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The Where and How of Clitic Order

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Article abstract

The main goal of this paper is to show that pronominal clitic order cannot be determined syntactically, once one explores this hypothesis taking into account not only argument-related clitics, but also inherent clitics and ethical dative clitics. Clitic order is idiosyncratic byt fixed in nature, as is shown with data coming from several dialects of Catalan. The suggestion is made that clitic order is determined post-syntactically, in the Morphology Component—see Bonet (1991, 1995), and Halle & Marantz (1993)—through the mapping onto a dialect-specific template.

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THE WHERE AND HOW OF CLITIC ORDER*

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1. Introduction

M UCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about Romance pronominal clitics, and there seems to be a general assumption, especially among syntacticians, that clitic order is determined syntactically. However, to my knowledge, no paper has been written trying to give an account of the order among all types of clitics. The goal of this paper is to show that the existence of very different types of clitics, the great amount of dialectal variation, the presence of opaque clitic output forms, and the lack of correlation between these factors and the surface order of the clitics suggest that a purely syntactic account of clitic order is untenable and that, following an idea first expressed in Perlmutter (1971), surface order and other clitic-related phenomena should be accounted for in a post-syntactic component.[1]

Most of the examples to be given in this paper are from Catalan, but many of the aspects shown could also be illustrated with examples from other Romance languages.

2. Different types of pronominal clitics

A very important fact to take into account when a syntactic approach to clitic order is chosen is that there are several types of clitics, in spite of the fact that the most discussed ones are argument-related clitics, especially the ones

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[1] In this paper I will not have anything to say about the order between the verb and the clitic cluster, which has been convincingly discussed in syntactic terms in the literature, especially in Kayne (1991).

related to direct object, and, less often, the ones related to indirect objects. The sections below review the four basic types of pronominal clitics : argument-related clitics, inherent clitics, datives of (inalienable) possession and ethical datives.

2.1 Argument-related clitics

As mentioned above, the most widely discussed clitics in the literature are the ones associated with accusative and dative arguments. This is illustrated below with four examples from Catalan. The phonological form of the third person accusative clitic is /l/, and the underlying form of the third person dative clitic is /li/. /m/ is a first person clitic, accusative, in (2a), or dative, in (2b):[2]

(1) a. En   Miquel   no   l'   ha   vist.
         the Miquel   not   3rd.-acc.   has   seen
         'Miquel has not seen him/it.'

     b. En   Pere **li**   ha   escrit   una   carta.
         the Pere 3rd-dat   has   written   a   letter
         'Pere has written him/her a letter.'

(2) a. En   Miquel   no   **m'**   ha   vist.
         the Miquel   not   1st.-acc.   has   seen
         'Miquel has not seen me.'

     b. En   Pere **m'**   ha   escrit   una   carta.
         the Pere 1st.-dat. has   written   a   letter
         'Pere has written me a letter.'

However, examples of arguments other than accusative or dative are often not taken into consideration in the literature. For instance, the verbs *anar* 'to go' or *treure* 'to take out from' also require a locative argument (allative and ablative, respectively). Two examples of these types appear below. Throughout this paper I refer to the clitic *en* /n/ (very close to the French *en* and the Italian *ne*) as 'genitive', even though it can have many different functions in the sentence. Likewise, I refer to the clitic *hi* /i/ (very similar to French *y* and Italian *ci*) as 'oblique' for convenience:

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[2] Throughout the paper all clitic forms appear in boldface in our examples.

(3) a. **Hi** (/i/) vaig   anar   ahir,   a   Cadaqués.
      obl.   aux-1st. go   yesterday to   Cadaqués
      'I went yesterday, to Cadaqués.'

   b. Ha obert el calaix i **n'** ha   tret   una camisa.
      has opened the drawer and gen. has taken-out a   shirt
      's/he has opened the drawer and has taken out a shirt.'

The genitive and the oblique clitic exist in many Romance languages, but not in Spanish, for instance. Some of the other functions of the genitive clitic are illustrated in (4). In (4a), e*n* is related to the head of a quantified NP in object position. In (4b), it is related to a prepositional phrase subcategorized for by the verb, which is usually introduced by the preposition *de*.

(4) a. Ha fet   moltes pel.lícules però encara no **n'** he   vist cap.
      has made many movies   but still   not gen. have(1st.) seen any
      's/he has made many movies but I haven't seen any yet.'

   b. No coneix la Costa Brava però sempre **en**   parla.
      not knows the Costa Brava but   always gen. talks
      'S/he does not know the Costa Brava but s/he always talks about it.'

The oblique clitic, illustrated in (3a) as a locative clitic, can also have other functions, as shown with two sentences below. In (5a) the oblique clitic is related to an adjective in an inchoative construction, and in (5b) it is related to a prepositional phrase required by the verb, which is usually introduced by the preposition *amb* 'with'.

