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Romance Clitics and the Minimalist Program

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Since Kayne's pioneering work on French clitic pronouns, two major questions have been asked with respect to the syntax of clitics: (i) what are the properties that force clitics to move differently from full DP's and regular affixes? (ii) why is it the case that clitics do not surface at the same positions crosslinguistically and within the same language?

In this paper we try to provide an answer to both questions, insofar as its central aim is to account for Clitic Placement in European Portuguese vs other Romance languages, namely Spanish, Italian and French. We will try to show that the differences in Clitic Placement exhibited in these four Romance languages follow from the interaction of properties of Merge/Move and Economy principles and conditions on feature checking with the formal features of clitics and their hybrid status as X°'s/XP's (Kayne 1991, Chomsky 1994).

1 Patterns of Clitic Placement in Romance: Proclisis, Enclisis and Mesoclisis

In the four contemporary Romance languages considered, clitics display two major order patterns with respect to their V-host (**proclisis** and **enclisis**) and a regressing pattern, occurring in complementary distribution with enclisis in some contexts (**mesoclisis**).

As it is well known, the triggering elements of these patterns differ across languages. In French, complement clitics are always proclitic, assuming that weak pronouns, not clitic ones, are present in affirmative imperatives (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994):

(1)   a.   Il *la* voyait chaque jour.
      b.   Il veut *la* voir chaque jour.

In Italian and Spanish, proclisis is triggered by finite T and enclisis occurs in untensed clauses:

(2)   a.   Lo conosco.
      b.   Vorrei conoscerlo.
      c.   Non farlo. (Belletti 1993)

(3)   a.   Lo oimos.
      b.   Para oirlo ...(Uriagereka 1995)

In standard E(uropean)P(ortuguese), enclisis is the basic pattern in finite and in non-finite clauses (see (4)) and mesoclisis is the alternative pattern to enclisis in clauses with future and conditional verb forms — see (5):

(4)   a.   Ele viu-*a*.
            he saw-3sing--CL-accus-3singfem
            He saw her
      b.   O João pensa vê-*la* mais tarde.
            João intends see-INF-CL-accus-3singfem later
            João intends to see her later
(5)   a.   Ele vê-*la*-á.
            he see-INF-CL-accus-3singfem-FUT-3sing
            He will see her
      b.   O João vê-*lo*-ia, se quisesse.
            João see-INF-CL-accus-3singmasc-COND-3sing, if he wanted
            João would have seen him , if he wanted to

Mesoclisis is a regressing pattern, that tends to be replaced by enclisis:

(6)   a.   ?"Telefonarei-*te* mais vezes"(12 years, 6th grade)
            I phone-FUT-1sing-CL-dat-2sing more often.
            I shall call you more often.
      b.   ?"Na conjuntura sócio-económica, poderá-*se* verificar um saldo bastante positivo" (written exam to be admitted in the University, after 12th grade)

in-the socio-economic situation, may-FUT-3sing-CL-REFL-3sing
obtain a very positive balance
Given the socio-economic situation, a very positive balance may
well obtain

Proclisis is triggered by the presence of so-called operator-like elements c-commanding the verbal host of the clitic: (i) Sentential negation operators and negative phrases in pre-verbal position —see the contrast between (7) and (8); (ii) Overt complementizers — see the contrast between (9) and (10); (iii) *Wh*-operators — see the contrast between (11) and (12); (iv) Quantified NP's in subject position — see the contrast between (13) and (14); (v) Fronted contrastive focussed elements — see the contrast between (15) and (16) — and (vi) certain adverbs in pre-verbal position — see the contrast between (17) and (18):

(7) a.   O João <u>não</u> *o* comprou.
          João not CL-accus-3singmasc bought
          João didn't buy it
     b.   O João <u>não</u> *o* comprará.
          João not CL-accus-3singmasc buy-FUT-3sing
          João will not buy it
     c.   Ele pensou <u>não</u> *lhe* comprar o livro.
          he thought not CL-dat-3sing buy the book
          He thought he wouldn't buy him the book
     d.   <u>Não</u> *lhe* comprando esse livro, ele pensa agradar-lhe.
          not CL-dat-3sing buying that book, he thinks please-INF-CL-dat-3sing
          Not buying him/her that book, he thinks he will please him/her
     e.   <u>Ninguém</u> *se* lava sem sabonete.
          nobody CL-refl-3 washes without soap
          Nobody washes himself without soap

(8) a.   *O João <u>não</u> comprou-*o*.
     b.   *O João <u>não</u> comprá-*lo*-á.
     c.   *Ele pensou <u>não</u> comprar-*lhe* o livro.
     d.   *<u>Não</u> comprando-*lhe* esse livro, ele pensa agradar-lhe.
     e.   *<u>Ninguém</u> lava-*se* sem sabonete.

(9) a.   Eles disseram <u>que</u> os amigos *lhes* deram livros.
          they said-3pl that the friends CL-dat-3-pl gave books

They said their friends gave them books

b.   Eles disseram <u>para</u> nós *lhes* darmos os livros.
they told-3-pl for we-nom CL-dat-3-pl giveINF-1pl the books
They told us to give them the books

(10) a.   *Eles disseram <u>que</u> os amigos deram-*lhes* livros.
b.   *Eles disseram <u>para</u> nós darmos-*lhes* os livros.

(11) a.   As pessoas <u>a quem</u> *o* contámos ficaram surpreendidas.
the people to whom CL-accus-3singmasc told-1pl were-3pl
surprised
The people we told it were surprised
b.   <u>Que mentira</u> *lhe* contaste?
which lie CL-dat-3sing told-2sing?
Which lie did you tell him/her?
c.   Pergunto-me <u>que mentira</u> ele *lhe* contou.
ask-1sing-CL-refl-1sing which lie he CL-dat-3sing told-3sing
I wonder which lie he told him/her

(12) a.   *As pessoas <u>a quem</u> contámo-*lo* ficaram surpreendidas.
b.   *<u>Que mentira</u> contaste-*lhe*?
c.   *Pergunto-me <u>que mentira</u> ele contou-*lhe*.

(13) a.   <u>Todos os alunos</u> *se* riram.
all the students CL-refl-3 laughed-3pl
All the students laughed
b.   <u>Qualquer pessoa</u> *se* engana facilmente.
any person CL-refl-3 mistakes-3sing easily
Every one makes mistakes easily

(14) a.   *<u>Todos os alunos</u> riram-*se*.
b.   *<u>Qualquer pessoa</u> engana-*se* facilmente.

(15) a.   <u>A todos</u> *o* leram (eles).
to all CL-accus-3singmasc read-PAST-3pl (they-nom)
To everyone did they read it
b.   <u>Até a ele</u> *lhe* contaram (elas) mentiras.
even to him CL-dat-3sing told-3pl (they-nom-fem) lies
They told lies even to him

(16) a.   *<u>A todos</u> leram-*no* (eles).
     b.   *<u>Até a ele</u> contaram-*lhe* (elas) mentiras.

(17) a.   O João <u>já</u> *o* comprou.
         João already CL-accus-3sing-masc bought
         João bought it already
     b.   Ele <u>também</u> *o* leu.
         he also CL-accus-3singmasc read-PAST-3sing
         He read it also
     c.   <u>Raras vezes</u> *se* vendem livros desse autor.
         seldom CL-refl-3 sell-3pl books of- that author
         Books by that author are seldom sold

(18) a.   *O João <u>já</u> comprou-*o*.
     b.   *Ele <u>também</u> leu-*o*.
     c.   *<u>Raras vezes</u> vendem-*se* livros desse autor.

