

CLITICS COURSE – RITA MANZINI

DAY 1: CLITIC MOVEMENT

Movement derivation

In French, object clitics and full object NPs, including full pronouns, are in complementary distribution. It is natural to conclude that the clitic structure in (b) is derived from something like (a) via a transformation that reorders the pronoun moving it to a position adjacent to the verb.

- (1) a Marie voit lui (aussi).
Marie sees him also
“Marie sees him as well.”
- b Marie le voit.
Marie him=sees
“Marie sees him.”
- c *Marie le voit lui
Marie him=sees him

- The clitic undergoes External Merge (EM) in θ -position
- For some reason, it obligatorily undergoes movement
- Adopting the conclusions of Kayne (1991), it adjoins to IP, which in French is a position adjacent to the finite verb in I (Pollock 1989).

- (2) a ... [VP voit [DP le]]
- b [IP le [IP voit ... [VP ... le]]
- ↑ _____ |

- (A) i. what kind of movement is involved? (head vs. phrase etc.)
- ii. what triggers movement?

What triggers movement?

The classical answer to the trigger problem is that some inherent deficiency of clitics requires them to move. A theoretically viable reconstruction of this notion is proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke

(1999).

(3) Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 192)

[...]

b. Since strong elements have a functional case-feature but deficient elements lack it:

- deficient elements are necessarily in a case-assigning specAgrP at S-structure (to recover case).

c. Since strong, but not deficient, elements have an index (from their functional case feature):

[...]

- deficient elements cannot refer, they must associate to an antecedent prominent in the discourse (i.e. discourse-internal co-reference: "specificity", "old information", etc., but also impossibility in most contrastive contexts, or with ostension)

With respect to (b), are there independent reasons to exclude the presence of a Case functional node in clitics, as opposed to full pronouns? Independent evidence from morphology seems out of the question; in a language like French, clitics are the only nominal elements to bear overt Case.

Could the absence of the Case layer be semantically motivated, as in (c)? The reference of *le* 'him' can be fixed by ostension, (a) below. Sentence (b) marked as ungrammatical by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999: 153) is just infelicitous; the repetition of the same sentential material leaves the clitic to carry contrast – which is impossible, cf. (c)

- (4)
- | | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|------|-----------|
| a | Je | l'ai | vu | hier |
| | I | him=have | seen | yesterday |
| b | #J'ai vu Marie | puis je l'ai vu | | |
| | I have seen Marie | then I him=have seen | | |
| c | J'ai vu Marie | puis je les ai embrassés | | |
| | I have seen Marie | then I them=have kissed | | |

A different trigger theory is proposed by Uriagereka (1995: 90-91): cliticization is the last residual manifestation in some languages of scrambling processes, e.g., Object Shift in Germanic languages. Assuming object shift to be driven by an EPP feature (Chomsky 2005, 2015), Roberts (2010: 47) proposes to make the EPP-feature sensitive to the fact that the moved element is a head.

What moves?

The clitic is a D which in itself could be treated either as a minimal projection or as a maximal projection. According to Chomsky (1995: 228) we can take it that “in its θ -position, the clitic is an XP”. In fact “it is an XP, raising by XP-adjunction until the final step of X° -adjunction”.

(5) *Movement of $D_{min/max}$*

... [VP *voit* [$D_{min/max}$ *le*]] (Chomsky 1995)

For Matushansky (2006: 85) cliticization is ordinary phrasal movement, say to Spec, TP position. The operation adjoining the head of DP to the verb in T takes place morphology via m-merge (morphological merger). Matushansky’s proposal has the drawback of many Distributed Morphology (DM) analyses, of requiring a rich morphological component, doubling rather than integrating syntax, (see also Roberts 2010: 43-50).

(6) *XP-movement + m-merger*

a ... [TP [$D_{min/max}$ *le*] [T' *voit* ... [VP V [$D_{min/max}$ ~~*le*~~]]]

↑ _____|

b ... [T [$D_{min/max}$ *le*] *voit*] ... (Matushansky 2006)

For Roberts (2010: 50) “cliticization consists of the movement of $D^{min=max}$ to v^{*min} from the VP-internal position in which D is first-merged as the complement to the verb” (see below for further movement to the edge of I(P)).

(7) *Head to head movement*

[_v [D *le*] *v*] [VP V ~~*le*~~ ...] (Roberts 2010)

↑ _____|

Harizanov and Gribanova (2019) argue that the relevant distinction is not between XP- and X-movement, but rather between two types of X-movement: syntactic head movement and morphological head movement, or amalgamation. According to Harizanov (2019: 3) “an implementation of Internal Merge that applies in the same way to both heads and phrases is, in fact, a direct consequence of central minimalist assumptions”. Therefore, nothing excludes nothing excludes the clitic head moving to a Spec/adjunct of XP.

(8) *Head movement to Spec, XP*

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 [\text{vP } [\text{D } le] & & [\text{vP } v^* \text{ } [\text{VP } V [\text{D } \cancel{le}]]]] \\
 \uparrow \text{-----} & & \\
 & &
 \end{array}
 \quad (\text{Harizanov 2019})$$

Clitic Doubling

Prima facie, an argument against movement theories of cliticization, come from Clitic Doubling, as in Spanish (9), since the presumed source position of movement is independently filled.

- (9) (Ella) lo ama a él.
 she him=loves to him
 “She loves him.”

- In the ‘big DP’ analysis of Clitic Doubling (originally Uriagereka 1995), the clitic is the head of DP whose Spec is the DP stranded by clitic movement, i.e. [DP [Clitic]]. A problem for the big DP account is that the supposed source of movement, i.e. [DP [Clitic]], is never overtly seen.
- Nunes (1999) suggests that copying and doubling phenomena reflect the spell out of multiple positions in a movement chain. The problem with this idea is that its implementation requires spell-out principles capable of predicting, e.g., that the copy of a moved DP will be pronounced as a clitic.
- According to Harizanov (2014: 1066-1068) (for Bulgarian), m-merger can apply to configurations where a branching DP has moved to the Spec of some functional head, e.g. *v*. What m-merger does is “adjoin labels”, e.g. the D label to the *v* label. In Clitic Doubling, the lower copy of the clitic chain is spelled out in full, while the higher copy surfaces as a D label created by m-merger (i.e., a clitic). It seems to me however that the same general objections advanced above in relation to the powerful morphological component presupposed by Matushansky’s m-merger hold *a fortiori* here.

For Preminger (2019: 18), a clitic is the ordinary D determiner of a DP, which undergoes movement. In Clitic Doubling, the lower copy of D is also pronounced as part of the lexical DP.

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 (10) \quad [\text{vP } D+v & & [\text{VP } V [\text{DP } D \text{ NP}]]] \\
 \uparrow \text{-----} & & \\
 & &
 \end{array}
 \quad (\text{Preminger 2019})$$

Why isn’t it possible to extract D and delete the lower D copy within the lexical DP? Preminger (2019: 20) proposes two conditions. Let X be the moved head, Y its landing site and α the in situ copy.

Then either “ α and Y are not separated by a phasal maximal projection” or “X and Y are part of the same extended projection”. In the structure above, the phase boundary DP separates the moved D and its copy – and the landing site of D is not in the same extended projection as D in its base position, making deletion impossible. Preminger himself recognizes the stipulative nature of his account.

The order problem

Cliticization often involves two or more clitics, raising the issue of the relative order of clitics, understood both as dominance and as linear order. Under a movement derivation we expect the order of clitics and the order of their phrasal counterparts to be the same or to mirror one another.

In Italian and in French, direct object and indirect object DPs in phrasal syntax are in a reciprocal c-command relation (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991: 42-43, Pescarini 2014, Boneh and Nash 2012, Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021). This is shown by the fact that a quantified DO can bind a pronoun inside the IO, as in the (a) examples, or vice versa a quantified IO can bind a pronoun inside the DO in the (b) examples.