(5) a. No és cínic   però s'   **hi** tornarà.
      not is cynical   but   inh.-refl. obl. will-become(3rd.)
      's/he is not cynical but s/he will become one.'

   b. Com que la Teresa no ha vingut **hi** parlaré   demà.
      because   the Teresa not has come   obl. will-talk(1st.) tomorrow
      'Given that Teresa has not come I will talk with her tomorrow.'

Finally, the neuter clitic, *ho* (/u/) in Catalan, has no specific form in other Romance languages, where it very often acquires the form of a third person accusative clitic. As in other cases, this clitic can have different functions; it can correspond to a sentential object or it can be predicative. A couple of examples with the neuter clitic appear below. In (6a) it corresponds to a direct object NP or sentential object, and in (6b) it is associated to the predicate of a small clause:

(6) a. En Miquel no **ho** ha vist.
       the Miquel not neut. has seen
       'Miquel has not seen it.'

    b. En Joan és feliç però la Teresa no **ho** és gaire.
       the Joan is happy but the Teresa not neut. is much
       'Joan is happy but Teresa is not very happy.'

I have not given any examples of the various types of *es* or *se*, which can be reflexive, impersonal or middle, among others. These functions are, in some cases, less clearly argument-related in the sense that it is not clear that they could not be inherent clitics as well. For this reason, I will concentrate on the other, more clear types.

The examples given so far in this section can have different functions, but in all cases they are related to arguments. Syntactically, argument-related clitics have received basically two different kinds of analysis. One of them, the movement analysis, argues that clitics originate in argument position, and move to Infl (or V, in early versions of the theory).[3] This type of approach, followed basically by Kayne (1975) and later work, accounts for the fact that, in most cases, pronominal clitics and arguments are in complementary distribution. The other basic approach claims that pronominal clitics are agreement markers, which do not differ, for instance, from subject agreement. Pronominal clitics originate directly in Infl. This type of approach, first proposed by Rivas (1977) and developed by Borer (1984) and others, accounts for the fact that in some varieties of Spanish, pronominal clitics can cooccur with full arguments (i.e., there is no complementary distribution), acting in a similar way to agreement. Both theories make claims about the surface order of the clitics. I will return to this point later.

2.2 Inherent Clitics

Many Romance languages make use of so-called pronominal verbs, that is verbs with inherent clitics. In many cases these clitics affect the argument structure of the verb or alter its ability to assign Case. Moreover, in some cases the meaning of the verb is modified, see Rigau (1990). In other cases the verb does not exist without the clitic. Practically all types of clitics can act as inherent clitics (the exception being the third person dative /li/), even though in some cases there is some gender restriction (the accusative third person clitic always

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[3] In current terminology they would originate in some Agr projection.

has to be feminine : *la/les*). All these types of inherent clitics appear illustrated in (7)-(9), below:

(7) Hauries   d' anar a l' oculista   perquè no **hi** veus   bé.
     should(2nd.) of go   to the ophthalmologist because not obl.see(2nd) well
     'You should go to the ophthalmologist because you do not see well.'

The verb *veure* alone is a transitive verb, but with the oblique clitic *hi* it becomes intransitive and makes reference to the vision capacity. Some other perception verbs, like *sentir* 'to hear', work the same way. (8) illustrates a case with two inherent clitics:

(8) La Teresa   **se**   **n'**   ha   anat de   casa.
     the Teresa   refl.   gen. has   gone from   home
     'Teresa has left home.'

The verb *anar* 'to go' acquires a slightly different meaning, 'to leave' when it takes the two inherent clitics *es* and *en*. (9), below, contains the most extreme case of pronominal verb, since *dinyar* does not exist in Catalan as an independent verb. It only exists together with the accusative third person feminine clitic and it means 'to die'.

(9) En Pere va   dinyar-**la**   ahir.
     the Pere aux.   *dinyar*-3rd.-acc.-fem. yesterday
     'Pere died yesterday.'

The only account of inherent clitics I am aware of is that of Kayne (1975). According to him, and translating the account to modern terms, inherent clitics are generated in argument position, as argument-related clitics are, and, like these, move to Infl. A basic problem with this type of account, however, is that many inherent clitics can cooccur with the XP to which they are most likely related. This is the case, for instance, in (8) with the genitive clitic. One could relate it to some locative (ablative) argument position, but in the same sentence there is a full XP of this type : *de casa* 'of home'. Moreover, this sentence presents an additional problem. Given that *anar* alone is an intransitive verb, it is very difficult to imagine what the base position of the inherent reflexive clitic should be. Some arbitrary decision has to be made (one could assume that *anar* in this case becomes a transitive verb). Leaving aside these problems, an additional specification should be made in a theory that assigns inherent clitics to argument positions : contrary to argument-related clitics, inherent clitics cannot bear a theta role. This distinction, or a similar one, is needed because inherent clitics display a behavior different from argument-related clitics with

respect to the Person-Case Constraint, see Bonet (1994). According to this constraint, if there is a dative clitic related to some argument, the clitic related to the direct object has to be third person. The contrast between argument-related clitics and inherent clitics with respect to the Person-Case Constraint is illustrated in (10):

