3RD PERSON PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN DIALECTS OF CATALAN

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This paper provides a description and an analysis of combinations of two third person clitics, accusative and dative, in four varieties of Catalan. While in one of these four varieties, the output forms are straightforward, in the other three there is an increasing presence of opaque outputs, that is outputs that differ from the form the clitics have when they appear in isolation. Both the linear order among the clitics and the presence of opaque forms is argued to take place in the Morphology Component, between s-structure and PF (a syntactic approach to clitic order being rejected). In this component, the internal structure of the clitics, a hierarchical structure of features, can be altered by several types of processes (deletion, insertion): insertion is argued to apply in one of the varieties under discussion. Linear order among pronominal clitics is determined by the mapping onto a template. This mapping can be based on either whole clitics or individual terminal features. All possibilities exist in the four varieties, and in two cases they coexist in a given dialect. The rest of the opaque forms in the four varieties arise during the mapping operation, when two instances of a given feature are mapped onto one and the same slot. An additional source of variation lies on the feature on which [feminine] depends.

When pronominal clitics are combined, they often adopt an opaque form; that is, they do not appear with the shape they have when they appear in isolation. There are several kinds of modifications clitics can undergo, and there is a very considerable amount of dialectal variation in this respect. Third person pronominal clitics are particularly prone to suffer modifications when they are combined with each other. In this paper, four different third person (accusative and dative) pronominal clitic systems of Catalan will be examined, which differ with respect to

the output of clitic combinations but hardly with respect to the forms those clitics have in isolation, and a proposal will be made to account for the variation. One of these systems belongs to Central Catalan, and it is shared by a large number of speakers. This is the dialect with the most opaque forms. Another system that will be taken under consideration is Majorcan, in one of its varieties, not spoken by younger people nowadays. The other two systems to be examined correspond especially to standard varieties of Catalan. One of them is Standard Valencian, which is also spoken in parts of València and Castelló. The other one is the standard variety of Catalan for the rest of the Catalan speaking area, also known as Standard Catalan. For convenience, I will concentrate only on this variety as spoken in Central Catalan. The clitic system of this variety is part of the colloquial language spoken in certain, very limited, areas. Throughout this article I will use letters to refer to each system in order to avoid any possible confusions. The terms will be: variety A (Standard Valencian), variety B (Standard Catalan), variety C (Majorcan), and variety D (Central Catalan).

The paper is organized as follows: in section 1 I present the relevant data concerning the four varieties of Catalan mentioned in the previous paragraph, organized in increasing degrees of opacity. In section 2 a proposal is made to account for all the opaque forms, which is based on morphology. Syntactic and phonological approaches will be rejected in view of the characteristics of the data being analyzed. The paper also contains a last section with conclusions.

1. The data

1.1. Variety A

This variety of Catalan, spoken in certain areas of València and Castelló, has no opaque forms in combinations of two third person clitics, accusative and dative. As can be seen in most cases, the dative clitic precedes the accusative clitic. These facts are illustrated in (1) and (2). In (1a-b), and (2a-b), the clitics appear in isolation. The examples in (1c) and (2c) contain combinations of the previously shown clitics. In all the examples throughout this paper I use the Clitic-Left

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Dislocation construction in order to clearly show the inflectional characteristics of the antecedent. All clitics and clitic combinations appear in boldface.

(1)   a.   Al   xiquet, **li**   donaré   la poma més tard.
          to-the boy   3sgDat give-1sg-FUT the apple later

       b.   La poma,   **la**   donaré   al   xiquet més tard.
          the apple(fem) 3sgfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to-the boy   later

       c.   Al   xiquet, la poma **li**   **la**   donaré   més tard.
          to-the boy   the apple 3sgDat 3sgfemAcc give-1sg-FUT later
          'I will give the apple to the boy later.'

(2)   a.   Als   xiquets, **els**   donaré   les pomes més tard.
          to-the boys   3plDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

       b.   Les pomes,   **les**   donaré   als   xiquets més tard.
          the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to-the boys   later

       c.   Als   xiquets, les pomes, **els**   **les**   donaré   més tard.
          to-the boys   the apples 3plDat 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT later
          'I will give the apples to the boys later.'

As can be seen in (3), below, the third person dative plural clitic is phonologically identical to the third person accusative plural (masculine) clitic. This is so in all the varieties of Catalan that will be taken into consideration, except in one (variety D). As will be shown later, the identity between the third person accusative plural clitic and the third person dative plural clitic is only phonological, not morphological. The form of the third person dative clitic in isolation can be seen in (2a).

(3)   Als   xiquets, els préssecs,   **els** **els**   donaré   més tard.
          to-the boys   the peaches(masc) 3plDat 3plmascAcc give-1sg-FUT later
          'I will give the peaches to the boys later.'

1.2. Variety B

The third person pronominal clitic system of this variety of Catalan is identical to that of Valencian in all respects except when a third person accusative clitic is combined with a third person dative *singular* clitic. In this case opaque outputs arise given that the third person dative singular clitic, *li* in isolation, seems to adopt the form /i/ (spelled *hi*).