- (11) a La maestra rende ciascuna cartella al suo proprietario. It.
the teacher gives back each schoolbag to its owner
“The teacher gives each schoolbag back to its owner.”
- b La maestra rende la sua cartella a ciascun alunno.
the teacher gives back the his schoolbag to each student
“The teacher gives every student his schoolbag back.”
- (12) a La maîtresse a rendu son cartable à chaque élève. Fr.
the teacher has given-back his schoolbag to every pupil
“The teacher gave every student his schoolbag back.”
- b La maîtresse a rendu chaque cartable à son propriétaire.
the teacher gave-back every schoolbag to its owner
“The teacher gave every schoolbag back to its owner.”

Despite the similarity of their phrasal syntax, Italian and French have opposite orders of 3rd person dative and accusative clitics. In fact, French has both the Dat>Acc and the Acc>Dat order, depending on the Person (participant vs. non-participant) of the dative clitic.

- (13) Gianni me lo/glielo rende. It.
 Gianni me=it/him=it=gives back
 “Gianni gives it back to me/to him.”
- (14) a Jean le lui rend. Fr.
 Jean it=him=gives back
 “Gianni gives it back to him.”
- b Jean me le rend.
 Jean me=it=gives back
 “Gianni gives it back to me.”

In phrasal syntax, unselected datives (or high Applicatives, if preferred) are higher than direct objects in both Italian and French, as shown by bound pronoun facts (Folli and Harley 2006, Boneh and Nash 2012).

- (15) a I proprietari ridipingono il suo appartamento a ogni inquilino. It.
 the owners repaint his apartment to each tenant
 “The owners repaint his apartment to each tenant.”
- b *I proprietari ridipingono ogni appartamento al suo inquilino.
 the owners repaint each apartment to its tenant
 “*The owners repaint each apartment to its tenant.”
- (16) a Marie a peint à chaque locataire sa maison. Fr.
 Marie has painted to every tenant his house
 “Marie painted his house to every tenant”
- b *Marie a peint à son locataire chaque maison.
 Marie has painted to its tenant every house
 “*Marie painted every house for its tenant”

In both Italian and French, the same order of clitics is found with selected and unselective datives. In French, the availability of two different Dat positions in the string would in principle allow the ordering of clitics according to thematic hierarchies. This is not the case however, since the two positions are ordered according to Participant/non-Participant status (which is irrelevant in phrasal syntax).

- (17) Gianni me lo/glielo ridipinge. It.

“Gianni repaints it for me/him.”

- (18) a Jean le lui repoint.
Jean it=him=repaints
“Jean repaints it to his benefit.”
b Jean me le repoint.
Jean me=it=repaints
“Jean repaints it to my benefit.”

An independent indication that selected vs. unselected dative is a distinction missing from clitic orders comes from strings of two datives (a goal and a benefactive), which are acceptable to some extent in some languages. An Italian example is below where the linear order 1DAT > 2DAT is forced. The order has no implication for the thematic interpretation of the two clitics. Both of them can either be the goal or the benefactive; in other words, the sentence is ambiguous.

- (19) Mi ti scrivo due righe.
me=you=writes two lines
“He writes a couple of lines to me for your benefit/to you for my benefit.”

In short,

- the clitic string varies in ways which do not reflect variation in phrasal syntax;
- vice versa, order asymmetries in phrasal syntax are not preserved in the clitic string.

Movement derivations either preserve the base order (crossing dependencies) or they mirror it (nesting dependencies).

- Multiple movement involving crossing dependencies preserves the base order (as in the well-known case of multiple wh-movement in South Slavic, Richards 2001, Bošković 2002 a.o.).
- Alternatively, the derived order may mirror the base order if the dependencies are nested (more rarely attested, e.g. Preminger 2010 on multiple wh-questions in Hebrew).
- no relation of the sort holds between clitic sequences and sequences of arguments that they are supposedly been derived from.
- This does not exclude a movement derivation – but deprives it of a possible strong argument in its favour.

Order readjustments

Morphological reordering of the syntactic result of movement is found in particular in the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework, from the early account of Bonet (1991) in terms of templates, to the already quoted account of Matushansky (2006) in terms of m-merger.

- From a purely theoretical point of view, the question arises why the morphological component would work towards an opacification of the syntax-phonology interface, while if anything, we would expect it to work towards its optimization.
- More importantly, while DM-type approaches can certainly describe how clitic and phrasal order differ, they cannot predict that lack of isomorphism is the rule rather than the exception. For instance, the evidence presented above shows that order asymmetries between selected and unselected datives are regularly cancelled out in the clitic string. Such systematicity is difficult to explain if clitic order is a matter of highly parametrized rules, presumably shaped by external factors like those of morphology.

A syntax-internal account of the French/Italian parameter Acc>Dat vs. Dat>Acc is proposed by Roberts (2010). In his terms, different sequences of movement operations are responsible for yielding the two clitic orders in Italian and French.

- A possible problem with this solution is that Roberts assumes the existence of movement parameters motivated solely by need to achieve the correct linear order. These framework assumptions, based on Kayne (1994), are disputed within minimalism (Chomsky 2013).
- An empirical problem is that it does not quite capture the double dissociation described above. Specifically, since the underlying structure of selected and unselected datives is different at the phrasal level, we are not told whether the same technique deployed for dative goals would work for benefactive datives.

Pescarini (2017) accounts for the French/Italian parameter by exploiting two different derived structures available for clusters of two clitics under Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry. One structure is derived by independently moving the two clitics – in that case the linear order of the clitics is the same as that of the corresponding phrasal constituents (a). The relative order of Acc and Dat clitics is reversed if Dat incorporates into Acc (b).

- (20) a. ...[AccCl [DatCl...]] (Pescarini 2017)
b. [Dat+Acc [~~Dat~~ ...]]

I take it that the dominance order of DO and IO is taken to be ...[DO [IO...]] (so as to yield crossing dependencies). This is fine if the dative is a goal (a low Appl) – but why wouldn't a different order of clitics be observed when the DatCl corresponds to a high applicative (higher than Acc)?

Clitic strings and phrasal structures seem to be governed by two different principles of order – which is unexpected if one is derived from the other. This does not imply the impossibility of a movement theory of cliticization, but diminishes its appeal.

Conclusions

- (B)
- i. Cliticization is a kind of residual Object Shift, triggered by the same properties (Roberts 2010, Preminger 2019, cf. Uriagereka 1995).
 - ii. Cliticization is an instance of head-movement of D (Roberts 2010, Preminger 2019, cf. Kayne 1991, Chomsky 1995) – or of phrasal movement followed by m-merger (Harizanov 2014, cf. Matushansky 2006).
 - iii. The landing site of head movement is adjunction to a head (Roberts 2010, Preminger 2019) or alternatively heads may target the same positions as phrases (Spec, or phrasal adjunctions, Harizanov and Gribanova 2019, cf. Kayne 1991).
 - iv. Clitic doubling arises when multiple copies of the D(P) movement chain undergo Spell-Out (Harizanov 2014, Preminger 2019), unless one envisages a 'big DP' source of movement.
 - v. The (dominance) order of clitics may be syntactically defined – however it is not connected by any straightforward algorithm to the order of the corresponding phrasal arguments. This removes a potential argument for movement analyses of cliticization
 - vi. The (linear) reordering of clitics in the morphology is possible, but stipulative.
- Verbal heads, argument DPs or wh-phrases can typically be seen in situ, either in the same language, or in different languages – cf. wh-movement and wh- in-situ-in French; in-situ postverbal subjects or Spec, IP subjects in Italian unaccusatives; auxiliaries in I or in C in English. By contrast, clitics can never be seen in their supposed in-situ position.
 - the order question – understood not as the descriptive question of stating the correct order of clitics – but in the theoretically interesting terms of deriving the relation (or lack thereof) between phrasal and head/morphological order, remains essentially open.