(10) a. *Al   president, **me**   **li**   presentaré   jo mateix.
        to-the president 1dat.-acc. 3rd.-dat. will-introduce(1st.) I   myself
        'I will introduce myself to the president.'

   b. Si veig   en Pere, **me**   **li**   declararé.
      if see(1st.) the Pere   inh. refl.-1st. 3rd.-dat. will-declare(st.)
      'If I see Pere, I will declare my love to him.'

(10a) is ungrammatical because there is a dative clitic, but the accusative clitic is not third person. (10b), with a very similar combination of clitics is not ungrammatical because one of them is inherent, not strictly related to an argument.

2.3 Datives of (inalienable) possession

In many Romance languages, the possessor, under certain circumstances, especially in cases of inalienable possession, can be expressed with a dative clitic, as shown in the examples below:

(11) a. Li   vaig   donar   la   mà.
        3rd.-dat   aux(1st.)   give   the   hand
        'I gave my hand to him/her.'

   b. A   en   Pere se   **li**   ha   espatllat   el   cotxe.
      to the   Pere *middle* 3rd.-dat. has   broken   the   car
      'Pere's car has broken.'

Although (11b) is not a case of strictly inalienable possession, there is no other difference with respect to the use of the dative clitic, if we compare it to (11a). The clitic e*s/se* in (11b) appears in one of its many uses, turning a transitive construction into a middle construction. According to Kayne (1975), the clitic in these cases would originate in the position of a dative XP.[4] It is unclear

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[4] Kayne (1975) gives arguments against an approach according to which the dative clitic would be generated inside the NP containing the inalienable possession, as opposed to being generated as an independent dative XP.

whether or not this position would be the same indirect objects occupy, but we could suppose this is in fact the case.

2.4 Ethical datives

First and second person clitics, especially, can be used in many dialects of Catalan, and in other Romance dialects, as ethical datives. Ethicals datives refer to the speaker or the listener in the topic of the conversation, and express some sort of emotional attachment.[5] Some examples are given below:

(12) a. **M'**   ha   suspès   les   matemàtiques.
        eth.dat.-1st. has   failed   the   mathematics
        'S/he has failed math on me.'

    b. No **te**   li   faran   res.
        not eth.dat.-2nd. 3rd-dat. will-do(3rd.pl.) nothing
        'They will do nothing to him/her on you.'

It is very difficult to assume a movement analysis for this type of clitics, since it is not clear what type of XP within the sentence they could be related to. These clitics do not seem to have any syntactic role; for instance, they cannot be questioned, as shown in (13b):

(13) a. **Me**   li   ha suspès les matemàtiques a la   Carmina.[6]
        eth.dat.-1st. 3rd-dat. has failed   the mathematics   to the Carmina
        'They have failed Mary on mathematics on me.'

    b. *A qui   li   ha suspès les matemàtiques a la   Carmina?
        to whom 3rd.dat. has failed   the mathematics   to the Carmina
        'On whom they have failed Mary on mathematics?'

Moreover, ethical datives, unlike argument-related clitics but like inherent clitics, cannot be doubled. So, a sentence like (12b) could not have a strong pronoun doubling the ethical dative, as shown in (14), below:

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[5] In the case of third person ethical datives, very marginal for many speakers, there is a feeling that the person referred to with the clitic has to be present in the conversation.

[6] The dative third person clitic of this sentence doubles the indirect object *a la Carmina*. Clitic doubling with indirect object is very common in Catalan and, for many speakers, it is obligatory in most cases.

(14) *No **te**   li   faran   res   **a**   **tu**.
      not   eth.dat.-2nd. 3rd-dat. will-do(3rd.pl.) nothing to   you
      'They will do nothing to him/her on you.'

However, these clitics behave like other pronominal clitics in one res-
pect : they have to appear in the same clitic cluster as other clitics. So, if there
is clitic climbing, ethical clitics also have to climb. This is shown in the examples
below:

(15) a. No **me**   li   podia   fer   allò.
            not eth.dat.-1st. 3rd.-dat.   could(3rd.)   do   that

      b. No podia   fer-   **me-**   li   allò.
            not could(3rd.)   do   eth.dat.-1st. 3rd.-dat.   that

      c. *No **em**   podia   fer-   li   allò.
            not eth.dat.-1st. could(3rd.) do   3rd.-dat.   that

      d. *No li   podia   fer-   **me**   allò.
            not 3rd.-dat.   could(3rd.) do   eth.dat.-1st. that
            's/he could not do that to him/her on me.'

