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Enclisis and Proclisis

UR SHLONSKY

1. The relation of proclisis to enclisis

Imperatives aside, pronominal clitics in Catalan, Spanish, and Italian (CASPIT) are realized as proclitics on finite verbs and as enclitics on nonfinite ones. From a descriptive perspective, the factor determining the choice between proclisis and enclisis in CASPIT is finiteness.

Finiteness also plays a role in the choice between enclisis and proclisis in European Portuguese, Galician, and some other Iberian varieties (GALPORT). However, the role of finiteness in GALPORT is partly obscured by other factors, such as whether the clause is affirmative or negative, whether the infinitive is inflected for subject agreement, and whether the infinitive appears in a prepositional or adverbial adjunct clause. *Enclisis* is the rule in (affirmative) nonfinite subject and complement clauses, and *proclisis* is possible in negated infinitival clauses, as well as in adverbial clauses that contain an inflected infinitive. Finally, both proclisis and enclisis are possible in adverbial clauses that contain an uninflected infinitive (see Raposo 2001 for a recent discussion.)

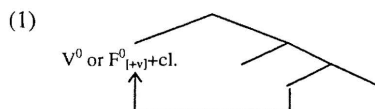
In finite clauses, the situation is as follows: Only enclisis is possible in root affirmative clauses, while proclisis is required in negative and in subordinate clauses, as well as in sentences in which the left periphery is activated by *wh*-expressions or by contrastive or emphatic topics.

If we factor out the impact of negation, complementizers, and clause-peripheral affective operators, the directionality of clisis in CASPIT and GALPORT has a common core: in both language types, enclisis is manifested in subject and complement affirmative nonfinite clauses.

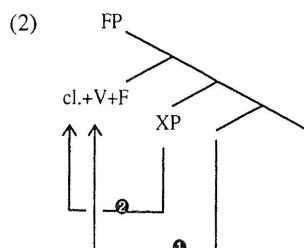
The theoretical challenge lies in formulating the principles that govern Romance clitic placement so as to express this common core and to explain why these two branches of Romance differ. The question is all the more intriguing since the patterns of clisis found in GALPORT are not unique. With minor differences, the pattern found with finite verbs is manifested in all varieties of Berber and in some varieties of Greek (both lack Romance-type infinitives so the comparison must be restricted to finite forms). These cross-linguistically disparate but consistent patterns should be treated by the same set of principles. The purpose of this chapter is to see how far we can go in pursuing this goal.

I put aside the question of why clitics exist in the first place—namely, what it is about such pronominal elements that forces them to be placed in positions other than those filled by nonclitics. (See, e.g., Cardinaletti and Starke 1999 for a recent comprehensive discussion.) Although it is fairly clear that clitics are related via a movement chain to the base position of the constituent they pronominalize, it is not obvious whether the clitic itself is moved (as argued in Kayne 1975, 1989, 1991; Belletti 1999; and much other work), or whether the clitic lexicalizes a head position, the null specifier of which is the moved element (as in Sportiche 1998).

Both accounts of cliticization are compatible with the view that I endorse here: that enclisis obtains when, at a given point in the syntactic derivation, the clitic is sitting in a functional head position or is adjoined to one, and V^0 or $F^0_{[+V]}$ is adjoined to it. This derivation is schematized in (1):¹



Proclisis should be thought of not as a simple alternative to enclisis but as a mechanism appealed to whenever enclisis—as diagrammed in (1)—leads to a derivational crash. Unlike enclisis, proclisis is not a unitary phenomenon but, rather, a cover term for a family of language-specific rules, the output of which display a clitic to the left of its host. A common form of proclisis is manifested when the clitic is itself adjoined to V^0 or to $F^0_{[+V]}$. This situation can come about when, for example, the clitic is the head of an XP in specifier position at the point in the derivation at which the verb moves above it to F and movement of V to F is followed by extraction of the clitic head and its incorporation to the c-commanding head. This kind of proclisis is a strict inversion of enclisis: instead of the host adjoining to the clitic, as in (1), the clitic adjoins to the host. An analysis of this sort is developed in Belletti (1999) and Hegarty (1999), for example. It is schematized in (2), where the numbers indicate the steps in the derivation:



Proclisis can take other forms as well. For example, when the clitic precedes the host but is not, strictly speaking, incorporated to it. Cases like this abound: proclitics to nonfinite verbs in (literary) French which are separated from their host by an adverb, (3a), discussed in Kayne (1989, 1991); Galician object clitics that precede the subject, (3b), from Uriagereka (1995b); and (literary) European Portuguese clitics that can precede a coordination of verbs, (3c), from Rouveret (1999). In these three cases of proclisis, the nexus between the clitic and its host is looser than in (2):²

- (3) a. Pour *le* bien faire...
to 3MS well to do
'In order to do it well . . .'
b. Cántas veces *a* Pedro *veu*?
how many times 3FS Pedro saw
'How many times did Pedro see her?'
c. Alguém *o* viu e *assustou*.
Someone 3MS saw and helped
'Someone saw him and helped him.'

It is important to stress here that enclisis is a well-defined syntactic configuration in which a host is adjoined to a clitic, while proclisis is a cover term for a number of distinct phenomena. This should be understood not merely as a terminological but also as a substantive hypothesis: proclisis only obtains when enclisis is ruled out.

1.1 Enclisis in CASPIT

The following Italian examples illustrate proclisis and enclisis in CASPIT. Example (4) contains examples of proclisis on finite verbs in the indicative, subjunctive, and conditional moods, and the sentences in (5) exemplify enclisis on infinitives, gerunds, and past participles.

- (4) a. La canto.
3FS (I) sing-IND
'I sing it.'
b. che *la* canti
that 3FS (I) sing-SUBJ
'that I sing it'
c. La canterei.
3FS (I) sing-COND
'I would sing it.'
- (5) a. cantar*la*
to sing-3FS
'to sing it'
b. cantandol*a*
singing-3FS
'singing it'
c. cantatol*a*
(having) sung-3FS
'having sung it'

The question that arises is why enclisis is possible only in nonfinite clauses, or, conversely, why it is ruled out in finite ones. Although the salient difference between the verbal forms in (4) and (5) is the value of the feature [\pm finite], it is not conceptually clear why finiteness should be a factor in determining clitic placement. Finiteness is an interpretive notion, relevant in Logical Form, while clitic placement constraints are morphosyntactic.

But even if principles were devised to relate the feature [\pm finite] to the position of the clitic with respect to its host, they would lack in generality and would not, *ceteris paribus*, carry over to the GALPORT system, nor to that of Berber, discussed later in this chapter. Whereas (affirmative) nonfinite verbs in GALPORT complement clauses manifest enclisis exactly as in CASPIT—consider (6)—proclisis is not manifested in [+finite] clauses. On the contrary, enclisis is the rule in root clauses, as shown by the contrast in (7) (data from Madeira 1993 and Rouveret 1989).

