Distinctness effects: on clitic and DP combinations

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this dissertation is to analyze two phenomena under the called distinctness effects. With this label I refer to scenarios where two too similar syntactic objects are found in the same domain (see Chomsky 2013, 2015, Moro 2000, Kayne 1994, Richards 2010, Hiraiwa 2010, Rizzi 1990). To this end, clitic combinations and VSO order are studied in Romance languages considering the hypothesis that restrictions observed in both phenomena are due to the appearance of two identical objects.

Chapter I introduces the general guideline of the framework that will be assumed in the dissertation (the so-called Minimalist Program 1992). Also, this chapter discusses the different proposals that point out the existence of a distinctness necessity in the system, that is, discusses the point where this necessity emerges and what exactly means 'to be identical in X domain'. Finally, I introduce the Revisited Distinctness Condition (RDC henceforth).

Chapter II focuses on the combinatorial restrictions that operate in clitic clusters in certain Eastern Iberian varieties (Aragonese, Spanish, and Catalan). In particular, this chapter analyzes the restriction that arises in the combination of two third person clitics. Following authors such as Kayne (1975, 1989, 1999), Rizzi (1986) and Uriagereka (1995) I argue that clitics are determiners that move and incorporate into the verb. Specifically, this chapter assumes Gallego's proposal (2016), which combines aspects of Chomsky (2000, 2001), Torrego (1998, 2002), and Uriagereka (1995). The main idea of this proposal is that clitics constitute a case of XP movement at the edge of the phase. Also, evidence in favor of the non-primitive character of the dative in Romance languages is provided (Boeckx & Martin 2013). This chapter defends that the incompatibility of a third person accusative clitic and a third person dative clitic emerges due to the co-occurrence of two identical case features in the same domain, which violates the RCD. Specifically, the incompatibility is produced in the combination of two KPs inside the same phasal domain: the specifier of the vP. Varieties resort to different strategies to avoid the restriction. Through the chapter I argue that the cross-linguistic variation regarding the structure of the dative determines the way in which the RCD is avoided.

Chapter III studies VSO order in Romance, focusing on contrasts observed in Spanish and Catalan. The analysis presented in this chapter bears on the idea that the possibility to display VSO order is related to the complexity of the Direct Object (DO henceforth). Building on López (2012), Ormazabal & Romero (2013), Roca & Ordóñez (2013), I develop an analysis suggested by Ángel J. Gallego (p.c.), and first outlined in Castillo-Ros, Colomina & Gallego (2018), where I assume that Spanish displays a more complex structure of the DO. Also, this chapter discusses contexts where VSO appears focusing on the interaction with this context and the EPP (see Ortega-Santos 2005, Sheehan 2006). Specifically, this chapter proposes that VSO order implies the violation of the RDC since two identical objects are found in the same domain: $VS_{DP}O_{DP}$. Languages such as Spanish that allow this order show extra mechanisms to distinguish one of the two objects. The battery of phenomena introduced throughout the chapter has offered evidence to support the idea that DO displays a different structure in Spanish. I argue that this structure enables the appearance of the VSO order: VS_{DP} $O_{KP/PP}$. Languages such as Catalan that do not display the same DO structure only permit VSO in contexts where one of the two objects are situated in another domain or introduced by a preposition.

Chapter IV offers a summary of the dissertation and the conclusions.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de esta tesis es analizar dos fenómenos de acuerdo a lo que se conoce como efectos de distintividad. Con esta etiqueta nos referimos a aquellos escenarios en los que dos objetos que son demasiado semejantes aparecen en el mismo dominio sintáctico (Chomsky 2013, 2015, Moro 2000, Kayne 1994, Richards 2010, Hiraiwa 2010, Rizzi 1990). Para este fin, se estudian las combinaciones de clíticos y el orden VSO en algunas variedades románicas teniendo en cuenta la hipótesis de que las restricciones observadas en estos fenómenos se deben a la aparición de dos objetos idénticos.

***El capítulo I** presenta los aspectos principales del marco teórico que se asumirá en la tesis (el denominado Programa Minimista 1992). En este capítulo también se discuten las diferentes propuestas que ponen de manifiesto la necesidad de la distintividad en el sistema, es decir, se discuten los puntos donde dicha necesidad emerge y qué significa exactamente 'ser idéntico en un dominio X'. Finalmente, se introduce la Condición de Distintividad Revisada (RDC a partir de ahora).*

***El capítulo II** se centra en las restricciones de combinación que operan en las agrupaciones clíticas en algunas variedades iberorrománicas (aragonés, castellano y catalán). En particular, este capítulo analiza la restricción que surge en la combinación de dos clíticos de tercera persona. Siguiendo a autores como Kayne (1975, 1989, 1999), Rizzi (1986) y Uriagereka (1995), se asume que los clíticos constituyen un caso de movimiento de un SX al borde de fase. También se ofrece evidencia a favor del carácter no primitivo del dativo (Boeckx y Martin 2013). Este capítulo defiende que la incompatibilidad que se produce en la combinación de clíticos de tercera persona se debe a la co-aparición de dos rasgos idénticos de caso en el mismo dominio, lo que viola la RDC. Específicamente, se argumenta que la incompatibilidad se produce por la aparición de dos SKs en el especificador del Sv. Las variedades recurren a diferentes estrategias para evitar la restricción. A lo largo de este capítulo, se defiende que la variación lingüística del dativo determina la manera en la que se evita la RDC.*

***El capítulo III** estudia el orden VSO en las lenguas románicas, centrándose en los contrastes observados entre el castellano y el catalán. El análisis presentado en este capítulo se basa en la idea de que la posibilidad de presentar el orden VSO se relaciona con la complejidad del Objeto Directo (OD a partir de ahora). Siguiendo a López (2012), Ormazabal y Romero (2013), Roca y Ordóñez (2013), se desarrolla un análisis sugerido por Ángel J. Gallego (p.c.) y, en primer lugar, introducido en Castillo-Ros, Colomina y Gallego (2018), donde se asume que el castellano presenta una estructura más compleja para el OD. En este capítulo también se discuten los contextos en los que aparece el orden VSO y su interacción con el EPP (Ortega-Santos 2005, Sheehan 2006). Este capítulo propone que el orden VSO supone la violación del RDC, ya que dos objetos idénticos se encuentran en el mismo dominio: $VS_{SD}O_{SD.}$ Las lenguas como el castellano que permiten este orden muestran mecanismos adicionales para distinguir uno de los dos objetos. El listado de fenómenos presentados a lo largo del capítulo ofrece evidencia a favor de esta idea. Se argumenta que la estructura del OD permite la aparición del orden VSO: VS_{SD} $O_{SK/SP.}$ Las lenguas como el catalán que no disponen de la misma estructura para el OD solo permiten el orden VSO en contextos donde uno de los dos objetos se sitúa en otro domimio o se introduce por una preposición.*

***El capítulo IV** ofrece un resumen y las conclusiones.*

Agradecimientos

Me gustaría agradecer en primer lugar a los directores, José M. Brucart y Ángel J. Gallego, por su gran ayuda durante la realización de la tesis. Ángel J. Gallego me introdujo en el mundo de la lingüística en segundo curso de filología y el conocimiento que he podido adquirir desde entonces se lo debo a él. José M. Brucart me ha acompañado también desde los inicios de la carrera y la tesis no hubiera sido posible sin su apoyo.

Especial mención merecen los miembros del Centre de Lingüística Teòrica (CLT): Anna Bartra, Sergi Balari, Eulàlia Bonet, Teresa Cabré, M. Teresa Espinal, Jaume Mateu, M. Lluïsa Hernanz, Gemma Rigau, Xavier Villalba, Anna Gavarró, Carme Picallo, Joan Mascaró, Maria Ohannesian, Carlos Sánchez y Cristina Buenafuentes por su compañía durante estos años y sus provechosas aportaciones en reuniones, congresos, seminarios, etc. También la merece Roberta D'Alessandro, por tutorizarme durante la estancia en el Utrecht Institut of Linguistics y su equipo: Jan Casalicchio, Alberto Frasson, Silvia Terenghi y Luana Sorgini por su cálida acogida.

También doy las gracias a los becarios del CLT por su agradable compañía durante los años de la tesis y el máster: Anna Paradís, Irene Fernández, Ares Llop, Sebastià Salvà, Dària Serés, Javier Fernández, Oriol Quintana, Silvia Serret, Cristina Ruiz, Bernat Castro, Celina Agostinho, Samanta Planells, MiKyung Lee, Rut Benito, Rosa Bono y Amanda Ulldemolins. A los compañeros de despacho por su apoyo diario incondicional: Marta Khouja, Pablo Rico, Alba Cerrudo, Laura Arias y, en especial, a Lorena Castillo.

Por último, y más importante, a mi familia.

CHAPTER I
DISTINCTNESS EFFECTS IN SYNTAX

1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to outline the general framework adopted throughout the dissertation. To this end, I first review the different proposals that have been devoted to study antisymmetry and distinctness effects. I will discuss the main points of both proposals, concentrating on aspects of language design all theories converge in. Second, I outline the theoretical framework that I assume—for the most part, I adhere to the derivational model outlined in Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001), but especial attention will be paid to situations concerning distinctness effects (see Chomsky 2001, 2013, 2015, Abels 2003, Moro 2000, and Richards 2010).

2. The goal of the dissertation

The goal of this dissertation is to analyze two phenomena under the called distinctness effects. With this label I refer to scenarios where two too similar syntactic objects are found in the same domain (see Chomsky 2013, 2015, Moro 2000, Kayne 1994, Richards 2010, Hiraiwa 2010, Rizzi 1990). For that purpose, a revised version of the Distinctness Condition is offered (Richards 2010).

Specifically, clitic combinations and VSO order are analyzed in Romance languages considering the hypothesis that restrictions observed in both phenomena are due to the appearance of two identical objects.

As is exemplified in the contrast of (1) the combination of two third person clitics is banned in some languages (see (1a)). To make the combination possible, one of the two clitics is modified (see (1b)).

(1) a.*Juan *le* *lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG gave
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

b. Juan *se lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan SE CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

Also, the coappearance of the subject and the object in the same domain is not allowed in some languages (see (2a)). VSO is only possible if the object is dislocated (see (2b)).

(2) a. *Guanyarà *el Barça la Lliga*. *VSO (Catalan)
win-FUT.3SG the Barça the championship
'Barça will win the championship.'

b. La guanyarà *el Barça*, *la Lliga*. VS ,, O (Catalan)
CL-ACC.3PSG win-FUT.3SG the Barça the championship
'Barça will win the championship.'

Along the dissertation, it is defended that the contrasts observed in (1) and (2) are due to the existence of a general constraint that bans the appearance of two identical objects.

Specifically, Chapter II is devoted to arguing that third person clitic combinations imply the co-appearance of two identical structural case features (which gives rise to the combination of two KPs): the accusative and the accusative part of the dative clitic, since the analysis proposed by Boeckx & Martin (2013) is assumed, according to which the dative is not an atom but is formed by the locative and the accusative. The resulting combination in each variety avoids the appearance of one of the two accusative features using different strategies. Throughout Chapter II, these different strategies are explained. The way in which distinctness effects restricts other clitic phenomena such as clitic reduplication and split clitic is also discussed.

In Chapter III, I defend that two objects that share the same composition appear in VSO order: the subject and the object (two DPs). I argue that languages that do not allow this order is due to the violation of the revised distinctiveness condition (*$VS_{DP}O_{DP}$). The question that arises at this point is why languages like Spanish do permit it. This dissertation is based on the idea that DOs in Spanish are different from Catalan DOs, as evidenced by the appearance of phenomena such as differential object marking (DOM henceforth), leismo, DO-doubling and dequeismo.

In this Chapter it is affirmed that these phenomena constitute evidence in favor of the existence of an additional head that introduces the DO in Spanish (a K or P head that is materialized in certain contexts) and that places the structure of the OD closer to that of the IO, as supported by the fact that in some varieties it can be doubled and substituted by the dative clitic *le*. Therefore, this structure allows the possibility of showing VSO order since it makes it possible to differentiate both objects: $VS_{DP}O_{KP/PP}$. Languages, such as Catalan, that do not present this structure only admit the VSO order if the object is dislocated and, therefore, is outside the same syntactic domain.

3. The Minimalist Program: General Architecture and Operations

This section introduces the general computational architecture assumed in the Minimalist Program (MP, henceforth). I start by discussing the role of the interfaces (what Chomsky 1995 calls bare-output-conditions), and then I introduce the basic operations that generate and handle syntactic objects (SOs, henceforth): MERGE, AGREE, and TRANSFER (see Chomsky 2001, 2013, 2015, Chomsky et al. 2019).

3.1. General Architecture

The MP (see Chomsky 1995 and ff.) endorses the Strongest Minimalist Thesis (SMT, henceforth):

(3) Strongest Minimalist Thesis
Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions.
[from Chomsky 2000: 96]

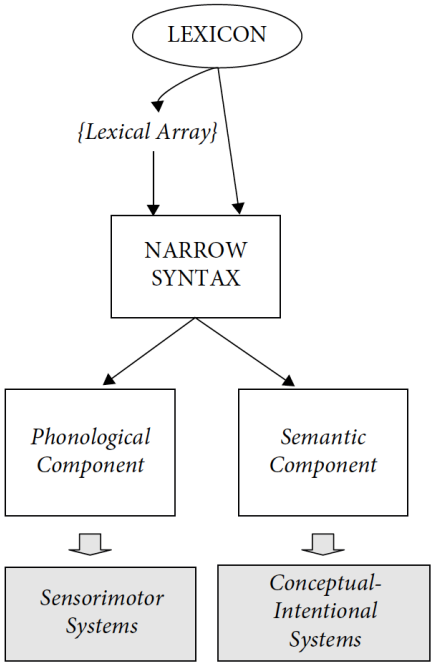
SMT should be understood as a set of conditions that apply to the objects generated by the Computational System of the Faculty of Language, conditions determined by properties of the systems that syntax interacts with: Sensorimotor (SM) and Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) systems.[1] Minimalism presupposes that such restrictions have important

[1] I will also refer to these components as SEM / LF (Logical Form) and PHON / PF (Phonetic Form) respectively.

consequences for language design.[2] What (3) implies, more specifically, is that the interfaces play a substantive role in the way syntax works, as it will be discussed in this dissertation.

Following Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), I assume the following grammar architecture:

(4)



[from Gallego 2010: 4]

This model —the so-called inverted Y/T model— has been kept almost intact until today, modulo the elimination of theory-internal levels of representations: Deep Structure and Surface Structure. Each component of (4) is a 'conceptual necessity,' and plays a role in language design.

The Lexicon (LEX) is the component that contains a set of atomic units (lexical items, LIs), each of them form a complex of <SEM, PHON> pairings (in the traditional, Aristotelian sense) that encode whatever cannot be derived from more general principles (that is, irregularities; Chomsky 1995). LIs are combined in order to create SOs, which are then handed over to the external components: PHON and SEM. Such objects must be legible to the interfaces, according to the SMT.

[2] The principles that constrain the way syntax operates belong to what is known as the 'Third Factor' (Chomsky 2005). These cover principles of processing, structural architecture and computational efficiency that are not language specific (see below and § 5).

The Narrow Syntax (NS) is the generative component that accesses LEX to create SOs through the basic operation of MERGE, which is discussed in § 3.1.1. PHON and SEM are the interfaces that connect NS to the external systems: Sensorimotor and Conceptual-Intentional.

As mentioned before, linguistic expressions must adhere to the requirements of such systems. This view of language design allows us to consider external (non-linguistic) factors substantive to understand the way in which linguistic expressions are generated. Chomsky (2005) calls these requirements Third Factor principles and divides them into two main subtypes. In his own words:

> The third factor falls into several subtypes: (a) principles of data analysis that might be used in language acquisition and other domains; (b) principles of structural architecture and developmental constraints that enter into canalization, organic form, and action over a wide range, including principles of efficient computation, which would be expected to be of particular significance for computational systems such as language. [from Chomsky 2005: 6]

This requires a new conception of principles that one could have taken to be part of UG. More specifically, some principles that were supposed to be language-specific can be reconsidered as part of more general cognitive (or physic, biologic, etc.) mechanisms. The SMT reinforces the idea that external systems impose restrictions to NS that SOs must satisfy. As will be emphasized as we go along, the role of external systems and the way in which they interact with interfaces is key to understand distinctness effects in syntax.

3.2. Computational operations

As pointed out, the Faculty of Language consists of two main components: LEX (a list of LIs) and NS (where LIs are combined). NS must interact with two external components (SM and C-I systems) through their interfaces. This section focuses on the computational operations that operate with LIs: MERGE, AGREE and TRANSFER.

3.1.1. Merge

NS is a generative component that accesses LEX to create SOs through the basic operation of MERGE, which can be defined as follows:

(5) MERGE (α, β) → {K,{α, β}}

[from Chomsky 1995: 243]

MERGE takes two elements, α and β, to create a new object: K. In order to satisfy the Inclusiveness and the No-Tampering Conditions (Gallego 2019), this operation cannot modify the previous selected elements neither can generate projections (non-terminal symbols) (Chomsky 1991, 1993, 1994). Although there are various approaches to this operation (see Pesetsky & Torrego 2006, Boeckx 2008, and Hornstein 2009, among others), I assume MERGE applies freely within the computation (see Chomsky 2008, Chomsky et al. 2019). The result {α, β} is a binary set whose members stand in a symmetric relation. This means that neither of the two elements is more prominent than the other.[3]

In this conception, MERGE is inherently symmetric. Therefore, to create the V *sing*, it takes two elements from LEX: a verbal head *v* and a root √SING. It combines these two objects and creates a new object that results out of the combination of these two elements.

(6) LEX = {v, √SING, . . . }

MERGE (v, √SING) = {v, √SING}

The nature of the new object created through MERGE is different from that of the two independent Lis. The relevant point here is that the relation established between *v* and the root √SING is totally symmetric. As will be explained in § 4, PHON and SEM demands make this symmetry go away. It is important to keep this observation in mind, since, as I will discuss, MERGE is the only operation that is inherently symmetric[4].

Also, it is important to note that in the MP two types of MERGE can create structure: Internal MERGE (IM, henceforth) and External MERGE (EM henceforth). EM takes two new objects directly from LEX (or the workspace), whereas IM takes elements that are

[3] Some authors argue that the operation of MERGE is inherently asymmetric. Langendoen (2003) points out that if one of the two elements is assumed to project, the result of (X, Y) = {X, Y} is asymmetric itself. Jaspers (1998) argues that there is a derivational asymmetry: in each merge process an element is selected previously to be merged (through the operation 'select', see also Epstein 1999). Along the same lines, Zwart (2011) argues that the fact that MERGE takes two elements is stipulative (the question it raises is why two and not more (or less) elements). Here I put aside these proposals and assume Chomsky's (2013, 2014) considerations on this matter.

[4] More specifically, external MERGE is inherently symmetric whereas internal MERGE is asymmetric, as will be discussed in next subsections. Antisymmetric and distinctness are imposed by a general restriction (§ 4).

already in the derivation, merging one with the other (typically, one is taken from within the other).

To see how MERGE works, consider the derivation of (7):

(7) Who will Mary invite?

In the expression of (7) the operation SELECT (see Chomsky 1995) takes the following LIs from LEX: 'Mary, 'will' (T), 'invite', 'who' (plus the core functional categories C and v). Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), we can assume these elements form a lexical array (LA), which is accessed by MERGE. These LIs are first merged in their vP internal positions, where they assigned a thematic interpretation (a theta role) at SEM.

(8) [$_{vP}$ Mary v [invite who]]

At some point of the derivation, *who* is internally merged with the CP in order to receive interrogative modality, as shown in (9):

(9) [$_{CP}$Who C will [$_{TP}$ Juan T [$_{vP}$ <Mary> invite *v* <who>?]]]

Chomsky (2004) conjectures that the two types of MERGE involve two different semantics: argument-predicate relations are established by EM, whereas discourse properties and scope dependencies are determined by IM.

So far, I have explained how argument and discourse relations are established in a MERGE-based system, but nothing has been said about adjuncts. Unlike arguments, adjuncts do not receive theta-roles, do not participate in Case or agreement relations, are opaque to extraction, and lack reconstruction effects (see Chomsky 2004, Hornstein & Nunes 2008, and references therein). In order to capture these asymmetries, Chomsky (2004) proposes a specific mechanism to introduce adjuncts: Pair-MERGE.

Chomsky assumes that adjunction implies the creation of a more complex structure: not {α, β}, but {{α},{α, β}}, which is equivalent to the pair <α, β>. The key trait of this operation is that the result is asymmetric: in standard MERGE dependencies, {α, β} = {β, α}, but in pairs, <α, β> ≠ <β, α>. This results in adjuncts being parasitic on whatever they

pair-MERGE with, and cannot change its category. In practice, this means they cannot modify the label of the structure that are merged with and cannot project (see Boeckx 2006, Chametzky 2000, Hornstein & Nunes 2008, and Uriagereka 2003). This approach to adjunction fits well with those analyses where adjuncts are formed as independent workspaces (see Uriagereka 1999). Let me illustrate this with (10):

(10) [TP John [VP [VP [VP bought a book] yesterday] in the library]]

In the sentence above, the presence of the adjuncts *yesterday* and *in the library* does not modify the label of the entire VP. In fact, adjuncts never change the label of the SO they are combined with: this is a core property of adjuncts, precisely the one pair-MERGE is designed to capture.

(11) [TP John [VP [VP [VP bought a book] yesterday] in the library] with Mary] …]

As deduced from the data in (11), adjuncts such as *yesterday* and *in the library* do not change the label of the structure. The contrast between (10) and (11) illustrates that adjuncts can be adjoined to the structure indefinitely. In (10) two different adjuncts appear, but in (11) another adjunct has been added and it would be possible to add more. The relevant point is that it is possible to concatenate adjuncts without modifying the structure in the relevant aspects—that is, the label.

Some authors have argued that the operation of pair-MERGE is not well-motivated and is thus unnecessary (Hornstein & Nunes 2008). The relevant difference between the insertion of arguments vs. adjuncts is that the former can label whereas the second does not. To dispense with pair-MERGE, Hornstein & Nunes (2008) propose that adjunction resorts to the same mechanism argument-taking does: set-MERGE (CONCATENATE, for them), but does not project (so the subsequent operation LABEL does not apply).

So, in order to capture the characteristics of adjuncts more machinery is needed. Resorting to a new operation such as pair-MERGE implies a complication to the system: set-MERGE is not the only operation that creates structure, a new and different operation is introduced. In essence, the creation of this operation seems ad hoc and does not offer an

explanation of the features described before: it just responds to the fact that adjuncts do not label.

Hornstein & Nunes' (2008) proposal is, allegedly, more economical because for these authors it is not necessary to propose a new operation, the difference between arguments and adjuncts is that the second ones are unavailable to label the structure, which connects with Uriagereka's (1999) view on the existence of different workspaces. Thus, adjuncts belong to other domains and result invisible to label or modify the structure. However, under a closer scrutiny, the more economic nature of adjuncts does not quite follow: there is no pair-MERGE, but a new operation is nonetheless added: LABEL. On theoretical grounds, it is not immediately obvious how much we get by invoking LABEL that pair-MERGE did not give in the first place. It seems plausible to suppose that adjuncts can be introduced in the same way arguments are, that is, by set-MERGE, but their nature blocks the application of LABEL (see Boeckx 2006, Chametzky 2000, Hornstein et al. 2005, Uriagereka 2005).
Although in this dissertation I do not focus on the behavior of adjuncts, it is important to keep in mind that pair-MERGE, instead of set-MERGE, is an operation inherently asymmetric.

Let me sum up so far. We have seen that the basic structure-building operation, MERGE, can apply externally or internally, a distinction Chomsky (2004) relates to a duality of semantics (argument structure and discourse / scope dependencies).
Adopting ideas of Epstein, Kitahara, Seely's (2016), Chomsky's (2013, 2015) and Cable's (2010), I will assume that all languages (in fact, the computational system of the Faculty of Language) freely apply these two operations: IM and EM. In addition to the two types of MERGE, the distinct pair-MERGE operation is also available in all languages, being set-MERGE the only capability of creating symmetric structures.

3.2.2. Beyond MERGE: AGREE and TRANSFER

SOs created during the computation are handed over to the interpretive components: PHON and SEM. According to Chomsky (2000, 2001), structures are not sent to the interfaces as a whole (at the end of a derivation): instead, the computation works with small selections from the LA, the so-called phases (subLAs).

Phases have been justified and invoked on different grounds. It has been defended that their existence is motivated by economy reasons ultimately meant to avoid computational complexity (recall Chomsky's 2000 metaphor as the computation carrying along the lexicon, a "huge beast"). They have also been associated to strict cyclicality (Chomsky 2012): namely the idea that once the operations within a given domain are over, such domain is not accessed again.[5] A strict application of this idea is that, once completed, a phase is cashed out in full through a TRANSFER operation (a current counterpart of SPELL-OUT; see Chomsky 2004). This is shown in (12), where TRANSFER applies after MERGE, which I indicate through outline letters.

(12) a. MERGE (XP,YP) = {XP, YP}
b. TRANSFER {XP, YP} = **{𝕏ℙ, 𝕐ℙ}**
c. MERGE (ZP, **{𝕏ℙ, 𝕐ℙ}**) = {ZP, **{𝕏ℙ, 𝕐ℙ}**}

Empirical evidence (related to cyclicity effects) provides additional support for phases: phases constitute phonologically and semantically independent domains (Gallego 2010 and references therein). More importantly, phase boundaries correspond to a bunch of well-known locality effects (see Boeckx 2008, Uriagereka 2011): reconstruction, wh-agreement, inversion, floating quantifiers, etc.

In this dissertation, I follow the theory of phases proposed by Chomsky (see Chomsky 2000; Gallego 2010, 2012) assuming that CP and vP are the phases. This means that it is at these points that the structure so far assembled is transferred. A question arises as to how the system 'knows' that it has to go into the TRANSFER mode. Chomsky (2008 and ff.) suggests that v* (where the * is meant to indicate morphological and semantic completeness) and C trigger TRANSFER, since they are the locus of uninterpretable φ-features, which require a valuation-and-deletion process, carried out through the operation AGREE.

[5] This observation can also be related to economical motivations. The idea that a relevant domain must be deleted once the system has operated with permits present more space. Thus, not necessary elements are eliminated.

Chomsky (2004, 2001) introduces the operation AGREE within his Probe-Goal framework. Feature interpretability refers to the fact that some features cannot be read by the SEM component ([number] in verbs, for instance), so they must be deleted before they get there. Chomsky (2001) assumes that uninterpretable features enter the derivation unvalued (e.g., [number: __], [gender: __], [person: __]). Each feature is divided into an attribute and a value, so it is the latter that determines interpretability in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) system. In the following representation 'number' represents the attribute and 'SG' the value that is assigned by AGREE.

(13) [number: SG]

C and v* enter in the derivation with these attributes, but without a value. Once in the workspace, these unvalued attributes operate as a PROBE that seeks a GOAL in its c-command domain. Therefore, the operation of AGREE consists in a complex process involving MATCH (spotting a SO with non-distinct features within a domain) and VALUATION (the copy of the value). Let me illustrate this process in (14) and (15):

(14) John loves Mary

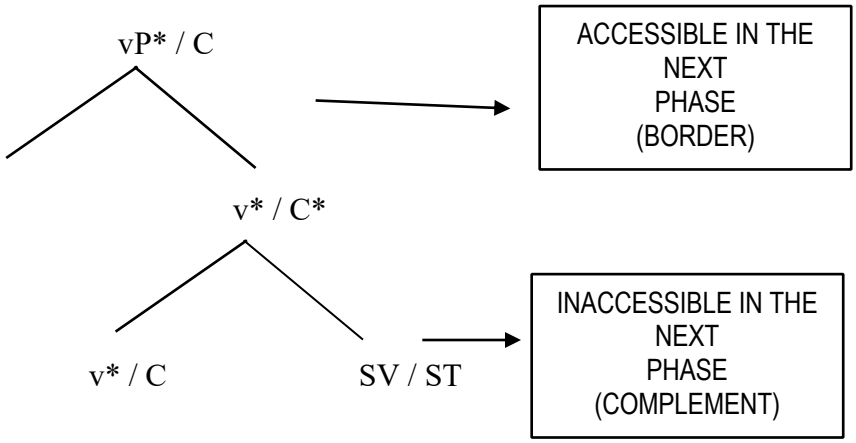
(15) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ T [φ] $[_{vP}$ John $_{[3.SG]}$ v*[φ] $[_{VP}$ loves Mary[3.SG]]]

As a consequence of this process, DP Goals receive structural case from Probes (v* and C). Once AGREE takes place, the complement of the phasal head is transferred to the interfaces. The complement domain is subject to what Chomsky (2000) dubs *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC):

(16) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)
The domain H [of a strong phase] is not accessible to operations at ZP [the next strong phase]; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.
[taken from Chomsky 2001:14]

The only material that is available for subsequent operations occupies the so-called EDGE, that is, the specifier and the head of the phase. The EDGE is transferred as part of the complement of the next phase.

(17)



The relevant point here is that, according to the SMT, the material transferred to the interfaces must obey a set of interface conditions. In § 4 discussion is focused on these conditions. Specifically, I pay attention to the necessity to establish certain asymmetries for interpretive purposes, especially on the PHON side.

What happens to the material that is subject to the PIC is under debate (see Uriagereka 1999, Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008 and Chomsky et al. 2019). In some proposals, the complement domain is left in the computation, but it cannot be tampered with, in others, the complement is expunged so that nothing remains in the syntax. For the purposes of this thesis, it is orthogonal whether the complement domain is kept in the computation, all that matters is that it is also transferred to the computation and that such material is subject to interpretive conditions imposing asymmetries.

Let me recap. This section has described the architecture of grammar assumed in MP that will be assumed in what follows. I assume the inverted-Y model and the substantive role of the SMT in the way NS interacts with their interfaces, which will be developed in more detail in the next section. Computational operations have also been introduced focusing on the relevance of the symmetric nature of MERGE.

4. The role of asymmetry in the system

As pointed out in the previous section, the necessity to establish asymmetries has been argued for by different authors (see Kayne 1994, Moro 2000, Richards 2010, among others) on different grounds (linearization, binding dependencies, theta relations, c-command, etc.). The point of departure is simple: MERGE (as per Chomsky 1995 and

ff.) is inherently symmetric, but asymmetries are mandatory both for PHON (linear order, distinctness, labeling, etc.) and SEM (theta roles, binding dependencies, operator-variable chains, etc.) reasons. So, when we say that the system requires asymmetries, we actually mean asymmetries 'after TRANSFER applies.' This may be taken to indicate that NS ignores these requirements, but it must not, for otherwise interpretation would crash, in violation of interface conditions. It is also important to note that the term 'symmetric' is used here *lato sensu*, not *stricto sensu* (see Barbara Citko 2011, Napierala 2017). So, with this term I refer to situations in which two elements with the same status (phrasal, featural, or any other) occupy the same syntactic domain.

In this section I review the different approaches that have addressed this necessity to 'undo' symmetric dependencies created in the course of the derivation. All proposals try to respond the same questions: Does the system allow symmetry during the derivation? Where and why are asymmetries required?

As I have shown, asymmetric and distinctness requirements have, for the most part, been invoked in the literature in order to linearize objects at PHON. For this reason, the interaction between NS and PHON is the focus of this section, but SEM is also involved.

4.1.The Labeling Algorithm

4.1.1. Labeling

As defined in § 3.1, MERGE is an operation that creates hierarchical symmetric structures. According to Chomsky (2013, 2015), MERGE does not determine the head of the combination, so it is not possible for it to yield a projection (see Collins 2002). If such non-terminal objects are necessary, the system must resort to an independent operation—say, LABEL. Since that would be a departure from minimalist desiderata, it should be avoided unless massive empirical evidence proves it necessary.

Chomsky (2013, 2015) conjectures that there is a Labeling Algorithm (LA, henceforth) that determines (does not create) a label. First, it is necessary to understand why labels are mandatory in the system[6]. Chomsky's (1995) first reasoning appealed to interface considerations:

[6] While some authors point out that the labels are inert from a syntactic point of view, others consider that they have relevance in relation to the c-command relation (see Collins 2002, Seely 2006 and references

> Applied to two objects α and β, Merge forms the new object K, eliminating α and β. What is K? K must be constituted somehow from the two items α and β; … The simplest object constructed from α and β is the set {α, β}, so we take K to involve at least this set, where α and β are the constituents of K. Does that suffice? Output conditions dictate otherwise; thus verbal and nominal elements are interpreted differently at LF and behave differently in the phonological component. K must therefore at least (and we assume at most) be of the form {γ {α, β}}, where γ identifies the type to which K belongs, indicating its relevant properties. Call γ the label of K. [from Chomsky 1995: 243, my emphasis, MPC]

Nominal and verbal expressions indeed behave differently at SEM. Thus, labels are necessary to determine the nature of the whole expression. In particular, this means that LA introduces an asymmetry: in a [DP, VP] structure, LA determines that the label is VP, so the more prominent element of the combination is the VP and determines the nature of the whole structure. The way in which this occurs in [XP, YP] structures will be clarified later on. MERGE itself does not have the capacity to make this distinction. Following this reasoning, asymmetry effects emerge to satisfy SEM and PHON restrictions; so, the necessity to satisfy this restriction triggers the operations in syntax that guarantee the creation of convergent structures.

Let me now explain how this LA works. We can start with the following quote:

> Suppose SO = {H, XP}, H a head and XP not a head. Then LA will select H as the label, and the usual procedures of interpretation at the interfaces can proceed. [from Chomsky 2013: 43]

LA operates according to what Chomsky calls Minimal Search (MS)[7]. What this amounts to is that the element that LA selects as a label is the more accessible object in this domain, where "more accessible" means "simpler." Typically, the more accessible element is the head (H). For this reason, {XP, YP} structures and {X, Y} are problematic for the LA: in these cases, it is not possible to determine the simpler element, as both objects are identical (equally complex) in terms of structure. In such circumstances, LA operates as follows:

(18) If a SO such as {XP, YP}, then:

therein). It is important to note that labels are theory-internal elements, which can be not mandatory, unless substantial empirical evidence indicates otherwise. Here I assume that labels are necessary to satisfy interface restrictions and also to create hierarchical structures (see Hornstein 2009). And notice that, when I say 'label,' I mean a given element introduced by MERGE, not a new object created for labeling purposes.

[7] MS seems an operation that is not exclusive for LA. It operates also in in other operations such as AGREE. As Chomsky (2013) suggests, it belongs to general principles that are known as Third Factor.

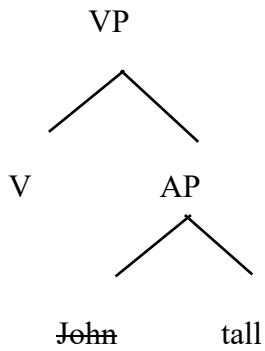
a. If XP is a copy, then the label will be determined by YP: (SO) = (YP).
b. If the heads of XP and YP share a prominent F feature, then the label is (SO) <F, F>. [modified from Chomsky 2013: 40]

Let me illustrate (18a) with an example. This subcase is related to the dynamic antisymmetry principle proposed by Moro (2000) (see § 4.3): movement allows the {XP, YP} object to be labeled since low copies (non-pronounced) are not visible to syntactic operations (AGREE and IM at least; see Chomsky 2001, 2008), including labeling. This assumption is crucial to understand the way in which LA works. This {XP, YP} scenario emerges, for example, in predicative constructions (including the merger of the EA with the v*P), which Chomsky (2013) regards as exocentric. Consider the following simple example[8].

(19) John is tall.

Let us assume (19) is analyzed as in (20), taking *be* to select a {XP, YP} configuration (a small clause, predication, etc.; see below):

(20) [$_{beP}$ be [[$_{DP}$ John] [$_{AP}$ tall]]]



In (20) the derivation assembles the DP *John* with the AP *tall*. Such constructions have been tackled in different ways: Bowers's (1993) PredP, Stowell's (1981) XP* or Moro's (2000) dynamic LCA. In Chomsky's (2013, 2015) system, resorting to some of this machinery (in particular, a Pred head) is not possible, for reasons similar to those that led

[8] An interesting fact is that in constructions such as {XP, YP} the phrase that moves is the first one, not the second. This can be related to Minimality effects (see Rizzi 1986).

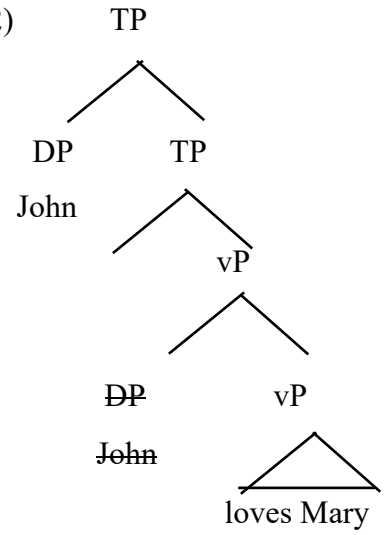
to the elimination of agreement projections (Chomsky 1995)—they are purely relational, thus not principled.

In order to label the structure *John* raises, leaving a copy in its first-MERGE position. This copy cannot label (for the same reason it cannot be subject to AGREE or IM), so the element that is taken to project is the adjective *tall* yielding an AP (see § 4.3 for a detailed version of this analysis, also see § 4.1.2 for consult problems of this proposal).

The same process has been proposed to derive subject raising (and EPP effects in English more generally; see Chomsky 2013, Gallego 2017), as illustrated in (21).

(21) John loves Mary.
[$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ John] [$_{vP}$ [$_{v}$ loves] [$_{DP}$ Mary]]]

(22)



Once more, the EA and the v*P yield an exocentric, {XP, YP}, structure: MERGE combines the vP *loves Mary* with the DP *John.* This poses a conflict to the LA, solvable by raising either the EA or the v*P. If the former does (to the specifier of T, to satisfy the EPP), then, the label will be that of the v*P, since the EA's copy is invisible. Now, for the same logic, the v*P can raise, yielding a crash at the interface—at least in English, but probably not in Romance languages, depending on how V movement is handled.

In relation to the second scenario, namely (18b), Chomsky (2013) argues that the head is determined by a feature that both objects share, that is, by AGREE (see Gallego 2018 for problems with this view)[9]. Interrogative structures constitute an example of these cases. In (23), α is a syntactic object {XP, YP}, since neither of the two objects can move[10], Chomsky (2013) defends that the label is the feature that [α in which Texas city] and [β C [JFK was assassinated] share: the Q feature that constitutes a feature of C and the head of α.

(23) They wondered [α in which Texas city [β C [JFK was assassinated *t*]]]

[from Chomsky 2013: 45]

The situation also emerges when the EA raises to the specifier of the TP generating the [EA, TP] structure (see (23) above). The φ-features shared by the EA and the TP by Agree determine the label <φ, φ>.