(4b) illustrates the combination of a third person accusative clitic with a third person dative plural clitic. As can be seen by comparison with (2c) the outputs in these two varieties are identical:

(4)   a.   Als   nois, **els**   donaré   les pomes més tard.

               to-the boys 3plDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

        b.   Les pomes,   als   nois, **els les**   donaré   més tard.

               the apples(fem) to-the boys 3plDat 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT later

               'I will give the apples to the boys later.'

(5a) shows the form of the third person dative singular clitic in isolation. In (5b) this clitic appears combined with a third person accusative clitic, and adopts the form /i/ (*hi*). As shown, the non-opaque outputs *les li* and *li les* are non-existent.

(5)   a.   Al   noi, **li**   donaré   les pomes més tard.

               to-the boy 3sgDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

        b.   Al   noi, les pomes,   **les**   **hi**   donaré   més tard.

               to-the boy the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc 3sgDat (/i/) give-1sg-FUT later

               (*les **li** / *li **les**)

               'I will give the apples to the boy later.'

It is also important to note that, while in combinations with a third person dative plural clitic the surface order is dative > accusative, when the third person dative clitic is singular (when the opaque forms arise), the order is accusative > dative.

1.3. Variety C

This variety of Catalan, spoken in Majorca, has no transparent combinations; all the outputs in combinations of two third person clitics are opaque. Like in variety B, the third person dative singular clitic, /li/ in isolation, adopts the form /i/ when it is combined with an accusative clitic. Moreover, the third person accusative clitic never shows feminine agreement, even though a feminine marker is present when this clitic appears in isolation and the antecedent is feminine. These two aspects are illustrated in (6a-c). I also give, in parentheses, the non-existent transparent forms:[1]

(6)   a.   Ses pomes,   **les**   donaré   a s'al.lot més tard.
            the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to the-boy later

   b.   A s'al.lot, **li**   donaré   ses pomes més tard.
            to the-boy 3sgDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

   c.   Ses pomes, a   s'al.lot, [**əlzi**]   donaré   més tard.
            the apples to the-boy 3sgDat+3plfemAcc (/lzi/) give-1sg-FUT later
            (***les li** / ***li les**)
            'I will give the apples to the boy later.'

If one were to say that the form /i/ corresponds to the dative clitic, the surface order between the two clitics in (6c) would be accusative > dative, like in variety B and unlike variety A.

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[1] I give the opaque third person dative output in its phonological form only because there is no standard spelling for this variety. Otherwise /i/ would be spelled *hi*. I will give only phonological forms in such cases.

In combinations of two third person clitics in which the dative clitic is plural other opaque forms arise. In this case, the dative plural clitic, *els* (/lz/) remains transparent but the accusative clitic becomes /u/ in all cases, regardless of the gender and number of the antecedent. This "change" to /o/ is also existent in certain varieties of Valencian, as described in Todolí (1992). Catalan has an independent clitic /o/ (or /u/), *ho*, the so-called neuter clitic, and later it will be claimed that, through a specific morphological process, the third person accusative clitic becomes a neuter clitic. This "change" is illustrated in (7c). The clitics that show up in an opaque form in this combination appear in isolation in (7a,b). As done earlier, I include, after (7c) and in parentheses, the non-existent transparent output forms for the combination:

(7)   a.   Ses pomes,   **les**   donaré   a ets al.lots més tard.
            the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to the boys   later

       b.   A ets al.lots, **els**   donaré   ses pomes més tard.
            to the boys   3plDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

       c.   Ses pomes, a ets al.lots, [əlzo]   donaré   més tard.
            the apples   to the boys   3plDat+3plfemAcc [əlzo] give-1sg-FUT later
            (*els les / *les els)
            'I will give the apples to the boys later.'

If we compare (7a) with (7c) we will see that, even though the third person accusative clitic in (7a) is femine and plural, those markers do not show up in the combination in (7c). Instead, the invariable form /o/ appears.

While the surface order could be said to be accusative > dative when the dative clitic was singular (cf. (6c)), the surface order would be dative > accusative whenever the dative clitic is plural (cf. (6c)).

1.4. Variety D
Variety D corresponds basically to Central Catalan, and has no transparent outputs in

combinations of two third person clitics. A basic difference between variety D and the other varieties previously described is that the form of the third person dative plural clitic is /lzi/, while in the other varieties this clitic has the phonological form /lz/. As in Majorcan, no feminine marking ever appears in such combinations. Moreover, whenever the two clitics are singular, the output form of the combination is /li/, while whenever one of the two clitics or both of them are plural, the output form is /lzi/. These aspects are illustrated in (8) and (9), below.

(8)   a.   La poma,   la   donaré   als   nois més tard.

           the apple(fem) 3sgfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to-the boys later

     b.   Als   nois, [əlzi] donaré   la poma més tard.

           to-the boys, 3plDat give-1sg-FUT the apple later

     c.   Als   nois, la poma, [əlzi]   donaré   més tard.

           to-the boys the apple   3plDat+3sgfemAcc (/lzi/) give-1sg-FUT later

           (*[ləlzi] / *[əlzilə])

           'I will give the apple to the boys later.'

In (8b) we see the form of the third person dative plural clitic in isolation, /lzi/. As can be seen in (8c), the feminine marker that was present in (8a) does not appear in this last example.

