Meklenborg Salvesen, Ch. & H. P. Helland (eds.): *Challenging clitics.* **Amsterdam: John Benjamins 2013, 315 p.**

1 The puzzling behaviour of clitics and its consequences

Despite being at the center of many discussions since the 1930s, clitics are still puzzling objects for any theory of natural languages. Great advances have been made in their description, analysis and in assessing the consequences that those analyses have for general linguistic theory, but still there are a number of basic problems about the nature of clitics, the structures built by them and the factors that determine their behaviour that have not been solved to complete satisfaction of all researchers. The articles compiled by Meklenborg Salvesen and Helland in this volume make a significant contribution to the understanding of these questions, but more importantly still, raise new questions and problems. The puzzling behaviour of clitics is best summarised in this famous quote from Sapir (1930: 70–71), discussing the nature of pronominal enclisis (right-attachment of a clitic to a host, as in Spanish *da-me-lo* 'give-me.DAT-it.ACC, Give it to me')

Enclisis is neither true suffixation nor juxtaposition of independent elements. It has the external characteristics of the former (including strict adherence to certain principles of order), the inner feeling of the latter.

The citation takes us immediately to the core of the problem. Clitics have a distribution that is too free to be morphological affixation and too constrained to be simple word combination. This is a basic fact that can easily be illustrated in Spanish: unlike affixes, whose position is fixed with respect to a root or stem, an object clitic can precede or follow a verbal host (1a, 1b), but there are many positions where an object DP can appear but the related clitic cannot (2a, 2b).

(1) a. Lo   puedo   leer.
        it.ACC   can.1SG   read
     b. Puedo   leer-lo.
        can.1SG   read-it.ACC
     'I can read it'
(2) a. Juan leyó   ayer   {el libro / *lo}.
        Juan read   yesterday   the book / it.ACC
     b. Juan leyó {el libro / *lo}   ayer.
        Juan read the book it.ACC yesterday

This basic fact is not only a challenge from a descriptive perspective – the distribution of clitics across contexts is not always entirely obvious, as Meklenborg Salvesen & Helland point out in the introduction to this volume. It also raises a number of questions that have not yet received a satisfactory answer, despite being extensively discussed in some classic works (Kayne 1975, Zwicky 1977, Sportiche 1996, van Riemsdijk 1999, Bok-Bennema 2006, Anagnostopoulou 2006, Spencer & Luís 2012, among many others).

Assume that in a language L we manage to identify an object Cl as a clitic – although the criteria to differentiate clitics from affixes are not always obvious; see the contributions by Migdalski on different Slavic languages, Girard on Cajun French and Meklenborg Salvesen on the diachrony of French clitics as examples of situations of grammaticalisation or partial grammaticalisation which blur the distinction between clitics and affixes. Furthermore, assume that we have managed to correctly describe its distribution, finding properties that group inside natural classes the contexts where it is proclitic and the contexts where it is enclitic – something that, again, is far from obvious, see Bamba Dione on Wolof in this volume for a particularly puzzling distribution, and Fernández-Rubiera in Asturian, Galician and European Portuguese; European Portuguese is also discussed (among other languages) in Mavrogiorgos. When those descriptive problems are in place, then (at least) the following analytical questions emerge.

a) Is the distribution of that clitic accounted for in syntax – typically by head movement of a verb, in phonology – to meet prosodic constraints, or through a combination of both? As we shall see, the articles in this volume answer these questions in different ways for different languages.

b) Are clitics heads (X^0) or phrases (XP)? Clitic climbing is very local (excepting restructuring contexts (Rizzi 1982), which are just apparent counterexamples), as one expects from the constraints on head movement, but they also show in some cases the distribution of XPs merged in specifier positions (cf. Sportiche 1996, who notes that some clitics license parasitic gaps). Similarly, prosodically, are they feet (Selkirk 1995) or prosodic words (Nespor & Vogel 1986)? Again, the articles gathered here do not answer in the same way.

c) Sequences of clitics pose their own questions. We know that in sequences of clitics, there are rigid ordering restrictions –even in languages where the ordering of DP arguments is relatively free– and that sequences of clitics move as a unit (3).

