On the Licensing of Pronominal Clitics: the Properties of Object Clitics in Spanish and Catalan*

Pronominal clitics in the Romance languages have extensively been discussed within the Government and Binding framework in the last few years, and several proposals have been made to explain their nature and their behaviour. From the syntactic point of view, this discussion usually revolves around to the position clitics are generated in: while some authors assume that they originate in an A-position and then adjoin the verb, others prefer to state that they are directly base-generated in their S-structure position. It is well known that none of the analyses derived from these two different ideas have proved unambiguous enough to account for all the data related to this topic.

This paper deals with the properties of pronominal object clitics in Spanish and Catalan, and its main goal is to show that it is possible to distinguish between two distinct behaviours that most likely derive from two different analyses. In addition to this, this paper also reveals that some constructions involving clitics pose serious problems to previous approaches.

In section 1 we will briefly review and discuss the last formulations of these previous analyses, and we will present some of the empirical and theoretical problems they must face.

Section 2 is devoted to the study of object clitics in Spanish and Catalan. We will see that IO clitics differ from DO clitics in several ways and that, although they share some properties, it is possible to attribute a different status to each clitic.

Finally, in section 3 we suggest an analysis that can account for the differences seen in section 2 and offer a new view of some of the issues sketched in section 1.

Most of the data and constructions examined here belong to Catalan and Spanish and refer only to direct and indirect object clitics, but some of these observations can be extended to other related Romance languages.

1. Three Hypotheses for Pronominal Clitics

From the syntactic point of view the discussion on pronominal clitics revolves around two basic ideas: (a) clitics originate in an A-position and then adjoin the verb, and (b) they are directly base-generated in their S-structure position. This divergence has lead to three main hypotheses, each of them based on different assumptions, independently motivated, and with its own evidence: the Movement Hypothesis, the Affix Hypothesis, and the AGR Hypothesis. Now, let us examine in more detail how these hypotheses work. Obviously, we will pay special attention to their more recent formulations, and we will discuss some of the problems involved.

1.1. The Movement Hypothesis

This approach can be traced back to the study of French clitic pronouns in Kayne (1975) and has since been then broadly accepted by a large number of linguists who tried to apply it to Romance languages in general (see, for example, Kayne (1989), (1991), Laenzlinger (1990), and Ouhalla (1989)). As a consequence of its extensions, it has been slightly modified, although always maintaining its very basic idea, namely:

(i) clitics are elements generated in the relevant A-position
and (ii) clitics move to their final S-structure location.

In the terms of current Government and Binding Theory, this means that the derivation of clitics involves head-movement and that it must obey general principles and constraints such as the Head Movement Constraint (HMC), the Empty Category Principle (ECP), or the conditions on incorporation and excorporation.

Among the recent work on this hypothesis we will pay special attention only to Kayne (1991), probably the most updated and comprehensive analysis of Romance clitics; we will mention also, though, some of the claims put forward by the other two authors.

1.1.1. Ouhalla (1989)

Ouhalla assumes about all the earlier work by Kayne and extends it to Berber and Spanish data. This extension leads him to propose the following Clitic Placement Condition (CPC) that holds for Berber and for Romance languages:

(1)   Clitics must attach/move to the highest affixal head element in their construction (general principles of UG (i.e. ECP) allowing).

Aside from this, his most relevant claim is that head movement is only restricted by the Head Opacity Condition (HOC) and the ECP, not by the HMC, which can be reduced to a more general principle, the ECP.

He also analyzes instances of clitic climbing and differs from the step by step derivation of Kayne (1989) by proposing that his I-to-C-to-I movement is also reducible to the ECP. So, long head movement will be always allowed as long as the ECP is observed. To achieve the right results, that is, to eliminate any possible barrier, Ouhalla assumes that clitics can L-mark and relates the possibility of clitic climbing to the ability of the infinitive to move to the head C, from where it can L-mark the IP complement, thereby allowing the long clitic movement. We will later turn to these clitic climbing constructions, but it should be noted that clitic climbing cannot be directly linked to the presence of the verb in C. If it were so, we should expect that a clitic could raise to a matrix verb in all cases of verb movement to C, but, as the following examples show, this is not true:

(2)   a.   No sé què *li* regalarà en Joan   Catalan
             not know what 3pD give-fut the J.
             'I do not know what Joan will give to him'
        b.   *No *li* sé què regalarà en Joan
        c.   No sé a quién   dár*selo*   Spanish
             not know to whom to-give-3pD-3pA
             'I do not know to whom to give it'
        d   *No *se lo* sé a quién dar

Here, the Wh-phrase in the specifier of CP triggers the movement of the verb to C and from this position it will L-mark the IP; so the clitic could and, given the CPC, would raise up to the matrix verb because there would be no intermediate barriers. However, the instances of clitic climbing are clearly ungrammatical.

1.1.2. Laenzlinger (1990)

This approach is very different: it assumes that clitic movement strictly follows the HMC and that it is a process of incorporation and excorporation.

In order to explain why a clitic must move Laenzlinger proposes that it has to satisfy some morpho-syntactic requirements: morphologically it must be attached to a functional head with agreement features, and syntactically it is 'attracted' by the functional head T. These two properties will also act as the trigger for excorporation if one of them is not achieved.

According to him the derivation of an object clitic would be as in (3):

(3)
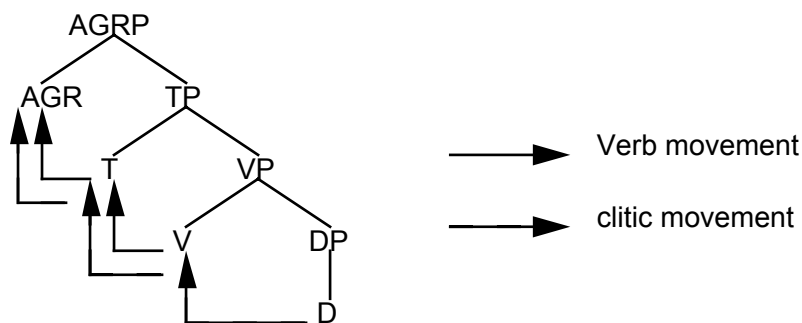
Every head moves towards the head immediately governing it through incorporation by adjunction, and excorporates from it if its morphosyntactic requirements are not fully satisfied. These two different and independent movements offer a possible explanation for some phenomena related to clitics like clitic climbing with infinitives in Italian and other Romance languages, object agreement with a past participle, and the formation of 'clitic clusters'.

Clitic climbing constructions and clitic clusters pose general problems that will be reviewed at the end of this section, so, let us now look only at the explanation he gives for past participle agreement. These instances of agreement are accounted for by claiming that when the clitic reaches the functional head that hosts the past participle, i.e. AGR_{obj}, it leaves a copy of its number and gender features and then continues its head-to-head movement through T and AGR_{subj}. After that, the past participle picks up these features and reflects the agreement.

However, leaving aside the great variation concerning this phenomenon that esists across Romance languages, this explanation has to face several problems that

Laenzlinger does not seem to notice. First of all, it would be interesting to define clearly what kind of process this feature transmission is, and to explore if it has any other application or theoretical consequence. And second, this analysis also predicts that past participles will agree with indirect objects, but this prediction is not borne out by any Romance language I know of. According to the HMC, the indirect object clitic in a construction with a past participle and a direct object overtly expressed as an NP should incorporate into AGR_{obj} just in the same way as the direct object clitic does in the agreement construction. Since there is nothing that prevents the transmission of the ϕ–features from the IO clitic to the AGR occupied by the past participle, we whould expect to find cases of this kind of agreement. As these agreement constructions are impossible we should introduce a new stipulation to block feature transmission in IO clitics.

1.1.3. Kayne (1991)

This is the most recent analysis within the lines of the Movement Hypothesis. In this article, Kayne deals with several properties of clitics in various Romance languages, and, following previous work, he presents an approach based on verb and clitic movement. Kayne's movement theory entails there being only movement to the left, so the order between the clitic and the verb will follow from the movement possibilities of each element. As well as clitics, he studies some consequences of this movement theory for the status of infinitives and their PRO subject, but here we limit ourselves to comment on the part devoted to clitics. The basic points of his approach are the following ones:

(i)   Clitics are heads generated in an A-position that appear adjoined to one of the functional categories of the sentence
(ii)   Conditions on clitic movement:
    (a) It must be left-adjunction,
    (b) Adjunction to a trace is not allowed.
(iii)   Adjunction of a head to an X' projection is allowed.
(iv)   Head movement obeys only ECP, not HMC.

Thus, we can provide the following definition of a pronominal clitic:

(4)   A pronominal clitic is an element that must be licensed by adjunction to a functional head (otherwise, the sentence will be ungrammatical).

(4) would correspond to Laenzlinger's morpho-syntactic requirements for clitics and Ouhalla's CPC.

These conditions on movement can account for the differences between French and Italian concerning the position of clitic in infinitives. As is well known, in French the clitic precedes the infinitive (5a) while in Italian it follows it (5b):

(5)   a.   Lui parler serait une erreur   French
                Dat speak be-would an error
                'it would be an error to speak to him'
        b.   Parlargli sarebbe un errore   Italian
                speak-Dat be-would an error
                'it would be an error to speak to him'

This asymmetry can be captured by the two structures of (6):

(6)
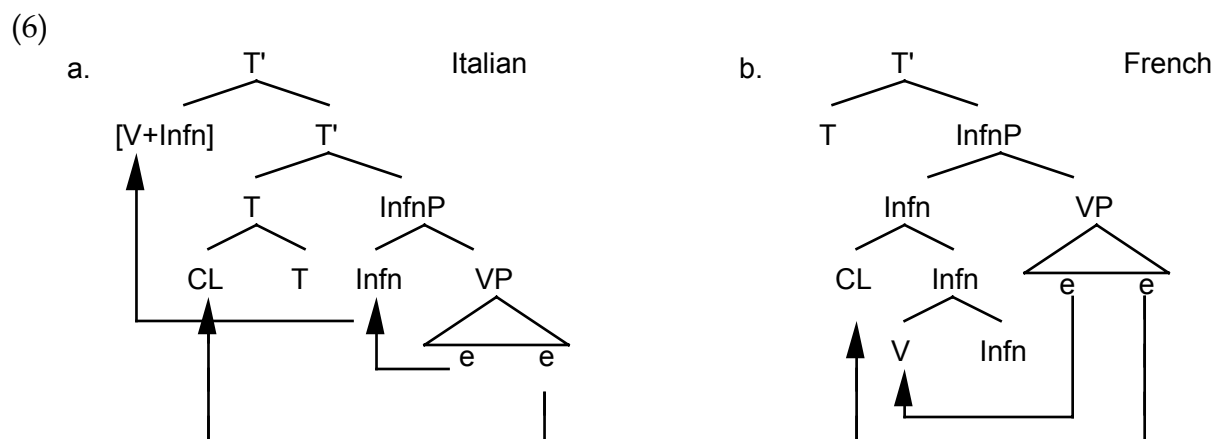
The functional heads T and Infn are believed to be the abstract counterparts of T and AGR of finite sentences.

In Italian the infinitive would adjoin to T' to give the order V-CL. The main difference with finite clauses comes from the fact that a finite verb is obliged to merge with the tense and agreement suffixes; that is, it must occupy the heads T and AGR and the clitic will appear to the left.

Adjunction of a head X to an X' projection could be considered a violation of the structure preserving principle, but Kayne assumes that, provided that it is compatible with the constraints on head movement and with the Minimality Condition of Chomsky (1986), it is a legitimate option.

Nevertheless, this process appears to me to be very ambiguous. Putting aside its specific nature, it would not be a bad idea to try to justify why the infinitive moves to T'. Maybe the raising is related to the possibility of having a null subject, but according to Kayne's data neither enclisis/proclisis nor infinitive raising to T follow directly from the languages having a null subject. Moreover, even if infinitives must actually move to the projection TP to pick up any tense feature, they will not occupy this adjunction position because in this configuration they do not enter in a clearly defined relation with the head T. So, it seems that the only reason for this type of movement is that the data require the infinitive to be higher than the clitic.

In addition, it seems that this adjunction is carried out only with infinitives and when a clitic is present. If there is no clitic and the infinitive can or must move towards the tense projection, we should expect it to adjoin to T, as usual in head movement, because there is nothing to prevent infinitives from moving to the head T, as Kayne's analysis of Sardinian infinitives shows. This suggests that the clitic appears as the trigger of verb adjunction to T', but in fact this is not possible given the derivation in (6). Effectively, (6) implies that verb movement is prior to clitic movement: if not , the clitic would simply adjoin the head Infn as it does in French — remember that Kayne explicitly points out that in Italian the clitic cannot adjoin Infn because of the restriction on adjoining traces, that is, because of the trace left there by the verb.

This analysis predicts, as well, that any instance of enclisis entails adjunction of the verb to an X'. This is a direct consequence of the two constraints on clitic movement seen above (condition (ii)). Obviously, a statement like this needs to be carefully examined: While it seems right for infinitives and participles, there are cases of enclisis such as imperatives in all Romance languages (French included) or such as some inflected forms in Portuguese that call for further discussion:

(7) a. Donne-moi la bouteille!   French
         give-me(dat) bottle
         'pass me the bottle!'
     b. Fes-ho aviat!   Catalan
         do-it(acc) soon
         'do it soon!'

(7) c. Cómpralo antes de que se agote!   Spanish
         buy-it(acc) before of that runs out
         'buy it before it runs out!'

(8) a. O Carlitos comprou-lo ontem   Portuguese
         the Carlitos buy-it(acc) yesterday
         'Carlitos bought it yesterday'

     b. Diga-lhe que venha!
         tell-him(dat) that come
         'tell him to come!'

Putting aside the Portuguese constructions, which involve issues like negation, complementizers, or the presence of certain phrases, if Kayne's prediction were on the right track we would expect imperatives to appear adjoined to the X' level of a functional projection. This is absolutely impossible if we assume an analysis of imperatives along the lines of Laka (1990), where these verbal forms occupy the head of a specific functional projection that she calls ΣP.

On the other hand, suppose we consider Laka's approach to be wrong, despite the fact that it is really well motivated, at least for Spanish and Basque. If we prefer to assume that imperatives do not head their own functional projection, we are not yet free of problems. The relevant structures are the following, where X stands for AGR or any other head responsible for the imperative form:

(9)
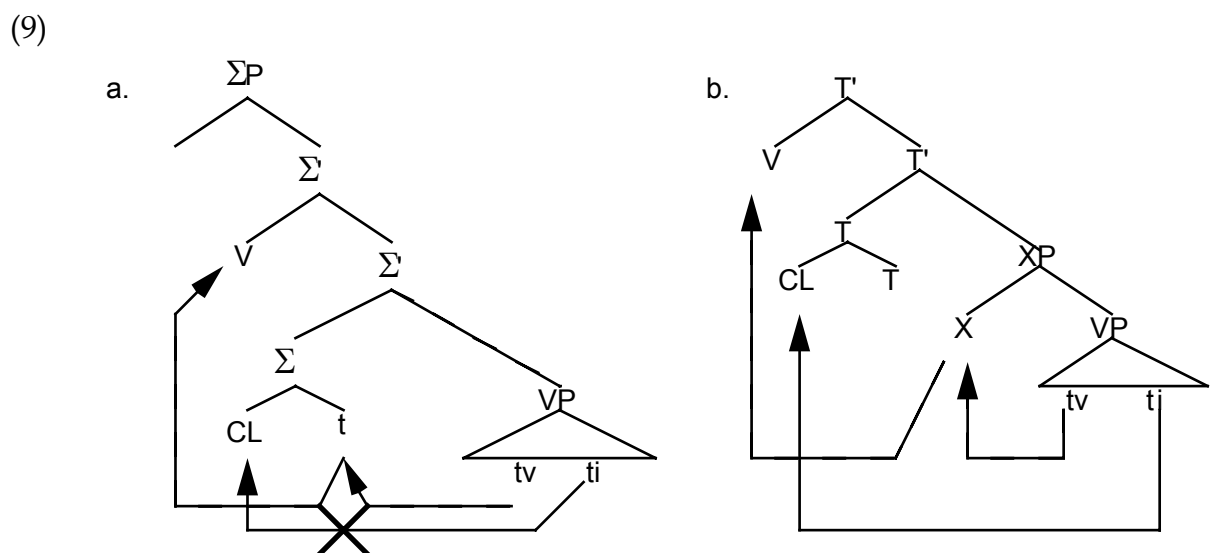
(9a) reflects Laka's analysis. Here the constraint preventing clitics from adjoining traces is violated: the verb moves to Σ' to produce enclisis, but then the clitic cannot

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occupy the head position because of the trace left by the verb. So, the application of Kayne's criteria to this kind of analysis of imperatives wrongly predicts that the clitic will always be proclitic to the verb: the only possibility left for the clitic in (9a) is (left) adjunction to the head that contains the verb.

In (9b) we are assuming that imperatives derive exactly in the same way as infinitives: the verb moves to the functional head X and then adjoins to T', while the clitic occupies the head T^1. Although enclisis is obtained, there are still some problems. The basic argument against this view is that verb movement to T is not clearly related to any condition or property of languages. Kayne compares a lot of Romance languages and observes that there is no direct correlation between verb movement to T and having a null subject, but he does maintain that being a null-subject language (NSL) is a necessary condition to be able to move V to T. Since French, which has never been believed to be a NSL, has enclisis with imperatives as well, it is clear that this statement cannot be on the right track.