In (15a,b) the two clitics, an argument-related clitic (dative) and an ethical
dative, appear in the same cluster, either in the upper position, in (15a), or in
the lower position, in (15b). In (15c,d) the two clitics appear in different posi-
tions, and the result is ungrammatical.

Borer and Grodzinsky (1986) claim that the insertion of ethical datives is
a lexical process, since they do not have any effect on the syntax. Presumably,
then, these clitics are directly generated in Infl or in V, depending on the
approach, and they move upwards with other clitics. I am not aware of any
other approach to ethical datives.

3. A syntactic approach to clitic order?

As mentioned at the beginning of the paper, there seems to be a general
conviction among syntacticians that clitic order is determined syntactically;
however, no serious proposal has been made, to my knowledge, taking into
account all types of clitics, not just argument-related clitics, accusative and
dative. Of course there is an easy way to 'predict' syntactically the position of
clitics with respect to each other, by weakening the theory of syntax. Either

one could assume that adjunction can be either to the left or to the right and that the site of adjunction is arbitrary, or one could assume that there are all kinds of projections, among which there is, for instance, a first person projection and a second person projection and, again, that the hierarchical relations among them are determined arbitrarily, so as to obtain the correct surface order. This is certainly an option, although not a desirable one, in my opinion, since for many years, one of the main goals of syntactic theory has been to be as restrictive and as general as possible.[7]

Let us assume, then, that the syntax is maximally identical across languages, and that adjunction is always to the left. If we assume that different clitics are generated in different positions and that they independently move to one specific position, a prediction is made about clitic order. Let us also assume that ethical datives, unlike other clitics, originate in V or in Infl, as was suggested in section 2.4.[8] If we assume, for instance, that ethical datives are directly generated in a specific Infl position, we predict that argument-related clitics, base-generated in a VP internal position, will always adjoin to the left of ethical datives, deriving the surface order argument-related clitic > ethical dative, as shown by the Catalan example below:

(16) **Te**   **m'**   han   pegat.
      2nd.-acc.   eth.dat.-1st. have(3rd.pl.) scolded
      'They have scolded you on me.'

In (16) the first clitic is related to the direct object, while the second one is an ethical dative, as predicted by the theory. However, an alternative interpretation can be assigned to (16), as shown in (17):

(17) **Te**   **m'**   han   pegat.
      eth.dat.-2nd. 1st.-acc.   have(3rd.pl.) scolded
      'They have scolded me on you.'

In this case, the first pronominal clitic is interpreted as an ethical dative, while the second one is interpreted as an argument-related clitic. However, the order is reversed with respect to the one our syntax predicts. Under this approach it is thus impossible to predict the order between ethical datives and argument-related clitics.

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[7] Chomsky (1992) proposes, for instance, that language variation should be located in the interfaces, not in the syntax, and Kayne (1993) proposes, among many other things, that adjunction is always to the left.

[8] Of course, if one assumes that all clitics originate in the same Infl or V node, no predictions are made about clitic order.

If we take into account only a specific type of clitics, for instance argument-related clitics, we would also predict, under the same approach, that either the accusative clitic will precede the dative clitic or viceversa, depending on what theory of double object constructions we have. Independently of the theory we choose, the prediction is that the surface relative order between accusative and dative will always be the same, but this is not always true, as was shown in Perlmutter (1971). Combinations of first and second person argument-related clitics are not good for many speakers of Romance languages, a consequence of the Person-Case Constraint; but there is a subset of speakers who can give the sentence in (18) either one of two interpretations, (18a) or (18b):

(18) Te'**m** vendran per divuit milions.

      2nd. 1st. will-sell(3rd.pl.) for eighteen million

      a. They will sell me to you for eighteen million.
      b. They will sell you to me for eighteen million.

(18a) would be predicted by the syntax if the indirect object related clitic were generated *LOWER* than the direct object related clitic. (18b), however, would be predicted syntactically only if the indirect object related clitic were generated *HIGHER* than the direct object related clitic. A consistent theory of double object constructions, then, is unable to predict clitic order for cases like the one illustrated in (18).

Notice that in (16)-(18), the only generalization that can be made about clitic order is that second person clitics of any kind always precede first person clitics in this language. (19), which contains an ethical dative and an inherent clitic, provides additional evidence for this generalization:

(19) a. No **te**   **m'**   enfadis.
          not inh.refl.-2nd. eth.dat.1st. get-angry(2nd.)
          'Do not get angry on me.'

      b. No **te**   **m'**   enfadaré.
          not eth.dat.-2nd   inh.refl.-1st. will-get-angry(1st.)
          "I will not get angry on you.'