- (6) a. A Ana espera ver-*te* esta tarde.
the Ana hopes to see-2s this afternoon
'Ana hopes to see you this afternoon.'
- b. Despediu o Pedro, julgando-*o* incapaz disso.
sent away the Pedro judging-ACC3ms incapable of that
'She sent Pedro away, judging him incapable of that.'
- (7) a. O João deu-*lhe* esse livro ontem.
the João gave-DAT3s this book yesterday
'João gave him/her this book yesterday.'
- b. *O João *lhe* deu esse livro ontem.
the João DAT3s gave this book yesterday
'João gave him/her this book yesterday.'

A different tack is taken by Kayne (1991, 1994) and developed, with important modifications, by Rizzi (1996b). The leading idea, shared by both Kayne and Rizzi, is that the choice between enclisis and proclisis in CASPIT does not depend on the value of the feature [\pm finite] as such, but on the different morphological makeup of finite and nonfinite verb forms and their relative position in the functional hierarchy. Neither approach makes claims with respect to GALPORT.

Example (8) slightly rephrases Rizzi's generalization:

- (8) We have enclisis when
- the verb is *inflectionally complete* under the cliticization site and
 - the verb moves at least as far as the cliticization site.

~~Paradigm~~ (8b) holds by definition, as argued above in (1). ~~Paradigm~~ (8a) embodies the idea that nonfinite morphology is associated with a functional head Infin^0 , which is lower than the cliticization site, while finite morphology is associated with a higher head (Pollock 1989). It needs to also be assumed, and I take this to be the null hypothesis, that the cliticization site or sites are the same in finite and nonfinite clauses. Putting these ideas together, it transpires that the cliticization site lies hierarchically

between T—where finite inflection is checked—and Infin^0 , the syntactic head associated with nonfinite morphology (or a part of it).

Although nonfinite verbs in Italian raise at least as high as finite verbs (Belletti 1990), or even higher in non-wh contexts (Cinque 1999), movement above Infin^0 does not result in the addition of any inflection. Nonfinite verbs are *inflectionally complete* under the cliticization site, and movement to or above the clitic has no inflectional consequences. Finite inflection, in contrast, is checked higher and, hence, finite verbs are incomplete inflectionally at the point at which they raise to or above the clitic.

Why is inflectional completeness relevant to clitic placement? Assume that inflectional feature checking is subject to a rigid version of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC), disallowing excorporation. In other words, a ϕ -feature on a verb can only be checked against ϕ on a functional head F when V is directly adjoined to F. If V is first adjoined to the clitic or to the head to which the clitic is adjoined, then, on the following cycle of head movement, the X^0 adjoining to F will not be V but, instead, Cl_+V (or $X_{+[\text{cl.}+[V]]}^0$). It is reasonable to suppose that the features of V are too deeply embedded in the multimorphemic X^0 to be accessible to the checking head F.³ Thus, whenever the clitic head intervenes in the path of verb movement, the inflectional features of the verb remain unchecked.

In the derivation of nonfinite verbs, all the inflectional features of V are checked against functional heads *below* the clitic position; hence, V can adjoin to the clitic, and the result is enclisis. Further movement of the verbal complex (adjoined to the clitic) may take place since whatever other features are checked, they are not features of the verb itself.

The derivation of finite verbs cannot properly proceed if V adjoins to the clitic because V's features need to be checked against functional heads, which are *higher* than the clitic. In such a state of affairs, encliticization as in (1) cannot take place. The consequence is that proclisis applies.

1.2. Enclisis in GALPORT

Now let us consider the GALPORT pattern, starting with the question of why enclisis is not blocked in root affirmative finite clauses. The analysis developed in the preceding paragraphs can naturally answer this question: enclisis is possible in GALPORT because the functional heads associated with finite morphology are lower than the cliticization site.

It has been argued—for example, by Madeira (1992, 1993), Martins (1994a), Raposo (2000, 2001), and Uriagereka (1995a,b)—that GALPORT clitics are associated with a peripheral position in the Comp domain. If this were indeed the case, then the cliticization site would perforce be located higher than finite morphology, which is within IP, and generalized enclisis on finite verbs would be fully expected. However, a number of considerations militate against the view that clitics are in Comp in GALPORT.

If the cliticization site in (9) is in Comp, then the adverb and the subject that both precede the verb *must* also be in Comp, in topic or topic-like positions. But, as Rouveret (1999) points out, this word order is independent of enclisis: it is found in

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contexts of proclisis, as in (9b) and when there is no clitic at all, as in (9c). Moreover, the clause-initial subject may be a (non-left-dislocable) quantifier, (9d). Hence, although the subject *may* be a topic in (9a), there is no reason why it *must* be a topic. If the subject *may* occupy Spec/AgrS, then, since the cliticization site is lower than Spec/AgrS, it *must* be in IP and not in CP.⁴

- (9) a. O João provavelmente deu-*o* à Maria ontem.
the João probably gave-3MS to Maria yesterday
'João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.'
- b. Eu digo que o João provavelmente *o* deu à Maria ontem.
I say that the João probably 3ms gave to Maria yesterday
'I say that João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.'
- c. O João provavelmente deu esse livro à Maria ontem.
the João probably gave this book to Maria yesterday
'João probably gave the book to Maria yesterday.'
- d. Ninguém provavelmente errara.
Nobody probably fail-fut
'Nobody will probably fail.'

In the same spirit, the null subject in (10) cannot be a topic since it is not lexical, and there does not seem to be any motivation for obligatorily raising the inflected verb to C:

- (10) Deu-*lhe* esse livro ontem.
gave DAT-3s this book yesterday
'She/he gave him/her this book yesterday.'

Furthermore, clitics can appear in reduced or small clause complements to perception verbs. Such clausal chunks are characterized by an impoverished left-periphery incapable of hosting *wh*-words, fronted foci, fronted adverbs or (clitic) left-dislocated arguments. There is thus very little if any configurational space in the left periphery of the embedded small clauses in (11) to host Uriagereka's (1995a,b) F position.

- (11) a. Eu ouvi a Maria falar-*lhe*.
I heard Maria speak-DAT3MS
'I heard Maria speaking to him.'
- b. Eu vi João come-*lo*.
I saw João eat-3ms
'I saw João eating it.'

Related to this is the fact that (en)clitics appear on affirmative inflected infinitival complements to emotive (factive) verbs, which Raposo (1987) argues to be IPs and not CPs; consider (12), noting the presence of a preverbal pronominal subject, a good indication that the verb and its clitic are internal to IP:

- (12) Lamento eles ter-em *na* visto / a ter-em visto.
(I) regret they to have-3PL 3FS seen 3FS / to have-3PL seen

Finally, European Portuguese mesocclisis, exemplified in (13), should be understood as enclisis—that is, $V \rightarrow cl$ —followed by cl_{+V} adjunction to a higher, lexicalized (future tense) head. But this presupposes that enclisis applies *lower* than the the

position of the future tense morpheme. (Mesoclis is further discussed later in this chapter.)