From examples like (8c), we might conclude that what is really happening in combinations of two third person clitics is that only the dative clitic shows up in such combinations. Recall that in this variety the phonological form of the third person dative plural clitic in isolation is /lzi/, like the form that appears in (8c). The omission of the third person accusative clitic is in fact common in certain dialects of French and also in very restricted areas of the Catalan speaking domain. However, this cannot be the case in variety D, as example (9c) shows:

(9)   a.   Les pomes,   **les**   donaré   al   noi més tard.

           the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to-the boy later

b. Al   noi, li   donaré   les pomes més tard.

to-the boy 3sgDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

c. Al   noi, les pomes, [əlzi]   donaré   més tard.

to-the boy the apples 3plfemAcc+3sgDat give-1sg-FUT later

(*li les /*les li)

'I will give the apples to the boy later.'

As can be seen in (9c), the output form of the combination is /lzi/, like the third person dative plural clitic in isolation, but in this case the antecedent of the dative is singular. Therefore we cannot conclude that the ouput of the combination simply ignores the accusative clitic. The plural marker in (9c) precisely has to come from the accusative clitic. In (9c) it can also be seen that the feminine marker coming from the accusative clitic does not show up in the combination.

(10c), below, illustrates the fact that the form /lzi/ is also the ouput form in combinations of two third person plural clitics. As usual, in (10a,b) I give the form of the clitics involved in (10c) as they appear in isolation. I also include the non-existent transparent possible forms:

(10) a. Les pomes,   les   donaré   als   nois més tard.

the apples(fem) 3plfemAcc give-1sg-FUT to-the boys later

b. Als   nois, [əlzi] donaré   les pomes més tard.

to-the boys 3plDat give-1sg-FUT the apples later

c. Als   nois, les pomes, [əlzi]   donaré   més tard.

to-the boys the apples 3plDat+3plfemAcc (/lzi/) give-1sg-FUT later

(*[əlzilas] / *[ləzəlzi])

'Donaré les pomes als nois més tard.'

In this variety of Catalan it is impossible to tell what the order is between accusative and dative.

1.5. Summary of the facts

In (11), below, a chart is given with the output phonological forms of the combinations of two third person dative clitics, accusative and dative, in the four varieties of Catalan previously described. In many cases, some epenthetic vowels will be added (d=dative; a=accusative; s=singular; p=plural; m=masculine; f=feminine):[2]

(11)	var. A	var. B	var. C	var. D
d.s. + a.s.m.	/li/	/li/	/li/	/li/
d.s. + a.s.f.	/lila/	/ləi/	/li/	/li/
d.s. + a.p.m.	/lilz/	/zi/	/zi/	/zi/
d.s. + a.p.f.	/lilez/	/ləzi/	/zi/	/zi/
d.p. + a.s.m.	/zl/	/zi/	/zo/	/zi/
d.p. + a.s.f.	/zla/	/zlə/	/zo/	/zi/
d.p. + a.p.m.	/zlz/	/zlz/	/zo/	/zi/
d.p. + a.p.f.	/zlez/	/zləz/	/zo/	/zi/

In (12), below, I give the forms of all the third person clitics as they appear in isolation. All varieties have basically the same forms in all the cases, except when the third person dative clitic is plural. In this case, variety D has a different form. Another difference, which does not have any bearing on the topic of this paper, is the phonological form of the feminine marker. In most varieties it has the form /ə/ (or some /V/ from which /ə/ can be derived by Vowel Deletion), while in variety 1 it has the form /a/ when feminine cooccurs with singular, and /e/ when it cooccurs with plural:[3]

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[2] The forms given in (11) are the ones the clitics have in preverbal position. In postverbal position there are some modifications not related to the topic of this paper.

[3] This pattern can also be found in Standard Catalan (variety B) as spoken in the north-eastern region of the Catalan area.

(12) d.s.: /li/   d.p.: /lzi/ (var. D); /lz/ (others)

      a.s.m.: /l/   a.s.f.: /la/ (var. A); /lə/ (others)

      a.p.m.: /lz/   a.p.f.: /lez/ (var. A); /ləz/ (others)

2. The analysis

There are two things to be accounted for with respect to combinations of two third person clitics, accusative and dative, in the four varieties of Catalan described in the previous section. One of them is the linear order among the clitics, and the other one the presence of opaque forms. The latter aspect has hardly ever received any attention in the linguistic literature, but the former has often been considered to have a syntactic explanation: the linear order among the clitics would be the result of head to head movement. This type of explanation for clitics is rejected in this paper. Fairly detailed arguments in favor of this position can be found in Bonet (1991). One of the arguments given there is related to the fact that the order of clitics with respect to person is fixed, while the functions the clitics have can vary. This observation is illustrated in (1a,b):

(13) a. **Te m'** ha recomanat   en Miquel.

          2sg 1sg has recommended the Miquel

          'Miquel has recommended you/me to me/you.'

      b. **Te li**   enviaré   un regal.

          2sg 3sgDat send-1sg-FUT a   present

          'I will send a present to you/him on him/you.'