The position of the trigger at Spell-Out is crucial — when it is asymmetrically c–commanded by the verbal host of the clitic, enclisis obtains — contrast, for instance, (11b), (15a) and (17b) with (19a, b, c):

(19) a.   Contaste-*lhe* <u>que mentira</u>?
         you told-2sing-CL-dat-3sing which lie?
         You told him/her which lie?
     b.   Eles leram-*no* <u>a todos</u>.
         they read-PAST-3pl-CL-accus-3singmasc to all
         They read it to everyone
     c.   Ele leu-*o* <u>também</u>.
         he read-PAST-3sing-CL-accus-3singmasc also
         He read it also

Contemporary EP displays the range of so-called argument and non-argument clitics also found in other null subject languages. As the contrast between the sentences in (20) and (21) show, non-argument clitics obey the same placement conditions as argument clitics — enclisis is the basic pattern of tensed and untensed sentences, and proclisis obtains under c–command of an so-called operator-like element:

(20) a.   Nós rimo-*nos* da Maria.

            we laughed-1pl-CL-inh-1pl of-the Maria
            We laughed at Maria

   b.   O gelado derreteu-*se* (com o calor).
            the ice-cream melted-3sing-CL-erg-3sing (with the heat)
            The ice-cream melted (with the heat)

   c.   Estes livros vendem-*se* bem.
            these books sell-3pl-CL-middle-3 well
            These books sell well

   d.   Venderam-*se* ontem 100 cópias do artigo dela.
            sold-3pl-CL-pass-3 yesterday 100 copies of her paper
            100 copies of the paper of-she were sold yesterday

   e.   Diz-*se* que o partido do governo vai perder as eleições.
            says-CL-nom-3 that the party of-the government goes loose-INF
            the elections
            People say that the government's party will loose the elections

(21) a.   <u>Todos</u> nós *nos* rimos da Maria.
            all we-nom CL-inh-1pl laughed of-the Maria
            We all laughed at Maria

   b.   O gelado <u>não</u> *se* derreteu (com o calor).
            the ice-cream not CL-erg-3 melted-3sing (with the heat)
            The ice-cream did not melt (with the heat)

   c.   Estes livros <u>também</u> *se* vendem bem.
            these books also CL-middle-3 sell-3pl well
            These books also sell well

   d.   Sei <u>que</u> *se* venderam ontem 100 cópias do artigo dela.
            know-1sing that CL-pass-3 sold-PAST-3pl yesterday 100 copies
            of the paper of-she
            I know that 100 copies of her paper were sold yesterday

   e.   <u>Raras vezes</u> *se* diz que o partido do governo vai perder as
            eleições.
            seldom CL-nom-3 says that the party of the government goes
            loose-INF the elections
            People seldom say that the government's party will loose the
   elections

     Summarising: the data presented above show that EP behaves differently from other well-known Romance languages with respect to Clitic Placement; crucially: (i) neither enclisis nor proclisis is sensitive to the tensed/untensed

distinction; (ii) enclisis is the neutral pattern, proclisis being triggered by the presence of so-called operator-like elements c-comanding the clitic host.

2 Clitic Movement and Clitic Placement

In most Principles and Parameters approaches to Romance clitics, these have been considered either as affix-like elements directly generated under a head (the Affix Hypothesis), or as heads of DP's generated as arguments of some verb and then moved to V or to some functional projection targeted by the verb (the DP Hypothesis).

In this paper, we will adopt the version of the DP Hypothesis proposed in Corver & Delfitto (1993), according to which clitics are transitive D's which subcategorize for a *pro* complement:

(22) DP
$$D_{CL} \quad NP$$
$$|$$
$$pro$$
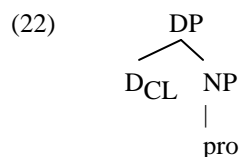
Assuming Romance clitics are transitive D's, (i) what is the motivation for clitic movement in Overt Syntax and (ii) why is it the case that this movement yields different order patterns across Romance and within the same Romance language?

Different answers have been provided for these two questions. In what concerns the first question, it has been considered that motivation for clitic movement was to be found in (i) intrinsic formal features of clitics (Kayne 1975, Corver & Delfitto 1993, Uriagereka 1995), (ii) subcategorization properties of clitics (Kayne 1991); (iii) intrinsic formal features of clitics (their affix-like nature) and interaction of their X-bar hybrid status with the LCA (Chomsky 1994).

The kind of answer we will propose in this paper is very close to Kayne 75's and receives support from the diachronic process of Romance cliticization attested in the four languages under consideration. In their change from strong pronouns to clitic pronouns, Romance clitics passed through a stage where they needed a non-specialised host and moved into a stage where they fixed V as their host. We will implement this idea in the

following way: contemporary Romance clitics have a strong formal feature **V-host** that must be checked against a V-head, thus forcing them to move in Overt Syntax.

In other words, adopting additionally the classical idea that Romance clitics (contrary to Semitic ones, for instance), are specified for Case (as in Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1984, Belletti 1993, among others), the relevant and common part of Romance clitics formal specification is the one presented in (23):

(23)   CL
$$\begin{bmatrix} .... \\ \text{V-host:} \quad \text{yes} \\ \text{Case:} \qquad \alpha \\ ..... \end{bmatrix}$$

       where α =accus, dat, ...

The hypothesis that Romance clitics move to check Strong formal features (V-host and Case) does not explain why they surface as proclitics vs enclitics/mesoclitics, that is, it does not provide an answer for the second question addressed above.

In recent literature, the special behaviour of EP (and Galician) vs other Romance languages with respect to Clitic Placement patterns has been attributed to the presence or strength of functional projections above the I-system (CP, WP, ΣP, FP, respectively, in Madeira 1992, Rouveret 1992, Martins 1994, Uriagereka 1995). Let us briefly summarize the outstanding common properties of these analyses:

(i)   In some cases, at Spell-Out, the clitic and the verb remain in two different functional heads (for Rouveret 1992, this is the case of proclisis in EP tensed subordinate clauses and root *wh*-interrogatives without V-to-C; for Uriagereka 1995, this is the case of proclisis in French; for Martins 1994, this is the case of enclisis in EP). So, in these contexts, cliticization is a morphophonological process.

(ii)   In all these analyses, the derivation of enclisis in tensed clauses resorts to extra-structure and additional overt movements: V-movement forced by strong V-features of the additional functional head and subject NP movement forced by strong N-features of the extra functional head.

(iii)   Clitic movement to the relevant functional projection is not considered a case of Short Movement.

Let us now look at the empirical predictions made by some of these analyses for EP.

For Rouveret 1992 clitic constructions in EP crucially involve WP, a functional projection higher than AgrSP and lower than CP, which hosts clitics as well as non operator phrases (NP subjects and marked topics). Enclisis, illustrated in (24) and (25), is the result of V adjunction to W, triggered by strong V or Topic features of W (see (26)):

(24) a.   Li-*o* ontem.
          read-PAST-1sing-CL-accus-3singmasc yesterday
          I read it yesterday

     b.   Eu sei que esse livro, o José deu-*lhe* ontem.
          I know-1sing that that book, the José gave-3sing-CL-dat-3sing yesterday
          I know that that book, José gave him/her yesterday

     c.   Esse livro, o José deu-*lhe* ontem.
          that book, the José gave-3sing-CL-dat-3sing yesterday
          That book, José him/her yesterday

(25)   Ao povo, governa-*o* o rei.
          to the people, rules-CL-accus-3singmasc the king
          The people, it is the king that rules it

(26)   ... [$_{WP}$ XP [$_W$ V [$_W$ CL]] [AgrSP]]

Proclisis may be the result of two different configurations. In one of them WP is not projected — this is the case of *wh*-interrogatives with V/2 and of sentences with focussed phrases in Spec of F(ocus)P, where proclisis derives from left adjunction of the clitic to V in AgrS and further raising of the clitic-V complex either to C or F (see (27)):

(27) a.   [$_{CP}$ Que [$_C$ *lhe* ofereceu]$_i$ [$_{AgrSP}$ o João [$_{AgrS}$ t$_i$] ...ontem]]?
          what CL-dat-3sing gave-3sing the João yesterday?
          What did João give him/her yesterday?

     b.   [$_{FP}$ Isso [$_F$ *lhe* disse]$_i$ [$_{AgrSP}$ eu [$_{AgrS}$ t$_i$]]].
          that CL-dat-3sing told-1sing I-nom.
          That I told him/her.