DAY 2: CLITIC BASE GENERATION

The basic idea is that clitics are merged directly in the position corresponding to their landing site in movement analyses. The argument position can be either a lexical DP or a pronominal empty category. The clitic and the in situ argument are connected by Agree or movement.

- (C) i. What is the nature of the base generated clitic? (e.g., a affix, a head, etc.)
 ii. Is there a DP associate – and what is its nature?
 iii. What is the relation between the clitic and the DP associate? (e.g. Agree, IM)

In Rivas (1977), the clitic is introduced by the phrase structure rule $V \rightarrow \text{CL } V$, so it is adjoined to the verb. At the same time, the selectional restrictions of the verb are satisfied not by the clitic, but by a phrasal NP. A rule of CL, NP agreement then checks whether CL and NP agree in ϕ -features and Case. The surface distribution of CL/NP pairs is obtained by a last rule of CL/NP Deletion. French obligatorily deletes NP, while Spanish rules are more complex

- (22) [VP CL+V NP] (Rivas 1977)
| |
| | agreement

Jaeggli (1981), Borer (1983) theorize that the crucial role of the clitic is to absorb Case. The NP associate of the clitic is Case-less, hence (in the absence of DOM), NP can only be a pronominal empty category (PRO/*pro*).

- (23) [_{VP} CL+V *pro*/NP] (Jaeggli 1981)

Sportiche (1996) proposes generating clitics as Voice heads (Accusative Voice, etc.) in the v-field of the sentence. Head-movement operations shift clitics from the v-area of the sentence to the I-area, where they surface. The *pro* or DP associate of the clitic moves to the Spec of VoiceP in order to establish an agreement relation with the clitic in a Spec-head configuration.

- (24) [AccVoiceP *pro*/DP [AccVoice' *le* [VP *voit pro*/DP]] (Sportiche 1996)

Treating clitics as independent heads is advantageous when dealing with the fact that they can take different positions in the sentence (e.g. enclisis/proclisis alternations). Interpolation (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005) also tendentially excludes models (whether movement or base generation ones)

where the clitic is incorporated to the verb or to a verb-related head – favouring models where it is adjoined at the edge of a verb-related projection (Kayne 1991) or it projects an independent functional category (Sportiche 1996).

- (25) Un mi cchiù parra. (Cosentino)
not me=any more speaks
“He doesn’t speak to me anymore.”

Subject clitics and pro-drop

In North Italian varieties (so called dialects, NID), subject clitics can appear alone or doubling a lexical subject. Under the analysis of Brandi and Cordin (1989), Rizzi (1986), the subject clitic is merged with I, and from that position it licenses a null subject (*pro*) in Spec, IP – or alternatively it doubles an overt subject.

- (26) a (La Maria) la viene. (Florentine)
the Maria she=comes
“Mary/she comes.”
b [IP *pro*/NP [I_r CL+I ...]

Holmberg (2005) points out that (subject) *pro* need not be merged as a pronominal empty category. Rather it can be construed as a deletion site, licensed by Agree with rich I. The deletion approach to *pro* is further developed by Saab (2008). He adopts Late Insertion of lexical items, proposing that ellipsis is No Transfer, i.e. lack of lexical insertion under an abstract terminal.

In the light of a possible parallelism with subject clitics/pro-drop, we may assume that with object clitics, Agree with v^* is not sufficient to license pro, or alternatively deletion/No Transfer of a DP pronoun, cf. (a). The latter is however licensed if a clitic is merged at the edge of $v(P)^*$ probing the object pronoun, as in (b).

- (27) a ... [_{VP} v* [_{VP} *voit pro/DP*]]
 |_____| Agree, *Deletion/No Transfer
- b ... [_{VP} *le* [v* [_{VP} *voit pro/DP*]]]
 |_____|| _____| Agree, Deletion/No Transfer

The Reconstruction problem

- In movement analyses of cliticization, especially if a clitic is a copy of a moved DP reduced by m-merger (e.g. Harizanov 2014), reconstruction into the position of the clitic or into thematic position is predicted.
- Things are not different under the base generation model, where clitics correspond to functional heads, provided the associate DP moves through Spec, Cl. If so, again, reconstruction is predicted into clitic position or into theta-position.

Scope of DO and IO wrt inverted subjects

Zubizarreta (1998: 113-116) observes that in Spanish a Direct Object (DO) that has undergone Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) does not reconstruct inside the scope of an in situ External Argument (EA), as in (a). However, an Indirect Object (IO) does, as in (b).

- (28) a. ?*A su_i hijo deberá acompañarlo cada madre_i.
 DOM her son will have to accompany=it each mother
 “Each mother must accompany her child to school.”
- b. A su_i editor le envió cada autor_i un manuscrito.
 to his editor to him=sent each author a manuscript
 ‘Each author sent his editor a manuscript.’

The asymmetry cannot be attributed to reconstruction of the DO and the IO in their theta-position, since in that case we would expect them to pattern alike with respect to the EA in its theta-position (i.e. be in its scope).

- Zubizarreta concludes that there are intermediate Cl positions between the theta-position of the DPs that have undergone CLLD and their landing site – through which the DP passes and into which it can reconstruct. In the structure she proposes AccCl is higher than EA and DatCl lower.

(28') [AccCl [EA [DatCl

(Zubizarreta 1998)

Relative scope of DOs and IOs

Recall that DO and IO in situ in Romance commute in scope. Cecchetto (2001) observes an asymmetry in Italian between CLLDed DOs and IOs, whereby DOs reconstruct in the scope of IOs in situ as in (a), but not vice versa, as in (b).

- (29) a. ?La casa che l_i 'aveva ospitato, l'ho ridata a [ogni studente]_i
the house that him=had hosted, it=I.have given back to each student
“I gave back the apartment that he had already occupied to every student.”
- b. *Al professore che l_i 'aveva messo in difficoltà, (gli) ho già presentato
to-the professor that him=had put in difficulty to-him=I.have already introduced
[ogni studente]_i
every student
“I have already introduced every student to the professor that had challenged him.”

- The conclusion of Cecchetto and Chierchia (1999), Cecchetto (2001) is that DOs, undergo reconstruction (into thematic position), because they do in fact move under CLLD. IOs do not reconstruct for the simple reason that under CLLD they are not moved (no copy in thematic position). Connectivity effects displayed by CLLD do not depend on movement, but rather on some more general notion of dependency.

Similarly in French CLLD, the DO reconstructs within the scope of the IO in situ, but the IO does not reconstruct within the scope of the DO in situ.

- (30) a. [La note de son_j dernier devoir], le professeur (ne) l'a rendue à aucun/chaque élève_j.
the grade on his last assignment, the professor not it=has given to any/every student
“The professor gave no/every student the grade on his last assignment.”
- b. * [Aux parents de son_j meilleur étudiant] on leur a présenté aucun/chaque professeur_j.
to-the parents of his best student one to-them=has introduced no/every professor
“We introduced no/every professor to the parents of his best student.”

- Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021: 997) conclude that in addition to CliticP projections, hosting clitic functional heads and merged immediately above TP, there are intermediate KP positions (K_{IO} and K_{DO}), through which DPs move on their way to the CLLD landing site. They stipulate that the IO cannot reconstruct lower than K_{IO} .

Next, the empty pronominal associate of the clitic in K_{IO} c-commands the DO in situ, creating a Principle C violation, cf. (a) below. If the DO is CLLDed, as in (b), the Principle C violation is removed, since the DO is no longer in the scope of the IO. Crucially in (c) the DO must be reconstructed under the quantified subject to yield the bound reading of the possessive – but still there is no Principle C violation.

- (31) a. *On lui_m a décrit la voisine de Jean_m.
 one 3S.DAT has described the neighbor of John
 “We described John’s neighbor to him.”
- b. [La voisine de Jean_m] Marie la lui_m a présenté.
 the neighbor of John, Marie her=to-him=has presented
 “Marie introduced John’s neighbor to him.”
- c. [Les notes de [son fils]_m] chaque parent les lui_m a montré.
 the grades of his son each parent them=to-him=has shown
 “Each parent showed the grades of his son to him.”