In (13a), the order can be either acc > dat or dat > acc. This sentence is not accepted by all Catalan speakers for independent reasons (see Bonet (1991), ch. 4). In (13b), the clitic related to the indirect object can appear before or after the ethical dative clitic. However, in (13a) second person has to precede first person, and in (13b) second person has to precede third person. Under standard approaches to syntax, one would expect clitic order to be based on

Case properties, not on person properties. For the cases at hand, a syntactic account to clitic order would also be very difficult to maintain without many additional stipulations. Recall, for instance, that in two of the varieties (B and C) the order changes depending on whether the third person dative clitic is singular or plural. Again, under standard approaches to syntax one would not expect clitic order to be based on number properties. Moreover, the differences of order among the four varieties do not seem to correlate with any other syntactic differences. There is little justification, then, for a syntactic approach to clitic order. If one aims at a minimalist approach (cf. Chomsky (1993)), differences among dialects (in this case) should be found in the interfaces, while the syntax would remain identical for all varieties.
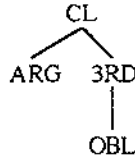
In the proposal to be developed here, there are no syntactic differences among the four varieties of Catalan with respect to clitics. Clitic order and opaque forms arise in the Morphology Component, between S-structure and PF (or after spell-out and before the phonology, under a minimalist approach). Linear order is obtained through mapping to a template, and most of the opaque forms to be accounted for here arise precisely because of the way the mapping works. Furthermore, this proposal crucially relies on two claims: there is no phonological information in the syntax, which exclusively contains morphosyntactic information. This idea can be found, for instance, in Otero (1976), Pranka (1984) or Anderson (1992). Phonological information is introduced late in the Morphology Component and provides the input to PF. The second crucial claim is that pronominal clitics constitute hierarchical structures of morphological features. These structures are most often severely impoverished in the Morphology Component through their manipulation, or during the mapping to a template or the insertion of phonological information.[4] In (14), below, I give the morphological structures that would correspond to the

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[4] Presumably not only pronominal clitics would constitute hierarchical feature structures, but this would be the case for articles, to give an example. The extension of the proposal to other elements is far beyond the scope of this paper.
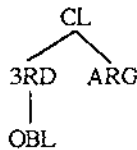
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third person pronominal clitics, accusative and dative.[5] At this point I ignore gender and number, which will be addressed later.

(14) a. 3rd person accusative   b. 3rd person dative

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        CL                          CL
       /  \                        /  \
    ARG   3RD                   ARG   3RD
                                        |
                                       OBL
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The structures in (14) are reminiscent of the structures phonological segments are claimed to have. The node CL can be compared to the root node in phonology. There are no precedence relations among sister features. Thus, orders like (14'a,b) will not be distinct:

(14') a. 3rd person accusative   b. 3rd person dative

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        CL                          CL
       /  \                        /  \
    3RD   ARG                   3RD   ARG
                                 |
                                OBL
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Each feature constitutes a natural class. The feature 3RD, for instance, is shared by all third person clitics, including the neuter clitic, the partitive or genitive clitic, and the locative clitic. The node ARG is shared by all clitics except the ones known as adverbial clitics in the Catalan literature (the genitive clitic and the locative clitic). The fact that these features constitute natural classes implies that the clitics that share a given feature behave alike with respect to certain morphological processes (see Bonet (1991)).[6]

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[5] For the time being I am ignoring the neuter clitic, which can also be considered a third person clitic. It will be taken into consideration in section 2.4.

[6] The combinations of two third person clitics are particularly prone to all sort of changes. Given the large degree of similarity between both clitics, as can be seen in (14), one could try to relate this tendency to modifications to the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP), a principle originally proposed in phonology, which

Within the Morphology Component, a set of rules –which I will call spell-out rules– associates phonological features to the morphological feature structure of clitics.[7] In (15) the spell-out rules for third person clitics are given. As can be seen, these rules make direct reference to terminal features of the morphological structures. I also include the spell-out rules for [feminine] and [plural], which have not been taken into consideration yet. These features are privative or monovalent. Thus 'masculine' is the lack of [feminine], and 'singular' is the lack of [plural].[8]

(15) a. [ARG, OBL] → /l/ / [pl] (all varieties except D)

     b. [ARG] → /l/

     c. [OBL] → /i/

     d. [NEUT] → /o/

     e. [pl] → /z/

     f. [fem] → /e/ / [pl] (variety A)

     f'. [fem] → /a/ (varierty A)

     g. [fem] → /ə/ (other varieties)

Spell-out rules (15a) and (15b), on the one hand, and rules (15f) and (15f'), on the other, obey the Elsewehere Condition (Panini, Kiparsky (1982)): the most specific rule will apply and will

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prohibits sequences of identical elements. If the OCP were adopted for morphology, it should hold for derivations taken as a whole, rather than for specific stages in the derivation, because there are several ways avoiding this identity in the cases taken into account here, as will be seen in the text. The relation between the OCP and the presence of opaque outputs in clitic combinations needs to be studied in greater detail than this paper permits.

[7] In Halle and Marantz (1992) these rules are called vocabulary insertion rules.

