A CARTOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO CLITIC CLUSTERS IN ROMANIAN[1]

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Abstract. One of the most intriguing aspects of clitic combinations cross-linguistically is that certain clitic combinations, while logically possible, are unattested in a number of languages. Previous syntactic analyses (the Case/Agree approach of Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, a.o) have mainly focused on clitic clusters which are subject to the Person Case Constraint (PCC), and have proposed that the constraint arises when an intervening dative argument blocks person agreement between a probing head and a lower argument. This paper shows that this family of proposals cannot straightforwardly account for a language like Romanian, which does not exhibit PCC effects. It is proposed that a cartographic approach to clitic ordering is not only tenable, but it is superior to the Case/Agree approach in accounting for the existence of certain co-occurrence restrictions on clitics in Romanian, which are not otherwise expected under previous accounts.
Keywords: clitics, clitic clusters, clitic movement, cartography, PCC effect, case, agreement, Romanian.

1. INTRODUCTION

Clitic ordering has been one of the most intriguing issues at the heart of both morphological and syntactic research on pronominal clitics cross-linguistically.

One challenge that research in this domain has been struggling with is the fact certain clitic combinations, although logically possible, are unattested in a number of languages, irrespective of linear ordering. In French, for example, 1st and 2nd person clitics can never co-occur (1); similarly, a 3rd person reflexive is never allowed to combine with a 1st or 2nd person clitic (2):

(1)	*Il	**me**	**t'**	a	presenté.
	he	1 DAT/ACC	2 ACC/DAT	has	presented

[1] I would like to thank Richard Kayne, Alec Marantz, Chris Collins, Marc Baltin, Christina Tortora, Francisco Ordonez, Michal Starke, Alexandra Cornilescu and Gabriela Alboiu for their useful comments, suggestions and support at various stages of this paper's development. Part of this work was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/89/1.5/S/62259, Project "Applied social, human and political sciences" cofinanced by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013". All errors are mine.

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RRL, **LVI**, *2*, p. 97–114, Bucureşti, 2011

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'He has introduced me to you/ you to me.'
(2) *Il **me/te** **s'** est presenté.
he 1DAT/2DAT REFL- ACC is introduced
'He has introduced himself to me'.

Romanian, however, differs from French (and standard varieties of Italian, Spanish and Catalan) in that it allows 1st and 2nd person clitic clusters, as long as the 1st person clitic is first:

(3) a. **Mi** **te** - a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
1DAT 2ACC has introduced John at party
'John has introduced you to me at the party'
b. ***Ți** **m** - a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
2DAT 1ACC has introduced John at party
'John has introduced me to you at the party'.

Another co-occurrence restriction that clitics are subject to is now commonly known as the ****me lui*** or the Person Case Constraint (Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, Anagnostopolou 2003, 2005, 2007, among others), and bans an accusative clitic other than 3rd person in the presence of 1st and 2nd person clitics[3].

(4) a. Roger **me/ te** **l** **-** avait recommandé. French
Roger 1/2DAT 3ACC had recommended
'Roger had recommended him to me/you'
b. *Roger **me** **lui** avait recommandé. French
Roger 1ACC 3DAT had recommended
'Roger had recommended me to him'.

The PCC affects a wide range of genetically related and unrelated languages, and has prompted Bonet (1991) to argue that it is universal. Săvescu (2007), however, shows that Romanian is not actually subject to the PCC[4] . As (5) below exemplifies, a 2nd person accusative clitic in Romanian can freely combine with a 3rd person dative:

[3] Bonet (1991) proposes two versions of the constraint: a Strong Version (i), and a Weak Version (ii):
(i) "**The Strong Version:** The direct object has to be third person".
(ii) "**The Weak Version:** if there is a third person, it has to be the direct object".
(Bonet 1991: 182)

[4] Săvescu's work is not the first attempt in the literature to challenge the universality of the PCC. Haspelmath (2004) notes that the constraint, which he calls the Ditransitive Person Role Constraint, is merely a preference with speakers, but, crucially, he lists Romanian as a PCC language, contrary to fact.

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(5) **I te** - au recomandat ieri.
3DAT 2ACC have.3rd recommended yesterday
'They recommended you to him yesterday'.

Moreover, for some Romanian speakers, the 3DAT 1ACC combination is also grammatical:

(6) % **I m** - au recomandat ieri.
3DAT 1ACC have.3rd recommended yesterday
'They recommended me to him yesterday'.