- Angelopoulos and Sportiche conclude that the DO can reconstruct to a position lower than the subject but higher than K_{IO} , namely K_{DO} , establishing the relative order $KP_{DO} > KP_{IO}$.

(32) ... [K_{DO} [K_{IO} [v ... (Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021)

A summary and a simplification

Summarizing so far,

- Zubizarreta proposes AccCl, DatCl above and below the EA respectively. Angelopoulos and Sportiche propose the functional hierarchy $KP_{DO} > KP_{IO}$.
- Moved DPs can reconstruct into them.
- DOs can also reconstruct in theta-position, but IOs cannot reconstruct lower than K_{IO} .

- (33) a. [K_{DO} [K_{IO} [v [[V DO] IO]]]] (Angelopoulos & Sportiche 2021)
 b. [Cl_{ACC} [EA [Cl_{DAT} [v [[V DO] IO]]]] (Zubizarreta 1998)

- (C') (i) Is there independent evidence in favor of K positions – or in other words, how else are they employed in grammar?
- (ii) Why is it the case that the associate of a dative clitic cannot reconstruct below the K_{IO} position – or in general, why is there a DO/IO asymmetry under cliticization?

On (i), Angelopoulos and Sportiche have the following to say: “the dative clitic signals the presence of an intermediate, contentful projection - e.g. headed by a [+person] **applicative** head lending it logophoric properties”. In other words, $K_{IO} = Appl_{IO}$.

In English

- In DP-to-DP ditransitive structures, the (dominance) order is $DO > IO$.
- A process of Dative Shift yields the reverse order (dominance-wise) $IO > DO$.

- (34) a We gave every book to its author to revise
 b *We gave its author every book to revise

Dative Shift in English is routinely analyzed in terms of an alternation between two base generated structures (Pesetsky 1995, Harley 2002, Beck and Johnson 2004).

- (35) a ... [VP give [PredP every book [pp to its author]]]
 b ... [AppIP its author [VP give every book]]

If we assume that dative clitics in Romance head AppIP, triggering Dative Shift (Cuervo 2003), their associate outscopes the DO by simply reconstructing in its base position, AppIP. This answers query (ii).

- (36) ... [v [AppIP Cl_{IO} [V DO] IO]]

K_{DO} must on the other hand exist as a position distinct from the base position of DO. One possibility is that it is simply the object EPP position – this completes the answer to question (ii).

- (37) [vP Cl_{DO} [v [AppIP Cl_{IO} [V DO] IO]]]

The order problem

Sportiche (1996) stipulates the clitic hierarchy in the form of Voice heads of the v field. Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) stipulate a clitic hierarchy (N, Loc, etc.) in the I field (but potentially repeating itself, rather like Agr projections).

In Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021) the order of functional ClP projections appears to match that motivated for KP positions in the vP area, namely DO > IO. There is no explanation why this is not the case in Italian or Spanish – or why Participant datives display a different order from non-Participant datives, etc.

Manzini (2022a) tries to motivate the conclusion that the order of clitics mimics that of the functional spine of the verb (high Appl > v > Low Appl), hence of the arguments that merge with it. The only difference is that each clitic is associated with a unique position. Hence an oblique clitic is associated exclusively with high Appl or with low Appl – yielding the alternation between Dat/Loc > Acc in Italian vs. Acc > Dat/Loc in French independently of thematic role. The analysis has the same problem as movement theories, namely it lacks an explanation as to why the observed asymmetries between clitics and phrasal constituents should hold.

Conclusions

- (D) i. Clitics are heads (Sportiche 1996)
- ii. A DP associate of the clitic is always present in thematic position, in the form of a lexical DP doubled by the clitic or of a pronominal empty category (i.e. a deleted pronoun) that the clitic licenses (Jaeggli 1981, Sportiche 1996, cf. Holmberg 2005, Saab 2008).
- iii. The licensing relation between the clitic and the DP associate is syntactic agreement: the DP associate moves to the Spec of CliticP yielding Spec-head agreement (Sportiche 1996, Angelopoulos and Sportiche 2021) – or (equivalently?) it enters Agree at distance with its DP associate
- iv. Reconstruction of the associate into a position different from the thematic position depends on middle-field specialized Cl/K projections (Zubizarreta 1998, Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021) – or perhaps just on independently needed positions of the middle-field (the object EPP position, the Appl position involved in Dative Shift).

- v. Clitic order can be encoded, but cannot be derived any more than under movement.

Movement and base generation analyses are not notational variants.

- Clitic Doubling is difficult to account for under movement, requiring ‘big DP’ structures or D-movement, both of which are difficult to motivate independently, or multiple spell-out of copies, which must be supplemented by some powerful m-merger operation. By contrast, base generation analyses account for Clitic Doubling in the same way as simple cliticization.
- Base generation connects the theory of object and subject clitics, under conventional theories of subject clitics and their licencing of pro-drop – which is not the case for movement accounts. More generally, base generation connects the theory of clitics to the theory of argument drop, predicting among other things that one construct may change into the other, without much else changing in the underlying grammar.

DAY3: LOCALITY, REFERENTIALITY

Edge of v(P) or edge of I(P)?

Kayne (1991) identifies the landing site of cliticization with an I(P) adjoined position, based on the strong motivation that the verb in Romance is in I (Pollock 1989).

(38) [IP *le* [IP *voit* ... [vP ... *te*]]

On the other hand, some evidence for a vP-adjoined position for clitics comes from enclisis/proclisis alternations in Romance, e.g., in Italian, the clitic precedes the finite verb (proclisis), while it follows the infinitive (enclisis).

- (39) a Gianni *lo* vede.
Gianni him=sees
“Gianni sees him.”
b È facile vederlo.
is easy see=him
“It is easy to see him.”

Kayne’s (1991) proposal concerning enclisis is that the clitic still targets IP, while the verb targets C, moving around the clitic.

(40) [CP *veder* [IP *lo* [IP I ...

Roberts (2010: 84) notes that a different construal of enclisis is possible. If object clitics target the immediately superordinate phase head, hence v*, enclisis follows even if the infinitive is positioned in I.

(41) [IP *veder* [vP *lo* [vP v* ...

Cinque (1999) reports Belletti’s (1990: 70ff.) examples, where a low temporal adverb like *spesso* ‘often’ cannot precede an infinitive, while higher epistemic adverbs can precede it. Since the same distribution of adverbs is observed with finite verbs, these examples suggest that the infinitive has the

same position as the finite verb, namely I. If so, the position of enclitics is best identified with the edge of vP.

- (42) a *?Ho trovato qualcuno a cui spesso affidare questo tipo di incarico
 I.have found someone to whom often assign this kind of task
 “I have found somebody to whom to assign often this task.”
- b Cerco un uomo al quale forse presentare Maria.
 I.seek a man to whom perhaps introduce Maria
 “I am looking for a man to whom perhaps to introduce Maria.”

For Roberts (2010) proclisis in I is the result of head-movement of v* (into which the clitic is incorporated) to I. In order to derive enclisis in infinitives, Roberts (2010: 84) assumes that non-finite verbs move directly to I without passing through v*, and therefore without incorporating the clitic.

Another possible analysis of proclisis in I makes use of mechanisms of phase extension (den Dikken 2007) or phase sliding (Gallego 2010). Gallego connects phase extension in Romance with verb movement to I – which however cannot distinguish finite from infinitival verbs if both are in I. Manzini and Scheer (2026) propose that phase sliding is connected to the presence of an Agree probe on I. In finite sentences, the Agree relation between I and the subject extends the edge of the vP phase to include I. Therefore, the clitic can target the edge of IP.

- (43) ... [IP I_o [IP I [vP EA [vP v* [V ~~to~~]]]]]
- |_____|

Phase extension does not hold in infinitives, because no Agree relation holds between the I head and the vP-internal subject – therefore, the position of the clitic at the edge of v* (corresponding to enclisis) is forced in infinitives.

