

Article

"The Syntax of Clitic Placement in European Portuguese"

Michael Barrie

Revue québécoise de linguistique, vol. 28, n° 1, 2000, p. 91-109.

Pour citer cet article, utiliser l'information suivante :

URI: <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/603188ar>

DOI: 10.7202/603188ar

Note : les règles d'écriture des références bibliographiques peuvent varier selon les différents domaines du savoir.

Ce document est protégé par la loi sur le droit d'auteur. L'utilisation des services d'Érudit (y compris la reproduction) est assujettie à sa politique d'utilisation que vous pouvez consulter à l'URI <https://apropos.erudit.org/fr/usagers/politique-dutilisation/>

Érudit est un consortium interuniversitaire sans but lucratif composé de l'Université de Montréal, l'Université Laval et l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Il a pour mission la promotion et la valorisation de la recherche. Érudit offre des services d'édition numérique de documents scientifiques depuis 1998.

Pour communiquer avec les responsables d'Érudit : info@erudit.org

THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC PLACEMENT IN EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE *

Michael Barrie
University of Toronto

1. Introduction

1.1 Clitic Placement in EP

Clitic placement has received an enormous amount of attention in the literature starting with Kayne's seminal work in 1975 where he identified pronominal clitics based on various phonological diagnostics. Kayne also proposed that clitics are base-generated in argument position and move to their surface position by virtue of clitic placement rules. This proposal sparked a long-running debate in the field of Romance clitics concerning where the clitic originates in the derivation. Many researchers consider pre-verbal object clitics to start out in argument position (e.g., Kayne 1975, 1994; Rizzi 1990, Uriagereka 1995). Other researchers contend that object clitics are base-generated in their surface position (Burzio 1986, Jaeggli 1982, Roberge 1990, Strozer 1976). One of the main arguments for adopting the view that clitics are base-generated or merged in their surface positions is the phenomenon of clitic doubling. Since clitic doubling is generally absent from European Portuguese (henceforth, EP), I adopt the view that clitics are merged in argument position and subsequently raise to their surface position.

Clitic placement in EP typically exhibits enclisis of its pronominal clitics. That is, the clitic appears to the right of the verb:

* This paper was originally presented at the 2nd annual workshop on theoretical linguistics at the University of Western Ontario. I wish to thank those present at the workshop, as well as two anonymous RQL reviewers, for their helpful comments and suggestions.

- (1) O João viu -me.
 the John see.3s.PAST CL.1s.ACC
 "John saw me."

Pronominal clitics in most Romance languages typically appear to the left of tensed verbs (proclisis) and to the right of non-tensed verbs. This tense distinction does not exist in EP. Furthermore, several syntactic environments exist which trigger proclisis in EP, which have no effect on clitic placement in other Romance languages. These include Wh-questions (2), focus constructions (3), but not topicalization, sentential negation (4), the presence of one of a small class of special adverbs (5), and an overt complementizer (6):

- (2) Quem me viu?
 who CL.1s.ACC see.3s.PAST
 "Who saw me?"

- (3) Até o João me viu.
 even the John CL.1s.ACC see.3s.PAST
 "Even John saw me."

- (4) O João não me viu.
 the John NEG CL.1s.ACC see.3s.PAST
 "John didn't see me."

- (5) O João já me viu.
 the John already CL.1s.ACC see.3s.PAST
 "John already saw me."

- (6) A Maria sabe que o João me viu.
 the Mary know.3s that the John CL.1s.ACC see.3s.PAST
 "Mary knows that John saw me."

Note that these same environments are active independent of mood. The same results are obtained in interrogative, declarative, exclamative, and imperative moods. Also, clausal level does not appear to play a role. The presence of a complementizer triggers proclisis as shown in example (6). One could argue that proclisis is due to the fact that the clitic appears in a subordinate clause, not to the presence of a complementizer. I argue that this is not the case, since there are attested forms where we find a subordinate clause which is not headed by a complementizer. In this case enclisis is obtained:

- (7) *Tivesse* *-me* *visto o João...*
 have.3s.PAST.SUBJ. CL.1s.ACC seen the John
 "Had John seen me..."

Clearly the subordinate clause shown in example (7) has failed to invoke proclisis. It is indeed the presence of a complementizer which triggers proclisis.

Furthermore, EP exhibits an endoclititic structure, in which the clitic intervenes between the verb stem and the subject agreement morphology:¹

- (8) *Bebê-lo-ei.*
 drink-CL.3s.ACC-1s.FUT
 "I will drink it."

Proclisis is found in the future and conditional when one of the proclitic-triggering environments mentioned above is present:

- (9) *Não o* *beberei.*
 NEG CL.3s.ACC drink.1s.FUT
 "I will not drink it."

Since endoclititics appear in future and conditional tensed verbs under the same set of conditions that enclitics appear in other tenses, I contend that endoclititic structures are structurally similar to enclitic structures. This concept will be explored in more detail in section 2.5. For now, note that further evidence for this claim comes from the observation that enclitics and endoclititics are mutually exclusive. That is, where endoclititics are obtained in future and conditional tenses, enclitics are obtained in all other tenses. Future and conditional tensed verbs do not permit enclitics. Furthermore, the proclitic trigger is the same for all tenses. The apparent endoclititic appears between the verb stem and the subject agreement morphology. I argue that the clitic is actually enclitic to the verb stem, and the subject agreement morphology is simply a phonetic realization of T⁰.

