

CLITICS

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1. MORPHOLOGY OF SPANISH CLITICS.

The grammatical tradition has always distinguished two classes of pronouns in Spanish. On the one hand, there is a series of stressed pronouns as in (1). On the other there is set of unstressed pronouns shown in (2).

1) a. **Ella** habló

3rd.Nom spoke

b. Me habló a **mí**

1st.dat spoke to me

'He/she spoke to me'

2) a. **La** vi en la plaza

3rd.acc saw in the plaza

'I saw her in the plaza.'

b. **Me** vio en la plaza

1st. saw in the plaza

He/She saw me in the plaza

The first set are called are traditionally called "*pronombres tónicos*," or "strong pronouns": the second, traditionally called "*pronombres átonos*," are the clitics. There are various morphological, phonological and syntactic criteria that distinguish one paradigm from the other (see, Halpern 1998, Fernández Soriano 1993 and references cited there). First, clitic pronouns, unlike strong pronouns, cannot be coordinated:

3) a. *La y lo vi.
3rd.acc.fem and 3rd.acc.masc saw.

'I saw him and her.'

b. *me y te vio.
1st and 2nd saw.

'He saw me and you.'

4) a. Ella y él salieron tarde.
She.nom and he.nom left in the afternoon

b. Nosotros y vosotros estáis cansados.
we.nom and you.plur.nom are tired.

Secondly, pronominal clitics cannot be modified, unlike strong pronouns:

5) a. *[Las dos] vi en el jardín
[3rd-fem.pl-both] saw in the garden

'I saw them both in the garden.'

b. *[los solos] vi en el jardín
[3rd-masc.plur alone] saw in the garden

'I saw them alone in the garden.'

6) . [Ellos dos] salieron tarde
[They.nom] both left late

b. [Nosotros solos] salimos de casa
[we.nom alone] left the house

Also, clitics cannot be emphasized or focalized, while strong pronouns can be easily emphasized¹:

7) *LA vi el otro día.
3rd.fem saw the other day.
'I saw her the other day.'

8) . Habla de ELLA.
Speaks about HER
'He/she speaks about her.'

Finally, only strong pronouns not clitics can appear in isolation as an answer to a question:

9) ¿A quién viste?
Who did you see?
a. *La.
3rd.acc.masc
b. A ella.
to Her

¹ The dialect of Río de la Plata in Argentina and Uruguay apparently stress what we call clitics in this chapter. This very peculiar pattern only when clitics appear in final position in imperatives and infinitives. See Moyna (1999), Huidobro (2003), for some treatments of this phenomenon:

(i) *haceló pronto.*
do-3rd t soon
do it soon

All these properties point to the fact pronominal clitics and strong pronouns should be treated differently. In some respects, clitics share some properties with affixes (Zwicky and Pullum 1983). For instance, affixes also cannot be coordinated, be modified or appear in isolation:

10) a. *No hay que **des** y **re**hacer esta madeja. (coordination)

No need to un and re do this reel

b. *Ella es pequenimuy**ita**. (cf. ella es muy pequeña) (modification)

She is small-very-diminutive (She is very small)

c. ¿Prefieres hacer la cama o deshacerla? (isolation)

Do you prefer to make the bed or unmake it

* **Des.**

UN

However, unlike affixes, clitics do not adhere to rigid positions inside the word they attach to. In Spanish, clitics might appear before or after the verb depending on various syntactic and morphological factors we will discuss below:

11)a. **Lo** quiso comprar.

3rd.masc wanted to buy.

b. Quiso comprar**lo**

Wanted to buy-**3rd.masc**

'He/She wanted to buy it.'

12) **Cómprelo**

Buy-3rd.masc!

Buy it

It should be noted that clitics are a category that appears in many languages, but the functions of clitics in Spanish are relatively restricted. For instance, Spanish clitics are uniquely pronominal², whereas auxiliary clitics or adverbial clitics are found in Slavic languages. Furthermore, Spanish pronominal clitics correspond only to objects of the verb, with the possible exception of impersonal *se*. By contrast, subject clitics are found in many northern Italian dialects (Poletto 1997).

Another characteristic of clitics in Spanish is that they can be divided in two groups depending on their morphological composition. There are the so-called *person clitics* (Bonet 1991, 1995, Kayne 2000), which correspond to first, second person pronouns, *me nos, te* and *os* and reflexive, reciprocal, and impersonal *se*. These pronouns share a lack of expression of overt case:

13) a. Me vio

1st.per(DO)saw

He saw me

b. Me dio un libro

1st.pers (IO) gave a book.

'He gave a book to me.'

14) a. Se vio en el espejo

reflex (DO) saw in the mirror.

He/she saw himself/herself

b. Se otorgó el premio

reflex (IO) gave the prize

He/she gave himself/herself the prize

² Here I am referring to what Halpern (1998) and Zwicky (1977) call special clitics.

The paradigm of person clitics is the following:

15) So-Called Person Clitics

Person	Form
1 st person singular	Me
2 nd person singular	Te
Reflexive/reciprocal/impersonal	Se
1 st person plural	Nos
2 person plural	Os ³

The other group is composed of *third person clitics*, which do distinguish case in the standard dialect. 3rd person accusative distinguishes for gender and case. 3rd person dative distinguishes only for number.

16) Third Person Clitics

Clitic	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
	singular	singular	plural	plural
Accusative	Lo	Las	Los	Las
Dative		Le		les

17) a) Lo vi.
 3rd.masc.acc saw.
 I saw him

³ This pronoun for second person plural is only used in Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula. (what about some Canarian dialects?)

b) Le di el libro
3rd.dat gave the book
I gave him/her the book

The singular, accusative masculine clitic is also use to cliticize predicative complements:

18) a. Inteligente, lo es

Intelligent, 3rd.masc.sing is.