As will be developed in more detail above, feature-sharing poses problems. As it is discussed in the literature, we can find parametric variation between null subject languages and non-null subject languages. The former allows the TP alone to label the structure, whereas the second ones require the presence of the DP in the specifier of the TP (a reinterpretation of the EPP). So, in all languages the DP needs to escape the generating position since an unlabeled structure is created, but only in non-null subject languages the DP is forced to appear in the specifier of the TP. In null subject languages the TP can label the structure, since the head of the TP can provide the label[11].

Chomsky (1993, 1995, 2015) relates this difference to feature strength that varies from language to language. The idea is that in terms of labeling theory, [Catalan] T, with rich agreement, can label TP and also {SPEC, TP}; for English, with weak agreement, it cannot, so that SPEC must be visible when LA applies. As Gallego (2017) points out, it seems that, in this sense, Chomsky is using a version of the GB-rooted idea about feature-

[9] This is not too different from the rationale that required the use of agreement projections, as these were meant to encode features that the complement and specifier shared.
[10] It is assumed that 'in which Texas city' is generated in their *in-situ* position and, then, it moves to the specifier of the SC. This is produced by internal merge.
[11] If it is assumed that a *pro* occupies the specifier of the TP, then *pro* can share features with the head of the TP.

endowment of heads and this strength determines parametric variation. Due to the problems of strength-based approaches that Gallego (2017) discusses (a Procrastinate rule, a distinct LF cycle and the ad hoc character of feature-strength), this author offers an alternative view where reinterprets this observation resorting to the idea that T is a copy of C (see Gallego 2017 for details and Chapter III). In Gallego's proposal null subject languages display different items for T and C, then T can label the structure without the presence of a DP in the specifier. Instead, non-null subject languages require a DP in the specifier due to the fact that the head is a copy of C and, then, cannot label.

To conclude, let me introduce a final scenario where {XP, YP} can be labeled. As mentioned in § 4.2, adjuncts are invisible to label. The element that is pair-merged (adjoined) is invisible to any MS metrics (see Hornstein 2009, Uriagereka 1999). More precisely, since XP is adjoined to YP, XP is not visible to the LA, then, YP's label is not changed. This occurs, for example, in the structures introduced above (§ 3.2) and repeated below for convenience:

(24) [$_{TP}$ John [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ bought a book] yesterday] in the library] with Mary] …]

The adjunction of *in the library*, *with Mary* and *yesterday* cannot modify the structure. The key of this process is that pair-MERGE, instead of set-MERGE, creates asymmetric structures.

4.1.2. Theoretical and empirical problems

This proposal poses some theoretical and empirical problems. First, I list all of them and then I explain them step by step:

(i) How can the system distinguish copies?
(ii) What type of information can the LA access?
(iii) How the AGREE process in {XP$_{\varphi}$, YP$_{\varphi}$} structures takes place?
(iv) How can halting effects be captured?

In the first place, I focus on the first question (i): how can LA distinguish copies? or, putting it more generally, how are chains[12] determined? At the step of the derivation where LA applies, copies are externally merged elements and it is not possible to know if, in a future stage, they will be moved higher up.[13] This makes sense in the dynamic antisymmetry proposed by Moro (2000), since objects move in order to facilitate the linearization process where low copies play an important role. Copies are not pronounced, so it is not necessary to linearize them (see § 4.3). Also, it is not clear why copies are invisible to syntactic operations[14]. It is true that copies are part of an object, that is, the chain, but it is not clear how syntax can distinguish the fact that some objects are a copy and others are not.

Another relevant aspect is that some distinctions can be sketched between the two mechanisms proposed to LA: in the first one (labeling by moving) it affects the whole structure (the label), whereas in the second one LA has access to the features that are inside the label (specifically, the features that both objects share). Thus, the relevant structure in each case is different, movement affects the label itself, whereas in the second case the relevant point is the sublabel (the φ-features in $\{XP_{\varphi,}\ YP_{\varphi}\}$). This difference poses an interesting question (point (ii)): What type of information can the LA access? Is it possible to see inside an X(P)? At first, the LA only has access to the label, feature sharing imposes new considerations: features, visibility inside the XP, etc. To be more exact, remember the two ways in which the label is determined in {XP, YP} structures:

(25) {DP, VP} > {~~DP~~, VP} Labeling by movement

(26) {DP, TP} > $\{DP_{\varphi,}\ TP_{\varphi}\}$ Labeling by AGREE

The first case corresponds to the example (22) developed above. Specifically, at the point of the derivation when the external argument is externally merged to the VP. As has been argued, in this case the DP moves and solves the LA-problem. In the second case, when the DP is internally merged to the TP, the LA operates differently. Since DP and TP share

[12] The notion of 'chain' refers to the relation stablished between the different copies of a syntactic object.
[13] Another unclear aspect of this model is how the system distinguishes copies and repetitions (see Collins & Groat 2018 and references therein for relevant discussion).
[14] The idea that copies are inert has antecedents in the literature. In Chomsky (2000:131, 2001:16) it is argued that copies are invisible for computational operations (MERGE and AGREE): only the head of a chain is visible to operations.

the relevant φ-features the structure can be labeled and none of the two phrases must be moved. But, in this scenario, the LA must search inside the items that contain these features. This point is not really clear to me and raises some questions about the way in which LIs are constructed. As Gallego (2018) points out, invoking the AGREE mechanism forces us to make some assumptions regarding the internal structure of LIs. First, we must explicitly accept that the LA can see this internal structure (roughly in the sense of 'lexical syntax', see Hale & Keyser 1993). Although this internal structure has been proposed widely in the literature, it is not clear why NS can access it since LIs behave like 'atoms of computation' (their internal parts are invisible to syntactic operations cf. Chomsky 2007, 2008, 2013). As Gallego (2018) observes, Chomsky recognizes the "atomic-but-at-the-same-time-complex" nature of LIs (see Chomsky 2013). So, the question that the label-by-AGREE option poses is whether syntax can access these features or not, regardless of the existence of this complex structure. The proposal as a whole raises some questions about the formation of the internal structure of LIs—some of them intimately concerned with claims in the Nanosyntax and Distributed Morphology frameworks (see Starke 2014, Marantz 1997) where LIs are literally constructed just like SOs are.

To finalize with the theoretical problems, I would like to highlight, according to Gallego (2018), that it is not clear how the AGREE process takes place (point (iii)). Remember that in order to label, the prominent feature of the head of {XP, YP} is shared by AGREE. It is unclear how this works, if AGREE requires a c-command relation between Probe and Goal, as Chomsky (2007, 2008) has argued (see Gallego 2018 to consult the whole discussion for its development is not of interest here).

On the empirical side, Chomksy's (2013, 2015) proposal does not capture halting effects (point (iv)). Let me exemplify this. Consider the following example taken from Gallego (2018):

(27) Recogió cada coche su propietario (Spanish)
Pick-PAST.3SG each car its owner
Its owner picked up each car

In the example of (27), the object has been moved above the postverbal subject, as binding effects indicates. The raising of the object has been motivated by the φ-features in v*, but the configuration in (27) poses some problems. As Gallego (2018) suggests, the relevant configuration of (27) is as follows:

(28) {XP (Obj), {WP (Subj), {YP (VP)}}}

Following MS, the LA identifies the relevant features between the subject and the object since they are closer, not the φ-features of the vP and the object:

(29) a. {{X, ZP}, {Y, WP}}
b. {{X, ZP} Object, {{X, ZP} Subject, {{Y, {M, tObject }}}}}

So, in the structure of (25) it is not clear how the object can occupy this position since prevents the relevant configuration that allows the sharing of the φ-features that license the object, given that the subject intervenes this process.

To recap so far, LA is meant to capture the first asymmetry required by the interfaces: it determines the head of the merged elements by MS. When two to-be-merged elements are structurally identical, two strategies can apply to avoid of a problem at the interfaces: (i) one of the two elements moves or (ii) the two elements AGREE. This process poses the problems already mentioned: What type of information can the LA access? How is the Agree process produced? Also, it is not clear how the empirical problems can be solved and the theory of chains that this model adopts.

4.2. Kayne's (1994) Lineal Correspondence Axiom

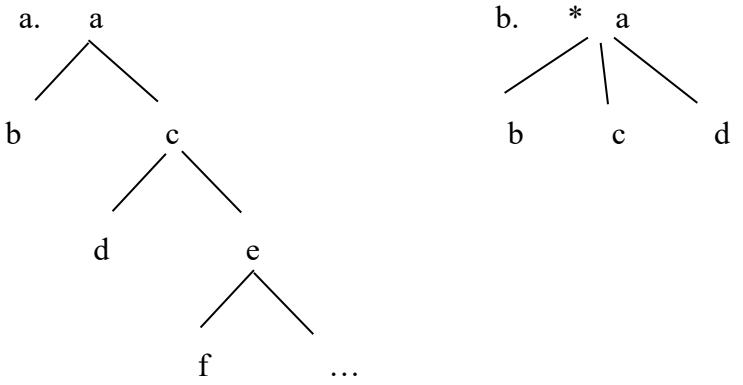
As explained in the previous section, labels are required to satisfy SEM demands. In what follows I pay attention to a key issue that must be addressed at PHON: the linearization process. MERGE creates an object whose elements are related in a hierarchical way, this hierarchy is not represented when this object is phonetically realized. While in SOs are n-dimensional, linear objects are one-dimensional. So, however that happens, n-dimensional SOs must become one-dimensional ones by some mapping procedure.

Aware of this, Kayne (1994) proposes a mechanism capable of turning antisymmetric syntactic relations into linear ones. This is known as the Lineal Correspondence Axiom (LCA, henceforth):

(30) *Linear Correspondence Axiom*
Take X, Y nonterminal nodes that dominate the terminals x, y respectively. Assume that X c-commands Y, while Y does not c-command X (asymmetric c-command). Then x precedes y.

As formulated, asymmetric c-command is mandatory to determine linear order. If the relation were symmetric (that is, if c-command were not asymmetric), it would not be possible to distinguish between the two elements, which would make it impossible to establish a linear order. Consider (31) to see this.

(31)



The LCA applies to terminal nodes, thus the elements that must be linearized are {b, d, f} in (a) and {b, c, d} in (b).
In (31a) <b> c-commands to <d>, and <d> does <f>, so, the lineal order is as follows: <b, d, f>. On the contrary, in (31b) the elements do not establish a c-command relation so the LCA cannot linearize it. Following Kayne's (1994) proposal, syntax can only generate structures such as (31a)—syntax cannot generate symmetric structures.

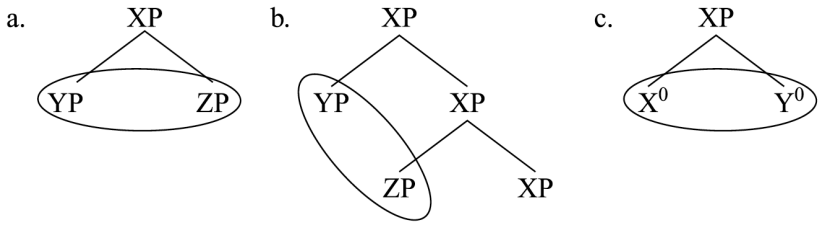
The relevant point here is, once again, the asymmetric nature of syntactic dependencies. The linearization process is possible only if c-command relations are asymmetric. As a consequence, the system can only create structures that satisfy this condition. According

to Kayne (1994), there is no possibility for symmetry in the derivation[15], a position that differs from Chomsky's et al. (2019) free MERGE position.

4.3. Moro's (2000) Dynamic antisymmetry

Slightly departing from Kayne (1994), Moro (2000) does not preclude the creation of symmetric structures, as long as they can be linearized later on. Bluntly put, Moro's (2000) idea is that the system can create non PHON-convergent structures if these are 'repaired' at some point in the derivation, as I show in more detail below. Specifically, Moro (2000) refers to the possibility of generating the following three structures, which would be ruled out in Kayne's (1994) system:

(32)



[from Moro 2000: 32]

(32a) corresponds to two XPs that are merged. The c-command relation between the YP and the ZP is symmetric—there is mutual c-command. On the other hand, (28b) corresponds to structures with multiple specifiers, and (28c) to two merged heads. Following the LCA, the objects in (32) cannot be linearized. In fact, as already noted, the structures in (32) cannot be created by the system under Kayne's (1994) version of X-Bar Theory. It is not immediately obvious how to formulate that constraint in a MERGE-based approach to phrase structure, unless *ad hoc* stipulations (in addition to look ahead) are assumed.

[15] Kayne (1994) proposes a specific version of the X-Bar Theory (collapsing adjuncts and specifiers, among other things) in order to accommodate apparently symmetrical domains. See Chametzky (2003) for discussion.

The stipulative status of a Kaynian approach to X-Bar Theory is empirically backed up, as it is possible to linguistically cross examples of (32). One of them is small clauses. Take (33):

(33) John is intelligent.

In (33), the merger of *John* and *intelligent* constitute an example of (28a). There is no asymmetric c-command relation between *John* and *intelligent*: they c-command each other, yielding conflicting instructions to PHON. The question that arises now is how (33) can be linearized. To this end, Moro (2000) proposes a dynamic version of the LCA: symmetric structures can be generated by the system (hence the dynamicity), but they have to be undone ('repaired,' if you prefer) at some point of the derivation. In Moro's (2000) proposal, movement is an operation that does not respond to the license of a specific feature (as argued in the all Criteria-rooted analyses of movement; see Rizzi 1990, 1996, and ff.), but appears in the system as a mechanism to avoid the existence of symmetry points that would be a problem for linearization. The movement of one of the two elements that establishes a symmetrical relation with the other one solves the problem, since lower copies lack phonetic material and are, therefore, inert for linearization purposes.

In the case of (33), the base structure is (34), where *John* and *intelligent* constitute a small clause. This small clause is a problem for the LCA. As mentioned before, neither of the two elements is c-commanding the other, so the SO will crash at PHON. To solve this problem, Moro (2000) points out that *John* moves to the specifier of the TP, where it receives nominative case. Then, the structure is as follows:

(34) a. [T [$_{beP}$ be [[$_{DP}$ John] [$_{AP}$ intelligent]]]]

b. [John T [$_{beP}$ be [[$_{DP}$ John] [$_{AP}$ intelligent]]]]

In (34b), I represent *John* in outline to indicate its copy status, which in turn entails that it is invisible to the LCA (and, remember, other operations too: MERGE and AGREE). As a consequence of the movement, we could say that the structure is linearizable (for Kayne 1994 and Moro 2000) or labelable (for Chomsky 2013, 2015).

A worth noting property of Moro's (2000) system is that movement is not motivated by non-interpretable features. Instead, it is motivated by the necessity to break the symmetry.

This approach eliminates the presence of uninterpretable features in the system, which is an advantage, since it is not clear why these features that are not interpreted must exist.

However, it is not possible to derive from his proposal the landing site of the moved constituent. It is clear what element must leave its generating position, but nothing determines the landing-site of movement.

What is relevant for this dissertation is that movement in Moro (2000) is understood as a strategy to avoid the preservation of symmetric SOs (that is, as a last resort). As mentioned in § 4.1, Chomsky (2013, 2015) requires movement in these cases too, although the proposals differ in non-trivial respects. The main difference is the motivation to break the symmetry[16]. In Chomsky (2013, 2015), movement is a labeling-granting mechanism. In Moro (2000), movement is a linearization-granting mechanism[17].

From a more general viewpoint, this tension between symmetry and antisymmetry converges: In both Moro (2000) and Chomsky (2013, 2015) the necessity of asymmetry comes from outside NS, from the interfaces[18, 19]. Although only PHON is involved in Moro's (2000) story, it is SEM that requires an asymmetry in Chomsky (2013, 2015). Also, both proposals coincide in another respect: the system can create structures that are non-convergent at some point of the derivation. In Chomsky (2013, 2015) the derivation crashes when LA cannot determinate the label (and, then, one element is forced to undergo IM or to AGREE). In Moro (2000), the derivation would crash when it is sent to PHON[20].

Although the differences are obvious, what I would like to highlight is that the underlying problem in both accounts is the same: there is a dichotomy between the free application

[16] Asymmetry requirements are universal. Variation is found regarding the status of one object (can constitute an XP in one language and an X in another), but all languages require breaking the symmetry.
[17] Other authors such as Boeckx (2008) argue that the asymmetry arises in the Probe-Goal relations established between the different elements that have been merged.
[18] This tension between the symmetric character of merge and the necessity of establishing an asymmetry is also supported by Hornstein (2009). This author decomposes the operation of merge into two processes: Concatenate—that creates symmetric structures—and Label—that creates hierarchical structures—. The last one is the operation that distinguishes human language capacity, since it is responsible of recursivity effects and the existence of complex structures. The first one is expected to be found in other types of communication.
[19] The role that interfaces play in the way that syntax works suppose some kind of look ahead in the system. Merge itself is free and does not obey this constrains, but LA and movement operate accordingly. This supposes that these operations are not blind to the processes that occur in the next step in the derivation. The only way to avoid this type of 'look' ahead is that syntax over generates structures, some of them will be rejected in interfaces.
[20] Crash proof grammar: Putnam 2010.

of MERGE and the restrictions imposed by the interfaces. The interfaces, unlike MERGE, seem to require differentiation between the elements it accesses—that is, some kind of asymmetry.[21] This is clear in the model of Kayne (1994), where PHON requires asymmetry to linearize the objects generated by syntax, but what Chomsky (2013, 2015) suggests that the asymmetry comes from the semantic component.

To sum up so far, what these observations suggest is that the asymmetry requirement is not hard-wired in the Faculty of Language as such, it belongs to more general principles (plausibly, part of Chomsky's 2005 Third Factor) and it is expected to be found as a general cognitive procedure, as occurs with distinctness effects (see § 4.4).

4.4. Richard's (2010) Distinctness

The previous sections have pointed out the necessity to establish an asymmetry as a restriction that arises to satisfy either PHON or SEM conditions (or both). Asymmetry requirements are not the only conditions that interfaces impose. Authors such as Richards (2010) or Hiraiwa (2010) defend the existence of a general restriction that imposes the necessity to apply MERGE to elements that are 'distinct.' This is a more specific condition, since it does not only affect the status of the object (XP or X), but the features of the objects itself. As it will be shown in this section, distinctness and asymmetry requirements are analogous on different grounds. I first present the different proposals that account for this condition, focusing then on Richards (2010), which will be assumed in this dissertation with the relevant modifications (see § 4).[22]

Distinctness effects (DIS, henceforth) have been explored in different areas of grammar. Initially, this restriction was studied in the field of phonology, under the label *Obligatory Contour Principle* (or OCP for short; see Leben 1973, Goldsmith 1979, McCarthy 1986, Odden 1986) formulated in (35) (Leben 1973).

(35) Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP, henceforth)

Adjacent identical objects are disallowed

[21] See Di Sciullo (2002, 2005) for similar proposal regarding antisymmetry effects.
[22] In this section I present the general proposal made by Richards (2010) standing out the relevant points and the problems that this proposal implies. In § 5, I introduce a revisited version of this condition that will be the framework of the dissertation.

The principle of (35) has been applied to phonetic, phonological and morphological units. It is possible, by having something like the OCP, to restrict both the combination of affixes and roots, such as concatenation of consonants, vowels or tones. The OCP has been studied in different languages (see Nasukawa & Backley 2014, Alderete, Tupper and Frisch 2012, Blust 2012). This effect has been explored in detail in Japanese. As we observe in (36), the [+ sonant] feature cannot be repeated in the same word or native morpheme in this language.

(36) a. geta 'clogs' (Japanese)
b. kaze 'wind'
c. * geda
d. * gaze

[taken from Nasukawa and Backley 2014: 16]

In the Japanese words exemplified in (36), *c* and *d* are not possible since two voiced sounds appear in two adjacent syllables (*gaze*, *geda*), whereas this does not occur in a and b. This is similar to the process known as 'dissimilation'.

The OCP has been 'exported' to other domains such as syntax (see Perlmutter 1971, Menn & MacWhinney 1984, Yip 1998, Van Riemsdijk 1998, Ackema 2001, Neeleman & Van de Koot 2006). A relevant distinction between these proposals is that some of them defend that this deisticness is applied at the interface between syntax and phonology or it belongs directly to syntax. In Hoekstra (1984), Van Riemsdijk (1998) and Heck (2010) this condition is directly applied to the way in which the features are combined in syntax, whereas in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001) and Lechner (2004) this effect is applied specifically in syntactic operations such as case assignment and movement. Finally, in Richards' (2010) proposal, as will be developed in more detail below, it is defended that these restrictions are due to interface motivations.

In this section I develop the proposal in Richards (2010), which will be relevant to understand 'repulsion' effects in syntax. The issues that DIS must deal with are diverse. The first of them concerns the specific properties or items sensible to this condition. A second one refers to the component the DIS is applied to. As formulated in (35), OCP is applied in contexts in which two elements are phonetically contiguous. Therefore, what is relevant is linear adjacency. When applying this notion to NS, the relevance of linear

adjacency disappears, and attention is given to other non-local relations such as those established between the different elements of the same phasal domain.

As will be discussed later, these effects have been related to the impossibility of linearizing two elements (Richards 2010) or combining two elements with the same morphophonological realization (Hiraiwa 2010). For this reason, it has been argued that this condition is not an intrinsic characteristic of syntax, but one imposed by PHON. In this sense, DIS is a condition similar to Moro's (2000) dynamic antisymmetry, since it affects the way in which the ACL operates. In particular, Richards' (2010) proposal is formulated in (37).

(37) Distinctness

If a sequence <α, α> is generated, the derivation crashes in the linearization process. [from Richards 2010: 5]

The formulation of (37) indicates that two elements that are transferred to PHON cannot be identical, for they could not be linearized. This would occur, for example, in the case of (38a), where two SOs with identical labels must be linearized. The derivation is legitimate in the case of (38b), where the elements that must be linearized give rise to a structure <DP, PP>[23].

(38) a. *The destruction the city.
b. The destruction of the city.

[from Richards 2010: 10]

Let us discuss this step by step. Following Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001), Richards (2010) assumes that NS does not contain information about linear order. He also assumes that the different nodes are linearized in the transfer domain according to the LCA. More particularly, Richards (2010) takes TRANSFER to be cyclic and occur at different points of the derivation—specifically, every time the complement domain of a phase is cashed out. As noted in § 3.2, TRANSFER sends material to the interfaces and makes it inaccessible for future syntactic operations.

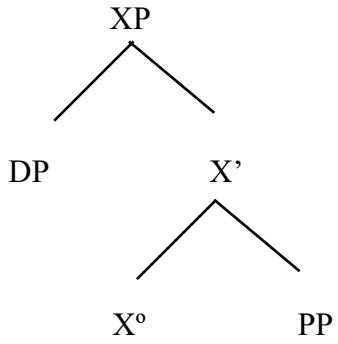
It is important to keep in mind that the material transferred to the interfaces is the domain where DIS applies. Therefore, what is relevant at this point is to understand that the units

[23] See also Hiraiwa (2010).

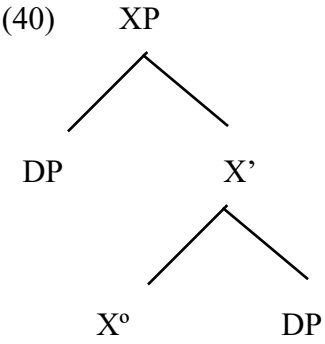
that are subject to the DIS are the elements that appear in the domain that is transferred to PHON, since these are the elements that must be linearized. The relevant distinction is between the complement and the edge, which are the two domains that are sent separately. The DIS, therefore, is sensible to the PIC.

Let me show how Richards (2010) explains the impossibility of linearizing two identical elements. Compare the following examples: one is DIS-compatible (see (39)) whereas the other is not (see (40)). Note that both {DP, PP} (in (39)) and {DP, DP} (in (40)) are within the same transfer domain.

(39)



(40)



According to Richards (2010), the structure of (40) cannot be linearized. This impossibility is due to the fact that the identity of the two labels provides contradictory information. More specifically, PHON would receive the following information for each case:

(41) <DP> precedes <DP> in the case of (40).

(42) <DP> precedes <PP> in the case of (39).

Given (37), the system could not know which of the two labels <DP, DP> is referred in the information that PHON receives, assuming DIS. As Richards (2010) points out, this could be solved if the information in (41) and (42) were more complete and could access to the NPs that contain these DPs. If the system could 'look' into the phrases, it could distinguish one DP from another DP. However, according to Richards (2010), the linearization process does not have access to this information. As will be mentioned later on this poses some problems.

This brings us to the question of where the derivation requires the two elements to be different. For Richards (2010), as just noted, this is the label, which is precisely the information that he considers relevant for linearization; as opposed to Kayne (1994), who

stipulates that the terminals nodes (the LIs themselves) are the elements that must be linearized.

An interesting aspect of Richards' (2010) proposal is that the information provided by the label may vary from language to language. For Richards (2010), the information relevant to the DIS has two sources: the label itself or the features that it contains (called "sublabels" in Chomsky 1995). Richards relates this parametric variation with the fact that some languages mark the Case morphologically. The idea is that in these languages in which the Case is marked, this is sensible to offer distinctively effects.

(43) Label: <DP>

(44) Sublabel: <DP_{AC}>

Richards (2010) mentions three types of information that can appear in the sublabel: case, gender and animacy. Consequently, given the distinction of (43) and (44), it is expected to find variation regarding what distinguishes two labels: in some languages, such as English, two DPs are identical regardless of the features that they contain, whereas other languages can establish differences based on the gender, the animacy or the case that the DP contains[24].

Finally, Richards (2010) maintains that the system offers three strategies in order to avoid the existence of two identical labels within the same domain. Let me show each of them. One of these strategies is adding structure. With this Richards (2010) refers to the possibility that a DP can become a PP or a KP by adding a preposition or a Case marker. Richards (2010) assumes that PP and KP are phases; therefore, a phasal boundary will be established. An example of this strategy is the insertion of a preposition in cases such as those of (45) ((38) above), repeated here for convenience:

(45) a. * The destruction the city.

b. The destruction of the city.

In (45a) the structure to be linearized is *<DP, DP>[25], while the insertion of the preposition in (45b) establishes a phase boundary between both DPs. The complement

[24] This puts the tension mentioned in § 3.2.

[25] These observations are correct if we assume that the internal structure of the LIs is created before syntax, that is, in the lexicon. The same holds for compounds: they form atomic units in terms of label in syntax.

the city would be sent first, leaving *the destruction of* in its edge. In this way the structure to be linearized is <PP, DP>.

Richards (2010) offers the same analysis for Differential Object Marking (DOM) in some languages, including Spanish (see (46)) (Torrego 1998).

(46) a. Aman **a** María.
love-3PL to María
'They love to María.'
b. Aman el dinero.
love-3PL the money
'They love money.'

A second strategy to be DIS-compliant is to eliminate structure. In this case, one of the two functional categories could become a lexical category, which Richards assumes that are immune to the DIS. According to Richards (2010), this occurs, for example, in cases of restructuring (see Cinque 2004, Hernanz and Rigau 1984, Luján 1992, and Wurmbrand 2004).

As it is known at least since Longobardi (1980), in languages such as Italian there is a restriction that prohibits the concatenation of two infinitives. This filter also has different exceptions. In terms of DIS, the appearance of two infinitives in the same phase implies the linearization of a structure of the type <v, v>. The exceptions to this filter provided by Longobardi (1980) come from restructuring contexts, as evidenced by the raising of the clitic in (47).

(47) a. Giovanni comincia a volerlo fare. (Italian)
Giovanni start-3SG to want CL do-INF
'He starts wanting to do it.'
b. *Giovanni comincia a voler far lo. (Italian)
Giovanni start-3SG to want do-INF CL
'He starts wanting to do it.'

Richards (2010) assumes the analysis of Wurmbrand (1998), according to which the restructuring verbs lack the CP and VP layers, being characterized, therefore, for having only the VP layer. The result of the combination of two infinitives in the restructuring

contexts does not imply the combination of two <v, v>, but of two <VP, VP>, two lexical categories.

Finally, the third strategy to adhere to DIS involves movement. Low copies are not pronounced in the phonetic interface, so they are inert for linearization processes (and labeling processes, as has been mentioned in § 4.1). An example of that is (48).

(48) a. ?? Juan le presentó a María a Pedro. (Spanish)
Juan CL-DAT.3SG introduce-PAST.3SG to María to Pedro
'Juan introduced María to Pedro / Pedro to María.'
b. A Pedro, Juan le presentó a María.
to Pedro, Juan CL-DAT.3SG introduce-PAST.3SG to María
'To Pedro, Juan introduced María.'
c. A María, Juan le presentó a Pedro.
to María Juan CL-DAT.3SG introduce-PAST.3SG to Pedro
'To María, Juan introduced to Pedro.'

The extraction of one of the phrases (see (48b) and (48c)) outside the transfer domain allows the structure of (48a) to be linearized. In the example (48a), the following non-linearizable object is generated: <DP, PP>. In (48b) and (48c), if one of these phrases moves to the left periphery of the sentence, the object to be linearized is of the type <PP, PP>.[26]

Let us take stock. Richards' (2010) DIS can be summarized through the following points:

(i) What is relevant for two elements to be considered identical is the label. This label possesses two levels: (a) the label itself <DP, DP> and (b) the sublabel <DP_{AC}, DP_{DAT}>,

(ii) the domain in which the DIS applies is the transfer domain, that is, the complement, and

[26] Note that at this point a connection is established between Richards (2010) and Moro (2000): for Richards (2010), movement is a strategy to avoid the appearance of two identical elements in the same phase <DP, DP>; for Moro (2000), a solution to avoid the presence of two elements that maintain a symmetric c-commanding relation.

(iii) DIS is a condition imposed by PHON, much like the LCA is. However, this condition applies in NS (again, like the LCA). This forces Richards (2010) to assume a certain look ahead in the system or to accept the hypothesis that syntax generates multiple derivations until one converges with the conditions imposed by the interfaces.

Richards' proposal presents some theoretical and empirical problems. On the theoretical side, Richards (2010) introduces an unexplained difference between the LCA and Distinctness: whereas in the LCA proposed by Kayne (1994) the objects that are subject to the linearization process are lexical items, in Richards' the LCA does not have access to the items itself, the objects that manipulate are the labels. If we remember the way in which LCA has been introduced (see § 4.2), it can be observed that the items that are linearized are the terminal nodes, that is, the LIs, but the process is not the same in Distinctness. This assumption is not clear because the elements that are pronounced are the lexical items and not labels. Richards does not offer an explanation for this twist. If the LCA has access to LIs, two DPs such as <Juan> and <María> can be distinguished on c-command grounds alone, and Distinctness becomes irrelevant.

Another aspect of this theory that should raise yellow flags is the way variation is captured. As mentioned above, some languages are sensible to the sublabels in order to establish distinctive relations. These sublabels imply that some features that are inside the phrases are also relevant. Details aside, the tension between labels and sublabels is similar to the problems presented in § 4.1 regarding LA. In the relevant cases in Chomsky's proposal, the features that are inside the DP and AGREE are the items that determinate the label, and in DIS these features are precisely the items that allow to distinguish two identical labels. But, in any case, the languages that are subject to these sublabels are stipulative and the features seems to vary from language to language (gender, case, person, etc).

Finally, in Richards' model it is also necessary to resort to more phasal categories that Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes, that is, the PP. Also, it is not clear why lexical categories result inert to linearization processes.

Consider, for the punch line, one final problem: the existence of labels themselves. It is crucial for Richards (2010) that LIs project non-terminal symbols upon merged. As Chomsky (2013) emphasized, the existence of projections, in the sense of X-bar Theory,

is suspect: these elements are theory-internal, are never pronounced, and clearly depart from Inclusiveness and the NTC.

4.5. Relativized Minimality

As shown in the previous sections, the notion of identity plays an important role in the realization of convergent structures. This notion has been applied to different types of syntactic domains: phasal (see Richards 2010) or strictly local (adjacent elements) (see Hiraiwa 2010). In this subsection I pay attention to a subclass of locality effect that has been the focus of much research since the late 1980s: Relativized Minimality (RM; see Rizzi 1990). Intuitively, the idea behind RM is as follows:

(49) [X . . . [Z . . . [Y . . .]]]

In a configuration such as (49), Y cannot be related to X (through IM or AGREE) if Z is 'in between' and it has certain properties (features) in common with X. So, in order to be related to X, Y must be able to participate in minimal (strictly local, nothing intervening) dependency with X, where "minimality" is relativized to the nature of the structural relation to be established. Cases that clearly illustrate this effect are the formation of chains. In contexts like (49), Y and X cannot form a chain: Y cannot move to X if Z is similar in the relevant sense (to be clarified below).

(50) [X . . . [Z . . . [Y . . .]]]
↑_____|

More specifically, this principle has been formulated as follows (see Rizzi 2001, a simplification and updating of RM in Rizzi 1990).

(51) Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X iff there is no Z such that
(i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
(ii) Z intervenes between X and Y

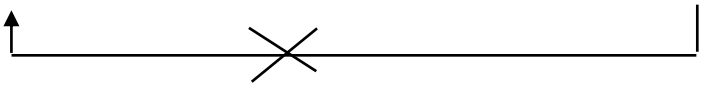
[from Rizzi 2001: 95]

So, in the formulation of (51), there are two key factors involved: first, (i) the structural type of an object, that is, their 'size': X vs. XP and, second, (ii) their position, that is, the

position that occupies Y respect their target (whether it is an A or an A-bar position). The first factor is reminiscent of the labeling conflict that Chomsky points out (see § 4.1): {XP, XP} structures cannot be labeled because they have the same structure. In the same sense, an XP object cannot move across other XP because they share the same structure or share a specific feature, as will be clarified. Then, two elements are in a minimal configuration when there is no intervening element having certain structural characteristics in common with the target. Let me illustrate a violation of (51) with (52):

(52) a. I wonder who could solve the problem in this way.

b. *How do you wonder <u>who</u> could solve this problem < how>?



In (52b) chain formation fails because the moved element, *how*, is not in a minimal configuration with the target due to the intervention of the interrogative element *who*, which occupies the same position *how* should stop-by (in order to reach the final landing site): an A-bar specifier.

So, RM imposes restrictions on two types of relations: (i) between heads and phrases and, in relation with phrases, (ii) between positions of arguments (A positions) and of non-arguments (A-bar positions).

Regarding the first type of relations (head-head), in general, a head cannot move across another head (but see Roberts 2010, where arguments to reject Travis' 1984 Head Movement Constraint are offered). As it is well-known, heads can move intervening head positions, if some head position is skipped, the result is in impossible (as Travis 1984 discussed at length). This is illustrated in (53) and (54): only the highest functional verb can move to the C in question formation contexts.

(53) a. They have left.
b. Have they left?

(54) a. They could have left.
b. *Have they could left?
c. Could they have left?

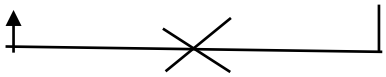
For this reason, (54b) is ill-formed: the auxiliary verb *have* moves across the modal verb *could* (see (55)).

(55) *Have they <u>could</u> <have> left?

An example of a phrase-phrase restriction has been shown in the movement of wh-elements presented in the data of (52). In the same vein, the phenomenon known as 'superaising' has also been related to RM (Ura 1994, 2000, but see Fernández-Salgueiro 2008 for discussion of some crosslinguistic puzzles). The main idea of this restriction is that a subject raised to a higher subject position cannot move skipping an intervening subject position. This banned configuration is illustrated in (56).

(56) a. It seems that it is likely that John will win.
b. It seems that John is likely *t* to win.
c. John seems t to be likely *t* to win.
d. *John seems that it is likely *t* to win.

(57) *John seems that it is likely <John> to win.



Once again, the DP tries to move across other DP in a subject position: 'it.'[27]

Chomsky (1995) offers a reinterpretation of this RM effects in terms of *Attract (Closest)*. According to Chomsky (1995), movement is motivated by feature attraction: A head that possesses some features attracts a phrase that can provide the head with the relevant features (in the sense discussed in § 3.2.2). This author proposes the following condition so that this process can occur properly:

(58) Minimal Link Condition:

K attracts *a* only if there is no *b*, *b* closer to K than *a*, such that K attracts *b*.

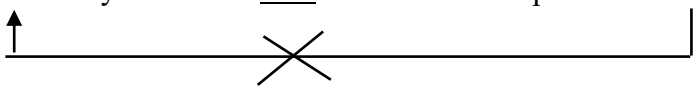
[from Chomsky 1995: 311]

Let me show how this reinterpretation works in the example of (51), discussed above and repeated here:

(59) a. I wonder who could solve the problem in this way.

[27] One option is to relate the impossibility of extracting the subject to the fact that it is a tensed clause, but as Moore (1998) shows, the problem is more general (see Rizzi 2008).

b. *How do you wonder <u>who</u> could solve this problem < how>?



Following the MLC, the head C cannot attract the interrogative element *how* since the interrogative element *who* is endowed with the relevant interrogative features and it is closer than *how*.

MLC and minimality display some differences: first, MLC is applied directly on the movement operation (not on the formation of representations) and, second, it is sensible to the identity of features that *a* and *b* have. Putting these distinctions aside, MLC and RM obey the same restrictions regarding locality and identity effects. What is relevant at this point is that both MCL and RM put the problem of identity in relation to the formation of SOs. As I will discuss in § 5, a fundamental restriction between RM (and MCL) and the asymmetries / distinctness effects is that the former one is applied only in syntax and is not related to PHON or SEM requirements.[28]

To recap so far, this section has offered a review of the different proposals regarding DIS effects. As has been developed through the section, these approaches present some points of connection that have led us to question if it is possible to offer a unified view of all of them. In the next section, some insights will be discussed in order to sketch this unified view.

5. Points of convergence: Is a unified view possible?

The proposals presented in the previous section point to the existence of a general principle that restricts the interaction of similar SOs within the same local domain. Of course, we must define *similar* and *local* very carefully, for otherwise no progress will be made. The ultimate goal of this section is to underscore the similarities of the different proposals that have been reviewed in the different pages (LA, DIS, RM, etc.) and show the attempts to offer a unified version of these local interactions. Also, this section will present the specific framework that will be assumed through the dissertation: a reviewed version of Richards' distinctness.

At first glance, the background intuition of all these approaches is easy to spell out: too similar elements cannot coexist within the same domain. One of the issues that have been

[28] See also anti-locality effects described by Abels (2003).

broadly discussed in the literature is the origin of this condition. In particular, it has been discussed whether this condition is imposed by a specific domain (NS or the SEM / PHON interfaces) or is a more general principle (with a cognitive, biological, etc. nature). Authors such as Manzini (2014) argue that it is a general cognitive restriction that the language faculty takes advantage of (see Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002). In fact, authors such as Nesper and Mehler (2009) argue that humans have a primitive system of memory and perception highly sensitive to the effects of identity. Likewise, Samuels (2009) defends that these types of restrictions belong to biological and physical principles of optimal design (what is called the Third Factor, Chomsky 2005, 2007). If these authors are correct, it would be expected that identity effects would be found not only in the phonetic interface, but in a general way throughout the system.

The next two subsections are organized as follows: first, I will present Manzini's attempt to unify the restrictions proposed in Section 3 and, second, the specific framework of this dissertation will be introduced.