To account for the broad range in clitic placement in EP, I propose that C⁰ in EP possesses a strong feature [+lexical]. This feature attracts the closest lexical item to the head of CP. If the closest such item is the verb, it raises to C⁰, past the clitic, giving rise to an enclitic structure. Proclisis, then, is the result of another lexical item raising to C⁰ to check the strong [+lexical] feature. I argue that endocclisis is the result of excorporation of the verb from T⁰ when it raises to C⁰. The verb raises past the clitic, but leaves the phonetic material under T⁰ behind, giving rise to an endoclititic structure. Finally, I propose the following clause

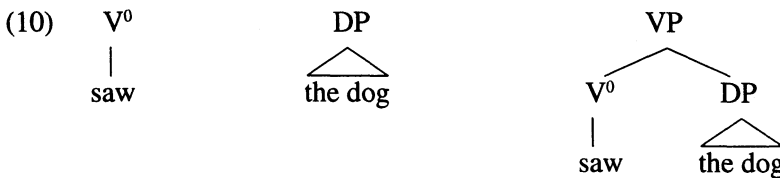
¹ Traditional EP grammars refer to this type of clitic as a mesoclititic (Cunha and Cintra 1985).

structure for EP: TopP>CP>Adv_sP>NegP>TP>vP>VP.² Following Cinque 1997, I adopt an Adv_sP (special adverb phrase) which hosts a small class of special adverbs.

In section 1.2, I present the theoretical background I adopt to analyze the EP data. Section 2 discusses the analysis starting with imperatives (section 2.1), matrix clauses, (2.2), special adverbs (2.3), phrasal constituents in CP (2.4), endoclitisis (2.5), subjects and topics (2.6), and subordinate clauses (2.7). Section 3 presents my conclusion.

1.2 Theoretical Background

My proposal for the treatment of clitic placement in EP is based on the framework of the Minimalist Program (MP, Chomsky 1995). I summarize here the main points which bear on the argumentation I present. Lexical entries are drawn, fully inflected, from the Lexicon and placed in the Numeration. The Numeration forms a sort of “work space” during the course of the derivation which supplies the lexical items needed to build a sentence. The Numeration must be emptied by the end of the derivation. Sentences in MP are formed by the operation Merge which acts either on two elements drawn from the Numeration or an element drawn from the Numeration and an XP formed earlier over the course of the derivation.³ For example, the verb “saw” is selected from the Numeration and is merged with the DP “the dog” formed earlier in the course of the derivation. This operation forms a new constituent, namely the VP “saw the dog”:



Movement in MP occurs by the operation Attract F, which is the successor to the more commonly known Move α . Attract F is subject to the following restriction (Chomsky 1995: 297): K attracts F if F is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with a sublabel of K. Movement is also sensitive

² Although I adopt a vP-VP structure for transitives, I simplify to VP throughout, unless a more detailed structure is required.

³ Note that there is no theory internal principle why Merge should act on exactly two elements. Collins 1997 discusses unrestricted Merge which, in theory, can act on any number of elements; however, local economy constraints prevent anything other than Merge acting on two elements. For simplicity, I refer to Merge as an operation between two elements.

to the economy constraint, Procrastinate, which prefers movement to occur as late as possible.

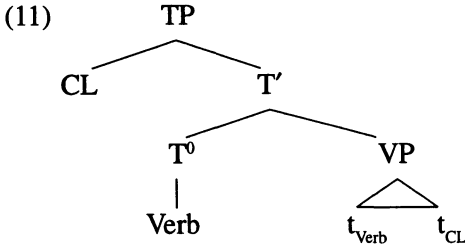
There is a stage in the derivation of an utterance, Spell-Out, at which the derivation formed thus far is submitted to both Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). Any movement which takes place in the derivation en route to LF after Spell-Out will not be detected by PF. Similarly, any changes made in the path from Spell-Out to PF will not be detected by LF. Since it is at PF where the derivation interfaces with the articulatory-perceptual system, movement not detected by PF will not be heard in the utterance. Thus, movement between Spell-Out and LF is not heard. Movement that takes place before Spell-Out is said to be overt since it is detected at PF and, hence, reflected in the spoken utterance. Movement that takes place after Spell-Out is said to be covert since it is not detected by PF. We assume that no syntactic movement takes place from Spell-Out to PF; thus, it is the form at Spell-Out which we take to be the spoken form with respect to syntactic order.