Proclisis may also involve the WP projection, as in subordinate clauses with overt complementizers, root *wh*-interrogatives without V/2 and

sentences with interpolation (see (28)); in this case, at Spell-Out, the clitic and the verb are in two different functional heads (W and AgrS, respectively) and, hence, cliticization is a PF process:

(28) a. Afirmo [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ que] [$_{WP}$ ele [$_W$ *o*] [$_{AgrSP}$ leu ....]]].
          say-1sing that he CL-accus-3singmasc read-PAST-3sing
          I say that he read it

     b. [$_{CP}$ Que livro [$_{WP}$ o João [$_W$ *lhe*] [$_{AgrSP}$ ofereceu...]]]?
          which book the João CL-dat-3sing gave-3sing?
          Which book did João give him/her?

     c. [Se [$_{WP}$ a memória [$_W$ *me*] não falha,...]]]
          if the memory CL-dat-1sing not betrays...
          If memory does not betray me...

However, this analysis wrongly predicts the well-formedness of counterparts of (28a,b) where an adverb intervenes between the clitic and the verb:

(29) a. *Afirmo [$_{CP}$ [$_C$ que] [$_{WP}$ ele [$_W$ *o*] ontem [$_{AgrSP}$ leu ....]]].
          say-1sing that he CL-accus-3singmasc yesterday read-PAST-3sing
          I say that he read it yesterday

     b. *[$_{CP}$ Que livro [$_{WP}$ o João [$_W$ *lhe*] ontem [$_{AgrSP}$ ofereceu...]]]?
          which book the João CL-dat-3sing yesterday gave-3sing?
          Which book did João give him/her yesterday?

Rouveret 1992 argues for his analysis of sentences like (28) on the basis of the possibility of so-called ATB Clitic Placement in EP, that he illustrates with sentences like (30):

(30)   Afirmo que ele *me* viu e cumprimentou.
          say-1sing that he CL-accus-1sing saw-3sing and saluted-3sing
          I say that he saw me and saluted me

According to Rouveret, ATB Clitic Placement can only be licensed if the clitic and the V are not incorporated at Spell-Out[1]. However, as (31) shows, this prediction is not borne out:

(31)   [$_{CP}$ Quando [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ *lhe* telefonou] o João e pediu um livro]]?
          when CL-dat-3sing phoned-3sing the João asked-3sing a book?

When did João call him/her and asked him/her a book?

Following the claims made in Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991 and Benincà 1991 for Old Romance, other recent approaches to clitic placement in EP have claimed that enclisis in contemporary EP is the result of V-raising to a head external to AgrSP (C, C[+Agr] or F), leaving the clitic stranded in AgrS (see Madeira 1992, Galves 1992, Martins 1994). So, enclitic pronouns are just phonological clitics, since neither at Spell-Out nor at LF do they occur in the same functional head hosting the verb. Thus, these analyses do not provide an explanation for the fact that, apart from residual cases of interpolation with negation, contemporary EP clitics only cliticize onto a V-host and cannot cliticize, for instance, onto adverbs interposed between the verb and the clitic.

In fact, according to these analyses, one would expect that, in paradigms like (32) and (33), the (a) sentences would behave alike (that is, would be both ungrammatical) and the (b) sentences would also behave alike (that is, would both be grammatical), contrary to fact — (34) shows the relevant part of the derivation of (33):

(32) a.   *[$_{\textbf{CP/FP}}$ A quem ontem [$_{\textbf{C/F}}$ deu] [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ o João um livro]]?
            to whom yesterday gave-3sing the João a book?
            Whom did João give a book to yesterday?

      b.   A quem [$_{\textbf{C}}$ deu] [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ ontem [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ o João um livro]]?
            to whom gave-3sing yesterday the João a book?
            To whom did yesterday João give a book?

(33) a.   [$_{\textbf{CP/FP}}$O João ontem [$_{\textbf{C/F}}$ deu] [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ *lhe* um livro]].
            the João yesterday gave-3sing-CL-dat-3sing a book
            João yesterday gave him/her a book

      b.   *O João [$_{\textbf{C/F}}$ deu] [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ ontem [$_{\textbf{AgrSP}}$ *lhe* um livro]].
            the João gave-3sing yesterday CL-dat-3sing a book
            João gave yesterday him/her a book

(34)   [$_{CP/FP}$ DP$_i$ [$_{C/F}$ V$_j$ [$_{AgrSP}$ t$_i$ [$_{AgrS}$ t$_j$ CL]...]]

The analysis given in Uriagereka (1995) for Galician also assumes an extra-functional projection above the I-system, F. In his approach, enclisis is derived through raising of the V complex to the left of F (an instance of lexical incorporation), followed by clitic raising to the right of F (an instance of functional incorporation). In this way, enclitic pronouns and verbs are

syntactically incorporated in the same functional head, F, and, consequently, this analysis does not present the problems raised by the previous ones. However, it is grounded on the difference between lexical incorporation (affixation), involving left adjunction, and functional incorporation (cliticization), requiring right-adjunction, which results in the unprincipled claim the empty head F counts both as a legitimate host for a clitic, that is, a syntactic word level head, and a target for lexical incorporation, that is, an affix.

In what concerns proclisis, Uriagereka 1995 assumes that in Galician and contemporary Portuguese the clitic and the V target two different functional heads in Overt Syntax, respectively, F and AgrS. Thus, his analysis faces the same problems of Rouveret (1992)'s account of proclisis not involving V/2 (see the discussion of (28) and (29) above). Moreover, it faces problems of deriving proclisis in V/2 contexts as well, since it predicts that at least the subject of the clause could intervene between the clitic and the verb, contrary to fact (see the contrast between (35a) and (35b)):

(35) (a)　*$[_{FP}$ [O que]$_i$ [$_F$ F lhe$_j$] [o João [$_{AgrS}$ deu] t $_i$ t$_j$]]?
　　　　　the what CL-dat-3sing the João gave-3sing
　　　　　What did João give him/her?
　　(b)　O que lhe deu o João?
　　　　　the what CL-dat-3sing gave-3sing the João
　　　　　What did João give him/her?

Finally, if taken seriously, Uriagereka (1995)'s claim that in Galician and in contemporary EP, F is active and strong, and V has strong F morphological features, which forces overt V-raising to F, combined with the claim that clitics right-adjoin to F and V's left-adjoin to F, makes it impossible to derive proclisis in these languages (as the author himself remarks (see Uriagereka 1995: footnote 41)). In other words, these claims predict enclisis everywhere in both Galician and contemporary EP.

Summarising: the approaches reviewed above agree in relying on extra-structure, extra–overt movements and marked movements (LHM) to account for the syntax of contemporary EP clitics, and they fail to account for relevant empirical properties of clitic placement in EP.