Recent syntactic analyses of clitic combinations (Anagnostopolou 2003, 2005, 2007, Adger and Harbour (2006), Bejar and Rezac 2003, Rezac 2007, a.o.) have mainly focused on clitic clusters that are subject to the PCC. By adopting the Case/Agree[5] Model of Chomsky (2000) et seq, this family of proposals argue that the constraint is due to the intervention of a dative DP which blocks person agreement between a probing head and a lower argument.

In this paper it will be shown that the Case/Agree approach cannot straightforwardly account for certain clitic sequences in languages like Romanian, which, as we saw above, is not subject to the PCC (Section 2). It will be shown that an analysis which adopts and extends aspects of the cartographic tradition (in the spirit of Bianchi 2006, Săvescu 2007, 2009) (Section 3) is not only tenable, but it is superior to the Case/Agree approach in its treatment of the Romanian clitic sequences (Section 4).

2. PREVIOUS SYNTACTIC ANALYSES. THE CASE/AGREE APPROACH

Several current syntactic approaches to the PCC provide an explanation of the co-occurrence restrictions on clitics in terms of an intervention effect. This is to a large extent the approach taken by Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005, 2007), Béjar and Rezac (2003), who propose that the PCC results from the blocking of a syntactic dependency between the locus of person agreement and the 1st/2nd person DP, by another, structurally higher DP. In this section, I briefly review the essentials of Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005, 2007) and Béjar and Rezac (2003), and point out certain shortcomings of these approaches, particularly in relation to Romanian data.

Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) proposes that the ban against 1st and 2nd person objects arises whenever both arguments with structural case, an indirect

[5] Term adopted from Rezac (2007).

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object, and a lower direct object enter into split feature checking via Move or Agree with the same functional head, transitive v (v-Tr), which has number and person features to check.

Adopting Chomsky's (2000) proposal that structural case checking of the lower argument takes place only if there is complete phi checking, Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005, 2007) proposes that pronouns entering this configuration cannot have phi-features that remain unchecked. Her assumptions are that 1st, 2nd and reflexive pronouns are [+person] pronouns (Bonet 1991, 1995, Kayne 2000) while 3rd person pronouns are "determiner" pronouns (Benveniste 1966, Kayne 2000). Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) proposes that dative indirect objects in Greek, French, Spanish, Basque in double object constructions are higher than direct objects and have an active [Participant/person] feature (related to the fact that they are typically animate, affected), which is checked against v-tr. Following a proposal put forth by Taraldsen (1995) that in Icelandic verbs do not overtly agree with quirky subjects because of failure of number agreement (although there is agreement in person), it is furthermore proposed that dative IOs in double object constructions are number defective, in that they do not have a number feature accessible for checking by v-tr.

In her system, if the lower argument is of the 'right type' (third person, i.e. no person), the derivation converges. If, however, the accusative argument is inappropriate (1st, 2nd person or reflexive), the derivation crashes. The explanation is the following: once the person feature on the functional head has been checked against the 3rd person dative argument, 1st and 2nd person pronouns can only check the remaining number feature on v-tr. However, since the [person] feature of the functional head has already been checked against the higher third person dative argument, the lower 1st/2nd person clitic can no longer check its person feature, so the derivation crashes because of incomplete phi checking.

In a somewhat similar vein, Béjar and Rezac (2003) adopt and slightly modify the Case Agreement system of Chomsky (2000). More specifically, instead of partial checking, they propose the actual separation of probes, so person and number features probe independently of one another, but *in that order*. The PCC effects are derived with the addition of the following axiom:

(7) *Person Licensing Condition (PLC)*: an interpretable 1st and 2nd person must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.

With Béjar and Rezac (2003), the [person] Probe on v goes first and matches the person value on the dative. Agree is not able to take place because the dative NP lacks structural case and is thus not active. Next, the [number] feature matches the theme, Agrees with it and assigns it accusative. The [person] probe on v never enters into agree with the accusative; this is fine if the accusative is third person, but if it is 1st or 2nd person, the PLC is in effect and the derivation crashes.