Elements are assumed to consist of various features. Features can be either strong or weak. Weak features can survive at PF; however, strong features cannot. Thus, strong features must be checked before Spell-Out. Weak features could in principle be checked before Spell-Out; however, this would violate Procrastinate. Hence, weak features are checked after Spell-Out, whenever possible. Once a feature is checked, it is subject to erasure and deletion. Once a feature has been erased and deleted, it is no longer accessible to C_{HL} . Certain features are $-Interpretable$ at LF and must be erased and deleted. Chomsky 1995 assumes that categorial features and the phi-features of nouns are the only $+Interpretable$. As such, these features do not need to be erased and deleted once checked. $+Interpretable$ features, then, can be accessed more than once during the derivation.

Chomsky 1995: 334 outlines a rough account of cliticization. His analysis assumes that clitics raise and left-adjoin to T^0 . The motivation for this movement is a result of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994).⁴ I amend this account slightly and propose that the clitic in EP adjoins not to T^0 , but to TP. I follow Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 and assume that the clitic can behave as either a head or maximal projection.⁵ Thus, the following structure is obtained after V-raising and clitic adjunction:

4 I do not discuss this motivation here. The reader is referred to Chomsky 1995 and Kayne 1994 for the relevant discussion.

5 Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 proposed this analysis for clitics to account for enclitics in Romanian without having to resort to excorporation.



Although the analysis here does not crucially depend on this particular theory of cliticization, I wish to adopt it here to avoid excorporation from deep within a highly complex head. Although I do employ excorporation in my analysis, it takes place immediately under the $X^{0\max}$ node. If the clitic were to left-adjoin to the V^0 - T^0 complex, excorporation would have to apply at an even deeper node inside $X^{0\max}$. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the entire $T^{0\max}$ must raise in imperatives, and that the clitic must be stranded. This is impossible if the clitic is adjoined to T^0 . This situation will be dealt with in my analysis.

2. Analysis

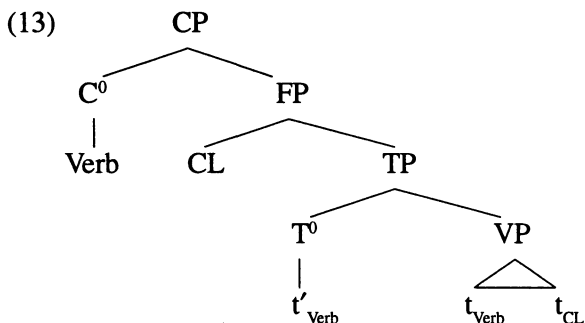
2.1 Imperatives in Romance

I commence my discussion of clitic placement with the imperative mood. Whereas clitic placement in EP in non-imperative moods contrasts dramatically with that of other Romance languages, clitic placement is quite consistent in the imperative mood across Romance languages. Furthermore, as noted in section 1.1, clitic placement in EP is the same across moods. I hope to use existing analyses of clitic placement in the imperative in Romance as a starting point for a generalized analysis of clitic placement in EP.

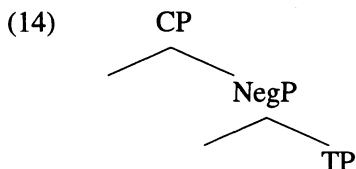
Affirmative imperatives are typically enclitic, while negative imperatives are typically proclitic. Examine the following Spanish examples taken from Rivero and Terzi 1995:

- (12) a. Léelo!
 read.2s.IMPER-it
 "Read it!"
- b. *No lee!
 NEG read.2s.IMPER
 "Don't read."

In (12a), we observe proclisis. In (12b), we observe that imperative verbs cannot be negated. Rivero and Terzi claim that negation and imperatives are incompatible. They posit an imperative mood operator in C^0 with a strong [V] feature. These features must be checked before Spell-Out by the verb. Thus, in affirmative imperatives in Spanish, and possibly other Romance languages which exhibit the same phenomenon, the verb must raise from T^0 and adjoin to C^0 . Rivero and Terzi assume that the clitic raises to a functional projection FP, so that V^0 -to- C^0 movement will pass the clitic in FP, giving rise to an enclitic structure:



Rivero and Terzi 1995 adopt the view that negation heads a functional category between CP and TP (Zanuttini 1997a):



Since negation intervenes between CP and TP, the verb must remain in TP. Rivero and Terzi argue that NegP, but not FP, acts as a barrier for head movement. Imperative morphology cannot appear on the verb, because it cannot raise to C^0 to be checked. In their analysis, either a strong, unchecked feature would surface in PF, causing the derivation to crash (if an imperative verb remained in TP) or a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) would result (if the verb moved past Neg^0 to C^0). The HMC (Travis 1984) states that a head cannot raise past an intervening head. I adopt Rivero and Terzi's proposal that the verb raises to C^0 in imperatives, but offer an alternative mechanism for deriving this movement. Since EP imperatives pattern identically to other moods, I propose a uniform analysis for clitic placement in EP across all moods. This is the subject of the following sections.

As in Spanish, imperative morphology cannot co-occur with negation in EP either. Adopting the same analysis for EP as for Spanish, I assume that there is a

strong mood operator in C^0 which must be checked by the verb. The entire V^0-T^0 complex must raise to C^0 , since it is the [V] feature of the verb complex which is subject to Attract F. If the V^0-T^0 complex raises, the clitic must somehow be stranded to achieve the correct order verb-clitic. This does not raise a problem, if we assume that the clitic is left-adjoined to TP as discussed in the introduction.