- (13) a. Ele ver *-te -a*.
 he see 2s FUT-3s
 ‘He will see you.’
 b. Conduzi *-lo -ei*.
 (I) conduct 3s FUT-1s
 ‘I will conduct him.’

A comparative consideration might also be adduced as an argument against the peripherality thesis of clitic placement in GALPORT. The pattern of clitic placement in the Cypriot Greek dialect described by Terzi (1999a) is remarkably similar to the GALPORT pattern: enclisis is the rule on both finite and nonfinite verbs in affirmative clauses, whereas proclisis is manifested in negative and interrogative clauses and in clauses containing focalized constituents. Where Cypriot Greek differs from GALPORT, however, is in embedded clauses. Whereas in GALPORT enclisis gives way to proclisis in both indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses, proclisis is only manifested in Cypriot Greek subjunctive clauses; in clauses embedded under the indicative complementizer *oti* (and optionally under *pos*), enclisis is enforced. Compare the switch from enclisis to proclisis in GALPORT (14) with the pattern of consistent enclisis in Cypriot Greek in (15):

- (14) a. O João leu-*o* ontem.
 the João read-3ms yesterday
 ‘João read it yesterday.’
 b. Disseram-me que o João *o* leu ontem.
 (they) told-1s that the João 3ms read yesterday
 ‘They told me that João read it yesterday.’
- (15) a. I Maria edhkiavasen *to*.
 the Maria read 3ms
 ‘Maria read it.’
 b. Ksero *oti* i Maria edhkiavasen *to*.
 (I) know that the Maria read 3ms
 ‘I know that Maria read it.’

I come back to proclisis and its triggers later. The point to bear in mind here is only that Cypriot Greek provides overt evidence for a process that is partially obscured in GALPORT: namely, that cliticization takes place below the complementizer.⁵

In summary, the evidence to the effect that cliticization in GALPORT avails itself of a clitic position in the left periphery, unavailable or unused in CASPIT, is inconclusive. Let us therefore put this hypothesis aside and assume, essentially following Rouveret (1989), that the cliticization site in GALPORT is a functional head internal to IP. Indeed, the strongest hypothesis we can make is that the cliticization site or sites in GALPORT are the same as in CASPIT.

Now consider the following reasoning: if the cliticization site in GALPORT is not higher than in CASPIT, then the difference between these two sets of languages

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must lie with the position of finite inflection. The idea is that enclisis is conditioned in GALPORT by the possibility of checking or of assigning finite inflection in positions that are lower than in CASPIT. Moreover, we expect this to correlate to some extent with the domain of inflectionally driven verb movement.

There is some *prima facie* evidence to this effect based on the position of the finite verb relative to various adverbs. Rouveret (1989) discusses the fact that the unmarked position for adverbs like *provavelmente* (as well as *frequentemente* and *cuidadosamente*) in European Portuguese is to the left of the tensed verb. In addition, the finite verb must follow *quase*. In Italian, in contrast, the unmarked position for the verb is to the left of *quasi*, as Cinque (1999) shows. In Cinque's approach, this difference signals a difference in the position of the verb, which can be taken to be lower in European Portuguese than in Italian. Belletti (1990) argued that when Italian *probabilmente* appears between the subject and the verb, the subject is topicalized. Costa (1999) shows that this is not the case in Portuguese, citing sentence (16), which contains an untropicalizable negative quantifier subject:

- (16) Ninguém provavelmente leu o livro.
 Nobody probably read the book
 'Probably nobody read the book.'

Costa also shows that the inflected perfect auxiliary *ter* occurs below *já*, whereas Cinque has demonstrated that Italian *avere* must raise above *già*. These differences suggest that obligatory verb movement in European Portuguese systematically targets a position that is lower than what is targeted in Italian. This difference can be interpreted to mean that the heads responsible for morphological feature-checking are lower in Portuguese than in Italian.⁶

GALPORT differs from CASPIT in yet another respect. In the former, the auxiliary employed in the complex tenses is *ter* and not *haber* or *avere*. Suppose, now, that there is a correlation between the lexical form of the auxiliary (i.e., *ter* or *haber*) and the position of finite inflection such that Infl is located in a higher position in the clause in *haber* systems than it is in *ter* systems.⁸

The correlation between enclisis and the form of the auxiliary is confirmed by Raposo (2000), who cites the sentences in (17), commenting that despite the absence of *haber* from Modern Portuguese, speakers express a firm judgment: enclisis is impossible in finite clauses in the context of *haber*; only proclisis is tolerated.

- (17) ?*Hei-lhe dado muita coisa.
 (I) have DAT3MS given many things
 'I have given him many things.'
 b. muita coisa *lhe* hei dado.
 many things DAT3MS (I) have given

Ter differs from *haber* in yet another sense: it licenses VP-ellipsis (see, in particular, Martins 1994b; Rouveret 1989, 1999). Compare the sentences in French and Italian in (18a and b), in which VP ellipsis is not possible, with the European Portuguese example in (18c), where it is (note also the difference in the relative positions of the auxiliary and the adverb meaning 'also'):

- (18) a. *Gianni ha comprato i romanzi di Faulkner e Pietro ha anche.
 b. *Jean a acheté les romans de Faulkner et Pierre a aussi.
 c. O João tem comprado as novelas de Faulkner e o Pedro também tem.
 John has bought the novels of Faulkner and Peter has also / also has

One influential view of VP-ellipsis—elaborated in, for example, Lobeck (1987, 1995) and Zagana (1988a,b)—holds that ellipted VPs must be head-governed by a lexically-filled functional head. This is why English VP ellipsis is only possible under an auxiliary or a modal. Zagana attributes the difference between English (where VP ellipsis is possible) and CASPIT (where it is not) to the S-structure position of the auxiliaries in the two language types. (For Lobeck, the difference is stated in terms of the strength of the inflectional features.) Although Zagana's claim that English auxiliaries do not move is surely overstated (as Martins 1994b points out), it is reasonable to adhere to a weaker version of her hypothesis and associate null VP licensing with the lexicalization of a relatively low functional head. English auxiliaries move, this much is certain, but they presumably do not move as high as their CASPIT counterparts. Similarly, European Portuguese *ter* targets a lower position than CASPIT *haber*, low enough to license the null VP.