Conclusions

- (E) (i) The natural locus of object clitics is the edge of the vP-phase (whether they move to that position or are base generated there) (Roberts 2010).
- (ii) Edge of IP positioning is the result of some additional mechanism (e.g. phase extension, Gallego 2010, Manzini and Scheer 2026).
- (iii) [Not considered here: Clitic climbing is phase-internal]

Appendix: typological variation

In European Portuguese, clitics are postverbal (enclitics) as a default, however they are preverbal (proclitic) in the presence of interrogative, Focus or negation properties associated with the C phase head, as well as generally in subordinate clauses (Pescarini 2021 for data and discussion).

Following Benincà (1994, 1995) on Medieval Romance, a widely held account of this distribution is based on movement of V to C, yielding enclisis if the clitic is adjoined to I(P). Proclisis follows from the positioning of V in I. Similarly enclisis in imperatives seems to result from the fact that the imperative targets C, while the clitic still targets I.

- (44) a Prendilo!
 take=it
 “Take it!”
 b Prendetelo!
 take.2pl=it
 “Take it!”

In other Indo-European languages, including the Slavic languages (Bošković 2001), the position of clitics appears to be governed by Wackernagel’s Law, originally formulated for Ancient Greek, namely “enclitics occupy second position” (Walkden 2020). Language families displaying the same typology include Pama-Nyungam and Uto-Aztecan (Bošković 2016). Bošković (2016) contrasts second position clitics with clitics of the Romance type, based on the assumption that the latter incorporate with the verb. However, note that interpolation phenomena, call into question the conclusion that clitics which do not display second position behavior incorporate with the verb.

Referentiality

- Under movement theories, the clitic is predicted to have referential properties – it is a referential pronoun first merged in argument position.
- Under the base generation theory, referential properties are associated with the DP in situ, hence the clitic could in principle double these referential properties – or it could be referentially inert.

- (F) i. Do clitics have referential properties or are they referentially inert agreements?
 ii. What are the consequences for movement vs. base generation accounts?

Baker and Kramer (2018) and Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021), both discuss the doubling of anaphors by a clitic in Greek. According to Baker and Kramer (2018), example (a) is degraded or ungrammatical. For Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021), example (b) is well-formed.

- If the correct judgement is (b), we have an indication that the clitic is referentially inert, since binding of the object anaphor by the subject is not disrupted by the pronominal clitic.
- If the correct judgement is (a), we have an argument in favor of the referential status of the clitic, whose binding by the subject can be excluded under Binding Principle B.

- (45) a. O Janis (??ton) peripiithike ton eafto tu. (Baker and Kramer 2018)
 the Janis 3MS.ACC=took.good.care.of the self his
 “John took good care of himself.”
- b. I Maria dhen (ton) perighrafi ton eafto tis opos prep. (Angelopoulos & Sportiche)
 the Maria not 3MS.ACC=describes the self her as required
 “Maria does not describe herself as she should.”

Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2021) further argue that clitics are systematically found in environments where they have no argumental content – doubling predicates such APs or propositional content.

- (46) a. Bella, Maria non lo è mai stata.
 beautiful-FS Mary not 3MS is never been
 “Maria has never been beautiful.”
- b. Che Maria sia bella, non lo penso.
 that Maria is beautiful not 3MS I.think
 “I don’t think that Maria is beautiful.”

This line of argument seems to me not to be decisive since full pronouns also occur as pro-predicative or pro-sentential elements.

- (47) a. Maria è bella, ma non è solo questo.
 Maria is beautiful but not is only this.MS

“Maria is beautiful, but not only this.’

- b Maria pensa questo/che Paolo menta/*la menzogna di Paolo.
 Mary thinks this/ that Paolo lies/ the lie of Paolo’
 “Mary thinks this/that Paolo lies/*Paolo’s lie.”

Thirdly Sportiche and Angelopoulos (2021) point out that though clitics appear to have definite reference when they do not double an overt DP, when it comes to resumption, they can equally double a true indefinite DP. This means that the DP associate of the clitic entirely determines the referential properties of the clitic construction,

- (48) a La cercano.
 3FS.ACC=they.seek
 “They are looking for her.”
 b Una segretaria, la cercano anche ora.
 a secretary 3FS.ACC=seek even now
 “They are looking for a secretary (whatsoever) even now.”

The opposite argument is advanced by Baker and Kramer (2018) in favor of the referential status of clitics, cf. also Kramer (2014) – namely that in Amharic, clitics are excluded from doubling true indefinites, non D-linked wh-phrases and universal quantifiers.

- (49) a Lämma wiŋŋa y -ay (*-äw) -all.
 Lemma.M dog.M 3MS.S -see (-3MS.O)-3MS.S
 “Lemma sees a dog.”
 b Mann-in ayy -iŋ (*-iw).
 who.M saw -2FS.S (-3MS.O)
 “Who did you (feminine) see?”
 c Lämma hullu-n-imm säw ayy -ä (*-w).
 Lemma.M every person saw -3MS.S (-3 MS.O)
 “Lemma saw everyone.”

The Amharic evidence involves Clitic Doubling *stricto sensu* (CD), i.e. with a DP in situ or focused. Similar restrictions to those observed in Amharic (no true indefinites, no strong quantifiers, no non-D-linked wh-phrases) also characterize CD in Romance languages like Spanish or Romanian (Jaeggli

1981, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990 for early discussion), where the very same clitics that cannot double true indefinites in CD, routinely double them in CLLD. Therefore, the restrictions in Amharic may be informative about the nature of CD more than about the nature of clitics *per se*.

Subject clitics

The issue of referentiality extends subject clitics – where it was raised first. Rizzi (1986) judges CLLD in Italian to be ill-formed with bare quantifiers, and he takes this to confirm the referential status of object clitics in Romance. However, the object clitic examples improve if an overt focus is introduced,

- (50) a *Nessuno lo conosco in questa città.
 nobody, him=I.know in this town
 “I know nobody in this town.”
- b *Tutto lo dirò alla polizia.
 all it=I.will.tell to the police
 “I will tell the police everything.”
- (51) a Tutto, lo dirò solo alla polizia.
 all it=I.will.say only to the police
 “I will say everything only to the police.”
- b Nessuno, lo trasferiscono in questa città senza raccomandazioni.
 nobody him=they.transfer to this town without recommendations
 “They transfer nobody to this town without some recommendation.”

Vice versa, according to Rizzi, doubling of a bare quantifier is possible with North Italian subject clitics – and therefore he takes them to instantiate pure agreements. However Poletto (2000) highlights mutual exclusion between the subject clitic and bare quantifiers in Veneto varieties. Manzini and Savoia (2005, I: 62-66) list alternations between doubling of bare quantifiers by subject clitics and lack thereof in several varieties, including Ligurian.

- (52) niʃiŋ (l) a drumiu (Ligurian)
 nobody he=has slept
 “Nobody slept.”

A more likely explanation of the mixed status of the examples reviewed is to be found in the difficulty

(but not impossibility) of interpreting strong quantifiers as Topics, as required by CLLD.

Radically non-referential clitics

Manzini and Pescarini (2022) point out that Italian contains several Cl-V expressions (several dozens of them) where the clitic is redundant, interpreted non-compositionally, etc. – in all cases without referent, whether object or event or proposition. Clitics furthermore contrast in this respect with full pronouns (personal, demonstrative or other).

- (53) a. La pianti/ (la) smetti/ (la) finisci di fare rumore?
 it=you.plant/ it=you.cease/ it =you.finish to make noise
 ‘Will you stop making noise?’
- b. Ce l’ha con me.
 there=it=he.has with me
 ‘He has it in for me.’
- c. Ce l’ho fatta (a convincerlo)
 there=it=I.have made (to convince=him)
 ‘I made it/I managed to convince him.’