One consequence of this proposal is that complementizers are incompatible with imperatives.⁶ This is indeed the case:

(15) *Que coma!

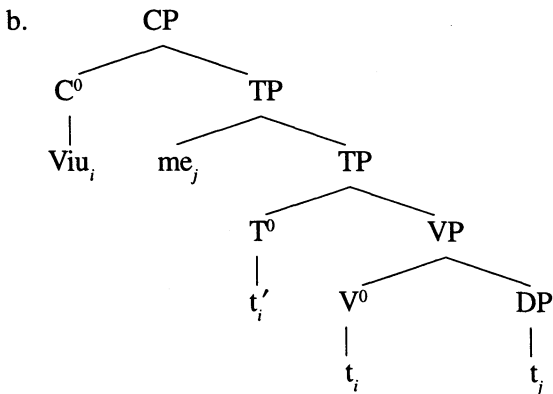
that eat.2s.IMPER

I discuss further ramifications of this proposal in the next section.

2.2 Root Clauses in EP

The affirmative/negative distinction with respect to clitic placement in Romance languages holds in EP not only for imperative moods, but for all moods. This suggests that in a simple affirmative indicative in EP, the verb raises to C^0 , and in a negative indicative, it fails to raise to C^0 . CP is the locus of illocutionary force (Rizzi 1997) and must be present in all clauses (Chomsky 1995: 292). I posit a strong feature [+lexical] in EP, which must be checked off by a lexical element before Spell-Out. In the following example, the verb has raised to C^0 to check this feature:

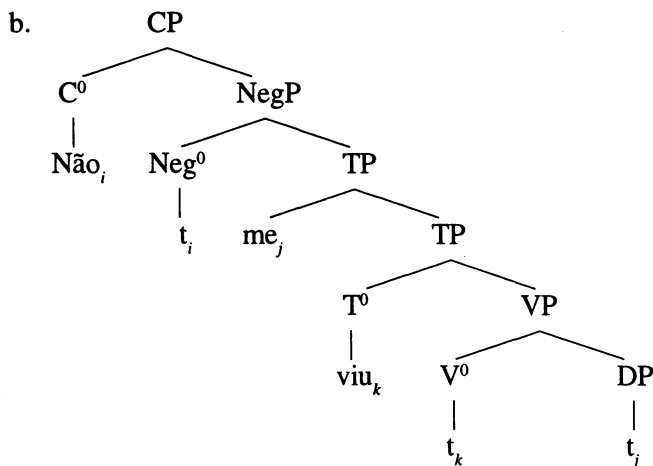
(16) a. Viu -me.
see.PAST.3s CL.1s.ACC
‘‘He/she saw me.’’



⁶ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

If we negate the above example, we obtain the following:

- (17) a. Não me viu.
 NEG CL.1s.ACC see.PAST.3s
 "He/she didn't see me."



Here, the clitic has left-adjoined to TP, following Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, and the verb has raised to T⁰ to check strong V-features there. Note that negation has raised to C⁰ to check the strong feature [+lexical]. This is consistent with Chomsky's formulation of Attract F above. C⁰ has the strong feature [+lexical] and must attract the closest element bearing the same feature, which in this case is the negative marker *não*. This is also consistent with a suggestion of Zanuttini 1997b, in which negation raises to C⁰ in negative imperatives. I propose that the feature [+lexical] is +Interpretable. Thus, when the verb fails to raise to C⁰ as in example (17), it does not incur any violation at LF due to the presence of an unchecked feature.

Note that the feature [+lexical] is not being used to refer to a lexical word (noun, verb, adjective, etc.) in contrast to a functional word (complementizer, determiner, etc.). As shown in both previous and forthcoming examples, negation and complementizers can both check the [+lexical] feature on C⁰. An element with the feature [+lexical] is one which lacks the typical characteristics of a clitic. Thus, we expect auxiliaries to count as [+lexical] and raise to C⁰ in the appropriate circumstances. This speculation is borne out:

- (18) Tenho -o visto.
 have.1s.PAST -CL.3s.ACC seen
 "I have seen him."

A consequence of the V^0 -to- C^0 raising analysis for enclitics is that complementizers are incompatible with enclitics. Example (6) above and the following example show that an overt complementizer can only occur with a proclitic, regardless of whether the clitic appears in a matrix or subordinate clause:

- (19) Que me traga felicidade!
 that CL.1s.ACC bring.3s.SUBJ happiness
 "May he/she bring me happiness!"

Examples (1) and (7) show that the lack of a complementizer allows enclisis, again regardless of clause level. No other placement of the clitic is licit in the four examples just discussed.

2.3 Special Adverbs

There exists a small set of adverbs which trigger proclisis in EP (cf. example (5) above). I refer to this group of adverbs as "special" adverbs because of their unique ability to trigger proclisis and, as immediately discussed below, block clitic climbing.⁷ The exhaustive set of these special adverbs is relatively small. It includes *já* "already", *ainda* "still", *tambem* "also", *talvez* "maybe", and *sempre* "always". Special adverbs, as just mentioned, possess the ability to block a phenomenon known as clitic climbing (Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986), a property more commonly associated with sentential negation. In example (20a) the clitic is attached to its theta-related verb (the embedded verb), and in (20b) clitic climbing has taken place (to the matrix verb).