5.1. Anti-locality effects

In this section I will present the so-called anti-locality effects in order to discuss the possibility to offer a unified view.

Manzini (2014) proposes the existence of a general principle of local anti-identity, in which there would be space to capture in a unitary way OCP effects and RM. Initially, the Leben's (1973) formulation of OCP proposes that two adjacent identical tones are disallowed inside the relevant autosegmental tier (see § 4.5). In the subsequent formulations of this restriction (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994) the OCP is generalized to all autosegmental tiers in general. If we compare this principle with RM (see § 4.4), we observe that, in essence, the idea is the same: two identical adjacent elements are banned. However, three main differences can be sketched: (i) the relevant features that made two objects distinct are not the same: in RM they are syntactic features and in OCP they are phonetical ones; (ii) also, the RM implies the syntactic notion of movement, whereas this is not possible in OCP; and, finally, (iii) violations of RM produces ungrammatical sequences, but OCP displays repair strategies.

It is thus obvious that (i) and (ii) are due to the characteristics of the domain where these effects are applied: NS or PHON. Based on these observations, Manzini (2014) poses the question whether it could be the case that there is a single underlying local anti-identity condition in grammar that applies at the different domains. If so, such condition would *prima facie* be an example of a general cognitive constraint reused by the Faculty of Language (see Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002). The point of (iii) is trickier: the notion of repair strategy is excluded in minimalist syntax, since backtracking is not possible in the derivation.

The idea of a general principle that applies in different domains is not new. As has been shown in § 4.3, the extension of OCP effects to other domains such as NS presents huge tradition in the literature. Authors such as Van Riemsdijk (2008) explore the same route of Manzini (2014): this author reinterprets the Doubly Filled Comp (DFC) as a syntactic reflex of the OCP or Haplology and he suggests that this can be related to a more general biological principle that also presents an effect in RM:

> Another area of syntax that might be re-examined in the light of *XX is relativized minimality (see Rizzi 199[0]). What the term relativized refers to in fact is the relative identity of both the element engaged in a dependency rela- tion and the intervening element... And, in a graphic interpretation of how such a movement takes place, there is a virtual intermediate stage at which the two elements in question are also adjacent...
>
> [from Van Riemsdijk 2008: 241]

Also, Neeleman and Van de Koot (2006), in relation of their proposal of syntactic Haplology, pose the question of what type of features trigger deletion or supletion effects. These authors conclude that "one would expect to find cases in which deletion or suppletion is triggered by syntactic features even though the morphemes affected are not phonologically identical in isolation" (2006: 1530).

Neeleman & Van de Koot (2006) and Van Riemsdijk (2008) resort to Optimality Theory or Distributed Morphology in order to account for the repair processes observed, this requires assuming more machinery (a lot of rules and constraints in OT) and new operations (such as Late Insertion in DM, which includes the violation of inclusiveness).

Building on these problems, Manzini (2014) proposes a specific view of identity avoidance where repair strategies are not required, namely 'Economy of lexicalizations':

> "We further propose that these phenomena do not involve the violation of any constraint. Rather, in some languages a single lexicalization of property P per domain D suffices and P cannot therefore be iterated in D under Economy. Descriptive repairs do not represent the undoing of a violation — rather they are simply alternative lexicalizations, licensed by the same property P and domain D that do not admit of doubling." [2014: 125]

The idea is that in X domain only one representation of Y feature is possible. This is applied to all components of the grammar. So, it is not necessary to postulate that X derivations are created and, then, are excluded and repaired. In other words, the system does not create a determinate structure since it is not possible to lexicalize two identical features. Let me illustrate this with an example. As will be developed in the next Chapter, Spanish does not allow the co-occurrence of a third person accusative clitic and a dative one. In these scenarios, the Spurious se clitic substitutes the dative clitic.

(60) a. *Juan *le* *lo* dijo.
Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG say-PAST.3SG
'Juan said it to him/her.'
b. Juan *se* *lo* dijo.
Juan CL-SE CL-AC.3SG say-PAST.3SG
'Juan said it to him/her.'

Although I do not enter into the details here (see Chapter III), Manzini (2014) defends that the restriction in (60a) is due to the co-appearance of two D-operators. This author assumes that [l] lexicalizes the D feature and for a clitic string is only possible to lexicalize one D feature[29]. Manzini (2014) also offers the same analysis for other phenomena such as PCC effects and the exclusion between imperatives and negation.

The fact that these phenomena correspond to different domains of grammar (syntax, morphology and semantics) support her idea of a general restriction that is applied in all domains. Thus, it is not necessary to postulate a repair strategy, since the structure of (56a) is never created. Manzini's proposal points out interesting issues regarding identity constraints, but present some empirical and theoretical problems. From a theoretical point of view, it is not clear whether identity constraints are applied in all points of the derivation. As has been discussed in § 4, external merged elements present an identical

[29] This view is also compatible with proposals regarding clitic clusters where their incompatibilities are accounted for through the operation Agree. In fact, Manzini's analysis can be reinterpreted assuming that the D operator is the Probe and clitis are the Goal (see Chapter II).

relation (symmetrical). Also, Chomsky (1995) defends the free character of the operation of MERGE. Then, I wonder how a principle such as the Economy of lexicalizations can be applied to MERGE. Also, it seems that the system can combine elements with the identical structure creating a <XP, YP> and <Y, X> objects.[30] As has been explained in § 4.1, in this context the system can recur to AGREE or MOVE. It is true that in <XP, YP> and <Y, X> SOs identity is structural and is not related to the label or to feature properties (it is not sensible, for example, to the label itself NP, DP, PP), but is also related to identity objects in a more abstract way. In fact, it seems not very plausible that MERGE (defined as in § 3) can avoid structures with identical items.

From an empirical point of view, this approach forces us to introduce some ad hoc considerations. For example, regarding **le lo* restriction, it has been demonstrated in the literature that this is not a universal rule. Manzini (2014) points out that in some languages this restriction can be not active or can resort to other types of AGREE (if a Probe-Goal relation is assumed), such as Multiple Agree. These solutions sound somewhat ad hoc since, if the Economy of Lexicalization is related to general cognitive requirements, it would be expected to be universal.

To sum up, it seems desirable and plausible to propose a unique general anti-identity rule that can cover different proposals: Haplology, RM, Distinctness, OCP. However, it is not clear if this restriction must be applied in narrow syntax (imposing more machinery in the way in which the operation of Merge is produced) or in the interfaces (assuming thus certain look ahead in the system or over generating structures that will be repaired at interfaces or that will eventually crash).

5.2. The framework of the dissertation

As has been mentioned in the previous section, the existence of multiple points of convergence in the different proposals make desirable to propose only one general restriction that ban the possibility of having two elements that are similar. In fact, in this dissertation I assume that all these reviewed proposals (§ 4) are due to a more general

[30] In fact, we can find structures such as appositions where two items with the same structure are combined.

condition that belongs to Third Factor conditions of language design. Although proposing a specific framework that unifies all the theories would be desirable, it is beyond the scope of this chapter, which concentrates on discussing the relevant features of each of them and highlighting the convergent points that make postulating the existence of this general restriction possible.

Throughout this dissertation I assume a revised version of Richards' Distinctness already presented in § 4.4 that tries to tackle part of the criticism sketched in this section. Specifically, I assume that the system is restricted by the Distinctness Condition introduced and repeated here for convenience:

(61) Distinctness Condition

If a sequence <α, α> is generated, the derivation crashes in the linearization process. [from Richards 2010: 5]

In essence, the idea of (61) is that, in a transfer domain, the elements inside must be distinct. I assume that this Distinctness is applied when derivations are sent to the interfaces, so this restriction, as has been argued, comes from interfaces. However, I diverge from Richards in a relevant aspect: the necessity to establish an asymmetry, that is, the necessity to distinguish two objects, does not arise from the linearization process itself, but it is related, as Chomsky suggests (1995, 2013, 2015), to a more general principle that prevents identical structures due, mainly, to semantic incompatibilities, as has been argued in the POP's discussion. This approximation solves the problem that the linearization process implies: the unsupported idea about linearizing labels and not items, as the ACL suggests.

Let me formulate this as follows[31]:

(62) Revised Distinctness Condition (RDC)

Let SOs {α,β,…} be generated by MERGE

Let α, β, etc. be syntactic objects, either simple (lexical items) or complex

A derivation crashes at SEM if, given {α,β}, α and β cannot be distinguished

[31] The precise formulation of the RDC / ICL was provided to me by Ángel J. Gallego (p.c.).

The RDC further forces us to define on what grounds can α and β be too similar. I will assume the following:[32]

(63) Identity Condition Lemma (ICL)

Given two SOs, α and β, within a local domain they are identical if:

a) α and β have the same feature composition (full identity)

b) α and β have some features in common (partial identity)

c) α and β's syntactic context cannot be distinguished

Our ICL makes the assumption that two SOs cannot be distinguished if they all have their features in common (which brings us to the copy / repetition problem; Collins & Groat 2018), if they have some features in common (what Starke 2001 called "complex minimality"), or if their position cannot be determined contextually (a standard {α,β} situation, for if {α,β} is not labelled, then one cannot tell if α is the specifier or β is).

On the other hand, other points will be reinterpreted. Specifically, I reinterpret the repair strategies that Richards proposes. Remember that he proposes the existence of three strategies: (i) add structure, (ii) movement and (iii) eliminate structure. As has been mentioned, these strategies —(i) and (iii) at least —imply the violation of the Non-Tampering Condition and Inclusiveness.

Adding structure violates the Inclusiveness Condition since new elements are introduced during the computation. Instead, eliminating structure violates the Non-Tampering Condition because an already created structure must be modified. In this dissertation I dispense with the strategy of adding structure and the possibility of deleting structure will be reinterpreted. The idea that will be defended is that the interphases (specifically, PF) try to 'readjust' as far as possible the structure created by MERGE, being only possible in some cases. In other cases, the derivation is completely different, and MERGE creates a new and convergent structure.

Distinctness presents different advantages. Instead of OCP approaches, Distinctness puts the restriction directly in the interphases and not in the syntax itself (as opposed to Hoekstra 1984, Van Riemsdijk 1988, 1998 and Heck 2010), this fits well with the version

[32] Like the RDC, the ICL was provided to me by Ángel J. Gallego (p.c.).

of MERGE that is assumed, as has been mentioned in previous sections the operation of MERGE is characterized by being free. Moreover, Richards allows us to take seriously the SMT presented in § 3: the role that interfaces play in language design. Contrary to OCP effects, Richards also assumes that the relevant domain is the transfer domain, not adjacency. This makes sense if Distinctness is a condition imposed by the interfaces. As I have presented in § 4, the elements that are transferred do not present a lineal structure, but a hierarchical one, so the relevant domain is the complement that is sent according to the PIC (see Chomsky 2000).

6. Summary

This chapter has focused on establishing the general framework that will be adopted throughout the dissertation. Specifically, I depart from the general insights of the Minimalist Program, that is, the assumption of the SMT. Moreover, I assume the existence of three operations: Merge, Agree and Transfer. The relevant point here is that the first one is the one that creates structure and is characterized by operating freely. According to the SMT, restrictions like the ones described in § 4 come from the role that play the interfaces in the computation.

Also, this chapter has reviewed the main proposals that account for distinctness effects (see Moro 2010, Chomsky 2013, 2015, Kayne 1994, Rizzi 1980, Richards 2010) emphasizing on the aspects where all these theories converge. These coincidences allow us to raise the existence of a more general principle that prevents symmetrical or identical structures, an idea that is assumed in this dissertation.

Finally, I have presented the specific framework that will be assumed in the next chapters, that is, a reviewed version of Richards' (2010) based on the conditions formulated in (62) and (63): The Revised Distinctness Condition (RDC) and the Identity Condition Lemma (ICL).

CHAPTER II
CLITIC CLUSTERS

1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to analyze a phenomenon that can be approached by distinctness effects (see Chapter I). To this end, I focus on the combinatorial restrictions that operate in clitic clusters in certain Eastern Iberian varieties (Aragonese, Spanish, and Catalan). In particular, I analyze the combination of third person clitics. As it is well known, in some Romance varieties the combination of a third person accusative clitic and a third person dative clitic is banned (the so-called **le lo* restriction, see Bonet 1991, Cuervo 2013, Nevins 2007, Ordóñez 2002, 2012, Perlmutter 1971). In order to license this troublesome combination, languages resort to different 'repair strategies' that modify the structure of one of the merged clitics.

Let me offer an example of the cases to be treated in this Chapter that align with distinctness effects. In the following example the merged clitics *le* (Eng. 'to him/her') and *lo* (Eng. 'it') illustrate a case of partial identity (they have some features in common) that induces a distinctness conflict:

(1) a.*Juan *le* *lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

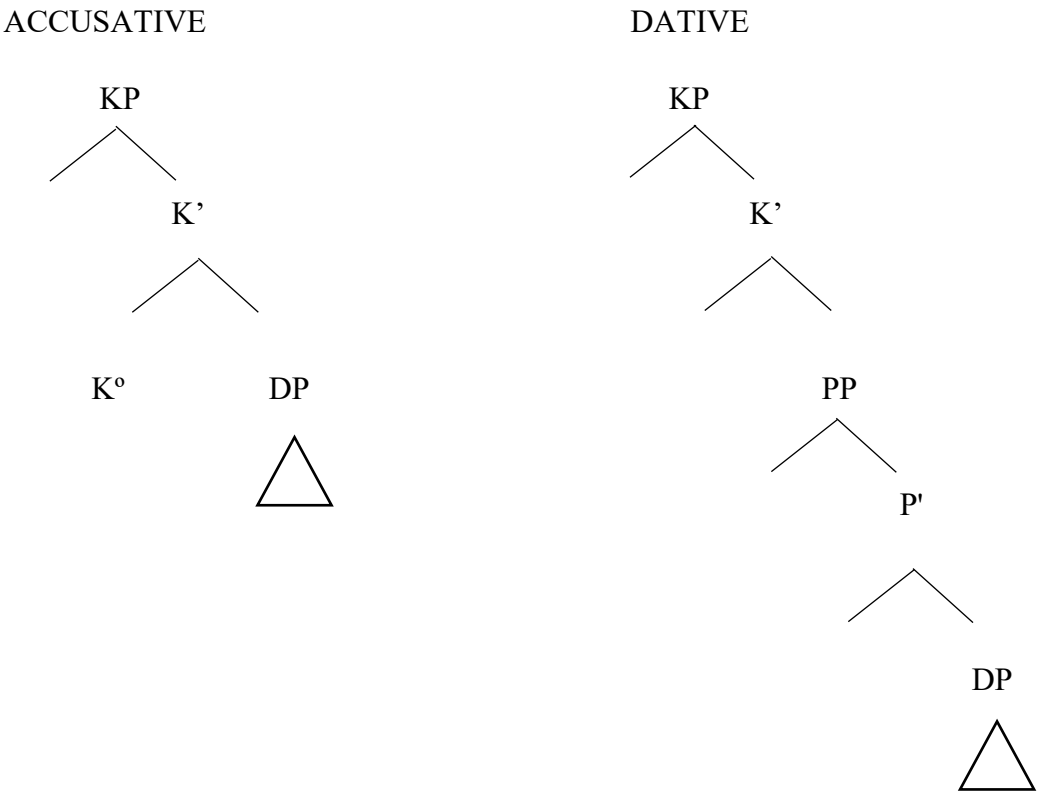
b. Juan *se* *lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan SE CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

In (1a), as will be detailed later on, the clitics *le* and *lo* create a distinctness effect, as the ungrammaticality of (1a) shows. In (1b), since one of the two clitics is modified, the distinctness conflict goes away—it is morphologically 'repaired'.

In the literature, the ungrammaticality of (1a) is accounted for by postulating the incompatibility of some feature (such as person, case or definiteness), as will be explained in § 3. This chapter defends that this incompatibility appears due to the co-occurrence of

two case features in the same domain, which violates the RDC (see Chapter 2 § 4.2). Specifically, the incompatibility is produced in the combination of two KPs inside the same domain (see (2)).

(2a) (2b)



(2a) corresponds to the structure of the accusative clitic, whereas (2b) illustrates the dative one (see Bittner and Hale 1996, Kayne 2002, 1994, Siegel 1974, among others). RDC rejects the partial identity illustrated in (2).

Instead, varieties resort to different strategies in order to avoid the apparition of (2a) and (2b) inside the same domain. Let me exemplify one of these strategies introducing the Catalan case:

(3) *L'* *hi* diré. (Catalan spoken in Barcelona)

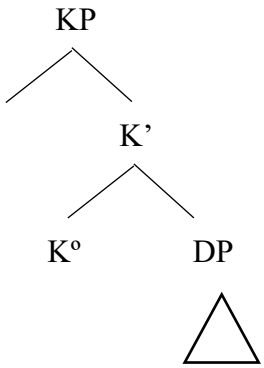
CL-AC.3SG CL-LOC tell-FUT.3SG

'I will tell him/her.'

The example of (3) illustrates third person clitic combination, which the resulting combination is accusative and locative. In this chapter it will be argued that the structure of this clitic cluster corresponds to the elimination of the accusative part of the dative. For this reason, the final structure is the one represented in (4), which is compatible with the RDC.

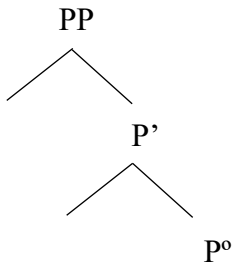
(4a)

ACCUSATIVE



(4b)

LOCATIVE



The proposal is consistent with approaches that defend the existence of a unique space to license structure case in a particular domain—in this case, inside the clitic cluster (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopolou 1998, 2001, Laenzlinger 1993, 1994, Ormazabal & Romero 2013), but derives the problem from a more general restrictive principle. Throughout the chapter, the different strategies that varieties resort to are accounted for and the way in which they are produced are explained in more detail.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: in § 2 I provide an empirical characterization of clitic clusters focusing on the restrictions that arise when two third person clitics are combined in Catalan, Aragonese and Spanish varieties. § 3 reviews the different proposals that try to account for these patterns of data. § 4 and 5 lay out the assumptions about the cliticization process and the clitic composition that are relevant to the analysis. § 6 develop in more detail the proposal introduced above.

2. Combinatorial restrictions on clitic clusters

This section provides an empirical characterization of clitic clusters in Eastern Iberian (Spanish, Catalan, and Aragonese)[33].

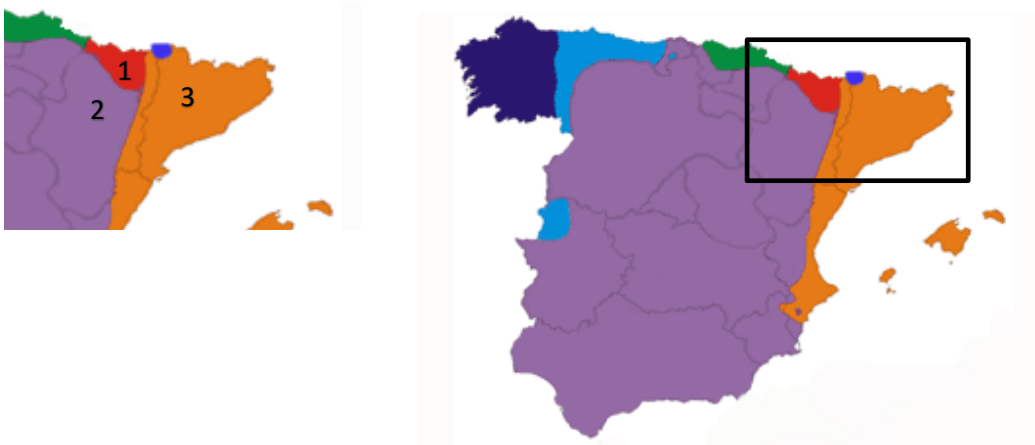
As the literature has shown, clitics can (actually must) modify their morphological shape in certain contexts. This occurs when they appear isolated in phenomena such as *leísmo*, *loísmo, laísmo* (see Bleam 1999, Fernández Ordóñez 1999, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, Romero 2008), in 'recycling' situations (see Longa, Lorenzo and Rigau 1996, Roca 1996), or in combination with other clitics (yielding a "cluster").

This chapter focuses on the changes that emerge when two clitics are combined. To be more precise, I discuss combinations of third person clitics.

2.1. Introducing the variants

Let me first introduce the geographical distribution of the linguistic varieties that will be analyzed in this chapter. I will focus on a specific area where different varieties are in contact, but I will also refer to other areas. In particular, I will discuss data from different varieties of Catalan, Aragonese and Spanish, paying attention to evidence coming from the areas where these different varieties are regularly in contact with each other, i.e. areas where one variety is predominant but is surrounded by at least one other sizeable area where a different variety or clitic combination is predominant (see (5)).

(5)



[33] See Manzini and Savoia (2002), Pescarini (2010) for examples in Italian varieties and references therein.

Figure 1 Varieties

As seen in (6), I will offer data from Aragonese (no. 1), a language in contact with Spanish (no. 2), and Catalan (no. 3). I will describe data from different Catalan varieties:

(6)

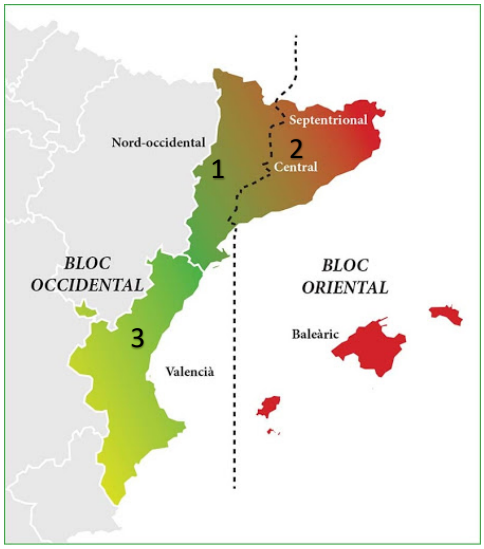


Figure 2 Catalan varieties

Specifically, from Ribagorçan Catalan (no. 1). I will also draw evidence from Central Catalan (no. 2) and Valencian Catalan (no. 3).

Within what is typically called "Aragonese", there are four main varieties to be distinguished: Western Aragonese (no. 1), Central Aragonese (no. 2), Eastern Aragonese (no. 3) and Southern Aragonese (no. 4). Throughout this chapter, I show that these groups manifest relevant differences concerning clitic combinations.

(7)

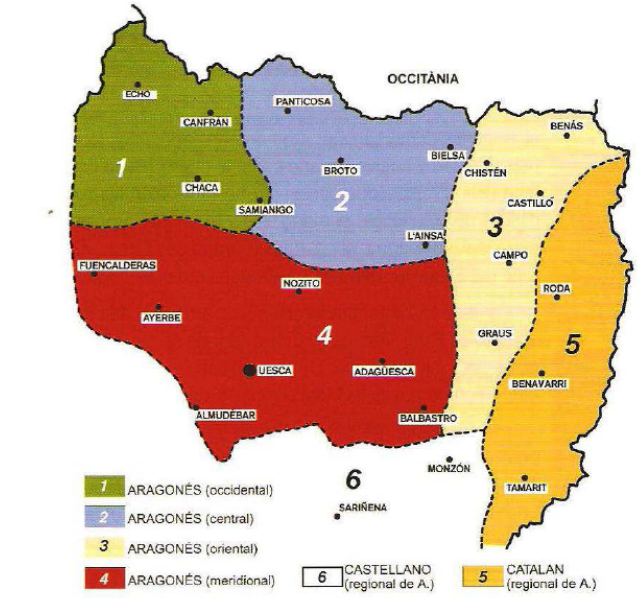


Figure 3 Aragonese varieties

[from López 2012]

Therefore, in this chapter I present data from different varieties. Nonetheless, let me emphasize that I have deliberately chosen those that have a common denominator: the rejection of certain clitic combinations and the substitution of some clitics by others.

2.2. The **le lo Restriction*

The restriction on clitic clusters formed by two third person clitics has been widely attested in the literature (see Bonet 1991, Cuervo 2013, Ordóñez 2002, 2012, Perlmutter 1971, Pescarini 2010, Nevins 2007, Walkow 2012, 2013). The result of this combination has been called 'opaque,' in the sense that one of the two clitics cannot maintain its original structure (Bonet 1991, 2008). This following section reviews these facts in Spanish, Catalan, and Aragonese.

2.2.1. Spanish

In Spanish, dative and accusative clitics can appear isolated (attached to a verb, either proclitic or enclitic; see Kayne 2000, Ordóñez 2002, 2012, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005),[34] as the data in (8) and (9) show.

IO cliticization

(8) a. Juan *le*$_{IO}$ compró un libro.

Juan CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3SG a book

'Juan bought a book.'

b. Juan *le*$_{IO}$ compró un libro *a María*.

Juan CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3SG a book to María

'Juan bought a book to María.'

DO cliticization

(9) a. Juan compró *un libro*.

Juan buy-FUT.3SG a book

'Juan bought a book.'

b. Juan *lo*$_{DO}$ compró.

[34]Although I cannot go into the details, positions occupied by clitics diverge depending on the flexion of the verb (see contrasts in (i)). § 4 discusses clitic positions in more detail.

(i) a. Juan *la* quiere (**la*).
Juan CL-AC.3SG love
'Juan loves her.'
b. Juan quiere cantar*la.*
Juan want.to sing CL-AC.3SG
'Juan wants to sing it.'

Juan CL-AC.3SG. buy-PAST.3SG

'Juan bought a book.'

In (8a) the dative clitic *le* is used to replace the Indirect Object (IO) *a María* (Eng. 'to María'). The structure of (8b) constitutes a clitic doubling structure since IOs can be doubled in Spanish (see Cuervo 2003, Demonte 1994, Suñer 1988, Torrego 1996). On the contrary, the accusative clitic *lo* replaces the Direct Object (DO) *un libro* (Eng. 'a book') in (9b).35 Unlike IOs, DOs impose non-trivial problems for doubling (see Ormazabal & Romero 2007).[36]

Departing from the scenarios above, third person accusative and dative clitics manifest alternations in their structure when combined. Specifically, the dative clitic is subject to morphological changes. Let me see that in more detail. Consider, for starters, the data in (10), where the IO is pronominalized, whereas the DO is not.

IO cliticization

(10) Juan le_{IO} compró *un libro a María*.

Juan CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3SG a book to María

'Juan bought a book to María.'

Let me move to (11), where both objects are cliticizated at once. As I mentioned above, dative clitics cannot maintain their original form in the context of accusative clitics. In the example (11b), the dative clitic is replaced by the SE clitic, also known as "Spurious SE" (see Bonet 1991, Cuervo 2013, Ordóñez 2002).

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[35] The direct object cannot be doubled in Standard Spanish. It occurs only in some dialects of American Spanish and with strong pronouns:

(i) La vi a ella. (Spanish)

CL-AC.3SG see-PAST.3SG to her.

'I saw her.'

I cannot discuss the details of these patterns, since they would take us too far afield, but some of these asymmetries will be developed in more detail in § 4.

DO IO cliticization

(11) a. *Juan le_{IO} lo_{DO} compró.

Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG buy-PAST.3SG

'Juan bought it to him or her.'

b. Juan *SE* lo_{DO} compró.

Juan SE CL-AC.3SG buy-PAST.3SG

'Juan bought it to him or her.'

From a diachronic point of view, this process was as follows. Let me first introduce the evolution from Latin forms (Lloyd 1993):

(12) Accusative:

ILLUM > lo

ILLAM > la

ILLOS > los

ILLAS > las

(13) Dative:

ILLI > *li* > le

ILLIS > *lis* > les

The combination **ILI, -ILUM, -ILAM* has evolved to /*lelo, -la, -los, -las*/ with the regular phonetic evolution from /*lje-*/ to / *ʒe -*/ due to the influence of the palatal semiconsonant over the lateral consonant: */*ljelo*/ > /*ʒelo*/. The graphic representation found was *gelo*, *gela*, *gelos* and *gelas*. Initially, this combination is used only in singular dative contexts, but it was later extended to the plural dative too (Lloyd 1993). What we should notice here is that the [*ʒelo*] combination supposes an atomic unit, that is, one amalgamated

constituent. This combination is maintained until the XVth century. In future stages, the *ge* form is substituted by the clitic SE being converted again into two clitics.[37]

One property of this clitic cluster is that the plurality of the dative cannot be expressed since the clitic SE does not display plural form:

DO IO$_{PLURAL}$ cliticization

(13) a. El profesor *les* regaló el libro *a los alumnos*.
the professor CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG the book to the students

b. El profesor *se(*s)* lo regaló *a los alumnos*.
the professor SE CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG to the students

'The professor gave the book to the students.'

In fact, in some American Spanish areas (such as Mexico and Venezuela), there is a linguistic phenomenon known as "feature transfer" (see Bonet 1991, Heggie and Ordóñez 2005), which occurs when the clitic SE emerges and its referent is plural. This phenomenon refers to a situation in which the accusative clitic manifests a feature of the dative, usually its number. This feature cannot be expressed by the clitic SE because it does not have number features (**ses*), as I mentioned before, so it shows up in the accusative clitic instead.

DO IO$_{PLURAL}$ cliticization

(14) a. Yo doy eso a ellos.
I give-1SG that to them

'I give that to them.'

b. Yo se los doy.
I SE CL-AC.3PL give-1SG

'I give it to them.'

[from Kayne 2000: 106]

[37] § 4.4 explores these possibilities: the *gelo* group and *se lo* conversion.

Let me now show the parametric variation regarding the appearance of the SE clitic. Generally, the replacement of the dative clitic by the SE one is robust in all Spanish dialects. In fact, this combination is the most frequent in Standard Spanish. The *se lo* combination is collected in various atlases, such as *Atlas Lingüístico de Castilla y León* (1999), among others. The *se lo* solution for third person clitic combinations is used in all areas.

Particularities can be found in Basque Spanish and in some varieties of American Spanish[38] (Suñer and Yépez 1988) where a tendency to elide the DO is attested (phenomenon known as null object or object *pro-drop*, see Campos 1986, Franco and Landa 1992, Landa 1995, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Rizzi 1982)[39]. This phenomenon consists in eliminating the accusative clitic that pronominalize the DO, as is exemplified in the following data:

(15) ¿Quieres leer mi libro? Sí, quiero leer.

want-2SG read-INF my book yes want-1SG read-INF

'Do you want to read my book? Yes, I want to read it.

In the data of (15) the accusative clitic *lo* does not appear in the response in order to substitute the DO *mi libro* 'my book'. This elision is more common in ditransitive contexts, when the dative and the accusative clitics are combined. As seen in (16) and (17), when the dative and the accusative clitic are put together, the second one is elided. Interestingly, in these scenarios the dative clitic maintains its original structure with *le*.

Thus, contrary to the previous data, the Spurious SE clitic does not need to emerge since the restriction is not found[40.]

[38] In Yépez & Suñer (1988) data is provided from Quiteño Spanish.

[39] It is worth pointing out that the literature on the topic defends a hierarchy to elide the DO (see Campos 1986; Franco and Landa 1991; Landa, 1995, Rizzi 1982, Ortiz de Urbina 1989). Generally, in Basque Country Spanish this elision is related to Animacy hierarchy: if DOs are [-animate] they are elided; on the contrary, [+ animate] DOs are pronominalizable by dative clitic le (Landa 1995 for some exceptions).

[40] As José M. Brucart suggested to me, in Standard Spanish it is also possible to find constructions such as the following (see (i)). When the referent is inanimate the accusative clitic can be elided in referential treatment. As it is expected, the clitic SE does not emerge.

(i) Aquí le dejo (una cantidad de dinero).
here CL-DAT.3SG leave-1SG an amunt of money.
'I leave it here.'

Object pro-drop

(16) También tengo las fotos del bote de J. Los padres de J. quieren que
also have-1SG the photos of.the boat of J. the fathers of J. want-3SG that
les mandemos.
CL.DAT3.SG send
'I also have the pictures of J.'s boat. J's parents want us to send them.'

(17) ¿Quién *le* contó? Dicen que *le* contó su hermana.
who CL-DAT.SG tell-PAST.3SG said that CL-DAT.3SG tell-PAST.3SG his sister
'Who told him/her? They said his sister told him/her.'
[from Landa 1995: 126]

As is observed in (16) and (17), the DO is elided and, instead of the combination *se lo* that would be expected, the clitic *le* appears without being modified.

It is also possible to find parametric variation in other varieties of Spanish. In some varieties the accusative clitic is also subject to morphological changes. The *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (*COSER*) has collected data as follows (taken from Alcalá de la Selva (Teruel), COSER 4102).

(18) Algunos se quejaban que el maestro […], pero yo todo *se le*
some SE complain-PAST.1PL that the teacher but I all SE CL-AC.3SG
debo a él.
owe-1P to him
'Some complained that the teacher […], but I owe everything to him.'

(19) Lo que es nuestros hijos, pues, claro, ya no han visto jugar y
the that is our sons well of.course already not have-3PL seen play and

se les explicamos.
SE CL-DAT.3PL explain-1PL
'With regard to our sons, well, of course, they have not seen it being played, and so we explained it to them.'

(20) ¡Y no me entendéis nada!, yo es que digo, yo digo, es, no hará
and not CL-DAT.1SG understand-2PL nothing I is that said, I said is no do-FUT
falta decír*seles*.
lach say-SE-CL-DAT.3SG
'You do not understand nothing! I thought that it would be not necessary to tell him.'

As the data in (18), (19) and (20) reveal, the accusative clitic *lo* manifests the same form of the dative *le* in spurious SE contexts. Moreover, this clitic matches with the dative clitic's number and also manifests the same case, similar to the phenomenon that I described before. As shown, *le(s)* agrees with the number of the IO. These data come from Aragonese Spanish. Specifically, this combination is found in Alcalá de la Selva and in Perales de Alfambra, as the *ASinES* shows.[41] The *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y La Rioja* (*ALEANR*) has documented the same source of data. The sentence *dísele(s)* (Eng. 'Tell it to him/her') has been reported in Teruel (in Bello Te 103, Borrachina Te 104, Alfambra Te 305 and Puertomingalbo Te 6000).[42]

[41] The data have been documented in different areas of Aragón (Fernández-Ordóñez, 2016).

[42] Interestingly, in impersonal sentences a similar pattern has been attested (see (i)). When the impersonal clitic SE emerges, an alternation is produced, the accusative clitic *lo/la* alternates with the dative clitic *le*. That is, the appearance of the clitic SE favors leismo (in § 6 an explanation is provided).

(i) A Juan, no lo ven por casa desde ayer.
to Juan, no CL. AC see.2PL by home since yesterday
'They do not see Juan at home since yesterday.'

a. A Juan, no se le ve por casa desde ayer.
to Juan, no SE CL-AC.3SG see by home since yesterday
'Juan has not been seen at home since yesterday.'
[from Colomina et al. 2020: 23]

Finally (and quite surprisingly), the combination of *le lo* seems to be maintained in smaller areas. The COSER shows this in Alicante:

(21) … a un amigo mío le lo presenté allí al gerente

to a friend mine CL-DAT.3SG CL-ACC.3SG introduced there to.the manager

de, de renta y ventas

of of rent and sales

'… to my friend, there I introduced him to the manager of rent and sale.'

(from Alicante, COSER 0303_01)

Although the data documented are sporadic, it is interesting to note that this area mimics what happens with Valencian Catalan, which features different particularities, as will be clarified in § 2.2.2.

So, to summarize so far, Spanish shows three different solutions to represent third person clitic combinations:

(i) SE lo_{AC}

(ii) Le_{DAT} $\varnothing_{AC}$

(iii) SE le_{AC}

What is relevant at this point is to understand that different varieties show different strategies in order to avoid an illicit combination. This ungrammatical combination, as I have mentioned in the introduction, creates a distinctness conflict between two objects that are too similar and are also too close, as will be described in more detail in § 6. Next section focuses on the same scenarios but describe the alternations that occur in Catalan.

2.2.2. Catalan

As has been already mentioned, Spanish is not the only language that manifests the **le lo* restriction. The same phenomenon is found in Catalan. In this language, there is a wide range of solutions to replicate the combination of two third person clitics that corresponds to the different Catalan varieties. Let me review each of them. Before presenting the different solutions that each variety manifests it is important to note that Catalan shows

divergence in the repertoire of pronouns from Spanish. Catalan present partitive *en* and the locative clitic *hi,* whereas Spanish has lost these forms.

One combination that is documented in different areas involves the replacement of the dative clitic by the locative clitic[43]. I will start showing this with data comes from the Ribagorçan variety (see Giralt 1998, Sistac 1993). In this dialect the dative clitic *li* is replaced by the locative clitic *hi* and, in some areas, the accusative clitic acquires the feminine form *la*, while, in others, it maintains the form *lo*.

The following data illustrate this contrast. As I mentioned regarding Spanish varieties, the combination of two third person clitics is banned (see (22)-(23)).

OI Cliticization

(22) *Li* he dit *a la meva germana* això. (Catalan)

CL-DAT have-1SG said to the my sister this

'I told my sister this.'

DO Cliticization

(23) *Lo* hi hai dit no sé quantes vegades. (Catalan)

CL-DAT.3SG LOC have-1SG said no know how-many times

'I have told him I do not know how many times.'

[43] In this section I consider the combinations that arise in each variety. It is important to keep in mind that in Standard Catalan the combinations of two identical clitics are maintained. The *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani* includes the following combinations for 3-3 plural datives. Whereas these combinations are maintained in the Standard, in colloquial situations the combinations collected in this section arise.

dat. pl. + ac. m. sg	els el	los-el
dat. pl. + ac. f. sg	els la	lo-la
dat. pl. + ac. m. pl.	els els	los-els
dat. pl. + ac. f. pl.	els les	los-les

Standard Catalan maintains intact the combination of two 3-3 clitics, but these combinations become [elzi] in some dialects, as are described in this section.

In (22) the dative clitic *li* appears to double the IO *a la meva germana* 'to my sister'. Likewise, in (23) the accusative clitic *lo* replaces the clausal DO. However, when these clitics are put together, the result is, once again, ungrammatical:

DO IO Cliticization

(24) **Lo li he dit no sé quantes vegades.*

CL-AC.3SG CL-DAT.3SG have-1SG said no know how.many times

'I have told him I do not know how many times.'

(25) *Lo hi he dit no sé quantes vegades.*

CL-AC.3SG CL-LOC have-1PL said no know how.many times

'I have told him I do not know how many times.'

As illustrated in (24) and (25), accusative and dative third person clitics appear to replace the DO and the IO when isolated. When both clitics are combined, the result is subject to changes. Specifically, the dative clitic is replaced by the locative clitic, as can be observed in the example (25).

North-Western Catalan varieties stand in close contact with Aragonese. In these situations, it is common that "feature transfer" between the two clitics occurs. As mentioned earlier, the same happens in the case of American Spanish (see Bonet 1991, Heggie and Ordóñez 2005). (26) shows this process:

DO IO$_{PLURAL}$ Cliticization

(26) *Los hi* dic a estos crios. (Catalan)

CL-AC.3PL CL-LOC say-1SG to this boys

'I tell it to these boys.'