In transitivity alternations, the intransitive member of the pair is marked by *se* in the 3rd person (see Pescarini 2024 for a recent overview). In the 1st and 2nd person the ordinary pronominal clitics *mi/ti* ‘me/you’ are employed. The sole argument is the subject (e.g. *Gianni* in (b)) and the clitic (including 1st/2nd person clitics) is non argumental and non-referential.

- (54) a. Questo spaventa Gianni
 this scares Gianni
 ‘This scares Gianni.’
- b. Mi spavento/ti spaventi/Gianni si spaventa
 me=I.scare/you=you,scare/Gianni self=scares
 ‘I get/you get/Gianni gets scared.’

Conclusions

If the non-referential status of clitics proves to have the upper hand, base generation accounts are

strengthened, since movement accounts would seem to be committed to the argumental, referential status of clitics.

- (G) i. Arguments in favor of the referentiality of clitics come from the restrictions on the DPs they double (assuming that they impose such restrictions). Arguments in favor of the non-referential status of clitics come from the reverse observation (lack of constraints on the DPs they double) – and also from structures where they play a purely grammatical role (e.g. intransitive alternations, idioms).
- ii. The non-referential status of clitics appears to be the default assumption for base generation theories. Movement theories are constrained to the referential hypothesis.

DAY 4: SE, THE COPY RELATION AND REFLEXIVITY

Theoretical and empirical basis

The so-called Miracle Creed (MC) framework outlined by Chomsky's last works (Chomsky 2021; 2024, cf. Kitahara and Seely 2025; Bode 2026), together with an appropriate theory of cliticization, allows a better formalization of some properties of Romance *se*.

(H) *Theoretical basis*

- i. The MC framework (Chomsky 2021, 2024).
 - ii. A base generated, non-referential analysis of clitics
- Early generative studies of Romance *se* are focused on the issue of whether there is a unified treatment of *se* or whether different phenomena have to be attributed to different syntaxes and to a disjunctive entry for *se* (Dobrovie-Sorin 2006 for a survey).
 - Within the minimalist framework, have focused on impersonal/passive *se* and on the range of fine-grained parameters it gives rise to in Romance languages (Pescarini 2024 for a survey).

I revert to the focus on reflexive *si* and on the *si* that appears in passivity alternations (unaccusative *se*).

(I) *Empirical basis*

- i. reflexive *se*
- ii. unaccusative *se* (in anticausative alternations, psych verb alternations, 'pronominal' verbs, etc.)

e.g.

- (55)
- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | Gianni si detesta. | <i>reflexive</i> |
| | Gianni self=hates | |
| | 'Gianni hates himself.' | |
| b. | La luce si spense | <i>unaccusative</i> |
| | the light self=turned.off | |
| | 'The light went off.' | |

1.2 The Miracle Creed

A key aspect of the MC framework is the relation Copy (Chomsky 2021, 2014), which applies to identical inscriptions phase internally, independently of whether they are derived via IM or they result from two independent applications of EM. At the basis of this conception are

- the principle of Duality of Semantics, which requires that “EM and EM alone fills a θ -position” (Chomsky 2021: 30)
- the strong Markovian property of derivations, i.e. “the derived WorkSpace, the current state of the derivation, does not contain items that were generated earlier. [...] the history is not preserved in the current state” (Chomsky 2021: 20).

Raising involves movement from theta- to non-theta position phase-internally, creating two identical inscriptions by Internal Merge (IM). Obligatory control involves EM of two identical inscriptions. The Copy relation recognizes pairs of identical inscriptions within a phase as occurrences of the same element (i.e. precisely copies), the lower one deleting as part of EXT (Externalization) – independently of the history of derivations, unifying raising and control.

In addition to the Copy relation, we need a precise definition of its domain of application, i.e. the phase, and also of the timing its application (i.e. at which point of the derivation, phases are closed and transferred to the interfaces). I adopt the more restrictive version of the theory sketched by Chomsky (2024), see Kitahara and Seely (2025) for implementation.

The ‘PRO Theorem’

We must exclude the derivation in (b) for example (a) with EM of the two identical inscriptions of *John* and Copy applying between them, followed by deletion of the lower copy.

- (56)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---------------|
| a. | *John likes - | ‘PRO Theorem’ |
| b. | John likes John | |
| c. | John likes himself | |

In the MC framework, as summarized by Kitahara and Seely (2025), “the verbal phase is v^* with its internal arguments, and EA enters in the next phase”. Therefore, the phase associated with the phase head v^* includes the Internal Argument (IA), but not the EA, and is just $\{v^*, \{IA, \{V, IA\}\}\}$.

(57) {Infl, {EA, {v*, {IA, {V, IA}}}}}

The PIC applies in the standard way so that upon Merge of the higher phase head the embedded phase is closed and packed off to the interfaces. Contrary to Chomsky (2001), where only the complement of the phase is closed at Transfer, we now understand that the entire phase is.

The Copy relation applies to identical inscriptions that are in a c-command relation within each phasal chunk. Consider then the structure below, where both the IA and the EA are assumed to be moved to an EPP (or Case) position.

(58) [C [John_{EA} [Infl [~~John~~_{EA} [v* [John_{IA} [likes ~~John~~_{IA}]]]]]]]]

While (John_{IA}, ~~John~~_{IA}) and (John_{EA}, ~~John~~_{EA}) are wellformed Copy pairs, there is no wellformed Copy pair (John_{EA}, John_{IA}) since (all copies of) EA and IA are in two separate phases. QED (the PRO theorem).

Proposal

The gist of what I propose for reflexive *si* is that merging *si* in a structure which otherwise would yield a PRO Theorem violation enables the formation of (EA, IA) Copy pairs, and in fact forces it. The IA subsequently deletes as part of the Externalization (EXT) procedure, while as part of Interpretation (INT) the Copy pair <EA, IA> is read as an instance of reflexivization.

In addition, *si* sentences also involve an ambiguity between a control construal (two theta-roles, namely reflexive *si*) and a movement construal (one theta-role, e.g. unaccusative *si*).

Previous analyses

Reflexive *si* = Transitive accusative

This approach, dating back at least to Burzio (1986), holds that reflexive *si* is an accusative clitic, anaphorically bound by the subject. The accusative view of reflexive *si* is upheld by Manzini (1986), (cf. also Manzini et al. (2015) on the Albanian *u* clitic), for whom reflexive *si* is an indefinite object clitic (a ‘variable’) again anaphorically bound by the subject.

Reflexive *si* = Unaccusative(-like)

This analysis, dating back at least to Grimshaw (1982), Marantz (1984), holds that reflexive *si* has an unaccusative derivation, involving the promotion of the IA to the subject position. In Cinque's (1996 [1988]) execution, *si* is a subject clitic; when it is an argument [+arg] it takes the EA theta-role, making the subject position accessible to promotion of the IA. For Dobrovie-Sorin (1998), reflexive *si* is an accusative clitic interpreted via the formation of a two theta-role chain between the empty object position and the subject

Reflexive *si* = Intransitive

A few analyses fall in between the accusative and the unaccusative one. For Reinhart and Siloni (2004, 2005) a single argument is present in reflexive structures (the EA subject), which bears not one but two theta-roles as the result of a Reduction rule. The *si* clitic is simply a means to get rid of accusative Case.

Evidence

Against unaccusativity

Evidence against the unaccusative treatment of reflexive *si* is presented by Reinhart and Siloni (2004). *en/ne*-cliticization in Romance is restricted to take place from an object DP (Burzio 1986), whether it is the direct object of a transitive verb or the in situ argument of an unaccusative verb. As it turns out, *ne*-cliticization is impossible with reflexives.