3   Clitic Placement in EP vs Spanish, Italian and French

Sticking to Minimalist assumptions, we would like to propose that, in order to account for the syntax of Romance clitics, there is no need to postulate additional functional heads or marked devices. So, the analysis of Clitic Placement we will present only makes use of the core extended V-projections resulting from the splitting of I (AgrS, T, AgrO)[2] Furthermore, in what concerns X^0 movement in Overt Syntax, we will assume, as usual, that: (i) the Minimal Link Condition applies; (ii) Excorporation and right-adjunction are not available in Overt Syntax (Kayne 1991, 1994). Finally, we will claim that, in Romance languages, both proclisis and enclisis are always the result of syntactic cliticization, that is, at Spell-Out, the clitic and its V-host occupy a single functional head.

3.1   The specificity of EP

Assuming a current idea in functionalist approaches to grammar (see for instance, Givón 1976), clitics are elements at some stage of a diachronic process which takes free morphemes and turns them into agreement affixes. We claim that clitics in contemporary Romance languages are not all at the same stage of this process. In particular, we will argue below that both diachronic and synchronic evidence show that EP clitics are one step further in this cycle than those of the other Romance languages considered here, that is, EP clitics are more affix-like than other Romance clitics, and we will show that this is the reason why enclisis is both the neutral and the spreading clitic placement pattern in contemporary EP.

At the same time, we will claim that with respect to the formation of future and conditional forms, the grammar of standard contemporary EP exhibits a conservative feature lost in the other Romance languages we have been considering. To be more precise, both the new synthetic forms, generated fully inflected under the V node, and a survival of the analytic forms found in Iberian Old Romance co-exist. However, as we shall argue below, the analytic future and conditional forms still available in standard contemporary EP are already distinct from the old ones.

Strong diachronic evidence for this claim is given in Martins (1994), who shows that in the XVIIth century a catastrophic change occurred in the grammar of EP with direct effects on Clitic Placement: proclisis, which was overwhelmingly dominant during the XVth and XVIth centuries, severely regresses afterwards, enclisis becoming the dominant pattern (see Martins 1994: 273)[3]. However, this change should not be identified with some move

backwards, in the direction of the conservative pattern of medieval EP. In fact, clitic placement in root sentences and interpolation facts show that the emerging clitic pattern is different from the medieval one[4]. So, for instance, interpolation was an available option until the XVIth century with a great variety of constituents, but from the XVIIth century on it disappeared in standard EP in every context but *não*, the lexical head of NegP.

Data from language acquisition corroborate this claim. If, as assumed in most analysis, enclisis in EP, contrary to proclisis, resorts to functional projections above I and extra-overt movements, under Minimalist assumptions we should expect enclisis to be more costly than proclisis. And, even accepting the Continuity Hypothesis, according to which in the early grammar all functional heads are available but become "active" bottom-up, we should expect proclisis to be the first and dominant pattern of clitic placement in children, since enclisis would need the activation of a functional head above the I-system. However, in EP, enclisis is the systematic pattern of Clitic Placement until around 42 months, irrespective of the presence of proclisis triggers, as shown in (36)[5]:

(36) a.   <u>não</u> chama-*se* nada (M., 20 months)
          not calls-CL-refl-3sing nothing
          That's not his name at all

     b.   é que <u>não</u> estragou-*se* (J.G., 39 months)
          is that not spoiled-3sing-CL-refl-3sing
          In fact, it didn't break

     c.   <u>porque</u> é que foste-*me* interromper? (R., 29 months)
          why is that interrupted-2sing-CL-accus-1sing?
          Why did you interrupt me?

     d.   foi alguém <u>que</u> meteu-*me* nesta fotografia (J.G., 39 months)
          was-3sing someone who put-PAST-3sing-CL-dat-1sing in-this photo
          It was someone who photographed me

     e.   mas ele <u>já</u> foi-*se* embora (P., 39 months)
          but he already went-3sing-CL-refl-3sing away
          But he went away already

     f.   que(ro) pôr os papeles aqui pa(ra) pa(ra) <u>não</u> rasgar-*se* (P., 39 months)
          want put-INF the papers here for for not tear-INF-CL-refl-3
          I want to put the papers here for them no to tear

So, these data strongly argue against the view that enclisis is more costly and less basic than proclisis in EP. On the contrary, they support the claim that children are analysing EP clitics as affix-like elements.

Data from younger generations and adult speakers provide additional evidence for this claim, since they show that in the grammar of teenagers and young adults enclisis is spreading to contexts with proclisis triggers (see (37)):

(37) a. <u>porque</u> <u>não</u> apercebeu-*se* que ...(12 years old child, written speech)

because not realized-3sing-CL-refl-3 that...

Because he didn't realize that...

 b. É uma verdade <u>que</u> pode-*se* ver de uma forma muito clara...(literate adult, TV debate)

is a truth that can-PRES-3sing-CL-nom-3sing see-INF of a form very clear

It is something that can be easily seen

 c. <u>porque</u> ela começou-*o* a tirar...(illiterate adult, interview -PF, 0091)

because she started-3sing-CL-accus-3singmasc to remove-INF...

Because she started to remove it...

 d. correspondem à classe <u>onde</u> "só" combina-*se* com SN...(univ. student, written speech)

correspond-3pl to-the class where "only" combines-CL-refl with NP

They correspond to the class where "only" combines with NP

Summarising: we take the rise of enclisis starting in the XVIIth century, the preference for enclisis during language acquisition and the spreading of enclisis to contexts with proclisis triggers in teenagers and young adults to be consequences of the process of reanalysis of EP clitics as affix-like elements.

3.2 The derivation of Enclisis, Economy and Convergence

Assuming that Romance cliticization always involves incorporation before Spell-Out, the resulting derivations must display the required configurations for feature checking.

Elaborating on Rizzi 1993, we claim that Strong feature checking of the clitic or the verb against the relevant functional head requires strict

immediate adjunction; on the contrary, Weak feature checking does not. These generalisations are summarised in (38)[6]:

(38)   Strong feature checking between heads requires immediate adjunction of the checking and target heads. Weak feature checking does not.

Notice that the last clause of (38) is plausible in a framework where Weak features are invisible at PF and may procrastinate their checking until LF. Thus, the specificity of our claim crucially reduces to positing that whenever the target head has Weak features, checking before Spell-Out is still possible, though not obeying the same strict adjacency requirement as Strong feature checking.

Moreover, we will assume that a head only intervenes between the checking and the target head if it has some features to check against the functional target head, that is, only in this case is it visible for the checking process. This claim is summarised in (39):

(39)   In the head checking process, a head X intervenes between a checking head Y and a target functional head Z iff X and Z have some common feature α.

In the next sections, we will show that the different patterns of clitic placement in EP vs Spanish, Italian and French directly derive from the .interaction of the conditions on feature checking stated in (38) and (39) with the status of clitic pronouns in these languages.

Recall that in EP clitics entered a diachronic process leading to their reanalysis as affix–like elements. So, it is expected that they do not block Strong feature checking since they do no longer count as regular syntactic X° heads. In the other Romance languages mentioned above, clitics still count as regular syntactic heads, thus blocking Strong feature checking in the relevant contexts.