- (20) a. O João quer ver-me.
 the John want.3s see-CL.1s.ACC
 "John wants to see me."
 b. O João quer-me ver.
 the John want.3s-CL.1s.ACC see
 "John wants to see me."

If we negate the subordinate verb or modify it with a special adverb, clitic climbing is no longer licit. The ability of negation to block clitic climbing is a well-known phenomenon in Romance (Zagona 1982, Wurmbrand 1998); however, EP also exhibits a corresponding behavior with special adverbials.

⁷ Although I adopt Cinque 1997, I point out that this class of adverbs cuts across the distinction laid out in his analysis. These adverbs do not behave the same in EP as in Italian.

(21) a. O João quer não me ver.
 “John wants to not see me.”

b. *O João quer-me não ver.

(22) a. O João quer também me ver.
 “John wants to also see me.”

b. *O João quer-me também ver.

What the starred b) examples indicate here is that clitic climbing cannot take place across negation or a special adverb. I do not discuss clitic climbing here; rather, I merely employ this phenomenon as a diagnostic to illustrate the nature of special adverbials.

Based on the parallel behavior of special adverbs and negation, and following Cinque 1997, I propose that this small class of special adverbs heads an Adv_sP in the same manner that negation heads a NegP. I wish to make a short comment concerning the adverb *nunca* “never”. This adverb cannot co-occur with the negative marker *não*, whereas all other members of the class of adverbs which fall under Adv_sP can. It is also possible for these special adverbs to co-occur with the adverb *nunca*:

(23) Talvez nunca me amasse.
 maybe never CL.1s.ACC love.PAST.SUBJ.3s
 “Maybe he/she never loved me.”

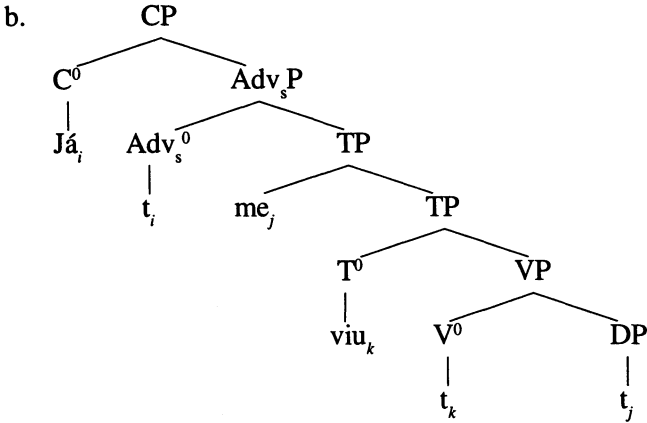
I further propose that Adv_sP c-commands NegP, based on the linear ordering of head elements:

(24) a. O João ainda não me viu.
 the John still NEG CL.1s.ACC see.PAST.3s
 “John still didn’t see me.”

b. O João já não me vê.
 the John already NEG CL.1s.ACC see.3s
 “John doesn’t see me anymore.”

Thus, if a special adverb is present, it can raise to C⁰ to check the [+lexical] feature. The verb remains under T⁰ with the clitic to its left, adjoined to TP. Examine the structure of the following example at Spell-Out:

(25) a. Já me viu.
 already CL.1s.ACC see.PAST.3s
 “He/she already saw me.”

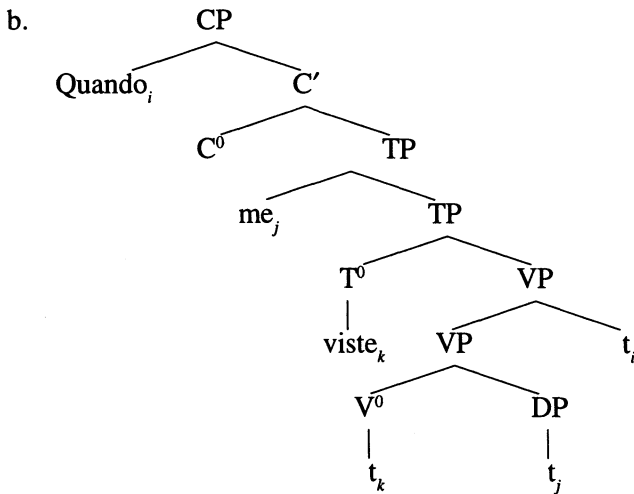


Here, the verb has raised to T⁰ to check the strong V-features, the clitic has raised and left-adjoined to TP, and the special adverb has raised to C⁰ to check the [+lexical] feature.