- (59) a. Ne mancano tre
of.them=lack three
'Three of them are missing'
- b. *Se ne vedono (l'un altro) tre
self=of.them=see one another three
'Three of them see themselves/each other'

Against transitivity/accusativity

Evidence against the accusative treatment of reflexive *si* is presented by Postal (1977). Embedding under the causative verb *faire/fare* 'make' distinguishes transitive from intransitive verbs in French or Italian. Specifically, the subject of transitive verbs embedded under *faire* surfaces as an oblique (a

dative), while the subject of intransitive verbs (whether unaccusative or unergative) surfaces as an accusative. *se* reflexives behave like intransitives

(60) a. J'ai fait chanter une chanson *(à) Pierre.

I=have made sing a song to Pierre

'I made Pierre sing a song.'

b. J'ai fait chanter/partir *(à) Pierre

I=have made sing/leave to Pierre

'I made Pierre sing/leave.'

(61) J'ai fait se détester *(à) Pierre

I=have made self=hate to Pierre

'I made Peter hate himself.'

Basic Derivation

The PRO Theorem also holds in Italian. The two identical inscriptions of *Gianni* are in two separate phases, therefore the Copy relation cannot apply to them, the lower inscription cannot delete, and in any event the reflexive interpretation is excluded (cf. English *John likes John*)

(62) *Gianni detesta

Gianni hates

'Gianni hates himself'

(63) ... [Gianni_{EA} [_V* [detesta Gianni_{IA}]]]

The problem posed by *si* can now be formulated as follows: how is it that merger of the *si* clitic enables the formation of the Copy pair <Gianni, Gianni>, followed by deletion of the lower copy and reflexive interpretation?

Following their discussion of the English example, Kitahara and Seely (2025) note that "if we could EM a separate instance of *John* into the same phase, the copy configuration would be met. In fact, this is argued to be exactly what happens with obligatory control." I argue this is what happens with reflexive *si*.

In morphological analyses, *se* is characterized as the Elsewhere clitic (e.g. Halle and Marantz 1993).

I propose that *si* merged at the edge of vP signals that the ϕ -feature probe associated with *v* is impoverished, e.g., reduced to a nominal feature *n*. In turn, adopting and adapting the terminology of Chomsky (2001), this defective probe cannot check the Case feature on its goal – i.e., informally, it cannot assign accusative Case. I assume that a *v* which does not have the Transitivity/accusativity property is not a phase head.

Once *si* is merged with a transitive verb, the latter loses transitivity and hence phase head status. Two inscriptions of the same argument (here *Gianni*) are in the same phase and Copy can apply to them.

- (64) a. *Gianni *si* detesta
 Gianni self=hates
 ‘Gianni hates himself’
 b. ... [_{VP} Gianni [_{VP} *si* [_{VP} *v* [_{VP} detesta Gianni]]]]
 c. Copy <Gianni, Gianni>

Since no Agree wrt. the full set of ϕ -features takes place between *v* and the object, the latter cannot be externalized (because of the Case Filter) and must be deleted– Copy enables this operation as part of EXT. As part of the INT procedure the lower member of the Copy pair is interpreted as a bound variable of the higher member.

- (65) a. EXT: < Gianni, $\emptyset$ >
 b. INT: < Gianni_i, x_i >

Consequences

Since there is no promotion of the IA to subject, we predict the absence of unaccusative behaviors. For instance for ne-cliticization to be well-formed one would need the clitic to be able to licence both a partitive inside the object and a partitive inside the subject. This is impossible, in the latter case by c-command.

Since no accusative Case is assigned, we predict the absence of accusative behaviors. In particular, reflexive *se* sentences behave like intransitives when embedded under causative verbs.

As for the fact that other persons of the reflexive paradigm are formed with the same pronominal

clitics also occurring in deictic contexts, namely *mi* ‘me’, *ti* ‘you’, etc in Italian, a fairly standard assumption in generative grammar is that the terminal nodes of syntactic structures are abstract sets of Formal Features, while lexical terminals undergo Late Insertion (i.e. post-syntactic insertion). Accordingly, let us revise the assumption that the defective clitic probe only contains an [n] nominal feature – and assume that it also contains a Person feature. This is set at the default value [n] for 3rd person, otherwise it is set to 1st person (Author), etc. Under the Late Insertion hypothesis, valued feature bundles are then externalized as *si*, *mi* etc.

DAY 5. UNACCUSATIVE SE

Data

The anticausative alternants of many causative verbs are formed with *si*. In principle, all occurrences of unaccusative *si* alternate with *mi*, *ti*, etc. – but for obvious reasons the 1st/2nd person forms are not always natural.

- (66) a. Il vento spense la candela
the wind blew-out the candle
b. La candela si spense a causa del vento
the candle self=blew-out by cause of the wind
'The candle blew out because of the wind.'

Another transitivity alternation with *si* involves transitive psych-verbs with IA experiencers vs unaccusative psych-verbs (Belletti and Rizzi 1981). Despite the formal similarity with reflexive paradigms, the interpretation is not reflexive. For instance, Gianni does not worry himself (he does not cause his own worry), rather the situation worries Gianni.

- (67) a. La situazione preoccupa Gianni
the situation worries Gianni
'The situation worries Gianni'
b. Gianni si preoccupa della situazione
Gianni self=worries of the situation
'Gianni worries about the situation'
c. Mi preoccupo della situazione
me=worry of the situation
'I worry about the situation'

The alternations are lexically conditioned, since some anticausative and psych-verb alternations do not require *si*. Furthermore, not all causative or object-experiencer verbs have an unaccusative alternant. Vice versa, some unaccusative *si* forms do not have a transitive counterpart.

- (68) a. Gianni si pentì

- Gianni self=repented
 ‘Gianni repented’
 b. *Pentimmo Gianni
 we-repented Gianni
 ‘*We repented Gianni’

Previous literature

Apart from the promotion of IA to subject, which is uncontroversial, several characterizations are available in the literature for *se*:

- EA suppressor: For Cinque (1995 [1988]) unaccusative *si* is an example of [-arg] *si*, signalling the absence of the EA.
- Acc suppressor: For Reinhart and Siloni (2005), the role of the clitic is reducing Case, cf. “Case is reduced by the appropriate morphology (such as the clitic *se*)”.

An important assumption found across diverse literature (e.g. Burzio 1986, Reinhart and Siloni 2005) is that unaccusative *si* corresponds to a lexical process. A key motivation for this conclusion is that unaccusative *si* is lexically restricted, as illustrated in presenting the data. However note that a phenomenon which is lexically restricted is not necessarily a lexical phenomenon. Rather the null hypothesis is that unaccusative *si* is derived syntactically.

Unification of reflexive and unaccusative se

I propose that the derivation of unaccusative *si* proceeds like that of reflexive *si* – with one crucial difference, which concerns the EA, present in reflexives, but absent in unaccusative *si* contexts. Taking the constructivist option standard in minimalism, we can simply assume that in principle the EA can be built on top of vP or not. In other words, -arity reduction consists just in not performing Merge of the EA.

Derivation of unaccusative si

- The *si* clitic merges with vP and probes the embedded object position. Because of its defectivity, Agree is not sufficient to deactivate the Case feature of the direct object (i.e. assign Case). The v head is not a phase (IA and no Acc case = unaccusativity)
- The EA theta-role is not assigned, an option automatically licenced by grammar (subject to

lexical constraints).

- A derivation becomes legitimate that was blocked in reflexive environments by Duality of Semantics, namely IM of the object in subject position. IM is triggered as usual by Agree between the I probe and the NP in object position.

(69) [IP Gianni I [vP *si* [vP v [vP preoccupa ~~Gianni~~]]]
 ↑_____↓

- When the CP phase is transferred, Copy applies between the two identical inscriptions of *Gianni* created by IM.
- As part of EXT, the lower copy is deleted.
- As part of the INT procedure, the Copy pair has the standard interpretation of movement chains, namely there is a single argument and a single theta-position, though two different contexts of occurrence of the argument.

- (70) a. Copy <Gianni, Gianni>
 b. EXT: < Gianni, Ø >
 c. INT: < Gianni_i, x_i >

The fact that *si* in the 3rd person alternates with pronominal clitics in the 1st/2nd person can be dealt with as for reflexive paradigms in terms of Late Insertion.