[8] With respect to the feature [fem], one could also exclude (15g) and have (15f,f') for all dialects. The [ə] would then be obtained through Vowel Reduction in the relevant dialects.

block the more general rule; that is, (15a) will have precedence over (15b), and (15f) will have precedence over (15f').[9]

In order to account for the data in section 1 two parameters of variation will be postulated. One of them determines what feature [fem] depends on. It can either be [ARG] or [3RD]. The feature [pl] always depends on [ARG]. The other parameter of variation affects the mapping to a template. This mapping can be either based on terminal elements or on clitics (the whole structure). These two settings can cooccur in a given dialect, as will be seen. These two parameters are summarized in (16), below:

(16)   *Parameters of variation:*
        Dependency of the feature [fem]:
              a.   dependent on [ARG] (like [pl]).
              a'.   dependent on [3RD] (unlike [pl]).
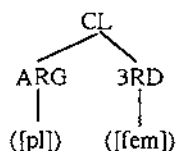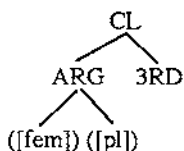   Mapping to a template:
              b.   of terminal features.
              b'.   of clitics.

The parameter in (16a,a') will give us two possible structures for the third person accusative clitic, dependending on the variety of Catalan. These two possibilities are shown in (17):

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[9] The rules in (15f-g) are the spell-out rules for gender ([feminine]). Alternatively, an account following the lines in Harris (1991) could be endorsed, in which the spell-outs in (15f-g) would correspond to form classes, rather than directly to gender. Since this issue is orthogonal to the topic of this paper, I have adopted the more straightforward proposal, only for simplification purposes.

(17) a. 3rd person accusative   b. 3rd person accusative

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        CL                          CL
       /  \                        /  \
    ARG    3RD                  ARG    3RD
    /  \                         |      |
([fem]) ([pl])                ([pl])  ([fem])
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The mapping to a template, which accounts for the linear order among clitics, takes place late within the Morphology Component. The template consistes of a number of positions, all identified with specific clitics or features. This template contains, of course, positions for all the clitics / features of the language. With respect to the dependent features [fem] and [pl], their linearization does not differ from the process of linearization of the same features in nouns, adjectives and articles, and would take place later than the linearization of clitics. On this issue, see Harris (1991). In the case of pronominal clitics, the base to which [fem] and [pl] adjoin is the element mapped on a given slot containing those features.

In the next sections, we will see how the parameters in (16), plus an additional process, account for the differences among the four varieties described in 1.

2.1. Variety D

As described in section 1.4, in this variety, the combinations of two third person clitics, accusative and dative, give rise to two phonological outputs: /li/ whenever both clitics are singular, and /lzi/ whenever at least one of them is plural. No feminine marker is ever present in such combinations.

In order to account for the opaque output forms in variety D, the agreement feature [fem] has to be a dependent on [3RD] (setting in (16a'), which gives (17b)), and the mapping to the template has to be based on terminal features (setting in (16b)). The template for variety D appears in (18), below:

(18)
       ____   ____

       [ARG]   [OBL]

In combinations of two third person clitics, two nodes [ARG] are always present, one of them coming from the dative clitic and the other one coming from the accusative clitic. Both instances of [ARG] will be mapped onto the template. (19) illustrates the mapping of two third person clitics, accusative and dative, both of them singular and masculine (that is, with no agreement features). Recall that the clitics themselves are not linearized; the dative clitic could have also been written before the accusative clitic:
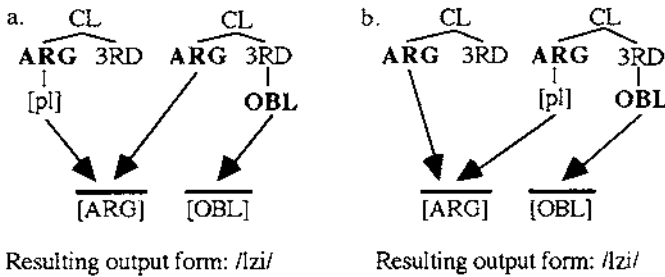
(19)
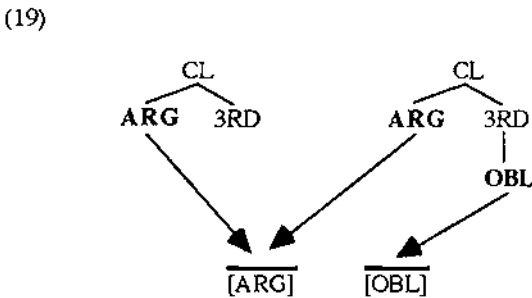
       Resulting output form: /li/

As indicated, [ARG] will be spelled out as /l/, through rule (15b), and [OBL] will be spelled out as /i/, through rule (15c). When one of the two clitics (or both of them) is plural, the feature [plural] will be a dependent on [ARG] and will be mapped, with it, onto the slot. Since all [ARG] features will be mapped onto that slot, [plural] will also be always mapped, regardless of the clitic it comes from. [plural] will be spelled out as /z/ through rule (15e). Two examples appear in (20), below:

(20)

```
    a.    CL              CL           b.     CL              CL
       ⏜              ⏜                   ⏜              ⏜
     ARG  3RD      ARG  3RD              ARG  3RD      ARG  3RD
       |              |                    \            |      |
      [pl]           OBL                    \          [pl]   OBL
        \    /        /                      \      /          /
         \  /        /                        \   /           /
          ↓↓        ↓                          ↓↓            ↓
        ‾‾‾‾‾     ‾‾‾‾‾                      ‾‾‾‾‾        ‾‾‾‾‾
        [ARG]     [OBL]                      [ARG]        [OBL]
```

Resulting output form: /lzi/   Resulting output form: /lzi/

A plural marker /z/ will, then, show up whenever at least one of the two clitics is plural.

