

CATALAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

Volume 1
2002

The Grammar of Clitics

Edited by Joan Mascaró & Gemma Rigau

DADES CATALOGRÀFIQUES RECOMANADES PEL SERVEI DE BIBLIOTEQUES DE LA UNIVERSITAT AUTÒNOMA DE BARCELONA

Catalan Journal of Linguistics

Catalan Journal of Linguistics = CJL / Grup de Gramàtica Teòrica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona ; Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana. — Núm. 1 (2002)- . — Bellaterra (Barcelona) : Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Servei de Publicacions, 2003- . — 23 cm

Anual. — Continuació de: Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics = ISSN 1132-256X

ISSN 1695-6885

I. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Grup de Gramàtica Teòrica

II. Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana

III. CJL

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Composició

Binorama, SCP

Edició i impressió

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Servei de Publicacions

08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Spain

Phone: +34 93 581 15 96. Fax: +34 93 581 32 39

E-mail: sp@uab.es

ISSN 1695-6885

Dipòsit legal: B-4.112-2003

Imprès a Espanya. Printed in Spain

Imprès en paper ecològic

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Catalan Journal of Linguistics = CJL
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19-39 **Bonet, Eulàlia** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana); **Lloret, Maria-Rosa** (Universitat de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)
OCP Effects in Catalan Cliticization. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 19-39.

In Catalan, sequences of sibilants are never pronounced as such. In most contexts all varieties coincide in the «strategies» used to avoid these sequences, namely epenthesis or deletion. Variation is only found in the domain of pronominal clitics (but not with other types of clitics). One source of variation is accounted for by decomposing a general constraint into two specific ones, which implies partial constraint reranking. The other source of variation, which involves a case of apparent opacity, is explained through an Output-Output constraint that makes reference to paradigmatic relations.

Keywords: OCP, clitics, epenthesis, deletion, fusion, opacity, Optimality Theory.

41-69 **Delfitto, Denis** (Università degli Studi di Verona. Dipartimento di Linguistica Letteratura e Science della Comunicazione)
On the Semantics of Pronominal Clitics and some of its Consequences. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 41-69.

Recent work on the acquisition of the binding conditions suggests that pronominal clitics (PCs) encode the presence of an unsaturated argument position. In other words, PC-constructions encode functional abstraction: the argument position related to the PC is re-opened. This interpretation represents a radical departure

from traditional analyses (in virtually every syntactic framework, including HPSG and Principles&Parameters), which take PCs to reduce the valence of the predicate to which they are linked, either in the lexicon (HPSG) or in syntax (P&P). In this contribution, I will provide conceptual and empirical motivation for this radical reinterpretation of PC-constructions, by claiming that it considerably enhances the prospects of explanatory adequacy in (at least) the following domains: (a) the acquisition data relative to Principle B Effects in Romance languages; (b) the familiar vs. bound-variable interpretation of PCs; (c) the diachronic relationship between clitic left-dislocation constructions (CLLD) and PC-constructions; (d) the properties of Romance CLLD which are still in need of a deep conceptual account, like the (optional) presence of a resumptive clitic and the recursive nature of the topic projections in the left-periphery.

Key words: pronominal clitics, interface conditions, interpretable features, topicalization, left periphery, locality effects, resumptive clitics.

71-115 **Kayne, Richard S.** (New York University. Department of Linguistics) On some Prepositions that Look DP-internal: English *of* and French *de*. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 71-115.

The article shows that, in spite of their DP-internal appearance, many instances of the English preposition *of* and of the French preposition *de* can be reanalyzed as being VP-external. Moreover, it is argued that what looks like movement of a bare quantifier turns out to be remnant movement. It is also claimed that each +N subpart of DP must get its own Case, which means that (non-head) phrases never have Case.

Key words: syntax, noun phrase, prepositions, Case, movement.

117-155 **Manzini, Rita M.; Savoia, Leonardo M.** (Università di Firenze. Dipartimento di Linguistica) Clitics: Lexicalization Patterns of the So-called 3rd Person Dative. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 117-155.