3.3   Enclisis in EP as Short Movement to AgrO

According to the DP Hypothesis, clitics are originally generated under VP. As clitics are D-heads, the Minimal Link Condition predicts D_{CL} adjunction to V, at least, for complement clitics:

(40)

```
              VP
            /    \
          V       DP
        /  \      /  \
      Cli    V  Di    pro
```
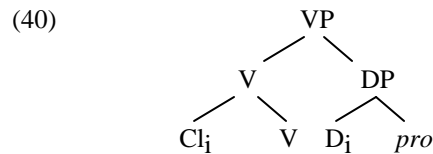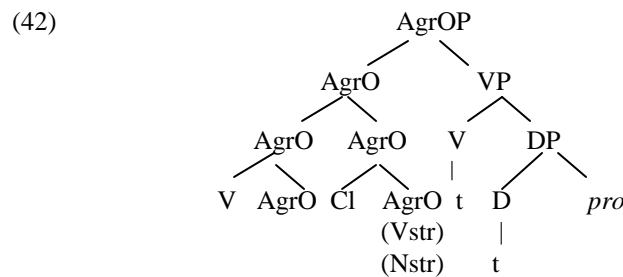
However, this movement does not produce a convergent derivation, since the next step, CL-V raising to AgrO, would create a configuration violating condition (38) for strong feature checking — Case checking between CL and AgrO, as shown in (41):

(41)   *

```
              AgrO
            /     \
          V        AgrO
        /   \
     CLi     V
```
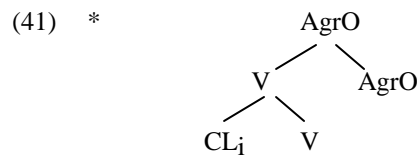
So, (complement) clitics must skip the V-head, and raise to AgrOP, the first functional projection above VP[7].
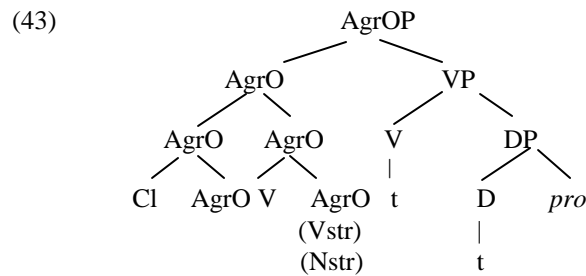
Being a head, the clitic moves from DP to AgrO, to check its strong Case and agreement features[8]; this movement is allowed, and obeys Economy. The verb moves next to check AgrO Strong V-features — see (42):

(42)

```
                      AgrOP
                    /      \
                AgrO        VP
               /    \      /  \
           AgrO     AgrO  V    DP
          /   \    /   \  |    /  \
        V  AgrO  Cl  AgrO t  D     pro
              (Vstr)       |
              (Nstr)       t
```

In a configuration like (42), the requirements for strong feature checking of V cannot be met, since another head — the clitic — intervenes between V

and AgrO. We argue that the status of clitics in EP as quasi-verb inflectional affixes allows Strong feature checking, making it possible for the verb to check its features against AgrO in spite of the intervening clitic. Furthermore, D_{CL} movement to AgrO renders unnecessary (and thus forbids, under Economy considerations) movement of its *pro* complement to Spec AgrO, since the clitic heads a chain which is able to identify *pro* through head-complement feature sharing (see Chomsky 1993, 1994).

Notice that the reverse order, that is, V to AgrO first and then clitic to AgrO, would not yield a convergent derivation, because the strong N-features of the clitic would not be checked, since V, a word that must check Strong features against AgrO, intervenes between the clitic and the target head — see (43):

(43)

```
                        AgrOP
                  AgrO           VP
              AgrO    AgrO     V      DP
            Cl  AgrO V  AgrO  t     D    pro
                       (Vstr)       |
                       (Nstr)       t
```

So, the only way for the clitic to check its strong N-features, would be movement of the whole DP headed by the clitic to Spec AgrO, followed by movement of the clitic to T. This derivation is less economical than the previous one, since it involves two overt movements: DP-movement plus CL-Movement.
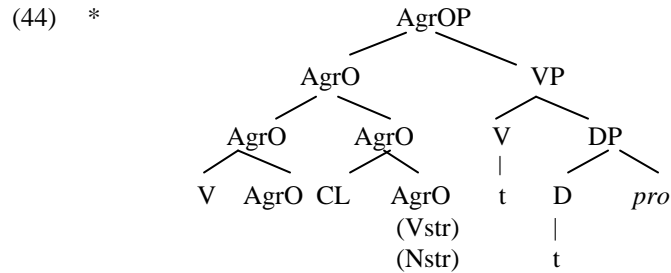
Summarising, in EP, enclisis corresponds to the most economical derivation and AgrO is the cliticization site.

3.4   The ban on enclisis in Italian, Spanish and French finite clauses

In Spanish, Italian and French enclisis cannot occur in finite clauses, contrary to EP.

We claim that this is due to the morphological status of the clitic — in these languages, clitics are at a stage of their diachronic process of reanalysis where they are still analysed as totally distinct from V-agreement affixes. So, enclisis is ruled out, because, if the clitic moves to AgrO to check Strong N-features, Strong V-features of AgrO remain unchecked and

the derivation crashes at PF, since the intervening CL adjunct blocks the checking procedure:
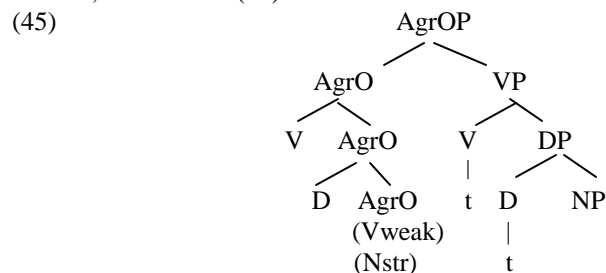
(44)   *   AgrOP
                          AgrO   VP
                    AgrO   AgrO   V   DP
                  V   AgrO CL   AgrO   t   D   *pro*
                               (Vstr) |
                               (Nstr)   t

3.5   Enclisis in non-finite clauses in Portuguese vs Spanish and Italian

EP being a language with generalised V-movement (see, for instance, Raposo 1987, Ambar 1992), there is no reason to suppose, according to our analysis, that in the core cases enclisis in non-finite clauses is different from enclisis in finite clauses.

Let us now look at untensed clauses in Italian and Spanish, where enclisis is the obligatory pattern.

Elaborating on Belletti (1993), we suggest that in these languages AgrO has Weak V–features in non-finite clauses (presumably, a consequence of selectional properties of [- finite] T). Assuming this is the case, Weak V-features of AgrO may be present at PF, but the Nstrong features of AgrO and of the clitic must be checked before Spell-Out. So the clitic must move overtly.

As V in these languages moves overtly to higher functional positions in untensed clauses, according to Short Movement, it passes through AgrO adjoining to the complex CL-AgrO. By doing so, it checks its Weak V-features against AgrO (recall that Weak feature checking does not require strict adjacency of the relevant heads). This step of the derivation produces enclisis, as shown in (45):

(45)   AgrOP
                    AgrO   VP
                  V   AgrO   V   DP
                       D   AgrO   t   D   NP
                          (Vweak) |
                          (Nstr)   t

According to Rizzi (1993a), the verb must overtly move to AgrS to check Strong V–features. Assuming Excorporation is not available in Overt Syntax, the whole V–CL complex raises to AgrS, presumably through T.

The problem now is to explain why a configuration as (46) is legitimate, since Strong V–feature checking requires strict adjacency:

(46) $[_{AgrS}$ V-CL $[_{AgrS}$ [+Vstrong]]]

Our claim is that the clitic has no N-features to check against AgrS. In these circumstances, the clitic is invisible for checking purposes. So, the configuration satisfies Strong feature checking requirements.

Recall that at some point of the derivation before Spell-Out the verb and the clitic must target the same functional head, otherwise, the Strong feature V-host would remain unchecked and the derivation would crash at PF. Since the step of the derivation represented in (45) yields a convergent derivation and that this derivation is more economical than the one producing proclisis (as it spares overt movement of the clitic complement *pro*), it is the only one allowed under Economy considerations.