The putative positional difference between *ter* and *haber* can be exploited to sketch an account for European Portuguese mesoclitisis, as illustrated in (13). Descriptively, clitics are lodged between the verbal stem and the morphemes that represent the future tense or the conditional mood. These morphemes are etymologically descended from Vulgar Latin *haber*. Suppose that they are vestiges of the "high" Infl. It is this Infl, positioned higher than the cliticization site, which is active and which feature-attracts the verb in the modern, *haber*-based systems, such as CASPIT. In CASPIT, indeed, the future and the conditional forms are inflectional suffixes that are no different in status from the preterit or imperfect ones. In European Portuguese, however, the "high" Infl no longer attracts the verbal stem; it does not check any of its features. Checking the features of the verbal stem is effected by the lower inflectional head which, it must be assumed, is active even in the presence of the higher Infl. Hence, the verb is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, and enclisis does not impede adjunction of the verbal stem (adjoined to the clitic) to the future or conditional morphemes (or movement to $M(ood)^0$, as in Terzi 1999b and Petinou and Terzi 2002).⁹

Before moving on to an investigation of proclisis, let us summarize the discussion up to this point. I have tried to defend two related theses: namely, that enclisis applies whenever possible and that the mechanism that enforces enclisis in CASPIT and GALPORT is one and the same. The latter hypothesis is called into question by the existence of different patterns of enclisis in CASPIT and in GALPORT. Further investigation, however, confirms the original thesis: the "parametric" difference between these two sets of languages does not govern cliticization directly; rather, it concerns the position of the active finite Infl. In GALPORT, this Infl is configured lower than in CASPIT. The ban on encliticization in CASPIT finite clauses is a direct consequence of the relative position of its finite Infl. It remains to be established whether the parameter in question in fact determines the relative position of the head(s) checking finite morphology or whether it marks one (of several) such heads as active or inactive in a particular grammar.

2. Proclisis

Proclisis obtains when enclisis is ruled out. In CASPIT, the presence of an active Infl above the cliticization site rules out enclisis in finite clauses and triggers proclisis. In GALPORT, finite inflection does not interfere in the way of enclisis. Negation, however, does: compare the affirmative (7a), repeated below as (19a), with its negative counterpart in (19b):

- (19) a. O João deu-*lhe* esse livro ontem.
 the João gave-DAT3S this book yesterday
 'João gave him/her this book yesterday.'
 b. O João não *lhe*-deu esse livro ontem.
 the João NEG DAT3S gave this book yesterday
 'João di not give him/her this book yesterday.'

The contrast in (19) should be taken to mean that the negative head is positioned higher than the cliticization site *and* that it attracts a feature of the pre-cliticization verbal complex. In other words, the relation between the verb and negation is similar to that of an inflectional head and the verb.¹⁹ The morphosyntactic dependency between negation and a tensed verb is overtly represented in Berber. I therefore turn to a discussion of cliticization in Berber before returning to proclisis in GALPORT.

2.1 Cliticization in Berber and the impact of negation

The sentences in (20), taken from Guerssel's (1985) description of Ait Seghrouchen Tamazight, are representative of a pervasive pattern in Berber (see also Boukhris 1998 on the Tamazight of Zemmour; Sadiqi 1997, 1998 on Ait Hassan Tamazight; Ouhalla 1989 on Tarifit; and Meziani 1997 on Tashawit). We see that the clitic appears to the right of the verb in an affirmative sentence and to its left in a negative one.

- (20) a. yuzn -as-tt Moh.
 sent-3MS DAT3S-ACC3FS Moh
 'Moh sent it to her.'
 b. ur -as-tt yuzin Moh.
 NEG DAT3S-ACC3FS sent-3MS Moh
 'Moh didn't send it to her.'
 c. *ur yuzin -as-tt Moh.
 NEG sent-3MS DAT3S-ACC3FS Moh
 'Moh didn't send it to her.'

Berber is generally described as manifesting only enclitics. The difference between (20a) and (20b) is taken to show that the hosts of enclisis can vary: it is the verb in (20a) and the negative particle *ur* in (20b).

As Boukhris (1998) notes, however, the sentences in (20) provide information as to the *phonological* attachment of Berber clitics, not necessarily about their syntax. The fact is that Berber clitics are prosodically associated with the prosodic word on their left. These prosodic supports should not be thought of as *syntactic* hosts, since they do not constitute a syntactic or categorial natural class. Thus, an X^0 such as the negative head *ur*, as in (20b), a (perhaps left-dislocated) subject, as in Boukhris's

(1998: 75, n. 19) example in (21a) or a *wh*-word in Spec/C, in (21b), from Guerssel (1985) can prosodically host clitics:¹¹

- (21) a. Nkk as tinix h̄ḏa, nta itazayaḏ.
 I DAT3S say-1s this he continues-3MS
 'Me, I say this to him while he, he continues.'
 b. Maymi *as-tt* yuzn Moḥ?
 why DAT3S-ACC3FS sent Moḥ
 'Why did Moḥ send it to her?'

In the framework developed in this essay, we have syntactic enclisis only when (1) is manifested. This comes about only when the host raises and adjoins to the clitic—namely, in (20a): only verbs can be syntactic hosts for enclisis. Thus, (20b), as well as (21a and b) should be considered cases of syntactic proclisis, which, in the terms of this essay means nonenclisis. Proclisis can take a myriad forms, none of which involve attachment of the host to the left of the clitic.

Prosodically, Berber clitics are enclitics, and this is encoded as a phonological feature on the clitic. In the component where prosodic rules apply, presumably PF, this feature is interpreted by associating the clitic with the preceding adjacent prosodic word, independently of whether this word is syntactically adjoined to the clitic, as the verb is in (20a), or whether it is not, as in (20b).¹²

Aside from this phonological difference, Berber resembles GALPORT and, in line with the earlier discussion of enclisis, I assume that the cliticization site in Berber is higher than the position(s) of the heads that ~~are checking~~ tense and agreement. */check*

The cliticization site, however, is lower than negation in all Berber dialects—with the possible exception of Imdlawn Tashelhiyt (Dell and Elmedlaoui 1989), which is discussed at length in Ouhalla (2002). Not only does negation “trigger” proclisis, but, in addition, the verb undergoes an internal vowel change. Looking at (20), we see *yuzn* ‘he sent’ and *ur yuzin* ‘he did not send’. In a similar vein, in (22) it is not the presence of the negative word *ur* as such that triggers the ablaut on the verb but the appearance of negation, in the form of a negative head or a negative adverb (perhaps associated with a phonetically unexpressed head):

- (22) a. T-swa.
 3FS-drunk
 ‘She drank.’
 b. Ur t-swi / *t-swa.
 NEG 3FS-drunk / 3FS drank
 ‘She did not drink.’
 c. Ursar t-swi / *t-swa.
 never 3FS-drunk / 3FS drank
 ‘She never drank.’