Intelligent, he is.

b. Contento, lo está.

Happy, 3rd.masc.sing is.

'He is happy.'

Note that the set of third person clitics coincides for the most part with the determiner system (Uriagereka 1995, Torrego 1995). Also like determiners and the nominal system, they contain what Harris (1991) calls word markers including: *-o* (generally associated with masculine gender) *-a*, (generally associated with feminine gender) *-e*, (default marker associated with either gender), and the plural marker *-s*. These are shown below:

19) L-o-s niñ-o-s

The-Masc-plural boy-masc-plural

20) L-a-s niñ-a-s

The-Fem-plural girl-fem-plural

21) l-a-s noch-e-s

the nights-e-plural

Harris (1996) proposes, that third person clitics in Spanish should be analyzed in the same way, and they therefore they must have the same composition with number and gender:

22) L-o-s, L-a-s, L-e-s

Although there is consistency in all dialects in the form of person clitics, dialects differ in how third person clitics represent the various arguments of the verb. For instance, the clitic *le*, which in standard Spanish corresponds to dative, is also used for animate accusative clitics in many dialects. Traditional grammarians have called this phenomenon *leísmo* and it is very common all over Spain and in many parts of Latin America. (See Súnier and Yépez 1988, Fernández Ordóñez 1999, and Romero and Ormazábal 2006).

23) A Juan le vi ayer

P-John 3rd.dat.sg saw yesterday.

John, I saw him yesterday.

This effect appears linked to the fact that Spanish also has differential object marking for specific animate objects with the preposition *a* as in (24). For instance, the preposition used for differential object marking is the same preposition as indirect object arguments:

24) Vi a Juan.

saw P Juan (DO)

I saw Juan

25) Regalé el libro a Juan .

gave the book P Juan (IO)

I gave the book to Juan

The *leísta* system is thereby marking a difference in animacy for clitics, which is already marked in overt animates object in all dialects. One way to interpret this phenomenon is to assume that direct object animates get dativized in this dialect.⁴ However, dialects differ in the extent of *leísmo*. In a *pure leísta dialect* all animate direct objects are marked as *le* and all inanimate direct objects as *lo* or *la* as shown in the table below. However, the most common system is the one system in which *le* is only used for masculine animate:⁵

26) Pure Leísta System:

	Inanimate Masculine	Inanimate feminine	Animates
Accusative	LO	LA	LE

27) A Juan le di un libro ayer.

P-Juan Le gave a book yesterday

There are also *pure gender systems* in which the case distinction has been lost for third person clitics. And the distinction is made in gender instead. This is mostly the dialect spoken in the Santander region in Spain (see Fernández Ordóñez 1999)⁶.

28) Pure Gender System:

	Accusative/Dative masculine	Accusative/Dative feminine
Clitic	LE	LA

⁴ See Ormazábal and Romero (2006) for alternative views on whether this is a process of dativization.

⁵ For an extensive treatment of the phenomenon of *Leísmo* see Fernández Ordóñez (1999) and Romero and Ormazábal (2006). The *leísta* dialect spoken in Quito (Ecuador) does not seem sensitive to gender. However the *leísta* dialects spoken in Catalonia and Basque country are generally restricted to masculine singular or plural.

⁶ There are some intermediate systems.

To conclude, the fact that we find all this variability in the third person, but not in the first or second person, confirms the division between third and first and second person in the terms proposed by Harris and Bonet (19xx).

2. CLITICS : THEIR SOURCE.

The diagnostics reviewed in (10) show that the behavior of clitics is not that of a full-fledged phrase. They are morphological heads that need to be part of a phonological unit. Therefore it is natural to assume that clitics are heads that attach to another head in which they can form a prosodic unit. Thus they have a different distribution from corresponding XP's. For most cases the source of the clitics in Spanish is transparent: either DO, IO as shown above.

However, there are interesting differences between features that characterized clitics from their possible corresponding arguments. For instance, DO clitics must necessarily refer to a specific DP as shown by the fact that they cannot co-occur with an indefinites interpreted as non specific (see Roca 1992, Sportiche 1993):

29) *Un reloj, lo compré ayer.
A watch 3rd.masc.sg bought yesterday

30) *Dinero, no lo tengo.
Money, not 3rd.masc.sg have.

Clitics usually correspond to arguments of verb. However, dative clitics might correspond to arguments of an adjective:

31) Es fiel a Juan
Is faithful to Juan

Ordonez 6/9/10 4:52 PM

Comment [1]: No entiendo

32) Le es fiel
3rd.dat is faithful
He/she is faithful to him/her

Spanish, contrary to most other Romance languages lacks partitive and locative clitics. Thus when a partitive or locative argument is dislocated no clitic appears with the verb:

33) A Barcelona, no voy a ir
To Barcelona, I am not going

34) Manzanas, no venden en ese supermercado.
apples, not sell in that supermarket.
They do not sell apples in the supermarket.

In some cases the clitics might lack an argumental source. This is what is found in the clitic of interest or ethical datives. These dative clitics indicate that the action might benefit or not a third party in many cases:

35) Este niño no me come nada
This boy does not 1p.sg eat anything
'This boy does not eat anything for me.'

36) Por favor, no le bebas la leche
Please, not to him-her drink the milk
Please, do not drink the milk for that's for him/her

That there is no argument source for the clitic can be shown because they are always optional. Moreover, unlike typical arguments of the verb, they cannot be questioned or focalized:⁷

37) ?*Fue a mí a quien no me comió nada este niño (from Fernández Ordóñez 1999)

it was to me to who not 1p ate anything this boy

This boy did not eat anything for me

38) ?*Fue a él a quien no le bebió la leche.