In (19a) the inherent clitic precedes the ethical dative clitic, while in (19b) we find the opposite order. The only constant is that the second person clitic precedes the first person clitic, as was the case in (16)-(18).

It seems obvious, then, that the most common syntactic theories about clitics that make predictions about clitic order cannot provide a non-arbitrary

account. One could pursue the idea that clitics are hierarchically organized according to person, but this would also imply that arguments are not organized according to thematic relations but according to person information. This would of course be a rather different proposal with very broad implications, which cannot be explored here.[9]

3.1 Clitic order and non-transparent forms

In languages with pronominal clitics it is fairly frequent to find, in certain combinations, clitic forms that are not the expected ones. A famous example of this type is provided by the Spanish spurious *se*, which appears illustrated in (20b). (20a) shows the form of the dative clitic (3rd person singular) as it appears in isolation:

(20) a. Si viene   Pedro, **le**   daré   el   libro.
       if comes   Pedro   3rd-dat will-give(1st.) the   book
       "If Pedro comes, I will give him the book.'

   b. Si Pedro quiere el   libro, **se**   lo   daré.
      if Pedro wants the   book, *se* 3rd.-acc.   will-give(1st.)
      'If Pedro wants the book, I will give it to him.'

The third person dative clitic acquires the form of a reflexive clitic when it cooccurs with a third person accusative clitic. An interesting aspect of the spurious *se* is that the change to a different form is not arbitrary but it coincides with the form of another clitic of the language, in spite of the fact that there is no semantic change of any sort: the *se* clitic in these cases is related with a third person dative argument.

Non-transparent forms have not received a syntactic treatment, as far as I know, and it is difficult to propose a syntactic treatment of this phenomenon given that in all respects except their external aspect these 'modified' clitics share the same properties as their corresponding form when it does not occur

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[9] Sportiche (1992) makes a mixed proposal which combines the two main theories about clitics. He proposes that each argument-related clitic – accusative, dative, ... – is the head of a clitic projection. Full XP's originate inside the VP and move to the specifier position to the relevant clitic projection. Since clitics adjoin to higher functional heads, a prediction is made (or stipulated, as he himself aknowledges) about clitic order. As presented, his theory cannot avoid the problems mentioned in this section. Given the data in (16)-(19), one could try to pursue a slightly different proposal in which the clitic projections were based on person information, not on Case information. I will not pursue this idea and its consequences here.

with another clitic. It is reasonable to assume, then, that this modification in
the form of the clitic takes place postsyntactically.[10] Syntactic theories that
make predictions about clitic order, given this assumption, would predict that
the modified clitic would occupy the position corresponding to its non modified
version. In the case of Spanish this seems to be the case. The order in (20b) is :
(modified) dative > accusative, the same we find in transparent cases, like the
one illustrated in (21):[11]

(21) El libro, Guillermo **me**   **lo**   dará   mañana.
     the book Guillermo 1st.-dat. 3rd.-acc. will-give(3rd.) tomorrow
     'Guillermo will give me the book tomorrow.'

Non-transparent forms exist also in other languages. One of the non-
transparent forms that can be found in Catalan also corresponds to a third person
dative clitic, and appears when there is a potential violation of the Person-Case
Constraint, which was illustrated in (10), repeated in (22a). (22b) shows the
grammatical form of the clitic combination, with a modification on the dative
clitic:

(22) a. *Al   president, me   **li**   presentaré   jo mateix.
        to-the president 1dat.-acc. 3rd.-dat. will-introduce(1st.) I myself

     b. Al   president, **m'**   **hi** (/i/) presentaré   jo mateix.
        to-the president 1dat.-acc. *hi*   will-introduce(1st.) I myself
        'I will introduce myself to the president.'

The oblique clitic *hi*, which can have different functions (as was described
in section 1.1) is used in (22b) to avoid the effects of the Person-Case Constraint,
but is understood as a third person dative clitic.[12] In (22b), then, the surface
order of the clitics involved is : accusative > dative. However, this is not the
order we find in other combinations of accusative and dative clitics, as illustrated
in (23):

(23) Aquest llibre, **me'**   **l**   van   regalar ahir.
     this   book 1st.-dat. 3rd-acc. aux.(3rd.,pl.) give   yesterday
     'I was given this book yesterday.'

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[10] A morphological approach to non-transparent pronominal clitic forms can be found in Bonet
(1995).

[11] Keep in mind, however, that Spanish also has the problem raised by (18), where both the order
accusative > dative and dative > accusative are possible.

[12] See Bonet (1994) for an analysis of this constraint and the "strategies" to avoid it in different
languages.