(3) a. {Me   lo /   *Lo   me}   dio.   [Spanish]
          me.DAT   it.ACC it.ACC me.DAT   gave.3SG
     'He gave it to me'
     b. Puede   dar-   me-   lo.
          can.3SG   give-   me.DAT-it.ACC
     d. *Me   puede   dar-~~me~~-lo.
          me.DAT   can.3SG   give-~~me~~-it.ACC

> These sequences have received the name of 'clitic cluster', but what is a clitic cluster? How is it created? What determines the internal ordering of clitics inside the sequence? Some of the articles in this volume provide different answers to this question, although all of them seem to agree that there are different kinds of clusters.

d) An additional problem is that clitics are defined more by negative properties than by positive properties (van Riemsdijk 1999). The surface definition of clitic as some semi-independent element with a more rigid distribution than full DPs, PPs or adverbs does not guarantee that cross-linguistically objects that display this kind of behaviour are exactly the same kind of entity. This opens the door for a natural situation, where clitics in language L are not identical to clitics in language L'. How many types of clitic languages are there? How restricted is the space of possibilities that defines a clitic system? Again, different answers are given in the chapters contained in this volume.

In what follows, I overview the body of work reflected in this volume through the contribution they make to the previous set of questions.

2 Clitic placement: syntax or phonology?

The first and perhaps the most wide-ranging question posed by the distribution of clitics is whether their distribution is an effect of syntax, phonology or an interaction of both. Barbosa (1996), Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2001) or Revithiadou (2006) illustrate analysis where clitics have one single position in the syntax (thus, they do not move), but phonological constraints can make them linearise in variable positions. Kayne (1991), Rivero & Terzi (1995) or Uriagereka (1995) exemplify analyses where the variable position of clitics is obtained through syntactic movement.

There are three papers in this volume where this question is absolutely central. Fernández-Rubiera (this volume) provides an example of analysis where syntax is the driving force of the position of the clitic. A crucial datum in his article, which makes a substantial contribution to the analysis of the position of clitics in embedded contexts, is that Asturian allows enclisis and proclisis in clauses embedded under assertive predicates (4), while Galician and European Portuguese just allow proclisis (5).

(4)   a. Digo   [qu' ayúda-   me]   [Asturian]
            say.1SG   that help.3SG- me.ACC
        b. Digo   [que   me   ayuda]
            say.1SG   that   me.ACC   help.3SG
        'I that that (s)he helps me out'
(5)   a. Xulia dixo [que Mon {o   dixera / *dixera-o}]   [Galician]
            Xulia said   that Mon it-ACC had.said
        b. O Pedro disso [que o Paulo {o   dissera/*dissera-o}] [E.Portuguese]
            the Pedro said that the Paulo it.ACC had.said

His analysis is to propose a CliticP where clitics are placed; FinP (Rizzi 1997) immediately dominates it, as a phase head with an edge condition that triggers displacement of an element –either A'-movement or head-movement–. Enclisis is triggered when the verb moves to Fin^0 picking the clitic as it moves through $Clit^0$. Proclisis emerges when the verb stays in situ because another element, for instance an A'-moved wh-element, has satisfied the edge condition of FinP. The data in (5) are explained because in these languages a complementiser is invariably placed as the head of FinP in embedded clauses, which licenses its edge condition and prevents verb-movement. As for (4), his proposal is that Asturian *que* 'that' can be a materialisation of Fin (as in 4b, where the assertive verb selects FinP) or ForceP (4a); speaker-commitment effects are related to whether the assertive verb selects ForceP or FinP, and thus on the surface they correlate with clitic placement.

Mavrogiorgos (this volume) advocates for a combination of syntactic factors and prosodic constraints to account for clitic placement in his article, that develops ideas originally published in his 2010 book. Interestingly, his proposal differs from others contained in this volume in that he proposes that different languages have different types of clitics. Syntactically, clitics can be placed in TP, a position immediately c-commanded by CP (Uriagereka's FP), and a finer-grained typology depends on whether the head FP is associated to a phono-

logical condition that requires an X / XP host preceding the clitic –in such cases, the verb might spell out in FP without associated syntactic movement. Bulgarian V-movement is given as an example of a structure where the verb is foced to spell out high, producing surface enclisis.