3.6   The ban on Enclisis in non-finite clauses in French

Let us now look at French non-finite clauses, where proclisis is the only available pattern. Following Rizzi's (1993a) reinterpretation of the data in Pollock (1989), let us assume that in French untensed clauses main verbs may overtly move although they do not reach the highest functional head, AgrS — more precisely, they cannot move higher than T, as the data with negation show.

If the V-features of AgrO in French are Strong both in tensed and untensed clauses, our analysis predicts that the same pattern of clitic placement will obtain in these two types of clauses. It also predicts that in untensed clauses with clitics the non-finite verb must overtly raise to T, the cliticization site in French (see section 3.8.1., where an account of proclisis in Spanish,Italian and French tensed clauses is presented).

3.7   Mesoclisis in EP as Short Movement of the V-CL complex

Let us now consider the mesoclisis cases of contemporary EP.

Recent proposals analysed mesoclisis in Old Spanish and EP as the result of Long Head Movement, a strategy available in certain languages in order

to obey the Wackernagel Law (clitic elements must occupy the second position in the sentence), or the Tobler-Mussafia Law (clitic elements are banned from sentence initial position) (cf. Lema & Rivero 1989, 1991; Rivero 1994; Roberts 1994). According to these proposals, mesoclisis is LHM (V-to-C) of some untensed main verb over an inflected (weak) auxiliary.

We will present two arguments challenging the claim that mesoclisis in contemporary EP is a case of LHM. First, suppose the accounts mentioned above are correct in considering that the motivation for LHM of the untensed V is the Tobler-Mussafia Law. In this case, mesoclisis should not occur in sentences with full XP's preceding the untensed V, contrary to fact (see (47)):

(47) (a)   O João telefonar-*te*-á amanhã.
           João phone-INF-CL-dat-2sing-FUT-3sing tomorrow
           João will call you tomorrow

    (b)   Amanhã eu dir-*te*-ei o que fazer.
          tomorrow I tell-INF-CL-dat-2sing-FUT-1sing what do-INF
          Tomorrow I will tell you what to do

Second, Lema & Rivero 1989, 1991 have shown that all the cases of LHM share the following property: LHM is restricted to root contexts "or to the only empty C of a two-layered CP complementing a V of propositional attitude" (Lema & Rivero 1991). However, in contemporary EP we find (optionally) mesoclisis in subordinate tensed clauses, not only in contexts where one might argue for a double CP layer — that is, in embedded sentences with overt complementizers and Clitic Left Dislocation (see Rouveret 1992 for the enclisis cases) or "fronted" clauses, as shown in (48), (49) — but also in contexts where a double CP layer analysis is difficult to motivate (see (50)):

(48) a.   Acho [$_{CP}$ que ao João, far-*lhe*-ia bem ir à festa].
          think-1sing that to John do-INF-CL-dat-3sing-COND-3sing well go-INF to-the party
          I think that to John, it would do him good to go to the party

    b.   Acho [$_{CP}$ que ao João, far-*lhe*-á bem ir à festa].
         think-1sing that to John do-INF-CL-dat-3sing-FUT-3sing well go-INF to-the party
         I think that to John, it will do him good to go to the party

(49) a.   Acho [$_{CP}$ que, quando acabarem o trabalho, far-*lhes*-á bem sair].

think-1sing that when finish-SUBJ-3pl the work do-INF-CL-dat-3sing-FUT-3sing well leave-INF.

I think that when they finish their work, it will do them well to go out.

b.   Ele afirmou [$_{CP}$ que, se quisessem saber os resultados, poder-*lhe*-iam telefonar].

he said-3sing that if wanted-SUBJ-3pl know-INF the results, can-INF-CL-dat-3sing-COND-3pl phone-INF.

He said that, if they wanted to know the results, they could phone him.

(50) a.   Ele disse [$_{CP}$ que amanhã ir-*te*-á visitar às cinco horas].

he said that tomorrow go-INF-CL-accus-3singmasc-FUT-3sing visit-INF at-the five hours

He said that tomorrow he will visit you at five

b.   Ele afirmou [$_{CP}$ que no próximo ano o conselho conceder-*te*-á uma bolsa de estudo para os Estados Unidos].

he said that the next year the committee grant-INF-CL-dat-2sing-FUT-3sing a scholarship for the USA.

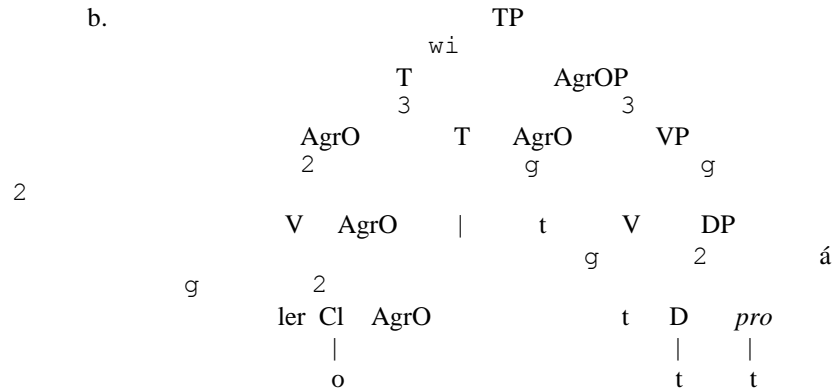He said that next year the committee will grant you a scholarship in USA.

If, depending on the analysis proposed for Clitic Left Dislocation and "fronted" clauses, it could be maintained that mesoclisis in (48)-(49) is V-to-(empty)C, to satisfy the Wackernagel Law in the minimal CP domain containing the clitic, such a claim is not extendable to contexts like those in (50), where one would have to assume that time adverbials may be fronted to Spec TopP, an assumption challenged by data in Longobardi (1983) and Cinque (1990), who show crucially that (non-focussed) adverbials in IP initial position differ in scope properties and crossover effects from either topicalized or clitic left dislocated phrases.

Since the two arguments presented above argue against a LHM account of mesoclisis in contemporary EP, we would like to suggest an alternative analysis. It is a well established fact that, in future and conditional forms, the ancient auxiliary *(h)aver* entered a diachronic process leading to its reanalysis as an affix. Suppose that, in the grammar of standard EP, two forms for the future and the conditional co-exist: the "new" synthetic form used in proclisis and in enclisis (see the examples in (6)), which is inserted fully inflected, and a survival of the analytic form found in Old Romance, where the ancient auxiliary is interpreted as a "lexicalized" T-affix,

generated under the T head, in a way similar to English support *do* (see Lasnik (1994)).

Assuming this to be the case, mesoclisis in contemporary EP is a conservative pattern but one which is already distinct from LHM in Old Romance (where clitics could move as XP's and the infinitival form did not incorporate syntactically in the auxiliary verb) and its properties follow directly: mesoclisis has the same distribution of enclisis (in tensed contexts) because its derivation is exactly the same as the derivation of enclisis (see (51), the step in the derivation where AgrO adjoins to T):

(51) a. Ele lê-*lo*-á.
　　 b.

```
                                        TP
                                     wi
                          T                      AgrOP
                          3                        3
                   AgrO       T      AgrO       VP
                   2                 g           g
  2
                  V    AgrO    |      t    V    DP
                                        g        2        á
       g           2
                  ler  Cl  AgrO              t   D   pro
                       |                         |    |
                       o                         t    t
```

3.8   Two derivational strategies of Proclisis in Romance

In this section we will try to show that proclisis in Romance corresponds to two different derivational strategies.