Kayne also studies split clitics, that lead him to deal with other phenomena related to clitics such as clitic climbing or clitic clusters. Split clitics are fairly rare in the Romance languages, but he gives some examples from Franco-Provençal auxiliary-participle constructions and from seventeenth-century French:[2]

(10) a. T'an tè deut-lo?   Franco-Provençal
          you(dat)-have they said-it
          'Have they said it to you?'
      b. Jean nous veut les donner   XVIIC French
          Jean us(dat) wants them (acc) to-give
          'Jean wants to give them to us'

In Spanish, Catalan or Italian these constructions would be completely out. In these languages the two clitics form a unit and must appear together. To account for this contrast Kayne establishes the following conditions:

(a)   It is impossible to remove one element from the complex formed by a clitic and a X^0

(b)   The movement of split clitics follows the conditions on clitic climbing

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[1] The head X provides the imperative forms just as Infn gives the infinitive desinence or AGR the subject morphemes.

[2] Laenzlinger (1990) also notes this phenomenon in Vaudois, a French dialect

(c)   Only languages with CL-Infinitive order can admit split clitics.

The formation of a clitic cluster is captured under (a): the two clitics move to the same functional head, where they meet each other and form an indissoluble complex. (c) also follows from this restriction: if each clitic appears next to a different verb, it is evident that they cannot be adjoined to the same head in any level of the derivation; so, split clitics are possible only when two distinct functional heads are available to host them. This is precisely the case of CL-infinitive languages, where one clitic can adjoin to the same head Infn that the infinitive occupies and the other to the empty head T (see (6b) above).

Nevertheless, we think that this analysis of split clitics involves a further prediction that will lead us to modify (c). Condition (b) assumes that these clitics are subject to the conditions on clitic climbing. According to Kayne (1989) clitic climbing is related to null subjects and it is possible only if the head I is strong enough to L-mark its VP complement. Besides, the clitic does not attach directly to the matrix verb; instead, it must move through the heads of the embedded IP and CP —'I-to-C-to-I movement'.

Kayne (1991) says nothing about L-marking, but if we try to apply the same criteria, we should assume that the functional head that L-marks its complement and makes the climbing possible is T. As we have seen before, French infinitives raise only up to Infn; from this head, the verb itself or the whole complex 'V+Infn' could L-mark the maximal projection VP. Italian infinitives end up adjoined to T', and since this configuration does not meet the conditions on L-marking of Chomsky (1986), it is clear that the element that L-marks InfnP and allows both verb movement to T' and clitic movement to T must be the functional head T.[3] In climbing constructions, the whole complex 'CL+T' raises to C and to the matrix T successively, and it L-marks all the intermediate maximal projections. Thus we predict that only when T can L-mark its complement —that is, in a NSL— clitic climbing, V-raising to T and also, according to (b), split clitics will be possible. Consequently we should reformulate (c) as:

(c')   Only Null Subject Languages with CL-Infinitive order can admit split clitics

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[3] We could also state that it is the clitic in T what L-marks the XP complement, but since Kayne has never considered this possibility overtly, we prefer to maintain the parallelism with Kayne (1989). Anyway, this possibility connects with the question of the clitic as the trigger for V-movement to T' cited above.

Again, the problem of this statement is the existence of these clitics in some varieties of French, that should have strong T, according to this analysis.

Statement (a) also calls for more attention. It satisfactorily predicts that no movement process can affect only one of the members of the complex 'CL+X^0', and this is the reason why two clitics tend to form a cluster or why clitic climbing affects the clitics in T. However, it would be also interesting to capture the unity between the clitic and the verb. These two elements always appear together, and when the verb must move —i. e. verb movement to C in questions— the clitic maintains its pre or post-verbal position. (a) accounts directly for this when the clitic is proclitic, but it does not include the cases of enclisis, where the clitic and the verb are not under the same X^0.

Effectively, this analysis seems to state that when a verb with an enclitic must move to C in interrogatives in order to satisfy the Wh-criterion, we are actually moving two elements adjoined to two different levels —T and T'— as a single constituent. At first glance it seems difficult to find examples of such a movement because infinitives or imperatives, the two instances of verbal forms with enclisis in Romance languages, are not usually found in questions, but consider the following sentences:

(11)   a.   Comprou-lo o Carlitos ontem?   Portuguese
            buy(past)-it the Carlitos yesterday
            'did Carlitos buy it yesterday?'
   b.   ¿Cómo hacerlo sin que se entere Luis?   Spanish
             how do-it without that *se* notice Luis
            'how can we do it without Luis noticing it?'

The first example is a Yes/No question in Portuguese, and, although there is no Wh-phrase in Spec of CP, the verb does seem move to C, as subject inversion shows. The second one is a case of Spanish question with infinitives. Here, we have a Wh-phrase that must occupy the Spec of CP, as usual in Wh-questions, and an infinitive that should move to the head C to satisfy the Wh-criterion. If this is true and these examples actually trigger V-to-C movement, we should explain what kind of constituent movement is that of the 'V+CL' towards the head C.

In other words, Kayne's analysis suggests that proclisis is a stronger unit than enclisis. But, as Benincà-Cinque (1990) point out, it seems that if there is really a difference in this degree of unity, this difference goes precisely in the opposite

direction. Usually proclitics have been compared with prefixes and enclitics with suffixes according to its behaviour in coordinate structures, and, as (20) shows, proclitics tolerate coordination of their verbal hosts better than enclitics:

(12) a. Lo leyó y resumió en un santiamén   (Bosque (1987))
          it read-past and sum up-past in a very short period of time
          'He read it and sum up it in few minutes'
      b. *Esta película, va a dirigir e interpretarla Woody Allen
          this film, goes to to-direct and to-interpret-it Woody Allen
          'This film, Woody Allen is going to direct adn interpret it'

We will return to these constructions later.

1.1.4. Further Problems

We have seen how the movement hypothesis works through Kayne's most recent proposal, and we have discussed some of its basic points. In general this hypothesis for clitics seems quite satisfactory: it explains the final location of the clitic, its relation with the arguments of the verb, some interesting phenomena like clitic climbing, clitic clusters or split clitics, and it does not entail any theoretical problem. Now we want to present certain constructions with clitics that pose serious problems to this derivation. Most of these arguments come from Jaeggli (1982) (1986) and are well-known in the literature, so we limit only to comment on them briefly.

1.1.4.1. Clitic-NP Doubling Constructions.   In Catalan and Spanish there are constructions where an NP and a clitic referring to the same verbal argument co-appear:

(13) a. Li regalaré un llibre a en Joan   Catalan
          him(dat) give-fut a book to the Joan
          'I will give Joan a book'
      b. ¿A quién le compraste un reloj?   Spanish
          to whom him(dat) buy-past a watch
          Who did you buy a watch?
(14) a. Ens escolliran a nosaltres   Catalan
          Us(acc) choose-fut to us
          'They will choose us'
      b. La vimos a ella   Spanish
          her(acc) see-past to her
          'We saw her'

In (13) the doubled argument is the indirect object. This doubling is optional, although there are some obligatory cases. (14) are instances of pronominal direct

objects doubled by a clitic. In the standard varieties doubling of a direct object is prohibited, and the only exception refers precisely to these DOs that consist of strong pronouns. In this case doubling by the clitic is not only allowed but also required.

The problem that this kind of construction poses to the movement hypothesis developed above concerns the position where clitics originate: this hypothesis claims that they are generated in the A-position they are related to, that they move to a functional head, and that they and leave a trace behind. However, this is not possible since this position is occupied at S-structure by an overt NP. We could not assume that this NP in fact occupies an A'-position and leaves the A-position free for the clitic because, as (13b) shows, it can undergo wh-movement, and this ability is usually seen as evidence for the argument status of a phrase.

The movement hypothesis says nothing about these doubling constructions because it works basicaly with languages like Italian or French, that never show clitic-NP doubling.

1.1.4.2. Non-argumental Datives. There are some indirect objects represented by means of a clitic that are not related to the Θ–grid of the verb. These are the so-called beneficiaries (see Branchadell (1991) for a discussion on their argumental status), possessives or ethical datives. Here are some examples taken from Jaeggli (1982):

(15)　a.　Me le arruinaron la vida (a mi hijo)
　　　　　me(dat) him(dat) ruine-past the life (to my son)
　　　　　'They ruined my son's life'
　　　b.　*Le arruinaron la vida a mi hijo 　　　a mí/para mí
　　　　　him(dat) ruine-past the life to my son to me/for me

In Spanish the clitic is obligatory with these datives, and in some cases it is the only possibility, as in (15b), where an overt NP is not allowed. The technical problem for the movement hypothesis concerns again the original position of the clitic: if it does not express an argument, it is clear that there is no A-position where it could be generated.

1.1.4.3. Inherent Clitics. In Catalan, there are some verbs that appear always with a clitic that seems to modify the canonical representation of their arguments. This is the case of inherent pronominal verbs like *menjar/menjar-se* 'to eat' or *veure/veure-hi* 'to see':

(16) a. En Pere menja pomes
the Pere eats apples
'Pere eats apples'
b. *En Pere *es* menja pomes

c.   *En Joan no veu

       the Joan not sees

       '*Joan does not see'

d.   En Joan no *hi* veu

       the Joan not *hi* sees

       'Joan cannot see'

Both *menjar* and *veure* are transitive verbs, but the presence of the clitic, which does not hold any Θ–role, alters the representation of its arguments. In (16d) the clitic *hi* intransitivizes the verb, avoiding a violation of the Θ–criterion like the one in (16c), where one of the Θ–roles of the verb is not discharged to any argument, and modifies the semantic content of the verb, which now express 'ability to see'. In (16b) the presence of the clitic *se* prevents the direct object from being realized as a bare-NP as in (16a). In this case the verb is not intransitivized, the only variation affects the realisation of the DO, that now must be a full DP.

Neither of these clitics bears a Θ–role, so we have again the problem concerning the A-position they should occupy. Moreover we now have the additional problem of explaining the changes on the representation of arguments.

Rigau (1990) studies the properties of these constructions in some Catalan dialects and tries to capture them by assuming that these clitics incorporate into the verb in the lexicon and then modify its Θ–grid and its case-assigning properties, just like other lexical processes. As there is no way to explain this phenomena by means of the syntactic derivation of clitics proposed above, we must state that there are at least some clitics that originate as a lexical component of the verb.

1.2. The Affix Hypothesis

This idea is defended in Jaeggli (1982, 1986) and Borer (1983) and consists of assuming that the clitic is base-generated in an especial position, neither A nor A', next to the verb, and that the A-position related to the clitic is occupied by the empty pronominal *pro*:

(17)

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          VP
          |
          V'
         /  \
        V    NP i              CL = clitic
       / \
     CL i  V                   NP = pro or lexical noun
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Here, the NP would receive a Θ–role from the verb, but not case, because the clitic is believed to absorb it. The presence of the complex 'CL+V' under V would also reflect the 'affix-like' status of the clitics.

1.2.1. The Analysis of CL-NP Doubling Constructions

These are the basic characteristics of this hypothesis, whose main advantage is that it is able to capture the doubling clitic-NP constructions:

(i)   Clitic and verb form a lexical or morphological unit.
(ii)   The clitic absorbs case (or it is a kind of spell-out of the case features of the verb).
(iii)   There is a *pro* in the A-position.
(iv)   The lexical NP that appears doubling the clitic can receive case from the preceding preposition 'a' (this is the so-called 'Kayne's Generalization').

Jaeggli tries to account for the differences between Spanish and Italian or French concerning the possibility of indirect object doubling. While Spanish can double indirect objects, Italian or French cannot:

(18)   a.   *Je lui donnerai un cadeau au petit Nicolas   French
               I him give-fut a   gift   to-the little Nicolas
              'I will give a gift to the little Nicolas'
        b.   *Maria gli ha dato un libro a Antonio   Italian
              Maria him has given a book to Antonio
              'Maria has given Antonio a book'

Jaeggli parametrizes the ability of the clitic to absorb case and proposes that in Italian or French the clitic absorbs case obligatorily but not in Spanish. His reasoning is as follows: in French or Italian the clitic absorbs the accusative or dative case of the verb and an NP cannot appear in A-position because it cannot get any case and cannot

satisfy the Case Filter; in Spanish the IO clitic absorbs case only optionally, and leaves open the possibility of having a lexical NP that would receive case from the verb exactly in the same way as if the clitic were not present.

This seems to suggest that this hypothesis is better than the one developed by Kayne. But, although it offers an explanation for the doubling NP-clitic constructions and can account for empirical facts that the Movement Hypothesis cannot, it is worthwhile to note that this achievement needs some special stipulations that at the moment do not appear to be independently motivated.

1.2.2. *Quantifier Binding of Pronominals*

Another interesting consequence of this approach is that the presence of *pro* in the object position allows us to capture a clear distinction between empty pronominals and strong pronouns. As has been already noted in the literature, in Spanish a strong pronoun in subject position does not allow binding by a preceding quantifier, but subject *pro* does:

(19) a. Todos los alumnos$_i$ piensan que *pro*$_i$ son inteligentes
          all   the students think   that   are intelligent
          'All the students believe that they are intelligent'
      b. *Todos los alumnos$_i$ piensan que ellos$_i$ son inteligentes

And the same happens in clitic constructions:

(20) a. Todos los alumnos$_i$ piensan que los$_i$ suspenderán
          all   the students think   that 3pA fail-fut
          'All the students think that they will fail'
(20) b. *Todos los alumnos$_i$ piensan que los suspenderán a ellos$_i$

If there is a *pro* in (20a) this contrast follows straightforwardly. We will return to this property of pronominals in future sections.

1.2.3. *Theoretical and Empirical Problems*

1.2.3.1. X' Theory.   The first point against the representation in (17) concerns X' Theory. It is evident that the 'CL-V' complex under the head V is contrary to X' Theory, specially after its generalisation in Chomsky (1986, 1991), where it is claimed that every head X has to project an XP. The problem of (17) is that there is an element, the clitic, that seems to be a head which does not project at any level. In

other words, there is a base-generated complex head absolutely contrary to the spirit of the extension of X' Theory to functional heads, as the splitting of IP into TP and AGRP shows.

1.2.3.2. Definition of Parameters. The second theoretical problem concerns the treatment of the stipulations needed to account for all the cases of clitic-NP doubling constructions. Under the sketched approach, every minimal difference between languages, dialectal variations and even between one and another kind of clitic corresponds to a different parameter. The issue here is that probably too many parameters are involved.

1.2.3.3. Enclisis / Proclisis and Coordination. There are also some problems in trying to explain the contrast between enclisis and proclisis. In (17) it is assumed that the clitic precedes the verb, so we need to specify that the order of the complex under V must be modified when the verbal form claims for enclisis —when it is an infinitive, a gerund or an imperative, in Spanish.

Leaving aside the problems that arise with the application of verb movement to the inflectional heads to pick up tense and agreement features, we should explain the phenomenon by introducing , according to the spirit of 1.2.3.2., a new parameter responsible for the differences between the order Infn-CL in Catalan, Italian and Spanish and the order CL-Infn in French. Obviously, the Portuguese data, where enclisis/proclisis depends on the absence/presence of certain elements, would be absolutely incompatible with this approach.

But the situation gets worse if we pay attention to constructions like the ones in (12) above, repeated here:

(12)   a.   Lo leyó y resumió en un santiamén
              it read-past and sum up-past in a very short period of time
              'he read it and sum up it in few minutes'
        b.   *Esta película, va a dirigir e interpretarla Woody Allen
              this film, goes to to-direct and to-interpret-it Woody Allen
              'This film, Woody Allen is going to direct and interpret it'

These structures show that, when the clitic precedes the verbal form, the coordination of two verbs is allowed, but when it is an enclitic such coordination is impossible.

If we asume that in these cases we have coordination of a constituent bigger than V, the problem for the Affix Hypothesis is that one clitic should license two empty objects, something that no one has thought about. On the contrary, if we assume, in agreement with the data, that we simply have coordination of V^0s we will have to explain why coordination is allowed with proclisis (21a) but not with enclisis (21b), although the structural repesentations are very similar:

(21)
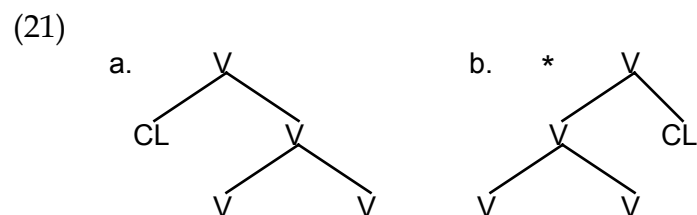
These problems could disappear if we assume that the clitic occupies in fact a higher position, as Bosque (1987) suggests, in the light of the conditions that make these constructions better, such as presence of an auxiliar or modal verb or some particular requirements on inflection.[4]

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[4] See Bosque (1987) for more detail. As we have said, these constructions are problematic for all the hypotheses analysed. Moreover, there seems to be a difference between Romance languages: while Spanish and Portuguese allow it in the proclitic cases, French and Italian do not, as Kayne (1975) points out:

(i) *Jean *les* parlera et pardonnera
   *Paolo *vi* parlerà e pardonerà
   *Carlo *l*'ha insultato e ha cacciato via

Although Catalan seems to be closer to Spanish, it does not easily accept some sentences with this type of coordination:

(ii) $*/^?Es$ llegirà i presentarà el dilluns
     es read-fut and present-fut the monday

Moreover, this coordination seems to be limited to heads. With coordination of entire VPs the situation is quite confusing even in Spanish: while some speakers clearly reject it, others seem to tolerate it.