Notice that the template in (18) has no slot for [3RD]. This means that this feature will never be mapped. Because of the setting (16a') the feature [fem], depending on [3RD], will then not be mapped; therefore, it will never surface.[10] This is illustrated in (21):
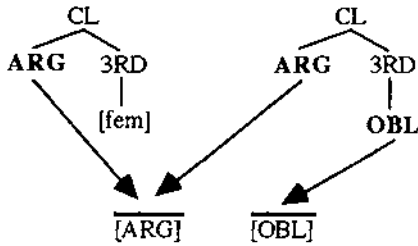
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[10] In Bonet (1991), the absence of a feminine marker in combinations of two third person clitics is accounted for through the application of a morphological rule, instead of a parameter with two settings with respect to the location of the feature [fem]. The morphological rule responsible for the absence of [fem] is shown in (i). [fem] always depends on [ARG]:

```
(i)     CL     /     CL
        |            |
       ARG          3RD
        ‡
      [fem]
```
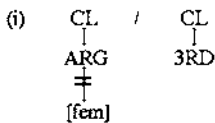
The rule in (i) accounts for the fact that the feminine marker never shows up, not only with third person clitics, but with all kinds of clitics with the feature [3RD]. This also includes the genitive or partitive clitic and the locative clitic. Moreover, this rule also ensures that the feature [fem] is not lost when the other clitic is first person, second person or the impersonal or reflexive; these clitics do not have the feature [3RD]. The proposal presented in this paper is, in principle, better than the alternative sketched in this footnote because it enriches the representations instead of putting the burden on rules. However it is not clear at this point whether the representational option can account as well for the latter fact noted here: [fem] would always be a dependent on [3RD], and would never have a spell-out because there would never be a slot for it in the template. Therefore [fem] would also be wrongly lost in combinations with non-[3RD] clitics, like first person clitics. This problem might be solved by having a slightly different notion of template. I leave this issue for further research.

(21)

```
        CL                    CL
      ⌢                      ⌢
  ARG   3RD            ARG   3RD
    \    |              /     |
     \  [fem]          /     OBL
      \    \          /       /
       ↓    ↓  ↓     ↓      ↓
      ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
       [ARG]     [OBL]
```

Resulting output form: /li/

When the clitics appear in isolation, the template does not hold and all terminal features are spelled out. In this variety, [fem] is always –whenever licensed– spelled out as /ə/ through rule (15g).

2.2. *Variety A*

While variety D has the most opaque third person pronominal clitic combinations, variety A has only transparent outputs. In order to derive these transparent forms, the mapping of the clitics onto the template has to be based on whole clitics (not on terminal features), as shown in (16b'). [femenine], like [plural], will be a dependent on [ARG] (cf. (16a)). The template for this variety appears in (22):

(22)   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

         [ARG OBL]   [ARG 3RD]

(22) mentions only the relevant terminal features of the clitics involved, under each slot. It has to be understood that the minimal constituent containing the features mentioned (CL) is mapped. Thus, the first slot will be occupied by the third person dative clitic (which has both (unordered) [ARG] and [OBL]), while the accusative clitic (with [ARG] and [3RD]) will occupy the second slot (the dative clitic precedes the accusative clitic in this variety).

(23), below, illustrates how the different third person clitics are mapped onto the template. Recall, again, that the two clitics could have been written in the opposite order (the accusative clitic before the dative clitic) because there is no linear order at that stage. The template (underneath the clitics) is responsible for the linear order.

(23)
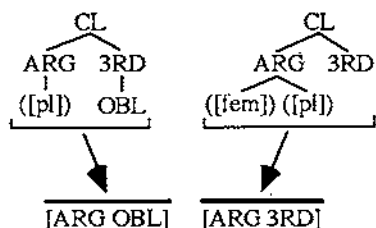
Resulting output forms: /li+l/, /li+la/, /li+lz/, /li+lez/,

/lz+l/, /lz+la/, /lz+lz/, /lz+lez/

The dative clitic, which is mapped onto the first slot, will be spelled out as /l/+/i/, if this clitic is singular (through the application of rules (15b,c)), and as /l/+/z/ if the clitic is plural (through rules (15a,e)). In the latter case, no /i/ will appear because in the context of [plural], [ARG] and [OBL] are spelled out together as /l/. The accusative clitic will be spelled out as /l/ if the clitic is masculine and singular (rule (15b)), as /l/+/a/ if [feminine] is present (rules (15b,f')), and as /l/+/e/+/z/ if both [feminine] and [plural] are present (rules (15b,f,e)). Rule (15f) will apply instead of (15f') because of the presence of [plural].[11]

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[11] As shown in (23), the output form of the dative singular clitic in variety A is /li/. /l/ is the spell-out of [ARG] and /i/, the spell-out of [OBL] (cf.(15b,c)). However, nothing in the mechanisms proposed predicts the order between [ARG] and [OBL] in this variety, since the mapping onto the template picks up whole clitics, and the features internal to a clitic structure are unordered. One could probably assume that in this variety [ARG] and [OBL] do not have independent spell-outs (as shown in (15b,c)), but that the {[ARG], [OBL]} clitic has a specific spell-out /li/. The fact that this variety lacks an independent [OBL] clitic (there is no locative clitic) makes this suggestion fairly plausible. I leave this issue for further research.