It was to him to homnot 3rd.dat drank the milk

3. Proclisis and enclisis.

Clitics must precede tensed verbs in Spanish (a process called proclisis), while the argument they represent usually follows non-finite verbs and imperatives (called enclisis). These different distributional patterns have been analyzed as evidence that clitics originate in the argument position as in (XXa), and because of their phonological and morphological deficiency have to move to form a prosodic and syntactic unit as in (XX) and (XX):

39) a. Vi lo_i

b. Lo_i vi t_i
3rd.masc.acc saw

40) Antes de verlo

before P see-INF-3rd.masc.sing

'Before seeing it.'

41) Viéndolo

see.Gerund. 3rd.masc.sing

seeing it.

42)velo!

see-3rd.masc.sing

See it!

The main point of discussion is where the clitic moves to and what explains the difference between proclisis in tensed verbs and proclisis with infinitives, gerunds and imperatives⁸. For proclisis, (Kayne 1975) assumes that clitics adjoined directly to the verb. No adverbial or negation may intervene between tensed verb and the clitic:⁹

43)a.*Lo no vio.

3rd not saw not

b. No lo vio.

not 3rd saw not

44)a.*Lo nunca vio

3rd never saw

b. Nunca lo vio

Never 3rd saw

'I never saw it.'

⁸ Spanish does not permit clitics with past participles in absolute constructions contrary to Italian. See [Belletti \(1990\)](#) [Kayne \(1991\)](#) :

(i) *vistolo

(ii) *vistome

⁹ See Rivero for a different state of affairs in Medieval Spanish by [Rivero \(1986\)](#)

45)a. *Mira bien lo
see well 3rd

b. Míralo bien
see-3rd well

See it carefully

However, when auxiliaries are present, the clitic must necessarily move to the left of the auxiliary:

46)a. *(Lo) había (*Lo) visto (*Lo)
3rd had 3rd seen 3rd
I had seen it.

Since auxiliaries are taken to be in a tense projection, this movement leads to the natural conclusion that clitics are attracted to tense. The fact that negation and adverbs cannot intervene is a consequence of the fact that negation and adverbs must be in a higher projection than tense in Spanish. However, other elements may in fact intervene. For instance colloquial Rioplatense Spanish uses reiterative *re-* morpheme to indicate emphasis. This particle appear before auxiliaries, thus it is not a regular verbal lexical prefix. The interesting fact is that clitics appear before *re-* marker as we show in (). Another particle that might intervene between tense and clitics is the evidential particle *dizque* used in Mexican and probably other forms of Latin American Spanish (Treviño (2008)).

47)Y me re habían estafado. (Rio Plata Spanish)
and 1st. part had had fooled
'They had fooled me again and again'

48) Me lo dizque arregló (Mexican Spanish)
1st 3rd.acc Evidential repaired
Apparently He/she said that he had fixed it for me.

The evidence from these two varieties of Spanish shows that clitics in preverbal position are sitting in a higher projection than tense:

49) CL... (dizque/Re)...V+Tense

On the other hand, in the enclitic order there is no possibility of intervention of any particle between the verb and the clitic. This signals that the relation between clitic and verb in enclisis is more head-like than the one of clitic and verb in proclisis. This is already expressed in the spelling system in which proclisis is written separately and enclisis is not.

Another difference between Spanish proclisis and enclisis comes from their different behavior with respect to what looks like coordination of verbs with one clitic. While coordination of CL + V AND V is permitted, no such coordination is allowed in the case V+CL AND V (Matos 2000).

50) Lo compró y vendió en una sola operación (from Soriano 1993)
3rd bought and sold in one operation.

51)*Cómpralo y vende en una sola operación
buy-3rd and sell in one operation

One natural way to understand such asymmetries is to assume that the clitic has been extracted across the board in (xx) and moved to a higher inflectional projection above the verbs in proclisis. Crucially, the clitic does not form a lexical unit with the verb in proclisis. No such configuration is permitted in this enclitic case, most likely due to the fact that the verb and clitic form a lexical head unit¹⁰:

52) CL₁ [t₁ V and t₁ V]

Finally, enclitics may enter into morphophonological interactions with the verb, which is unattested for proclisis. For instance, the plural marker for plural imperatives *-n* surfaces after the clitics in many varieties studied in Halle and Harris (2005) and Kayne

¹⁰ See also Benincà and Cinque (1993)

(forthcoming). The 3rd person agreement might be reduplicated before or after the clitic or not:¹¹

- 53)a. vendan lo n
 sell-3pp 3rd 3pp
- b. venda lo n.
 sell 3rd 3pp
 'Sell them'

All these differences between proclisis and enclisis have led linguists to the insight that the two processes must be characterized differently in syntactic terms. Any hypothesis that treats enclisis and proclisis as pure right versus left adjunction falls short of accounting for them. Instead, in the spirit initiated by Pollock (19xx) on verb movement, the most likely characterization of the differences between proclisis and enclisis is verb movement (Kayne 1991, Raposo and Uriagereka 2005, Rivero 1994). From this perspective, enclisis involves movement of the verb to the clitic site, whereas in proclisis the verb fails to reach the clitic site.

4. Clitics and movement.

So far it has been shown that clitics must move to an inflectional projection that verbs reach in enclisis but not on proclisis. However, clitics themselves must also have moved to this projection. The reasons for assuming movement for clitics are due to the complementary distribution with overt arguments in the previous examples () and (). Further evidence for the idea of movement for clitics can explain certain parallelisms with other movement processes like NP movement. Clitics, like NP subjects, can license floating quantifiers as in (XX):

¹¹ Further evidence is given by Rio Plata Spanish. Enclisis in imperatives and under very special circumstances might trigger attraction of the stress to the clitics, which implies that clitic and verb form a prosodic unit Huidobro and Moyna. The opposite does not exist.

- 54) a. [Los estudiantes] salieron [todos] antes.
 The students-plural left all-plur before.
- b. [Los] vi [a todos] antes.
 3p.pl saw all-pl before.
 'I saw them all before'.