[from Giralt 1998: 90]

The accusative clitic *los* manifests the plural morpheme *s,* which corresponds to the number of the IO *a estos crios* 'to these boys'. This only occurs when the dative clitic is replaced by the locative clitic. As in Spurious SE contexts, the locative clitic cannot manifest the number features of the dative (that is, **his* is out).

Let me now present data from other Catalan varieties. Central Catalan varieties align with North-Western variants in replacing the dative clitic with the locative one.

DO IO Cliticization

(27) *L'* *hi* dire. (Catalan)

CL-AC.3SG CL-LOC tell-FUT.1SG

'I will tell him/her.'

In the example of (27) it is observed that the dative clitic is replaced by the locative one or, at least, the morpheme [l] of the dative clitic has been removed[44]. The same scenario is found when the Direct Object is plural:

(28) A en Miquel, les llibretes, *els* *hi* donaré després.

to.the Miquel the notebook CL-ACC.3PL CL.LOC give-FUT.1SG later

'I will give the notebook to Miquel later.'

[from Bonet 1991: 84]

Mallorcan Catalan seems to show the same process:

DO IO Cliticization

(29) Es llibre, a nen Joan *li* don.
the book to boy Joan CL-DAT.3SG give-1SG
'The book, to boy Joan, I give it.'

As reproduced in (29), the result of the combination is the same: one of the two [l] morphemes is removed. In other Catalan varieties the clitic that is subject to changes is the accusative one. This occurs, for example, in some dialects in the area of Marina Baixa. As exemplified in (30), the accusative clitic is replaced by the neuter clitic *ho*.

(30) Dona-*li.* -*ho*, a la xiqueta, la pilota.
give-IMP CL-DAT3SG CL-AC.3SG to the girl the ball
'Give the ball to the girl.'

[44] The specific morphological composition of this clitics will be clarified in § 5.

[from Colomina and Castanyer 1991: 62]

This scenario is similar in Gascon varieties. As Carrera (2007) documented, the accusative clitic is also replaced by the neuter clitic *ac*.

(31) *L'* *ac* dono. (Gascon)
CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG give-1SG
'I give it to him/her.'

[from Carrera 2007: 54]

Finally, Valencian Catalan shows interesting asymmetries. As reported by Bonet (2002), the combination of two third person clitics seems to be maintained in Valencian Catalan, avoiding then the **le lo* restriction[45]. However, in some areas of Valencian Catalan, specifically in Alacant, it is common to find the Spurious SE[46], as the data in (32) illustrates.

(32) La llibreta, al xiquet, *se la* vaig donar ahir. (Valencian Cat.)
the notebook to.the boy, SE CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.1SG yesterday
'The notebook, to the boy, I gave it to him yesterday.'

So, to sum up, Catalan shows the following solutions to represent third person clitic combinations:

[45] The *Gramàtica del Català Contemporani* includes the following combinations for 3-3p combinations in Standard Valencian:

dat. sg. + ac. m. sg.	li'l	li'l
dat. sg. + ac. f. sg.	li la	li-la
dat. sg. + ac. m. pl	li'ls	li'ls
dat. sg. + ac. f. pl.	li les	li-les
dat. pl. + ac. f. sg.	(e)ls la	los-la
dat. pl. + ac. m. pl.	(e)ls els	los-els
dat. pl. + ac. f. pl.	(e)ls les	los-les

As it is observed in the table, Valencian, unlike Catalan, maintains the combination of 3-3 clitics with singular and plural datives.

[46] This can be related to the fact that in Valencian the locative clitic *hi* is losing productivity. This point will be developed in more detail in § 4.

(i) Accusative + Locative
(ii) Dative + Neuter Accusative
(iii) SE + Accusative
(iv) Dative + Accusative

So, again, we can find a general restriction, which is overcome in some cases, and different strategies in order to replace the illicit combination. Once again, the combination of two too similar clitics creates a distinctness effect that the system tries to avoid.

2.2.3. Aragonese

Finally, I consider the strategies adopted by Aragonese varieties to avoid the **le lo* cluster. As pointed out above for different languages, accusative and dative clitics can appear isolated. In (33) I show dative cliticization whereas in (34) accusative cliticization is represented. Aragonese, as Catalan, has also maintained the partitive clitic and the locative one.

IO Cliticization

(33) *Le* compro *a ell* els bous. (Aragonese)

CL-DAT.3SG buy-1SG to him the oxen

'I buy him the oxen.'

DO Cliticization

(34) *Els* compro. (Aragonese)

CL-AC.3PL buy-1SG

'I buy them.'

Once again, if both clitics appear at the same time the result is illicit:

**DO IO Cliticization*

(35) *Els bous *els* *le* compro *a ell*. (Aragonese)

the oxen CL-AC.SG CL.DAT.3SG buy-1SG to him

'I buy the oxen from him.'

In Aragonese varieties, two strategies are resorted to in order to avoid this restriction (see Arnal 1998, Kuhn 2008, Nagore 1986). For instance, Eastern Aragonese dialects follow the same mechanism Catalan deploys. That is, the locative clitic *ie* replaces the dative clitic *le*, as can be seen in (36).

(36) Els bous *els* *ie* compro a ell. (Eastern Aragonese)

the oxen CL-AC.3PL CL-LOC buy-1SG to him

'I buy the oxen from him.'

In contrast, Southern, Western, and Central varieties use the partitive clitic *ne* to replace the accusative one, as the examples in (37) and (38) reveal.

(37) A máquina *l'* *en* dejaban en as casas. (Arag. varieties)

the machine CL-AC3SG CL-PART leave-PAST.3PL in the houses

'The machine, they would leave it for him in the houses.'

(38) Marta, torna *lis* *ne* en un momento. (Aragonese varieties)

Marta, back-IMP CL-AC.3SG CL-PART in a moment

'Marta, give it to them immediately.'

[from Landa 2005: 119]

As different authors have argued (see Landa 2005, Vazquez 2007, Nagore 1986), it seems that this distribution is robust: in Eastern Aragonese varieties, precisely the ones that are in contact with Catalan, the dative clitic is replaced by the locative clitic, the same process that is observed in Catalan. On the other hand, Southern, Western, and Central varieties show a different and genuine modification: the replacement of the accusative clitic by the partitive one.

Finally, the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y la Rioja* has documented the *le lo* combination in only one Aragonese dialect: Belsetan Aragonese. Specifically, this combination is only found in one of the points that the questionnaire attests.

So, as in the case of Catalan and Spanish, Aragonese shows the same restriction, only allowed in exceptional cases (Belsetan Aragonese) and variation regarding the way in which the restriction is reappeared.

2.3. Summary

In conclusion, this section has shown that, in general, the varieties under discussion reject the combination of two third person clitics **le lo*, with some noteworthy exceptions. I have also considered what combinations are used as the relevant replacements. A summary of the possibilities to fix the problem that third person clitic combinations trigger is sketched in the following table:

(39)

Language	3-3 COMBINATION
Valencian Catalan, Belsetan Aragonese	It is maintained
Spanish	SE + ACCUSATIVE (*lo*)
Central Catalan, Mallorcan Catalan, North-Western Catalan, Eastern Aragonese	ACCUSATIVE (*lo, l'*) + LOCATIVE (*hi*)
Southern, Western, and Central Aragonese	DATIVE (*le*) + PARTITIVE (*ne*)
Gascon Marina Baixa Catalan	DATIVE (*l' li*) + NEUTER (*ho, ac*)
Amercian Spanish Basque Spanish	DATIVE (*le*) + ø

So, as it is showed above, there are different ways in order to avoid the combination of two third person clitics. I would like to highlight that these different solutions are not totally aleatory, the variation found regarding the different strategies is not unlimited. Note that varieties that resort to clitic SE are languages that have lost the oblique clitics (partitive and locative). So, it is possible to establish a hierarchy between the preference of the different solutions. Moreover, the selection of the clitic that appears to substitute the dative or the accusative is not random: the locative clitic always appears to replace the dative and the partitive to do the same with the accusative. So, it is not possible to

find in either variety the dative clitic replaced by the partitive, for example, or the accusative clitic replaced by the locative one. The same occurs with SE clitic: this clitic substitute the dative and not the accusative.

These observations will be developed in more detail in § 5 and 6 and an explanation of this source of variation will be provided.

3. Previous analyses

In this section I will review the main proposals about how the restrictions that operate on clitic combinations are produced. As will be described thought this section, different types of approaches have analyzed clitic cluster restrictions. I divided this section into three groups: morphological approaches, agree-based accounts and, finally, distinctness ones.

As will be developed in more detail, morphological analyses put the problem of clitic restrictions on the morphological component, following the Distributed Morphology framework (Marantz and Halle 1993). Agree-based models defend that the restriction of combining two clitics is due to a failure in the Probe-Goal relation stablished between the verb (the probe) and the clitics (the goal), according to the Agree operation proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001). Finally, distinctness accounts argue that incompatibilities described in the previous section are produced because they violate a general rule about the combination of elements that are too similar in different ways.

As will be described in this section, each proposal puts the problem in some aspect of the clitic composition, that is, a feature that collapses when is combined with another. This chapter argues that this crush is due to the appearance of two structural cases in the same domain, putting other features such as definiteness, person or participate aside.

3.1. Morphological approaches

First, I will present the morphological approaches that try to account for the incompatibility of 3-3 combinations. The general idea behind these analyses is that a morphological rule avoids the appearance of two third person clitics. Then, one of the two clitics (the dative clitic) is replaced by the SE clitic which has an impoverished bag of features (plausibly, only person).

3.1.1. The antecedent: Perlmutter (1971)

The antecedent of this proposal is Perlmutter (1971)[47]:

(40) Perlmutter (1971):

Pro	Pro	
{ III, Dative }	{ III, Accusative }	
1	2	2, se

[from Perlmutter 1971: 22]

Perlmutter (1971) formulates the rule exemplified in (40). This rule acts as a template that prevents the appearance of two third person clitics. If a dative third person pronoun is combined with an accusative third person pronoun, the first one is converted into a SE form.

The criticism that can be attributed to this approach is that Perlmutter only focuses on Spanish data and only provides data from the conversion of *le* for *se*. This author does not consider dialectal variation such as the data provided in Section 1. Moreover, In Perlmutter (1971) and in approaches similar to that there is no explanation that account for the fact that the clitic replaced is the dative and the output form coincides with other clitic that already exists in the paradigm. That is, nothing in their formulation prevents the appearance of other clitic and neither compares with other languages that manifest the same restriction between two third person clitics.

Other point of criticism of Perlmutter proposal is that this author mixtapes different type of information in their templates. For example, the template that provides for Spanish clitics is as follows:

(41) *se* II I III

[47] For a similar approach to Italian *si>ci* conversion see Wanner (1977).

The rule formulated in (41) determines the order of pronouns in Spanish. *Se* clearly refers to phonological information, the rest refers to the feature of person (first, second or third person), a morphological notion.[48]

3.1.2. Distributed Morphology

Later on, based on Perlmutter's rule, authors such as Bonet (1991), Harris (1994) and Cuervo (2013) have proposed an account for the same problems inside the Distributed Morphology framework. Abstracting away from the details, these approaches share the same logic. Nothing is wrong, syntactically, with the combination. The constraint is morphological and must be stated in terms of an idiosyncratic filter operating at PF. The consequence of this approach is that the repair strategy is also idiosyncratic, that is, the clitic that appears to replace one of the two third person clitics is not related with the structure that appears before. Let me show this in more detail.

First, I will focus on Bonet's (1991) proposal. In her dissertation Bonet (1991) discusses incompatibilities regarding clitic combinations in different languages inside the Distributed Morphology model. This is the first advantage of her proposal, the fact that this author provides evidence from different languages. She focuses on the dialect spoken in the area of Barcelona.

First, the structure of pronouns that this author assumes contains the feature [person]. Third and second person present this feature, since third person is characterized by no [person].

Bonet (1991) claims that the combination of two pronouns that contain the feature [person] are transparent in the same way that a clitic that does not contain this feature combined with a [person] clitic. This is showed by the following Catalan data:

(42) a. Te 'm suspendran? (Catalan)

CL-ACC.2SG CL-DAT suspend-FUT.3PL

[48] In fact, the morphological behavior of SE clitic suggests that their position can be related with these characteristics.

'Will they fail you?'

b. Se't ha declarat. (Catalan)

SE CL-DAT.2SG have-1SG declared

'He/she have proposed to you.'

c. Se'm va permetre venir. (Catalan)

SE CL-DAT.1SG allow-PASAT.1SG come-INF

'I was allowed to come.'

In the data of (42a), two clitics with the feature [person] are combined. In (42b) and (42c) the clitics that are combined represent the following combination: [person] and non-[person]. As it is illustrated in the data, all clitics maintain the same structure in these combinations. Instead, the combination of two non-[person] clitics gives rise to non-transparent forms such as, offered by Bonet (1991):

(43) A en Miquel, les llibretes, *els* *hi* donaré després. (Catalan)

to the Miquel the notebooks CL-ACC.3PL CL-LOC give-FUT.1SG later

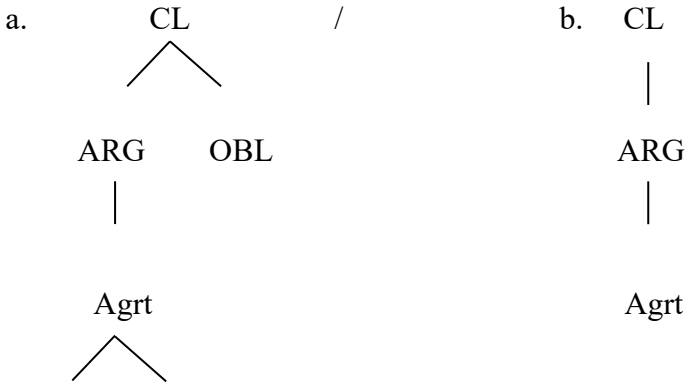
'I will give the notebooks to Miquel later.'

Bonet (1991) relates this to the fact that non-[person] clitics appear in a different field that [person] clitics: this author differentiates the field A and the field B without being possible to access independently these fields. The clitics in the field B are affected by a source of morphological rules. This rule is similar to dissimilation process in phonology. This morphological rule prohibits the co-ocurrence of two non-[person] clitics.

More specifically, Bonet (1991) points out that there is an erasure of third person and dative features, and, therefore, the clitic that is inserted in its place is the reflexive and impersonal clitic SE. In this model, lexical insertion and materialization occur after applying such rules. In this way, Bonet (1991) accounts for the fact that the forms that replace clitics in combinations correspond to other clitics possessed by the paradigm of each language.

So the "Spurious SE Rule" is formulated as follows:

(44) Spurious SE Rule



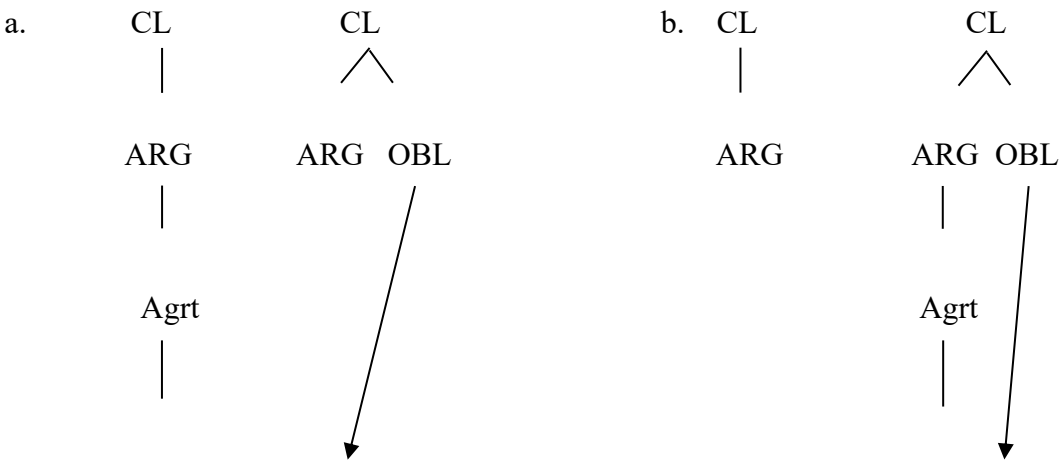
([fem]) ([pl])

This rule acts as a filter that prevents the combination of two third person clitics. Specifically, the dative clitic (44a) is converted into the form in (44b). So this morphological rule implies the delinking of a node.

Bonet (1991) also analyses third person clitic combinations in Catalan. This author focuses on this combination in the dialect spoken in the area of Barcelona, that is, the combination [elz hi]. In this case Bonet (1991) assumes that the incompatibility arises due to the appearance of two clitics that are spelled out in the same slot. In her work it is defended that when two identical clitics are spelled out in the same slot, only one of them, the more specific, is mapped into the templet.

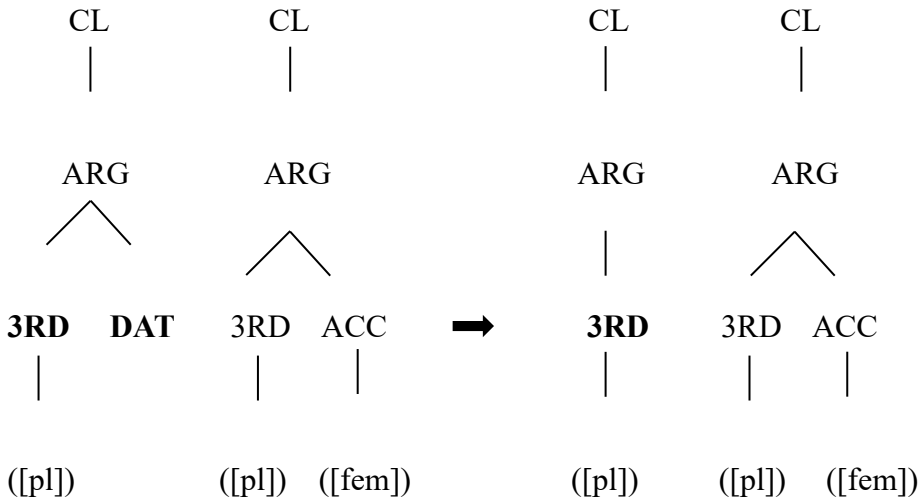
This occurs, for example, in third person clitic combinations, as the following structure illustrates:

(46)



Cuervo (2013) follows the line of Bonet (1991), although she proposes that the structure of the "spurious SE" differs from that of the reflexive or impersonal SE, because they do not present the same syntactic behavior (see Cuervo 2013 to consult the discussion). In her proposal, the deletion of features that concern the dative only affects the case, while the person remains intact (see (47)).

(47)



In (47) we note that, in the combination of an accusative clitic and another third-person dative, the dative clitic loses its case specification, becoming a clitic that contains only person and number features. At the point of lexical insertion, the item that constitutes a subset of its features is introduced, because there is no item that has the specification [CL, ARG, 3RD, [pl]].

Another author that accounts for these incompatibilities resorting to a morphological rule is Nevins (2007, 2011). Specifically, he argues that the incompatibility of combining two third person clitics is due to a morphological dissimilation. Nevins (2007) distinguishes

four domains where this dissimilation can occur: i) the elements that must be linearized in a Spell-out domain (in the line of Richards' (2010), see Chapter II), ii) prosodification of linearized elements, iii) M-Word formation, that is, the combination of distinct syntactic features into a morphological word and, finally, iv) the selection of an item in the vocabulary insertion.

Nevins (2007) defends that the restrictions described in § 2.2 are due to this morphological dissimilation rule that applies at the level of the M-Word formation. In particular, he argues that the only way to account for the incompatibility of third person clitic combinations is to focus on the repetition of the feature [- participant]. This author proposes a morphological rule, namely "Delete/alter the features corresponding to 3rd person on a dative when it precedes another 3rd person" (2007: 275). In other words, the presence of two identical adjacent person feature specifications is illicit, that is, the combination illustrated in (48) is impossible.

(48) [Cl[-participant] [Cl[-participant]

This cooccurrence triggers deletions (an operation of impoverishment) that reduce the markedness. This process of impoverishment can be as follows:

(i) The deletion of the offending feature
(ii) The deletion of one of the morphemes
(iii) The deletion of another feature

As Nevins reports, if we compare evidence from 3/3 effects in different languages, these different strategies are attested.
In Spanish 3/3 clitic clusters (see (49)), neutralization of person results in insertion of the impersonal clitic SE in place of syntactically motivated dative *le(s)* (see Nevins, 2007). In Barceloní (50), the same configuration leads to realization of the dative clitic as a locative (analyzed as neutralization of person features in Bonet (1991))[49].

(49) El libro,	*se lo*	di	a	ella.	(Spanish)
the book	SE CL-ACC.3SG	give-PAST.1SG	to	her	

[49] In Italian gender is neutralized in the dative clitic (Pescarini 2010) and in Romanian number is neutralized in the dative clitic (Radford 1977).

'The book, I gave it to her.'

(50) [elz] [i] donaré demà. (Catalan)
CL.ACC.3PL CL.LOC give-FUTUR.1SG tomorrow
'I will give tomorrow.'

Nevins defends that the level where this operation of impoverishment applies is the M-word, a complex head that is generated in syntax. He assumes that clitics adjoin to different functional heads that undergo head movement to T where form the clitic cluster. This author argues that in the case of Spanish and Catalan the operation of impoverishment deletes the person features in the first clitic. 3/3-effects thus provide crucial illustration of identity-induced markedness at the level of abstract morphological features in the postsyntactic component: (i) identity in a single feature triggers deletion; (ii) the target of deletion can vary, but the result is always a less marked configuration, and (iii) the relevant domain is the M-word.

To summarize, all morphological approaches focus on the features that create the incompatibility: whereas Bonet (1991) defends that the features that must be deleted are case and person, Cuervo (2013) argues that is dative case the element that is removed. Finally, Nevins (2003) analyses third person clitic combinations concentrating on the impossibility to combine two [- participate] features.

3.2. Syntactic approaches

Previous section has introduced the main points of morphological analysis. In these approaches nothing is wrong syntactically with the combination, the problems arise in the morphological component due to the incompatibility of two features.

This section presents syntactic approaches. These analyses show that the incompatibilities in clitic clusters occur in syntax and offer empirical evidence in order to demonstrate the existence of syntactic differences between the clitic that appear at the beginning and the resulted clitic.

As has been describe in the literature (see Fernández Soriano 1989, Jaeggli 1982), Spurious SE and the dative clitic *le* display a different syntactic behavior. Whereas the

dative plural *les* cannot double a general bare plural IO, this doubling structure is possible with the clitic SE (see (53)).

(53) a. No (*les) des tus llaves a personas desconocidas. (Spanish)

no CL-DAT.3PL give-2SG your keys a people stranger

'You do not give your keys to stranger people.'

b. No se las des a personas desconocidas. (Spanish)

no SE CL-ACC.3PL give-2SG to people stranger

'You do not give your keys to stranger people.'

This suggests that the differences between dative clitic and the spurious SE are not only morphological. Distributed Morphology accounts cannot capture these differences (see Alcaraz 2018 for more empirical arguments).

This section divides into two main groups syntactic approaches: first, AGREE-based accounts and, second, distinctness approaches.

3.2.1. AGREE-based accounts

This section introduces approaches that account for clitic incompatibilities resorting to the relation of the verb with the clitics. Specifically, these authors argue that the incompatibility is due to a failure in the Agree relation between the probe (the verb) and the goal (the clitic) (Chomsky 2000, 2001). These types of analyses have been applied to PCC restrictions, Walkow extends it to third person clitic combinations. Let me introduce the proposal of Walkow (2012, 2013), who analyses SE spurious and also Catalan clitic clusters providing a unified account for PCC effects and 3-3 clitic combinations. This author (2012, 2013) analyses the two restrictions applying the Cyclic Agree operation. He defends that the variation between languages with respect to DO and IO clitics depends on the syntactic positions that they occupy. Walkow (2012, 2013) assumes that clitics are affixes that match a probe (v) in an agreement process known as Cyclic Agreement (see (54)):

(54) Cyclic Agreement:

Probes have different features that are independently valued in successive matching processes. [Taken from Walkow 2013: 251]

The feature matching process is subject to locality restrictions: the first clitic that enter in the Agree-relation is the clitic that occupies a position closer to the probe, while the second one is located in a more distant position. In this model, the agreement process is optimal if, after the probe establishes a syntactic dependency with the first goal —the first clitic—, it maintains active any of the features that appear in the second goal —the second clitic—. Thus, "disabling some features of the probe, the first agreement relationship restricts the following agreement relationship that the probe can establish" (Walkow 2013: 249). If this does not occur, the agreement with the second clitic is not possible. Therefore, the first goal must be a subset of features of the second goal. The variation observed in the different morphological alternations of the clitics lies in the position they occupy with respect to the probe. When Agree operation fails, the clitic who agrees in the first place maintains its morphological structure, while the clitic who agrees secondly is subjected to the repair strategies discussed in § 2. As we have also commented in the previous section, the data show variation with respect to the clitic that suffers the repair strategy. This variation may derive from the existence of two different scenarios: one in which the dative-accusative structure is maintained and another in which the accusative moves to a higher position than that occupied by the dative. The goal is to reflect the idea that the clitic in a lower position is the one that presents the morphological manipulation.

In the Walkow proposal (2012, 2013), a series of exclusive features established in the following hierarchy are assumed:

PERSONA	3ª	2ª	1ª
RASGO	[π]	[π]	[π]
ESPECIFICACIÓN		[participante]	[participante]
			[hablante]

All three clitics share a [π] feature of person. The third-person clitic does not present any type of additional specification and is therefore the least marked clitic. Second and first

person clitics share the feature [participant] and the first is characterized by also containing the feature [speaker].

In summary, this author proposes that the restrictions that affect clitic combinations are due to the Agreement relations established between the verb and the clitic features. These relationships are subject to locality criteria. The different repair strategies follow the order in which the clitics are related to the verb: the second is the one that manifests the alteration.

3.3. Distinctness

Finally, I will present approaches that account for these incompatibilities contending that the problem relies in the coappearance of two syntactic features that are identical. These analyses share some characteristics with the morphological approaches presented in § 3.1. The main difference is that, whereas in these analyses the features that create the incompatibility are morphological—in the sense that the features belong to the domain of the formation of the word— in the following proposals the features are syntactic, and this is the locus of the problem.

First, let me introduce the proposal of Manzini (2014). In essence, Manzini defends that the incompatibility is related to the fact that two properties that must be lexicalized are identical.

Building on these problems, Manzini (2014) proposes a specific view of identity avoidance where repair strategies are not required, namely 'Economy of lexicalizations':

> "We further propose that these phenomena do not involve the violation of any constraint. Rather, in some languages a single lexicalization of property P per domain D suffices and P cannot therefore be iterated in D under Economy. Descriptive repairs do not represent the undoing of a violation — rather they are simply alternative lexicalizations, licensed by the same property P and domain D that do not admit of doubling. (2014: 125)"

The idea is that in X domain it is only possible to have one representation of Y feature. This is applied to all components of the grammar. So, it is not necessary to postulate that X derivations are created and, then, are excluded and repaired . Directly, the system does not create a determinate structure since it is not possible to lexicalize two identical features. Let me illustrate this with the combination of two third person clitics.

(55) a. *Juan *le* *lo* dijo.

Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG say-PAST.3SG
'Juan said it to him/her.'

b. Juan *se* *lo* dijo.
Juan SE CL-ACC.3SG say-PAST.3SG
'Juan said it to him/her.'

Manzini (2014) argues that the restriction in (55a) is due to the co-occurrence f two D-operators. This author assumes that [l] lexicalizes the D feature and for a clitic string is only possible to lexicalize one D feature[50]. She also offers the same analysis for other phenomena such as PCC effects and the exclusion between imperatives and negation.

Other similar approach that fits with distinctness effects is found in Laenzlinger (1993). Essentially, the idea is that two lexically case-marked clitics cannot co-occur in the same node. Laenzlinger (1993) distinguishes between non case-marked clitics and case-marked clitics. The first one corresponds to first and second person clitics and the second one to third person clitic since these pronouns present a morphological distinction between the accusative and the dative. Laenzlinger (1993) defends that the way in which both clitics are incorporated into the host is different. The crucial difference is that first and second person clitics display free adjunction and do not move by selection. Instead, third person clitics move to AgrO-P (Chomsky 1991) in order to check the case features in a Spec-head configuration. This movement is restricted by an adjacency requirement being only possible to incorporate one case-marked clitic. Languages resort to different strategies: Laenzlinger (1993) argues that SE clitic belongs to non-case marked clitics and, then, are not selected. This is the way in which the restriction is avoided. The derivation of *se lo* is presumably identical to that of *me lo*. In the case of Catalan, the strategy used is different, this author defends that in Catalan the clitic cluster is reduced an only one of the two clitics surfaces. This is consistent with their analyses because the result is only one element. Thus, there is no competition for occupying the AgrO-P.

The proposal found in this chapter follows some of the ideas initially proposed by Laenzlinger (1993). The proposal is syntactic since this is the only way to capture the

[50] This view is also compatible with proposals regarding clitic clusters where their incompatibilities are accounted for through the operation Agree. In fact, Manzini's analysis can be reinterpreted assuming that the D operator is the Probe and clitics the Goal.

syntactic asymmetries that different clitics display. In addition, the factor that creates these incompatibilities is also purely syntactic —not semantic: case.

The proposal is consistent with approaches that defend the existence of a unique space to license structure case in a particular domain—in this case, inside the clitic cluster (see Alexiadou and Anagnostopolou 1998, 2001, Ormazabal & Romero 2013), but derives the problem from a more general restrictive principle. As will be described in § 6, some of the repair strategies are accounted for differently.

4. An RDC-based account

This section discusses the data on clitic combinations presented in § 3 from the point of view of the Revised Distinctness Condition presented in Chapter II. Furthermore, this section develops a proposal that points out the different alterations and incompatibilities that occur in the combinations within this model. The main idea that will be defended is that the incompatibility of two clitics within the same clitic cluster emerges due to the combination of two structural cases.

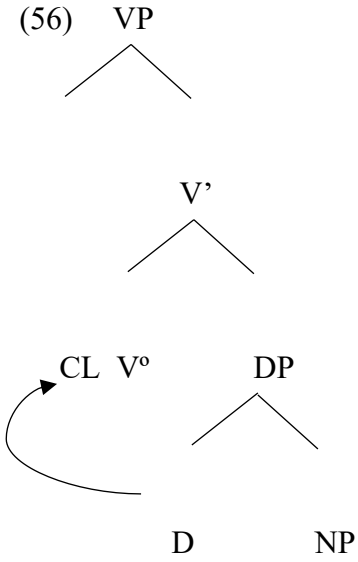
Before entering into the details of the proposal, let me first introduce the assumptions about the cliticization process and the structure of clitics that will be relevant to the analysis.

4. 1. The cliticization process

In this subsection I elucidate the different proposals that can be found in the literature regarding the way in which the cliticization process takes place (see Gallego 2016, Kayne 1989, 1991, Rizzi 1986, Roberts 2010, Ordóñez 2002. Uriagereka 1995). I then present the proposal assumed here, but the analysis is compatible with other assumptions, as will be clarified.

From a syntactic point of view, there are two main hypotheses for analyzing the process of cliticization: (i) the movement hypothesis (see Kayne 1989, 1991, Rizzi 1986, Uriagereka 1995) and (ii) the base generation hypothesis (see Fernández Soriano 1989, Sportiche 1998, Suñer 1988, Zubizarreta 1999). As shown in (56), the authors that defend the first hypothesis argue that clitics are determiners that move (*via* head movement) and are incorporated into the verb (or some associated projection).

(56)



The positions proposed to host the clitic are diverse: Kayne (1975, 1989) argues that clitics are attached to T (INFL) in languages such as Spanish or Catalan, whereas Uriagereka (1995) argues that they are generated within a big-DP (following the so-called big-DP hypothesis, Belletti 2005, Krammer 2012, Torrego 1992, Uriagereka 1995) and move to a functional category F, between TP and CP. Let me show this in more detail.

Let me start by briefly presenting Kayne's (1975, 1989) proposal. Kayne (1975, 1989) argues that clitics are left adjoined to a functional head (not a lexical one). This author starts his argumentation based on the position in which appear in different languages. The contrast that this author observes is as follows:

(57) Lui parler(*-*lui*) serait un erreur. (French)

CL-DAT.3SG speak-INF would-be an error

'Speaking to him would be an error.'

(58) (**Gli)* parlargli sarebbe un errore. (Italian)

CL-DAT.3SG speak-INF would-be an error

'Speaking to him would be an error.'

As it is observed in the contrast in (57) – (58), French allows the clitic to precede the infinitive *parler* (Eng. 'to speak'), whereas this is not possible in Italian. Clitics must

appear after the infinitive in Italian-type languages such as Catalan and Spanish. In order to account for this asymmetry, Kayne (1975) discards an analysis based on left versus right adjunction of the clitics (see Kayne 2000 to consult the discussion).

The idea that Kayne (2000, 1975, 1989) argues for in order to defend the contrast in (57) – (58) is that the variation is due to the fact that the infinitival moves higher in Italian-type languages passing a functional head that hosts the clitic. In (58), the dative clitic *gli* has adjoined to a functional head position in which the verb is found as a result of V-to-I movement (see Chomsky 1986 and Pollock 1989 for the discussion), and the same occurs with *lui* in (57).

Kayne (2000) holds that *gli* there is not right-adjoined to the infinitive itself, then the clitic must be left-adjoined to some empty head position. The author argues that seems unlikely that the position could be that of the V-trace within VP, since that would amount to allowing a trace to be a proper subpart of an X° constituent (Baker 1985, 89)[88]. Then, he concludes that *gli* is left-adjoined to an empty I-type position, that should not have been moved through by the infinitive. The representation that Kayne offers is as follows:

(59) . . . V ... Cl + I . . . [$_{VP}$[$_{V}$ e] ...] …

[Taken from Kayne 2002: 62]

So, the final representation in Spanish-type languages is like (60):

(60) . . . V + Infn . . . Cl + T . . . [$_{Infn}$e] . . . [$_{VP}$[$_{V}$ e] . .

[Taken from Kayne 2002: 63]

Following this analysis, French infinitives will involve raising V to Infn, but there is no other movement of v. Moreover, instead of adjoining to T, CL in French will adjoin to Infn by adjunction:

(61) T . . . Cl + fl $_{n\ f\ n}$ V + Infn] . . . f$_{w}$[$_{v}$ el ...

[Taken from Kayne 2002: 63]

So, summarizing, this approach claims that infinitives in Italian-type languages are left adjoined to T, that clitics in Italian infinitival clauses left-adjoin to T, that infinitives in French move up only to Infn, and that clitics in French infinitival clauses left-adjoin to Infn[51].

Let me now turn to Uriagereka's (1995) proposal, who argues that the position occupied by the clitic is the head of what he calls "FP" (F being a mnemonic for "further"), a functional projection that encodes point of view. He also analyses the different positions that clitics occupy in infinitive contexts. This author compares Western Iberian varieties (European Portuguese and Galician) with Eastern Iberian (such as Catalan and Spanish), two type-languages that differ considerably regarding the distribution of the clitics.

Following the observations made by Uriagereka (1995) regarding the existence of an additional projection between T and C, namely FP, Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) defend that a morphophonological property of this category is the factor that determines the position occupied by clitics. They relate this variation with other phenomena that is parametrized in the same way.

Let me first briefly introduce the FP field. In the literature this position has been proposed to establish the relation between syntax and discourse proprieties. The idea, as hinted at above, is that this projection encodes information related to the pragmatic import that the grammar presents (Raposo & Uriagereka 1996). Specifically, the structure is as follows:

(62) [CP . . . C [FP . . . F [TP . . . T [vP . . . v [VP . . . V . . .]]]]]

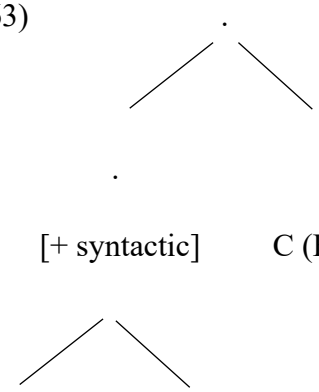
This position is occupied by elements that are known as affective operators (see Raposo and Uriagereka 1996), this term covers aspectual adverbs such as *ja* 'already', *ainda* 'yet', *tambem* 'also', the negative morpheme *nao* 'not' and other negative expressions, as well as questions and emphatic expressions.

The idea is that we can find parametric variation regarding whether F is projected in the overt or only in the covert component (at LF), depending on whether the language has or lacks generalized left-peripheral "affective" constructions. In turn, the morphological parameter provides a PF representation for a syntactically active F; this is meant to distinguish "conservative" languages (with overt focus heads, inflected infinitival,

[51] This approach is in the same vein with Cinque's (1999) proposal.

recomplementation, a specific pattern of clitic placement) from "standard" languages (type B languages such as E/CI and most of the rest) that lack these properties or finally, languages, such as French. So, the hierarchy that Uriagereka proposes is as follows:

(63)



[from Uriagereka 2005: 644]

Note that the parameter that appears in (63) implies the connection of two different types of parameters: the morphological one and the syntactic.

Uriagereka (1995) offers data such as (64) in order to defend the existence of the FP field[54]:

(64) Dixeron *que* a este home *que* non o maltratemos. (Galician)

say-PAST.3PL that to this man that not CL-ACC.3SG mistreat-SUBJ.1PL

'They said that, this man, we shouldn't mistreat.'

[52] Western Iberian

[53] Central and Eastern Iberian

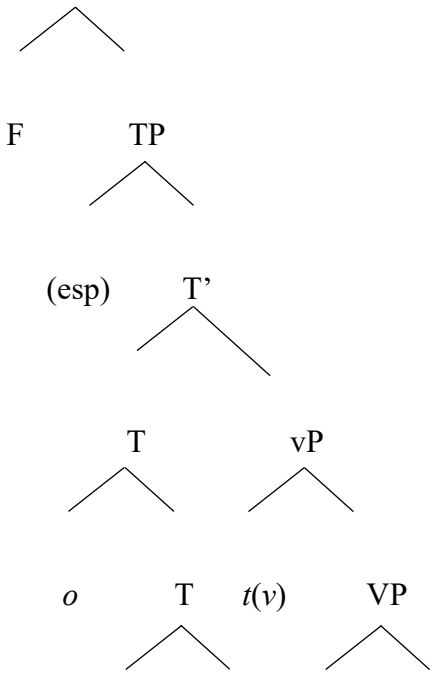
[54] This phenomenon is well-known as recomplementation (see Villa-García 2019, Uriagereka 1988, Fontana 1993).

The idea is that in the sentence of (64) the first *que* is occupying the head position of the CP, whereas the second *que* appears at the FP (this author rejects the idea about a recursive CP). This seems to make sense since not all languages present in the same way the repetition of the *que* conjunction. As Uriagereka points out, these sentences are common in colloquial registers of type A languages but are (getting) lost in many modern (type B and C) variants (see Uriagereka & Raposo to consult other arguments in favor of the FP existence). Let me now relate this with clitics.