1.2.2.4. The Clitic Climbing and the 'Aux + p.p.' Constructions.   As is well known, in clitic climbing structures the clitic can appear next to the infinitive form or next to the main verb:

(22)   a.   El vull entregar abans de juliol   Catalan
              3pA want to-deliver before of july
              'I want to deliver it before July'
       b.   Vull entregar-lo abans de juliol

If we assume that the clitic is generated next to the infinitive to which it is Θ–related[5] and that in some cases it can raise to the inflected verb, we would expect the sentence in (22b) to be ungrammatical. This is so because of the Head Opacity Condition (HOC), one of the conditions on head movement which prevents move–α from making reference to the internal structure of an X^0 category (see Ouhalla (1989)). Given that the clitic is part of a morphological complex under V^0, the HOC would rule out any instance of extraction of the clitic and clitic climbing constructions would not be possible.

The same happens in the 'Aux + p.p.' constructions. In modern Spanish, as well as in most of the Romance languages, a clitic cannot be attached to a past participle and it appears next to the auxiliary verb:

(23)   No lo he visto
       not it have seen
       'I have not seen it'

Here the clitic should move from the head containing the participle and would again violate the HOC. The precise formulation of this derivation depends on the analysis of this auxiliary forms, which under the view sketched here would call for a status similar to that of full verbs. But in any case this clearly suggests that clitics tend to appear next to finite forms rather than to the form they are semanticaly linked. This is further ratified by the fact that in Italian it is impossible to find the clitic adjoined to a past participle when an auxiliary form is present, but not when it is not, that is, in absolute past participle constructions:

(24)   a.   L'ho mangiato

_____

[5] In fact we must assume so, because if the clitic were directly generated next to the main verb, we would expect it to absorb the case features of this verb and its DO complement would not be possible.

3pA have eaten

'I have eaten it'

b. *Ho mangiatolo

c. Vistolo, fu facile catturarlo

seen-3pA, was easy to-capture-3pA

'Once we had seen it, it was easy to capture it'

More evidence for this tendency comes from Sardinian, where as Kayne (1991) notes clitic climbing with infinitives is obligatory, not optional as in Spanish, Catalan or Italian.

1.3. The AGR Hypothesis

This idea coincides with the Affix Hypothesis in that it proposes a special site for the clitic and it can be seen as its adaptation to recent proposals about the existence of functional categories, specially agreement projections. The main points on which this hypothesis is based are the following ones:

(i)   Object clitics and subject agreement morphemes are the same kind of elements.

(ii)   Object clitics occupy the head AGR_{obj} and can license a *pro* in object position.

(iii)   The verb moves to AGR_{obj} to pick up the clitic, and then continues its movement through the rest of functional heads.

The strong parallelism between subject morphemes and clitics relies on the fact that both express person and number features, both appear next to the verb, and both are related to an A-position presumably occupied by a *pro*. All the work along these lines (see Suñer (1988), Fernández Soriano (1989) or Franco (1991)) has tried to capture the clitic-NP doubling phenomena. To achieve this, they have explored the features of these AGR heads and the configurational properties that distinguish internal and external arguments.

Under this view, the subject is always doubled by an AGR head because the only way it can receive case is precisely through specifier-head agreement with this head. This explains straightforwardly why subject morphemes are obligatory: since every sentence must have a subject they are needed to give it Nominative case or, if a *pro*, to identify it. In contrast, internal arguments can receive case directly from the verb

or by means of a preposition; so, the AGR head is not indispensable. Thus, although we can assume that object clitics are case assigners, their presence will be required only in order to identify a *pro* or to give case if the usual case assignment is blocked for some reason (see Franco (1991)). However, this simply states that clitics are not so needed as subject morphemes, it does not account for all the instances of clitic-NP doubling construction. These structures will be regulated by a Matching Principle, which was originally formulated by Suñer and claims that a clitic can only double an NP in argument position if they agree in features. In this respect, it is usually assumed that the DO clitic has more features than the IO clitic, and, in consequence, DO doubling will be more restricted, at least in Spanish (see Fernández Soriano (1989) and Suñer (1988), (1989) for a [+spec] requirement).

Fernández Soriano (1989) is the only work that overtly provides us with an analysis of subject clitics of Northern Italian dialects and object clitics of Spanish along these lines. She assumes that the subject agreement morphemes of Spanish behave as the subject clitics of Italian dialects. According to her analysis, this means that they generate in the specifier of TP and incorporate into the AGR_{subj} head where they will find the verb (see Fernández Soriano (1989) for some differences between Spanish and Italian dialects). Bearing this in mind, she extends this analysis to object clitics and considers them pronominal elements that head the $AGR_{obj}P$ and have the ability to assign case, to make the argument they are related to visible. The proposed structure is:

(25)

CL = object clitic

cl = subject clitic (includes agreement morphemes)
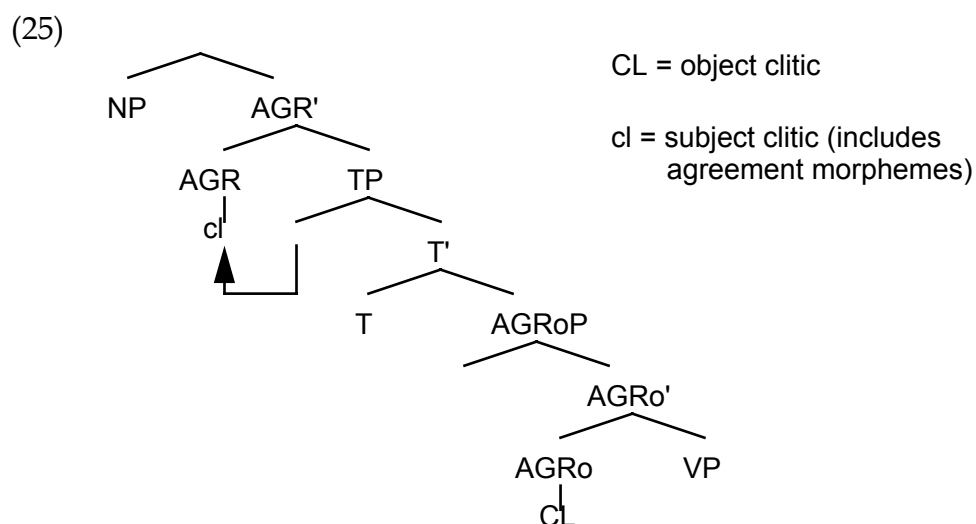
The treatment of pronominal clitics here differs from the Affix Hypothesis in that we do not need to postulate that clitics absorb Case or any feature of the verb, and that

the presence/absence of the clitic or the possibility/impossibility of doubling constructions would follow from the different ways objects and subjects get case.

Leaving the issue of giving the same treatment to clitics and agreement morphemes aside, in (25) it is not too clear what the status of object clitics exactly is. While subject clitics, including the subject morphemes of Spanish, are assumed to generate in the specifier of TP and to incorporate into the AGR head, object clitics are simply seen as elements that occupy the AGR_{obj} head. There is no mention of a derivation like the derivation of their subject counterparts, and the assumption that they generate directly as AGR heads has no correlation neither with Spanish facts or with Italian subject clitics. Thus, the proposal of an identical analysis for both subject agreement morphemes and object clitics, conflicts with the fact that both categories remain syntactically very different.

1.3.1 Some Advantages .....

What we can conclude so far is that the AGR Hypothesis has several advantages over the other ones. At first glance it seems to be able to cover some of the problems seen earlier: CL-NP doubling will always be possible because the A-position is free for a *pro* or an overt NP and the Matching Principle will regulate the conditions that make the doubling possible; X' Theory is preserved according to the latest hypotheses for functional projections; enclisis and proclisis will be related to the properties of each verbal form and its movement across the functional heads; clitic climbing can be explained in terms of AGR_{obj} raising to the matrix sentence before the infinitive adjoins it; and it offers more possibilities for coordination below the clitic because now we have more levels of structure.

1.3.2. ... and Some Disadvantages

1.3.2.1. AGR_{subj} and AGR_{obj} Should Be Different. In spite of the great parallelism noted, it is clear that these two heads do not behave alike. As has been pointed out, the adjacency to the verb is explained through V-movement to these functional heads. If this is correct, we need to introduce a new stipulation that would give the verb the ability to recognise the character of the head AGR and determine that it adjoins to its left when AGR is a morpheme or when the verb itself is an infinitive or an imperative, and to the right in the rest of cases. But this derivation of enclisis and proclisis cannot be on the right track, because, as can be easily noted, what moves from the V-position is a verbal root; so if it moves first to AGR_{obj} it cannot "know" if

it will become an infinitive or a finite form and it will not have enough clues to choose between left or right adjunction to the clitic.

1.3.2.2. Theoretical Extension of AGR Heads. If we assume that an object clitic actually behaves as a functional head, we will expect that every clitic can also head its own AGRP. Obviously, this entails an almost uncontrolled reproduction of the AGR functional projections all over the sentence. For instance, in Catalan we will have at least: an AGR_{subj} for the agreement morphemes or clitics as impersonal *se*, which is related to the subject position; an AGR_{DO} to host the typical DO clitic, the clitic *en* that denotes partitive NPs, and the neutral clitic *ho* ; an AGR_{IO} for the dative complements; and an AGR_{loc} for the locative clitic *hi*. Even if we accept such a large number of AGR projections, we will still have some problems in trying to account for the occurrences of pronominal clitics like the ones in (26):

(26) a   N'han publicat la primera part
          en. have published the first part
          'They have published the first part of it'
      b.   No hi veu
           not there see
           'He cannot see'

In (26a) the partitive clitic refers to the internal complement of an NP, and in (26b) we have an inherent clitic not Θ–related to any argument. Here the issue is to determine which kind of AGR this clitics would be.

1.3.2.3. Clitic Clusters.   To some extent, these facts are a consequence of the proliferation of AGR categories, as noted in 1.3.2.2.

As has been noted in previous work on this matter, clitics tend to cluster together and form a single unit. This unit is not only responsible for the fact that clitics move together in constructions such as clitic climbing, but also for the order among the clitics and their final form — the change from the IO form *le(s)* into *se* when it precedes a DO clitic in Spanish is a clear example. The preceding analysis could hardly capture this unit because the final connection between clitics will simply follow from the succesive verb movement across all the AGR heads. This means that two clitics never adjoin to one another in such a way that they could be taken together independently of the verbal form. So, if we cannot define this single unit

structurally, we will not be able to capture all these internal relations between two clitic forms.

Second, if we assume that every clitic heads its own projection and all these projections obey a certain hierarchy, as usual in functional projections, we also predict, given the conditions on verb movement, that all the clitics will appear in a syntactically fixed order. Namely, if we consider that AGR_{DO} is always higher than AGR_{IO} we will expect the DO clitic to linearly precede the IO clitic, which would adjoin to the verb first. This is precisely the order we always find in French but not in Spanish or Catalan, that have the opposite order OI-OD. Nevertheless, this is not the basic problem because we could simply account for it by assuming that in Spanish the AGR_{IO} is higher. The real problem is that this derivation of the clitic order cannot work because the grammatical function of the clitic, its nature as AGR_{DO} or AGR_{IO}, has actually nothing to say about its final position. Look at the following example:

(27) a. Te me presentaron
          2p 1p introduce-past
          'they introduced you to me' / 'they introduce me to you'
      b. *me te presentaron

As the translation shows, this sentence is ambiguous in the sense that the two clitics can be interpreted as dative or accusative, independently of the order they appear in and the position, AGR_{DO} or AGR_{IO}, where they originate. The ungrammaticality of (27b) follows from the fact that clitics are strictly ordered, but this order is not related to syntactic function but to some morphological features: a 1st person clitic never precedes a 2nd person clitic.

Finally, an analysis with all these AGR projections seems to suggest that all these heads can co-appear in a sentence since there is no restriction on verb-adjoining to the AGR heads. However, this is not possible because clitic clusters are clearly restricted to two or three different clitics. We can see this in the following Catalan examples:

(28) a. T'ho compraré a Barcelona
          You$_{dat}$ it buy-fut in Barcelona
          'I will buy it for you in barcelona'
      b. *T'ho hi compraré
      c. A Barcelona, hi compraré això

in Barcelona, there buy-fut it
'I will buy it in Barcelona'

These examples show this clear restriction on clitic formation: in (28a) we have a sentence with an IO clitic, a neutral DO clitic and an overt locative adjunct. Nothing prevents us of cliticizing this adjunct with the locative clitic *hi* as (28c) shows; but if we maintain the clitics of (28a) the sentence is ruled out. Obviously, these restrictions derive from phonological or morphological constraints.[6] They can hardly be captured from a purely syntactic point of view, and even less from the point of view sketched above, where every clitic is independently generated in its own projection.

To sum up, we have seen that although the AGR Hypothesis has a lot to say in its favour, there are still some problems that require a different approach or a modification of some of the criteria used.

2. The Properties of Object Pronominal Clitics in Spanish and Catalan

In this section we will see that, contrary to what is generally assumed, IO clitics differ from DO clitics in several ways, at least in some Romance languages such as Spanish or Catalan, and that probably these differences can be made to follow from two different analyses.

No matter what hypothesis we adopt, IO and DO clitics are usually analysed as if they were entirely equivalent. Although there is no doubt that these elements have a lot of things in common, it is also true that in some languages they do not behave exactly alike. When noted, these differences have been usually attributed to a lexical feature or to a very idiosyncratic property of one of the clitics (see Suñer (1988)) or to the properties of the argument that it represents (see Jaeggli (1986)), but never to the possibility of having a different status for each clitic. The only exception is Torrego (course), who tries to account for some differences between Castilian and American

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[6] See Bonet (1991) for more arguments against a syntactic derivation of clitic order and for a good account of some morphological rules that apply to clitic clusters in some Romance languages.

Spanish in terms of a distinction between the two object clitics.[7] We think that in Spanish and Catalan there are some differences between the two object clitics that clearly call for such a distinction.

Now, let us consider these differences that any theory of clitics should be able to account for. At this time, we will only introduce the facts ,we will not argue for or against any hypotheses.

2.1. Overt φ–features

It is usually assumed that a pronominal, even if phonologically null, has some φ–features. These features include the person, gender and number specification, and, maybe, Case in pronominal clitics. These are precisely the features of the so-called personal or strong pronouns:

(29)   yo   [1p., sg.]   nosotros   [1p., pl.]

         tú   [2p., sg.]   vosotros   [2p., pl.]

         él   [3p., sg., m.]   ellos   [3p., pl., m.]

         ella   [3p., sg., f.]   ellas   [3p., pl., f.]

Pronominal clitics also reflect these features, but as can be seen in (30), while DO clitics have the same features as strong pronouns, 3rd person IO clitics do not show gender distinction:

(30)   DO clitics: IO clitics:

         me   [1p sg]   nos [1p pl.]   me   [1p sg]   nos [1p pl]

         te   [2p sg]   vos [2p pl.]   te   [2p sg]   vos [2p pl]

         lo   [3p sg m] los [3p pl m]   le   [3p sg]   les [3p pl]

         la   [3p sg f] las [3p pl f]

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[7] This reference is to a course taught by E. Torrego in the summer of 1990, but I believe she is developing the idea in work in progress. Uriagereka (1992) seems to accept some of Torrego's ideas too.

Since 1st and 2nd person object clitics are formally identical, from now on we will focus 3rd person clitics, the ones which show the most differences

There are also other elements with ϕ–features such as the different determiners and the possessive pronouns. Among these determiners, it is worth pointing out that the definite article coincides with some object clitics in its specification of the ϕ–features and even in its morphophonological form:

(31)

el   [masc., sg.]   los   [masc., pl.]

la   [fem., sg.]   las   [fem., pl.]

This can be seen as a first parallelism between pronominal clitics and determiners that we will develop in future sections. In fact we will suggest that the DO clitic has the same features as the definite determiner and appears closer to it than the IO clitic.

2.2. Clitic-NP Doubling

This is a clear difference between the two object clitics. As is well known, clitic-NP doubling constructions are sentences where a pronominal clitic and a correferential NP in argument position co-appear. The ones in (13), repeated here, are good examples of this construction:

(13)   a.   Li regalaré un llibre a en Joan   Catalan
              him(dat) give-fut a book to the Joan
              'I will give Joan a book'
        b.   ¿A quién le compraste un reloj?   Spanish
              to whom him(dat) buy-past a watch
              Who did you buy a watch?