2.4 Phrasal constituents in CP

Turning now to Wh-questions, it is clear how the order clitic-verb is obtained. The strong [+Wh] feature requires the Wh-constituent to raise to [Spec, CP], thus checking the [+lexical] feature without further movement. Examine the following example:

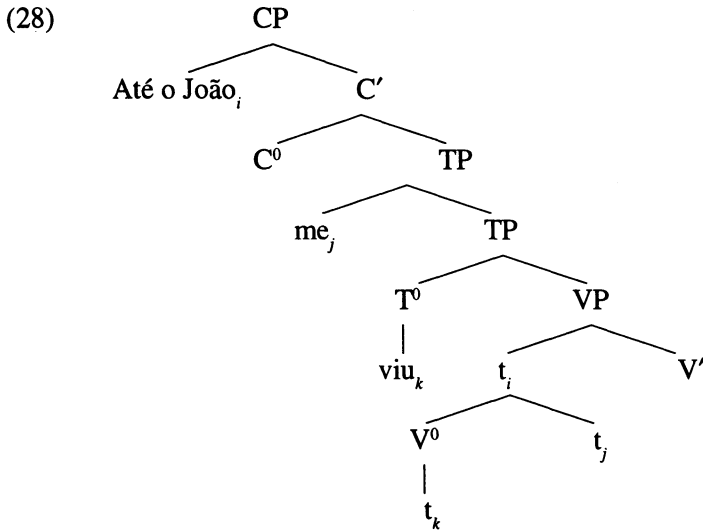
- (26) a. Quando me viste?
 when CL.1S.ACC see.PAST.2S
 "When did you see me?"



I adopt the view that focused elements raise to [Spec, CP]⁸ (see, for example, Alboiu 1999). As there are many formulations of focus in the literature, I shall make specific my use of this term here. A focused constituent is any nominal element modified by a focus operator such as *até* “even” or *só* “only”. In the following set of English examples, the DP *John* is not focused in the (a) examples, whereas it is focused in (b) and (c) examples.

- (27) a. I gave John a present.
 John gave me a present.
- b. Even John I gave a present to.
 Even John gave me a present
- c. Only John I gave a present to.
 Only John gave me a present.

Since focused constituents raise to [Spec, CP], the [+lexical] feature in C⁰ is checked without verb raising, and proclisis is obtained:

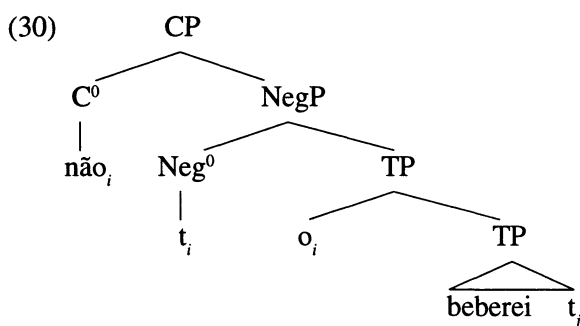


⁸This idea is discussed in detail in Rizzi 1997, where he proposes an articulated structure for CP including FocusP, TopicP, ForceP, and FinitenessP. For simplicity, I employ CP throughout. I do, however, use a TopP when necessary.

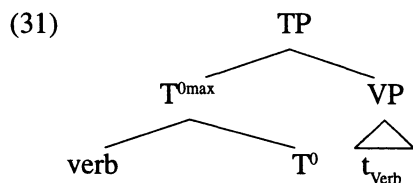
2.5 Endoclisisis

Endoclisisis appears in future and conditional forms in EP. Although these forms have all but disappeared from contemporary EP, native speakers still have strong judgements on clitic placement regarding the future and conditional. Following Duarte and Matos 1994 and Lema and Rivero 1990, I assume the subject agreement morphology of the future and conditional to be a phonetic realization of T^0 . Thus, the first person singular future form of the verb “to drink”, *beberei*, is actually composed of two items drawn from the Numeration. The first item is the stem *beber*, which is selected from the Numeration as V^0 . The second element is the subject agreement *ei*, which is selected from the Numeration as T^0 . I examine first the case of proclisis in the future:

- (29) Não o beb -er -ei.
 NEG CL.3S.ACC drink FUT 1S.FUT
 “I will not drink it.”



Here, the negative particle has raised to C^0 , leaving the clitic to the left of the verbal complex. The result is a proclitic. To understand how endoclisisis is derived, we need to look at the composition of T^0 after verb-raising more closely. Remember that we assume that the verb is capable of raising to C^0 to check its [+lexical] feature, as it possesses this feature itself. I assume further that the subject agreement morphology, which is a phonetic realization of T^0 , does not possess the feature [+lexical]. This accords with the general assumption that lexical items cannot appear as the head of a functional projection. When the verb raises to T^0 , the following structure is obtained:

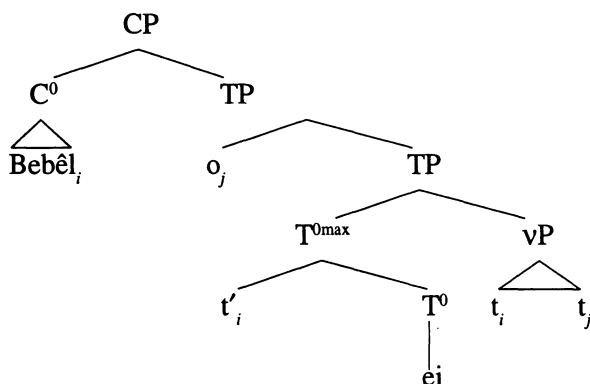


Following Chomsky 1995, the target T^0 will project when the verb raises. The label of the internally complex head, T^{0max} , will have as part of its feature composition the feature [-lexical]. If the verb is targeted for attraction because of its [+lexical] feature, it will excorporate from T^{0max} . Chomsky 1995:285 tacitly mentions this possibility in this particular situation, if we assume that the [+lexical] feature is +Interpretable. Thus, the following tree structure is obtained in endoclititic constructions:

(32) *Bebê-lo-ei.*⁹

Beb -êl -o -ei
 drink -FUT -CL.3s.ACC -1s.FUT
 "I will drink it."

(33)



In the above example, the strong [+lexical] feature of C^0 attracts the closest element bearing a matching feature, which is the verb form *bebêl*. Since the maximal head projection (T^{0max}) containing the verb prior to movement to C^0 has the feature [-lexical] in its label, the verb must excorporate. Under this analysis, excorporation must occur not only in future and conditional tenses, but in all tenses. Since the verb form enters the Numeration fully inflected, it does not leave behind the subject agreement as in the future or conditional, as illustrated in example (33). Examine the following example for V^0 -to- C^0 raising in the past tense:

(34) Vi

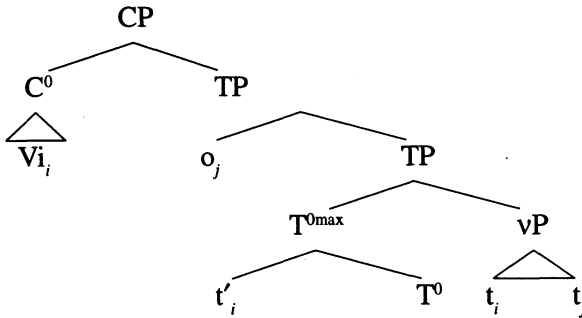
-o.

see.1s.PAST CL.3s.ACC

"I saw him."

⁹Note that the first entry accords with standard rules of EP orthography. The second entry represents a plausible morphological breakdown with the corresponding analysis on the third line.

(35)



In the above example, the verb has excorporated from T^{0max}; however, since T⁰ does not have any phonetic content, excorporation is not readily detectable.

2.6 Subjects and Topics

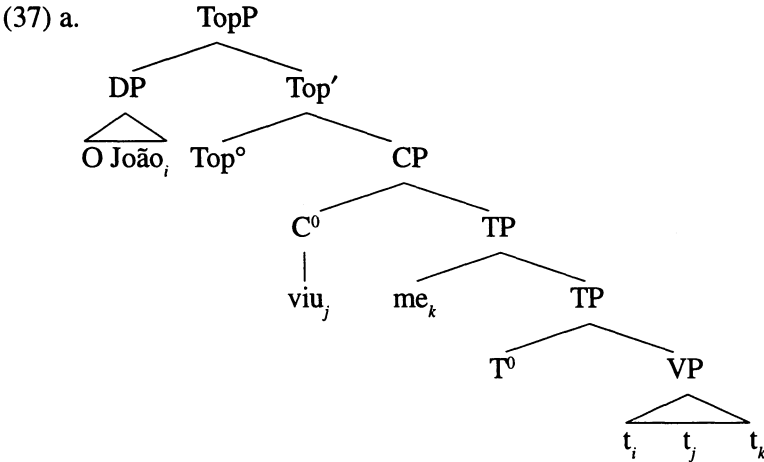
Until now, we have examined only sentences without an overt subject, setting aside the issue of the location of subjects in a pro-drop language such as EP. Subjects and topics do not invoke proclisis in EP:

(36) a. O João viu -me.
 the John see.3S.PAST CL.1S.ACC
 "John saw me."

b. Este livro deu -me o João.
 this book give.3S.PAST CL.1S.ACC the John
 "John gave me this book."

Based on the analysis presented so far, we conclude that the verb has raised to C⁰ in the above pair of examples. We must assume, then, that the clause initial DP's either do not possess the feature [+lexical], or do not occupy a checking position of C⁰. Since the first option is untenable, we must assume that these DP's are not in a checking position of C⁰ (i.e., not inside CP). I thus posit a TopP above CP which hosts topics and, based on their parallel behavior, overt pre-verbal subjects as well. Note again that I use a general CP, in addition to TopP, to represent the CP-layer. In light of Rizzi's 1997 expanded CP, a more articulated structure for this layer may prove to be required for an in-depth analysis of embedded clauses. I do not undertake a detailed study of embedded clauses here.