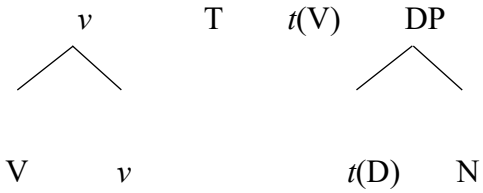
In Uriagereka & Raposo's (2005) approach to clitics, they assume that clitics are elements that move in order to satisfy PF requirements, that is, the fact that they are unstressed forces them to be attached at some category (as Kayne points out), the goal of this movement is the original part of the proposal[55]. As they conclude: "the logic of the previous account requires the determiner clitic to move to a position where its prosodic demands are met. That position and that movement ought to be optimal." (2005: 651).

In order to study what the optimal options may be, consider a language with verb movement to T, as is the general case in Romance. In the structure of (65), the only way that a determiner clitic can find a fusion host is by adjoining to the complex T:

(65)



[55] Uriagereka & Raposo (2005) reject the case-based approach to the movement of clitics, approach that will be treated later on.



[from Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 652]

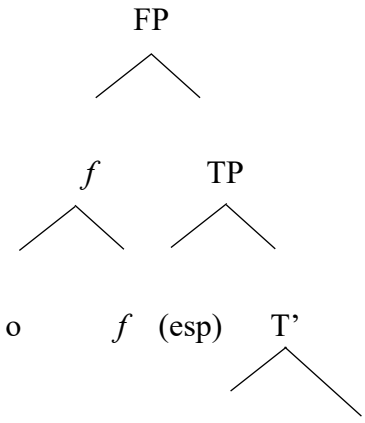
However, in languages whose structure involves an active *f*, which we take to be the case in the conservative setting of WI, the clitic can climb to this position[56]. Before moving to the fact that clitics move to *f* in conservative languages, let me mention the three assumptions regarding clitic movement that these authors made and are crucial to understanding the way this climbing is produced: (i) adjunction is universally left-adjunction, (ii) clitics are the last elements to adjoin to their target head, finally, (iii) clitics within a given derivational phase cluster around one another.

Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) also assume, following Raposo (2000), the following characteristic about *f*:

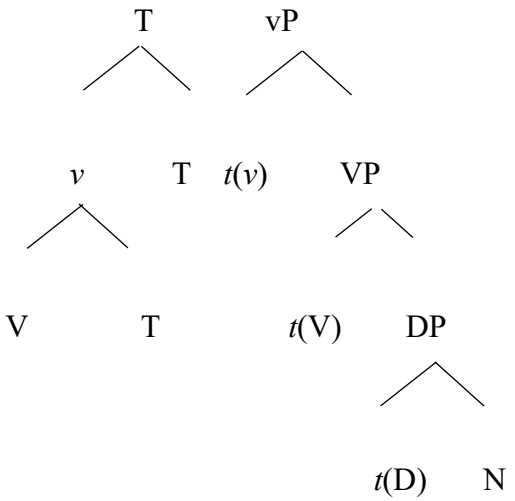
(66) *f* is a clitic-like element.

So, in languages that feature/display the *f* category, if we take into account the cluster requirement, the clitic must raise to the *f* position. The result then is as follows:

(67)



[56] The distinction between f and F is simple: *f* refers to languages that present and active F, that is, + φ.

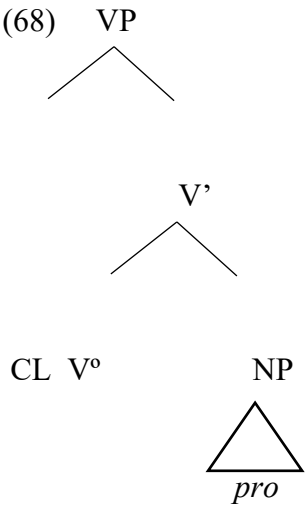


[from Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 653]

Now, let me move to present the main ideas of the second hypothesis mentioned before: the base generation hypothesis (see Fernández Soriano 1989; Sportiche 1998; Suñer 1988; Zubizarreta 1999).

The authors that defend this hypothesis, depicted in (68), argue that clitics are agreement markers that are directly generated in a verbal position. According to these authors, clitics are associated to an empty category (*pro*) that is placed in a relevant (argumental) position within the VP.

(68)



Let me show the arguments to support this view. This view is reminiscent of the theory of the polysynthetic parameter (Baker 1996).

The subjacent idea that (68) suggests is that clitics are similar to the inflection that appears at the verb and it is related to the agreement mark with the subject. Let me exemplify this:

(69) a. Juan quiere a María. (Spanish)
Juan love-3SG to María
'Juan loves María.'
5. *pro* quiere a María. (Spanish)
love-3SG to María
'He/she loves María.'

In the case of (69a) the argument 'Juan' is generated in the EA position and then moves to specifier of the TP. The relation that is established with the EA ('Juan' in (69a) and *pro* in (69b)) and the verb is due to the agreement morpheme that presents the verb *quiere* 'love'. The relation between the clitic and the argument or a *pro* is established in this very manner:

(70) a. Juan quiere a María. (Spanish)
Juan love-3SG to Mary
'Juan loves Mary.'
b. Juan la quiere *pro.* (Spanish)
Juan CL-ACC.3SG love
'Juan loves her.'

In (70b) the *pro* is generated in the IA position, from which it establishes a relation with the verb *la quiere* that is manifested by this clitic *la.*

This approach supposes some problems since the IA and the clitic cannot cooccur in the case of the DO:

(71) *Juan la quiere a María. (Spanish)
Juan CL-ACC.3SG love.3SG to María
'Juan loves María.'

The sentence of (71) is ungrammatical in Spanish (or, at least, in European varieties). This scenario is different with IO, where the doubling structure is possible. This has made some authors assume a different analysis for DO and IO, as will be detailed later on.

(72) Juan le envía un regalo a Juan. (Spanish)

Juan CL-DAT.3SG send-3SG a gift to Juan

'Juan sends a gift to Juan.'

On the other hand, the base-generation approach forces us to assume the existence of silent clitics. In some contexts, the dative clitic is not mandatory and it is not possible with DO. In these contexts, the clitic is assumed to be silent / covert:

(73) Juan (la) quiere a María. (Spanish)

Juan CL-ACC.3SG love-3SG to María

'Juan loves María'

(74) Juan (le) envió un regalo a María. (Spanish)

Juan CL-DAT.3SG send-PAST.3SG a gift to María

'Juan sent a gift to María.'

This thesis assumes Gallego's proposal (2016), which combines aspects of Chomsky (2000, 2001), Torrego (1998, 2002), and Uriagereka (1995). The main idea of this proposal is that clitics constitute a case of XP movement at the edge of the phase.[57] The trigger of movement and the target position of cliticization are the result of the combination of two independent factors: on the one hand, the phonologically defective

[57] There are different empirical arguments to defend the maximal projection status of third person clitics (Donati 2006). One of them comes from the observation that clitics do not select complements, as opposed to determinants. If we adopt an analysis in which clitics are transitive determinants (Abney 1986, Post 1966, Torrego 1988, Uriagereka 1995), we should assume that clitics are always associated with a "pro" in the complement position. Note that whether clitics select a "pro" or default phrasal objects, the result is the one we are defending here. See Sportiche (1997) where an integrated analysis of X and XP status is offered.

character of clitics (which needs to be attached to a host, as has been mentioned previously) and, on the other hand, the place where the -φ features appear: v*.[58]

This option presents advantages over the models based on the agreement operation. Among others, this model can account for the semantic effects of cliticization, such as the obligatorily specific character of the accusative clitic (Uriagereka 1995) or the semantic effects observed in clitic climbing (Uriagereka 2002). Unlike long-distance agreement, XP movement to the edge of the phase has been associated with such semantic effects (Chomsky 2001). In addition, one of the predictions of this analysis is that the cliticization process will be subject to local restrictions such as Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

In particular, notice that the examples in (75), (76) and (77) show that clitic climbing is sensitive to such a condition, as clitics can only escape from φ-defective (phase-less) domains:

(75)	Juan	(*_lo_)	dice	que	_lo_	ha visto.
	Juan	CL-AC.3SG	say	that	CL-AC.3SG	has.seen
	'Juan says he has seen it.'					
(76)	Juan	(_lo_)	puede	ver	(_lo_).	
	Juan	CL-AC.3SG	can	see-INF	CL-AC.3SG	
	'Juan can see it.'					
(77)	Juan	(_lo_)	hizo	ver	(_lo_).	
	Juan	CL-AC.3SG	make	see-INF	CL-AC.3SG	
	'Juan made him see it.'					

As can be observed in (75), clitics cannot raise from a clause with an inflected verb, but they could in contexts involving the so-called restructuring verbs (see Cinque 2004, 2006; Hernanz & Rigau 1984; Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, Paradís 2019), where a biclausal structure becomes monoclausal, following the literature. The relevant characteristic of these verbs is that the embedded clause features a defective functional category. That is

[58] This view poses some problems in relation to the clitics that are adjuncts (partitive and locative, see Paradís 2019). To solve this problem, it is necessary to assume some checking relation for partitives and locatives too. I leave this issue open to future research.

to say, it does not possess the pertinent φ-features to assign a case to the pronoun and, therefore, it forces it to remain in its clause. For this reason, the clitic can raise from the non-finite subordinate clause to the finite verb (see (76), (77)).

Gallego (2016) focuses on the direct object's cliticization. At this point, we must consider how this process occurs in the rest of the clitics of the paradigm, specifically in the indirect object. As mentioned above, most authors assume a unified treatment of the cliticization process: the clitics are either generated directly in its base or in a complement position in VP and, subsequently, they cliticizate. Ormazabal and Romero (2007, 2017) argue for a mixed approach to dative and accusative clitics. In particular, these authors defend that dative clitics and first and second person accusative clitics are agreement markers generated in a verbal position. On the contrary, accusative third person clitics result from XP movement (an incorporated determiner, in the line of what has been commented so far, Uriagereka 1988).

The mixed hypothesis can be defended on empirical grounds (Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013). The main argument comes from the phenomenon known as clitic doubling. While clitic doubling is generally possible with IO, it is rejected in European Spanish in the case of DO, as it can be observed in the contrast shown in (78) and (79)[59].

(78)	*Le*	recomendé	un	libro	a	los	estudiantes.
	CL-DAT.3SG	recommended	a	book	to	the	students

'I recommended a book to the students.'

[59] This ocurrs with DPs. When DO is a strong pronoun, clitic doubling is mandatory in all variants, as we observe below:

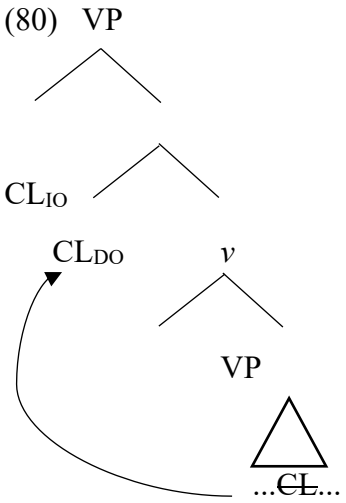
(i) La vi a ella.
CL-AC.3SG see-PAST.1SG to her
'I saw her.'

(ii) *Vi a ella.
see-PAST.1SG to she
'I saw her.'

(79) *(*La)* vi la casa.
CL-AC.3SG see the house
'I see the house.'

Based on the literature, I make two assumptions in what follows. The first assumption is that the DO clitics are placed in the phase-edge position of v*, according to the mentioned movement process (Gallego 2016). The second assumption is that the IO clitics are generated directly where we see them (Ormazabal and Romero 2007) as shown in (80). In this case, these clitics have been analyzed as uninterpretable agreement morphemes.

(80)



Although I assume the structure of (80), the proposal that I present below is compatible with the other hypotheses mentioned. What is relevant for my analysis is that at the moment of the derivation in which the transfer operation occurs, both clitics are within the same domain: the edge of v*. In the next section, I discuss the internal composition of clitics.

4.2. The internal structure of clitics

Another issue that has also aroused interest in the literature (and which is very relevant for the analysis of the data) is the internal composition of the clitics and their label (see Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, Harley and Ritter 2002, Picallo 2008). In the following pages I present the assumptions I will base my approach to the composition of the clitics on; afterwards, I return to the combination of the clitics in more detail.

To be more precise, I first describe the internal structure of dative clitics. The main idea that I develop in the first section is that the dative is the combination of accusative and locative (see Martin 2012, Boeckx & Martin 2013). Then, in the following section I focus on the specific structure and label of the accusative and dative clitics. Finally, I discuss some issues related to the cross-linguistic variation that can be established between Spanish and Catalan.

4.2.1. The dative clitic: a derived clitic

For the purposes of this paper, I will build on Boeckx and Martin's (2013) analysis of dative clitics (see Martin 2012; Kayne 1991, 2008, for more discussion). According to them, the third-person dative clitic is not a grammatical primitive in the Romance languages, but a complex unit. Their main idea as follows:

(81) DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + x, where x = DEIXIS

[Taken from Martin 2012: 45]

The main hypothesis defended by these authors is that the dative clitic is a derived object resulting from the combination of two primitive notions: accusativity and deixis (or locativity)[60]. Boeckx and Martin (2013), following Kayne's (2008) proposal, argue

[60] The notion that the dative contains the accusative is not new. Although I cannot go into further details, a phenomenon that has been related to it is Differentical Object Marking (Aissen 2003; Leonetti 2004; Torrego 1998; among others). Marantz also presents the same idea in his theory of dependent case (Marantz 1991). In the same line, the existence of a universal case hierarchy (Caha 2009) aligns with this hypothesis.

that the morpheme representing deixis is the locative clitic (*hi* in Catalan)[61]. Hence, the structure of (81) corresponds to the one in (82).

(82) DATIVE = ACCUSATIVE + [i]

[Taken from Martin 2012: 46]

The empirical arguments underlying the analysis are diverse. A piece of evidence comes from the Catalan colloquial form exemplified in (83) that reveals the underlying structure of dative clitics.

(83)	[əlzi]	dono	el	llibre.
	CL-DAT.3PL	give	the	book
	'I give the book to them.'			

Boeckx and Martin (2013) argue that the structure of the clitic [əlzi] is that given in (84). The morpheme [əl] corresponds to the accusative clitic, [z] to the plural feature and [i] to the locative clitic.

(84) AC[əlz] LOC[i]]

Both authors show that the dative clitic features a set of peculiarities that account for its hybrid character. One of the first arguments that they mention is that the dative clitics do not present a homogeneous group. As it is known, from a semantic point of view, the dative can present different values (Huidobro 2009). The dative clitic can have an argumental character (i.e. playing different thematic roles: goal, benefactor, possessor,

[61] In contrast to Martin (2012) and Boeckx & Martin (2013), other authors (Bonet 1991, 1995; Harris 1994; Solà-Pujols 1998) interpret the [i] of the dative clitic [li] as a dative case mark. One argument against this analysis is the fact that first and second person dative clitics do not manifest the morpheme [i]. Clitic hi has also been analyzed as an inanimate dative (Rigau 1978, 1982). Although we will not go into details about the morphological analysis, I would like to mention that the morpheme [l] has been associated with person (Bonet 1991, 1995; Bernstein 2008) and also with definiteness (Leonetti 1999; Leu 2008; Wiltscko 2002). In general, in the literature, it has been argued that the morpheme [l] of pronouns corresponds to the definite article (Abney 1987; Postal 1969; Roca 1992, 1996; among others), although authors like Roca (1992, 1996) defend that this correspondence is only valid in the case of the accusative clitic.

and experimenter) and also be located in non-argumentative positions (i.e. with an ethical value)[62].

The behavior of the dative clitic when combined with other clitics also seems to reflect its compositional character. As seen in (87), the plural dative clitic supports the interpolation of a partitive clitic.

(85) De pomes, en donaré als nens demà.
of apples CL-PART will.give to.the children tomorrow
'Apples, I will give the children tomorrow.'

(86) Als nens, [elzi] donaré pomes demà.
to.the children, CL-DAT.3PL will.give apples tomorrow
'To the children, I will give apples tomorrow.'

(87) De pomes, als nens, [elzeni]
of apples to.the children, CL-DAT.3PL CL-PART
donaré demà.
will.give tomorrow
'Apples, to the children, I will give tomorrow.'

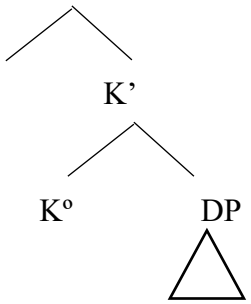
4.2.2. The structure of the clitic and cross-linguistic variation

This subsection shows in more detail how the internal structure of each clitic is organized. Here, I assume that the third-person dative and that the accusative clitics are introduced by a KP (Kase phrase) projection associated with structural case (see Bittner

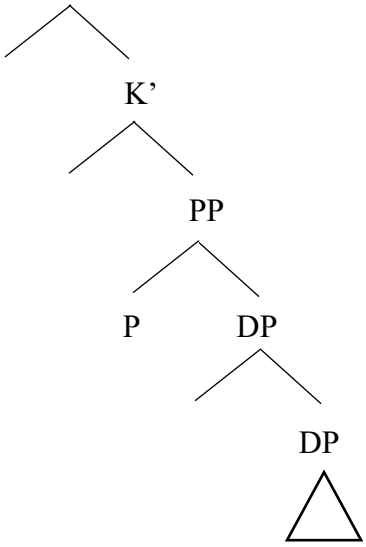
[62] In addition, heads that introduce the dative complement appear in different positions. With this we refer to the positions that can occupy the different types of applications that introduce the indirect complement (Pylkkanen 2002, 2008, Jeong 2006, 2007, among others).

and Hale 1996; Kayne 2002, 1994; Siegel 1974, among others). A representation of both clitics is shown below (accusative see (88), dative see (89)).

(88)



(89)



As seen in (88), the accusative clitic is introduced by a KP layer that takes a DP as a complement. The same process occurs in the dative clitic, which, as mentioned earlier, presents a more complex structure than the accusative. In particular, (89) shows a KP and DP layer corresponding to the accusative clitic. As for the PP layer in (89), it corresponds to the locative clitic (following the analysis of the locatives in Kayne 1975).

An interesting question that arises about the structure of (89) is whether there is cross-linguistic variation with respect to the internal composition of the dative. This question is relevant if we consider that not all languages superficially present a locative clitic. Although Boeckx and Martin (2013) develop their proposal based on data from Catalan, it extends, at least, to the whole range of Romance languages. As the authors point out, the 'primitive' or 'derived' condition of a given element should be a universal feature. The question that arises is what happens in languages that do not possess a system of clitics as rich as the Catalan pronominal system, as occurs, for example, in Spanish.

Looking at this in more detail, the Catalan clitic paradigm has differentiated forms for the locative clitic *hi* and the dative clitic *li*. Present-day Spanish, however, has lost the locative clitic and manifests the following form for the dative clitic: *l*e. As mentioned before, dative clitics in Spanish present, in the same way as in Catalan, a locative clitic in

an underlying way. The crucial difference I wish to emphasize here is that the structure of (64) would not be productive in Spanish. That is to say: the combination of a locative clitic and an accusative clitic is not possible in this language. In other words, the locative and the accusative clitic cannot be combined in the syntax to give rise to a dative clitic, which is something that could occur in Catalan.

In the case of Spanish, the structure of the dative clitic is created in the lexicon and constitutes an element that syntax manipulates as a unit. On the contrary, the dative structure of Catalan is formed in the syntax, where accusative and locative merge. The structure that corresponds to the Catalan dative can be observed in (78)[63], where the layer corresponding to the locative clitic (PP) and the layer corresponding to the accusative (KP and DP) can be differentiated. In Spanish, however, both layers are not visible.

(90) a. [KP K [PP P [DP D]]] (Catalan dative)

b. Clitic *li*, where *i* is locative (PP)

(91) a. [KP K [DP D + P]] (Spanish dative)

b. Clitic *le*

The (im)possibility of merging both categories is what gives rise to a series of effects of cross-linguistic variation. These same effects can be found in this case, as will be discussed in the next section.

4.3. The combinatorial restriction

In previous sections, I argued that clitic clusters are transferred together, as they end up within the same domain: the edge of v*. In addition, I showed that clitics are introduced by the same functional category: KP. Finally, I claimed that the fundamental difference between the dative clitic and the accusative clitic is that the former presents

[63] As mentioned by Ordóñez and Roca (2014), the morphological structure of the clitics in question highlights this observation. In Spanish the dative clitic presents an epenthetic *e* in the sense of Harris (1992), in the Catalan dative clitic *li*, on the other hand, the *i* corresponds to the locative.

deixis (represented by the locative clitic *hi*). In this section, I show how the different combinatorial constraints follow from under these assumptions.

Before going ahead, let us repeat for the ease of reference the RDC:

(92) Revised Distinctness Condition (RDC)
Let SOs {α,β,…} be generated by MERGE
Let α, β, etc. be syntactic objects, either simple (lexical items) or complex
A derivation crashes at SEM if, given {α,β}, α β cannot be distinguished

The RDC further forces us to define on what grounds can α and β be too similar. I will assume the following:
(93)

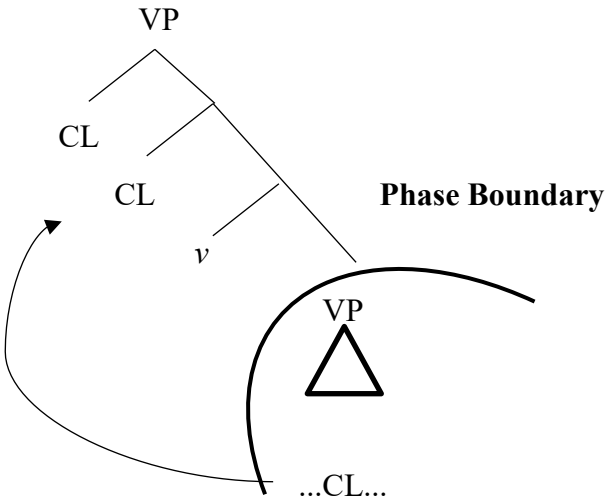
Identity Condition Lemma (ICL)
Given two SOs, α and β, within a local domain they are identical if:
a) α and β have the same feature composition (full identity)
b) α and β have some features in common (partial identity)
c) α and β's syntactic context cannot be distinguished

As developed in more detail in Chapter I, RDC is a restriction that arises due to the impossibility of creating two syntactic objects that are identical in some terms. This restriction applies to each structure fragment that is transferred to the interphases (each Transfer Domain). Let me see how the combinatorial restriction operates in the combination of a dative clitic and an accusative clitic in third person.

Going back to the structure presented in the previous section, both clitics have identical features. In particular, they share the layer of accusativity, as has been argued in previous section.

In addition, as it is exemplified in (94) both objects are within the same domain: the edge of a phase.

(94)



The combination of both clitics is, therefore, a violation of the RDC[64]. Recall that following this condition can be three illicit scenarios: i) full identity, ii) partial identity and iii) they share the syntactic context. In this case, the incompatibility is due to the partial identity between accusative clitic and dative clitic.

As described in § 2, the variations observed concerning the combination of two third person clitics are wide. Here, I claim that most of the alterations correspond to the elimination of the structure that is repeated: the accusative part of the dative. This is consistent with theories that defend the existence of only one space available to license one structural case, that is, with Alexiadou and Anagnostopolou (1998, 2001) and Ormazabal & Romero (2013). As it can be seen below, this strategy is not possible in all cases and some varieties resort to the insertion of another clitic.

In the next section, I pay attention to the variation observed in the different alterations.

[64] The analysis presented here is focusing on ungrammatical 3-3-person clitic combinations. Possible combinations such as (i) are compatible with the proposal since 1st and 2nd person pronouns constitute agreement morphemes (Ormazabal & Romero 2013, Roca 1992), then their structure is not an XP, but an Xº one.

(i) Juan me lo dijo.
Juan CL-DAT.1SG CL-AC.3SG tell-PAST.3SG
'Juan told it to me.'

4.4. The cross-linguistic variation

As described in § 4, the variation with respect to the different alterations manifested by the clitics is broad. In this section, I focus on the Catalan case first, and then I will move to the Spanish and Aragonese facts.

The examples in (95) show the different solutions that Catalan deploys[65].

(96) a. *lo* *hi*
CL-AC.3SG CL-LOC

b. *li*
CL-DAT.3SG

c. *l'* *hi*
CL-AC.3SG CL-LOC

What is relevant in the results of (96) is that they all correspond to the dative structure mentioned in § 3.3.1: accusativity and locativity. A closer look at (96) reveals that the combination of an accusative clitic and a dative clitic of third person constitutes the combination of the following structures:

(97) [KP K [PP P [DP D]]] (DATIVE)

(98) [KP K [DP D]] (ACCUSATIVE)

[65] The oblique clitic *hi* also can replace the partitive clitic *en / ne* when the partitive is repeated:
(i) De fotografies en vaig treure dues del calaix (Catalan)
of pictures CL-PART take-PAST.3SG two of.the drawer
'I took two pictures from the drawer.'
(ii) *En* *(*en*) vaig treure dues. (Catalan)
CL-PART CL-PART take-PAST.3SG two
'I took two.'
(iii) *N' hi* vaig treure dues, de fotografies, del calaix. (Catalan)
CL-PART. CL.LOC take-PAST.3SG two of pictures of.the drawer.
'I took two pictures from the drawer.'
[from Bonet 2008: 947]

As mentioned, this combination is not possible because the dative and the accusative share an accusative (structural) feature. The solution used in Catalan is to eliminate the accusative part of the dative clitic, so that the final result is as shown in (99), i.e. the locative clitic. Specifically, the K head and the D are eliminated, which correspond to the accusative case.

(99) [~~$_{KP}$ K~~ [$_{PP}$ P [~~$_{DP}$ D~~]]] ⟶ [$_{PP}$ P]

Thus, the structure that is sent to the interfaces only contains one accusative (structural) case. The underlying structure of the combinations in (100) is in all cases as follows:

(100) [$_{KP}$ K [$_{DP}$ D] [$_{PP}$ P]]]

The structure of (100) corresponds to one structural case (accusative) and a PP that does not present this Case. Laenzlinger (1993, 1994) argues that the cases of (100) constitutes a reduction of the cluster in the sense that the result is apparently only one clitic. However, this is not clear since the partitive clitic can be inserted between the accusative and the locative part of the plural dative (see (101)). So, it does not seem a single element.

(101) De pomes, als nens, [elzeni] donaré demà. (Cat.)

of apples, to.the children CL-AC.3PL CL.PART CL.LOC give-FUTUR tomorrow

'Apples, to the children, I will give tomorrow.'

Other varieties show the following mechanism to avoid the combination of two third person clitics:

(102) a. *Li* *ho*

CL.DAT.3SG CL.NEUTER

b. *L'* *ac*

CL.DAT.3SG CL.NEUTER

The dative clitic is maintained whereas the accusative clitic adopts an underspecified form: the neuter clitic. It is important to note that this clitic does not present the *l*-morpheme which in the analysis presented in § 4.2 is attributed to accusative case.

Valencian Catalan presents some peculiarities. Two have been the solutions attested: on the one hand, this variety maintains the combination of two third person clitics, on the other hand, in some areas the SE clitic emerges, as it occurs in Spanish. In this case the strategy to replace the combination of two third person clitics is to resort to another clitic, the Spurious SE, this strategy will be discussed in the next section. This variety cannot resort to the elimination of the accusative part of the dative since the locative in Valencian Catalan is losing its productivity.

So, the structure of the dative in Valencian Catalan is similar to the one in Spanish. As has been argued in § 5.2 the dative clitic in Spanish is composed by an accusative and a locative clitic, in the sense of Boeckx & Martin (2013). This composition in Spanish is not transparent, and the dative clitic is an atom in the lexicon. For this reason, it is not possible to remove the accusative part of the dative leaving only visible the locative. Valencian Catalan displays the same phenomenon. This view is compatible with Cabré & Fábregas (2019) analysis, where they argue that losing the locative clitic in Valencian Catalan implies the non-decomposition form of the dative. Whereas the dative clitic in non-Valencian Catalan is an animate locative, in Valencian Catalan it is a real dative. These authors defend that dative clitic in non-Valencian Catalan is a DP (an accusative clitic with a locative) and in Valencian Catalan a KP due to the absence of the locative clitic. The key of their analysis is that, because each clitic receives a different case marking, the clitic area can treat them as different objects and use distinct sets of projections to license them separately, contrary to the facts observed in non-Valencian Catalan. Thus, both clitics can maintain their original form.

However, the analysis offered by Cabré & Fábregas (2019) is not compatible with Spanish facts. If we assume that the dative in Spanish displays the same structure that Valencian Catalan (following their argumentation about the absence of a locative clitic) it is not possible to explain why **le lo* combination is not possible. It would be expected that Spanish also shows two different sets of projections to license the dative and the accusative clitic. I agree with Cabré & Fábregas (2019) regarding to the fact that the dative in Valencian Catalan is an atom, like in Spanish and, thus, the accusative part of the dative cannot be removed in order to solve the combination. The *le lo* combination can be maintained, not because it possesses a different case mechanism than the accusative, but because it constitutes a clitic reduction in the sense of Laenzlinger (1993, 1994). Valencian varieties, such as also some reduced Aragonese varieties and Spanish

ones, preserve the combination *lelo* forming only one fused element —like one clitic, as occurs in previous stages with the medieval form *gelo*. Thus, *se lo* and *gelo* constitute two strategies in order to avoid the result **le lo.* One of them (*gelo*) creates a unique element and *se lo* two distinct elements, as will be discussed below. In fact, additional evidence in favor of that comes from the structure of *gelo*[66]. As has been reported in the literature, it seems that the form *gelo* is not a clitic form, ge receives tonicity. So, *gelo* works as an independent and unique word. The question that arises at this point is why the form *gelo* converts into *se lo*, since *gelo* is also possible. The response is that the combination tries to be readjusted in order as similar as possible to the paradigm. So, the way to be more similar is decomposing the atomic constituent and replacing them to the *se lo*, being *se* the only possible clitic that can be inserted, as will be argued bellow. On the other hand, other Valencian varieties use the same strategy that Spanish resorts to: the SE spurious, since the possibility to present the locative feature is not possible.

Let me now move to Spanish combinations. The results of the combination of third person accusative and dative clitics are the following:

(103)

a.	*se*	*lo*
	SE	CL-LOC
b.	*le*	
	CL-DAT.3SG	

Except for the case of (103b), the elimination of structure does not seem possible in the previous cases[67]. As I have argued in the previous section, the reason for this is that

[66] It is important to note that the locative clitic *hi* was active in Medieval Spanish, but it has not been documented in *se lo* combination. As Sánchez Lancis (1992) describes, there is no exact overlapping between the locative and the dative as it occurs in other Romance varieties. In fact, this author defends that the locative is not a real Indirect Object as datives in Spanish. This can be related with the fact that the clitic *hi* does not appear to substitute the dative in *se lo* combination.

[67] Catalan could in principle employ this strategy since the clitic SE also exists in Catalan, but this does not occur due to economic principles: it is more economical to eliminate the structure rather than creating another one. The best option is trying to continue with the derivation and modify it at the interphase. If this is possible, the sentence is licit, if not, the system creates another one with a different structure.

the internal structure of the dative clitic in Spanish differs from that of Catalan in a fundamental aspect. That aspect is that the locative clitic and the accusative are merged in the lexicon to form the dative clitic. And that is why it does not present a differentiated form for both clitics in the syntax.

As a consequence, it is not possible to eliminate the structure corresponding to the accusative part of the clitic dative, since it does not present a differentiated constituent of the locative. In varieties that allow null objects (Basque Spanish, Quiteño Spanish), the solution is not to realize this object. In contrast, varieties that do not allow null objects insert the clitic SE.

Regarding the appearance of this clitic, I will assume that it presents a totally different structure to the one of accusative and dative clitics. This clitic possesses a head (Xº) status, unlike the XP status of the accusative and dative clitics (following Gallego and Uriagereka 2016). Specifically, what this means is that SE involves a structure similar to that of an expletive probe (similar to *there* in English, Uriagereka 1988, Kayne 2000, Chomsky 2004).

Kayne (2000: 160, footnote 73) suggests that spurious SE may be an (expletive) locative parallel to the data found in Sardinian (Jones 1993, 220) (see (104)).

(104) *Bi* *l'* appo datu. (Sardinian)

CL-LOC CL-AC.3SG have-1SG given

'I gave it to him/her.'

This proposal comes from the morphological analysis of spurious SE. According to Jone's analysis (1993), Kayne defends that the use of the clitic SE for nonreflexive second person plural *os* (that is, the use of *se* instead *os,* Picallo 1994) is produced via eliminating the *o-* and adding the epenthetic *-e.* Hence, the plural morpheme *-s* is maintained. By contrast, the morphological composition of spurious SE is very different. According to Harris' analysis (1997), spurious SE cannot maintain a plural morpheme *-s-* in the sense explained for the use of *se* instead of *os.*

Also, it is not possible to add a plural morpheme (see (105)).

(105) Yo *se(*s)* lo doy.

I SE CL-AC.3SG give-1SG

'I give it to them.'

In that aspect the Spurious SE connects with the incompatibility of locatives with plurals:

(106) *I went *theres*.

For *there*, Chomsky (2004: 114) assumes that it is a head that acts as a φ-defective probe[68]. In this sense Gallego & Uriagereka related the head status of *there* with the SE clitic.

In the same vein, Cardinaletti (2008, 2010) defends the existence of two morphological classes of clitics: morphologically (one morpheme) simple and mophologically complex (more morphemes). This type of morphemes presents consequences in relation to their syntactic behavior in clitic clusters contexts. Thus, morphological complex clitics cannot appear as the first element of a clitic combination. This analysis is applied to spurious SE defending that this clitic possesses only one morpheme. On the contrary, l-clitics are morphologically complex. This idea is also reflected here[69]. In fact, we defend that SE is a clitic less complex (Xº) than l-clitics (XPs).

Thus, the structure that must be linearized is as follows:

(107) <Xº, KP>

Finally, let me go back to the combinations of Aragonese (see (108)).

(108) a. *l'* *en*

CL-AC.3SG CL-PART

b. *els* *ie*

CL-AC.3PL CL-LOC

[68] Other types of SE have been also analysed as a φ-defective probe related to the English expletive *there* (impersonal SE, López 2007; Planells 2018, Richards & Biberauer 2005, Ormazabal & Romero 2018). This suggests that all SE clitics displays the same structure.

The combination in (108b) corresponds to the same combination that can be observed in Catalan: accusative and locative. This combination is precisely the one that appears in the Aragonese dialect that comes into contact with the Catalan area. Regarding the combination (108a), the strategy used is different. Western, Southern, and Central Aragonese varieties use a different strategy for the combination of two identical features. The accusative clitic is replaced by the partitive clitic, which constitutes a PP (following Kayne 2000)[70] eliminating thus the accusative part [38].

From this one can safely conclude that the alterations manifested by clitics in the combinations respond to a distinctive necessity. This necessity arises from the impossibility of combining two elements with two identical accusative structural features. As will be developed below, the option of eliminating the accusative part is preferable to the other strategies. In the next section, I focus on this strategy.

4.5.The 'repair strategies' in the system

The question that arises in relation to the examples analyzed in the previous section is how these alterations can occur in the system. Specifically, the question is whether the syntax can create a non-convergent clitic combination and repair it at some point in the derivation (what is known as a 'repair strategy'). In the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001) this possibility has been rejected. The alteration of the created structure is an antieconomic operation and it also violates a series of general principles. As mentioned above, one of the principles that violates is the Non-tampering Condition (Chomsky 1995) and the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky 2008). If we assume the existence of a 'repair strategy' that modifies the structure created, either by adding or eliding elements, these conditions are violated.

In this thesis, I will not assume that the syntax can alter the structure already created so that the derivations are legitimate, since this would violate the mentioned principles. The only operation that I consider legitimate is the elision of part of the structure. Specifically, the option of eliminating structure to which we have resorted to in the

[70] Both, Aragonese and Catalan, demonstrate the existence of a hierarchy of repair strategies: languages that possess oblique clitic and SE result to the insertion of oblique clitics (partitive to substitute the accusative and locative to substitute the locative). On the contrary, languages that have lost oblique clitics insert SE.

previous section can be reinterpreted as a process in which the Phonetic Form does not phonetically make a certain constituent, then the incompatibility disappears. At the same time, the Logic Form also interprets both identical separate features as only one of them. This is not possible in Spanish since the dative clitics are atomic.

Conversely, when this elision is not possible, the derivation fails and generates a new structure. This would happen in the combination of the clitics in Spanish and in the remaining Aragonese varieties. In this case, a new derivation is created and the elements are totally different from the original ones.

Saab & Pujalte (2012) defend that the system possesses an operation namely SE-insertion that occur at PF. This is a last resort mechanism that is produced in the following contexts:

(109) At PF a clitic has to be inserted when v [EXT ARG] does not have a specifier.

[from Saab & Pujalte 2012: 231]

These authors offer the rule of (109) to derive the existence of the clitic SE in reflexives, anticausatives and passives/impersonals constructions. They argue that SE appears in order to cancel the D feature on v. In other words, a clitic is inserted post-syntactically whenever a subcategorization feature survives the syntactic derivation. Saab & Pujalte (2012) propose an explicit mechanism for CL-insertion at PF that determines under which locality conditions this operation can take place. They distinguish between morphological clitics and syntactic clitics including the SE clitic into the morphological category. These clitics occupy specific positions in the clitic cluster: they always occur above syntactic clitics, at least in Spanish. Saab & Pujalte (2012) argue that as a repair strategy the clitic SE is not attested in object position and offer.

I do not follow their idea about CL-insertion at PF since this results ad hoc and violates the constraints mentioned previously. However, I agree with this analysis considering the SE clitic as a morphological clitic that is used as repair strategy. In fact, a unified view of the SE clitic is desirable: in all constructions —reflexives, anticausatives, passives, impersonals, spurious SE— the SE clitic is considered a morpheme that is inserted as a last resort.

Regarding the strategy used in Catalan and Aragonese —a resulting PP structure instead of a KP— this is not a new strategy in order to break an identity conflict. Richards (2010) under the label "adding structure" offers different phenomena that resort to the addition of structure, commonly a preposition that creates a PP:

(110) a. the destruction of the city.

b. *the destruction the city.

Alexiadou (2014) also provides examples of sentences that are ungrammatical without the presence of a preposition, as occurs in causative structures (see (111)).

(111)

a. Jean a fait manger Paul. (French)

Jean has-3SG made eat-INF Paul

'Jean made Paul eat.'

b. Jean a fait manger la tarte **à** Paul. (French)

Jean has-3SG made eat-INF the pie to Paul

'Jean made Paul eat the pie.'

c. *Jean a fait manger la tarte Paul. (French)

Jean has-3SG made eat-INF the pie Paul

'Jean made eat the pie Paul.'

So, the appearance of a PP is also attested in different languages in order to stablish an asymmetry.