What is interesting here is the fact that DO doubling is fairly more constrained than IO doubling. In Catalan and European Spanish it is allowed only when the direct object is a strong pronoun. In this case the clitic is not only allowed but also required since its absence causes the ungrammaticality of the sentence. The indirect object behaves exactly alike, here:

29

(32) a. Lo vi a él   (33) a. Le devolví el libro a ella
       him(acc) saw to he   3pD returned the book to she
       'I saw him'   'I returned her the book'

b.   *Vi a él   b. *Devolví el libro a ella

This behaviour can be explained by attending to the nature of strong pronouns rather than to the properties of the two object clitics. Rigau (1988) observes that, among pronominal elements, clitics and empty *pro* act in a parallel way and are very different from strong pronouns. She points out the ability of the former to act as a resumptive pronouns (34), and the inability of strong pronouns to refer to a left dislocated constituent (35) or to count as variables bound by a quantified phrase (36):

(34) a. Aquest és el nen que diuen que li van regalar un cavall
           this   is the boy that say   that 3pD gave   a   horse
           'This is the boy that they say that they gave a horse to him'

     b. *Aquest és el nen que diuen que *li* van regalar un cavall *a ell*

(35) a. A en Pere, li van regalar un cavall
           to the Pere, 3pD gave   a   horse
           'Pere, they gave him a horse

b.   *A en Pere, *li* van regalar un cavall *a ell*

(36) a. Tothom$_i$ sap que *pro$_i$* es divertirà
           everybody knows that   have fun-fut
           'Everyone knows that he will have fun'

     b. *Tothom$_i$ sap que *ell$_i$* es divertirà

In (34a) the clitic can take part in the resumptive pronoun strategy and can act at LF as a variable bound by the operator of the relative clause, but in (34b), when it is related to a strong pronoun, it cannot. This would show that these strong pronouns cannot serve as logical variables at LF. Similarly, in (36b) the presence of the strong pronoun blocks the bound reading that *pro*, and also a clitic, allows.

Moreover, she also notes that strong pronouns do not occupy the same syntactic position as other NP arguments. This can be seen in the following contrast:

(37) a. Vam acostumar el nen a això
           got used   the boy to this
           'We got the boy used to this'

    b.   *_El_ vam acostumar _a ell_ a això

        3pAcc got used   to he to this

    c.   _El_ vam acostumar a això _a ell_

(38)   a.   Consideren en Pere molt intel.ligent

        consider   the P.   very intelligent

        'They consider Pere very intelligent'

    b.   Us consideren molt intel.ligents _a vosaltres_

        2pDat consider very intelligent-pl to you-pl

        'They consider you very intelligent'

    c.   *Us consideren _a vosaltres_ molt intel.ligents

In (37) the verb _acostumar_ "get used" selects an NP and a PP, but if the direct object is a strong pronoun the order DO-PP is ruled out and the only possibility for the pronoun is to appear at the right of the PP. The same happens in (38): in (38a) the NP _en Pere_ is placed in the A-position, the subject position of the small clause, but the strong pronoun cannot stay there as (38c) shows.

Consequently, Rigau claims that strong pronouns do not occupy an A-position and that they are in a peripheral position, an A'-position external to the VP, that can free them from becoming bound elements at LF and can explain their S-structure position. The presence of these pronouns would be licensed through coindexing with a _pro_ or a clitic chain. So, under this view, the A-position of these constructions would be occupied by this _pro_ and the strong pronoun would remain in a peripheral A'-position.

Picallo (1991) also observes the same differences between possessive pronouns and strong pronouns inside nominal phrases. She assimilates the possessive pronoun in nominals to the empty _pro_ in sentences and distinguishes these two elements from strong pronouns. She gives the following contrasts concerning proximate interpretation (39), quantifier binding (40) and denotative properties (41):

(39)   a.   La Maria$_i$ diu que en Pere$_j$ truca sovint a la seva$_{i/j}$ mare

        the M.   says that the P.   phones often to the her/his mother

        'Maria says that Pere often phones to her/his mother'

    b.   *La Maria$_i$ diu que en Pere$_j$ truca sovint a la mare d'ell$_{i/j}$

(40)   a.   El temor de tot acusat$_i$ al seu$_i$ fiscal

        the fear of every accused to-the his Public Prosecutor

        'The fear of every accused to his Public Prosecutor'

b. *El temor de tot acusat$_i$ al fiscal d'ell$_i$

(41) a. La desaparició de les llibretes$_i$
the disappearance of the notebooks

b. La seva$_i$ desaparició
the its disappearance

c. *La desaparició d'elles$_i$
the disappearance of them

The facts in (39)-(40) are identical to those of (34)-(36), and what (41) shows is that strong pronouns are more restrictive than *pro* or possessives: while *pro* or possessives can denote any kind of object or set, strong pronouns can denote only denumerable or [+human/animate] entities. This is the reason of the ungrammaticality of (41c), where the pronoun *elles* "them" should refer to the [-anim] NP *les llibretes* "the notebooks". In (41b) a possessive is used and there is no problem.

If we accept this analysis, and we do, then we have a plain explanation for the need of a clitic in (32) and (33). In these constructions the obligatoriness of the clitic would follow straightforwardly from the Projection Principle: given that the strong pronoun occupies an A'-position, the A-position must be filled by some element in order to keep up the Θ–grid of the verb; this element will be the clitic, or the *pro* licensed by it, that in its turn can serve as licenser of the peripheral strong pronoun.

Aside from these cases, the differences between direct and indirect object concerning clitic-NP doubling structures are evident: whereas doubling is always possible with indirect objects, it is not always allowed with direct objects:

(42) a. Luis le dio un libro a María
L 3pDat gave a book to M.
'Luis gave María a book'

b. Les expliqué lo sucedido a unos policías
3pDat told the happened to some policemen
'I told what happened to some policemen'

(43) a. Le duele la cabeza a Juan
3pDat hurts the head to J.
'Juan has a headache'

b. Le hice un traje a Luis
3pDat made a suit to L.
'I made a suit for Luis'

c. Luis siempre le ha sido fiel a su esposa
L. always 3pDat has been faithful to his wife
'Luis has always been faithful to his wife'

In (42) there are IO NPs with different features and they all allow clitic-doubling. The direct object counterparts of these cases are clearly ungrammatical in European Spanish:

(44) a. *Luis la vio a María
Luis her saw to María
b. *Los expliqué unos cuentos
them told some tales

Obviously, these sentences become perfectly grammatical without the clitic.

The examples in (43) involve datives that are not subcategorized by the verb, that is, datives that express inalienable possession (43a), beneficiaries (43b), and datives that refer to the argument of an adjective (43c). Here, there is no possible comparison with direct objects because these are always arguments of the verb. There are also other datives, that can be put together with those of (43), such as the so-called ethical datives as the one in (15) above, that tend to be expressed only by the clitic

The most relevant property of these non-argumental datives is that they not only can but must be doubled. Thus, as (45) shows, these sentences without the clitic become clearly ungrammatical. In this respect, there is a difference with the datives of (42):[8]

(45) a. *Duele la cabeza a Juan
b. *Hice un traje a Luis
c. *Luis ha suspendido tres asignaturas a sus padres
d. ?Luis dio un libro a María
e. (?)Expliqué lo sucedido a unos policías

In the last section we will return to these examples and sketch a possible explanation.

In addition to this, the IO clitic can double any Wh-phrase, while this is absolutely out in the case of direct objects in Catalan or European Spanish and even in American dialects that allow some instances of clitic-NP doubled direct objects:

[8] This contrast is real despite the fact that clitic-NP doubling with indirect objects is highly frequent in spoken Spanish and, as in Trentino, is almost obligatory. Thanks to A. Branchadell for this remark.

(46) a. ¿A quién le diste el libro?
          to whom 3pDat gave the book
          'To whom did you give the book?'
      b. Ésta es la chica a la que le regalé rosas
          this is the girl to the that 3pDat gave roses
          'This one is the girl to whom I gave roses
      c. A MARIA le di un beso
          to M.   3pDat gave a kiss
          'MARIA did I kiss'

(47) a. *¿A quién lo viste ayer?
          to whom him saw yesterday
      b. *Éstas son las rosas que se las regalé a María
          these are   the roses that 3pDat the gave to M.
      c. *A MARIA la besé
          to M.   her kissed

It is also interesting to note that there are some relative clauses in which the IO clitic, that acts as a resumptive pronoun, appears to be necessary:

(48) a. Es un chico que todas las chicas le escriben
          is a boy that all   the girls 3pDat write
          'He is a boy to whom all the girls write'
      b. *Es un chico que todas las chicas escriben

In this case, the resumptive pronoun strategy (i.e. the presence of the clitic) is required. However, as (48') shows, this happens only when the relative pronoun does not express clearly the kind of argument it is referring to. If it includes the preposition *a* and the definite determiner, the pronominal clitic is optional:

(48') Es un chico *al* que todas las chicas (le) escriben
       is a   boy to-the that all the girls (3pDat) write

Possibly, the reason for the need of the clitic in (48) is due to the fact that as long as the relative operator does not give clues enough to identify the relevant argument, any other sort of dative marker (i.e. the clitic) is required. At any rate, this is a question that concerns also the properties of the element *que*, probably more a complementizer than a relative pronoun, and the analysis of relative clauses, a point that is beyond of the purpose of this paper.

It seems that the only NPs that do not allow IO clitic doubling are bare NPs, which have a non-specific reading. Fernández Soriano (1989) gives the following examples:

(49) a. Creo que (*les) daré todo mi dinero a personas necesitadas
          think that 3pDat give-fut all my money to people poor
          'I think that I will give all my money to poor people'
      b. No se (*les) debe pegar a mujeres indefensas
          not Imp 3pDat should hit to women defenceless
          'You should not hit defenceless women'

According to her, the presence of the clitic in these constructions leads to ungrammaticality because, in general, non-specific NPs cannot be related at all with a pronominal clitic.

We are not going to enter into an exhaustive discussion of these examples, but we would like to point out that we doubt that such a contrast actually exists. In fact, we believe that IO clitics are not incompatible with bare NPs, specially when the clitic appears in a defective form, and that sentences as the following are acceptable or nearly acceptable:[9]

(50) a. Le hablaré de este asunto a gente de la universidad
          3pDat talk-fut of this matter to people-sf of the university
          'I will talk about this matter to people from the university'
      b. ?No se les puede decir estas cosas a mujeres sensibles
          not Imp 3ppDat can to-say these things to women sensitives
          'You cannot say these thing to sensitive women'
      c. Los caramelos, se los daré a niños que no tengan ninguno
          the sweets, 3pDat 3ppAcc give-fut to children that not have-subj no one
          'The sweets, I will give them to children that do not have any'

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[9] In fact these constructions, with or without the clitic, sound a bit strange to me and to other speakers, but the relevant point here is that we do not find such a contrast. Moreover, some speakers who tend to use the 'defective' singular form *le* to refer to both singular and plural indirect objects (see section 2.6.) have pointed out to me that between the two examples of (i) they clearly prefer the version with the 'defective' *le*:

(i)   a. Luis nunca da dinero a niños
          L. never gives money to children
      b. Luis nunca *le* da dinero a niños

The form *se* in (50c) has no overt specification of the number or gender features, and it is the form that the IO clitic usually adopts when it appears next to a DO clitic. In any case, what we want to suggest here is that there is no such a contrast between the presence/absence of the clitic in these constructions, and that, at least in some cases, it is possible to find IO clitic forms doubling a non-specific bare NP. Then, we can maintain the differences with respect to DO clitics, that, obviously, do not allow clitic-NP doubling with these arguments either.

In conclusion, we have seen that while IO clitics allow any instance of clitic-NP doubling, DO clitics are more restricted in this sense. This is a clear difference that calls for an analysis that will distinguish the two clitics. The need for this distinction is precisely what we are trying to stablish here and will explore in future sections, where we will also try to go into the syntactic character of these pronominal clitics in depth.

2.3. Object Clitics and Definiteness

An interesting point in the preceding section is the possibility of linking an IO clitic to an indefinite NP. We have seen this in clitic-NP doubling constructions and we have stated that IO clitics but not DO clitics can appear in this kind of configuration. What we would like to propose now is that, in fact, a DO clitic cannot be related by any meanss to an indefinite argument.

Since the doubling structures are not possible with direct objects because of the general constraint on DO clitic-NP doubling, we cannot use them as evidence. However, there are some configurations that clearly show that the object clitic cannot go with a [-def] referent. This is the case of left-dislocated or topicalized constructions, where, as Hernanz-Brucart (1987) show, a non-emphasized NP in topic position, that is, a CP external position, must be reduplicated by a clitic, otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical:

(51) a. Las zanahorias$_i$, María las$_i$ detesta
          the carrots   M. them hate
          the carrots, María hate them
      b. *Las zanahorias, María detesta

Nevertheless, if the topicalized element is is an NP headed by the indefinite determiner, the presence of the clitic is ruled out:

(52) a. *Un reloj, lo compré ayer
            a watch, it bought yesterday
          'A watch, I bought it yesterday'
      b. *Unas cervezas, las he dejado en la nevera
          some beers, them have left in the fridge
          'Some bottles of beer, I have left them in the fridge'

And the same happens when the dislocated phrase is a bare NP, whether singular or plural, as the ones at the end of the preceding section:

(53) a. *Dinero, no lo tengo
          money, not it have
          'Money, I do not have'
      b. *Cervezas, no las he comprado
          beers, not them have bought
          'Bottles of beer, I have not buy any'

Thus, we can easily conclude that, provided that the syntactic configuration is the same in all the examples (51)-(53), it is the different semantic value of the dislocated NP what leads to ungrammaticality in (52)-(53). More precisely, we claim that what is wrong in these cases is the connection of the dislocated NP to the DO clitic rather than a hypothetical constraint on topicalizing non-definite NPs. In other words, since we suggest that DO clitics are inherently marked as [+def], we expect them to be related only to definite NPs, and, consequently, we can rule out (52) and (53) because the [+def] feature of the DO clitic clashes with the [-def] or [-spec] values of indefinite and bare NPs.

It is also interesting to note that, contrary to what the above parallelism seems to suggest, the configurations of (52) and (53) actually differ from each other, and that indefinite NPs and bare NPs are not equal and do not behave exactly alike in topicalized constructions. This can be easily seen when the DO clitic is absent, as in the following contrast :

(54) a. *Un reloj, compré ayer
            a watch, bought-I yesterday
      b. *Unas cervezas, he dejado en la nevera

some beers. have-I left   in the fridge

(55)   a.   Dinero, no tengo
            'Money, I have not'

       b.   Cervezas, no he comprado
            'Bottles of beer, I have not buy any'

While the deletion of the DO clitic is allowed with bare NPs and it results in one of the null object constructions in Spanish, this is not so in (54), where the instances of indefinite NPs are involved. Catalan also offers stronger evidence for this clear distinction. In this language the paradigm of pronominal clitics includes the clitic *en*, that can be used to express indefinite objects with a partitive interpretation. As you can see in (56)-(57), this clitic can appear when the dislocated element is a bare NP, but not when it is an indefinite NP:

(56)   a.   De diners, no en tinc
            of money-pl. not *en* have

       b.   De cava, en vaig comprar ahir
            of cava, *en*   bought   yesterday
            'Cava, I bought it yesterday'

(57)   a.   *Un rellotge, no n'he comprat ahir
             a   watch, not *en* have bought yesterday

       b.   *Unes cerveses, n'he deixat a la nevera
             some beers, *en* have left to the fridge

In (56) the presence of the partitive clitic is required exactly in the same way as the definite DO clitic is when the dislocated NP is [+def].

In general, the facts concerning these dislocated NPs are the same in Spanish and Catalan. The only difference between these two languages lies in the partitive clitic: Catalan has it and uses it to refer to NPs that allow a partitive reading such as bare NPs, but not indefinite NPs; Spanish does not have it, but can maintain the difference between bare NPs and indefinite NPs by allowing versus not allowing the null object construction of (55). This means that since there is no partitive clitic in Spanish, this null object construction appears as the counterpart of the Catalan sentences with this clitic, at least as far as bare NPs are involved. In the other respect the two languages behave exactly alike: both require the DO clitic when the dislocated phrase is [+def]; neither Catalan nor Spanish allow this clitic —i.e. the clitic morphophonologically related to the definite determiner (see section 2.1.)—

when this dislocated element cannot be interpreted as definite; the topicalization of an indefinite direct object yields ungrammaticality in both cases; and a bare NP can be dislocated under some conditions: *en* cliticization in Catalan and null object construction in Spanish.

We would like to insist on the fact that it is not possible to resort to any constraint on dislocating non-definite NPs to explain the above differences. Obviously, since sentences like the ones in (55) and (56) are perfectly grammatical, this 'possible constraint' would concern only indefinite NPs. However, it is not difficult to find sentences where an indefinite NP is left or right dislocated:

(58)   a.   A un policía, nunca le digas la verdad
            to a policeman, never 3pDat say-subj the truth
            'To a policeman, never tell him the truth'
       b.   Nunca le digas la verdad, a un policía

Here, the dislocated NP is reduplicated by the IO clitic, that, as we have seen in the preceding section, can be related to any kind of NP. This is precisely the main difference between the two object clitics, at least in Spanish and Catalan.

Therefore, we prefer to account for this restriction on indefinite NPs through an interpretation based on independent grounds: the general properties of topicalized or left-dislocated structures and the inherent features of pronominal clitics. As (51) and (56) show, a topicalized phrase must be reduplicated by a clitic. This follows straightforwardly from the fact that this phrase occupies an A'-position and that, in order to avoid a violation of the Projection Principle, the A-position it refers to must be filled by some element: the clitic or a *pro* licensed by the clitic. We also assume that at least some pronominal clitics are inherently marked with some features, and that, as a consequence, they can be linked only to NPs that are compatible with these features. We suggest that, according to its similarity with the definite determiner, the DO clitic in Spanish and Catalan has the same features as this determiner, and it is interpreted as [+def]. And the same criterion will be applied to the Catalan clitic *en*, but with the slight difference that this element seems to receive a partitive interpretation.