Bamba Dione's analysis of clitics in Wolof (this volume) can be taken to be an analysis where movement of any kind is avoided to account for the position of clitics. Advocating a Lexical-Functional Grammar approach, the position of clitics is treated as regulated mismatches between C(onstituent)-structure, F(unctional)-structure and P(honological)-structure. Lexically, clitics are already listed with a number of contraints and diacritics specifying the kinds of hosts they can take, and their ultimate placement is treated as a (non biunivocal) correspondence between phonology and syntax in the parallel architecture that defines LFG. In a sense, then, this approach shares with Mavrogiorgos' the claim that neither syntax nor phonology fully account for clitic placement, and their analysis has to be done at the interface between the two components. This position contrasts with Sandalo & Galves (this volume), who (as we will see below) treat the position of clitics in Portuguese as a purely phonological operation.

One general observation that seems to emerge from these three analyses is the following: what we are calling 'clitic' cross-linguistically is likely to be a cover term that puts together inside the same box entities that might not share much with each other: just their surface distribution. This claim is explicit in Mavrogiorgos, when he acknowledges that there are two distinct prototypical classes of clitic languages (see infra) and a cline between the two extremes where many systems can occur; but it is also the only reasonable answer given the solid evidence that the three papers invoke for their distinct analyses.

3 Clitics: what are they?

As we have mentioned already, it is also unclear whether clitics are heads or phrases, given that there is contradictory evidence even within one single linguistic system. A few years ago, after the advent of Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995), a popular way to disolve the contradiction was the observation that if we give up the axiomatic three levels of the X-bar theorem (X^0, X' and XP) a single X not taken any complement would ambiguously be an X^0 (as it does not dominate any other node) and an XP (as it is not dominated by other node with X as its label). The answers given these days are more complex,

as these articles reflect, and are extended to other foundational issues such as their relation with affixes, or what their prosodic behaviour tells us about their nature.

All the articles that explicitly discuss the nature of clitics in their analysis assume that clitics are heads –in the languages considered in the article, and for the clitics considered, as none of these works makes general claims about all classes of clitics cross-linguistically–, we find Fernández-Rubiera, Galves & Sandalo (for Portuguese), Migdalski (in general, for the wide range of Slavic languages considered in his article) and Pavlou & Panagiotidis (for Cypriot Greek). The claim that clitics are heads in these papers is almost forced by internal assumptions of the frameworks: specifically, these analyses require that at some point the verb and the clitic become one complex head, which (by Structure Preservation, cf. Emonds 1976) means that clitics at that point must behave as heads.

The ambiguity between phrase and head that the best-studied clitics (e.g., French object clitics) typically exhibit is not explicitly discussed in any of the papers: either the analysis is built around their head-properties or the conclusions reached for them are compatible with both a head-analysis and a phrase-analysis (such as the intervention effect for interrogatives discussed in Dalmi for Hungarian, see below). However, other potential structural ambiguities are explicitly discussed in other levels of grammar.

There is one ambiguity that is analysed in several of the papers in this volume: the cline between clitics and affixes. A common concept that appears mentioned in these discussion is that of grammaticalisation, and particularly the side of grammaticalisation which turns free elements into semi-free elements, and from there, into bound morphemes. Sandalo & Galves (this volume) study the phenomenon of enclisis in European Portuguese, and particularly discuss the fact that the process of enclisis in Modern (European) Portuguese does not trigger gliding and is not stress-sensitive (or changes the position of stress). They compare the distribution of enclitics in contemporary Portuguese with Classical Portuguese (roughly, between 1500 and 1850) and note that up to 1700, enclisis only appears in texts in a 20% of cases, and normally associated to the presence of a preverbal contrastive topic and phonologically heavier initial elements that can define an Intonational Phrase. They assume a Distributed Morphology architecture of grammar and argue that grammaticalisation has turned the enclitic pronouns in Portuguese into more affix-like by dealing with them by shifting the operation that reorders them.