Suppose, with Boukhris (1998), that the vowel [i] in, for example, (22b and c), is the phonetic realization of a quasi-inflectional negative feature on the verb. Being a morphosyntactic feature, it has to enter a checking relationship with the negative head *ur* in (22b and c). Let us assume that this feature is attracted to the negative head, its attraction being signaled phonologically (cf. note 10 on English negative auxiliaries.) Now, if V were to adjoin to the clitic before the negative inflection is checked, the

negative feature would be too deeply embedded to be accessible to Neg; it would remain unchecked, and the derivation would crash. To avert a crash, adjunction of V to the clitic, namely enclisis, is abandoned in favor of proclisis.¹³ Formally speaking, then, negation in Berber has the same impact on clisis and for the same reasons as finite inflection in CASPIT.

Negation also determines a vowel change on the imperfective or present tense modal *la*, transforming it to *lli* when it appears between the negative head the verb. The main verb, however, is not modified; compare (23a) and (23b):¹⁴

- (23) a. *La iddu.*
 PRES 3MS-leave
 ‘He is leaving.’
 b. *Ur lli iddu.*
 NEG PRES 3MS-leave
 ‘He is not leaving.’

The verb in (23) is in the “imperfective” form, which, in many dialects, is preceded by one of several modal or aspectual particles, such as *la*. In this respect, the imperfective form resembles an Indo-European participle and the *la* + imperfect construction is a form of periphrasis (see Boukhris 1998 and Sadiqi 1997 for further discussion).

When a clitic appears, it is intercalated between the modal and the main verb (and is prosodically attached to the modal). This is shown in (24):

- (24) *La as itari.*
 PRES DAT-3S 3MS-write
 ‘He is writing to him.’

One way of deriving this word order consists of assuming that the cliticization site is above the modal. Then, pursuing the similarity with Indo-European periphrasis, it comes as no surprise that in the presence of *la*, the main verb does not raise above the clitic. Rather, the modal does, adjoining to the clitic.

However, as it stands, the preceding analysis engenders a false prediction. When *la* is preceded by negation, which, as (23) indicates, attracts a feature on the modal, adjunction of the modal to the clitic ought to be blocked, for exactly the same reason that it is blocked when negation precedes—and attracts a feature of—the main verb. Alongside (20b), we expect (25a), but we get (25b):

- (25) a. **Ur as lli itari.*
 NEG DAT-3S PRES 3MS-write
 ‘He is not writing to him.’
 b. *Ur lli as itari.*
 NEG PRES DAT-3S 3MS-write
 ‘He is writing to him.’

This should lead us to reject the idea that the cliticization site is above the modal. Let us assume, instead, that it is below it but above the position of the verb. Thus, the verb does not move to or above the clitic in (24), but remains below it, as it is a participle of sorts. The negative feature on the modal does not encounter any barrier in its movement path to the negative head, and (25b) is the only possible output. While (20a)

is a case of enclisis, there is no enclisis in (24) since condition (8b) is not satisfied, independently of the presence of negation. Both (24) and (25b) are cases of proclisis.

In conclusion, the heads that check the more familiar kinds of verbal morphology (e.g., tense, agreement, and aspect) are configured lower than the cliticization site in Berber, which is why we find generalized enclisis on finite verbs. NegP, however, lies above the cliticization site. This partial ordering of functional categories is arrayed in (26):

- (26) Neg > Modal > Clitic > Tense/AGR > V

2.2 Triggers for proclisis

The difference between the traditional inflectional categories and negation is that the former are typically incorporation hosts that attract the verbal stem. It is quite conceivable, nonetheless, that a head will attract a feature on a lower head without actually attracting or incorporating the lower head itself—that is, without pied-piping it. This is the case of negation in Berber, but clearly the same holds for the GALPORT contrast in (19) and for the Cypriot Greek pattern, illustrated by the contrast between the affirmative (15a), repeated here as (27a), and the negative (27b):

- (27) a. I Maria edhkiavasen to.
the Maria read 3MS
'Maria read it.'
b. En ton iksero.
NEG 3MS (I) know
'I don't know him.'

Aside from negation, left-peripheral focus and overt wh-movement exercise a blocking effect on enclisis in Berber (28), Cypriot Greek (29) and GALPORT (30). This is evidenced by the obligatory manifestation of proclisis in these examples:

- (28) a. Maymi-as-tt yuzn Moh?
why DAT3S-ACC3FS sent Moh
'Why did Moh send it to her?'
a'. M ay tsyu terbat?
What that bought girl
'What did the girl buy?'
b. Moh ay-as-tt yuzn.
Moh that DAT3S-ACC3FS sent
'It is Moh who sent it to her.'
- (29) a. Pjos ton idhe?
Who 3MS saw
'Who saw him?'
b. Tuto to vivlio su edhoken Maria
this the book 2s gave the Maria
'This book, Maria gave you.'
- (30) a. O que lhe deu a Maria ontem?
the what DAT3S gave the Maria yesterday
'What did Maria give him/her yesterday?'

- b. ISSE *the* disse eu.
 This DAT3s said I
 'This is what I told him/her.'

In sentences (28a and a'), (29a), and (30a), there is a *wh*-expression in Comp. Assume it is sitting in the specifier of a dedicated functional head. Assume further, as seems natural, that the [+*wh*]-marked head of the category housing the *wh*-expression attracts a lower head. This is surely the morphosyntactic driving force behind I to C movement, which is cross-linguistically very common in interrogatives and can be taken to pied-pipe $V_{[+wh]}$ or, more likely, $I_{[+wh]}$, to the relevant functional head. But, as with negation, the [+*wh*]-feature can be attracted without pied piping. This is systematically the case in Berber. The head of the *wh*-comp is either null, as in (28a), or filled by the focus complementizer *ay*, as in (28a'). In both cases and for the same reasons, enclisis is blocked: the source of the attracted feature is below the cliticization site, and adjunction of the verb to the clitic would render the feature inaccessible to checking by the *wh*-head in Comp, as already argued.¹⁵

The same reasoning carries over to the focalization cases in (28b)–(30b). Not only in Berber, where it is manifest, but in general, *wh*-movement is a form of (left-peripheral) focalization, in which the *wh*-word is in focus. (For a recent treatment, see Rizzi 1997.) Focalization, like *wh*-movement, triggers I to C movement in many grammatical systems, and this indicates that there is an attracting feature in Comp.

Grammatical systems in which I to C movement systematically applies in focalization or *wh*-movement just as systematically disallow I to C movement in topicalization or clitic left-dislocation structures. Admittedly, this is no accident and should be taken to indicate that the head of TopicP does not attract an IP-internal feature or, perhaps, no feature at all.¹⁶ The absence of proclisis in clitic left-dislocation constructions in GALPORT (Rouveret 1999), Berber (Shlonsky 1987), and Cypriot Greek (Terzi 1999a) is a direct consequence of this.¹⁷

While yes/no questions in GALPORT do not block enclisis, as shown by the grammaticality of (31a) and hence differ from their *wh*-counterparts, Berber interrogatives invariably trigger proclisis, as illustrated in (31b).