Thus, the ungrammaticality of (52) and (57) in Spanish and Catalan follows from the fact that there is no DO clitic form compatible with an indefinite NP: both the [+def] pronominal clitic, the only one that Spanish has, and the partitive clitic of Catalan

have different features and by no means can be related to this kind of NP, which does not have a [+def] nor a partitive reading. Then, given the absence of the clitic, the above requirement for topicalized constructions is not fulfilled —there is an empty A-position and the PP is not preserved— and the sentence is ruled out.

Under this view the most puzzling case is the difference between indefinite and bare NPs in Spanish. We have stated that, in Spanish, dislocated bare NPs produce a null object construction. So we could ask ourselves why the same strategy is not allowed with indefinite NPs. We are not going to pursue this matter further: we will simply note that this null object strategy seems to be the Spanish counterpart of the Catalan constructions with the clitic *en* .[10] Under these assumptions, we can easily capture the strong parallelism between Spanish and Catalan concerning these topicalized structures and the character of DO clitics as opposed to IO clitics, which can be related to any kind of NP and, in this sense, seem to behave like subject agreement morphemes, which are not restrictive on the nature of NPs either.

Before leaving this, let me point out two more structures that show that DO clitic forms are sensitive to the nature of the argument they are referring to.

2.3.1. *Cliticization of Predicate Nominals in Catalan*

According to normative Catalan, in nominal predicates, that is, constructions where two noun phrases and the copulative verb *ser* "to be" are involved, two different pronominal clitics can be used: the neutral form *ho* "it", used also for the direct object when it is neuter or a subordinate clause, and the usual DO clitic forms. The distribution of these two clitics is clearly defined: while the neutral form can

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[10] In fact this seems to be the case, at least as far as dislocated structures are involved, as shown by the following examples with PP complements of a verb (ia) and genitive arguments (ib), the other uses of *en* in Catalan:

(i)	a.	De política, ya hablaremos mañana	Spanish
		of politics, already talk-fut tomorrow	
		'We will talk about politics tomorrow'	
	a'.	De política, ja *en* parlarem demà	Catalan
	b.	De este libro, me he leído la primera parte	Spanish
		of this book, me have read the first part	
		'I have read the first part of this book'	
	b'	D'aquest llibre, me *n*'he llegit la primera part	Catalan

pronominalize any instance of nominal predicate —an adjective, a prepositional phrase or a noun phrase—, the DO clitic form must be used when this nominal predicate is a definite NP. Let us consider the following examples:

(59) a. En Pere és metge
          the P.   is doctor
          'Pere is a doctor'
      a' En Pere *ho* és

(59) b.   En Pere és el metge del poble

           the P. is the doctor of-the village

           'Pere is the doctor of the village'

     b'   En Pere *l* 'és

In (59a) the nominal predicate *metge* "doctor" is an NP, but provided that it is not interpreted with a [+def] value, it cannot be pronominalized by the [+def] clitic and the neutral clitic is used. On the other hand, in (59b) the nominal predicate is a clearly definite NP and the DO clitic is required. This would show again that the DO clitic really has a [+def] feature and that it can only refer to definite NPs.

In Spanish there is no such a contrast, since in these constructions the only clitic availaible is the neutral form *lo* "it", which despite being identical to the singular masculine form of the DO clitic, has its own syntactic behaviour. We will not explore the properties of this form, we simply want to indicate that, contrary to the usual direct object clitic form, the neural clitic is not affected by the cases of *leísmo*. As is well known, *leísmo* is the use of the IO clitic form *le* in the place of the DO clitic. This phenomenon is so widespread that it has even been introduced in European Spanish under certain conditions, but, surprisingly, it has never replaced any instance of neutral *lo*, not even when it acts as a direct object.

2.3.2. DO Clitic-NP Doubling in River Plate

These constructions seem to be allowed only with definite DOs, never with indefinites:

(60) a.   La vi a Mafalda

           her saw to M.

           'I saw Mafalda'

     b.   *Lo vi un camión

            it saw a truck

In the next section we will see that there is some fluctuation in the acceptance of indefinite direct objects doubled by a clitic; here we simply want to note that, at least for some authors like Jaeggli (1982, 1986) or Suñer (1988), this kind of doubling is completely out.

2.4. DO Clitic-NP Doubling Constructions and Inherent Features

The definition of their inherent features is a clear difference between IO and DO clitics. Most of the hypotheses concerning this issue have also been related to the possibility of having DO clitic-NP doubling. In this section we will review these hypotheses and discuss the features that the DO clitic seems to have.

Remember that in European Spanish, while an IO can always be doubled by a clitic, the doubling of the DO is possible only if the direct object is a strong pronoun. This situation changes when we pay attention to dialectal variation, specially to American dialects like Porteño or Quiteño.

As we have seen above, Porteño allows clitic-NP doubling of certain direct objects, but not others. More precisely, we could say, in agreement with Jaeggli, that, unless the DO is preceded by the preposition *a*, it cannot be doubled by a clitic. This is what (60) and (61) show:

(61)   *La vimos la casa
          it saw   the house

Here, the [±def] value of the NP seems to have nothing to do with clitic-NP doubling, and the only relevant point would be the presence/absence of the preposition.[11] This preposition is crucial for Jaeggli's analysis, because, given that the DO clitic is a case absorber, it appears as the only element that can assign case to the doubled NP. Nevertheless, in this dialect a Wh-phrase cannot be doubled by the DO clitic despite the presence of the preposition:

(62)   a.   *¿A quién la viste?
                to whom her saw
                'Who did you see'
         b.   *María, a quien la he visto ayer, estaba muy preocupada
                Maria, to who her have seen yesterday, was very worried
                'Maria, who I saw yesterday, was very worried

Jaeggli (1986) accounts for this in terms of identification of the empty category in object position and of a restriction on bound pronominals.

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[11] This preposition can be seen as a sort of feature marker, as an element that provides the direct object with a [+hum], [+anim] or [+spec] feature.

Suñer (1988, 1989) provides a very different approach. In her view, pronominal clitics are not case absorbers. They are simply AGR morphemes subject to a Matching Principle (MP). This principle ensures that the features of the clitic and the doubled NP agree; if they do not, the sentence is ruled out. The main difference with the preceding analysis concerns the preposition and the inherent features; now, the direct object can only be doubled if it is interpreted as [+spec] and the preposition becomes irrelevant. This conclusion is shown by the following examples:

(63) a. Yo la tenía prevista esta muerte
          I it had   foreseen this death
          'I foresaw this death'
      b. Ahora tiene que seguir utilizándolo el apellido
          now   has that go on   using-it   the surname
          'He has to go on using the surname now'

She also points out that Wh-phrases and quantified phrases can be doubled if they are interpreted as [+spec]:

(64) a. ¿A cuántas de ellas las interrogaron?
           to how-many of them them questioned
          'How many of them did they question?'
      b. Ya los había liberado a todos sus esclavos cuando .....
          already them had freed to all his slaves   when
          'He had already freed all his slaves when .....

Her idea is that any instance of [+spec] direct object can be doubled by a clitic because the DO clitic is lexically marked as [+spec]. On the contrary, a [-spec] NP cannot be doubled because this feature will clash with the [+spec] of the DO clitic and the MP would be violated. The doubling of an IO is always possible because the IO clitic is not inherently marked as [+spec] and, consequently, the MP is satisfied.

Suñer (1989) extends this hypothesis to some dialectal data of Madrid Spanish, that also allows DO clitic-NP doubling when the NP or the Wh-phrase is interpreted as [+spec], and Quiteño, the variant spoken in the city of Quito.

The most relevant aspect of Quiteño is that it lacks the DO clitic forms and it uses the IO clitic *le* to express any kind of direct object. Besides, it can have null definite direct objects, specially when a DO and an IO co-appear in the same sentence —in this case the clitic refers to the dative argument.

The facts concerning DO doubling are interesting because Quiteño can double an indefinite NP. This is extremely surprising under the view presented here, but Suñer claims that it compatible with her analysis and gives these examples as evidence:

(65)   a.   Le amarré a un gato a una sábana
           it tied   to a cat to a bedsheet
           'I tied a cat with a bedsheet'
     b.   *Le busco a una estudiante que sepa Japonés
           her look for to a student that knows-subj Japanese
           'I am looking for a student who speaks Japanese'

In (65a), the direct object, despite being headed by an indefinite determiner, can be interpreted as definite through the context, and the doubling structure is allowed. The direct object of (65b), however, is unambiguously marked as [-spec] —the subjunctive relative clause acts as a marker of unspecificity— and the doubling structure is ruled out. Thus, the analysis based on the [+spec] feature and the MP can be maintained also in this dialect.[12]

This approach does not convince Franco (1991), who argues that [+spec] is not the feature that rules these structures in. He gives the following examples:

(66)   a.   Juan lo invitaba a uno y luego se olvidaba
           J.   3pA invited to one and then *se* forgot
           'Juan used to invite people and then forget all about it'
     b.   En ese departamento lo admiten a cualquiera
           in that department 3pA admit to anyone
           'Anyone can be admitted in that department'

In these cases there is no specific reading and clitic doubling is indeed possible. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the indefinite pronouns involved in these sentences have a distinct behaviour, at least the one in (66a). When used with a generic value, as in the above example, the indefinite pronoun can be doubled by the DO clitic also in European Spanish. Moreover, we can say that it behaves exactly as strong pronouns because, as (67) shows, the clitic is obligatory with the generic reading:

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[12] Obviously, much more needs to be said about the Quiteño facts. For instance, it is surprising that the same clitic *le* would have a [+spec] feature when it acts as a DO object, but not when it behaves as an IO. We are not going to discuss this here.

(67)   Cuando *(lo) invitan a uno a cenar ....
        when   him invite to one to dinner
        'When one is invited to dinner ....'

Maybe some properties of these indefinite pronouns intervene in the doubling constructions of (66), but, in any case, we simply note that as long as these sentences exist, it is difficult to maintain Suñer's analysis, at least as originally formulated.

Fernández Soriano (1989) also studies these doubling structures and their relation with the features of the clitics. Contra Suñer, she does not believe the [+spec] feature to be the trigger of the doubling and gives an approach based on the properties of case assignment. Nevertheless, she points out that, in fact, the features of the clitic are relevant at least in the doubling of Wh-phrases. Her idea is that a clitic cannot have more overtly expressed features than the phrase it is related to. Then, the difference between the IO clitic and the DO clitic follows from the fact that the former has no gender specification, like most Wh-elements (e.g. *quién* "who", *qué* "what"). From this view, doubling of an IO is always allowed because the IO clitic never exceeds the features of the doubled phrase; but doubling of a DO is not because the gender feature of the DO clitic is not expressed by the Wh-phrase. This means that when the Wh-phrase is specified for gender features the DO clitic doubling will be possible:

(68)   a.   ¿A cuántos chicos los pillaste copiando?
              to how-many boys them caught copying
              'How many boys did you catch copying?'

Obviously, it is very difficult to build a theory capable of accounting for all these different and contradictory examples.[13] We simply would like to concentrate on two points: (i) in all these doubling structures there is an implicit distinction between the two object clitics, and (ii) the features of the clitic are clearly relevant in these configurations. In this respect, we are specially interested in the relation with the

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[13] In fact there is even greater variation among American dialects concerning the realisation of the DO clitic and the clitic-NP doubling constructions (see Kany (1969) and the references cited there). In Catalan the DO clitic doubling structures with no pronominal direct objects are completely impossible, as in standard Spanish.

[±spec] or [±def] values of the DO clitic, that are closer to the semantic content of the definite determiner, an element we suggest is related to this pronominal clitic.

2.5. Pronominalization of Other Arguments

We have already seen that, while the IO clitic can refer to dative complements that are not arguments of the verb —i.e. the non-argumental datives, which include ethical and possessive datives and benefactives, and even the complement of certain adjectives—, the DO clitic is clearly restricted to express this verbal argument. We think that this clear difference is actually interesting and that it can be enforced, at least in Spanish, by the ability of the IO clitic to pronominalize an internal argument of the verb that by no means can be considered a dative. Observe the following sentences, borrowed from Hernanz-Brucart (1987):

(69) a. Los alumnos se ríen de María
          the students laugh   of M.
          'The students laugh at María'
      b. El ladrón se escapó de la policía
          the thief escaped   of the police
          'The thief escaped from the police'
      c. Se apiadaron de él
          took pity   of him
          'They took pity on him'

In these cases the internal argument of the verb is a PP headed by the preposition *de* "of". None of these complements can be believed to be a dative argument; they are rather instances of what traditional grammars call prepositional complements selected, or governed, by the verb. However, when these arguments pronominalize, the dative clitic is always used, there is no alternative:

(70) a. Los alumnos se *le* ríen
      b. El ladrón se *le* escapó
      c. Se *le* apiadaron

The main difference between these examples and the non-argumental datives lies in the fact that now the IO clitic seems to refer to a PP with the form 'de + NP', whereas in the other cases it reproduces an 'a + NP' PP, the usual form of dative arguments.

The pronominalization of these arguments is very different in Catalan. As we have seen, in this language the partitive clitic *en* is used to express bare NPs in object position and internal arguments headed by the preposition *de*. This is precisely the

case of the constructions we are dealing with, and, as expected, the partitive clitic is required and the dative form is completely out:[14]

(71)   a.   Els alumnes se n'enriuen   (de la Maria)
           the students *se* of-her laugh (of the M.)
           'The students laugh at her'
       b.   El lladre se n'ha pogut escapar   (de la policia)
           the thief *se* of-it has could to-escape (of the police)
           'The thief could escape from it'
       c.   Se n'han penedit   (d'en Pere)
           se of-him have taken pity (of the P.)
           'They have taken pity on him'
(72)   a.   *Els alumnes se *li* enriuen
       b.   *Se *li* han penedit

This suggests that the Spanish dative clitic is doing the same work the partitive clitic does in Catalan, at least with these PP internal arguments. However, this is not true because, leaving aside the fact that this dative cliticization strategy is also possible in certain cases in Catalan, there are similar PP arguments that do not allow the dative

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[14] The case of the verb *escapar-se* "to escape" is especial since it allows both kinds of pronominalization: partitive *en* (see (54b)) and IO clitic (see (i)).

(i)   El lladre se'*ls hi* ha escapat   (als policies)
          the thief *se* Dat has escaped   (to-the policemen)
          'The thief escaped from them'

As the bracketed phrase indicates, the 'a + NP' form is allowed. Note also that this behaviour of the dative clitic is only possible with pronominal verbs both in Spanish and Catalan. As shown in (ii), the non-pronominal verb *escapar* — the clitic form *se* indicates this verbal property in all examples of this section— does not allow the IO clitic:

(ii)   a.   El ladrón escapó de la policía
                the thief escaped of the police
                'The thief escaped from the police'
       b.   *El ladrón *le* escapó

Probably, the presence of the dative clitic is related to the properties of pronominal *se*.

clitic in Spanish. Thus, we will prefer to simply state that the presence of the IO clitic in these structures proves its ability to express different kinds of arguments.

This has several interesting consequences concerning the way this arguments are represented. As Hernanz-Brucart (1987) point out, the presence of this clitic interacts with the possibility of having an 'a + NP' complement, as in (73):

(73) a. *A María* se le ríen en clase
      b. Se le escapó el ladrón *a la policía*
      c. ?*A Juan* se le apiadaron

This possibility can be seen as a 'dative like' feature that precisely correlates with a property of non-argumental datives that we have seen above: the presence of the clitic is obligatory in these cases. As (74) shows, if the 'a + NP' phrase is maintained, the absence of the clitic leads to ungrammaticality.

(74) a. *A María se ríen en clase
      b. *Se escapó el ladrón a la policía
      c. *A Juan se apiadaron

2.6. Invariant *le*

This phenomenon consists in the use of the singular form *le* to refer to a plural dative, that is, when the plural *les* is expected. This can be seen in the following constructions, taken from RAE (1973) and Marcos Marín (1978):

(75) a. No le$_i$ tenía miedo a las balas$_i$
          not Dat-sg had fear to the bullets
          'He was not afraid of bullets'
      b. Le$_i$ contaba a las flores$_i$ lo que había visto
          Dat-sg told to the flowers the- that had seen
          'He told what he had seen to the flowers'

This property of IO clitics has been noted by various traditional grammarians, and they all agree that this use of the singular form is a widespread phenomenon.

All the occurrences of *le* in (75) are instances of clitic-NP doubling structures. This means that the defective clitic is simply advancing the presence of a dative argument

immediately represented as a full NP, and that, probably, this is the reason why this defectiveness is allowed. In other words, as long as the dative argument is immediately identified, the specification of all its features does not appear so necessary. However, there is a certain degree of controversy because, while there are sentences whose indirect object is expressed only by the invariant form (see (76ab)), it seems that when the indirect object goes at the beginning of the sentence the defective form is not allowed (76c):

(76)   a.   Ellos$_i$ ... poseen frente al desprecio que éste le$_i$ inspira ...
          them   have before to-the scorn that this-one Dat incites
          'They have before the scorn that his one causes in them'
      b.   (ellos$_i$) ... Por temor a que nuestro contacto con los indios le$_i$ acarrease
          (they)   by fear to that our   contact with the Indians Dat   cause
            algún tipo de enfermedad ....
          some kind of illnes
          'Because of their fear that our contact with the Indians could cause them some illness'
      c.   A los niños les /*le dije que ...
          to the boys Dat-pl/Dat-sg told that
          'I told them that ....'