In both examples there is agreement in number and gender between the NP subject and clitic with a floating quantifier in postverbal position. According to Sportiche (1988), this relation must be very local at an initial point of the derivation to explain the agreement in gender and number. In both examples the floating quantifier is left stranded behind after movement of the NP subject and movement of the clitic:¹²

- 55) a. [_{SV} [[todos] [los estudiantes]] salieron] antes de la clase.
 all the students left before the class
- b. [_{ST} [los estudiantes]_i] salieron [_{SV} [[todos] t_i]] antes de la clase.
 the students-Masc-plur left all-Masc-Plur before the class.
- 56) a. *vi [[a todos] [Los]] antes de la clase.
 saw P- all-masc-plur 3p.pl-masc-plur before the class

¹² Contrary to examples with subject and floating quantifiers, clitics cannot move with the quantifier. Observe the following contrast:

- i) [Todos los estudiantes] salieron antes de clase.
 all the students left before class
- ii) *[Los todos] vi antes de clase.
 CL-all saw before class.

b. [Los]_i vi [[a todos t_i]] antes de la clase.

3ppl-masc-plur saw P-all-masc-plur before the class.

This movement of the clitic can go beyond the verb that subcategorizes it. This phenomenon, called *clitic climbing*, can be clearly shown in the following example:

57) [Lo]_i tengo que empezar a poder entender t_i

3p.s must to start to be able to understand

I must be able to start to understand it.

The clitic can also appear in any intermediate or final position:

58) Tengo que empezar[lo] a poder[lo] entender[lo]
 must to start-[3p.s] to be able-[3p.s] to understand-[3p.s]

These different possibilities are also found in sequences involving causative and perception verbs; intermediate positions are always available:

59) a. Me [lo] hizo empezar[lo] a reparar[lo]

1ps [3ps] made to start-[3ps] to repair-[3ps]

He made me start to repair it

b. Me [la] vio acabar[la] de diseñar[la]

1p.s [3ps] saw to finish to design-[3ps]

He saw me finish designing it

The different distributional possibilities can be understood as examples in which clitics move to intermediate tense projections. There are, however, important restrictions on this movement in Spanish. Intervention of *wh*-elements blocks the movement of clitics as shown in the contrasts between () and (), as noticed by Luján (1980), Rizzi (1982), Kayne (1989):

60) a. No lo sé leer
Not 3rd know to read

'I do not know how to read it.'

No me sé callar

Not 1st.m know to be quiet

'I do not know how to be quiet myself.'

61) *No lo sé cómo leer.

Not 3rd know How to read

'I don't know how to read it.'

*No me sé **cómo** callar

Not 1st know how to be quiet.

*No lo sé **si** leer

Not 3rd know if to read

This restriction is parallel to the one found with extraction of wh-elements from embedded interrogatives (see also the chapter on interrogatives and exclamatives. This effect only occurs when the wh-element in Comp has the +wh feature. There is no blocking effect in sentences with *que in (XX)*, or any other preposition with infinitive as in (XX-XX):¹³

62) a. [Lo] tiene que leer[lo]

[3rd] have to read[3rd]

b. [lo] empieza a decir[lo]

[3rd] starts to say[3rd]

¹³ Rizzi (1982) and Kayne (1989) show that these prepositions occupy the Comp position.

Negation between two modal verbs also blocks clitic climbing:¹⁴

63) a*Lo intentó **no** hacer.

3rd attempted not to do

he tried not to do it

*La quiso **_no** leer.

3rd wanted not to read

'He/she wanted not to read it.'

The reason for the ungrammaticality of these sentences is due to the blocking effect of negation or overt wh-elements. Kayne (1989) has defended the idea that clitic movement involves head movement of the clitic with the tense head. The head unit moves beyond its CP in order to reach the higher tense. Thus the movement of the complex T+V proceeds through the embedded CP.

64) Lo +T_i quiso [CP t_i [IP comprar t_i]]

According to this analysis, head movement of the complex CL+T is blocked by the interference of an overt wh-element in the COMP area or negation:¹⁵

65) *No lo_i +sé [S_{Comp} Si [S_{Flex} comprar t_i]]

not 3rd know whether to buy

66) *Lo_i + quiere [S_{Comp} [Neg P no [SV comprar t_i]]]

3rd wanted not to buy

¹⁴ For some exceptional examples, see Treviño (1993) .

¹⁵ In case a wh is in Spec CP area, we have to assume that the head of C is filled with an empty +wh head which blocks the clitic.

The adjunction of the clitic to a tense projection is a precondition for the later climbing of the clitic above its CP clause. Only a language with null subjects such as Spanish, Italian, Catalan, or European Portuguese permits clitic climbing of the type mentioned above (Kayne 1989). In order to capture this correlation, T in Spanish should be characterized as strong and allows movement of its clitic above its CP:

- 67) No lo+T₁ quiere [SComp [hacer t₁ [SV]]
 Not 3rd+T wants to do

Most of the verbs that admit clitic climbing are subject control verbs (XX).¹⁶ According to Kayne (1989), this is due to the fact that the tense of the infinitive and the tense of the matrix tenses share the same subject reference:

- 68) a. *Me los_i sugirieron leer t_i pronto.
 1st 3rd suggested to read soon.
 b. *Me los_i suplicaron dejar t_i en mi maleta.
 1st 3rd supplicated to leave in my bag.

Another kind of restriction on clitic climbing can be rooted in the character of the tense dependency or lack thereof between the embedded and the infinitive verb of the matrix. Luján (1980) proposes the restriction that verbs that independently allow the indicative in

¹⁶ Suñer (1980) and Luján (1980) point out that object control verbs like *permitir* 'allow' or *prohibir* 'prohibit' can admit clitic climbing as well. However, Kayne(1989) and Cinque (2006) have proposed that this examples should be taken to be examples of hidden causative verbs, which permit clitic climbing more generally.