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One immediate conceptual problem with Anagnostopoulou's (2003, 2005, 2007) account is that it is not at all clear why dative clitics should be defective for number features[6]. One argument suggested by Anagnostopoulou for the proposal that dative indirect objects are number defective in certain languages rests on past participle agreement in Romance. In Italian, for instance, direct object clitics show number agreement on the past participle, while indirect objects don't.[7]

(8) Gli ha telefonat**o/*i.**
3DAT.PL have-3SG called-MASC.SG/*MASC.PL
(Anagnostopoulou 2003, ex. 379: 286)

While it is clearly true that datives do not agree in number with past participles, note that accusative 1st and 2nd person clitics in certain Italian varieties only optionally agree in number with the past participle, as noted for instance by Belletti (2001:4, ex 5)

(9) a. Mi/ti ha vist**a/o/o.**
1ACC.SG/2ACC.SG has seen (FEM, SG/MASC, SG/NONAGR)
'He has seen me/you'
b. Ci/vi ha vist**e/i.**
1ACC.PL/2ACC.PL has seen (FEM, PL/MASC, PL/NONAGR)
'He has seen us/you.pl'.

This set of facts would not follow from an account that uses the presence vs absence of number agreement with the past participle as a diagnostic for the presence of number features on indirect object clitic pronouns. If 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics always have number features, as Anagnostopoulou (2003) proposes, then the optionality of number agreement with the past participle in (9) above is unexpected.

Note, moreover, that by using the lack of past participle agreement as a diagnostic for number defectiveness, Anagnostopoulou would imply that in languages in which past participle agreement *never* arises with direct objects (Romanian being a case in point) those direct objects lack number features, a conclusion that Anagnostopoulou may not want to reach.

[6] As Richard Kayne (pc) points out, if this view were true, it would be hard to see why Romance languages show number distinctions in the dative case with their clitics.

[7] Richard Kayne (pc) points out that indirect object clitics also fail to agree in gender with the past participle. Following the same reasoning as the one Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) proposes for number, she would be forced to assume that indirect object clitics lack gender in Italian; however, this is not true: in Italian, there is a gender distinction in the singular (gli_{masc} *vs* le_{fem}), yet past participle agreement is impossible.

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A second issue with these types of approaches is apparent in Béjar and Rezac's (2003) proposal, which relies on the assumption that the feature [person] needs to probe first. It is unclear why this assumption should hold.

Another problem, which bears directly on our discussion of the Romanian data in Section 1, is that both accounts make the prediction that in all languages in which a dative clitic combines with an accusative clitic we should expect a PCC violation. Recall however, that in Romanian, a sentence in which a 3rd person dative clitic combines with a 2nd person accusative clitic is perfectly acceptable:

(10) **I** **te** - au recomandat ieri.
3DAT.SG 2ACC.SG have.3rd recommended yesterday
'They recommended you to him yesterday'.

In the following sections an alternative syntactic approach for the combinatorial possibilities of Romance clitics will be presented.

3. THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

3.1. A cartographic approach

The approach to clitic co-occurrence restrictions in this work is closest in spirit to Bianchi's (2006) treatment of cliticization patterns in Italian. Bianchi (2006) argues that argument clitics in Italian "interact in a way that are strongly reminiscent of animacy hierarchy effects" (p 2030) and proposes a structural implementation of this hierarchy (also known as person hierarchy or referential hierarchy) in the sense of Cinque (1999, 2002) and Rizzi (2004): "each distinct member of the animacy hierarchy is projected in a separate functional head of the clausal structure" (p. 2036). While I remain uncommitted as to whether the Romanian (or Romance, for that matter) clitic facts suggest that animacy plays a role in the understanding of the combinatorial possibilities of clitics, my approach shares with Bianchi's the idea that a Person field is part of the functional structure of the clause. Unlike Bianchi (2006), I argue that a K-ase field is also available.

My analysis thus stems from the cartographic tradition in syntax, in that I assume that the IP field is more fine-grained than assumed in recent minimalist literature (Chomsky 2000, 2001a, 2001b)[8].

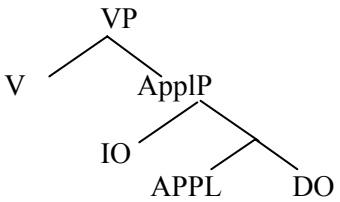
[8] However, as Rizzi (2004) and Cinque and Rizzi (2008) note, the focus of the minimalist analysis on the core categories T, V is just a matter of expository convenience, and Chomsky himself acknowledges the possibility that each of these categories may actually be shorthand for a more articulated cartographic structure (2001, fn.8).