Although there is no clear explanation for this, we think this fact can be seen as a step of the pronominal clitic towards the loss of its argumental properties; i.e. towardws becoming an element that simply announces the presence of certain arguments, a sort of dative marker.

However, no matter what the right analysis is, we would like to point out that this behaviour is exclusive of the IO clitic. There is no occurrence of invariant DO clitics in Spanish, not even in some *laísta* dialects, which use the DO clitic form to express both accusative and dative arguments. If both object pronominal clitics were basicaly the same kind of element, we would expect them to behave exactly alike in this respect. Since this is not borne out, we have another piece evidence to distinguish the status and properties of the two clitics.

2.7. Torrego's Examples

This review of the differences between the two object clitics will end with some remarks, due to Torrego (course), who introduces the possibility of analyzing the DO clitic as a DP and the IO clitic as an AGRP. She compares some causative constructions of Castilian Spanish with their counterparts in other Romance languages, Porteño Spanish included, and notes that the behaviour of the DO clitic *lo* is affected by the value of the [±anim] feature. This is a clear difference with the IO clitic, which is blind to this feature:

(77) a. *Lo hizo cantar por los soldados   lo [-anim]
           it made to-sing by the soldiers
      b. Lo hizo operar por un buen médico
           him made to-operate on by a good doctor   lo [+anim]
           'She got him operated by a good doctor'
      c. *Le/me hizo traer el café por el camarero   le [+anim]
           3p/1p-Dat made bring the coffee by the waiter

The [+anim] value of the DO clitic yields the causative construction grammatical in (77b); but the same feature has no consequences on the dative clitic, as in (77c).

We do not know what the reasons are for this behaviour, but we can take it as further evidence for the fact that the DO clitic is more sensitive to semantic features than the IO one.

Torrego also notices that the presence of the Spanish dative clitic in constructions with a raising verb has consequences that are absent in other Romance languages like Italian, French or Portuguese. As (78) shows, the IO clitic blocks the raising of the subject in Spanish but not in the other languages:

(78) a. Esta taxista parece estar cansada
           this taxi-driver seems to-be tired
      b. *Esta taxista *me* parece estar cansada
      c. Pierre me semble être malade
           P.   1p-Dat seems to-be ill
           'It seems to me that Pierre is ill'
      d. Gianni non gli sembra fare il suo devere
           G.   not 3p-Dat seems to-do the his duty
           'It seems to him that Gianni does not do his duty'

2.8. Some Morphophonological Changes

Sections 2.9, 2.10, and 2.11 are devoted to a number of properties of clitic clusters in Spanish or Catalan. Although these properties cannot be considered clear evidence for the main thesis of this paper, we think it is interesting to explore them briefly because, despite the fact that they basically obey morphological constraints , most of them have syntactic consequences.

It is well known that, when two clitics appear together, the canonical form of one of them can be altered. We would like to propose that, at least in Spanish and Catalan, the modified clitic is the IO clitic.

The most well-known Spanish case is the so-called spurious *se*, that replaces the usual IO clitic form. This change is triggered by the co-appearance of the two object clitics. The expected sequence *le lo* is realised as *se lo* :

(79) Se lo regalé a María
      Dat it gave to M.
      'I gave it to María'

There is no clear explanation for this phenomenon yet. The spurious *se* rule of Perlmutter (1971) simply states that a 3p. IO clitic changes into *se* when it precedes an accusative clitic. Probably, the best analysis is that of Bonet (1991), who assumes that there is a morphological component with some phonological-like rules that can affect the features of the clitic and modify its phonetic form.

There are constructions in which the clitic that seems to undergo some changes is the DO clitic. This is what happens in some varieties of Mexican Spanish:

(80) a. El libro, a ellos, ¿quién se   los   prestó?
          the book, to them, who Dat Acc 3p.pl. lend
          '(The book, to them) who lended it to them?'
      b. Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se   las   venderé
          if they-f me want to-buy the horse, I   Dat Acc3p.f.pl. sell-fut
          'If they want to buy me the horse, I will sell it to them'

The DO clitic surfaces with the gender and number features of the indirect object that the form *se* do not express. In (80a) the DO clitic should be singular, as the

topicalized phrase it refers to *el libro* "the book" shows, and in (80b) it should be singular and masculine to agree with its antecedent *el caballo* "the horse". But in both cases, it agrees with the gender and number features of the IO.

Catalan, and more precisely the variety spoken in the area of Barcelona, undergoes similar changes:

(81)   a.   Els llibres, els hi portaré demà a en Pere
            the books, 3ppl-Dat bring-fut tomorrow to the P.
            'I will bring the books to Pere tomorrow'
       b.   La llibreta, els hi donaré a ells
            the notebook, 3ppl-Dat give-fut to them
            'I will give the notebook to them'
       c.   La llibreta, li donaré demà (a ell)
            the notebook, 3p-Dat give-fut tomorrow (to them)
            'I will give him the notebook tomorrow'

In (81a) the usual IO clitic *li* does not appear, but the form *hi*, which we can tentatively believe to express dative, seems to take its place. The form *els* is identical to the DO clitic and, although the order DO-IO in a clitic cluster is not expected in standard Catalan or in other dialects, it can be believed to refer to this argument. (81b) offers a first piece of evidence against this last statement because the clitic *els* does not agree with the dislocated DO. However, if we accept that the features of the IO can surface in the DO form, we could maintain that this form is indeed the DO clitic . Finally, the direct object does not seem to be represented by any clitic in (81c).

Nevertheless, we think that the clitic forms of (81) do not express at all the direct object and that they correlate with the IO clitic. Evidence for this comes from these examples:

(82)   a.   Els hi escric una carta (a ells)
            3ppl-Dat write a letter (to them)
            'I write a letter to them'
       b.   Vull enviar-los-hi una carta (a ells)
            want to-send-3ppl-Dat a letter (to them)
            'I want to send them a letter'

In these cases, the direct object is not cliticized and the clitic forms are exactly the same. Thus, this sequence of clitics can be analyzed as a complex IO clitic form that, in some cases (i.e. (81)), can be modified.

If this is true, we may conclude that what is actually modified here is the IO clitic too. Moreover, we can ask ourselves why these changes affect only this clitic: if the two object clitics were the same kind of element it would be difficult to cover this systematic process.

2.9. Object Clitics in Impersonal Constructions

In this section we will discuss the presence of IO and DO clitics in impersonal constructions. As usual, we will find a new contrast between these two elements: while the IO clitic can co-appear with an impersonal *se*, a DO clitic cannot. Before going into this contrast, it is important to note that there are two options in Spanish impersonal *se* constructions:

(83)　a.　Se concederán los premios al final de la fiesta
　　　　　se concede-fut-pl the prizes to-the end of the party
　　　　　'The prizes will be given at the end of the party'
　　　b.　Se les otorgará los premios
　　　　　se Dat concede-fut-sg the prizes
　　　　　'The prizes will be given to them'

In (83a) the verb agrees with its internal argument, which appears as the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, in (83b) there is no subject and the verb is always inflected in third person singular.:

While there is no problem concerning the IO clitic, the presence of the DO clitic next to the impersonal form is not allowed. We can see how this restriction works in sentences like (84) and (85), whose DO originates in an embedded infinitive clause:

(84)　a.　Desde aquí se ve correr a los atletas
　　　　　from here *se* sees to-run to the athletes
　　　　　'You can see the athletes running from here'
　　　b.　*Desde aquí se los ve correr
(85)　a.　En este país no se puede comprar estas cosas

in this country not *se* can to-buy   these things

'You cannot buy these things in this country'

b.   ?En este país no se las puede comprar

We think that the differences between (84b) and (85b) follow from the fact that we are dealing with a morphological restriction rather than with a syntactic constraint against DO pronominals in impersonal *se* constructions. Evidence for this would come from the existence of sentences where the DO clitic does not appear next to the impersonal *se* :

(86)   Nunca se ha querido maltratarlos

never se has wanted to-ill-treat-them

'No one has ever wanted to ill-treat them'

Moreover, when the pronominal form that expresses the direct object is the dative clitic, cases of *leísmo*, the sentence is grammatical:

(87)   a.   Se les ve vagar por las calles

se Dat sees wander by the streets

'They are seen wandering on the streets'

b.   Se lava en agua caliente y no se le deja secar

se washes in water hot and not *se* Dat leaves to-dry

'It should be washed in hot water, but it should not be dried'

(87a) is normatively accepted −[+hum] DOs can pronominalize with *le*− and (87b) is a case of *leísmo*. Thus, it seems that we are facing a constraint against a clitic cluster formed by the impersonal *se* and the DO clitic *lo*. This is borne out by some remarks of Marcos Marín (1978), who observes that the sequence '*se$_{imp}$ lo*' is very rarely found, contrary to '*se le*'. If this is true, then the problem is to state this constraint on clitic clusters in morphological rather than syntactic or phonological terms. From the phonological point of view this restriction is difficult to capture because there are clitic clusters with this phonologival form. Since (86) shows that this is not a syntactic constraint, under the syntactic perspective this constraint would have as its effect that, as long as an alternative −i.e. the agreement constructions− is available, the speaker could choose it in order to avoid the DO clitic.

On the other hand, this behaviour seems to be characteristic of Spanish, since in Catalan, and in other Romance languages, there is no problem with these clitic clusters, as you can see in (88):

(88) a. Desde aquí se'ls veu millor
          from here *se*-them sees better
          You can see them better from here'
      b. No se'l farà objecte de tortures
          not *se*-him make-fut object of tortures
          'He will not be tortured'

2.10. A Constraint on Correference

In Spanish there are some constructions with two [+hum] internal arguments that behave in an interesting way when the two arguments cliticize and form a clitic cluster. Examine the following sentences:

(89) a. Luis$_i$ creyó que María le$_i$ presentaría a sus padres
          L.   believed that M. 3pD introduce to her parents
          'Luis thought that María would introduce her parents to him'
      b. Luis$_i$ creyó que María lo$_i$ presentaría a sus padres
          L.   believed that M. 3pA introduce to her parents
(90) a. *Luis$_i$ creyó que María se lo$_i$ presentaría
          L.   believed that M. 3pD 3pA introduce
          'Luis thought that María would introduce him to them'
      b. Luis$_i$ creyó que María se$_i$ lo presentaría
          L.   believed that M. 3pD 3pA introduce
          'Luis$_i$ thought that María would introduce him to him$_i$'
      c. *Luis$_i$ creyó que María se$_k$ lo$_i$ presentaría a sus padres$_k$
          L.   believed that M. 3pD   3pA introduce to her parents
          'Luis thought that María would introduce him to her parents'

The examples (89) show that the correference between the subject of the main clause and the DO or IO clitics is possible. (90), however, shows that when the two internal arguments cliticize, the subject cannot be related to the DO clitic (90a,c). This is extremely surprising, specially if we bear in mind that a sentence like (90c) would be the counterpart of (89b) with clitic-NP doubling of the indirect object.

This impossible correference cannot be accounted for in terms of structural binding because nothing prevents this relation in (89), where the structural conditions are exactly the same. This clearly suggests that it is the dative clitic the element that

blocks the correference. More precisely, we can say that the 3rd person IO clitic is the element that interferes with this relation, because, as (91) shows, the presence of a 1st person IO clitic is not relevant from this point of view:

(91)   Luis$_i$ creyó que María me lo$_i$ presentaría
        L.   believed that M. me 3pA introduce
        'Luis$_i$ thought that María would introduce him$_i$ to me'

These constructions have some properties that are reminiscent of the 'ME LUI constraint' of Bonet (1991). This author notes that a 1st p. DO clitic cannot co-appear with a 3rd p. IO clitic and that this restriction seems to hold universally, although every language can have its own strategy to avoid it. In Spanish, this strategy consists of expressing the IO clitic by means of a strong pronominal:

(92)   a.   *Me le presentaron
              1pA 3pD introduced
        b.   Me presentaron a él
              1pA introduced to him
              'They introduced me to him'

In section 2.2. we have seen that strong pronouns must be reduplicated by a clitic. Bonet notes this and claims that it is precisely the existence of the 'ME LUI constraint' what allows this use of the strong pronoun that under any other circumstance would be impossible. The same strategy is used in the cases we are examining now. The only way to express a construction like (90a) is (93), where the strong pronominal is not doubled by any clitic.:

(93)   Luis$_i$ creyó que María lo$_i$ presentaría a ellos
        L.   believed that M. 3pA   introduce to them
        'Luis thought that María would introduce him to them'

It is not clear how this restriction can follow from any structural condition. However, from this point of view, it is interesting to note that this correference reminds one of the anaphoric relations between PRO and its antecedent of Lebeaux (1984). This author claims that two long distance antecedent-PRO dependencies cannot cross one each other. He gives the following examples:

(94)   a.   Mary$_i$ knew that John$_k$ thought O$_k$ that PRO$_k$ killing himself would show
              O$_i$ that PRO$_i$ leaving him had been a mistake

b. *Mary$_i$ knew that John$_k$ tought O$_i$ that PRO$_i$ killing herself would show O$_k$ that PRO$_k$ leaving her had been a mistake

According to him, every relation PRO-antecedent is mediated by an operator; but the relevant point of his derivation is that, when the antecedent-operator connections interfere with each other as in (94b), where the relation [John$_k$ - PRO$_k$] 'cuts' the relation [Mary$_i$ - PRO$_i$], the sentence is ruled out. In contrast, when the two dependencies are not crossed, as in (94a), the sentence is grammatical.

In some sense, we could say that the same happens in the examples in (90), where the pronominal *se* interferes with the dependency between the other pronominal element and its antecedent.

Given that the structural conditions on these constructions are not too clear, at this time we can simply assume that this is a question that concerns the structure of a clitic cluster and that it has syntactic consequences.

In conclusion, in this section we have explored some clear differences between IO and DO pronominal clitics in Spanish and Catalan. These differences concern the overt and inherent features of the clitics, that determine the class of NPs they can denote, the clitic-NP doubling structures, and the relation with certain internal arguments and non-argumental complements. We have also presented certain properties of object clitics realted to clitic cluster formation that suggest that they do not behave exactly alike. Although here we are not interested in the nature of the morphophonological rules that apply on clitic clusters, we will point out that, most likely, some aspects of clitic clusters, like their basic structure, have interesting syntactic consequences.

Throughout all the preceding sections, we have seen that the DO clitic has more features and is subject to more restrictions than the IO clitic. These restrictions can be related to the properties shown by the definite determiner, which heads a DP. Consequently, we can assume that the DO clitic belongs to the same class of elements and that it also heads its own DP projection, as Torrego suggested.

In contrast, the IO clitic seems to be freer concerning these aspects: it is not specified for so many features as the DO clitic —sometimes, it even shows up as a defective form—, and its relations with several kinds of NPs and arguments are not as

restricted. This could lead us to assume that it is an AGR head. However, we must be cautious with such a statement, because this would mean that the IO clitic is closer to a subject morpheme than to a pronominal clitic, and we should not forget that there are several syntactic properties shared by the two object clitics such as syntactic order, the behaviour under coordination and clitic climbing structures, etc.

Maybe these properties of the IO clitic follow from the fact that it is a DP or an AGRP of a very special nature, such that it can reflect its status between a true pronominal element and an inflectional morpheme with pronominal features. This is what we will explore in the next section.

3. A Possible Analysis

In this section we will propose an analysis of object clitics that accounts for its main properties and for the differences between the two object clitics seen in the preceding section.

What we can conclude so far is that, at least in Catalan and European Spanish, the DO clitic is much closer to the definite determiner *el, la* 'the', while the IO clitic seems to maintain a different behaviour that keeps it away from the typical properties of definite determiners. Bearing this in mind, we will try to assign a different status to each clitic in order to explain these differences while still capturing their similarities.

3.1. The DO Clitic and the Structure of DP

We would like to propose that DO clitics are actually Ds, that is, elements of the class of determiners, that head a DP generated in an A-position. In fact, this is not an original idea since something analogue is proposed by Laenzlinger (1990) and by Torrego (course).

Laenzlinger studies French and Italian pronominal clitics and suggests that they are DPs that take an empty category *pro* as their complement. According to him, this *pro* is formally licensed by the verb in its D-structure position and semantically identified by the ϕ–features of the head D once it has incorporated into the verb. We will diverse from his approach in several ways: first of all, we do not believe that all clitics have this structure; second, we prefer to state the identification of *pro* in other terms, that is, via specifier-head agreement; and, finally, we do not think that the derivation of clitics involves D-incorporation into V as a first step.

Torrego also proposes that clitics are heads of a DP projection and that they can take a *pro* as complement exactly in the same way as other determiners take an NP or a CP. Besides, she introduces the possibility of having a doubled NP that would occupy the specifier of this DP. The structure she proposes is the following one:[15]

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[15] This structure is taken from Uriagereka (1992), who cites and generally assumes this work by E. Torrego. Torrego (1991) also seems to suggest a similar structure for the dative clitic.