- i) Me los permitieron leer
 1st 3rd permitted to read
 'They permitted me to read it.'¹
 ii) Me los prohibieron decir
 1st 3rd prohibited to say.

the embedded clause bar clitic climbing.¹⁷ Thus, it is predicted that factive verbs and raising verbs, which permit indicative in their embedded clauses, block the possibility of clitic climbing:¹⁸

69) a. *Lo_i lamentó leer t_i.
 3rd laments to read
 'He/She regretted to read

b. *Lo_i deploro hacer t_i.
 He/She deplores having done it.

70)a. *Los médicos me_i lo_j parecen prohibir t_i t_j.
 The doctors_{1st} 3rd seem to prohibit
 Doctors seem to prohibit it to me.

b. *Pedro nos_i parece ver t_i.
 Pedro 1st seem to see
 'Pedro seems to see us.'

Finally, no clitic climbing is permitted either from an embedded indicative or subjunctive clause. The fact that they head an independent tense with independent nominative specification blocks movement of the clitic.

¹⁷ For criticisms of this proposal see Suñer (1980)

¹⁸ In the case of factive verbs one might think of one alternative in which the embedded CP is embedded on a complex NP the fact that, which would be silent. The complex NP would block climbing of the clitic:

(1) Lo Lamento [_{CP} **el hecho de** [_{IP} hacer t]]
 3rd regret the fact of doing it

71)*Tú me_i quieres que vea t_i
you 1st want that see
'You want to see me.'

72)*Ellos me_i dijeron que vieron t_i
They 1st said that saw
'They said that they saw me.'

In sum, in Spanish clitic climbing is allowed for embedded infinitives of subject control verbs with a tense dependency specification. The precondition for that is that the language must be pro-drop, which is the case of Spanish.¹⁹ So far all these factors indicate clearly that the characterization of tense of the embedded infinitive is fundamental to understand clitic climbing.

The hypothesis presented above assumes that the idea that all these control verbs have CP and IP and are therefore bi-clausal. Nevertheless, some linguists have proposed otherwise, i.e., that the sentences that permit clitic climbing are monoclausal (Rizzi 1982, Zubizarreta 1982, Cinque 2006, and references cited in Wurmbrand 2001).²⁰ For example, Cinque 2006 proposes that modal verbs are part of functional projections of the sentence.

¹⁹ Thus, French does not permit clitic climbing in any of the cases we have seen so far for Spanish since it is a non pro-drop language.

²⁰ A variant of the monoclausal analysis is Rizzi (1982) and Zubizarreta (1982). According to Rizzi (1982) monoclausality with modal verbs derives from a biclausal structure which enters into a process of restructuring. Restructuring consists of erasing CP and IP dividing the two clauses. Modal verb and infinitive end up forming a head unit. Observe that the fact that this head unit in many cases would have to include prepositional element we mentioned before:

- i) Lo [acaba de hacer t]
3rd finishes of to do
- ii) Lo[empieza a leer]
Cl starts to read

He argues that the different modal verb would be inserted in the different functional projections in (47), but lexical verbs would be part of the VP.

73) Frequentative Modal> volitive Modal> Celerative Modal> Terminative
Modal>Continuative Modal>....

For the monoclausal proposal the possibility of the clitic to appear in front of the modal verb reduces to the fact that clitics usually appear before an auxiliary verb. Each functional projection would need to be associated with a clitic position. From this perspective, there are many functional projections that permit clitics to pass through, purely optionally. The fact that clitic climbing is not allowed in factive verbs, raising verbs, and object control verbs is due to the fact that on the one hand, these verbs are not part of the functional spine of the clause and on the other clitics cannot move beyond the functional spine of the clause in which they originate.²¹

Finally, not only modal and aspectual verbs allow clitic climbing; causative and perception verbs also do. All these constructions share the property of permitting the subject of the embedded infinitival clause to appear overtly. That subject is always preceded by the Prepositional Differential Object Marker *a*;²²

74)a. Pedro [lo] hizo leer[lo] a Juan
Pedro [3rd] made read[3rd] to Juan
Pedro made Juan read it

²¹ See Cinque (2006) for details. Residual questions for this approach are to explain the correlation between pro-drop and clitic climbing and the blocking effects of negation. Thus French does not permit any of the clitic positions allowed for Italian or Spanish.

²² I am not discuss here the discourse condition that allow subjects in Spanish to appear in these specific position. See Ordóñez (2000) y Zubizarreta (1998) for detail studies of the matter.

b. Pedro [lo] vio leer[lo] a Juan
 Pedro [3rd] saw read[3rd] to Juan
 Pedro saw Juan read it

In most dialects of Spanish the subject might appear between the main verb and the infinitive.

75) a. Pedro hizo a Juan leer[lo]
 Pedro made to Juan read[3rd]
 Pedro made Juan read it

b. Pedro vio a Juan leer[lo]
 Pedro saw Juan read[3rd]
 Pedro saw Juan read it.

When the subject causee interferes between causative and infinitive, clitic climbing is blocked²³:

76)a. *Pedro [lo] hizo a Juan leer.
 Pedro 3rd made to Juan read

b. *Pedro [lo] vio a Juan leer.
 Pedro 3rd saw to Juan read

Interestingly, this blocking of an argumental subject to clitic climbing, is also attested with main subjects, not only causee subjects. Thus for instance, Spanish permits inversion of the subject in a wide range of cases. Subjects are permitted to appear before causative or perception verbs and infinitives:

²³ Kayne (1975) and Sportiche (1988) point a similar process out for French as well. They attribute this blocking effect to the specified subject condition.