There are three Phonological Form operations in DM that can reorder two elements: lowering (which is sensitive only to the hierarchical organisation of abstract morphemes, preceding the insertion of phonological exponents in their terminals), local dislocation (which applies at the point in which morphemes are linearised) and prosodic inversion (which applies after the whole segmental and suprasegmental structure of the sequences has been defined) (Embick & Noyer 2001). Sandalo & Galves argue that in Classical Portuguese the rule that triggered enclisis was prosodic inversion, as it is sensitive to the size of the pre-clitic constituent and the presence of focused elements. Grammaticalisation of the enclitic involved reanalysing the operation that adjoins it to the verb as lowering in Contemporary European Portuguese, and thus making the clitic closer to a suffix; they argue, contra Barbosa (2008), that the rule is not local dislocation: if the operation precedes vocabulary insertion, then it is predicted that enclisis will not be stress-sensitive, as at that point no segmental or suprasegmental structure has been built yet.

Girard (this volume) studies clitics in Cajun French, a colloquial variety that has its own particularities with respect to what we could call 'standard' colloquial French. She notes that subject clitics display several properties of affixes, among them that they are repeated with the verb in coordination contexts (just as verb inflection is repeated and cannot be the target of ellipsis), their phonetic reduction, that they are fixed in a linear position (proclitically, even in interrogative contexts, cf. 6) and their almost completely systematic co-occurrence with subject strong pronominal forms and subject DPs, even in cases where the strong subject cannot be dislocated (7):

(6)   Mais   quoi il faisait?
       but   what he was-doing?
       'But what was he doing?'
(7)   Personne   il   a   rien   dit.
       nobody   he   has   nothing said
       'Nobody said anything.'

As noted in Cinque (1990), quantified pronouns like 'nobody' reject topicalisation, so (6) must be an instance of an overt subject doubled by the clitic *il*. This supports an affixal status of the subject clitic. However, not all properties match those of an affix: subject doubling is not compulsory (for instance, when the subject is a wh-element), and sometimes the forms do not cliticise. From

here Girard concludes that subject clitics in Cajun French have not reached a full affixal status, and are still in the middle of a grammaticalisation process towards that category. With respect to object clitics, she reaches similar conclusions: object doubling is possible, but not compulsory (something unexpected if object clitics are object agreement affixes), and sometimes in fact the strong pronominal form (*moi*) is prefered over the clitic form (*le*). A thought provoking additional contribution of Girard's article is that this incomplete grammaticalisation towards an affixal status is matched by a reduction in the number of morphological contrasts that the paradigm does. For instance, the form *les*, originally accusative, is frequently used in dative contexts (8). Interestingly, and although this is not discussed in the articles neither do I have an explanation for it, in Spanish, where clitics have been argued to have become affixal markers (Fernández-Soriano 1993), there are also reductions in the object paradigm, but in the opposite direction: in many varieties, the dative clitic *le* is used in accusative contexts, masculine and sometimes even feminine (9).

(8)   Moi j'   les   ai   dit   ça.
       I   1SG-them.ACC.PL have   said   that
       'I have told them so.'
(9)   A   las chicas,   les   he   visto.
       DOM   the girls,   them.DAT.PL   have.1SG   seen.
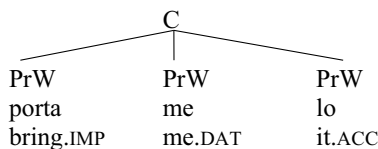   'The girls I have seen.'

Finally, Pavlou & Panagiotidis (this volume) study the clitic -*nde* in Cypriot Greek, which they treat as a validational marker conveying speaker confidence in the truth of the assertion. When -*nde* attaches to a verb, it is incompatible with an enclitic object pronoun, and its distribution is restricted to 1st person plural verbal forms. This makes -nde an element that shows both clitic and affix properties. They suggest an analysis where syntax explains the distribution, although the analysis is not fully developed in this paper: the idea is that the validational marker is attached to the verb early in the structure, so it does not compete with a clitic merged above TP (in Uriagereka's FP, which they assume is the locus of clitics in Greek as well). However, somehow the presence of the validational marker forces the verb to stay low, and not move up to FP or above, with the immediate consequence that enclisis is avoided. This article is an example of how the suffix-clitic cline is analysed in a way that it is treated as epiphenomenal, and the contrasts that distinguish the two categories are un-
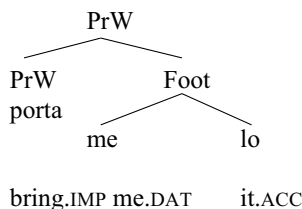
derstood as the interaction of an accumulation of syntactic factors, none of which alone is enough to define something as a clitic or an affix.