In fact, it is possible to find the same strategies in other clitic combinations, specifically, in the PCC (*Person Case-Constraint*). Let me briefly introduce how is produced this restriction is produced in Spanish (112) and Catalan (113):

(112) a. Pedro me_{ACC} envía a ti. (Spanish)

Pedro CL-ACC.1SG send-1SG to you

'Pedro sends me to you.'

b. *Pedro me$_{ACC}$ te$_{DAT}$ envía. (Spanish)

Pedro CL-ACC.1SG CL-DAT.2SG send-3SG

'Pedro sends me to you.'

(113) a. Pedro te$_{ACC}$ envía a él. (Spanish)

Pedro CL-ACC.2SG send.3SG to him

'Pedro sends you to him.'

b.*Pedro te$_{ACC}$ le$_{DAT}$ envía. (Spanish)

Pedro CL-ACC.2SG CL-DAT.3SG send-1SG

'Pedro sends you to him '

(114) a. M'$_{DAT}$ ha recomanat la Mireia a tu. (Catalan)

CL-ACC.1SG has-3SG recommended the Mireia to you

'Mireia recommended me you.'

b. *Te$_{ACC}$ m'$_{DAT}$ ha recomanat la Mireia. (Catalan)

CL-ACC.2SG CL-DAT.1SG has-3SG recommended the Mireia

'Mireia recommended me you.'

(115) a. *Al president, me$_{ACC}$ li$_{DAT}$ ha recomanat en Miquel. (Catalan)

to.the president CL-ACC.1SG CL.DAT.3SG have recommeded the Miquel

'To the president, Miquel recommended me to him.'

b. *Al president, me$_{ACC}$ hi$_{LOC}$ ha recomanat en Miquel. (Catalan)

to.the president CL-ACC.1SG CL-LOC have recommeded the Miquel

'To the president, Miquel recommended me to him.'

As the examples in (112b), (113b), (114b) and (115b) show, the combination of a two third person clitics is not possible if the accusative clitic is not third person. This restriction is known as the *Person Case Constraint* (116):

(116) PCC

> If a dative clitic combines with an accusative clitic in the same group, the accusative clitic must be third person.

[Taken from Bonet 1991: 181]

It is interesting that the strategies to avoid PCC effects are similar to the ones presented in Section 2. As (112a), (113a) and (114a) illustrate the appearance of a PP 'a ti' *to you* and 'a él' *to him/her* solves the incompatibility. In the same sense, Catalan resorts to the locative clitic *hi* (see (115b)). Note that Spanish cannot use the clitic SE to rescue this combination:

(117)

a. *Pedro se te envía. (Spanish)

Pedro SE CL.ACC.2SG send-1SG

'Pedro sends you to him.'

This can be related with the fact that third person combinations and PCC effects are not identical phenomena. Whereas in the PCC the person displays a relevant role, the clitics in 3-3 combinations are analyzed as non-person clitics, being relevant other features such as Case (see Section 4.4). In fact, if we assume that SE is a case-less clitic, but it possesses person (as Cuervo 2013 suggests), the contrast in (117) can be explained in the following terms: SE can solve the combination of two third person clitics since the problem in this combination is accusative case. Thus, SE does not create a conflict. However, in (117), since the problem also involves person, the SE clitic cannot be inserted.

4.6. Consequences and predictions

This chapter defends that this incompatibility raises due to the co-ocurrence of two case features in the same domain, which violates the RDC (see Chapter 2 § 4.2). Specifically, the incompatibility is produced in the combination of two KPs inside the same domain, that is, two structural cases.

The proposal is congruent with approaches that defend the existence of a unique space to license structure case in a particular domain—in this case, inside the clitic cluster (see

Alexiadou and Anagnostopolou 1998, 2001; Laenzlinger 1993, 1994; Ormazabal & Romero 2013), but derives the problem from a more general restrictive principle.

Authors such as Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998, 2001) propose that inside the vP only one structural case can be licensed. Specifically, they postulate the following generalization[71]:

(118) The subject-in-situ generalization (SSG)
By Spell-Out, vP can contain only one argument with a structural Case feature.

More specifically, the generalization captured by the SSG can be further decomposed into two parts:

(119) i. If two DP arguments are merged in the vP domain, at least one of them must externalise.
ii. If two arguments remain vP-internal, one of them must surface as a PP.

As is expected, the clitic combinations discussed in this chapter fit well with this restriction and, in particular, with (119i). Both Aragonese and Catalan resort to a PP, in order to remove the accusative feature. Spanish, instead, insert a non-accusative clitic.
In the same vein, authors such as Ormazabal & Romero (2013, 2007) defend that only one argument in Double Object Constructions can enter into the agreement relation with the verb.
So, the proposal introduced here relates the incompatibilities discussed with a general principle —the RDC—, but it is not incompatible with other approaches that relate these facts only with Case licensing. Relating these facts with a general principle allows us to take into account questions about how interfaces work and how Third Factor Principles are reflected in syntax. Moreover, this proposal presents the advantage of not putting certain semantic features inside syntax.
Let me now show the predictions that this proposal made in relation with other clitic constructions such as split clitics and clitic reduplication.

[71] This connection will be developed in more detail in next Chapter.

4.6.1. Split clitics and clitic reduplication

As has been introduced in previous sections (see § 3 and § 4.1), Romance clitics undergo obligatory movement (cliticization) to a verbal host (see Kayne 1975, 1989; Uriagereka 1995; among others). When more than one clitic is present, they typically cluster. In most Romance Languages clustering is mandatory:

(120) a. *María *em*$_{DAT}$ vol donar -*ho*$_{AC}$. (Catalan)

María CL-DAT.1SG want-1SG give-INF CL-ACC

'María wants to give it to me.'

6. María *m*$_{DAT}$' *ho*$_{ACC}$ vol donar. (Catalan)

María CL-DAT CL-ACC want-1SG give

'María wants to give it to me.'

7. María vol donar -*m*$_{DAT}$ '*ho*$_{ACC.}$ (Catalan)

María want-1SG give-INF CL-DAT.1SG CL-ACC.NEUT

'María wants to give it to me.'

(121) a. *María *le*$_{DAT}$ quiere dar *lo*$_{ACC}$. (Spanish)

María CL-DAT.3SG want-1SG give-INF CL-ACC.3SG

'María wants to give it to me.'

b. María *se lo*$_{ACC}$ quiere dar. (Spanish)

María SE CL-ACC want-1SG give-INF

'María wants to give it to me.'

c. María quiere dárse$_{DAT}$lo$_{ACC}$. (Spanish)

María want-1SG give SE CL-ACC.3SG

'María wants to give it to me.'

As it is illustrated in the examples of (120bc) and (121bc) both clitics must appear forming a clitic cluster, they can occupy a preverbal position or a postverbal one. However, the

split of the group is ungrammatical (see (120a), (121a)). Obligatory clustering is however threatened in some complex verbal configurations. It can be found in compound tenses in Franco- provençal:

(122) a. T_{DAT}' an të prèdzà *nen*$_{PART}$? (Franco-provençal)

CL-DAT.2SG have they said CL-PART

'Have they spoken to you about it?'

b. T_{DAT}' an të deut *lo*$_{ACC}$? (Franco-provençal)

CL-DAT.2SG have they spoken CL-ACC.3SG

'Have they told it to you?'

[Taken from Chenal 1986: 398, 399]

And also in Control verbs in Portuguese:

(123) Nao *te*$_{DAT}$ quero aprensentá-*la*$_{ACC}$**.** (Portuguese)

No CL-DAT.2SG want-1SG introduce CL-ACC.3SG

'I do not want to introduce her to you.'

[Taken from Vos & Veselovská 1999: 6]

Other phenomena that are produced with complex verbal configurations is clitic reduplication. In these cases, the clitic is realized twice, that is, in their original position and the derive one. Varieties of Occitan (see (124)), Italian (see (125)), Romanian (see (126)) and Spanish (see (127)) show these phenomena (see Alibèrt 1976, Tortora 2002, 2015, Ledgeway 2017, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Nicolae & Niculescu 2016, Boškovic & Nunes 2007; Nunes 2004; Silva Corvalán 1989; Uriagereka 1995).

(124) *Lo*$_{ACC}$ vòli estripar *-ló*$_{ACC.}$ (Occitan)

CL-ACC.3SG want-1SG gut CL-ACC.3SG

'I want to gut it.'

[Taken from Alibèrt 1976: 289]

(125) L Piero *l*$_{ACC}$' à sempri mangià-*llu*$_{ACC}$. (Borgomanerese)

the Piero CL-ACC.3SG has always eaten CL-ACC.3SG

'Piero has always eaten it'

[Taken from Ledgeway 2017: 37]

(126) *L*$_{ACC}$- am văzutu-*l*$_{ACC}$. (Romanian)

CL-ACC.3SG have-1SG seen CL-ACC.3SG

'I have seen it.'

[Taken from Ledgeway 2017: 41]

(127) Yo *lo*$_{ACC}$ iba a hacer *lo*$_{ACC}$ (Chilean, Argentinian)

I CL-ACC.3SG went-1SG to do-INF CL-ACC.3SG

'I went to do it.'

[Taken from Mann 2012: 24]

Although I do not go into the details of these constructions, let me establish some connections with the distinctness effects discussed in the previous section.

Colomina (2019) argues that the configuration underlying verbal complex in the previous data involves the appearance of two actives probes in these varieties[72]. As has been

[72] The multiple Probe-based analysis introduced in Colomina (2019) was suggested to me by Ángel J. Gallego's (p.c).

explained in § 4.1, clitic movement is subject to the locus of phi-features (v* and C) (see Roberts 2010, Gallego 2016). Then, clitics occupy the edge of the *vP phase (Torrego 1998, 2002; Uriagereka 1995, Gallego 2016). When more than one clitic is present, both occupy the edge of the *vP phase.

However, complex verb configurations imply (at least) the appearance of two v (Biberauer & Roberts 2010). In Richard's (2012) sense, v can be active if it has (at least) one active feature.

The idea that Colomina (2019) defends is that clitics can split if there are two active Probes. Following that, in clitic splitting configurations there are two real probes with two goals (each clitic), whereas in clitic clusters there is only one probe with phi-features and one goal: the clitic cluster. In clitic reduplication contexts, the clitic establishes a relation only with one probe, like in clitic cluster contexts, but the clitic is pronounced in both positions (following Boškovic & Nunes 2007; Nunes 2004; similar to wh-doubling, see Manzini & Savoia 2011; Poleto & Pollock 2005).

Let me now relate this with distinctness effects. If we assume that some complex verbal configurations imply the appearance of two v, both clitics appear in different domains, avoiding thus the distinctions that are produced due to the appearance of two elements in the same domain. This seems to work, for example, with PCC effects in European Portuguese:

(128) a. Não *me*$_{\text{DAT}}$ quer apresenta -*te*$_{\text{ACC.}}$ (European Portuguese)

no CL-DAT.1SG want-3PL introduce-INF CL-ACC.2SG

'They do not want to introduce me to you.'

b. *Não *me*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *te*$_{\text{ACC}}$ quer apresentar. (European Portuguese)

no CL-DAT.1SG CL-ACC.2SG want-3PL introduce-INF

'They do not want to introduce me to you.'

Regarding distinctness effects, impossible combinations with identical clitics are also rescue in clitic reduplication configurations:

(129) *Ara *li*$_{DAT}$ *li*$_{DAT}$ agrada el fetge. (Catalan)

Now CL-DAT.3SG CL-DAT.3SG like the liver

'Now she/he likes liver on him/her.'

[Taken from Bonet 2002: 950]

(130) *Le*$_{DAT}$ iban a ofrecer*le*$_{DAT}$ ayuda a la niña. (Spanish)

CL-DAT went to offer-INF CL-DAT.3SG help to the girl

'They were going to offer help to the girl.'

[Taken from Mann 2012: 30]

Clitics in (130) are immune to distinctness effects and linearization incompatibilities because they appear in different phasal-domains. Then, both can be pronounced without creating a PF conflict. Moreover, Spurious SE does not emerge when the dative and the accusative are isolated:

(131) a. *Juan *le* $_{DAT}$ quiere enviar*lo*$_{ACC}$. (Spanish)

Juan CL-DAT.3SG want-3SG send CL-ACC

'Juan wants to send it to him/her.'

b. **Juan *se* quiere enviar*lo*$_{ACC}$. (Spanish)

Juan SE want-3SG send CL-ACC.3SG

'Juan wants to send it to him/her.'

Although both sentences are ungrammatical, (131b) it is worse if compared with (131a). Further research is necessary in order to establish the conditions under split and reduplication configurations can emerge.

5. Summary

This chapter has focused on the incompatibilities that arise when two third person clitics are combined in Aragonese, Spanish and Catalan varieties. First, empirical facts have been introduced. Then, I have reviewed the different approaches that account for the pattern of data. Two main lines of analysis are found: morphological and syntactical. The key of the discussion is what relevant features create the incompatibility. In the next section assumptions about the cliticization process have been introduced: clitics constitute XPs that are generated as arguments inside the vP domain and move to the edge. Then, they form a cluster and restrictions detailed in Chapter II emerge.

Throughout the chapter, the main idea that has been defended is that this combination implies the violation of the RDC. Specifically, this condition is violated since two accusative features are combined inside the same domain —that is, the accusative clitic itself and the accusative part of the dative clitic.

The strategies that the system resorts to avoid that are diverse and depend on the items presented in the lexical repertoire: varieties that present an independent locative clitic remove the accusative part of the dative. Other varieties present more radical solutions: the dative clitic is substituted by a clitic that displays a different structure (Xº) and is caseless (clitic SE) or both elements are fusioned (*gelo, lelo*). As it is expected, this restriction has an impact on other clitization process such as split clitic and clitic reduplication. As last section describes, placing one clitic in another domain also avoids the restrictions described.

CHAPTER III

VSO ORDER

1. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to analyze VSO order in Romance according to the RDC. I will focus on contrasts observed in Spanish and Catalan. Let me illustrate the main contrast.

As it has been reported in the literature (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000, 2001, Barbosa 1995, Contreras 1990, Gallego 2007, 2010, 2013, Leonetti 2014, Ordóñez 1998, 2000; Suñer 1982; Zubizarreta 1998; among others), Spanish shows more flexibility in word order if compared with other Romance languages (see (1) and (2)).

(1) a. *Juan* compró un libro. SVO (Spanish)
Juan buy-PAST.3SG a book

b. Compró *Juan* un libro. VSO (Spanish)
buy-PAST.3SG Juan a book

c. Compró un libro *Juan*. VOS (Spanish)
buy-PAST.3SG a book Juan
'Juan bought a book.'

(2) a. *En Joan* fullejava un diari. SVO (Catalan)
the Joan browse-PAST.3SG the newspaper

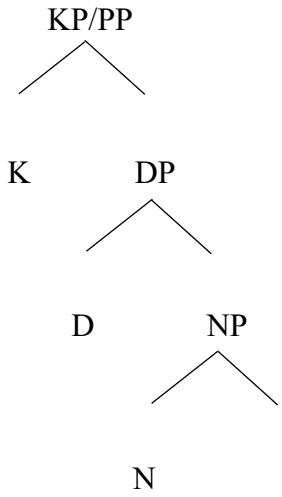
b. Fullejava un diari *en Joan*. VOS (Catalan)
browse-PAST.3SG the newspaper the Joan

c. *Fullejava *en Joan* un diari. *VSO (Catalan)
browse-PAST.3SG the Joan the newspaper
'Joan browsed the newspaper.'

In Spanish, SVO is the unmarked order (see (1a)), whereas VSO and VOS are related to specific contextual factors (see (1b) and (1c)) that will be discussed later on. Other Romance languages, like Catalan, show more restrictions in word order. VSO sentences are not allowed in Catalan, Italian and French.

The analysis presented in this chapter bears on the idea that the possibility to present VSO order is related to the complexity of the Direct Object (DO henceforth), according to the RDC presented in Chapter I. Building on López (2012), Ormazabal & Romero (2013), Roca & Ordóñez (2013), Torrego (1998), I assume that Spanish displays a more complex structure for the DO. I suggest that this complexity allows the subject to be maintained in a VSO position. Specifically, the structure of the DO proposed for Spanish-DO is as follows (see Bittner & Hale 1996, López 2012):

(3)



The fact that Spanish displays the structure of (3) allows to avoid the RDC constraint that is produced in VSO sentences. Thought the Chapter, evidence in favour of the existence of that structure comes from phenomena such as DOM (see (4)), leismo (see (5)), DO

doubling (see (6)) and dequeismo (see (7))[73]. These phenomena are found in Spanish, but not in Catalan[74].

DOM

(4) María quiere *a* Juan. (Spanish)

María love-3SG to Juan

'María loves Juan.'

Leismo

(5) a. María quiere *a Juan*. (Spanish)

María love-3SG to Juan

'María loves Juan.'

b. María *le* quiere. (Spanish)

Maria CL-DAT.3SG love-3SG

'María loves her.'

DO doubling[75]

(6) Juan *la* quiere a María. (Spanish)

Juan CL-ACC.3SG love-3SG to María

'Juan loves María.'

Dequeismo

[73] It is true that, except from DOM, all the other features are dialectal, whereas VSO in general is not taken as dialectal. As will be argued in Section 4, all these phenomena are evidence in order to justify the existence of a more complex structure of the DO in Spanish. So, the relation is not directly stablished between DOM, leismo, DO-doubling, dequeismo and VSO. These proprieties show evidence in favor of the structure proposed in (3).

[74] Or, at least, are not present in the same way, as will be discussed in § 5.3.2.

[75] Varieties that display DO-Doubling also show it when the referent is not animate, see § 4.2.5 for details.

(7) Pienso de que conseguiremos ganar el campeonato. (Spanish)

think of that achieve-FUTUR.1PL win-INF the championship

'I think that we will win the championship.'

The chapter is organized as follows: § 2 presents VSO order in Romance languages. First, the data will be introduced and, secondly, previous analyses will be discussed. § 3 reviews the EPP principle focusing on the relation between this principle and the possibility to display VSO order. Finally, § 5 offers an analysis of this phenomenon developing the idea about the structure of the DO mentioned previously.

2. VSO SENTENCES

This section discusses VSO order in Romance languages, focusing on Catalan and Spanish. First, languages that allow this order are presented. Then, the main proposals that try to account for this pattern of data are reviewed.

2.1. VSO in Romance

This subsection presents the main contrast that will be analyzed in § 5: the (im)possibility to present VSO order. First, languages that allow this order will be presented and, then, contexts and factors that facilitate the licensing of this order will be discussed.

VOS order is found in most Romance languages, but VSO displays a more restrictive distribution, being only possible in European Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian and Galician (see (8) and (9)) (see Belletti 2004, Gallego 2007, 2010, 2013, Ordóñez 1998, 2005).

(8) a. Todos los días compra *Juan* el diario. VSO (Spanish)

all the days buy-3.SG Juan the newspaper

'Every day Juan buys the newspaper.'

b. O invita cam de *Ion* pe fata acesta. VSO (Romanian)

CL invite-3.SG quite often Ion PE girl the-that

'Ion invites that girl quite often.'

(9) a. *Tots els dies fulleja *en Joan* el diari. *VSO (Catalan)
all the days browse-PAST.3SG the Joan the newspaper
'Joan browses the newspaper every day.'

b. *Leggi Gianni il giornale tutti i giorni. *VSO (Italian)
read-3SG Gianni the newspaper all the days
'Gianni reads the newspaper every day.'

The distribution of VSO order distinguishes two main Romance languages groups that have been widely studied in the literature: Western Romance languages (Galician, European Portuguese, and Spanish) and Central-Eastern languages (Catalan and Italian).

This paper focuses on the contrasts between Catalan and Spanish illustrated in (10) and (11).

(10) a. *En Joan* fullejava el diari. SVO (Catalan)
the Joan browse-PAST.3SG the newspaper

b. Fullejava el diari *en Joan*. VOS (Catalan)
browse-PAST.3SG the newspaper the Joan

c. *Fullejava *en Joan* el diari. *VSO (Catalan)
browse-PAST.3SG the Joan the newspaper
'Joan browsed the newspaper.'

[taken from Picallo 1998:228 229]

(11) a. *Juan* compraba el diario. SVO (Spanish)
Juan buy-PAST.3SG the newspaper

b. Compraba el diario *Juan*. VOS (Spanish)

buy-PAST.3SG the newspaper Juan

c. Compraba *Juan* el diario. VSO (Spanish)

buy-PAST.3SG Juan the newspaper

'Juan bought the newspaper.'

As illustrated in (10c), Catalan does not allow VSO, whereas this order is possible in Spanish (see (11c)[76].

2.2. Previous analysis

The fact that some languages display more subject positions is accounted for in the literature by postulating an additional projection that licenses the subject position in VSO order or, instead, defending that the subject is maintained *in-situ*. In the literature different positions have been proposed to license the subject in VSO: FocusP (Belletti 2004) SubjectP (Ordóñez 2005) or second specifier of the vP (Gallego 2013).

2.2.1. The Subject Phrase

Initially, Ordóñez (1998) defends that the subject is maintained *in-situ* in VSO order according to the VP internal subject hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1991) and verb movement proposals (see Edmons 1978, Pollock 1989). Following these theories, VSO is derived by moving the verb above the subject and maintaining the subject *in-situ*[77]. Suñer (1994) also argues in the same vein: the verb is always moved in VSO and the subject remains in the thematic position. In order to account for the VOS order, this author

[76] § 3 focuses on the differences between (10) and (11) regarding the appearance of an initial adverb in VSO.

[77] Cardinaletti (2004) defends that the subject is also *in-situ*. The subject remains in the thematic position in which it is generated. Crucially, the subject is focused, and the object is 'marginalized'. In most cases, it is interpreted as a contrastive focus. It can receive such interpretation *in-situ*, without explicitly moving to FocusP.

defends the object moves to the left. Evidence in favor of that comes from the fact that the object does not c-command the subject in VSO like it does in the VOS order. The orders are asymmetrical and capture the idea of c-commading, the situation is similar to other scrambling processes such as in Hindi, German or Korean.

Let me exemplify this with the phenomena that Ordoñez discusses (see (12)). This example illustrates quantifier binding. The pronoun must be in the c-command domain of the quantifier (Reinhart 1983).

(12) a. *Su$_i$ amigo le regaló un libro [a cada niño]$_i$. (Spanish)

her/his friend CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG a gift to each child

'Him/his friend gave a gift to each child.'

b. *Su madre$_i$ le presentó (a) [cada niño]$_i$ al director. (Sp.)

her/his mother CL-DAT.3SG introduce-PAST.3SG to each child to.the director

'Her/his mother introduced each child to the director.'

The examples of (12) result ungrammatical because the quantifier *cada* 'each' cannot be coreferential with the possessive pronoun *su* due to the fact that it is outside of the c-commanding area. The scenario is the same when the order is VSO:

(12) a. *¿Qué le regaló su$_i$ amigo [a cada niño]$_i$? (Spanish)

what CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG her/his friend to each child

'What did your friend give to each child?'

b. *Este libro se lo regaló su$_i$ amigo (a) [cada niño]$_i$. (Sp.)

this book SE CL-ACC.3SG give-PAST.3SG her/his friend to each child

'Her/his friend gave this book to each child.'

However, when the object quantifier precedes the subject, the bound interpretation becomes available in all examples:

(13)

a. ¿Qué le regaló a cada niño su amigo para su cumpleaños? (Sp.)
what CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG to each child her/his friend for her/his birthday
'What did her/his friend give to each child for her/his birthday?'

b. Este libro se lo regaló [a cada niño]$_i$ su$_i$ amigo. (Sp.)
this book SE CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.3SG to each child her/his friend
"Her/his friend gave this book to each child."

This demonstrates that in VOS order the object is c-commanding the subject. Same asymmetries are found regarding Principle C effects, as it is illustrated in (14) and (15). The referential expression *ella* 'she' can be coindexed with *Eva* because there is no c-command (see (14)). The ungrammaticality of (15) is explained since the IO is in a c-commanding position with respect to the following subject.

(14) a. Los hermanos de Eva$_i$ le compraron el libro a ella$_i$ (Spanish)
the brothers of Eva CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3PL the book to her
'Eva's brothers bought the book from her.'

b. ¿Qué le compraron los hermanos de Eva$_i$ a ella$_i$? (Spanish)
what CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3PL the brothers of Eva to her
'What did Eva's brothers buy from her?'

(15) a.*¿Qué le compraron a ella$_i$ los hermanos de Eva$_i$? (Spanish)
what CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.3PL to her the brothers of Eva
'What did Eva's brothers buy from her?'

b. *El libro, se lo compraron a ella$_i$ los hermanos de Eva$_i$ (Sp.)
the book, SE CL-ACC.3SG buy-PAST.3PL to her the brothers from Eva

'The book, Eva's brothers bought it from her.'

The same c-commanding effects occur with reconstruction effects, post verbal *wh* elements and the interpretation of indefinites (see Ordóñez 1998).

Later on, Ordoñez (2007) defends that the subject does not occupy the *in-situ* position in VSO order (contrary to Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, Cardinaletti 2004, Costa 2000, among others). Ordóñez (2007) explores another possibility: subjects occupy the FocusP position (Belleti 2004) in VOS and the SubjectP position (second specifier of vP) in VSO:

(16) [SubjectP XP [FocusP]]

Let me show the argumentation for which this author proposes this position. Evidence in favor of the existence of SubjectP comes from the position of quantifiers:

(17) a. Ayer lo hizo/encontró él todo bien. (Spanish)
yesterday CL-ACC.3SG make/find-PAST.3SG he all right
'Yesterday he found/made it all right.'

b.*?Ayer lo hizo/encontró todo él bien. (Spanish)
yesterday CL.ACC.3SG make/find-PAST.3SG all he right
'Yesterday he found/made it all right.'

(18) $_{SubjP}$[él [todo [bien $_{VP}$[
he all right

As it is exemplified in (18) the quantifier *todo* 'all' must occupy an intermediate position between the adverb *bien* and the subject *él.* Following the cartographic approach to the position of adverbs and quantifiers (see Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999), this demonstrates that the subject cannot occupy the *in-situ* position since it cannot appear below the quantifier *todo* 'all'. Let me show how this example is produced in Catalan:

(19) a.*Ahir ho van fer ells tot bé. (Catalan)
yesterday CL-ACC.3SG make-PAST.3PL they all right
'Yesterday they found/made it all right.'

As the data in (19) illustrates, Catalan rejects this construction because this language does not display the SubjectP projection. Ordóñez (2008) provides evidence from other phenomena such as manner adverbs, infinitives and restructuring verbs.

This contrast between Catalan and Spanish also occurs with infinitives[78]:

(20) a. Antes de comprar Luis las manzanas. (Spanish)
before of buy-3SG Luis the apples
'Before Luis buys the apples.'
b. *Abans de comprar Lluis les pomes. (Catalan)
Before of buy-3SG Lluis the apples
'Before Luis buys the apples.'

(Taken from Hernanz 1999)

As the data in (20b) illustrates, Catalan cannot present the VSO order in infinitive contexts. (21b) illustrate the same for restructuring contexts.

(21) a. Finalmente puede (Juan) dormir (Juan). (Spanish)
b. Finalment pot (*en Joan) dormir (en Joan). (Catalan)
finally can-3SG the Joan sleep-INF the Joan
'Finally, Joan can sleep.'

The data illustrated in (21) shows that Spanish permits more subject positions not only in VSO sentences, but also in restructuring contexts. Whereas the infinitive subject can

[78] Other phenomena such as the anteposing of the causee subject show the same distribution:

(i) *Vam fer els nois comprar llibres. (Catalan)
make-PAST.1PL the boys buy-INF books
'We made the children buy the books.'
(ii) Hicimos a los chicos cantar una canción. (Spanish)
make-PAST to the boys sing-INF a song
'We made the children sing a song.'

[Taken from Castillo & Colomina 2018: 7]

occupy an intermediate position between the modal verb *puede* 'can' and the infinitive *dormir* 'sleep' (see (21a)), this position is not available in Catalan (see (21b)).

Therefore, Ordóñez places the parametric variation between Catalan and Spanish in the appearance of a projection that hosts the subject in VSO. However, Ordóñez does not provide additional evidence to justify the existence of this projection and the postulation of this position seems ad hoc. As will be explained below, Gallego (2007, 2010, 2013) relates the existence of this position with other phenomena such as DOM.

2.2.2. VSO and object shift

Gallego (2007, 2010, 2013) focuses on explaining how VOS is derived in Romance languages. In the literature, VOS has been analyzed in two ways: on the one hand, authors such as Ordóñez (1997, 1998, 2000) defend that this order is derived through object shift (or scrambling, as previous section describes), whereas others (see Belletti 2001, 2004; Zubizarreta 1998) argue that this is a case of VP-Fronting.

Gallego (2007, 2010, 2013) unifies both proposals defending that some languages derive VOS via VP-Fronting and others thought object shift. The last mechanism is related to VSO.

Specifically, the following generalization is proposed:

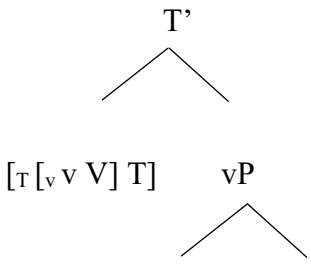
(22) VOS-VSO generalization

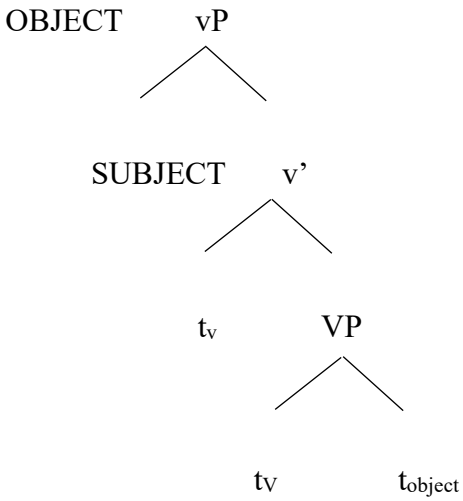
If a Romance language generates VOS through object shift, then it licenses VSO.

[Taken from Gallego 2013]

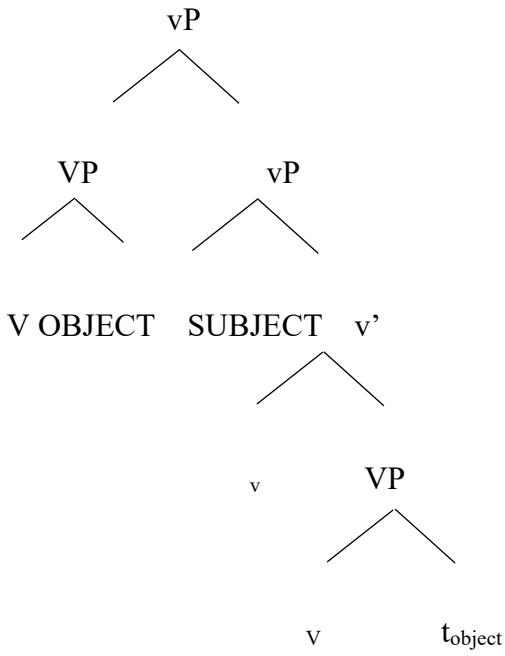
This generalization identifies two main groups: Western Romance Languages (Galician, European Portuguese, Spanish) and Central Eastern Romance (Italian, Catalan). The first group licenses VOS via VP-fronting (see (24)), whereas the second moves the object (see (23)).

(23).





(24)



As illustrated in (23), languages such as Spanish resort to object shift to derive VOS order. The object raises to a second specifier of the vP, above the subject, the same position that has been proposed by Ordóñez (2007), SubjectP. Other languages like Italian and Catalan move the whole vP (see (24)). A crucial difference between (23) and (24) is that in (23) the object c-commands the subject, whereas c-commanding is not possible in (24). Evidence in favor of this analysis comes from binding properties (see (25)) and extraction effects (see (26)) (Gallego 2013) that behave differently in these languages. Whereas in

Spanish the object c-commands the subject in VOS, this relation is not established in Catalan:

(25) a. Recogió cada coche$_i$ su$_i$ propietario. (Spanish)

pick.up -PAST.3SG each car his/her owner

'His/her owner picked up each car.'

b. ?? Ahir va visitar cada estudiant$_i$ el seu$_i$ professor. (Catalan)

yesterday visit-PAST.3SG each student the his/her professor

'Yesterday each student visited his/her professor.'

As (25b) exemplifies, *cada estudiant* 'each student' cannot be coreferential with *el seu professor* 'his/her professor' since in VOS the object is not c-commanding the subject in Catalan (this relation is not established in VP-fronting), whereas this c-commanding relation is produced in Spanish (via object shift). This evidence coincides with Ordonez's discussion (see § 2.2.1). The same contrast is found with extraction effects:

(26) a. ¿Qué película$_i$ dices que no vio v [vP [toda t_i] Juan v [VP v t_j]]?(Spanish)

what movie say-2SG that not see-PAST.3SG all Juan

'What movie do you say that all Juan did not see?'

b.?? Quina pel·lícula$_i$ dius que [vP [no va veure [tota t_i]] en Joan]? (Catalan)

what movie say that no saw all the Joan

'What movie do you say that all Juan did not see?'

The object can be extracted in VOS in Spanish (see (26a)), but not in Catalan (see (26b)).

Gallego (2013) proposes a connection between the structure in (23) and VSO order. The position that the object occupies in VOS is the same that the subject occupies in VSO. In fact, this position is also present in DOM constructions (see López 2012; Rodríguez Mondoñedo 2007). Thus, a parametric variation is established in relation to the possibility to license this second specifier. This possibility lies on morphological richness of *v* that is richer in Spanish than in Catalan (Gallego 2007). The appearance of more features in *v*

allows to host more specifiers (Chomsky 2001). Evidence in favor of this richness comes from the verbal paradigm. Gallego (2007) defends that the fact that Catalan has lost some verbal forms show this poverty. Catalan does not use perfect tense and past perfect (see (27)), this has been substituted by periphrastic forms.

(27) Perfect tense: *cantà* *va cantà*

Past perfect: *hagué cantat* *va haver cantat*

To recap, Gallego's proposal relates the possibility to present VSO order with other phenomena such as DOM and at the same time justifying both phenomena recurring to the richness of v. This approach displays some advantages, contrary to Ordóñez (1998, 2008): the proposition of a second specifier of *v* is justified relating this with other phenomena such as DOM. The parametric variation is explained since Catalan does not present the same richness of v. However, in essence, the idea of this analysis is similar to Ordóñez (1998, 2008): to propose a position to host the subject.

2.3. FocusP

Now, I move to Belletti's proposal. Belletti (2001, 2004) focuses on explaining the VOS order, but also mentions VSO.

Belletti (2001, 2004) establishes a correlation between the different projections that have been proposed to host topics and focus in the CP field and the positions that appear in the lower TP area. In particular, she proposes the existence of topic and focus projections above the vP. The postverbal subject (VOS) occupies the position of specifier of FocusP since it interpretively behaves like a focus (see (30)). VOS sentences such (30) are analyzed as is illustrated in (31). The subject moves to FocusP projection and the whole VP moves via VP-fronting, as has been explained in Gallego's proposal.

(30) Leyó el periódico María. (Spanish)

Read-PAST.3SG the paper María.

'María reads the newspaper.'

(31) [$_{TP}$ [$_{VP}$ leyó el periódico] [$_{FocusP}$ María[$_{vP}$ ~~María~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~leyó el periódico~~]]]

read the newspaper María María read the newspaper

VSO order is not possible in Italian (neither Catalan, nor French). Belletti argues that this is because the subject intervenes in case assignment to the object.

Initially, Belletti (2001) defends that the subject is licensed by a feature different from Case, namely Focus in VOS. However, it is not obvious that Case and Focus should have in common to allow them to play an equivalent role. In recent versions of Minimalist Program, Case assignment can be a nonlocal process and that Case can also be available at a distance. If some process of this sort has to be admitted, it is not necessary to postulate that Focus assigns case (see Gallego 2020).

Regarding VSO, Belletti (2004) argues that it is ruled out because the Case of the object cannot be assigned since the subject creates a Relativity Minimality effect. If we assume that Case is related to a head that is located outside vP/VP in a position higher than the Focus projection hosting the postverbal subject, it cannot be assigned.

Belletti (2004) proposes two options to obtain the VSO order in Spanish: (i) the subject appears in a higher position than the FocusP, (ii) the case of the object is assigned through another mechanism: DOM. As no relation external to vP is required for PPs, no RM violation is produced in the presence of a PP following the postverbal S.

In favor of the first approach Belletti offers the observation that a similar higher subject position seems available in other languages anyway—for example, Icelandic and, possibly, in Italian as well, but they are limited to hosting subject pronouns only. As Belletti (2004) describes, VSO is only possible in Italian when the subject is a pronoun:

(32) a. Di quel cassette ho io le chiavi. (Italian)

of that drawer have-1SG I the keys

'I have the keys of that drawer.'

b.*?Di quel cassette ha Maria le chiavi. (Italian)

of that drawer has-3SG Maria the key

'Maria has the keys of that drawer.'

As she describes, while the sentence in (32b) can only be rescued with a special contrastive or corrective intonation/interpretation on the postverbal subject *Maria*, no similar special intonation/interpretation needs to be associated with the pronoun in (32a). Belletti (2004) defends that the contrast between the personal pronoun and the lexical noun phrase suggests that pronouns should avail themselves of a further position in the postverbal domain, which is excluded for lexical noun phrases. This further subject position should be higher than the one filled by the lexical noun phrase and such that it would not interfere in the Case assignment of the direct object.

In favor of the second alternative, the following consideration is given: there appears to be a correlation between availability of VSO and the existence of a special Case marking of direct objects in the same set of languages involving a preposition under certain conditions (e.g., animacy of the object in Spanish; see Torrego 1998). The preposition is also visible in object clitic doubling constructions also possible in both Spanish and Romanian:

(33) a. Ana saluda a un amigo. (Spanish)

Ana greet-3SG to a friend

'Ana greets a friend.'

b. Juan lo visitó al chico. (Spanish)

Juan CL-ACC.3SG visit-PAST.3SG to.the boy

'Juan visited the boy.'

The hypothesis is that, at least in VSO, there can be recourse to an "abstract" version of the preposition for Case marking the direct object. Regarding this option Belletti (2004: 34) mentions the following:

> "Of course, the next step should be a thorough investigation of the conditions under which the abstract preposition should be licensed. I leave the two alternatives open here at this rather speculative stage, noticing that the correlation between possibility of VSO and existence of a preposition available to Case mark the direct object appears to hold beyond the Romance domain as it is also found in other languages as well, such as modern Greek."

Precisely, § 4 offers further investigation regarding the existence of this abstract preposition.

3. EPP AND SUBJECT POSITIONS

This section discusses the EPP in Spanish and the interaction between the EPP and the existence of the VSO order. First, I will explain the two main hypothesis regarding the EPP in Spanish: (i) Spanish displays an active EPP *vs.* (ii) Spanish does not present this active feature. Then, I will explain the connection between EPP and VSO. I conclude that VSO order offers evidence in favour of the existence of an active EPP in Spanish.