77) a. Ayer me vio Juan beberla antes
Yesterday, 1st saw Juan drink-3rd before.
Yesterday, Juan saw me drinking it.

b. Ayer me hizo Juan beberla antes
yesterday, 1st made Juan drink-3rd before
Yesterday, Juan made me drink it.

However, clitic climbing is barred when the subject interferes:

78)a. *Ayer me la vio Juan beber antes
Yesterday, 1st 3rd saw Juan drink- before.

b. *Ayer me la hizo Juan beber antes
yesterday, 1st 3rd made Juan drink- before

Also Suárez (1980) and Luján (1980) note that object control verbs permit clitic climbing (XXc). However, there are hidden causative verbs, also block clitic climbing when the argument object controller interferes (Kayne 1989, Cinque 2006):²⁴

79) a. Nos permitieron a nosotros leerlo
1st permitted to us read-3rd
b. *Nos lo permitieron a nosotros leer
1st 3rd permitted to us read
c. Nos lo permitieron leer a nosotros.

²⁴ There is obligatory doubling of the object because it is pronominal. See section below on doubling.

1st3rd permitted to read to us

'They permitted us to read it'

Also the insertion of adverbials might block clitic climbing as pointed out by Luján (1980):

80) a. Deseaba mucho verla.

desired very m much to see-3rd

b. *La deseaba mucho ver.

3rd desired very much to see

c. La deseaba ver mucho.

3rd desired to see very much

There have been different proposals to account for these restrictions on clitic climbing. Under the restructuring analysis, the impossibility of (XX) can be taken as evidence that the rule that creates a restructuring gets blocked by the insertion of overt subjects or adverbial material. For Kayne or Cinque's biclausal analysis, the blocking effects of the overt material must create some problem with the configurations that inserts adverbials, causees or overt postverbal subjects in these sentences. Recall that all the sentences are perfectly grammatical once the interfering element appears after the infinitive. Ordóñez (forthcoming) proposes that the reason for the lack of clitic climbing must be found in the analyses of these constructions in terms of remnant movement. On this view, infinitives end up after the intervening elements by movement as in (XXa). Then there is movement of the intervening subject causee or adverbial as in (XX) and finally there is remnant movement of the finite clause as in (XX):

81) a. [[_{SComp}han hecho [_{SComp} Juan [_{SV}comer]_{la}]]] Movement of infinitive SV ⇒

have made Juan eat-3rd

b. [_{SV}comer]_{la} [_{SComp}han hecho [_{SComp} Juan _{t_i}]] Mov. of causee Subj, adverb ⇒

eat-3rd have made Juan

c. [a Juan] [_{SV}comer]_{la} [_{SComp}han hecho [_{SComp}_{t_i}]] Remnant mov. ⇒

to Juan eat-3rd have made

d. [[_{SComp}han hecho [_{SComp}_{t_i}] [a Juan] [_{SV}comer]_{la}]]

have made to Juan eat-3rd

When the clitic remains in the infinitival clause as above, the sentence yields a grammatical result. However clitic climbing is impossible in that configuration there is no c-command relationship between a clitic before the finite verb and the clitic in the infinitive as shown below:

82) a. *[[_{SComp} Nos_ _{la}_i hizo [_{SComp}_{t_i}] [a Juan] [_{SV} comer _{t_i}]]

1st 3rd_i made to Juan eat _{t_i}.

Thus from this perspective, clitic climbing is blocked as a consequence of the fact that remnant movement dissolves the required c-command relationship.

5. Clitic Doubling.

The evidence presented so far shows that there are very good reasons to think that the best way to characterize the distribution of clitics in Spanish involves movement to a projection close to the verb. This simple movement analysis leads to the expectation that there should be complementarity in distribution between clitic and source as shown below:

- 83) a. Vi el libro.
 saw the book.
- b. lo vi.
 3rd saw
- c. *lo vi el libro.
 3rd saw the book.

However, Spanish fails to show complementarity between the source complement and the clitic in many cases. This phenomenon, dubbed *clitic doubling*, is obligatory when the source is a strong pronominal. Thus, all overt pronominal arguments, DO or IO, require the corresponding clitic.

- 84)a. *(Las)_i vi a ellas_i.
 3rd.plu saw P them
- b. *(les)_i di el libro a ellas_i.
 3rd.plu gave the book to them

Clitic doubling, however, is optional with lexical IOs in all dialects of Spanish, except for IO of psych-verb or indicating inalienable possession, for which clitic doubling is obligatory:

- 85)a. (Le)_i regalé las flores a María_i.
 3rd.dat gave the flowers to María
 'I gave the flowers to María.'
- b. Estas flores *(le) gustan a María
 These flowers 3rd.dat like to María
 'María likes these floweres.'

c. *(Le_i) saqué el diente [al caballo]_i
 3rd.dat.. took the tooth to the horse.
 I took the horse tooth out.

One general property of clitic doubling is that it is only permitted with the differential object marker *a*:

86)a. Lo vi *(a) él.
 3rd saw to him

The relationship between the clitic and argument also has to be very local. Thus, no doubling relationship can be established outside the clause level (from Suñer 1988):

87)La profesora que le_i dio una F [a Paco]_i la semana pasada se rompió la pierna esquiando
 The professor who 3rd_i gave an F [to Paco]_i last week broke her leg skiing

88)*La profesora que le dio una F la semana pasada se rompió la pierna esquiando [a Paco]_i
 The professor that 3rd_i gave an F last week broke her leg skiing [to Paco]_i

Dialects might differ with respect the different possibilities of doubling a DO. Thus, most dialects do not allow clitic doubling with a DO, unless they are pronominal or the quantifier type we discussed before. However, Rioplatense and many other dialects of Spanish mostly in the Andean area do permit doubling with DO optionally. Only animates or specific DP's might be permitted to double as DO in this dialects. So no DO bare negative quantifiers or not specifics permit doubling (see Suñer 1988, for details):

89) a. (la) vi a [Mafalda]_i
 3rd saw to Mafalda
 I saw mafalda

b. No (*lo_i) vi [a nadie]_i

not 3rd saw to nobody.