- (31) a. O Pedro encontrou-a no cinema?
 the Pedro met-ACC3FS in-the cinema
 'Did Pedro meet her in the cinema?'
 b. Is-*tt* yzra Ahmd?
 Q 3FS saw Ahmd
 'Did Ahmed see her?'

This difference is surely related to the fact that Berber has an overt question morpheme in Comp, whereas GALPORT does not. Berber *is* attracts a feature on the inflected verb, while in GALPORT, the Q position in Comp does not contain any lexical material and, hence, no feature that needs to be checked. In other words, it is not the presence of a Q operator as such that is relevant to the choice between enclisis and proclisis, but of a head that attracts features.

short

Similarly, interrogatives with a (non-echo) *wh*-in situ are possible in European Portuguese, but they do not trigger proclisis, as in (32), from Rouveret (1999). This is due to the absence of an attracting element in Comp at the level at which the choice between enclisis and proclisis is taken (for similar reasons, *wh*-in situ does not trigger I to C movement in French, as Rizzi (1996a) argues).

- (32) A Maria deu-lhe o quê?
 the Maria gave-DAT3s the what
 'Maria gave him/her what?'

2.3 Proclisis in embedded clauses

One of the arguments adduced against the peripherality thesis of clitic placement in GALPORT is based on the observation that subordination is a trigger for proclisis in GALPORT but not in Cypriot Greek. Contrast the GALPORT example in (33a) with the Cypriot Greek sentence in (33b).

- (33) a. Disseram-me que o João o leu ontem.
 (they) told-1s that the João 3ms read yesterday
 'They told me that João read it yesterday.'
 b. Ksero oti i Maria edhkiavasen to.
 (I) know that the Maria read 3ms
 'I know that Maria read it.'

It is, however, not the case that proclisis is never triggered in Cypriot Greek embedded clauses. Terzi (1999a) shows that the factor relevant for the choice between enclisis and proclisis is not embedding as such, but rather the mood of the embedded clause: enclisis is preserved in indicative clauses while proclisis is forced in subjunctive clauses, introduced by the overt subjunctive mood marker *na*. Compare (33b) and (34):

- (34) Thelo na ton dho.
 (I) want SUBJ 3ms (I) see
 'I want to see him.'

Putting aside Salentino and similar varieties (see Calabrese 1993) as well as Romanian, subjunctive mood in Romance is represented as a component of verbal inflection and not by a choice of complementizer. It makes sense, however, to consider this mood inflection as containing a feature which is attracted by a mood or a low comp head (see note 5). This mood head is overt in Greek, attracting T or V over the cliticization site, whence enclisis.

To explain why the indicative complementizer does not force proclisis in Greek while it does so in GALPORT, let us once again consider the situation in Berber. Within Berber, there are dialects like Tarifit, Tachawit, and some varieties of Tamazight, where the indicative complementizer does not effect enclisis and (at least one) variety of Tamazight where enclisis is blocked in embedded clauses and gives way to proclisis. In other words, we find the Greek ~ GALPORT alternation manifested internally to Berber. Consider the sentences in (35), from Tarifit (Ouhalla 1989), and those in (36), from Guerssel's (1985) Tamazight.¹⁸

- (35) a. *Tnna qa-*t* yarzm sg tynjayt.
 (she) said that 3MS (he) opened with spoon
 'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'
 b. tnna qa yarzm -*t* sg tynjayt.
 (she) said that (he) opened 3MS with spoon
 'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'
- (36) a. Ssnx is -*as-tt* yuzn Moħ.
 (I) know that DAT3S-ACC3FS sent Moħ.
 'I know that Moħ sent it to her.'
 b. *Ssnx is yuzn-*as-tt* Moħ.
 (I) know that sent DAT3S-ACC3FS Moħ

Tarifit *qa* does not attract a feature from under the cliticization site, while Tamazight *is* does.¹⁹ Note, now, that this difference correlates with the position of a proleptic or dislocated object in the two varieties. In Tamazight, the natural position of a topic is to the left of the complementizer, as in (37) with *Moħ* as a (clitic left-dislocated) topic. Such a word order is impossible in Tarifit, J. Ouhalla informs me (personal communication):

- (37) Ssnx Moħ is *t* tssudm Tifa.
 (I) know Moħ that 3MS kissed Tifa
 'I know that Moħ, Tifa kissed him.'

Thinking of Irish 'it is probable in the next few days that he will leave' (McCloskey 1996) and of Italian *penso a Gianni di doverlo parlare* (Rizzi 1997), let us hypothesize that *is* occupies a lower position in the Comp system than *qa*, since it follows, rather than precedes, a topic. ~~In particular~~, suppose that Tamazight *is* sits in Fin^0 , while Tarifit *qa* (and similarly Tachawit *bəlli*; cf. Meziani 1997) are in Force^0 , above the highest topic position. Fin^0 contains tense or tense-related features (cf., in this respect, Cottell's 1995 study of Irish tense). Suppose that its "interfacing" with IP, in Rizzi's (1997) sense, means that it attracts a feature from the inflectional domain, from below the cliticization site in Berber. Hence, enclisis under *is* is blocked and proclisis is manifested. In Tarifit, only Force^0 contains morphosyntactic features, but Force^0 does not interface with IP and attracts no IP-internal feature. Fin^0 is not lexicalized in this Berber variety and does not attract any morphosyntactic features from inside IP. Hence, enclisis is unperturbed under *qa*.

I would like to suggest, now, that in GALPORT, Fin^0 is always active in embedded clauses and systematically attracts a feature from T. Since the cliticization site is configured between T and Fin^0 , enclisis is predictably blocked and we have proclisis. Uriagereka (1995a) takes what he terms the "sandwiched dislocation" illustrated in (38) to be a hallmark of the languages that display the GALPORT pattern of cliticization. It makes sense to identify the higher *que* in (38) with Force^0 and the lower one with Fin^0 . Suppose, further, that even when the lower *que* is sometimes unpronounced, it is always active from a morphosyntactic point of view and attracts a feature. (It differs, in this respect, from Tarifit Fin^0 , which is never lexically realized.)

- (38) Dixeron que a este home que non *o* maltratemos.
 (they) said that a this man that NEG ACC3MS maltreat
 'They said of this man that we should not treat him badly.'

3. Some remaining issues

In the course of this essay, I have developed a general theory of clitic placement which takes enclisis (i.e., V to cl.) to apply whenever possible and proclisis only as a last resort. This theory is combined with a hypothesis concerning cross-linguistic differences in the position of the cliticization site relative to finite inflection, negation, and feature-attracting morphemes in the Comp domain. The empirical result is a unified explanation of clisis from Rabat to Rome and from Lisbon to Larnaca.