2.3. Variety B

This variety is basically identical to variety A, but only when the third person dative clitic is plural. Under these circumstances, the combination of two third person clitics is not opaque, and the dative clitic precedes the accusative clitic. The analysis of such combinations will, thus, be basically identical to the one proposed for variety A in section 2.1, and, therefore, the corresponding template will be the one shown in (24a), based on whole clitics. When the dative clitic is singular, variety B becomes very similar to variety D, with only opaque outputs. The template for variety B will, then, be identical to the template proposed for variety D, based on terminal features, not on whole clitics. This template is repeated in (24b), below:

(24) a. _____ _____   b. _____ ____

  [pl OBL] [ARG 3RD]   [ARG] [OBL]

(24a) will be interpreted in the following way: A clitic with the terminal features [ARG] and [3RD], that is a third person accusative clitic, will be preceded by a clitic with the terminal features [pl] and [OBL]. The only clitic with these terminal features is the third person dative plural clitic. The Elsewhere Condition, invoked earlier, determines that the application of (24a) will always precede the application of (24b), because (24a) is more specific (more complex) than (24b). This condition is necessary because otherwise we could generate output forms like *lzi instead of the existent *els el* in combinations of a third person accusative singular masculine clitic with a third person dative plural clitic (which is what happens in variety D).[12]

_____

[12] Since in variety B the dative singular clitic, /li/ in isolation, adopts the form /i/, spelled *hi*, identical to the form of the locative clitic, one could suggest that the dative clitic is really a locative clitic to start with, in the syntax. This would also be the case for other varieties. This possibility, plausible in principle, faces some problems, though. One of them, conceptual, would be that, intriguingly, the locative clitic would only be generated in case the source were singular, not plural. There is also an empirical problem: it is impossible to have two (independent) locative phrases in a given sentence, as shown in (i):

(i)   *Anirà   a Reus a l'estació.
      go-3sg-FUT to Reus to the-station
   'S/he will go to Reus to the station.'

In variety B, the combinations with a third person dative singular clitic are identical to those in variety D except in one respect: in variety B, [feminine] is never lost; it surfaces as a schwa (through rule (15g)). In this variety, then, [feminine] will be a dependent on [ARG], like [plural] is (cf. the parameter setting in (16a)), instead of being a dependent on [3RD]. (25), below, shows how the mapping works for a combination of a third person accusative clitic and a third person dative singular clitic:

If the dative clitic is considered to be really a locative clitic, we predict it to be impossible having a third person dative clitic and a locative clitic in a given sentence. This prediction is not borne out, as (ii) shows:

(ii)   En Pere no li   hi (/li/) anirà,   a Reus.
         the Pere not 3rd-dat(ben) loc   go-3sg-FUT to Reus
         'Pere will not go to Reus for him/her.'

Under the present proposal the fact in (ii) is accounted for in exactly the same terms as the cases with two instances of [ARG], seen so far: both the dative clitic and the locative have a feature [OBL]; the two instances of this feature are mapped onto one and the same slot, and, later, that feature is spelled out as a single /i/ through rule (15c). The intuition that the dative clitic and the locative clitic are in some way the same is also captured under the present proposal: both clitics have the feature [OBL]; the only difference is the presence versus the absence of the feature [ARG]. The structure of these two clitics can be compared in (iii) ((iiia) corresponds to the third person dative clitic, while (iiib) corresponds to the locative clitic):

(iii) a.   CL   b.   CL
         ARG 3RD   3RD
              | |
   OBL   OBL

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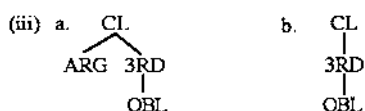
Once the morphological rule in (27a) has applied, the output form and the structure corresponding to the dative plural clitic are mapped onto a template based on whole clitics (cf. (16b')). The dative clitic ([pl OBL]) will precede the neuter clitic ([NEUT 3RD]). When the third person dative clitic is singular, the output forms do not differ at all from variety D: the form /li/ appears whenever the two clitics involved are singular; /lzi/ appears, instead, when the accusative clitic is plural (recall that in this case the dative clitic is singular). No feminine marker appears. Under the present proposal, the lack of a feminine marker indicates that the feature [feminine] depends on [3RD], like in variety D. Likewise, the mapping to a template will be based on features (cf. (16b)). The two templates valid for variety C appear in (28), below:

(28) a. _____   _____   b.   ____   ____

        [pl OBL]   [NEUT 3RD]   [ARG]   [OBL]

Variety C constitutes, then, a mixed system with respect to mapping to a template, like variety B: for certain combinations the mapping is based on whole clitics (in both varieties, this