(95)
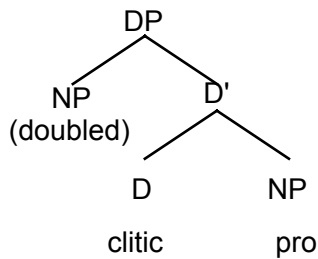
Here, the doubled NP in the specifier position would get case through specifier-head agreement with the Dative or Accusative clitic whenever clitic-NP doubling is allowed.

We will not go into a discussion of the preceding analyses because the differences between them and in relation wit the structure we are going to propose are actually not very significant. We think they can be taken together as mutually independent evidence for the common idea that (at least some) pronominal clitics are determiners. The structure we propose for direct object clitics assumes that they are Ds that take a *pro* as their complement and head a DP generated in A-position:[16]

(96)

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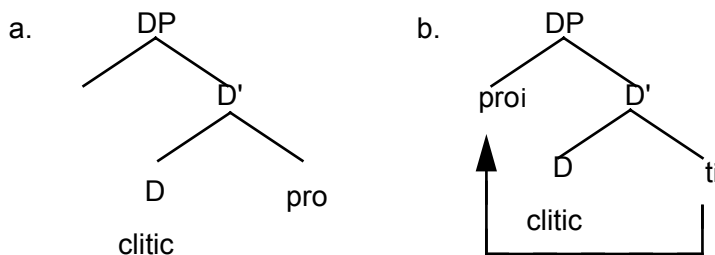
[16] In fact, we could also propose a simpler structure like the one of (i), where there is no *pro* and the clitic would be a kind of 'intransitive' determiner, that is a head D that does not take any complement:

(i)
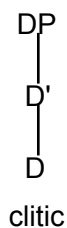
We will not explore the advantages or disadvantages of such structure.

(96b) shows the movement of the complement *pro* from its original position to the specifier of DP in order to be licensed via specifier-head agreement with the clitic in head position. This analysis is compatible with the criteria of *pro* identification of Picallo (1991), who proposes that a pronoun lacking referential content is formally identified if it agrees with a local head, and coincides with the identification of subject *pro*, which involves a specifier-head agreement relation as well.

Contrary to Torrego's approach, this analysis does not allow for the possibility of having a doubled NP. Since there is a base-generated *pro* in the complement position and the specifier of DP is a landing site for the identification of this *pro*, there is no room for an NP in this structure[17]. Note, however, that no room in the structure is needed for direct objects in European Spanish or Catalan, where clitic-NP doubling is not allowed. Remember that the only cases of doubled direct objects, namely the ones with strong pronouns, are licensed, according to Rigau (1988), because the strong pronoun occupies an external position and it is linked to a *pro* in argumental position identified by the clitic. So, if we propose a structure for direct object clitics that does not allow for clitic-NP doubling we are actually proposing an empirically adequate structure.

This analysis also captures some other properties of direct object clitics that we saw in section 2.

First, if we consider these clitics determiners, we capture their similarity, concerning the φ–features expressed, to other categories such as definite articles, demonstratives, or any kind of pronominals that are usually supposed to belong to the class of determiners, that is, elements that head a DP and define the semantic extension of the argument.

This similarity also allows us to go into the so-called inherent features of the clitic. More precisely, we may assume that direct object clitics have an inherent [+definite] or [+specific] feature exactly in the same way other determiners do. That is precisely what several authors (see Suñer (1988, 1989)) propose in order to account for the differences between DO clitics and IO clitics in doubling constructions.

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[17] A way to allow for the doubled NP consists in assuming that there is no *pro* and that it is generated in the complement position. Then it could move to the specifier of DP to get case, as in Torrego's derivation. We will not pursue this analysis here.

Finally, we can go a step further and suggest that direct object clitics have exactly the same features as the definite article. If this is true, then we have a plain explanation for the facts in section 2.3, where we showed that a direct object clitic can refer only to a definite NP and never to an indefinite or a bare NP. Consequently, a direct object clitic can only take a definite NP as referent in Spanish simply because it is itself definite in nature. Moreover, Catalan offers additional evidence in favour of this point. In Catalan there is a partitive clitic *en* that is used to substitute a bare NP in DO position. This is precisely the context in which the usual DO clitic is not possible, as in Spanish.

As a final remark, we will point out that, within an analysis of this nature, which assumes that the clitic and the definite determiner are the same kind of element, the final status of this D depends simply on the complement it takes. Thus, if D takes an overt NP as complement we have a definite determiner, but if it takes a *pro* it behaves as a clitic. In fact, as shown in (97), this determiner can take an NP, an AP, a PP or a CP as complement:[18]

(97) a. La casa
          the(f-sg) house
      b. Los verdes
          the(m-pl) green(pl)
          'the green ones'
      c. La de rojo
          the(f-sg) of red
          'the one in red'
      d. La que tiene una ventana rota
          the(f-sg) that has a window broken
          'the one with a broken window'

Taking these examples into account, it does not seem that odd to think that the direct object clitic is actually the case in which the determiner has an empty complement. Obviously, this possibility is restricted to the direct object clitic since constructions equivalent to the ones in (97) with the indirect object clitic form are completely out:

(98) a. *Le de rojo

---

[18] We will not enter into the analysis of these constructions or in the question whether (4b-d) should be analysed as having a *pro* between D and its complement.

> dat-cl of red
>
> b.   *les que son de Madrid
>   dat-cl that are from Madrid

To sum up, we have proposed that direct object clitics are actually determiners that head a DP. We have also suggested that this D is the same definite determiner that we find preceding NPs, APs, PPs or CPs with the only difference that it takes a *pro* as its complement. This characterisation of the direct object clitic provides an account for some differences between DO and IO clitics such as the impossibility of doubling or the definite interpretation of the former.

3.2. The Indirect Object Clitic

Having read sections 2 and 3.1, it is easy to infer that we do not believe that indirect object clitics are determiners of the direct object clitic type. In fact, we consider that they are not at all true determiners, and we will try to show that they act more like a sort of dative marker that 'warns us' of the presence of a dative argument in the sentence rather than as a true argument, or as an element in argument position.

Under this view, the first problem we must face is to define precisely the status of this 'dative marker'. This is a very controversial point, because it concerns different kinds of obligatory and optional arguments, but at this time we could tentatively assume that it is a functional head placed among all the functional categories of the sentence. The main task of this category is to identify, when necessary, one of the arguments of the sentence, just as AGR_{subj} does with the subject. The only difference is that the subject is always obligatory (this follows from the Extended Projection Principle) whereas a dative complement is not, and that for some reason the AGR_{subj} is a suffix and the dative marker surfaces as a pronominal clitic. The categorial status of this functional projection is not clear either. The structure we suggest is something like (99):[19]
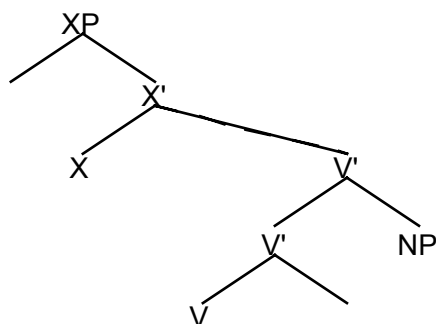
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[19] An alternative analysis we are not developing here but which is worthwhile exploring is the one in (i):

(i)

```
         VP
        /  \
            V'
           /  \
         V'    XP
        /  \   /  \
       V      X'
             /  \
            X    DP
```
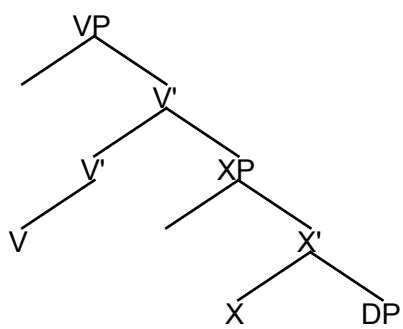
where the projection of the clitic is generated in A-position and the clitic takes as its complement the whole dative DP. This alternative may be seen as an initial loss of pure pronominal clitic properties.

(99)

XP
   X'
X   V'
   V'   NP
  V

where: X = pronominal clitic
NP = dative argument

We are not going to discuss whether it is an AGRP like AGR$_{subj}$ and AGR$_{obj}$ or like the AGR proposed by Roberts (course) to account for clitic placement in Old Romance, or a sort of clitic phrase as Sportiche's (conference). Here, we will simply claim that it is a functional head with person features and dative case. We know, of course, that this is a very vague definition, but let us put it aside for then time being and let us see whether this distinction in terms of '(unknown) functional category' versus DP works.

We can begin by examining the doubling constructions. As is well known, clitic-NP doubling of indirect objects is always allowed in Spanish, and in some cases, namely the non-argumental datives, it is required. Since we are assuming that the clitic does not occupy the A-position of the indirect object, we leave the possibility of having an overt NP doubled by the clitic open: the clitic would remain in its functional projection and the overt NP would be in the A-position; so, there is no problem and we can explain the contrast with direct objects.

It is interesting to try to capture the differences regarding the necessity to have a clitic from this perspective. Remember that in section 2.2 we noted that while non-argumental datives require the presence of the clitic, the argumental ones simply allow it or tend to prefer it. This slight difference can be seen in the following contrast:

(100)   a.   (le) devolví unos libros a Luis
             dat returned some books to the library
             'I gave some books back to the library'
     b.   *(le) rompí el brazo a María
              dat broke the arm to María
             'I broke María's arm'

In (100b) we have a non-argumental dative and the sentence without the clitic is out. On the other hand, the argumental dative of the verb *devolver* "to give back" in (100a) can or cannot be doubled by the clitic with no ungrammatical consequences.

Probably, we could account for this contrast if we assume, as Torrego (course) suggests, that only verbs that subcategorize for an indirect object, that is, those verbs with argumental datives, can assign case to this argument. If this is true, we can explain the contrast of (100) in the following way: in (100a) the verb *devolver* "to give back" admits an argumental dative and, consequently, it assigns case to the indirect object *a Luis* "to Luis" and the presence/absence of the clitic is not relevant from the point of view of case assignment; however, in (100b) the verb *romper* "to break" does not claim for a dative argument and cannot assign case to the dative phrase *a María* "to María", which in order to avoid a Case Filter violation, should get case from another element, namely the dative clitic. Indeed, if we assume that the dative clitic is a case assigner we can explain why it is obligatory if the verb cannot assign case to the dative argument. An interesting issue is the way the dative clitic can transmit case to these non-argumental datives. In this respect, we again follow Torrego and suggest that the NP moves to the specifier of the projection headed by the clitic, and that it gets case through specifier-head agreement; exactly in the same way as Nominative case is assigned to the subject.

In the previous paragraph, we saw what happens in cases of clitic-NP doubling and when the dative clitic is not present. Let us explore now another of the characteristics of the clitic: the identification of *pro* when there is no overt NP in the A-position. In analogy with the direct object clitic, we will assume that the dative clitic also identifies a *pro* via specifier-head agreement. In this case *pro* would be base-generated in the A-position where it receives its Θ–role and would move to the specifier of the head occupied by the clitic in order to be identified:

(101)
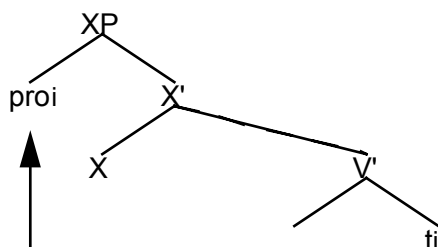
This derivation is very close to the derivation of a subject *pro*, with the further parallelism that the ϕ–features are person and number in both cases. Then, we can

explore the similarities between the dative clitic and the AGR$_{subj}$ head in the sense that both assign case to an argument. If this is true, the Dative case is similar to Nominative and, since they are assigned under the same structural configuration, both may be considered structural cases. It would be interesting to study the properties of the Person and Number features of this functional head, as Rigau (1991) does for the AGR projection. Rigau concludes that the Person feature is the Nominative Case assigner. We are not going to develop this issue any further, but we simply suggest that the Person feature can be assumed to be the structural Case assigner also in this case. Remember that the presence of the Number feature is not always necessary in this 'dative marker' (see section 2.6).

Another interesting property that distinguishes DO and IO clitics is the ability to express indefinite arguments. In the case of direct object clitics this has been accounted for by assuming that they are true definite determiners. In the same way, since indirect object clitics can be related to any kind of indefinite, we should expect them not to be specified for any definiteness feature. This is precisely what happens in agreement systems such as subject agreement, for instance. Moreover, as Uriagereka (1992) points out, clitic systems never start with indefinites, but they can evolve and get grammaticalized into agreement systems where indefinites are perfectly possible. If this is true, then we could consider the DO clitics a typical clitic system and the IO clitics a step towards an agreement.

This idea is reinforced by the similarities between subject agreement and IO clitics, but we should not forget that an indirect object clitic is not an agreement morpheme, and that it has several properties, from its morphological form to its syntactic behaviour, that are closer to a pronominal clitic than to an affix. So, we must ensure that, whatever these dative markers are, they behave first of all like pronominal clitics, and that all the properties that are closer to an agreement system be compatible with this behaviour.

In conclusion, we have proposed that indirect object clitics head a functional category different from the DP of direct objects, and that this is the reason why they do not behave exactly alike. Its functional-head nature will also be responsible for the clitic-NP doubling structures, the interaction with indefiniteness and the inherent features.

Obviously, this analysis does not directly include the dialectal variation that affects some cases of DO clitic doubling, or phenomena like *leísmo*. We cannot precisely account for them in the terms of this analysis; but we think that what this variation reflects is a change in the DO clitic system in the sense that it is acquiring some properties of IO clitics, or that it is evolving towards a system where the DO clitic actually disappears —cases of *leísmo*— and leaves its place to the IO clitic system. In fact there is data that suggests that this is on the right track, like the case of Quiteño Spanish and other South-American varieties (see Suñer (1989) Suñer-Yépez (1988) or Kany (1969) for a general idea of what is going on with object clitics). In any case, it is clear that these dialectal variations require further research.

3.3. Syntactic Derivation of Clitics

The main goal of this paper is to show that there are some differences between the two object pronominal clitics in Catalan and Spanish, not to propose a new theory of clitics. However, given that we have argued that these clitics have two different syntactic statuses, we will try to ascertain whether this distinction can be related to a particular theoretical approach.

The syntactic derivation of clitics is the most controversial issue in any approach. In section 1 we saw that none of the hypotheses proposed in the literature of clitics is really free of problems. Probably, the above analysis is not an exception; but since it seems to be able to account for the behaviour of object clitics in languages like Spanish or Catalan, we think it is worthwhile to explore how this syntactic derivation could work.

At first glance, the DP analysis of the direct object clitic suggests a derivation along the lines of Kayne's movement hypothesis, but, on the other hand, the status of the dative clitic is closer to the AGR hypothesis. So, it seems that we have a sort of mixed analysis that would predict that the DO clitic moves towards a functional category in order to appear next to the verb, and that the IO clitic stays in its functional head until it meets the verb, like other functional morphemes. We do not know whether this state of affairs is really attractive from either an empirical or a theoretical point of view. But we will not pursue it here because it is possible to obtain an alternative derivation with no mixed criteria. To obtain it, we need to make some assumptions that will help us to clarify the status of the functional projection XP.

First of all, we must assume that clitics can move. This is not unexpected since all hypotheses on clitics seem to accept such movement, at least in the instances of clitic climbing. What we would like to propose here is that they move towards XP and adjoin to the head X. Obviously, this head movement does not concern the IO clitic, which is generated directly in this X.

If this is correct, we can account for the formation of a clitic cluster along these lines: once a DO clitic, for instance, has adjoined the head X occupied by the IO clitic, both clitics form an indissoluble unit; and when further movement is required they will move together. Moreover, adjunction under this functional head can also serve as a closed domain where morphophonological rules like the ones proposed by Bonet (1991) modify the final shape of clitics. The need of a domain for these rules follows from the fact that they apply only to clitics independently of the elements next to them. Bearing this in mind, it is clear that it is easier to define such a domain under this view than under an approach where there is a series of adjunctions to functional heads: one adjunction for each clitic an another one for the verbal stem.

Second, if the XP is among the functional categories of the sentence, we can consider it to be the proper host for clitics, that is, the natural place where clitics are found in S-structure. In agreement with this, we can mention the analyses of Uriagereka (1992) or Roberts (course), who also explain the placement of clitics in some Romance languages and Old Romance through the existence of an extra functional category they call FP (Focus Phrase) and AGR1P respectively. The main difference between XP and the agreement projection of Roberts, which in Old Romance languages seems to serve exclusively as a host for clitics, is that we leave the possibility of having a base-generated clitic in this head open.

The next point concerns the nature of clitic movement. In this respect, we can generally assume most of the conditions of Kayne (1991), the most recent analysis within the movement hypothesis. The conditions on clitic movement that we propose are:

Conditions on clitic movement:
(a)   All clitics must meet at the head X.
(b)   Clitics must adjoin to one of the functional categories of the sentence; more precisely, they must adjoin to the functional head that contains the verb.
(c)   Clitic movement consists of left-adjunction.
(d)   Adjunction to a trace is not allowed

(e)　　Head movement is subject only to ECP, not to HMC.

In relation to the movement of the verb, we simply note that it moves to the functional heads responsible for its final shape, and that this movement is completely independent of clitic movement. This means that, at this time, we do not admit any extra verb movement in order to account only for its final position relative to the clitic (like X' adjunction of Kayne (1991)).

Before going into how all these assumptions affect the derivation of clitics, let us have a look at what the immediate consequences of the preceding conditions on movement are.