3.8.1   Proclisis in Spanish, Italian and French finite clauses

Recall we have claimed that in Spanish, Italian and French enclisis was forbidden due to the morphological status of the clitic, a regular X° syntactic head in these languages.

Following Corver & Delfitto (1993), we assume that the first relevant step of the derivation is movement of the DP headed by the clitic to Spec AgrO, followed by V–movement to the immediately dominating functional head (T) and short movement of the clitic head to check its V-host feature against V, as shown in (52):

(52)
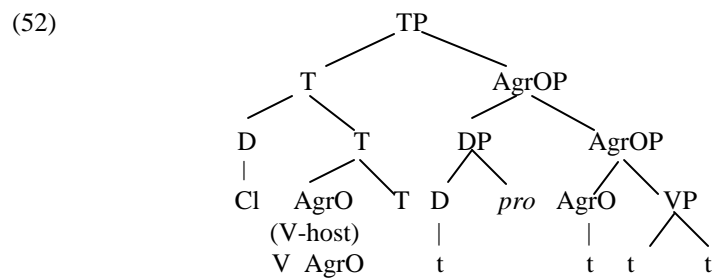
So, in the three languages considered proclisis yields the only convergent derivation and the cliticization site is the first functional node above AgrO, that is T.

3.8.2 Proclisis in EP as Last Resort Movement

Proclisis in contemporary EP has a different derivational source from other Romance languages considered above: recall that proclisis is not sensitive to the tensed/untensed distinction, occurs later than enclisis during language acquisition and is regressing in younger generations (see the data presented in (7), (36) and (37) above); recall also that, as many Portuguese and Brazilian grammarians noticed, proclisis occurs in clauses with a class of so-called operator-like elements (see (7)-(18)), whose common property is "attracting" clitics. That this is an intrinsic property of lexical items is

suggested by contrasts like (53)-(54), showing that whereas *raras vezes* (*seldom*) triggers proclisis *muitas vezes* (*often*) does not[9]:

(53) a.   *O João <u>raras vezes</u> dá-*me* razão.
            the João rare times gives-CL-dat-1sing reason
            João seldom agrees with me
      b.   O João <u>muitas vezes</u> dá-*me* razão.
            the João many times gives-CL-dat-1sing reason
            João often agrees with me

(54) a.   O João <u>raras vezes</u> *me* dá razão.
            the João seldom gives-CL-dat-1sing reason
            João seldom agrees with me
      b.   *O João <u>muitas vezes</u> *me* dá razão.
            the João often gives-CL-dat-1sing reason
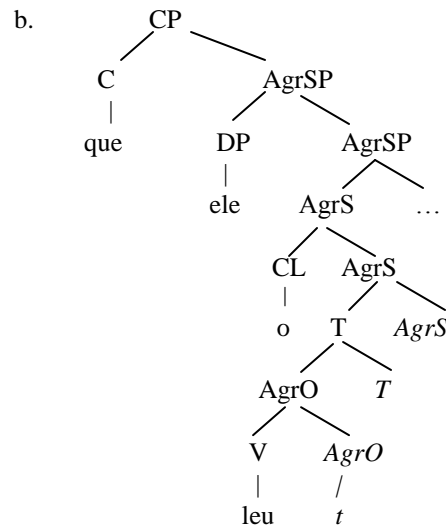   João often agrees with me

Since clitic attraction must rely on c-command from the proclisis trigger (see (55) below), this lexical property might be seen as a syntactic condition with an LF counterpart:

(55) a.   [<u>Todos</u> os alunos] *o* leram.
            all the students CL-accus-3mascsing read-3sing
            All the students read it
      b.   [Os pais de <u>todos</u> os alunos] leram-*no*.
            the parents of all the students read-3sing-CL-accus-3mascsing
            All the students' parents read it

An explanation along these lines was pursued in Duarte & Matos (1995), where it was suggested that proclisis triggers must have scope over (extended) V-projections and contain, as part of their lexical entry, a formal specification of the categorial nature of their scope domain. According to this hypothesis, enclisis would prevent a proclisis trigger to meet this requirement, since it would originate a syntactic hybrid complex head.

Duarte & Matos (1995) also suggested that proclisis in standard EP was Short Movement of the clitic within the X^0 functional projection that meets the scope requirements of the proclisis trigger. Illustrating this claim with tensed subordinate clauses, enclisis is "undone" in AgrS, through movement of the clitic from the inner AgrO projection in AgrS to the left of the topmost AgrS node (see (56)):

(56) a. Acho que ele o leu.
think-1sing that he CL.accus-3mascsing read-3sing
I think that he read it

b.

```
                    CP
                  /    \
               C        AgrSP
               |        /    \
              que     DP      AgrSP
                      |       /   \
                     ele    AgrS   …
                           /    \
                         CL      AgrS
                         |      /    \
                         o     T      AgrS
                             /   \
                          AgrO    T
                          /  \
                         V    AgrO
                         |     /
                        leu    t
```

Thus, proclisis in standard EP was considered a Last Resort movement.

Although we maintain some of the crucial assumptions of the analysis sketched above, namely, that proclisis derives from enclitic configurations, we will depart from Duarte & Matos (1995)' analysis in the precise way to characterize the property common to proclisis triggers, as well as the point of the derivation where enclisis is undone: in Overt Syntax or in between Spell-Out and the P-A Interface.

In fact, if the common property of proclisis triggers was a formal specification of the categorial nature of their scope domain, one would predict, contrary to fact, that, in sentences where marked topics and parentheticals intervene between the proclisis trigger and the clitic, only one of the clitic placement patterns would be legitimate, since only proclisis would meet the relevant requirement at LF and the derivation with enclisis would crash (see (57) and (58)):

(57) a. Acho que ao João, a Maria *lhe* ofereceu um livro.
think that to-the João, Maria CL-dat-3-sing gave-3-sing a book
I think that to João, Mary gave him a book

b. Acho que, ao João, a Maria ofereceu-*lhe* um livro.

think that to-the João, Maria gave-3-sing-CL-dat-3-sing a book

I think that to João, Mary gave him a book

(58) a.   Disseram-me <u>que</u> embora tivesse sido difícil, *lhe* concederam a bolsa.

told-3plu-CL-dat-1-sing that although had been difficult, CL-dat-3-sing gave-3-plu the grant

I was told that although it was difficult, they gave her the grant

b.   Disseram-me <u>que</u>, embora tivesse sido difícil, concederam-*lhe* a bolsa.

told-3plu-CL-dat-1-sing that although had been difficult, gave-3-plu-CL-dat-3-sing the grant

I was told that although it was difficult, they gave her the grant

On the basis of this kind of data Frota & Vigário 1996 argued that proclisis in standard EP is driven by phonological weight. They suggest that an enclitic must occur as proclitic whenever a heavy functional word[10] c-commands and precedes it in the same CP. This approach accounts for the well-formedness of (57) and (58), since prosodic phrasing is different in the a. and b. sentences: an I(ntonational Phrase)-boundary intervenes between the proclisis trigger and the clitic in the b. sentences, whereas no such boundary occurs in the a. sentences.

Assuming this hypothesis, the core cases of proclisis in standard EP are instances of *Move* occurring between Spell-Out and the P-A Interface, an interesting consequence in a framework where *Move* is procrastinated.