3.1. Active *versus* inactive EPP in Spanish

The possibility of showing VOS and VSO is a fundamental property of Null Subject languages linked to leaving the preverbal subject position phonetically unrealized[79]. The relation of the EPP and the postposition of the subject has raised a lot of debate in the literature, some authors defend that there is an active EPP feature in Spanish (Gallego 2010, Ortega-Santos 2005), whereas others argue that this feature is inactive (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Let me introduce this discussion. First, I will present arguments in favor of the existence of an EPP feature, which result relevant to VSO analysis.

Empirical evidence about the existence of an EPP feature comes from structures such as Locative Inversion. Spanish has —locative, verb, subject— order sentences which can be analyzed like Locative Inversion. These structures share the following features (Kempchinsky 2001):

(i) The adverb is argumental.

(ii) Only unaccusatives accept LI, unergatives might enter the unaccusative class in LI.

(iii) The locative satisfies the EPP.

Let me exemplify this phenomenon with both unaccusative and unergatives verbs. Plural bare NPs in argumental positions can only appear in object position in Spanish, such as

[79] The kind of inversion structures allowed in French—the so-called Stylistic Inversion (SI) structures (Kayne and Pollock 1978, 2001) have very different features to those found in Null Subject Romance languages: descriptively, they require a "trigger" for inversion (wh or subjunctive).

postverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs or regular objects (Torrego 1989). (34) illustrates this contrast:

(34) a. Veo libros. (Spanish)

see-1SG books

'I see books.'

b. Llegaron clientes. (Spanish)

arrive-PAST.3PL customers

'Some customers arrived.'

c. ?? Anidan palomas. (Spanish)

nest-3PL pigeons

'Some pigeons nest.'

d. ?? Corren chicos. (Spanish)

run-3PL boys

'Some boys run.'

(34a) illustrates canonical objects and (34b) a postverbal subject with an unaccusative verb. (34c) and (34d) are ungrammatical since the verb is unergative.

However, in Spanish certain unergatives behave as unaccusative when taking a locative in preverbal position (Torrego 1989), as seen in the fact that bare NPs are licensed as subjects of such unergative verbs.

(35) a. *(Aquí) anidan palomas. (Spanish)

here nest-3PL pidgeons

'Pidgeons nest here.'

b. *(Aquí) corren chicos. (Spanish)

here run-3PL boys

'Boys run here'

In addition to the facts noted by Torrego (1989), it is important pointing out that the parallelism between English Locative Inversion and the syntax of Spanish unaccusative/unergatives is also supported by the fact that in both English and Spanish, the postverbal subject of unergatives which have shifted into the unaccusative class is structurally a theme. This is shown by the data illustrated in (36): they are incompatible with agentive purpose clauses.

(36) a. ?? Aquí anidan palomas para estar cerca de la comida. (Spanish)

here nest-3PL pidgeons in order to be next to the food

'Pidgeons nest here in order to be closer to the food.'

It should be noted that the fact that the presence of a locative allows unaccusatives and unergatives to pattern together is one of the features of EPP. Locative is a preverbal element that satisfy the EPP in the structures of (35). This locative is equivalent with the one proposed to occupy the same position in unaccusative structures.

As Ortega-Santos (2005) argues, the locative moves through Spec,TP satisfying the EPP. The fact that in cases as (35b) the preverbal adverb is obligatory is consistent with the claim that the adverb satisfies the EPP, as already noted by Torrego (1989).

Later on, Chomsky (2015) offers an analysis of the EPP based on the idea that the reason why subjects must stay in [Spec, TP] is related to the inability of T to label. The idea is that T is too weak (like a root) in some languages and requires the appearance of a DP in the specifier in order to Agree with the head and provide the label <ϕ, ϕ>.

Gallego (2017) criticizes the idea about the weakness of T and provides an analysis defending that T is a copy of C in non-null subject languages arguing that this is the reason why they cannot label. Spanish and English belong to two different types of languages: English is a non-null subject language whereas Spanish has been classified as a null subject language, as has been mentioned in this section. Gallego (2017) offers evidence to defend that the existence of this parameter is related with the fact that T is a copy of C in languages such as English; instead, Spanish displays two different lexical items for T and C. This author provides evidence in order to justify and explain how the different phenomena (that-deletion, ECP effects, that-trace effects, among others) are related to the copy category of C. I do not deny the different behavior of both languages, that is, the differences regarding the EPP, but the fact that Spanish displays the contrast illustrated

in (35) constitutes evidence in favor of the existence of this feature in Spanish, not necessarily identical to English EPP, as Gallego (2017) shows[80].

On the other hand, Alexiadou and Anagnotoupoulou (1998, 2000, 2001) defend that the EPP is satisfied by moving or merging a head or a phrase. In the case of Null-subject languages the EPP is satisfied by moving the verb. In particular, by its rich pronominal agreement.

Evidence in favor comes from the fact that preverbal subjects have A bar properties as word order or scope facts, preverbal subjects compete for this position:

(37) a. Pedro nunca viene. (Spanish)

Pedro never come-3SG

'Peter never comes.'

(38) b. *Nunca Pedro viene. (Spanish)

Never Peter come-3SG

'Peter never comes.'

The lack of Definiteness Effects is also used as an argument against the presence of expletives:

(39) a. There arrived a man/*the man/*every man.

b. Il est arrivé un homme/*l'homme.

there.is arrive-PAST.3SG a man the man

'There is arrived a man/the man.'

c. Vino un niño / el niño / Pedro.

[80] As Gallego (2017) points out, the relevant question is the general nature of the EPP in language. Why must the specifier of the TP be occupied? Chomsky (2013, 2015) relates this with a labelling conflict. In a similar line, Gallego (2017) also relates this feature with the possibility of labelling (being T a copy of C or not).

Arrive-PAST.3SG a kid / the kid / Peter

'There arrived a kid / the kid / Peter.'

[Taken from Ortega Santos 2005: 144]

Since the subject is postverbal in (39c), if there is no expletive in the structure, the EPP would not be satisfied. This fact together with the A bar status of preverbal subjects is interpreted by Alexiadou and Anagnostoupolou as evidence in favor of that the spec,TP is not projected. In contrast to languages such as French or English, in Spanish nominal agreement satisfies the EPP.

Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) in related research on contrastive subjects argue that the fact that binding is crucially determined by subject agreement would support the idea that agreement is pronominal (Taraldsen 1992) in Spanish[81], as illustrated in (40).

(40) [Los estudiantes]$_x$ salimos$_j$ de la reunión después de que nos$_j$ /*los$_x$ acusaran.(Sp.)

the students leave-1PL of the meeting after of that us them accuss-SUBJ.3PL

'We students left the meeting after they were accused.'

Such view that the EPP is not standardly active is not compatible with the analysis of unaccusatives and also with the syntax of impersonals and psych-verbs (Soriano 1999 and Masullo 1992). One possibility to put together both analysis is to argue that agreement is pronominal in general but not in these contexts. If that were the case, we would expect to find some evidence for the peculiarity of Agreement in impersonals and in unaccusatives.

However, as Ortega Santos notes, any evidence that preverbal subjects have A bar properties is *a priori* compatible with an active EPP if Spec,TP is an A bar position in Spanish (see Zubizarreta 1998, Masullo 1992). In fact, a view of preverbal subjects as non-argumental predicts that such subjects and preverbal objects should pattern together, contrary to the fact (see Goodall 2001 for arguments based on information structure).

[81] Not all Romance languages display the same restriction. Subject pronoun is mandatory in Italian when there is agreement between the verb and the first plural person pronoun. This would suggest a different behavior regarding subjects in languages that does not allow VSO, but Catalan, behave as Spanish. § 4.1 explores this possibility and § 4.3 offer an explanation about certain types of subjects that can occupy the VSO position in Italian.

Secondly, regarding the lack of Definiteness Effects in Spanish, it is worth mentioning that there is no relation between expletives and Definiteness Effects in different languages. Therefore, the argument that the EPP is not satisfied in such structures is not consistent.

Consequently, Ortega Santos concludes that the evidence provided by Alexiadou and Anagnotopoulou (1998) for their analysis is not convincing. In relation to the evidence provided by Ordonez and Treviño (1999) for the pronominal nature of agreement, their analysis predict that the contrastive subjects they discuss are not to be the contexts where the EPP is active, that is, in the Locative Inversion (or in the impersonal studied by Fernandez Soriano 1999). The prediction is not borne out:

(41) Aquí sobramos/ llegamos los anarquistas. (Spanish)

Here left.over-1PL /arrive-1PL the anarchists

'We anarchists are extra /are arriving.'

Therefore, whatever the right analysis of the contrastive agreement is, it seems that such facts are not relevant in the debate on the EPP in Spanish.

3.2. EPP and (X)VOS

Let me now relate the previous discussion with the contexts where VSO sentences are produced. Some scholars have noticed that verb-initial sentences are ungrammatical in Spanish without the presence of a sentence-initial element such as an adverb (see Beas 2007, Gutiérrez-Bravo 2007, Suñer 1994). This contrast is illustrated in (42). Some authors defend that (42b) is less acceptable if compared with (42a). Gutiérrez-Bravo has focused on Mexican Spanish, but this observation has been extended to all Spanish varieties.

(42) a. Ayer ganó *Juan* la lotería. Adv VSO (Spanish)

yesterday win-PAST.3SG Juan the lottery

'Yesterday Juan won the lottery.'

b. ?? Ganó *Juan* la lotería. *VSO (Spanish)

win-PAST.3SG Juan the lottery

'Juan won the lottery.'

As Ordóñez (1998, 2007) notes, VSO is more common in subordinate sentences (43) and interrogatives (44):

(43) a. Espero que te devuelva Juan el libro. (Spanish)

hope-1SG that CL-DAT.2SG return-SUBJ.3SG Juan the book

'I hope that Juan returns the book to you.'

b. Cuando compraron los propietarios la finca, todavía no había subido el precio.

when buy the owners the farm yet no have risen the price

'When the owners bought the farm, the price does not have risen yet.'

(44) ¿Cuándo quiere Juan que empecemos a trabajar? (Spanish)

when want Juan that start-1PL to work

'When does Juan want us to start working?'

This contrast has been related to the fact that VSO languages require licensing an EPP feature on T (cf. Sheehan 2006). Gutierrez-Bravo (2007) defends that in VSO sentences the sentence-initial element occupies the specifier of the TP, satisfying the EPP. Thus, VSO structures offer arguments in favor of the existence of an active EPP, according to the analysis presented in the previous section.

Gutierrez-Bravo (2007) also rejects Alexiadou & Anagnostoupolou's analysis offering the same arguments mentioned before. He concludes that the EPP is a requirement operative in some constructions but not in others and that phrases other than the subject DP can satisfy the EPP. Specifically, the preverbal position can be occupied by the fronted temporal adverbial *ayer* 'yesterday' functioning as a topic or the wh-operator, respectively:

(45). a. Ayer compró Juan el periódico. (Spanish)

yesterday buy-PAST.3SG Juan the newspaper

'Yesterday Juan bought the newspaper.'

b. ¿Por qué compró Juan el periódico? (Spanish)

why buy-PAST.3SG Juan the newspaper

'Why did Juan buy the newspaper?'

Thus, this author concludes that subjects, the IOs of psych verbs, topics, and fronted wh-operators all appear to share at least one property: their capacity to satisfy the EPP.

This dissertation aligns with analysis that postulate the existence of an EPP active feature in Spanish. I include the same XPs that Gutiérrez Bravo consider also the subordinate clauses. Not only wh-operators can satisfy the EPP, also the conjunction *que* and adverbials such as *mientras* 'while' or *cuando* 'when'. For this reason, VSO is more common in subordinate sentences[82], as noted by Ordóñez (1998, 2007).

[82] A closer look at some corpus data, however, has shown that the presence of a sentence-initial element is not mandatory for all VSO sentences (see Lee Davidson 2016, Leonetti 2014) (see (i)).

(i) …no pongas esa cara: ¡va a creer la gente que nos peleamos!

not put-SUBJ.2SG that face think-3SG the people that CL.ACC.1PL fight

'Don't make that face. People will think we are having an argument.

Lee Davidson (2016) and Leonetti (2013) collected data from different Spanish corpora and both concluded that a preverbal element is not required in VSO sentences. Leonetti (2013) relates this observation to the information structure conveyed by VSO sentences. As the examples in (i) show non-initial VSO sentences display a marked modality or informative structure. In fact, as José M. Brucart suggested to me, when a VSO order is possible without an initial element the sentence is discursively linked with previous discourse, as (i) above and (ii) illustrate:

(ii) Juan le dijo a María que vendiera la casa que habían compartido. Vendió María la casa

Juan CL.DAT said to Maria that sell the house that have shared sell Maria the house

y no volvieron a verse.

and no come.back to see.

'Juan said to Maria that she sell the house they had shared. María sold the house and they did not met again.'

4. RDC ACCOUNT

In this section an analysis of the facts presented in Section 2 are provided. I focus on the contrast between Spanish and Catalan already presented, repeated as (46) for convenience:

(46) Compró Juan el periódico. (Spanish)

*Va comprar en Joan el diari. (Catalan)

buy.PAST-3SG the Juan the newspaper

'Juan bought the newspaper.'

As mentioned before, most analyzes propose a new projection to host the subject in VSO. The parametric variation is based on the possibility to present this new head/projection/specifier or feature.

The main idea that I suggest here is that the structure of the DO in Spanish allows the licensing of VSO sentences since it is possible to differentiate the subject and the object. Direct objects in Spanish display a more complex structure than Catalan ones, as cross-linguistic variation attested (DOM, clitic doubling and leismo[83]).

An advantage of the proposal is that it is not necessary to propose new projections or features, some of which may seem *ad hoc*.

Before moving to the proposal, I will present an analysis that has been tried to account for the contrast illustrated in (46) inside the lines of distinctness effects. This analysis has been rejected, but some of the ideas discussed there are present in the proposal developed in § 4.2.

4.1. Differentiating the subject: the wrong way

This chapter defends that the impossibility to present VSO order is based on the incompatibility of two too similar objects, that is, two DPs in a specific domain. Thus,

[83] § 4.2.3 discusses the way in which these phenomena interact with the structure of the DO. Aspects such as the fact that DOM is present in non-Standard Catalan are addressed in this Section. Also, the dialectal character of DO-doubling is discussed.

languages that allow VSO display some 'strategies' or 'extra resources' to legitimate the co-appearance of the subject and the object.

Inside this model, there are two ways to address the fact that Spanish-type languages allow VSO: distinguishing (i) the subject or (ii) the object. Let me first explore the first option, which will be rejected later.

4.1.1. Subject as an adjunct

Now, I will present some ideas discussed in Colomina (2019), Castillo and Colomina (2019), and Castillo, Colomina & Gallego (2018) where is proposed that the (im)possibility to license VSO order in Romance languages is due to a labelling conflict that arises in the combination of two {XP,YP}, according to Chomsky (2000, 2013)—this type of conflict has been introduced in Chapter I. The study of this incompatibilities is already present in Moro (1999, 2000) and follow the lines of Mayr (2007) work.

In particular, this subsection introduces the analysis defended by Castillo and Colomina (2019) about the adjunct character of the subject in VSO which makes possible the labelling of the {DP,vP} structure[84]. This analysis displays theoretical and empirical problems, for this reason it will be ruled out in favor of an object-distinct approach (see § 4.2).

Let me first introduce the proposal. The main idea is that, according to Chomsky (2013, 2015) the structure {$DP_{subject}$,vP} cannot be labelled. This structure is created when the external argument is merged with the vP. If the $DP_{subject}$ is set-merged directly with the vP, it cannot remain *in situ* because this implies a labelling violation. Then, the subject moves to TP giving rise to SVO order.

If, on the contrary, the subject is introduced by pair-merge, as an adjunct to another DP headed by a *pro*, it can remain *in situ* because the pair-merged element cannot label. Then, the $DP_{Subject}$ does not create a labelling conflict. The resulting order is VSO, with the

[84] The bass of this idea were presented at *XLVII Simposio de la Sociedad de Lingüística Española* with Ángel J. Gallego and Lorena Castillo and then developed at *28 Colloquium on Generative Grammar* and *44th Incontro di Grammatica Generativa* with Lorena Castillo. I would like to thank Ángel J. Gallego for the idea and discussion about labelling conflicts that raises in {XP,YP} suggesting the adjunction as a possible repair mechanism.

subject *in-situ*. Thus, languages that can adjoin the subject to a *pro* allow VSO order. Let me show this in more detail.

When the external argument is merged with the vP the structure that is created is unlabelable:

(47) <DP, vP> = *<XP, YP>

One possibility is to suppose that one XP (the DP or the vP) is moved, leaving a copy in the *in-situ* position. This has been proposed to derive SVO order at the step in the derivation where {DP, vP} is formed since the subject raises. Another possibility is to assume that both objects share some feature (by Agree). This has been argued to explain the TP label in Romance Languages: when the DP leaves their original position, the DP is merged with the TP creating the following structure: {DP, TP}. In this case the label is determined by Agree, the DP and the TP share φ-features and provide the label: <φ, φ>.

These possibilities have not been attested to derive VSO order. In this context neither the subject is moved or can share some features with the vP. This is not possible since the DP and the vP do not share the relevant φ-features (they do not establish a Case-agreement relation). The question that arises at this point is how this structure can be labeled. Castillo and Colomina (2019) argue that the licensing of the VSO order follows from the possibility of the subject to be adjoined (pair-merged).

These authors argue that in *pro*-drop languages the lexical DP can be introduced by pair-Merge adjoined to a DP headed by a pro/agreement, like in clitic doubling structures (see (48)):

(48) a. {pro, los niños}

b. <*pro*, DP>

pro the children

This big DP is merged with the vP, creating a LT-incompatible configuration, {DP, vP}. At this point, note that the resulting structure is the same as that in the cases where the lexical DP is directly merged with vP via set-Merge, without *pro*. The crucial difference

between both structures (with doubled DP and without it) has to do with the structure of the external argument. Namely, they defend that the possibility to display the VSO order follows from the possibility to introduce the lexical DP via pair-Merge adjoined to *pro*[85], forming a complex DP, like in clitic doubling structures (this complex structure has been initially proposed by Torrego 1995; Uriagereka, 1995, 2005, among others).

As seen in (49) and (50), the external argument (DP) is introduced in specifier of vP via set-Merge in both cases, although only in (49) it contains a DP adjoined.

(49) a. <*pro*, DP> b. {DP, vP}

(50) a. {DP} b. {DP, vP}

According to Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2007), we argue that the option in (49a) is only possible in languages that display clitic doubling.

In both cases the resulting structure ({DP, vP}) is LT-incompatible since the two objects are symmetric. To solve this situation, in the case of (50) we assume that the external argument moves to TP for the vP to label this syntactic object. Then, the order that is created is SVO, being impossible to maintain VSO.

For the structure in (49) we propose that *pro* raises to the TP projection. Then, as the subject is an adjunct, it cannot label the structure. vP labels this syntactic object and the DP does not have to move to another position. Let me explain this step by step.

If we assume that the subject displays the structure of (49a) the resulting object can be labelled. When the structure <*pro*, DP> is created the DP is adjoined to the *pro,* pair-merged, not set-merged. Then, when all the subject <*pro*, DP> is merged with the vP, the

[85] The idea of adjunction as a strategy to avoid the symmetry of two set-merged object was originally proposed by Ángel J. Gallego (p.c.), and presented, for the first time, in Castillo-Ros, Colomina and Gallego (2018).

pro raises in order to satisfy the EPP and agreement/Case requirements[86]. The resulting structure is as follows:

(51) <DP, vP>

The structure of the (51) is compatible with the LA since the DP has been pair-merged, then, it cannot label and the label is the vP. The resulting order is VSO.

Instead, if we assume that the subject shows the structure of (50), that is, a set-merged DP, the structure cannot be labelled. Then, the subject raises and the vP label the structure:

(52) {DP, vP} > {~~DP~~, vP} > $_{vP}${~~DP~~, vP}

The resulting order of (52) is SVO.

4.1.2. Problems and contraarguments

However, this proposal displays some disadvantages. Let me introduce each of them. First, this proposal focusses on the structure of the subject. Castillo & Colomina (2019) make the claim that the subject in Spanish shows a different structure from subjects in Catalan (it is an adjunct in the former and an argument in the latter). Empirical evidence does not support this claim since Gallego & Etxepare (2020) and Ordoñez & Treviño (1999) analyze subjects in a unified way, both in Catalan and Spanish.

Ordoñez & Treviño (1999) defend that subjects in Romance languages are topics, that is, are generated in the specifier of the vP and, then, are dislocated in the sense proposed for Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). This proposal fits well with Colomina & Castillo (2019), since these authors argue in favor of the non-argument nature of the subject. As Ordoñez & Treviño (1999) explain, there is a *pro* that receives Case and the thematic role. This proposal is totally congruent with Colomina & Castillo (2019), the problem that arises is that there is no robust evidence in order to establish parametric variation between Spanish and Catalan regarding the topic nature of the dislocated subjects (in the sense of Ordoñez

[86] Then, *pro* receives theta-rol and Case, since it is not pair-merged, the element that is pair-merged is the DP.

& Treviño 1999). The arguments offered by Ordoñez & Treviño (1999) operate in the same way in both languages.

The same problem is produced in relation to Etxepare & Gallego proposal (2020). These authors defend that the subject is not legitimated by nominative Case in Spanish, which agree with Colomina & Castillo (2019) proposal. Instead, this can be licensed by a discursive feature (in Belleti's 2004 sense). Empirical arguments in favor of this analysis comes from the fact that nominative morphology does not exist in Spanish (neither in Catalan). Moreover, subjects in Spanish can be legitimated without agreement (neither Case) in infinitive contexts (Rigau 1993, 1995):

(51) a. Al llegar María, me dijeron que saliese.
to.the arrive-INF María, CL-DAT.1SG tell-PAST.3PL that leave
'When Maria arrive, they told me to go out.'

b. Quería salir María de casa, pero no la dejaron.
want.PAST-3SG leave-INF Maria of home but no CL-ACC.3SG allow-3PL
'María wants to leave her home, but they do not allow her.'

Also, it seems that agreement is not required in all contexts, as antiagreement effects suggest (Torrego 2010):

(52) Los politicos (mentimos/ mienten/ mentís).
the politicians lie-1PL lie-3PL lie-2PL
'The politicians lie.'

The relevant fact regarding (51) and (52) is that in Catalan the same empirical evidence is found:

(53) a. Al arribar la Maria, em van dir que surtís.
to.the arrive-INF the María, CL.DAT.1SG tell-PASAT.3PL that leave-INF
'When Maria arrives, they told me to go out.'

b. Volia surtir la Maria de casa, però no li van deixar.
want-PAST-3SG leave-INF the Maria of home but no CL.DAT.3SG allow-PAST.3PL
'María wants to leave her home, but they do not allow her.'

Also, antiagreement effects are produced:

(54) Els polítics mentim/ menteixen/ mentiu.
the politicians lie-1PL lie-3PL lie-2PL
'The politicians lie.'

So, it seems that the non-nominative nature of the subject that Etxepare & Gallego (2020) propose can be extended to Catalan subject. This cannot be evidence in favor of Castillo & Colomina (2019), since the subject does not agree in both languages.

Second, the big-DP complex structure that Colomina & Castillo (2019) defend for Spanish-type languages has been proposed for the Spanish object, since this displays clitic doubling in some varieties and has been related to DOM. However, this structure has not been proposed to the subject. So, it is not obvious why subjects must display the same structure.

Also, the existence of a *pro* in the specifier of TP is inconsistent with the existence of adverbs, wh-operators and topics in this position, as has been argued in Section 3. In Castillo & Colomina (2019) it is defended that *pro* is generated in the vP, and the overt subject is adjoined to it:

(55) <DP, *pro*>

So, *pro* receives Case and the thematic role. The problem of this analysis is that it does not explain the sentences introduced in Section 3. Let me repeat one of these examples:

(56) a. Ayer compró Juan el diario. (Spanish)

yesterday buy-PAST.3SG Juan the newspaper

'Yesterday Juan bought the newspaper.'

b. Compró Juan el diario. (Spanish)

buy-PAST.3SG Juan the newspaper.

'Juan bought the newspaper.'

§ 3 has argued that VSO sentences are more common when a pre-verbal element is introduced. As has been pointed out in the literature, this is related to the fact that there is an EPP feature active in Spanish. Thus, in VSO sentences this element licenses this feature. It is not clear how Castillo & Colomina (2019) can relate their proposal with the contrast in (56)[87]. The position occupied by the *pro* is the same that the adverb in (56a). So, Castillo & Colomina (2019) on the one hand do not capture some particularities of VSO order and, more importantly, do not explain parametric variation. As has been mentioned, Catalan and Spanish subjects do not display enough asymmetries to justify that the subject is an argument in the first type language and an adjunct in the second one.

In addition to this, the pair-merge operation poses some non-trivial problems. First, we need a new operation, that is, not only merge. Then, this proposal is not too different to propose a new feature or a new position. Also, it does not capture the fact that external arguments can be transparent, that is, allow extraction.

To recap, this section has introduced a proposal based on the nature of the subject under Chomsky labelling theory (2013, 2015). This proposal has been ruled out.

4.2. Differentiating the object

As has been mentioned in the Introduction, this chapter defends that the structure of the Direct Object in Spanish allows the possibility to display VSO order. As will be explained

[87] One possibility is to propose multiple specifiers, but then the contrasts such as (56) are not explained. It is not clear in this case why a preverbal element favors the VSO order, since no elements would be competing for the same position.

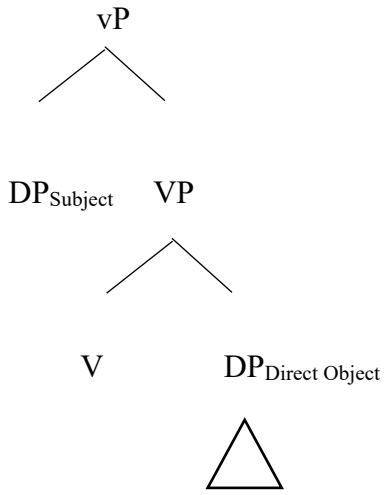
in next subsections, there is robust evidence to justify the more complex structure of the Spanish DO in comparison with Catalan DOs. First, I will explain the incompatibility that VSO implies according to the RDC, then I will focus on the specific structure of the DO and how this structure solves the RDC conflict[88]. Finally, I will pay attention to cross-linguistic variation regarding DO objects.

4.2.1. The incompatibility *VSO

As already mentioned, while all Null-Subject languages can license *in-situ* subjects, not all Romance languages exhibit VSO order. In this section we account for this difference by connecting the possibility of having VSO with the structure of the DO.

In (57) the structure that I assume for VSO sentences is repeated:

(57)



The structure of (57) violates a series of constraints. Let me list each of them and, then, I briefly focus on each case:

(58)

[88] The idea of the Object being the element that allows to 'break' the symmetry is already present in Castillo, Colomina & Gallego (2018), but the implementation is different. It is not based in Chomsky labelling framework (2013, 2015) and does not resort to the operation of pair-merge. Then, it is not necessary to assume that DO is an adjunct, which solves some of the problems introduced in § 4.1.2.

(i) Labeling algorithm (see § 6.1)

(ii) The subject *in-situ* generalization (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, 2007)

(iii) Distinctness Condition (Richards 2010)

The way in which VSO violates the LA has been explained in Section 6.1. Let me now explain how (57) does not fit with the subject *in-situ* generalization:

(59) *The subject-in-situ generalization* (SSG)
By Spell-Out, vP can contain only one argument with a structural Case feature.

[Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2007:36]

Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2007) maintain that the inversion of the subject is only possible when there is no other internal argument in the vP. The violation of (59) presents consequences for the amalgamation that arises when *v* moves to T forcing the derivation to crash. If two DPs are merged in the vP there are two options to avoid the violation of (59):

i. If two DP arguments are merged in the vP domain, at least one of them must externalize.
ii. If two arguments remain vP-internal, one of them must surface as a PP.

[Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2007:50]

Alexiadou & Anagnostoupoulou (2001, 2007) propose that in VSO sentences the subject is externalized by the morphology of the verb that is like a clitic. This morphology is related to the fact that Spanish displays clitic doubling with full NPs in some varieties. (60) and (61) are not found in Catalan.

(60) La quiero a María (clitic doubling - Argentinian Spanish)
CL-ACC.3SG love-1SG to Maria
'I love María.'

(61) Los estudiantes nos mienten a los profesores.

The students CL lie-3.PL to the professors.

'The students lie to the professors.'

This doubling permits the case of the subject to be licensed. Here we defend that it is not necessary to postulate that the subject is externalized by a clitic that doubles the DO. In fact, the DO is itself licensed outside the vP.

VSO order also violates the Distinctness Condition proposed by Richards (2010) (Colomina 2019):

(62) *Distinctness*

> If a linearization statement <α, α> is generated in the same domain, the derivation crashes at PF. (Richards, 2010, p.5)

What (62) means is that if two phrases with the same label are generated in the same transfer domain the derivation crashes. Richards (2010) argues that the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) cannot apply if PF receives a structure with two DPs because it is impossible to distinguish which one will precede the other. This is what occurs in VSO structures, if we assume that the subject and the object stay *in-situ*, both arguments cannot appear inside the vP because two DPs would be sent to PF. As has been argued in Chapter I, some points of this proposal have been rejected.

As is expected, VSO also violates the RDC, which is repeated below for convenience:

(63) Revised Distinctness Condition (RDC)

Let SOs {a,b,…} be generated by MERGE

Let a, b, etc. be syntactic objects, either simple (lexical items) or complex

A derivation crashes at SEM if, given {a,b}, a b cannot be distinguished

(64) Identity Condition Lemma (ICL)

Given two SOs, a and b, within a local domain they are identical if:

a) a and b have the same feature composition (full identity)

b) a and b have some features in common (partial identity)

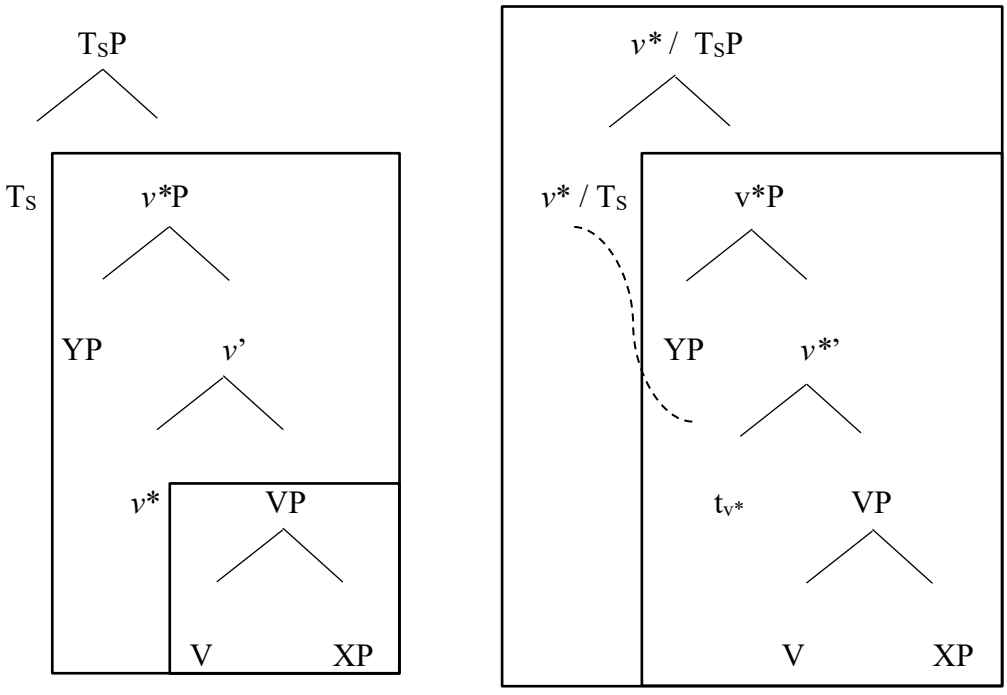
c) a and b's syntactic context cannot be distinguished

As has been argued in Chapter I, (63) collects part of the conditions exemplified in the list of (58) and shows different advantages already mentioned (see Chapter I). VSO order violates the condition a) of full identity since both DPs appear in the same phasal domain. Let me explain that step by step.

I assume part of Gallego's proposal (2004, 2010) about the way in which phases are produced, based on Chomsky (2000). Following this author, I assume that phases are subject to parametric variation. This variation is related with the fact that null subject languages display *v* to T movement. According to Gallego (2010), verbal movement is syntactic and it presents consequences regarding phasal domains, remembering the idea about verbal head movement as an extension of checking domains (Den Dikken 2007).

Specifically, I assume the phase sliding process depicted in (65):

(65) Phase Sliding



[Taken from Gallego 2008: 117]

Then, Transfer is motivated due to the amalgam v-T. The complement of the TP is sent to the interfaces at once, not an extra transfer operation is required. Thus, two Transfer

points are involved. There is no conceptual evidence to motivate a third transfer domain. This fits with the second formulation of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC_2):

(66) *Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC_1)*

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

[Taken from Chomsky 2000: 108]

(67) *Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC_2)*

The domain of H [the head of a strong phase] is not accessible to operations at ZP [the next strong phase]; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

[Taken from Chomsky 2001: 14]

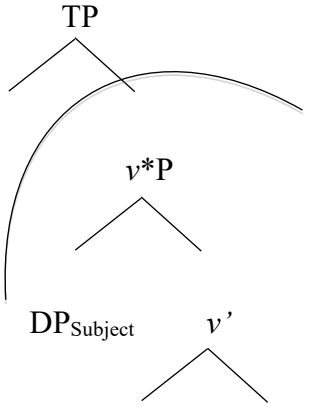
PIC_2 captures the fact that in Icelandic 'Dative-Nominative' constructions [number] agreement between Ts and *in situ* nominative object crosses a phase boundary (Boeckx 2000; Sigurðsson 1996). The same situation is found in Spanish (see Masullo 1992, 1993; López 2006; Rivero 2006) as is captured in the data of (68):

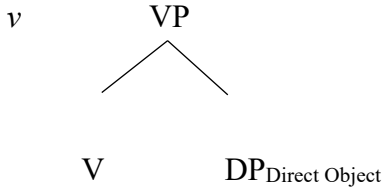
(68) A Scorsese le gustan las tramas mafiosas. (Spanish)
to Scorsese CL-DAT3SG like-3PL the plots mafia
'Scorsese likes plots about the mafia.'

[Taken from Gallego 2008: 118]

Then, following the Phase Sliding process, in null subject languages both Subject and DO appear in the same phasal domain in VSO order, which is incompatible with the RDC:

(69)





The question that arises at this point is why Spanish allows this order. As will be argued in next Section, the way in which the DO is licensed makes the structure of (69) possible.

4.2.2. DO structure

As has been mentioned, the structure of the DO allows the existence of the VSO order. Specifically, the idea that will be defended is that Spanish DOs displays a more complex structure than in Catalan. Before developing this idea, let me recover the following quote regarding the possibility to present VSO order:

> "But why should it be so? Why should there be such a difference between Italian (and Catalan; see Picallo 1998) on the one side and Spanish and Romanian on the other, limiting the domain of investigation to (some of) Romance? There are two possible approaches to this problem: (a) the languages allowing VSO avail themselves of a further subject position, higher in the structure than the Focus (or Topic) position hosting the postverbal subject in Italian and such that it would not interfere with Case assignment of the object; (b) the languages allowing VSO avail themselves of a further way to Case mark the direct object, allowing it to remain VP internal, with no need to be associated to the VP external Case position, thus reducing VSO to the same status as VSPP in Italian."

[Taken from Belletti 2004: 40]

As Belletti (2004) points out, there are two ways to capture VSO order: a) the position of the subject is different avoiding then the problem of assigning Case to the Object or b) the object case in Spanish is assigned differently. I will argue in favor of the second option. This option is also mentioned by Alexiadou (2014) who defends that DOM can be a mechanism to assign Case. Gallego (2013) also relates VSO and DOM, but in a different way (see § 2.2.2).

In the following subsections I will develop this idea in more detail providing evidence that comes from other phenomena that stablish a parameter between Spanish and Catalan. Let me list one of them:

(70)

a) Differential Object Marking

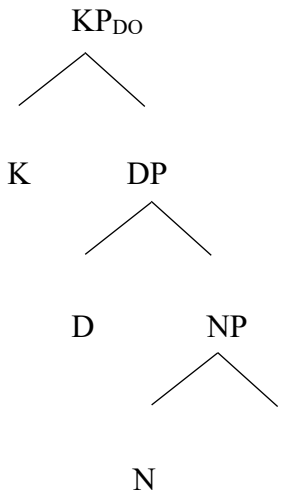
b) Leismo

c) DO doubling

d) Dequeismo

The general idea defended here is that the structure of the DO in Spanish is as follows in all contexts, but the head K is expressed depending on the appearance of certain features (López 2012):

(70)



This structure makes more similar DOs in Spanish to IOs since the DO displays a more complex structure than only a DP, as has been proposed to IOs which constitute a PP or are introduced by an applicative head. Then, the structure is compatible with the RDC because the Subject and the Direct Object are distinguished.

The phenomena listed in (69) provide evidence in favor of the existence of (70), as will be argued. The realization of each layer depends on the specific lexical items that the DO

realize. Let me exemplify that. As is expected, to be possible to lexicalize all nodes, the lowest node must be lexicalized:

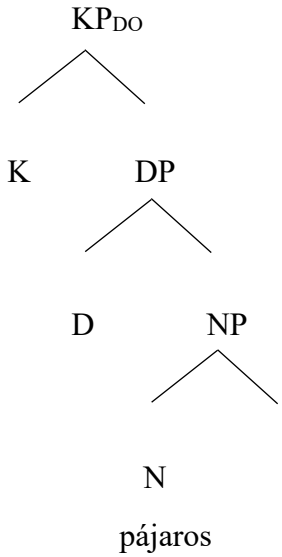
(71) Juan caza $_{NP}$[pájaros]

Juan hunt-3SG birds

'Juan hunts birds.'

This structure lexicalizes only the lowest layer (NP) in the DO:

(72)



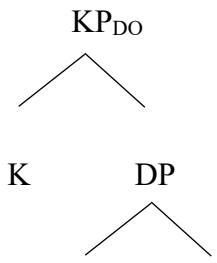
(73) Juan caza $_{DP}$[un $_{NP}$[pájaro]]

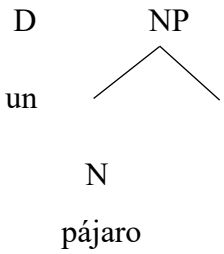
Juan hunt-3SG a bird

'Juan hunts a bird.'

In the case of (73), the next node is lexicalized too:

(74)





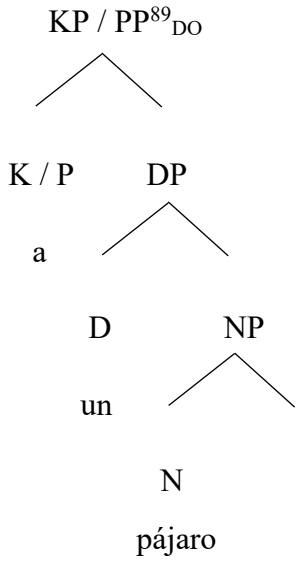
(75) Juan caza $_{KP}$[a $_{DP}$[un $_{NP}$[pájaro]]

Juan hunt-3SG to a bird

'Juan hunts a bird.'

