agglutination), Paper presented at the 24th Presentation of Joint Research Projects, *Korean Linguistic Society*, Seoul.

Morin, Y.-C. 1979. "More remarks on French clitic order." *Linguistic Analysis* 5: 293–312.

Ordóñez, F. 2002. "Some clitic combinations in the syntax of Romance." *The Catalan Journal of Linguistics* Vol 1: 201–224.

Ormazabal, J. 2000. "A conspiracy theory of case and agreement." In *Step by Step*, R. Martin, D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka (eds), 235–260. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Ormazabal, J. and J. Romero. 2003. "Agreement restrictions." Ms, University of the Basque Country and Universidad de Alcalá, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

Pearce, E. 1991. "On comparing French and Italian: The switch from *illum mihi* to *mihi illum*." In *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*, D. Wanner and D. A. Kibbee (eds), 253–271. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Perlmutter, D. 1971. *Deep and Surface Constraints in Syntax*. New York NY: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, L. Haegeman (ed.), 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Sadock, J. 1991. *Autolexical Syntax*. Chicago IL: Chicago University Press.

Sells, P. 1995. “Korean and Japanese morphology from a lexical perspective.” *Linguistic Inquiry* 7: 119–174.
Terzi, A. 1999. “Clitic combinations, their hosts and their ordering.” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17: 85–121.
Uriagereka, J. 1995. “Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in western Romance.” *Linguistic Inquiry* 26 (1): 79–123.
Van Riemsdijk, H. 1999. “Clitics: A state-of-the-art report.” In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe,* H. van Riemskijk (ed.), 1–30. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Wackernagel, J. 1892. “Über ein Gesetz des indogermanischen Wortstellung.” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1: 333–436.
Wanner, D. 1974 “The evolution of Romance clitic order.” In *Linguistic Studies in Romance Languages*, R. J. Campbell et al. (eds), 158–177. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
Zwicky, A. and G. Pullum. 1983. “Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n’t*.” *Language* 59: 502–513.

Part I

Clitic sequences