The idea that all pre-verbal subjects are topics accords with a suggestion by Barbosa 1996 that overt subjects in pro-drop languages are obligatorily topics or focused phrases. I depart slightly from Barbosa 1996 here in that I propose that only pre-verbal subjects are topics. Post-verbal subjects represent new information to the discourse. The following structure, then, is obtained for example (36a):



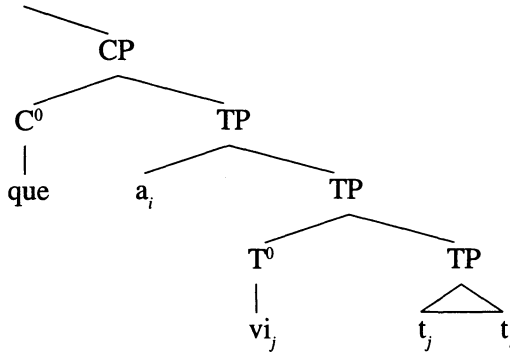
2.7 Subordinate Clauses

Overt complementizers are assumed to be instantiations of C⁰. As such, we would expect enclisis to be obtained when an overt complementizer is present. Indeed, this is the case:

- (38) A Maria sabe que a vi.
 the Mary knows that CL.3S.FEM.ACC see.1S.PAST
 "Mary knows that I saw her."

The [+lexical] feature of C⁰ is automatically checked and erased from the point at which it enters the Numeration because of the [+lexical] feature on the complementizer. The structure for the previous example is as follows, leaving the details of the matrix clause aside:

(39)



3. Conclusion

I have proposed an account of clitic placement in EP within the MP framework, incorporating Dobrovie-Sorin's theory of cliticization in my analysis. I have proposed that C^0 possesses a strong feature [+lexical] that must be checked before Spell-Out to account for the distribution of clitics in EP. I conclude that, in the absence of any other lexical material, the verb must raise to C^0 to check the strong feature [+lexical], passing the clitic, giving rise to an enclitic. V^0 -to- C^0 movement is the commonly held explanation for enclisis in Romance imperatives, which I generalize to enclisis in all moods in EP. If another lexical item is closer to C^0 than the verb, it will raise to C^0 . This is the case for negation and special adverbs. I furthermore posit for EP an Adv_sP which houses any one of a small set of special adverbs. Finally, I have proposed that endocclisis is the result of the excorporation of the verb from T^{0max} when it raises to C^0 . This V^0 -to- C^0 movement passes the clitic, but leaves the phonetic material under T^0 behind.

References

- ALBOIU, G. 1999 "Contrastive Focus and Sentence-Initial Operators in Romanian", talk delivered at the 1999 CLA Conference in Sherbrooke, Qc.
- BARBOSA, P. 1996 "Clitic placement in European Portuguese and the Position of Subject", in A. Halpern and A. Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching Second: Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*, Stanford, CSLI Publications.
- BURZIO, L. 1986 *Aspects of Italian Syntax*, Dordrecht, Kluwer.
- CHOMSKY, N. 1995 *The Minimalist Program*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press.
- CINQUE, G. 1997 *Adverbial Phrases*. ms.

- COLLINS, C. 1997 *Local Economy*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press.
- CUNHA, C. and L. CINTRA 1985 *Breve Gramática do Português Contemporâneo*, Lisbon, Edições João Sá da Costa.
- DOBROVIE-SORIN, C. 1994 *The Syntax of Romanian*, Berlin and New York, Mouton.
- DUARTE, I. and G. MATOS 1994 "A Colocação dos clíticos em português europeu e a hipótese minimalista", *Actos do X Encontro da Associação Linguística de Portugal*.
- HAEGEMANN, L. 1997 "Introduction", in L. Hagemann (ed.), *The New Comparative Syntax*, London and New York, Longman.
- JAEGGLI, O. 1982 "Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled NPs, and Extraction", in H. Borer (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics: The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics*, Orlando, Academic Press.
- KAYNE, R. 1975 *French Syntax: The Transformational Process*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press.
- KAYNE, R. 1994 *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press.
- LEMA, J. and M.-L. RIVERO 1990 "Long Head Movement", *Cahiers Linguistiques d'Ottawa* 18: 61-78.
- RIVERO, M.-L. and A. TERZI 1995 "Imperatives, V-movement and logical mood", *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 301-332.
- RIZZI, L. 1982 *Issues in Italian Syntax*, Dordrecht, Reidel.
- RIZZI, L. 1990 *Relativized Minimality*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press.
- RIZZI, L. 1997 "The fine structure of the left periphery", in L. Hagemann (ed.), *The New Comparative Syntax*, London and New York, Longman.
- ROBERGE, Y. 1990 *The Syntactic Recoverability of Null Arguments*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- STROZER, J. 1976 *Clitics in Spanish*, PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- TRAVIS, L. 1984 *Parameters and effect of word order variation*, PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge (Mass.).
- URIAGEREKA, J. 1995 "Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance", *Linguistic Inquiry* 26-1: 79-123.
- WURMBRAND, S. 1998 *Infinitives*, PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge (Mass.).
- ZAGONA, K. 1982 *Government and proper government of verbal projections*, PhD dissertation, CUNY, New York.
- ZANUTTINI, R. 1997a *Syntactic Properties of Sentential Negation. A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- ZANUTTINI, R. 1997b "Negation and verb movement", in L. Hagemann (ed.), *The New Comparative Syntax*, London and New York, Longman.