Finally, (75) represents all the structure.

(76)



Next subsections will pay attention to Differential object marking, leismo, DO clitic doubling and dequeismo and the way in which these phenomena offer evidence to support the structure of (70) for Spanish DOs.

[89] PP is used for DOM objects (see (76)), whereas KP is applied to all other cases (see (72), (74)), but the proposal is compatible with analysis that defend that DOM objects are KPs (López 2012).

4.2.3. Differential object marking

I will first focus on DOM. DOs in Spanish are introduced by an extra head that is phonetically realized in some discursive contexts (related to features such as animacy or specificity cf. Leonetti 2008, this marker is the preposition 'a'). In the literature, there are different proposals for objects introduced by DOM:

(a) v assign dative case to DOM objects (Mondoñedo 2007)

(b) v assigns lexical-inherent case to DOM (Torrego 1998)

(c) v assigns accusative case to DOM (López 2012)

I agree with Mondoñedo (2007) and Torrego (1998) regarding Case assigment. However, I depart from the proposals listed in one aspect: Case is not assigned directly by v. I align with Ordóñez and Roca (2019) considering that v is not able to license Case to this DO, the head that assigns case is the extra layer K / P. In fact, a similar approach is defended by Colomina et al. (2019) in connection with leismo, which offers evidence to defend the structure of (70), as will be detailed in next subsection. So, DOM is the more direct evidence in favor of this additional node (KP/PP) in DOs.

It is true that not all direct objects in Spanish are introduced by DOM. However, it is a phenomenon that displays a tendency to be extended, that is, is a phenomenon that has expanded its syntactic context.

Traditionally, DOM has been related to animate objects. The preposition *a* appears when the object is [+ animate] or [+ specific]. In the literature, it is defended that object marking is sensitive to the animacy scale, the definiteness scale or a combination of these scales (Aissen 2003, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003, 2005, Laca 2006, among others).

However, in some varieties it is possible to find DOM with inanimate objects:

(83) ¿No la viste a {la carpeta/ la pulsera / la casa}? (Riopl. Sp.)

no CL-ACC.3SG see-PAST.2SG to the binder / the bracelet / the house

'Did not you see the binder / the bracelet / the house?'

[Taken from Di Tullio y Zdrojewski 2006: 30]

DOM is introduced with inanimate objects when they are doubled by the accusative clitic *la, las, lo, los*, issue to which I return later on.

Moreover, DOM is also found in some causative contexts with inanimate causee subjects:

(84) a. Hice *(a)l agua salir por el coladero. (Spanish)

made-1SG to the water go.out-INF througth the colander

'I made the water go out through the colander'

[Taken from Treviño 1994: 98]

In addition, a specific type of verbs also display DOM with inanimate DPs:

(85) a. Un adjetivo acompaña / califica a un sustantivo.

an adjective accompany-3SG / qualify-3SG to a noun

'An adjective accompanies/qualifies a noun.'

b. Los días siguen a las noches.

the days follow-3.PL to the nights

'The days come after the nights.'

c. El uno precede al dos.

the one precede-3SG to.the two

'The one precedes the two.'

d. En esta receta, la leche puede sustituir al huevo.

in this recipe the milk can-3.SG replace-INF to.the egg

'In this recipe, egg can be replaced by milk.'

[Taken from Torrego Salcedo 1999: 1788]

In the case of the data in (85) DO marking seems to be lexically restricted. In these cases, a-marking is not dependent of the factors mentioned above: the animacy of the DO or the

specificity. In the literature, this has been related with the semantics of the verb (Torrego & Salcedo: 1999). Similar observations are made by Fish (1967) and Weissenrieder (1991), who considers a small corpus based on three grammar books listing the following verbs that most frequently occur with a-marked DOs:

(86) a. El profesor reemplaza al libro.

the professor replace-3SG to.the book

'The professor replaces the book.'

b. El entusiasmo vence (a) la dificultad.

the enthusiasm conquer-3SG (to) the difficulty

'Enthusiasm conquers difficulties'.

c. En esta receta, la leche puede sustituir al huevo.

in this recipe the milk can-3.SG replace-INF to-the egg

'In this recipe, egg can be replaced by milk.'

These examples offer evidence to defend the existence of the structure proposed in (70), the K head is materialized in more contexts than the ones that are related to animacy or specificity. In addition, this position seems to be occupied in more contexts than the ones proposed initially. In fact, it is possible to find DOM in contexts grammatically censured, but not impossible in Colloquial Spanish:

(88) a. ?? Estoy esperando al tren.

am-1SG waiting-GER to.the train.

'I am waiting for the train.'

b. Estoy esperando el tren.

am-1SG waiting-GER the train

'I am waiting for the train.'

Semantic differences between (88)a. and b. can be found regarding the scales mentioned above attributed to DOM (Aissen 2003, Bossong 1985, 1998, von Heusinger & Kaiser 2003, 2005, Laca 2006, among others).

So, empirical evidence seems to demonstrate that the materialization of the K / P head is not only restricted to the contexts initially proposed.

4.2.4. DO as a structural dative: the leismo case

Let me now move to leismo. As is described in the literature (Fernández-Ordóñez 1993, 1999 and references therein), Spanish DOM objects are substituted by the dative clitic *le, les* instead of the accusative *lo, los, la, las* in certain contexts:

(77) a. María quiere *a Juan*.

Maria love-3SG to Juan

'Maria loves Juan.'

b. María *le* quiere.

Maria CL-DAT.3SG love-3SG

'María loves him.'

Colomina et al. (2019) argues that (77) is an example of Case displacement (Rezac 2003) which provides evidence to the idea defended here for the structure of objects:

Specifically, it is a case of dativization:

LEISMO: $DP_{ACC} \rightarrow DP_{DAT}$

Let me develop this in more detail. These authors assume a more complex structure of the VP that implies that accusative case is assigned to an element that is not pronounced phonetically, that is, an object incorporated to *v*. This is possible if we analyze (80) as a structure like *locatum* verbs (see (81)) (Halle and Keyser 1993).

(80) Los votantes castigaron a Cameron.

the voters punish-PAST.3PL to Cameron

'Voters punished Cameron.'

(81) $_{vP}$[Los votantes *v* $_{VP}$[DIERON $_{PP}$[a Cameron [CASTIGO]]]]

the voters provide to Cameron punishment

[Taken from Colomina et al 2019: 19]

Leismo cases display a structure such as (81) with two DPs that require case: the incorporated *castigo* 'punishment' and the theme *Cameron.* Following Baker (1988), they assume that *castigo* is incorporated to *dar* 'provide' receiving the accusative case from *v* since is the most incrusted element in the structure. This leaves the object *Cameron* without case.

Colomina et al. (2019) defend that the case that is assigned to *Cameron* is structural dative90, assigned by the preposition. It is not possible to assume that is inherent case since objects may be passivized in all varieties[91]. Colomina et at. (2019) defend that in leismo contexts *v* is φ-defective regarding Agree system (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) because it is not capable to assign accusative case to the object *Cameron.* Empirical evidence in favor to the relation between leismo and φ-defectiveness comes from Mexican Spanish data:

(82) a. A Juan / Sara, [*lo* *la* / **le*], vieron cantando.(Mex. Sp.)

to Juan / Sara CL-ACC.3SG CL-ACC.3SG CL-DAT.3SG see-PAST.3PL singing

'They saw Sara / Juan signing.'

b. A Juan / Sara, se [**lo,* **la* / *le*], vio cantando. (Mexican Spanish)

to Juan / Sara, SE CL-ACC.3SG CL-ACC.3SG CL-DAT.SG saw singing

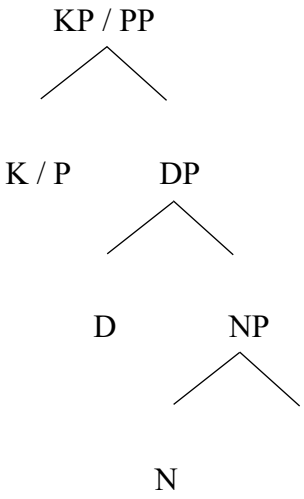
'Someone saw Juan singing.'

[Tomado de Ordóñez & Treviño 2016: 240]

[91] Although I cannot go to the details, leismo is a phenomenon subject to a huge degree of variation. Some varieties display leismo only with animate masculine referents, where other varieties present a more extensive referents that are clitizated by *le, les.* In fact, varieties that display generalized leismo allow leismo with femenine referents and also the doubling structure. Colomina et al. (2019) relate that with a different degree of dativization.

As (82a) illustrates, Mexican Spanish is not a leista dialect, but it becomes leista (see (83b)) when *se* is involved in the structure. This make sense if we assume that *se* becomes defective *v,* then the Case that is assigned to the object is dative, as in leismo contexts discussed above.

Leismo analysis fits with the structure proposed in (70):



DOMs in Spanish are introduced by the K / P head that assign structural dative to the object since the accusative is assigned to the incorporated object, as has been exemplified in (81).

It is important to keep in mind that not all Spanish varieties display leismo and not all objects are pronominalized by *le*, but leismo displays a distribution that has been extended. The most common case of leismo is masculine singular —in fact, this is normative accepted —, but leismo is also possible with plural masculine:

(89) a. ¿Conoces a Juan? Sí, *le* conozco hace tiempo.

know-2SG to Juan yes CL-DAT.3SG know-3SG make-PAST time

'Do you know Juan? Yes, I have known him for a long time.'

b. Esta tarde voy a recoger a los niños del colegio y *les*

this afternoon go to pick.up to the children of.the school and CL-DAT.3PL

llevaré al parque.

carry to.the park

'This afternoon I'm going to pick up the children from school and take them to the park.'

[Taken from Fernández-Ordóñez 1999: 1319]

Although masculine leismo is the form that is more extended, that is, is the standard leismo, it is possible to find it in varieties such as Basque Spanish where leismo is also feminine, the so-called generalized leismo:

(90) a. Le acompañabas a una chica, o le sacabas
CL-DAT.3SG accompany-PAST.2SG to a girl or CL-DAT.3SG take.out of.the
baile.
dance
'You accompany to a girl or take out her of the dance.'

The relevant feature of structures such as (90) is that the behaviour of the DO is more similar to IO: (i) DO can be doubled by the pronoun *le* (see (91a)) (ii) *le*-doubled DO are subject to PCC effects (see (92b)).

(92) a. Le lleve a tu hijo a casa. (Basque Spanish)
CL-DAT.3SG take to your son to home
'I take your son home.'

b. Te (*le/ lo) llevé (a) tu hijo a casa.(Bas. Spanish)
CL-DAT.2SG CL-DAT.3SG CL-ACC.3SG take to your son to home
'I take your son home to you.'

[Taken from Ormazabal y Romero 2013: 225]

In the same vein, leismo is found in some varieties with inanimate objects:

(93) a. ¿Sabes dónde está mi libro? No, no *le* he visto por aquí.
know-2SG where is my book no, no CL-DAT.3SG has seen by here

'Do you know where my book is? No, I do not have seen it here.'

b. He comprado un cuadro, pero aún no *le* he colgado.
have-1SG bought a painting but still no CL-DAT.3SG have-1SG put up
'I have bought a paintint, but I have not hanged it up yet.'

The distribution of this type of leismo is very restricted (see Fernández-Ordóñez 1999), but the relevant fact that I like to highlight is that different types of objects can be dativized. Indeed, the behaviour of *le*-clitizated objects is similar to OI in some varieties, which constitute more evidence in favor of the structure of (70).

4.2.5. DO clitic doubling

The feature to which I pay attention now is DO doubling Let me now recap the data of (83):

(94) ¿No la viste a {la carpeta/ la pulsera/ la casa}? (Rio. Sp.)
no CL-ACC.3SG see-PAST.2SG to the binder / the bracelet / the house
'Did not you see the binder / the bracelet / the house?'

As has been mentioned previously, DO doubling is not allowed in general Spanish, however Rioplatense Spanish exhibits it (see (94) above). It is possible with both animate and inanimate referents.

(95) a. Santos (la) miró a Rosa.
Santos CL-ACC.3SG look-PAST.3SG to Rosa
'Santos looked to Rosa.'

b. La vieja (lo) tomó al llorón de la mano.
the old.woman CL-ACC.3SG take-PAST.3SG to-the weeping of the hand
'The old woman took the hand of the weeper.'

c. (La) recordaba a su morocha.
CL-ACC.3SG remember-PAST.3SG to his/her brunette

'He/she remembered her brunette.'

[Taken from Kany 1969: 148]

DO doubling behaviour is not identical to IO (Suñer 1988, Saab 2017, Mercedes & Saab 2018 to consult details), but, again, this possibility aligns the syntax of Spanish DO with applicatives.

Moreover, doubling is mandatory with strong pronouns in general Spanish:

(96) a. Juan *(me) vio a mí.

Juan CL-ACC.1SG see-PAST.3SG to me

'Juan saw me.'

b. Juan *(te) vio a vos.

Juan CL-ACC.2SG see-PAST.3SG to you

'Juan saw you.'

c. Juan *(la) vio a ella / a usted.

Juan CL-ACC.3SG see-PAST.3SG to her / to you

'Juan saw her / you.'

d. Juan *(nos) vio a nosotros.

Juan CL-ACC.1PL see-PAST.1PL to us

'Juan saw us.'

e. Juan *(las) vio a ustedes / a ellas.

Juan CL-ACC.3PL see-PAST.3SG to you to her

'Juan saw you / her.'

The existence of this type of data reveals the materialization of the structure proposed to DO in Spanish. It is true that not all Spanish varieties exhibit leismo and DO doubling in the same degree, but I defend that it depends on the possibility to materialize the different nodes proposed for the DO. All varieties share the same deep structure. The mechanism

to assign Case to the object in these cases is the same: it is not *v* the head that assigns it, it is an external head, namely, the head K / P that is clearly materialized in these cases.

4.2.6. Dequeismo as a case marking

Let me now move to the last piece of evidence: propositional DO. I assume here that DO subordinate sentences in Spanish are more nominal than in other languages and, then, require Case (Plann 1986, Torrego & Urigereka 1992, Raposo 1987, Picallo 2001, among others). Therefore, propositional DO displays the same structure that nominal DOs proposed in (70).

Additional evidence comes from phenomena known as dequeismo:

(97) Pienso de que conseguiremos ganar el campeonato. (Spanish)

think of that achieve-FUTUR-1PL win-INF the championship

'I think that we will win the championship.'

The insertion of the preposition *de* 'of' reveals the existence of this extra head K / P, related to Case. So, in the contexts of (97) the preposition materializes the case that is assigned to the sentence. As it occurs with leismo and DOM, dequeismo is a phenomenon that has been extended (Camus 2013).

In the same vein, elismo —the anteposting of the determiner el 'the'— demonstrates the nominality of this type of sentences:

(98) a. (El) que tú vengas a verme me gusta mucho. (Spanish)

the that you come-2SG to see-INF CL-DAT.1SG like a lot of

'I like the fact that you come to see me a lot.'

b. (El) venir tú a verme me gusta mucho. (Spanish)

the come-INF you to see-INF CL-DAT.1SG like a lot of

'I like the fact that you come to see me a lot.'

Although not all propositional DOs allow the anteposing of the determiner (see (100)), Serrano (2008) offers examples where the insertion of *el* is also possible with DOs (see (101)).

(100) Dijo (*el) que vendría.
say-PAST.3SG the that come-INF.COND
'She/he said that he would come.'

(101) Su actitud facilitó el que la aceptaran.
his/her attitude facilitate-PAST.3SG the that CL-ACC.3SG accept-SUBJ
'His/her attitude made it easier for them to accept her/his.'

As Torrego (2013) points out, the determiner *el* 'el' and the preposition *de* 'of' occupy the same position, which corresponds in this analysis with the extra head K that displays the Spanish DO.

To sum up, these sections have argued that the DO in Spanish displays a different structure. The main difference between Catalan DOs and Spanish DOs is the fact that the Case is materialized by an extra head that is realized in certain contexts in Spanish: DOM and dequeismo. Spanish DOs are more similar to OIs, as leismo and clitic doubling show.

This structure also makes possible the appearance of the VSO since the subject and the object are distinguished.

4.2.7. Cross-linguistic variation

The goal of this section is to justify dialectal variation between Catalan and Spanish regarding the possibility to exhibit VSO order. The main idea defended is that DOs are more complex in Spanish, as has been argued in previous sections. The fact that the group of phenomena listed in (70) —and repeated below for convenience— are not found in Catalan supports this idea.

(102)

a) Differential Object Marking

b) Leismo

c) DO doubling

d) Dequeismo

Let me first put aside DOM, an issue I will return to later on. Leismo is clearly not found in Catalan:

(103) a. A Juan, le quiero. (Spanish)
to Juan CL-DAT.3SG love-1SG
'I love Juan.'

b. *A Juan, li estimo. (Catalan)
to Juan, CL-DAT.3SG love-1SG
'I love Juan.'

Even when the variety exhibits a more extended distribution of partial-DOM, leismo is not possible. If we consider the analysis proposed by Colomina et al. (2019) about the structure that underlies leismo, the contrast of (103) means that the difference between (103a) and (103b) is more significative than only a morphological choice. The consequence of the analysis is that DO in Catalan does not receives structural dative, but accusative. Then, the structure of the DO is very different since it is not necessary to postulate a head that assigns Case to the DO. *v* in Catalan assigns accusative Case to the DO, whereas in Spanish it is the K / P head, outside *v,* as has been argued by Roca & Ordóñez (2019) for leismo cases.

Now, I move to DO doubling. DO doubling is possible in some varieties of Spanish. However, no Catalan variety shows this doubling. Moreover, DO doubling is possible in general Spanish in constructions such as:

(104) Los profesores {nos/ os} critican a los alumnos. (Spanish)
the professors CL-ACC.1PL CL-ACC.2PL criticize to the students
'The professors criticize the students.'

DO can be doubled by second and first person pronouns in Spanish, but not in Catalan:

(105) Els professors {*ens/ us} critiquen els alumnes. (Catalan)
the professors CL-ACC.3PL CL-ACC.2PL criticize to.the students

'The professors criticize the students.'

The observation that no Catalan variety exhibits DO doubling offers evidence in favor of the idea defended in previous section: DOs in Catalan are more prototypical accusative objects than in Spanish.

The comparison between Spanish and Catalan regarding dequeismo and elismo follows the same line: neither dequeismo nor elismo are found in Catalan as the contrast in (106) and (107) illustrates:

Dequeismo Catalan vs. Spanish

(106) a. Pienso de que conseguiremos ganar el campeonato. (Spanish)
think-1SG of that achieve-FUTUR.1PL win-INF the championship
'I think that we will win the championship.'

b. Penso (*de) que aconseguirem guanyar el campionat.
Think-1SG of that achieve-FUTUR.1PL win-INF the championship
'I think that we will win the championship.'

Elismo Catalan vs. Spanish

(107) a. Su actitud facilitó el que la aceptaran. (Spanish)
his/her attitude facilitate-PAST.3SG the that CL.ACC.3P-SG accept-SUBJ
'His/her attitude made it easier for them to accept her/his.'

b. La seva actitud va facilitar (el) que l' acceptessin. (Catalan)
his/her attitude facilitate-PAST.3SG the that CL-ACC.3SG accept-SUBJ
'His/her attitude made it easier for them to accept her/his.'

I consider that the data in (103) to (107) suppose enough empirical evidence in order to justify the existence of a different structure for the DO in Spanish and Catalan. As the battery of phenomena show, in any context the K / P head proposed to Spanish DO is materialized.

Finally, I focus on DOM, a trickier phenomenon that possesses some challenges to the proposal. As has been mentioned repeatedly, Standard Catalan is considered a non-DOM language since normatively *a* mark is banned. However, DOM is found in some varieties and contexts. Let me develop this in more detail.

The *a* mark appears in Catalan in some contexts such as the ones listed in (108).

(108)

(i) Clitic Left Dislocation (see (109))

(ii) Strong pronouns (see (110))

(iii) Pronominal quantifier referring to a person (see (111))

(iv) DOs with interrogative or exclamative pronouns that have been placed before a subject that coincides in person and number with the DO (see (112))

(v) VOS order sentence to avoid the ambiguity (see (113))

(109) A la Maria la estima. (Catalan)

to the Maria CL-ACC.3SG love-3SG

'He/she loves María.'

(110) Els nens {me /te /l'} estimen a {mi/tu/ell}.

the kids CL-ACC.1SG CL-ACC.2SG CL-ACC.3SG love-3PL to me/you/him/her

'Kids love me/you/him/her.'

(111) a. Ajudaré (a) qualsevol dels companys de classe. (Catalan)

help-FUTUR.1SG to anyone of.the colleagues of class

'I will help any of the classmates.'

b. Això afectarà a molts. (Catalan)

that affect-FUTUR.3SG to much

'This will affect many people. '

(112) A quantes persones atenen en aquest servei? (Catalan)

to many people attend-3PL in this service

'How many people are attended in this service?'

(113) Rellevarà al alcalde una regidora del mateix partit. (Catalan)

relieve to.the mayor a councilor of.the same part

'The mayor will be relieved by a councilor of the same party.'

However, DOs are not preceded by the preposition *a* with general DOs (see (114)), according to normative grammar (see Solà 1990, Moll 1991, Badia 1994, Bel 2002, GIEC 2016).

(114) a. Joan estima la Maria. (Catalan)

Joan love-3SG the Maria

'Joan loves Mary.'

b. *Joan estima a la Maria. (Catalan)

Joan love-3SG to the Mary

'Joan loves Mary.'

Nevertheless, some authors have questioned the ungrammaticality of (114b) (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015; Bañeras & Gallego 2016), because this solution has been attested in oral Catalan in all general Catalan varieties. Escandell-Vidal (2007, 2009) and Khouja (2015) relate the appearance of DOM to topicality contexts. However, the more plausible hypothesis is that DOM has been initially related with topicality and then has been extended to other cases, as happened in Spanish.

The following data is possible to be found in Oral Catalan:

(115) a. Esperant a la mare. (Oral Catalan)

Waiting-GER to the mother

'Waiting for the mother.'

b. Coneixies a la seva família. (Oral Catalan)

know-PAST.2SG to the his/her family

'You knew his/her family'

[Taken from Corpus Oral de Conversa Col·loquial]

There is a huge debate in the literature regarding the nature of the data in (115). Some authors have pointed out that DOM in Catalan is a phenomenon resulting of the contact with Spanish, that is, an attrition phenomenon. Even so, it is not clear since DOM can be found in some areas where the Spanish contact is not present. Moreover, it is also possible to find DOM in some examples of Old Catalan. Regardless of that, the point that I highlight here is that DOM in Catalan is not an identical phenomenon to Spanish-DOM (see Escandell Vidal 2007, 2009; Khouja 2015).

Catalan displays a similar pattern since the features that motivate DOM according to the Aisse scale are the same, but the extension is different. DOM is less extended in Catalan and non-DOM DOs are still possible (and, in fact, recommended). This evidence is enough to argue that the structure of the DO in Catalan is not the same that in Spanish, maybe in future steps DOM in Catalan behaves like in Spanish, but not nowadays[92]. On the other hand, the absence of phenomenon such as leismo, DO-doubling, dequeismo and elismo also support the establishment of this parameter.

4.3. Consequences and predictions

In this Section I will offer the predictions that this analysis involves. Let me summarize the main points of the proposal. This chapter has argued that VSO implies a violation of the RDC, for this reason some languages reject this order (according to other authors such as Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, 2007; Richards 2010). I have argued that the most plausible strategy to avoid the RDC violation is differentiating the object. This precisely occurs in languages such as Spanish that display extra mechanisms to licencing the DO, as the battery of phenomena described in § 4.2 has shown. Then, the structure that is created does not contain two identical objects:

(116) a.$VO_{DP}S_{DP}$ > b.$VO_{DP}S_{KP/PP}$

[92] The situation is similar in other Romance languages such as Italian. Some dialects allow DOM, but in more restrictive contexts than Spanish.

Instead of the structure of (116a) where two DPs appear, Spanish show the (116b) structure, where the DO is distinguished. If the analysis of (116) is on the right track, VSO order should be possible in languages that do not allow it if one of the DPs is introduced by a preposition.

This prediction seems to be borne out (see (116)).

(116) a. È arrivato un marziano a Roma. (Italian)

is-3SG arrived an alien to Rome

'An alien arrived in Rome.'

b. Ha telefonato una ragazza a tuo fratello. (Italian)

have-3SG phoned a girl to your brother

'A girl phoned your brother.'

In (116a) the phrase *a Roma* is a PP, whereas in (116b) the phrase *a tuo fratello* is a dative. Then, there is no incompatibility since both DPs are different. The structure of a *a tuo fratello* is like the structure proposed for Spanish DOs: $VS_{DP}X_{PP}$. PPs such as *a Roma* does not constitute a DP and does not need case either, so the structure is not problematic [93]. The same scenario is found in Catalan:

(117) Ha telefonat una nena al seu pare. (Catalan)

have-3SG phoned a girl to her father.

'A girl phoned his/her father.'

(118) Aquesta foto la va regalar la Maria a ma mare. (Catalan)

this photo CL-ACC.3SG give-PAST.3SG the Maria to my mother

[93] In the same vein, as Belletti (2004) describes, Italian allow VSO when the subject is a strong pronoun:

(i) a. Di quel cassette ho io le chiavi. (Italian)

of that drawer have I the keys

'I have the keys of that drawer.'

This can be related with the fact that pronouns display a different structure from non-pronominal DPs (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002).

'This photo Maria gave to my mother.'

(119) Aquesta foto la va ficar el Pere al calaix. (Catalan)

this photo CL.ACC.3P-SG put-PAST.3SG the Pere to.the drawer

'This photo Pere put it on the drawer.'

Examples (117) – (119) illustrate VSX order in Catalan. This order is possible when X constitutes a PP: *al seu pare* 'his/her father' in (117), *a ma mare* 'my mother' in (118) and *al calaix* 'to the drawer' in (119).

In fact, it seems that to insert *a* in Catalan VSO improves the agrammaticality (as a 'last resort' see (121))[94].

(120) a. *Ha vist en Joan la Maria. (Catalan)

has-3SG seen the Joan the María

b. ??? Ha vist en Joan a la Maria. (Catalan)

has-3SG seen the Joan the María

'Joan has seen María.'

[94]When the object is more long, that is, when it displays a more complex syntactic structure (Vallduví 2002), VSO also improves in Catalan:

(i) a. *Ahir va dir molta gent moltes coses. (Catalan)

yesterday say-PAST.3SG many people many things

'Yesterday many people said a lot of things.'

b. Ahir va dir moltes coses molta gent. (Catalan)

yesterday say-PAST.3SG many things many people

'Yesterday many people said a lot of things.'

(ii) a. Ahir va dir molta gent que no hi havia res a fer. (Catalan)

yesterday say-PAST.3SG many people that no there is nothing to do-INF

'Yesterday many people said that there was nothing to do.'

The sentence of (120b) is not well-formed, but it sounds better than (120a). This contrast fits with the data discussed in (113) and repeated bellow:

(121) Rellevarà al alcalde una regidora del mateix partit
relieve-FUT.3SG to.the mayor a councilor of.the same part
'The mayor will be relieved by a councilor of the same party.'

In the case of (120) DOM is possible only as a last resort to distinguish the subject and the object. I suggest that *a* 'to' in (121) is also a last resort since DOM is not expected with DOs in Catalan.

Another possibility to facilitate VSO order is moving one of the two identical DPs outside the phasal domain. Precisely, non-VSO languages can avoid the restrictions dislocating the DO: VS_{DP} ,, O_{DP}. Thus, the object is situated outside the vP domain (cf. (122)).

(122) La guanyarà el Barça, la Lliga. (Catalan)
CL-ACC.3SG win-FUT.3SG the Barça the championship
'Barça will win the championship.'

Similar evidence can be found regarding the position of the subject in infinitive contexts:

(123) a. Joan va intentar venir. (Catalan)
Joan try-PAST.3SG come-INF
'Joan tried to come.'

b. *Va intentar Joan venir. (Catalan)
try-PAST.3SG Joan come-INF
'Joan tried to come.'

(124) a. Joan va intentar de venir. (Catalan)
Joan try-PAST.3SG of come-INF
'Joan tried to come.'

b. ?Va intentar Joan de venir. (Catalan)
try-PAST.3SG Joan of come-INF

'Joan tried to come.'

In the example of (123) the infinitive subject cannot occupy an intermediate position between both verbs since the infinitive and the subject are nominal objects. In the case of (124), instead, if the infinitive is introduced by the preposition *de* 'to' the ungrammaticality of the sentence improves (see (124b)).

This data shows that languages that do not display a complex structure for the DO resort to two main strategies: (i) dislocating some constituent or using a PP. In fact, the analysis introduced here connects the possibility to have VSO order with other phenomena treated by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000, 2001) such as ditransitive structures and 'linkers' (Collins 2003) or stylistic inversion in French (see Kayne and Pollock 1978, Déprez 1991, Alexiadou 2014).

All languages resort to the same strategies to avoid the appearance of two DPs inside the vP. In this chapter I argue that this incompatibility is related with a general constraint, but is compatible with views where the problem is related with Case competition.

5. Summary

This chapter has analysed the possibility to display VSO focusing on the differences between Spanish and Catalan. The idea defended is that VSO suppose the violation of the RDC since two identical objects are found in the same domain: $VS_{DP}O_{DP}$. Languages such as Spanish that allow this order show extra mechanisms to distinguish one of the two objects.

The battery of phenomena introduced throughout the chapter offer evidence in favour of the idea that the DO is the object that display a different structure in Spanish. As DOM, DO-doubling, leismo and dequeismo illustrate, Spanish DOs exhibit a more complex structure showing an extra head that it is materialized in these contexts. This structure enables the appearance of the VSO order: $VS_{DP}O_{KP/PP}$. Languages that does not display the same DO structure only permit VSO in contexts where the O are dislocated and, then, situated in other domain: VS_{DP} ,,, $O_{DP.}$ Also, VSX is possible in non-VSO languages when the X is not a DP, that is, a PP.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has analyzed the impact of distinctness effects in two phenomena: clitic clusters and VSO order. For that purpose, first the existence of this condition has been discussed.

As has been explained in Chapter I, in the literature different ways to differentiate objects have been proposed. The following questions have been raised:

(i) What is the origin of this condition?
(ii) In what way must two objects be different?
(iii) What is the relevant domain where two objects must be differentiated?

Regarding question (i), it has been concluded that this condition is a general cognitive restriction that the language faculty takes advantage of (see Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002), forcing thus the language to stablish asymmetries (according to Manzini 2014).

With respect to (ii) and (iii), whereas some authors put the conflict in structural terms —focusing on the c-commanding relation (see Kayne 1994, Moro 2000) or the structure of the phrase (see Chomsky 2013, 2015)—, others pay attention to the features (Hiraiwa 2010) or the label (Richards 2010) of the objects. Regardless of the specific point of (a)symmetry or distinctness that is proposed, it is clear that all theories converge considering that this type of restrictions are necessary to create optimal structures. In fact, a unified view would be desirable (see Manzini 2014), as it is demonstrated by the fact that different domains are affected by this restriction (see § 5.3, Chapter I).

Finally, this dissertation has argued in favor of a revised version of the Distinctness Condition (Richards 2010). It is concluded that Richards' model displays different conflictive points that have been criticized: (i) the fact that the elements that must be linearized are not the terminal nodes, that is, the labels, (ii) the way in which variation is captured and (iii) the existence of the labels themselves. His proposal has been reformulated:

Revised Distinctness Condition (RDC)[95]

Let SOs {α,β,…} be generated by MERGE

Let α, β, etc. be syntactic objects, either simple (lexical items) or complex

A derivation crashes at SEM if, given {α,β}, α and β cannot be distinguished

α and β are too similar based on the following grounds:

Identity Condition Lemma (ICL)

Given two SOs, α and β, within a local domain they are identical if:

d) α and β have the same feature composition (full identity)
e) α and β have some features in common (partial identity)
f) α and β's syntactic context cannot be distinguished

It has been concluded that RDC and ICL contain the different scenarios described in Chapter I regarding distinctness effects and overcome the criticism mentioned above.

Then, Chapters II and III have showed how this principle restricts the distribution of clitics in a clitic cluster and the appearance of two DPs in VSO order. These two phenomena that are very different at first glance have demonstrated the way in which the distinctness effects emerge. Whereas in clitic clusters the incompatibility is due to the co-occurrence of two features (the accusative feature), in VSO order the incompatibility arises because of the combination of two elements that share the same label and structure: two DPs.

Regarding clitic combinations, Chapter II has supported the idea that clitics are determiners that move and incorporate into the verb, following authors such as Kayne (1975, 1989, 199); Rizzi (1986) and Uriagereka (1995). Specifically, this dissertation has assumed Gallego's proposal (2016), which combines aspects of Chomsky (2000, 2001), Torrego (1998, 2002), and Uriagereka (1995). The main idea of this proposal is that clitics constitute a case of XP movement at the edge of the phase. Also, evidence in favour of

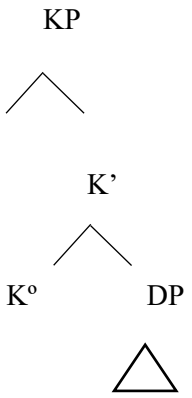
[95] I would like to thank Ángel J. Gallego for the precise formulation of the RDC / ICL (p.c.).

the non-primitive character of the dative in Romance languages is provided (Boeckx and Martin 2013).

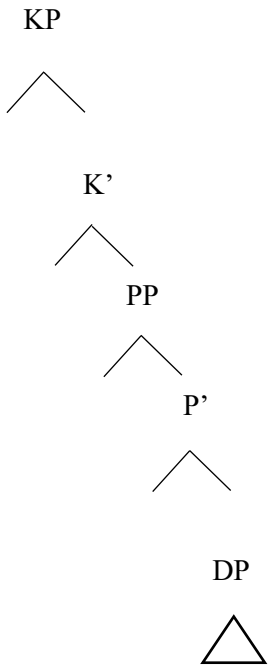
This dissertation has concluded that the incompatibility of a third person accusative clitic and a third person dative clitic raises due to the co-occurrence of two identical structural case features in the same domain, which violates the RCD.

Specifically, the incompatibility is produced in the combination of two KPs inside the same phasal domain: the specifier of the vP. The structure assumed of the clitics is repeated below:

(1) ACCUSATIVE



(2) DATIVE



Throughout the dissertation I have argued that the cross-linguistic variation regarding the structure of the dative determines the way in which the RCD is avoided. The goal is to eliminate one of the two accusative features (see (3)).

(3) a.*Juan *le* *lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan CL-DAT.3SG CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

b. Juan *se* *lo* dio. (Spanish)
Juan SE CL-AC.3SG give-PAST.3SG
'Juan gave it to him/her.'

A summary of the strategies is offered below:

Strategy	**Variety**
Clitic reduction	Valencian Catalan, Medieval Spanish, Belsetan Aragonese
Elimination of accusative part of the dative clitic	Central Catalan, Mallorcan Catalan, North-Western Catalan, Eastern Aragonese
Elimination of the accusative clitic	American Spanish, Basque Spanish
Modification of the accusative clitic	Gascon, Marina Baixa Catalan, Southern, Western and Central Aragonese
SE insertion	Spanish, Valencian Catalan

It has been argued that the general tendency is to eliminate the accusative part of the dative clitic allowing thus the co-ocurrence of both clitics since the combination is reduced to locative and accusative. When the dative displays an atomic composition, it is removed by the SE clitic that presents a different structure (X^o). Varieties that resort to modifying the accusative clitic show the elimination of the *l-* morpheme, which is attributed to accusative case.

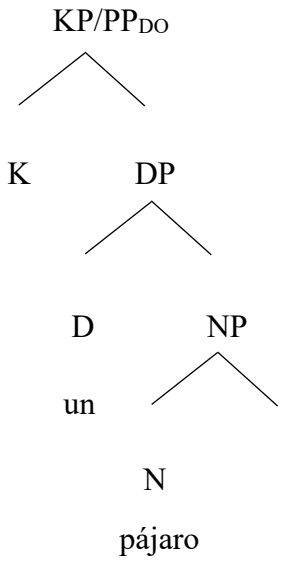
This dissertation has also proposed the idea that the possibility to present VSO order is related to the complexity of the DO. Building on López (2012), Ormazabal & Romero (2013), Roca & Ordóñez (2013) and Torrego (1998), I have defended that Spanish displays a more complex structure of the DO whose materialization changes depending on the context and variety. I have suggested that this complexity allows the subject to be maintained in a VSO position. The structure proposed for Spanish-DOs is as follows:

Specifically, Chapter III has proposed that VSO supposes the violation of the RDC since two identical objects are found in the same domain: $VS_{DP}O_{DP}$ (see (2)).

(5) Todos los días compra *Juan* el diario. VSO (Spanish)
all the days buy-3.SG Juan the newspaper
'Every day Juan buys the newspaper.'

Languages such as Spanish that allow this order show extra mechanisms to distinguish one of the two objects. The idea that the subject behaves like an adjunct in Spanish and not in Catalan has been rejected since I have not found enough data. The battery of phenomena introduced throughout the chapter has offered evidence to support the idea that DO displays a different structure in Spanish and Catalan. As DOM, DO-doubling, leismo and dequeismo illustrate, Spanish DOs exhibit a more complex structure showing an extra head that is materialized in certain contexts and varieties. The additional head proposed in (3) corresponds to the preposition that appears in DOM and dequeismo contexts. This structure enables the appearance of the VSO order: VS_{DP} $O_{KP/PP}$.

(4)



Languages such as Catalan that does not display the same DO structure only permit VSO in contexts where one of the two objects are dislocated and, then, situated in other phasal domain: VS_{DP} ,,, O_{DP}. Also, VSX is possible in non-VSO languages when the X is not a DP, that is, a PP (see (5)-(6)).

(5) La guanyarà el Barça, la Lliga. (Catalan)

CL-ACC.3PSG win-FUT.3SG the Barça the championship

'Barça will win the championship.'

(6) Ha telefonat una nena al seu pare. (Catalan)

have-3.SG phoned a girl to her father.

'A girl phoned his/her father.'

In fact, the ungrammaticality of VSO order is improved if the object is introduced by a preposition. The apparition of this preposition breaks the symmetry between the two objects: the subject and the object.

Furthermore, the contexts where VSO appear have been discussed. I have concluded that VSO is more common when an initial element is present, observation that has been related with the EPP. When a VSO order is possible without an initial element, the sentence is discursively linked with previous discourse.

Finally, this analysis has been related with other constructions and it has been concluded that different languages resort to the same strategies to avoid the appearance of two DPs inside the vP (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000, 2001; Collins 2003). This dissertation has argued that this incompatibility is related with a general constraint, but is compatible with views where the problem is related with Case competition.

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