Only in those cases where independent LF requirements intervene (*e.g.*, identification of empty categories in ATB contexts, which requires c-command by the clitic), must proclisis occur in Overt Syntax, as a Last Resort operation (see Matos (1998)), to ensure that a convergent derivation will obtain in both interface levels:

(59) a.   <u>Só</u> o João *o* viu e cumprimentou.

only the João CL-accus-3-singmasc saw-3-sing and greeted

Only João saw him and greeted him

b.   *O João viu-*o* e cumprimentou.

only the João saw-3-sing CL-accus-3-singmasc and greeted

Only João saw him and greeted him

4   Concluding Remarks

In this paper we tried to show that the differences in Clitic Placement exhibited in the four Romance languages considered follow from the interaction of properties of Merge/Move and Economy principles with the formal features of clitics.

Our account does not resort to extra-structure, extra–overt movements or Long Head Movement to account for the syntax of Romance clitics. In fact, sticking to Minimalist assumptions, we only made use of the core extended V-projections, standardly referred to as IP and claimed that in both proclisis and enclisis the clitic and its V-host are at the same functional head at Spell-Out.

We tried to show that the different patterns of clitic placement in EP vs Spanish, Italian and French directly derive from the .interaction of the conditions on feature checking stated in (38) with the status of clitic pronouns in these languages.

On the basis of diachronic and language acquisition evidence we claimed that EP clitics are a step ahead in the process of affix reanalysis, which makes enclisis the most economic pattern of clitic placement in this language, and hence, the basic one. At the same time, we claimed that mesoclisis in contemporary EP is a survival of an older stage, where the ancient auxiliary was reanalysed as an affix generated under T: so, mesoclisis was shown to be a subcase of enclisis, where the target T-head of the V-CL complex dominates an affix instead of just abstract features.

Finally, we claimed that proclisis in standard EP is derived from enclisis, is driven by the phonological weight of functional words and, consequently, in the core cases, occurs in between Spell-Out and the P-A Interface. The claim that proclisis derives from enclisis in EP receives empirical support from the fact that it is only systematic in later stages of language development and that it is regressing in younger generations.

Notes

[1]-For an alternative view of ATB Clitic Placement see Matos 1998.

[2]-See, for instance, Chomsky & Lasnik 1993, Bobaljik & Jonas 1996, Thráinsson 1996, Guasti 1997.

[3]-In the texts she studied, proclisis has above 95% in the XVIth century; starting in the XVIIth century, proclisis continuously decreases (below 30% in the XVIIIth century, below 20% in the XIXth century) and enclisis rises (around 70% in the XVIIIth century, above 80% in the XIXth century); the rise of enclisis goes with the loss of interpolation for every constituent but *não* (from the XVIIth century on, it is unattested in the texts she studied).

[4]-An alternative approach takes these facts to follow not from the reanalysis of clitics as affix-like elements but from two different changes in the grammar of EP: the rise of enclisis in root sentences (including non dependent coordinated clauses) is due to the loss of Focus Movement for non operator-like NP subjects (see Martins 1994) and the virtual disappearance of interpolation is a consequence of the loss of NP Scrambling in contemporary EP (Raposo, p.c.). However, neither of these explanations can account for the ungrammaticality of (i) in contemporary EP:

(i) (a) quando *vos* <u>ora</u> *fez* merçee (*apud* Martins 1994: 165)

    (b) como *se* <u>nesta carta</u> *contem* (*apud* Martins 1994: 169)

    (c) quaes *les* <u>o dito Stevão</u> *mâdar* fazer (*apud* Martins 1994: 172)

    (d) assi como *les* <u>a elles</u> *semellava* (*apud* Martins 1994:178)

    (e) dos sobredictos autos que *se* <u>pressente mi tabaliam</u> *pasarã* (*apud* Martins 1994: 178)

    (f) de quallquer pessoa que *lha* <u>enbargar</u> *quiser* (*apud* Martins 1994: 177)

In all the sentences of (i) the clitic is in second position in the clause, preceded by elements occupying (presumably) the Spec or the head position of CP and is separated from the verb by adverbs, θ-marked NP's, clitic doubling NP's, clauses and VP's. So, assuming the clitic was in F/Σ/W, neither loss of Focus Movement for non operator-like subjects nor loss of NP Scrambling may be invoked to account for the ungrammaticality of such sentences in contemporary EP.

[5]-Contrary to what happens in other Romance languages. See, for instance, the following data from Italian, from Hyams 1992:

(i) *L*'ha buttata via a Lila. (25 months)
    Lila threw it away
(ii) Si, *li* ho visti io (27 months)
    Yes, I have seen them
(iii)*L*'ha portata la tata.
    The nanny brought it

[6]   A similar (and even stronger) claim is made in Zwart (1993): 23-24, concerning checking in a SPEC-Head configuration.

[7]   This violation of the Minimal Link Condition is in the spirit of Kayne (1991)'s generalization concerning the nature of the targets of Clitic movement: only functional heads may host a clitic. Notice that current analysis of sentential negation in Romance (see for instance Pollock (1989), Matos (1989), Belletti (1990), Gonçalves (1994), Haegeman (1995)) also rely in a Minimal Link Condition violation: in its movement to AgrS, the V-head skips Neg; in the next step of the derivation, the Neg head must adjoin to the V-functional complex in AgrS.

[8]   As stantardly assumed in the literature, we take both AgrS and AgrO to have strong V-features and weak N-features in Null Subject Romance languages. Whenever a complement clitic is present, an AgrO with strong V- and N- features is introduced in the numeration; whenever a nominative clitic is present, the AgrO and AgrS introduced in the numeration have strong V- and N- features. In the last case, the complement *pro* of the nominative clitic is forced to raise to SPEC AgrSP. This last claim is supported by contrasts with expletive subjects as those shown in (i) and (ii):

(i)   a.   ?Ele ouve-se boatos a toda a hora.
            (it-expl is heard rumours all the time)
            Rumours are constantly heard
       b.   ?Ele diz-se mal de toda a gente.
            (it-expl is spoken ill of everybody)
            One spokes ill of everybody
(ii)   a.   *Ele troça-se por tudo e por nada.
            (it-expl one laughs at everybody for no reason at all)
            One laughs at everybody for no reason at all
       b.   *Ele chega-se sempre atrasado.
            (it_expl one arrives always late)
            One always arrives late

Whereas in the (i) sentences, with transitive verbs, the expletive subject may marginally occur, since the clitic is identified with a passive one, in the (ii) sentences, with unergative and unaccusative verbs, the presence of the expletive subject yields a stronger degradation, since both the expletive and the complement *pro* of the nominative clitic compete for the same structural position — SPEC AgrSP.

[9] In fact, it seems that no common syntactic or semantic property unifies this class. For instance, quantifiers like *poucos* (*few*) trigger proclisis, whereas *muitos* (*many*) allows proclisis and enclisis (see (i) and (ii)):

(i) (a)   Muitos alunos leram-no cuidadosamente.
              many students read-3plu-CL-accus-3sing carefully
              Many students read it carefully

     (b)   Muitos alunos o leram cuidadosamente.
              many students CL-accus-3sing read-3plu carefully
              Many students read it carefully

(ii) (a)   *Poucos alunos leram-no cuidadosamente.
              few students read read-3plu-CL-accus-3sing carefully
              Few students read it carefully

     (b)   Poucos alunos o leram cuidadosamente.
              few students CL-accus-3sing read-3plu carefully
              Few students read it carefully

Furthermore definite specific DP's fronted in so-called Focus Preposing constructions induce proclisis, despite their non operator status (see (iii)); in fact it can be shown that such DP's are neither informational nor quantificational focus (see Duarte (1997)):

(iii)   Isso lhe disse eu.
              that CL-dat-3-sing told-1sing I
              That it was I who told him/her

[10] According to Frota & Vigário (1996), a prosodic constituent is heavy in EP iff it is focused or it branches.

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