In (23) the dative clitic precedes the accusative clitic; it does not follow it, as in (22). If clitic order were established syntactically, there should not be any differences between (22) and (23) with respect to clitic order. As far as I can see, the only solution to this problem is to claim that, given that Spanish spurious s*e* appears in the same position as real *se*, and that *hi* in (23) appears in the same position as real *hi*, it is not true that the form of the clitics is modified postsyntactically, and that the surface form corresponds to the basic form. If we accept this proposal, then we have to explain why it is that spurious *se* is interpreted and behaves in the same way as a third person dative clitic, and why the Catalan alternative *hi* is also interpreted as a third person dative clitic. This is not at all a trivial enterprise and, I do not know of any approaches along these lines. In section 3, an alternative approach is presented, which claims that these forms are obtained postsyntactically.

3.3 Dialectal variation

As is well-known, there is a lot of dialectal variation with respect to pronominal clitics. In this section I will only make reference to a few dialects of Catalan, but the issues brought fourth could be exemplified, most probably, with any Romance language.

Majorcan, Valencian and Standard Catalan correspond to three different dialects of Catalan. More precisely, the latter is the Standard register corresponding to Central Catalan. These three dialects/registers do not present any notable syntactic differences (Rigau, p.c.). However, the order among pronominal clitics differs drastically, as shown below with descriptive templates. Valencian does not have the oblique clitic *hi*. It also lacks the genitive clitic *en* in some of its uses. The slash mark indicates tha the forms around it are in complementary distribution; they can never cooccur. In Majorcan, for instance, it is difficult to see what the order between first and second person is because there are very few contexts where they cooccur:[13]

(24) a. Valencian:
         1st. — 2nd. — 3rd.-dat. — *es* — 3rd.-acc. — gen./neuter
     b. Majorcan:
         3rd.-acc. — *es* — 1st. / 2nd. — 3rd.-dat. — gen. — oblique/neuter
     c. *es* — 2nd. — 1st. — 3rd.-dat.-pl. – 3rd.-acc. —gen. —obl./neuter.
                                  3rd.-dat.sg.

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[13] For instance, Majorcan makes a very restrictive use of ethical datives.

The template for Standard Catalan is an adapted simplification of the template given in Mascaró (1985). As mentioned above, these templates are only descriptive, and do not capture many of the cooccurrence restrictions and non-transparent forms among clitics. Standard Catalan has a more complicated template than the other two dialects because, when two third persons are involved, the order dative - accusative holds only if the dative is plural. In the singular, the form of the dative clitic is *hi* and, not surprisingly, it follows the accusative. These facts are captured in the template in (24) by the appearence of the third person dative singular clitic below the two clitics it cannot cooccur with, the third person dative plural clitic (naturally), and the third person accusative clitic, which in this combination adopts the form of the oblique clitic *hi*, as mentioned above. This case is not very different, in its output, from the strategy Catalan uses in certain cases to avoid the effects of the Person-Case Constraint.

I think that the differences illustrated in (25) among the three variants of Catalan are evident, and not much more needs to be said. Take, for instance, the differences with respect to the relative order of the clitic *es* with other clitics : it never occupies the same position. As I said earlier, no specific syntactic differences seem to correlate with the differences in clitic order.

As a final note to this section, I would like to mention a difference that arises in dialects that are very close to each other. While in Barceloní first or second person clitics follow *es*, in southern variants of Gironí, first or second person clitics precede *es*. These areas, contrary to the cases described above, are very close to each other, but there are no syntactic differences that could be related somehow to the differences in clitic order.

3.3 Other aspects

There are other aspects that make a syntactic approach to these matters difficult to maintain. In some dialects of Spanish, the number morph appears after certain clitics, not before them, as one would expect. The following examples were taken from Camacho (1993). The two clitics involved appear in boldface:

(25) a. Tráiga-   **me-**   n-   **la**
        bring(subjunctive)   1st.-dat.   pl.   3rd.-acc.
        'Bring(pl.) her to me.'

    b. Cóma-   **se-**   **me-**   n   la   sopa
        eat(subjunctive)   inh.refl.-3rd.   eth.dat.-1st. pl. the   soup
        'Eat(pl.) the soup on me.'

There are two basic ways to account for the difference between this dialect and other dialects : either one assumes a different hierarchical organization of functional heads for each dialect, or the variation is attributed to differences in the way movement is performed. Under the first approach one would expect additional syntactic differences to occur between the two dialects —which is not the case—, given that the same functional projections would be organized differently in the two dialects, and the Spec positions of these projections can be landing sites for certain XPs. The second approach would be difficult to pursue successfully because it involves differences in the movement of the verb and the clitics, depending on the dialect, and problems with the licensing and the justification of these movements arise immediately.