Rhetoric aside, there remain a certain number of unanswered questions that I would like to briefly address in the guise of a conclusion.

One issue is how to best state the difference between French infinitives (in which proclisis is enforced) and CASPIT ones. The approach developed in this essay leads me to follow Kayne (1989) and suggest that the cliticization site in French infinitives is lower than the one in CASPIT infinitives. In particular, it is lower than *Infin*⁰, so that enclisis is systematically blocked. In other respects, French is exactly like CASPIT.

There is some evidence for the low clitic position in French. Zubizarreta (1985) shows that the French clitic *se* can remain on the infinitival verbal complement of causative *faire*, contrasting sharply, though in different ways, with Spanish and Italian. Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980), as well as Kayne (1975), report similar facts for locative *y* and adnominal *en*. These observations might be interpreted to mean that in French—though neither in Spanish nor in Italian—there is a cliticization site internal to the reduced infinitival complement to the causative verb.

The French/Italian contrasts in cliticization options under *tough movement* also point to the presence of a lower cliticization site in French. In both languages, clitics are possible on infinitival complements to adjectives such as 'difficult'—see (39a and b) and (40a and b)—but only French allows the clitic to remain on the infinitive when *tough movement* applies. Compare (41a) and (42a) with (41b) and (42b). If the infinitival complement to the adjective in (41) and (42) is a "reduced" clause (lacking, e.g., a position for negation; viz. Rizzi 1996b), then the contrast can be taken to show that the lowest cliticization site in French is lower than in Italian:

- (39) a. È difficile spiegargli questo teorema (agli studenti).
is difficult explain-DAT3 this theorem (to the students)
b. Il est difficile à leur expliquer ce théorème (aux étudiants).
it is difficult to DAT2PL explain this theorem (to the students)
'It is difficult to explain the theorem to them (to the students).'
- (40) a. È difficile appendervi questo quadro (al muro).
Is difficult to hand-LOC this painting (on the wall)
b. Il est difficile à y accrocher ce tableau (au mur).
It is difficult to LOC hang this painting (on the wall)
'It is difficult to hang this painting there (on the wall).'
- (41) a. *Questo teorema è difficile da spiegargli.
This theorem is difficult to explain-DAT3
b. Ce théorème est difficile à leur expliquer.
This theorem is difficult to DAT2PL explain
'This theorem is difficult to explain to them.'

- (42) a. *Questo quadro è difficile da appendervi.
This painting is difficult to to hang-LOC
b. ?Ce tableau à est difficile à y accrocher.
This painting to is difficult to loc hang
'It is difficult to hang this painting there.'

Another question is whether the proclisis-triggering effect of the "high" heads, such as negation, has any traces in CASPIT. Let us consider a possible CASPIT candidate for what we might call the *GALPORT effect*. The empirical domain in which this effect is visible is that of cliticization in imperatives. The discussion here is limited to French.

In French, enclisis is manifested in affirmative imperatives, as shown in (43):

- (43) Mange-*la*!
eat-3fs
'Eat it!'

I assume that (true) imperative clauses are truncated and do not project a CP. This is why they cannot be embedded, host a *wh*-element or a topic, and so on. I further assume that the imperative morphology is associated with a very low head, lower than the cliticization site.²⁹ Formally speaking, French imperatives are therefore like CASPIT infinitives: the imperative form is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site. Enclisis is therefore possible.

Now, although they are structurally reduced clauses, there must be a position for negation in imperatives, and negation is surely configured higher than the cliticization site. In other words, negative imperatives are formally similar to negative GALPORT finite clauses. Indeed, when negation appears in a French imperative, enclisis is blocked and only proclisis is possible:

- (44) a. Ne *la* mange pas!
NEG 3fs eat NEG
'Don't eat it!'
b. *Ne mange *la* pas!
NEG eat 3fs NEG
'Don't eat it!'

Sentence (44) reflects the situation in the variety of (Standard) French in which the preverbal negative head *ne* is present. Alongside this pattern of negation in imperatives, there exists another, in which *ne* is impossible. In this variety, enclisis is preserved. Contrast the grammatical (45a) with the ungrammatical (45b):

- (45) a. *La* mange pas!
3fs eat NEG
'Don't eat it!'
b. *Ne mange *la* pas!
NEG eat 3fs NEG
'Don't eat it!'

We can make sense out of this pattern by assuming that in the variety in which *ne* is impossible, we are dealing with a different NegP, one that is crucially lower

short

than the cliticization site (viz., Zanuttini 1997 on multiple negation positions in Romance). Enclisis in (45) is possible because the imperative form is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, where inflection now includes a (sometimes null) negative feature. When enclisis is possible, proclisis cannot apply.

Just as intriguing is the question of why CASPIT infinitives, participles, and so on do not revert to proclisis under negation (or wh-movement), since they do so in GALPORT, and the relative positions of Infin^0 or Part^0 , Neg^0 , and the cliticization site are presumably the same in both language types. The logic of the analysis pursued in this chapter should lead us to explore the idea that negation does not attract (a feature of) the head responsible for infinitival morphology—neither in GALPORT nor in CASPIT—but that of another functional head situated below the cliticization site in GALPORT and above it in CASPIT. Further research is needed to determine the nature of this head: whether it is related to the nominal characteristics of nonfinite verbs, or alternatively, to their value for $[\text{realis}]$, but note that its position relative to the cliticization site in the two language types mirrors the relative position of the active finite Infl.

Notes

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1. This derivation departs from Kayne's (1994) proposal, according to which enclisis obtains when the verb moves to a higher head position than that occupied by the clitic; see also Terzi (1999b). Kayne's analysis does not square well with the strict adjacency requirement that is characteristic of the verb-clitic nexus; see Benincà and Cinque (1993).

2. See Martins (1994a) for a study of "interpolation effects" in Old Iberian dialects, Barbosa (1996), and Raposo (2000), who also writes that "One intriguing aspect of interpolation is that there are no attested cases where the clitic is separated from the verb, but with the positions . . . reversed, i.e. with the verb . . . higher than the clitic" (278). If enclisis is defined as adjunction of V to cl., then the absence of interpolation is expected (cf. note 1).

3. Alternatively, if head movement pied-pipes features (Chomsky 1995), then the conditions of accessibility of these features might resemble those which hold of wh-pied piping in many languages (see Webelhuth 1992).

4. See Cardinaletti (chapter 5 this volume) who argues against the view that subject in null subject languages are invariably dislocated.

5. Moreover, the fact that (pro)clitics appear to the right of the subjunctive (mood) particle *na* is an indication that they are within IP not in CP since *na* is either an IP-internal Mood head (Rivero 1994) or Modal head (Tsimplici 1990) or, as Roussou (2001) argues, a realization of Rizzi's (1997) Fin^0 —that is, a "low" head in the CP domain, directly interfacing with IP.