At another level, Pescarini (this volume) studies one aspect of clitic clusters in early Italo-Romance varieties (see also below), centering the discussion around the problem of whether enclitics correspond phonologically to prosodic words or feet attached to the prosodic word defined by the host. For the varieties he studies, he advocates for the second option (what he calls 'the asymmetric approach'), even if this means allowing recursivity of prosodic constituents and non-exhaustive prosidification at all levels.

(10)   a. Symmetric structure (Nespor & Vogel 1986)

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                    C
          ┌─────────┼─────────┐
        PrW        PrW       PrW
        porta      me        lo
        bring.IMP  me.DAT     it.ACC
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b. Asymmetric structure (following Peperkamp 1995)

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              PrW
          ┌────────┐
        PrW        Foot
        porta   ┌───────┐
                me       lo

        bring.IMP me.DAT   it.ACC
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Pescarini brings up very convincing evidence in favour of (10b); for instance, there are varieties, like Neapolitan, where one single enclitic does not attract primary stress, but a bisyllabic sequence does (11) (Peperkamp noted plenty of similar examples in her original data).

(11)   a. Pòrta=te
          bring-you.REFL
       b. Pòrta=té   =nne
          bring-you.REFL-of.it

Early Italo-Romance apocope is another argument in favour: apocope takes place twice in a Prosodic word containing a sequence of two enclitics. This is

predicted by (10b), as there are two levels of Prosodic Word, one where the foot has not been attached and another one after the clitic cluster is attached.

(12)   a. portare -me   -lo   [No Apocope]
            bring.INF-me.DAT-it.ACC
       b. portar(e)-me-lo   [Inner Apocope]
       c. portar(e)-me-l(o)   [Inner and Outer Apocope]

In general, the results published in this volume with respect to the nature of clitics confirm the impression that clitics do not fit perfectly well inside any simple division between affixes and other entities. This could be argued to support an architecture of grammar where 'affix' is not a primitive generated in a morphology autonomous from syntax, but a surface epiphenomenon that emerges from the complex interaction between phonological and syntactic factors –only in this way can we account for the fact that some objects display only part of the typical affix properties.

4 Clitic clusters and their ordering

Moving now to the problem of what a clitic cluster is, two papers in this volume aim at disentangling aspects of the grammar of clitic clusters, and a third paper contains claims about clitic clusters which are central for the arguments given.

There are two open questions about clitic clusters which these two papers (Pescarini –who studied these facts even deeper in Pescarini 2012– and Meklenborg Salvesen) contribute to. The first one is what the internal structure of a clitic cluster is. The answer given by the two papers is the same: it depends, because there are at least two classes of clusters.

A sequence of clitics can be a split cluster or a true cluster. In the split cluster, each clitic belongs to a different head in a sequence of heads (13a). In the true cluster, the two clitics are found under the same head, or one is adjoined to the other: what is important is that both are contained under the same XP (13b).

(13)   a. [clitic-ACC [clitic-DAT]]
       b. [clitic-DAT clitic-ACC [~~clitic-DAT~~]]

The second question is the factors that explain clitic ordering within a cluster. We know that, for instance in Romance, some clitic sequences are based on case marking, and others are based on person marking, or are a combination of both. Meklenborg Salvesen (this volume) precisely studies these factors, and how they have evolved in French through time. She notes that in Old French the order was largely case based: accusative pronouns preceded dative ones:

(14)   Je la   te   vuel donner   [12th Century]
       I her.ACC   you.DAT will give
       'I shall give her to you.'