Finally, a problem related to clitics that would involve some ad-hoc mechanisms to the syntax is the possibility of reduplicating certain clitics in climbing contexts. An example of this phenomenon appears below:

(26) Hi   voldríem   anar- **hi**   demà.
     loc.   would-like(1st.pl.)   go   loc.   tomorrow
     'We would like to go there tomorrow.'

If the dialects that have this reduplication had it consistently it would be easy to propose a syntactic mechanism to account for this fact : clitic movement would in fact be clitic copying. This would insure the appearence of the clitic in two different positions, the base position and the upper, final, position. However, this ill- described phenomenon is not consistent. Reduplication seems possible with certain clitics, not with others, as illustrated in (27):

(27) *Les   voldríem   veure- **les**   demà.
     3rd.-pl.-acc.   would-like(1st.pl.)   see   3rd.-pl.-acc.   tomorrow
     'We would like to see them(fem.) tomorrow.'

It would be an important weakening of the theory of syntax to postulate that clitic movement sometimes involves simple movement and sometimes copying.

3. A morphological approach to clitic order and other matters

In the preceding section several arguments have been given against a syntactic approach to clitic order. It has been shown that the only generalization that can be made with respect to the order among certain types of clitics is that clitic order is based on person information, not on Case information, or on

information about the nature of the clitic, which is the type of information one
would expect to be relevant to syntax. The existence of non-transparent forms
also seems to render a syntactic approach to clitic order rather difficult. The
order among clitics and other aspects that affect them are too idiosyncratic to
be considered syntactic phenomena.

   The morphological approach I will sketch here appears in much greater
detail in Bonet (1991, 1994, and 1995). It takes as a basic assumption that the
syntax is maximally identical across languages, and that variation is to be found
in other components of the grammar. There is no place in the syntax for "minor"
idiosyncrasies. Following Lumsden (1987), I assume that the syntax (prior to
spell-out) contains fully specified matrices of morpho-syntactic features, and
that phonological information is introduced *after* the syntax (phonological in-
formation is not relevant to it). Under this approach, then, the Romance
languages, for instance, would make a distinction between first person inclu-
sive and first person exclusive, even though this difference is not made
morphologically. First person accusative and dative, or first person reflexive
and pronominal clitics would have some different features in the syntax, and
they would only become identical after the syntax. In spite of the fact that the
claim is that morpho-syntactic information is so rich in the syntax, it is true
that on the surface languages show various degrees of morphological
"impoverishment". Impoverishment, as well as the insertion of phonological
information –and other aspects that will be mentioned later–, take place within
the Morphology Component, between s-structure and PF. The properties of
this component are discussed, among others, in Noyer (1992), and Halle &
Marantz (1993). An additional assumption is that, contrary to the claim made
in Kayne (1993), for instance, the syntax captures hierarchical relations but
not linear relations, see also Marantz (1984, 1988). Linearity is a phonetic
property, not a syntactic property.

   Given the assumptions made above, the structures that are the output of
the syntax are unordered but hierarchically organized, and their terminal nodes
contain fully specified morphosyntactic feature matrices. Pronominal clitics
will be attached to some Infl node unordered. In the mapping to the Morphology
Component some features are lost. This is, for instance, the point at which the
distinction between reflexives and pronominals for first and second person
clitics will be lost, a distinction necessary only in the syntax. The Morphology
Component is also the place in which non-transparent forms arise. The spurious
se of Spanish, for instance, will be the product of a morphological process
– not too different from phonological processes – that deletes one of the features
of the third person clitic, which will render it identical to the all the *se* clitics,

which are less marked than the third person clitic. In other cases a non-transparent form will be the product of feature addition, not an impoverishment operation. This would be the case with certain uses of Italian *ci*, illustrated in (28):

(28) a. Lo   **si**   sveglia.
         3rd.-acc.   impers.   wakes-up

     b. **Se**   lo   compra.
         refl.   3rd.-acc. buys
         'S/he buys it for herself/himself.'

     c. **Ci si** lava.
         ci si washes
         'One washes oneself.'

In (28c), one of the two *si* clitics which would cooccur is replaced by *ci*, another clitic from Italian, which usually corresponds to a first person plural clitic or to a locative clitic. This change is found in many dialects of Italian, but others (for instance the one spoken in Conegliano) keep the sequence *si si*. Following Cinque (1988), we can assume that the impersonal clitic, unlike the third person reflexive clitic (always singular within the Morphology Component) is inherently plural. The change from *si* to *ci* consists of the addition of the first person feature, turning the impersonal clitic identical, morphologically, to the first person plural clitic. This spurious *ci* could not correspond to the locative *ci* since, unlike the latter, the former can never be replaced by *vi*, also a locative clitic.[14]