6. In and of itself, this argument is inconclusive since Spanish appears to pattern with European Portuguese and not with Italian insofar as adverb interpolation is concerned, and yet Spanish eschews enclisis in finite clauses. This matter requires further investigation.

7. The auxiliary *ter* and its equivalents are found in some (Modern) CASPIT varieties, notably in certain Italian dialects from the upper south (see Rohlf's 1996 and Loporcaro 1988), as well as in some local varieties of Spanish (see Cartagena 1999 and Yllera 1999). Portuguese *ter* gradually replaced *haber* over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, passing through a stage in which it expressed the possessive, as it continues to do in Modern Spanish (see Bourciez 1967: §387 and Diez 1876: 261). Raposo (2000) writes that the change from *haber* to *ter* was not complete until the early nineteenth century.

In this context, the Modern Spanish periphrastic complex *haber* + *participle* evolved from vulgar Latin *habeo factum*, which was a resultative/adjectival construction in pre-Classical Spanish, of the sort that would be expressed nowadays by means of, for example, *tener*, as in (i); cf. Loporcaro (1999). See Harre (1991) for further discussion.

- (i) Tengo escritos cinco capítulos del libro.
'I have five chapters of this book (already) written.'
Compare: 'I have written five chapters of this book.'

8. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: §3.3.3) point out that the Portuguese periphrastic present perfect (with *ter*) encodes an iterative interpretation, unlike both its Italian counterpart (with *avere*) and the Portuguese simple past. See (Schmitt 2001) for in-depth discussion. This should correlate with the position of *ter* in the clausal hierarchy, although it is not clear to me how. The iterative interpretation is only associated with the present perfect—that is, with *ter* in the present tense. The pluperfect, formed with *ter* in the past tense, has the same interpretation as its CASPIT counterparts.

9. As for the drive for this movement step, one might entertain the idea that the semi-auxiliaries in the high Infl enter into a checking relationship with features of the clitic head itself, which, then, must be present even when there is no clitic. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2000) argue that the clitic head is syntactically represented even in the absence of a clitic. Whatever is correct, it is clear that movement of a head can continue beyond the cliticization site. The point is simply that such movement does not implicate any features of the precliticization head.

In this context, Verbal agreement is a suffix on the future or conditional morpheme. This might be taken to mean that Agr—if represented as an independent head—attracts T and not V (see Shlonsky 1997: chap. 3). This is indirectly supported by the fact that enclisis is preserved in European Portuguese infinitives whether or not they are inflected for subject agreement. For example, compare (ia) and (ib) from Madeira (1993). If Agr attracted V, we would expect proclisis in (ib):

- (i) a. Penso convidá-la. / *a convidar.
(I) think to invite-3FS / 3FS to invite
'I consider inviting her.'
b. Penso ter-em-na / *a ter-em convidado.
(I) think to have-3PL-3FS / *-3FS to have-3PL invited
'I think they have invited her.'

In adjunct (prepositional) infinitival CPs containing uninflected infinitives, proclisis and enclisis are in free variation (see the discussion in Raposo 2001). This might be due to whether the preposition is merged in CP (e.g., in Fin, like Italian *di*; cf. Rizzi (1997) or above it, inducing proclisis only in the former case. Raposo shows that inflected infinitives in the

(SP)

/note that

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short

same context only allow proclisis, a fact which suggests that person inflection on infinitivals is lower than the cliticization site, while being higher in finite clauses.

10. See Roberts (1999) for the view that English *don't*, *can't*, and *won't* are negative auxiliaries—that is, auxiliaries with negative features.

11. Imagine that Italian clitics had the same property. Then, clitics would never occur in first position, so that, for example, (4a) would be ungrammatical, and the clitic *lo* in (i) would be attached in the surface string to the subject *Gianni* and not to the verb *spiega*. Clitic systems with these characteristics are not uncommon (particularly in Slavic and Old Romance; see, e.g., Benincà 1993; Cardinaletti and Roberts (2002); Halpern 1995; and Wanner 1987).

- (i) Gianni-*lo* spiega agli studenti.
Gianni-3ms explains to-the students
'Gianni explains it to the students.'

12. However, see Ouhalla (2002), who argues that clitics left-adjoin to a functional head, which is then inverted around it in PF. See Halpern (1995) and many of the papers in Halpern and Zwicky (1996) for discussion of this sort of prosodic inversion.

13. I stay aloof, here and throughout, of any specific implementation of proclisis. Recalling the discussion surrounding (2) and taking inspiration from Belletti's (1999) treatment of CASPIT proclisis (see also Laenzlinger 1994), one might conceive of it as involving two steps. First, the verb "skips" the clitic head on its way up, thereby circumventing a potential crash. Second, the clitic head is itself adjoined to the functional head above it (which hosts the verb). Although the first step violates the HMC derivationally, the second step corrects or undoes the violation representationally since the traces of all the heads below the surface position of the verb can form a representational chain. For such a derivation to be acceptable (it is modeled on Belletti's 1990 analysis of the cliticization of the negative head), the principle of strict cyclicity must be relaxed and this, perhaps, is undesirable for other reasons. Another option, which revives and adapts Ouhalla's (1989) original treatment of Berber cliticization, is that a verb (or a modal) simply fail to raise above the clitic when it is preceded by negation or some other proclisis trigger.

14. The geminate *l* of the negative form of the modal is a vestige of its underlying form, derived from 'be' and which is realized as *lla* in the closely related Ait Seghrouchen dialect; see Guerssel (1985).

15. Proclisis should not disturb feature attraction if the feature does not adjoin to either the clitic or to the head of which the clitic is a specifier. See note 13.

16. In this context, see, Rizzi's (1997) point to the effect that there is no Top to Force movement. If Top is never directly attracted to Force, and if it never attracts, then Rizzi's point follows.

17. Rouveret (1999) argues that proclisis is optional in *embedded* topicalization. His examples (50) and (51) contain fronted PPs. It is possible that these sentences are structurally ambiguous between focalization and topicalization, since topicalized PPs, unlike topicalized DPs, are only optionally associated with a clitic in Romance, as Cinque (1990) and Rizzi (1997) have shown. The different interpretations of focalization and topicalization are presumably masked in the context of subordination. Enclisis would then be retained under topicalization but give way to proclisis under focalization.

18. For further discussion of Tamazight complementizers, see Shlonsky (1987), Shlonsky and Sigler (1986), written under different assumptions, and, ~~particularly~~ Ouhalla (2002).

19. This *is* should be distinguished from the homophonous [+Q] *is* in Tamazight; see (31b). See Ouhalla (2002) for the view that the two are related.

20. The imperative head must be lower than (French) *Inf^{fin}*, which, in turn, is higher than the cliticization site. See Laenzlinger (1994), Rizzi (1997), Rooryck (1992), Rivero and Terzi (1995) among others, for the view that the imperative head is in Comp.

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