This order, interestingly, corresponds to the generally assumed base order of clitics in theories such as Sportiche (1996), with accusative above dative. However, in the 15th Century, a change towards a person-based system started taking place (possibly through head-incorporation of the person-marked dative clitic to the accusative one, triggering a true cluster:

(15)   Je te   le   dis.   [Modern French]
       I you.DAT   it.ACC say

Meklenborg Salvesen notes that this change starts around the same time that the set of pronominal inherently-reflexive verbs expands in French. Her proposal is that the two changes are correlated: the increasing frequency of sequences *subject* + *reflexive* led speakers to conceive this as the natural ordering, which in turn triggered a reanalysis of the ordering factors as based on person, not case.

Migdalski (this volume) notes two cliticisation patterns in Slavic languages (see below). What is relevant for clitic clusters here is that he notes that in Serbo Croatian a clitic sequences can be interrupted, suggesting that each clitic attaches to a distinct head. This correlates with the lack of Person Case Constraints for some speakers –although Migdalski himself acknowledges that the judgements are subtle–, which leads to the conclusion that only when two clitics attach to the same head is there a competition for feature-licensing that can lead to a PCC violation. This would mean, if the data point is generalisable, that split clusters should not produce PCC violations.

5 Classes of clitics and classes of clitic languages

But the crucial focus in Migdalski's analysis is that Slavic cliticisation corresponds to at least two patterns. In languages where cliticisation is verb-adjacent (e.g., Bulgarian), clitic sequences cannot be split: his proposal is that in such languages clitics cluster as multiply-attached elements that combine with the head T. In Serbo-Croatian, which displays a second-position clitic system, clitics can be split, as mentioned before. His proposal is that this property correlates with whether the language in question has an active T projection or has undergone a diachronic change whereby the temporoaspectual system is defined as aspectual and no T is involved; in that second case, second-position cliticisation is the only option, and clitics attach to other heads dominating the verb.

Mavrogiorgos also divides clitic languages in two classes, with a cline between them, but his focus is on the distribution of the enclitic and proclitic patterns. Some languages are sensitive to the finiteness of the verb (for instance, Spanish), and some languages are sensitive rather to the presence or absence of a pre-verbal constituent (Tobler-Mussafia languages, where clitics tend to appear in second position).

Of course, not all languages have clitics to the same extent, and one question is how a multilingual subject treats this difference. Katchaturian (this volume) reports the acquisition process of Italian clitic pronouns by a trilingual child (Russian, Norwegian, Italian). She notes that at a first stage, the use of clitics in Italian is directly related to the morphological form of the verb –and are presumably interpreted as part of non-morphologically decomposed imperative forms–. At a second stage that is triggered by the child's increasing awareness of word-formation processes, the use of clitics drops considerably, and 1st and 2nd person object clitics are replaced by strong pronominal forms, which is by far the most common non-target consistent documented structure. Katchaturian argues that this change is produced by analogy with Russian and Norwegian, where clitics (in the Italian sense) are non-existent. That the influence goes in this direction confirms the intuition that clitics are somewhat marked with respect to strong pronouns.

6 Interactions with other phenomena and general conclusions

Finally, one of the papers in the volume singles itself out because, rather than discussing the nature of clitics, it provides evidence that clitics are active syn-

tactic elements which can create intervention effects. Dalmi (this volume) analyses the distribution of Hungarian *vajon* 'if... at all', which she treats as a context-sensitive interrogative that signals an operator-variable chain (specifically, an interrogative operator – q-variable). When the variable is overtly signaled by a clitic *-e* attached to the verb (which now is in FinP), the operator-variable chain signaled by *vajon* blocks long wh-movement out of a subordinate clause, in accordance with Boskovic's (1997) Freezing Principle that forbids movement of an operator when it has already established an operator-variable chain.

All in all, what we can see in the articles gathered in this volume is that the study of clitics still has central unanswered questions that cross-cut morphology, syntax and phonology. All these papers make significant contributions to the questions they choose to discuss, and the reader is left with the clear conviction that the notion itself of clitic is likely to be a cover term for a family of objects that share the property of being linearised in verb-adjacent positions but differ in the following respects:

a)   the factors that their distribution is sensitive to
b)   the more or less affix-like properties they display
c)   the type of clusters they form
d)   the factors that determine their position inside clusters
e)   the type of prosodic category they form

Judging from the quality of the answers, and even more importantly, the questions posed by these articles, it is easy to predict that clitics will be at the center of numerous debates in linguistics for a long time.

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