Another important operation that takes place within the Morphology Component is linearization. The linearization of clitics cannot be established, in my opinion, following some general principle because, as was shown in section 3.3, for instance, there is a lot of dialectal variation, and it is not easy to even find some generalization based on feature make-up, for instance. Clitics seem to be ordered in an ad hoc but fixed fashion in each dialect. Under this approach clitic order is established through the mapping to a template with specific positions for each clitic, which varies from dialect to dialect. In some dialects all the positions of the template can be filled with clitics (in the Catalan dialect Barceloní the template has six positions and all of them can appear filled at the same time); other dialects have restrictions – which should be

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[14] There are other, theory-internal, arguments against this option, but many more details should be given about the proposal sketched here. These arguments can be found in Bonet (1995).

stated independently of the template– on the number of clitics that can cooccur. Instead of a template one could claim that clitic order is established through precedence relations. These two ways of capturing clitic order are illustrated in (29) with the first three clitics that can appear in a sequence in Barceloní:

(29) a.   <u>1</u>   <u>2</u>   <u>3</u> ....
      'se'   2nd.   3rd.

   b. 'se' > 2nd. >   3rd. ...

At this point I do not have a clear idea about all the repercussions that these two views can have in the theory, but, at least in the case of the template one can expore the possibility of attributing to it the appearence of specific non-transparent clitic outputs. For instance, in some dialects of Catalan, the combination of two third person clitics gives as a result an output with only one morph, singular or plural, corresponding to third person, /l(z)/, plus one morph /i/ corresponding to dative (/l(z)/ + /l(z)i/ —> /l(z)i/). This case is different from others where two clitics simply cannot cooccur (rendering the sentence ungrammatical). In combinations of two third person clitics (and some other cases) one can argue that both third person morphemes are mapped onto the same slot in the template, becoming one single morph. These cases are discussed in detail in Bonet (1993).
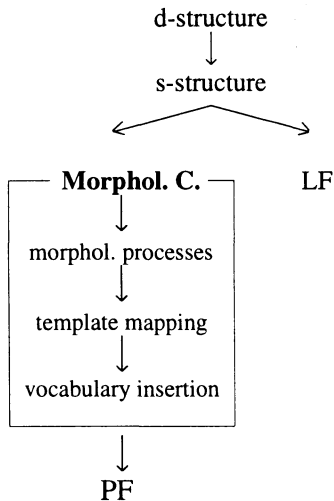
The last operation that takes place within the Morphology Component is the insertion of phonological information, and provides the input to PF, which deals exclusively with phonological processes. I will call this operation vocabulary insertion, following Halle & Marantz (1993). Some cases of allomorphy will be obtained at that point, as shown in (30) with the example of the Catalan first person singular clitic /m/ and its plural version /nz/:

(30) a. [1st.]   —>   /n/ / [pl.]
   b. [1st.]   —>   /m/
   c. [pl.]   —>   /z/

A form like */mz/ will not be generated because (30a) precedes (30b) by the Elsewhere Condition (see Kiparsky (1982), for instance), because (30a) is more specific than (30b). (30c) is not exclusive to clitics but provides all plural morphs with phonological information.

The structure of the grammar (given in a fairly traditional version by now), and the organization of the Morphology Component are finally shown in (31), below:

(31)

```
                    d-structure
                        ↓
                    s-structure
              ←──────────────────→
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```
        ┌──── Morphol. C. ────┐        LF
        │          ↓          │
        │  morphol. processes │
        │          ↓          │
        │  template mapping   │
        │          ↓          │
        │ vocabulary insertion│
        └─────────────────────┘
                   ↓
                  PF
```

5. Conclusion

In this article I have argued that the order among pronominal clitics, and other clitic-related phenomena cannot be determined syntactically. The amount of dialectal variation, not correlated with syntactic differences, the fact that clitics are not ordered according to their syntactic properties, the existence of non-transparent forms, and other phenomena make this claim difficult to maintain, especially if the syntax is to be a maximally general component of the grammar. An alternative approach has been made according to which clitic order and other clitic-related phenomena are established within the Morphology Component, between s-structure and PF. Of course, still many aspects related to pronominal clitics need to be studied, given that pronominal clitics are one of the main sources of great dialectal variation, and little is known compared to the amount of differences that can still be found. An additional aspect, which makes the study of clitics difficult, is due to the fact that these elements are precisely clitics, and therefore interact between several components of the grammar. It is also difficult to draw the line between pronominal clitics and verbal agreement morphology. Certain clitics can be doubled by an XP –similar to agreement morphemes–, and certain agreement markers can be absent when an XP is present –similar to pronominal clitics. The border between these two closely related elements is not at all clear. In my opinion, in order to give a fairly adequate account of pronominal clitics all these aspects have to be kept in mind.

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