Classes of unaccusative si verbs

Unaccusative *si* verbs that have no transitive alternants have the same derivation as alternating unaccusative *si* verbs – though they are constrained to cooccur with *si* as a lexical property. They are not different from any other pronominal verb (i.e., idioms of sort). At the same time the defective probe properties of *si* imply their unaccusative construal.

Some *si* alternations, involve predicates that preserve their transitivity (i.e. accusative Case). To be more precise, *si* can still triggers a transitivity alternation of sorts, in the sense that only when *si* is merged the verb is compatible with an oblique complement, as opposed to an accusative one.

- (71) a. Gianni ricordò il computer/*del computer
 Gianni remembered the computer/about the computer

‘Gianni remembered the computer’

- b. Gianni si ricordò il computer/del computer
Gianni self=remembered the computer/about the computer
‘Gianni remembered (about) the computer’

I suggest that the transitive/accusative *ricordarsi* depends on ditransitive *ricordare*. In other words, the IO represents the goal of the *si* probe. The prediction of this hypothesis that *si* excludes the IO is verified.

- (72) a. Gianni ricordò il computer/*del computer agli studenti
Gianni reminded the computer/about the computer to the students
‘Gianni reminded the students of the computer’
b. *Gianni si ricorda il/del computer agli studenti
Gianni self=remembers the/about the computer to the students
‘Gianni remembers the computer (*to the students)’

Reflexive/unaccusative ambiguities

si reflexives and *si* unaccusatives have the same derivation except for the application or not of IM – which in turn depends on whether the EA is present or not. Therefore, they differ for a single derivational step. This helps us account for the labile borders between the two constructs.

Verbs like *tagliarsi* ‘cut oneself’, *pungersi* ‘prick oneself’, *graffiarsi* ‘scratch oneself’ alternate between a reading where there is no intentional agency and a less favored reading where there is such an agency.

- (73) a. Gianni si punse/punse se stesso con un ago per prelevare il sangue
Gianni self=pricked/pricked himself with a needle to extract the blood
‘Gianni pricked himself with a needle to take his blood’
b. La bella addormentata si punse/#punse se stessa al dito con un fuso
the sleeping beauty self=pricked/pricked herself at the finger with a spindle
‘Sleeping Beauty pricked her finger on a spindle’

Other verbs like *lavarsi* ‘wash (oneself)’, *pulirsi* ‘clean oneself’, *sporcarsi* ‘dirty oneself’ alternate

between animate subjects (intentional agent) and inanimate subjects – in the former but not in the latter case is it possible to substitute a lexical reflexive for *si*.

- (74) a. Gianni *si* ripulì/ ripulì se stesso con un fazzoletto
Gianni self=cleaned/cleaned himself with a handkerchief
‘Gianni cleaned himself with a handkerchief’
b. Le strade *si* ripuliranno/*ripuliranno se stesse con la pioggia
the streets self=will-clean/will-clean themselves with the rain
‘The streets will get clean with the rain’

In psych-verb alternations, the unaccusative interpretation is salient, but the true reflexive meaning is not blocked (Arad 1998 contra Rizzi and Belletti 1981).

- (75) a. Gianni *si* sorprese/sorprese sé stesso studiando tanto
Gianni self=surprised/surprised himself studying so much
‘Gianni surprised himself by studying so hard’
b. Gianni *si* sorprese/*sorprese sé stesso per la presenza di tanta gente
Gianni self=surprised/surprised himself because-of the presence of so-many people
‘Gianni was surprised at the presence of so many people.’

Similar facts characterize verbs with dual raising/control complementation. For instance *threaten* has a control construal in which both the embedded subject and the matrix subject are assigned a theta-role; in particular the EA of *threaten* is the holder of a mental attitude or an intention. On the other hand, *threaten* also passes all the tests for raising, for instance occurrence with meteorological verbs. The two derivations alternate simply as a consequence of the presence or not of an attitude holder role on the matrix verb.

- (76) a. Gianni ha minacciato di bocciarci
Gianni has threatened to fail=us
‘Gianni threatened to fail us.’
b. Minacciava di piovere
threatened to rain
‘It threatened to rain.’

Conclusions

- The proposed derivation for reflexive/unaccusative *si* is as follows
- There is a single *si* clitic for both reflexive and unaccusative *si*.
- What *si* does is the usual operation performed by clitics, namely probing an argument position.
- Since the *si* probe is defective, Case cannot be checked – and the phase head is defective.
- The IA undergoes IM if there is no EA (unaccusative *si*).
- Alternatively, if there is an EA, two identical inscriptions can be merged as EA and IA (reflexive *si*).
- In either instance there is a Copy relation between subject and object DP.
- If two theta-roles are involved, the interpretation is what we call a reflexive, i.e. the same argument fills two different roles in the event. If there is a single theta-role, the interpretation is that of a movement chain.

Two theoretical assumptions are indirectly confirmed

- Clitics are not derived via movement, but base generated; they have no referential content, but are simply phi-probes triggering (or allowing) certain derivations
- the difference between reflexives and unaccusative *si* is that between control (a Copy pair involving two theta-roles) and raising (a Copy pair involving one theta-role, i.e. a chain)

Appendix: Compatibility of reflexive/unaccusative *si* with impersonal/passive *si*

The mainstream analysis for passive *si* is found with minor differences from Cinque (1995[1988]) to D'Alessandro (2007), Roberts (2010), Pescarini (2017): *se* takes the accusative Case and the EA theta-role of *v*, forcing (and enabling) the IA to move to subject position. Because *se* is the EA, a by-phrase is excluded.

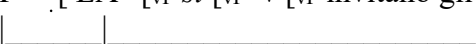
- (77) Gli amici *si* invitano spesso a cena (*da tutti noi)
the friends self=invite often to dinner by all of us
'Friends are often invited to dinner by all of us'

I keep assuming that *si* is merged in the *vP* phase, i.e. it is an object clitic. The simplest possible construal of passive *si* is similar to that of unaccusative *si*: *si* probes the IA but cannot check Case because of its defectivity, triggering IM as a repair.

(78) ... [IP gli amici [EA [vP *si* [vP v [vP invitano ~~gli amici~~]]]]
 Agree, IM

The problem is that we cannot capture the fact that the EA is interpreted as a generically/existentially closed indefinite by saying that it is *si* itself that takes the EA – *si* not an argument and neither is any other clitic. I propose to construe the EA in *si* passive sentences as a minimal argument, i.e. a so-called minimal pronoun, i.e., what is also called an implicit argument – generically/existentially interpreted as implicit arguments are.

This creates a problem of its own, namely that the EA minimal pronoun intervenes on the Agree path from I to the IA. I propose that the finite I probe in fact takes the minimal pronoun EA as its goal. , I assume a form of cyclic Agree (originally Bejar and Rezac 2009), whereby the fact that the number and gender features are not checked by Agree with the minimal pronoun (endowed just with Person) enables the search procedure to go on, taking the IA as its goal. This determines Agree (in number) between I and the IA, which is also able to raise to subject position.

(79) ... [IP I [EA [vP *si* [vP v [vP invitano gli amici]]]]]
 Multiple Agree

The derivation has the positive consequence of explaining the fact that passive *si* is strictly constrained to the 3rd person and does have a 1st/2nd person conjugation – for 1st and 2nd person arguments would be incompatible with a minimal pronoun EA (see especially Pescarini 2017).

Finally, one may wonder why implicit arguments don't alternate with *by*-phrases. In generative grammar, passive is a derived notion, consisting of at least three different components, combining freely (Legate 2021 and references quoted there), namely passive morphology, object to subject promotion, external argument demotion. Though special morphology and object promotion accomunate the participial and the *si* 'passives', only the latter have oblique external arguments (i.e., in essence an 'ergative' Case alignment).

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