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looses its feature [NEUT] when it cooccurs with any [3RD] clitic, as shown below:

(i)   CL   /   CL
       ⟨‾‾‾⟩ |
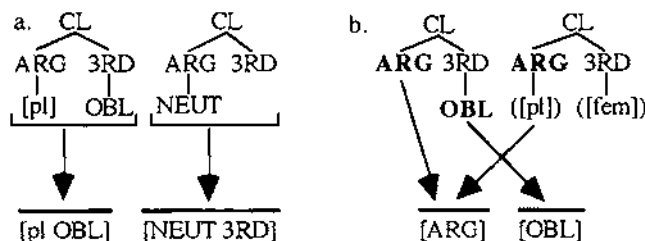   ARG 3RD   3RD
    ╪
   NEUT
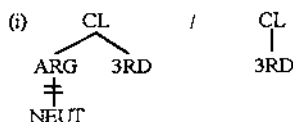
In variety C, rule (i) has to precede rule (27a). Otherwise, the feature [NEUT] introduced by rule (i) would be lost by the application of rule (27a). The ordering between these two rules could follow from some structure preservation condition.

Jim Harris (p.c.) suggests that /o/ in this variety could be interpreted as a class marker (as the one that appears in *carro*), rather than the spell-out of the feature [NEUT]. This is certainly a possibility worth exploring, even though it would be more difficult to rule out the form */lzoz/ as the spell-out for a combination with an accusative plural clitic.

happens whenever a third person dative plural clitic is involved); for others, the mapping is based on features.[14] The mapping of whole clitics is shown in (29a), while the mapping of features appears in (29b):

(29)

a.
```
    CL              CL
   ╱  ╲           ╱   ╲
 ARG  3RD       ARG   3RD
  │    │         │
 [pl] OBL       NEUT
  └────┘         └──────┘
     │              │
     ▼              ▼
  ────────       ─────────
  [pl OBL]       [NEUT 3RD]
```

b.
```
     CL              CL
    ╱  ╲            ╱   ╲
 ARG  3RD        ARG   3RD
  │               │
 OBL            ([pl])  ([fem])
   ╲             ╱
    ╲───────╲───╱
    ▼         ▼     ▼
  ─────     ─────
  [ARG]     [OBL]
```

In (29a) the neuter clitic that appears on the right side (it could equally have been written on the

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[14] We have seen that when two features "fight" for a given slot in the template, no conflict arises and both of them are mapped. Later on each such slot will receive a single spell-out, which will be interpreted as having two different sources. Among the combinations taken into consideration in this paper, there are no cases of two whole clitics that compete for a single slot. These cases do exist, the potential combination of two instances of *es* being an example of them. First and second person clitics and the clitic *es* (all non-[3RD] clitics) are mapped as whole clitics in all dialects of Catalan. Two instances of *es* could in principle cooccur if one of them were an impersonal clitic and the other one were a reflexive third person clitic. However, these combinations do not have a grammatical output, as can be seen in (i):

(i)   a.   *En aquesta casa   **es es**   renta.
            in this   house refl+imp washes

     b.   *En aquesta casa   **es**   renta.
            in this   house refl+imp washes
            'In this house, one washes oneself.'

As (ia) shows, two instances of *es* cannot cooccur; in (ib) we see that a single instance of *es* cannot represent both a reflexive clitic and an impersonal clitic. The facts in (i), compared to the facts taken into account in the text with respect to the competition for a given slot, lead us to conclude that two whole clitics can never be mapped onto a single slot, while this is not the case with individual features. This condition would account for the integrity (or recoverability, in terms taken from Bonet (1991)) that non-[3RD] clitics seem to show. (Mascaró (1986:135-6) presents a more complicated picture of the facts related to the cooccurrence of identical clitics).

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left side) is the accusative clitic after the application of the morphological rule in (27a). The first slot in the corresponding template can only be occupied by third person dative plural clitics, which is the case in (29a). In (29b), the feature [feminine] is not mapped onto the template because there is no slot for [3RD] and, therefore, it cannot be spelled out.

3. Conclusions

In this paper, four different varieties of Catalan have been analyzed with respect to their different outputs in combinations of two third person clitics. It has been shown that both linear order and the presence of opaque forms follow, except for one single aspect, from the way the mapping onto a template works. The exception is the change from an accusative clitic to a neuter clitic in one of the varieties. This type of opaque form, far from being an exception, is very common in all Romance languages, and has been argued to be derived from the application of a morphological rule. These rules, by their own nature, cannot generate random outputs, but give as a result a structure corresponding to an independently existing clitic. The results provided by the proposal made in this paper could hardly be obtained if a syntactic approach were adopted, which would, at most, provide an account of linear order —not of the presence of opaque forms— by making obligatory use, at least for varieties B and C, of certain stipulations (because of the existence of a different ordering depending on the number of the dative clitic). It has to be taken into account, also, that the amount of dialectal and language variation with respect to pronominal clitics and their combination is extraordinary, while variation in other aspects is much smaller. Under a minimalist view of the grammar it does not make much sense to try to account for all these differences in syntactic terms. A post-syntactic morphological approach to this variation seems more plausible.

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