I didn't see anybody.

c. A quién_i (*lo_i) viste?

who 3rd saw

who did you see

d. (*La_i) busco [a la chica que tenga dinero]_i.

3rd looking for the girl that has-subjunctive money

I am looking for a girl that might have money.

This has led Suñer (1988) to propose a matching principle for clitic doubling in Spanish. Assuming that DO's are inherently specific and to some extent require the animate feature, the ungrammaticality of (XX) (b) and (c) and (d) is due to the fact that there is no matching in features of specificity between clitic and the double.²⁵

The co-appearance of clitic and source, the matching requirements and the locality between clitic and doubled have led Rivas (1977), Strozer (1976), Jaeggli (1982) and Suñer (1988) to consider the relation between clitic and doubled element to be base generated agreement.

According to Sportiche (1993) the agreement approach and the movement approach are not mutually exclusive if we consider a more articulated theory in which agreement and doubling get related by movement at some point of the syntactic derivation. As,

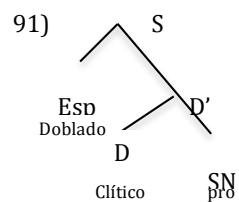
²⁵ There are some apparent cases of mismatch of clitics in person. These examples probably involve an appositive structure with a silent pronoun as in (XX) :

- (i) a. Nos vieron a los estudiantes
1st saw to the students
Nos vieron [a nosotros] los estudiantes.
1st_i saw [to us]_i the students.
' They saw us the students'

proposed above, despite the fact that floating quantifiers and clitics appear separate, they could have form a single constituent at a starting point of the derivation, which then becomes separated by the movement of the clitic.

- 90) a. vi [[a todos] [Los]] antes de la clase.
 saw P-all-masc-plur CL-masc-plur before the class
- b. [Los]_i vi [[a todos t_i]] antes de la clase.
 CL-masc-plur saw P-all-masc-plur before the class.

Uriagereka (1995) and Torrego (1995) have proposed this approach for clitics in Spanish. Their hypothesis has its roots in Postal's (1969) analysis of pronouns as determiners. According to this approach, clitics are determiners, and they form a big DP constituent with the doubled in Spanish. The head clitic moves and leaves the rest stranded behind:²⁶



When no doubling is attested, the structure must leave an empty category behind obligatorily. In sum, lack of complementarity, matching effects and the movement can all be accounted for with a theory that assumes a complex DP structure for clitics. The head of

²⁶ Torrego assumes this approach for 3rd person accusative clitics only.

this complex head has to move to an inflectional projection in the structure leaving the rest of the DP structure stranded.²⁷

6. Clitic Combinations

When more than there is more than one one clitic together, they must move as a unit to the same projection. Spanish does not permit split clitics combinations:

- 92) a*Juan me quiere poder regalarla.
Juan 1st want to be able to give-3rd
- b.*Juan la quiere poder regalarme.
Juan 3rd wants to be able to give-1st
- c. Juan me la quiere poder regalar
Juan 1st 3rd wants to be able to give
- 'Juan wants to be able to give it to me.'

Perlmutter (1972) presented the following filter or template that captures all the combinatorial possibilities of Spanish clitics. This filter contains restrictions on ordering by person, by case and by the presence of the pronoun *se* and it generates the orders of clitics in ():

93)se- II - I -III (DAT)-III (ACC)

94)se me / se nos / se te / se os / se le / se lo / me lo / te lo / te me / te le / me le

Two aspects of clitic combinations remain challenging for syntacticians and morphologists. The first involves the changes in form that clitics undergo when they appear in combination. An example is the combination of object clitics in the third person in

²⁷ Nothing in this theory implies that the big DP vacated of its head clitic should be left in its base position. Big DP moving to the specifier of a past participle must be responsible for the agreement in past participles in French and Italian. See Sportiche (1998) and Belletti (1999) 1.

Spanish. Since both dative and accusative clitics may appear in isolation as shown in (XX) and (XX), it is to be expected that the combination of the two forms should be available. However, the output is ungrammatical as in (XX). Instead, we find that otherwise reflexive, reciprocal clitic *se* appears instead of the clitic *le*. This was labeled by Perlmutter as the *spurious se rule*.

95) Juan **le** compró un libro.

Juan to him/her (DAT) bought a book

Juan bought him/her a book

96) Juan **lo** compró.

Juan it (ACC) bought

Juan bought it

97) *Juan **le lo** compró.

Juan to him/her (DAT) it (ACC) bought.

98) Juan **se lo** compró

Moreover, *se* is not a pure phonological transformation of *le*. One important argument against such phonological explanation is that it does not present inflection for the plural like the reflexive/reciprocal pronouns:

99) *A estos chicos, el libro se-s lo di.

to these boys the book SE-pl. 3rd gave

'I gave this book to these boys.'

100) *Los niños se-s vieron en el espejo.

The boys SE-pl saw in the mirror.

'The boys saw themselves in the mirror.'

The spurious *se* rule poses important questions as to what is blocking the appearance of the regular dative clitic. Laenzlinger (1998) proposes that the problem might be explained by a restriction on having two morphologically specified case 3rd person (accusative and dative) clitics together. Another line of thought proposed recently by Cardinaletti (forthcoming) is that no morphologically complex bi-morphemic clitic L-E, which contains a word marker in the sense of Harris 1991, can adjoin to an already complex clitic like L-O which also contains a word marker. Cardinaletti (forthcoming) argues that *se* is a simple mono-morphemic clitic with the *e* as a pure epenthetic vowel. Bonet (1995) and Harris (1996) present an alternative in terms of distributive morphology. They claim that spurious *se* is just the product of a morphological rule that deletes the case features of third person clitic *le* so that it becomes a pure argument with no case or number specifications.