Conditions (a) and (b) appear as the real licensing conditions of pronominal clitics. (a) offers an explanation for clitic cluster formation, and (b) captures the obvious fact that the clitic always appear next to the verb. We think this condition accounts for the relation 'clitic-verb' better than the original formulation of Kayne —note that condition (b) is the same as that of Kayne (1991) with the added requirement on the presence of the verb.

Conditions (c)-(e) are exactly the same as in Kayne's approach and, in principle, they have the same consequences. In this respect, it should be noted that condition (d) also takes care of the impossibility of spliting clitics in Spanish: if a clitic moves and leaves a trace in X, it is impossible for another clitic to occupy this head, and, since this clitic cannot move to the head X, its presence is ruled out—condition (a).

Finally, it is also interesting to note that verb and clitic movement are completely independent under this approach. While the verb moves through the different functional heads responsible for its final shape, the movement of the clitic is due to the licensing conditions (a) and (b).

Bearing this in mind, we can now see what the derivation of clitics can be, at least in languages like Spanish or Catalan. This will give us a chance to clarify the status of our '(unknown) functional category', specially its location among the functional projections of the sentence. For the time being, we will assume the following structure, with AGR higher than T, and with the XP under the tense projection:

(102)
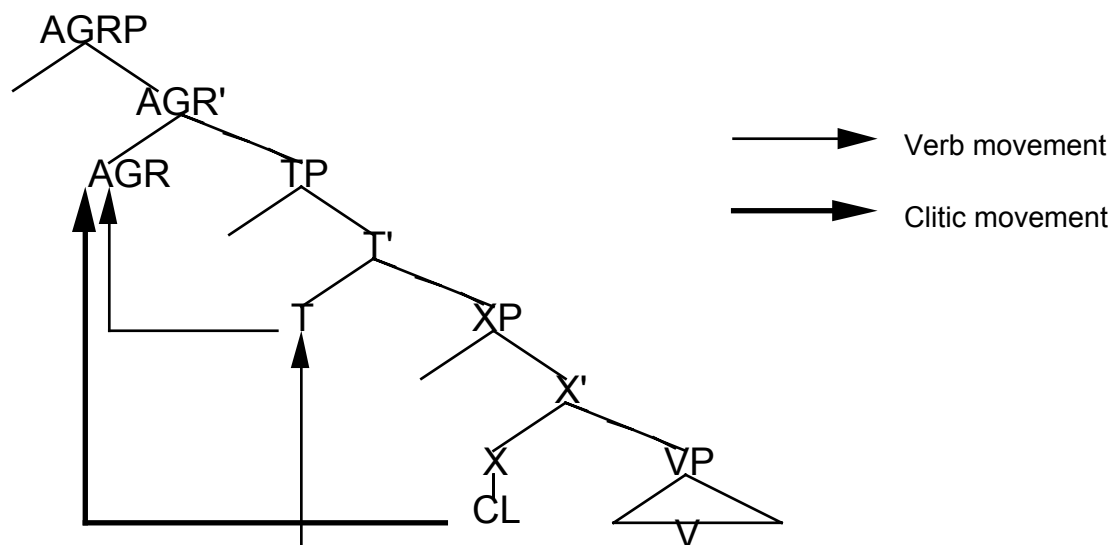
In (102) we simply claim that our XP is located somewhere between TP and VP, probably not too far away from the location of other potential AGR projections. The dashed lines indicate that the presence of any other functional categories between two projections is possible, but now we can abstract away from this and assume that there are no such projections.[20]

In this derivation the verb moves to pick up the Tense and Agreement features, and the clitic head X moves directly towards the head AGR that contains the verb (condition (b)) and left-adjoins to it (condition (c)).

We must ensure that no movement violates the ECP in (102). From this point of view, the most interesting cases are the two long head movements proposed. X-movement to AGR does not seem extremely worrying: since it oversteps the same maximal projections as V-movement, we can assume that none of them acts as a barrier because the verb can L-mark them from the heads it occupies. Movement of V directly to T appears to be more problematic because VP can count as a barrier and the same L-marking strategy is not available. To allow this movement, we will crucially assume that the clitic in X can L-mark its complement. This option has neither been overtly considered nor ruled out in the literature, but, in any case, we

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[20] (102) assumes the order AGRP-TP of Belletti (1990), but we can also apply the same derivation to a sentence structure where the TP is higher, as in Kayne (1991). In this case the derivation would be slightly modified with V-to-AGR as a first step. This alternative also offers us a new option for the location of XP (see note 21).

can follow Ouhalla (1989), who in order to account for some Berber and Romance facts clearly proposes that pronominal clitics are L-markers.

3.3.1. Enclisis and Proclisis

Until now, we have said nothing about enclisis and proclisis. It is interesting to note that the derivation in (102) suggests, according to condition (c), that the clitic is proclitic to the verb. Obviously, this is quite satisfactory with inflected verbs, but not with infinitives, at least in Spanish and Catalan.

Enclisis and proclisis are one of the big problems that any theory of clitics must face. We have seen that none of the hypotheses in section 1 is able to account for it satisfactorily. Probably, the most thorough attempt is Kayne (1991), which deals with several Romance languages, but his explanation of enclisis also involves some ambiguous points.

We are not going to solve the problem here, but we will contribute to the discussion of this phenomenon in Spanish and Catalan, reaching an unexpected conclusion regarding verb and clitic movement.

First of all, we must bear in mind that the contrast between enclisis and proclisis is most likely due to morphological rather than syntactic reasons. If this is true, from the syntactic point of view we only need to put together all the elements involved — the verb, the clitic, and the Tense and Agreement morphemes—, and expect the morphology to put them in the right order. This is exactly the treatment we gave to the morphophonological changes that take place in clitic clusters: one clitic joins the other to form a unit, and this unit constitutes a closed domain for some morphophonological rules to apply.

From this point of view, the derivation of inflected verbs and infinitives is the same: the verb moves to T and AGR and the clitic skips T and adjoins to AGR. Moreover, this also allows us to simplify the syntactic derivation of (102) in the sense that LHM and L-marking by the clitic appear unnnecessary because a head-to-head movement —namely, V-to-X-to-T-to-AGR— gives the same results.

On the other hand, if we prefer to believe that enclisis and proclisis really follow from syntactic requirements, we must be ready to make somewhat complex assumptions.

First, we must assume, against Belletti (1990), that the verb moves differently when it is an infinitive and when it is inflected. If both movements were the same, proclisis and enclisis would be very difficult to explain because we have accepted that clitics left-adjoin to a functional head. Second, we must assume the existence of LHM and L-marking by the clitic. Third, we must assume that the head responsible for the infinitive form, the InfnP of Kayne (1991), remains in a lower position.[21] Finally, we have to distinguish the nature of the heads that are moving through the functional heads of the sentence:

Head distinction:
A. Heads that are affixes or roots (and that subcategorize for another affix or root).[22]

   T, AGR, and V are heads of this type.

   These heads can move via substitution or left-adjunction.
B. Heads that are not affixes (their final form does not depend on synctactic movement), but need to appear next to another element in S-structure. Contrary to A-heads, these are not an essential part of the element they appear next to.

   Clitics, and maybe negation, belong to this class.

   Movement of these heads is restricted to left-adjuntion.

Now let us see how enclisis and proclisis can be derived in Spanish and Catalan. Proclisis with inflected verbs can be accounted for by assuming the derivation (102), where the clitic left-adjoins to the AGR head that hosts the verb. Enclisis with infinitives appears more problematic, but we think it can be derived in the following way:

(103)

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[21] Note that if we accept, with R. Kayne, that TP is higher than AGRP and that the InfnP is the counterpart of AGRP, we have the option of locating the XP projection between TP and AGRP/InfnP. Moreover, this location does not interfere with the derivation of inflected verbs

[22] In a sense, we could say that these heads are not full words and need to join each other to yield an element capable of surfacing at S-structure. We can further assume that these heads must get together through incorporation by substitution, as Belletti (1990) proposes. A clear example of this would be V movement to T and AGR in order to pick up these affixes.

TP
T'
T
XP
X'
X
YP
Y'
Y
VP
V
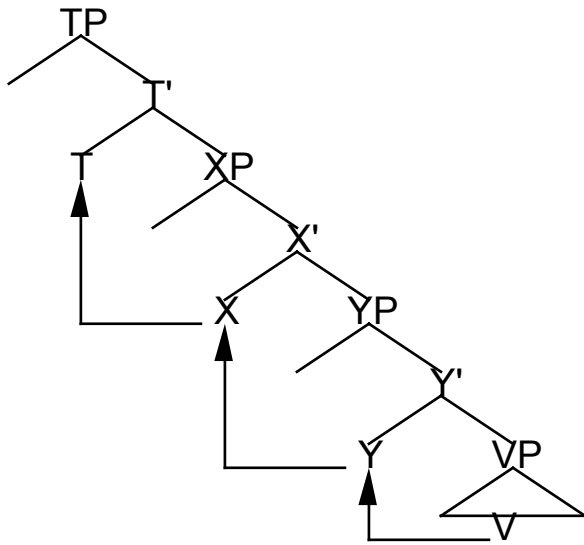
We assume that, when enclisis is obtained, the infinitive moves to the head T.[23] As you can see, in its way to T, the first step of the infinitive is adjunction to the head X that contains the clitic. As usual, this movement is left-adjunction and the order Infn-clitic is obtained straightforwardly. After the adjunction process is over, the whole head X moves to T.

The main difference between (103) and (102) is that in the latter case the HMC is strictly observed. This suggests that we have modified the criteria on head movement and that now we do not allow LHM; but in fact, as we will show, these two conditions are exactly the same. To see how these derivation works, the head distinction sketched above should be kept in mind.

The question concerning LHM and the HMC is: if the clitic in X can L-mark the YP and antecedent-government is possible, why can the infinitive in Y not move directly to T as in finite sentences?. The answer is: because of economy.

Indeed, we will apply the same arguments given by Roberts (course) to account for clitic and verb movement to C in Wh-questions in Old Romance. Roberts' analysis assumes that the verb is in the head AGR2, the typical AGR_{subj}, and that the clitic occupies the head AGR1, which is placed between C and AGR2. In Wh-questions the verb must move to C to satisfy the Wh-criterion, but the clitic must too, as the final order 'clitic-verb' shows.

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[23] In this we agree with Kayne (1991), but we differ from him in that we do not allow adjunction to T'. We also accept that the head T is empty in infinitives.

Therefore, we have parallel structures and derivations: in both cases the verb must move to a higher functional head and there is an intermediate head occupied by the clitic. Moreover, in both cases the clitic must move to the higher functional head —to obtain the proclitic order according to Roberts' view, and to satisfy condition (b) in our analysis. We can see these structures and derivations in the following abstract representations:

(104)

a.
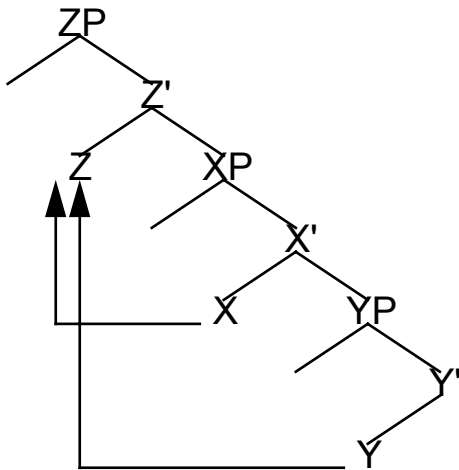
b.
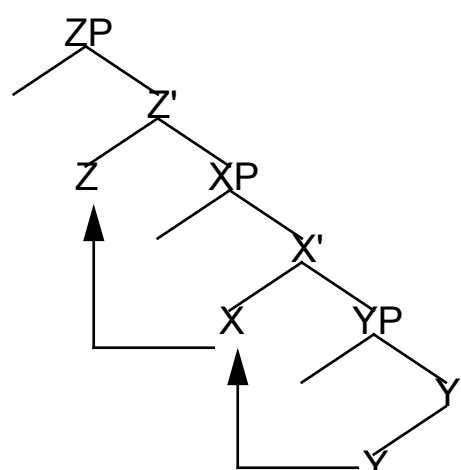
Where: Z = C, X = AGR1, Y = AGR2 [Roberts]
        Z = T, X = X, Y = Y/Infn   [here]

(104a) would be the derivation with LHM. This derivation produces two different chains: C_1 (Y, t), the movement of the verb, and C_2 (X, t), the movement of the clitic. (104b) is the proposed derivation, which involves a single chain C (X, t, t), where X contains the clitic and the verb. Thus, (104b) appears as the more economical derivation in terms of chain formation. In other words, here, the relevant advice is: derive two or more movements in a single chain whenever you can —that is, as well as no other condition or principle is violated.

If this approach is on the right track, then we can explain the derivation of proclisis and enclisis by using exactly the same conditions on clitic and verb movement. The only differences concerning the way this movement operates would follow from independent grounds: the economy requirements.

However, before leaving this question we should clarify a point that may still remain obscure. At this time, we could ask ourselves why economy does not apply to the derivation (102) to produce a single chain. The answer lies in the proposed

distinction between the two types of heads that move through the functional sentential categories.

Remember that we distinguished those heads that, for some reason, need to adjoin to an affix —let us call them A-heads— from those heads that need not and, in some sense, appear as 'full words' —these will be the B-heads. For instance, we can state, according to Belletti (1990), that T and AGR subcategorize for the verbal root [V—] and for the complex [V+T—], respectively, and that the way to satisfy this subcategorization is incorporation of V into T and of T into AGR.

Then, we are in step closer to discovering why the economical derivation is not possible with inflected verbs. If we try to apply it, we see that V moves first to X and that, in turn, the whole head X moves to T. Let us examine the nature of the elements involved: V is an A-head that can move through adjunction and substitution; the clitic is a B-head that can satisfactorily move to the higher T, but only through left-adjunction; and T is another A-head that would receive the complex head X.

The problem is that this derivation does not satisfy the requirements on the A-heads: the head T requires a verbal root , but it only receives the head X, which by no means can be considered a verbal root. Note that although the complex head X contains the verb, it left-adjoins T, and that this is not the proper configuration to capture the relation between two A-heads.

Thus, as well as economy implies that the A-heads can get no satisfaction, the only possible derivation of inflected sentences is that of (102), with LHM.

This problem does not show up in the derivation of infinitives because what moves to X is actually a 'full word', in the sense that it does not need any more affixes, or because, if the infinitive were not a 'full word', the head T is empty and therefore there is no more unsatisfied A-heads.

3.3.2. A Point about Negation

We have alluded to the fact that the status of negation as a functional head appears to be close to that of clitics. The examples in (105) show this connection:

(105)   a.   No veo nunca a María   Spanish
             not see never to M.
             'I never meet María'
        b.   *No nunca veo a María
        c.   No la veo nunca
             not her see never
             'I never meet her'

(105) shows that only a clitic can separate negation from the verb. This suggests that it constitutes a unit with the verb, or with the 'clitic + verb' string, and that, probably, the nature of this unit is similar to the clitic-verb unit. Further evidence for this unit comes from the fact that, like clitics, negation must move to C with the verb in interrogative sentences.

If we assume that the order 'Neg-CL-V' is a syntactic order, we can say that negation left-adjoins to the verb more or less in the same way the clitic does. In fact, this is the proposal in Belletti (1990), who places the functional projection NegP between AGRP and TP. We are not going to discuss the right placement of this functional category —for instance, Laka (1990) proposes that it occupies a higher position—, but, at any rate, we want to point out that any approach to negation along these lines should be able to cover the relations between this element and the pronominal clitics.

Even leaving its similarities with the unit clitic-verb aside, it is clear that the presence of negation has consequences on the syntax of clitics. More precisely, negation blocks movement of the clitic in clitic climbing constructions:

(106)   a.   *Lo* intentaré leer antes del lunes   Spanish
             3pA try-fut to-read before of-the monday
             'I will try to read it before monday'
        b.   Intentaré *no* leer*lo* antes del lunes
             try-fut not to-read-3pA before of-the monday
             'I will try not to read it before monday'

(106)   c.   *_Lo_ intentaré _no_ leer antes del lunes

Belletti's analysis captures the 'Neg-CL-V' unit by assuming left-adjunction for negation, but it cannot capture the blocking effect in (106). In her analysis, the clitic skips Neg exactly the same when it raises to the inflected verb and when it does not. We think the best way to account for this effect of negation is to assume that clitics cross Neg only when they raise to the matrix verb, not when they remain adjoined to the negated verb. Obviously, this can be readily captured under an approach that places the NegP higher than the head that hosts the finite or infinitival verbal form —i.e. the head that the clitics adjoin to.

To sum up, in sections 1 and 2 we claimed that it is possible to analyze DO and IO clitics as two different elements: the former as a true determiner that heads a DP, and the latter as a different kind of head that seems to possess properties of both a clitic system and an agreement system. In section 3 we suggested a derivation of clitics that could account for their distribution and behaviour in agreement with the differences seen in the previous sections. We know some of the points sketched above remain obscure. Here, we limit ourselves to put forward such an analysis, and we leave the problematic questions for future research. In any event, this future research will have to test this approach against the facts of other Romance languages such as French, Italian or Portuguese, whose pronominal clitics behave sometimes very differently from their Spanish or Catalan counterparts.

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