Manzini and Savoia (1999, 2001a, 2001b, to appear) argue that the basic facts about the clitic string are best accounted for without having recourse to anything but a minimalist syntactic component, i.e. making no use of a specialized morphological component nor of optimality-type comparisons between derivations/ representations. In particular, they assume that clitics correspond to specialized inflectional categories, and are merged directly into the positions where they surface; such categories are furthermore ordered in a universal hierarchy, as we will detail below. The aim of the present paper is to consider datives in the light of this framework. We will conclude that there is no evidence for the category dative in the Romance dialects we shall consider, while in fact there is evidence for categorizations of so-called dative clitics as quantificational elements or as deictic elements (locatives). In all cases, the relevant categorization relies entirely on referential properties, or more generally on interpretive properties intrinsic to the lexical items involved, calling into question the traditional notion of Case itself.

Key words: clitics, Case, mutual exclusion, suppletion, dative, locative, partitive, accusative, *si*, Italian dialects.

157-199 **Nash, Lea** (Université Paris-8. Département des Sciences du Langage); **Rouveret, Alain** (Université Paris-7. Département de Linguistique) Cliticization as Unselective Attract. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 157-199.

The purpose of this article is to provide an explanatory account of the divide between enclisis and proclisis in pronominal clitic constructions in Romance and Semitic languages. The analysis is based on two fundamental assumptions: (i) clitics do not target designated prelabelled positions, but take maximal advantage of the available categorial structure; (ii) cliticization patterns are tightly dependent on the inflectional properties of the language, more specifically, on the feature content of the two functional categories, Infl and v. We show that the various asymmetries in clitic behavior can elegantly be explained in terms of the minimalist theory of movement, combined with certain formal hypotheses about the building of phrase structure and about the relation of morphology to syntax. Relying on certain ideas about uninterpretable features, Attract and Agree, we argue that cliticization patterns can be made to follow from the strategies made available by U.G. to check the uninterpretable feature of the category Infl and from the derivational origin of the tense and person-number features. A principle, the Unselective Attract Principle, is introduced according to which an uninterpretable feature is a potential attractor for all the features which are of the same type as the one which it selectively attracts. In Romance and in Semitic, clitic phi-sets are unselectively attracted by Infl. Two additional principles, the Priority Principle and the Single Licensing Condition, insure that at some point in the derivation a clitic can incorporate into Infl only if Infl doesn't already host an attracted inflectional morpheme. This idea holds the key for the enclisis/proclisis divide. Enclisis, i.e. clitic incorporation into Infl, is disallowed in Romance finite clauses where the uninterpretable feature of Infl selectively attracts the person-number agreement phi-set; it is legitimate in Semitic and European Portuguese finite clauses in which the same feature is checked through Agree.

Key words: clitics, inflectional morphemes, uninterpretable features, Attract, Agree.

201-224 **Ordóñez, Francisco** (State University of New York at Stony Brook. Department of Hispanic Languages and Literature) Some Clitic combinations in the Syntax of Romance. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 201-224.

The purpose of this paper is to account for certain gaps in the syntactic distribution of certain combinations of clitics in varieties of Aragonese, Catalan, Occitan and Spanish. A view in which ordering of clitics is only determined by templates is insufficient since templates enter into play after the syntactic component, either in the morphology or in some other post-syntactic component. The alternative I propose is to assume that the ordering of clitic combinations can be done in the syntax, as anticipated by Kayne (1994) and Terzi (1999). I will specifically propose that some of the anomalies involve clitic combinations that are actually non-constituents (split clitics) while in others one element is not actually a clitic but an element with a different morphological status or weak pronominals as in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

Key words: clitic combination, templates, split clitics, weak pronouns, morphology.

225-255 **Solà, Jaume** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)
Critic Climbing and Null Subject Languages. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2002, vol. 1, p. 225-255.

The aim of this paper is to derive Critic Climbing from restructuring together with the Null Subject property. Data are drawn mainly from Catalan. I propose a biclausal analysis for restructuring constructions in which critic climbing (like any critic-Argument dependencies) is analysed as an A-dependency, assuming that critics are AGR-heads which check features in the Agreement-Case system. Critic climbing would be then a «long distance» A-dependency, which is made possible by assuming that restructuring is always raising, and that raising in NSLs is a transparent structure for A-dependencies, due to the nature of Nominative Case checking in these languages. To this end, a reformulation of locality conditions for checking (Agree, Chomsky 1998) is needed, which has some independent plausibility.

Key words: verbal agreement, object critics, Case, subject raising, critic climbing.

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