This unexpected *se* is at the root of another important phenomenon discussed by Bonet (1995) and Harris (1996): the so-called *parasitic plurals* in Mexican and Uruguayan Spanish. Since *se* is incapable of carrying the plural marker, the marker appears instead in the accusative clitic, even when the accusative clitic is referring to a singular DP:²⁸:

- 101) El libro_j, a ellos_i, quién se_i lo_j-s presto?
the book-sg to them-pl who SE 3rd-plural gave
The book, who gave it to them?

Parasitic plurals can be explained if the plural marker is attached to the constituent formed by the two clitics, instead of attaching to the accusative clitic itself (Harris 1996)²⁹:

- 102) [SE LO]-S
Se 3rd-pl.

²⁸ This phenomenon is extended to gender as well. Feminine of the dative appears on the masculine:

Si ellas me quieren comprar el caballo, yo se las venderé.
if they(fem) 1st-dat want(3rd-pl) buy the horse 1

²⁹ Related to this issue is the fa

Another well-known puzzle is that the combinatorial possibilities of arguments exceeds the combinatorial possibilities of clitics. Perlmutter (1971) observed that the combination of a 3rd person dative with a 1st or 2nd referring to the DO is impossible (XX). However, when the dative clitic appears doubled as a strong pronoun as in (XX), the output becomes grammatical:

103) a. *Ellos me le presentaron.

they 1st 3rd.dat introduced

'They introduced me to him.'

b. * Ellos me le recomendaron.

They 1st 3rd recommended

'They recommended me to him.'

104) Ellos me recomendaron/presentaron a él.

They 1st recommended/presented to him.

The same restriction is found with causative constructions, in which the source of the dative is a different from the source of the de 1^a y 2^a person clitic:

105) a. Me hizo hablarle por teléfono.

1st made to speak-3rd by phone'

b. *Me le hizo hablar por teléfono.

1st 3rd.dat made to speak on the phone

'He made me speak to him on the phone.'

Bonet (1991) attributes this restriction to a morphological filter, the so-called *me-lui* constraint (also called the *person case restriction*) according to which the, first and second persons are incompatible with a third person clitic. There have been attempts to reduce

this morphological restriction to syntactic mechanisms by Anagnostopoulou (2003), Romero & Ormazábal (2007), and Adger & Harbour (2007).³⁰ According to these authors, the person-case restriction can be explained by the feature checking mechanisms in the Minimalist program (Chomsky 2xxx). These authors assume—although with differences in the details— that the reason for the ungrammaticality of the above combinations is due to the fact that 1st and 2nd person clitics compete for the same feature as the 3rd dative clitic. For instance, Anagnostopoulou (2003) assumes that the feature that dative and 1st and 2nd person clitics share is the feature *person* but the accusative 3rd person lacks this features. A functional projection related to the verb must check this person feature. Checking succeeds when only one of the clitics contain this person feature as we present in (). Thus, when the 3rd person, which contains the person clitics combines with clitics of a person clitic, the derivation is rendered ungrammatical;

106) Cl Me [*Person*] Cl ACC LO [*Number*] F [*persona, number*] presentaron

107) *Cl Me [*Person*] Cl ACC LE [*Number, Persona*] F [*person, número*] presentaron

Related to this restriction, must be the restriction that forbids clitic climbing of animate objects when the main over a causative verb with overt causee: (Luján 1980):

108) a. Me hicieron educarla.[+ animado]

1st made educate[3rd]

b. *Me la hicieron educar.

1st 3rd made educate

'He made me educate her.'

³⁰

i) La

109) a. Me hicieron leerlo. [-animado].

1st made read[3rd]

b. Me lo hicieron leer.

1st 3rd made read

'They made me read it.'

A final interesting point of variation in Spanish is presented by the possibility in many non-standard dialects to prepose the first and second person clitics to the reflexive *se* as in (XX) (Ordóñez 2002)³¹:

110) a. **Se** **me** escapa.

se 1st escape-3s

b. **Me** **se** escapa.

me se (REFL) escape-3s

1st SE losing it./

'It's getting away from me'

However, none of these varieties permit the non standard combination in post-verbal position with infinitives as shown in (XX):

111) a. Puede escaparse**me**.

it can scape-Se-1st

³¹ For this dialect there is no 3rd person clitic preceding *se*. Thus these dialects present a mixed system:

i) **Le** **se** escapó.

3rd Se scape

'It scape to him'

For Ordóñez (2003) this indicates, that contrary to 3rd person clitics, 1st and 2nd person can project into a higher reflexive clitic position.

b. *Puede escaparme**se**.

it can escape-1st/se

'I could lose it./ 'It could get away from me.'

The fact above shows that certain clitic combinations are sensitive to their syntactic distribution. This is an important challenge since it implies that the way adjunction works for enclisis (see above) is determining the possibilities of clitics combinations with infinitives.

7. Conclusion.

Clitics remains an important topic of discussion since they interface with three important modules of grammar: phonology, morphology and syntax. Clitics are dependent phonologically on a word with more prosodic structure. Their morphological make up is not always simple and the differences between different dialects provide interesting clues on how we want to characterize the different clitic categories in Spanish. There are many diagnostics for syntactic movement, but this movement is nevertheless highly restricted. Finally, clitic doubling in Spanish, far from being a problem for movement theories, suggests that the initial structure for clitics should be considered more complex than previously thought. Finally, clitics combinations are probably the topic in which syntax and morphology interact in such a way that there is not a totally perfect mapping between arguments and the clitics that represent them. The combinations with clitics are a proper subset of the possible combinations of arguments.

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