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3.2. Clitic placement and clitic movement

Several approaches to clusters of direct and indirect object clitics have maintained that these originate in the configuration of the double object construction (Kayne 1975, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, 2007, Béjar and Rezac 2003, Cuervo 2003, Adger and Harbour 2007, Nevins 2007, Rezac 2007, a.o.). The present paper adopts the specific proposal that double object constructions involve an applicative structure with the dative and accusative object (clitic) being generated in the specifier and complement position of the applicative head, respectively (cf. Pylkkänen 2002, Cuervo's 2003)[9]:

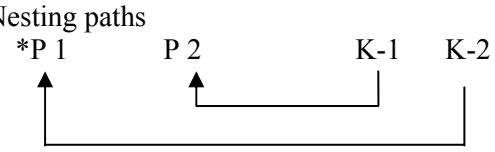
(11)



I furthermore assume a movement approach to cliticization, in the spirit of Kayne (1975) and much subsequent literature and argue that, for the most part, clitics enter the derivation with their person and case features fully specified and undergo XP movement to the specifiers of Person and Kase projections to check uninterpretable person and case features in a Spec-head configuration.[10]

The approach to clitic movement in this paper follows the proposals in Bianchi (2006) and Săvescu (2007), which adopt a particular view of locality whereby (some version) of Relativized Minimality is violated if a derivation involves nesting (12), as opposed to crossing dependencies (13)[11]:

(12) *Nesting paths



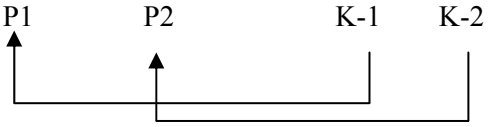
[9] The present paper, however, departs from Cuervo's (2003) analysis of Spanish clitic clusters, which proposes that the dative clitic spells out the applicative head.

[10] The assumption that clitic arguments enter the derivation with their features fully specified for case (or valued) is a departure from recent work in minimalist syntax.

[11] Following a suggestion of Luigi Rizzi to Valentina Bianchi (pc in Bianchi 2006), these locality-type effects arise if we assume that (some version of) Relativized Minimality is violated when whole chains, rather than intervening sub-chains, are being crossed. In (12), the path of the direct object encompasses the entire chain created by the movement of the indirect object, whereas in (13), only a sub-chain is being crossed.

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(13) Crossing paths



3.3. Agree and Case Checking

Unlike current minimalist analyses (Chomsky 2000, 2001a, 2001b), which assume that structural case checking is the by-product of agreement in the complete *set* of *phi*-features between a probe and a goal, this paper assumes that person is checked *independently of case* and *in a different functional projection.*

Prior to movement, the operation Agree takes place between the features of the clitics and the features of the Person and K-ase heads. Unlike recent work in the minimalist framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001a, 2001b, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005, Béjar and Rezac 2003), however, which reduces Agree to identity in the same feature (but not the same feature value), I consider that Agree is established between two features *which have the same value.* For instance, as it will be shown in Section 4, if a Person head has the value 2nd person, and the 1st person clitic is higher than the 2nd person clitic at the time when the Person head is probing for an agreeing argument, the 1st person clitic will not count as an intervener for Agree (or movement). Similarly, the K-dat head will only 'see' the clitic specified as dative[12].

Having laid out my theoretical assumptions, in the following section I present my proposal for the co-occurrence restrictions that Romanian singular clitics are subject to.

4. THE PROPOSAL

4.1. Romanian non 3rd person clusters

Recall from section 1 that Romanian clitics have the exceptional property among their counterparts in other Romance languages that they are not strictly speaking subject to the PCC. Example (5) above, which I repeat as (14), shows that a 2nd person accusative clitic in Romanian can freely combine with a 3rd person dative:

[12] Chomsky's proposal that only interpretable feature are specified for a particular value, while uninterpretable features always enter the derivation unvalued has not gone unchallenged. Bošković (2008), for instance, argues that Serbo - Croatian shows evidence that gender should be considered an uninterpretable **valued** feature.

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(14) **I te -** au recomandat ieri.
3DAT 2ACC have.3rd recommended yesterday
'They have recommended you to him yesterday'.

However, Romanian is not devoid of restrictions on the combinatorial possibilities of clitics it allows, as the generalizations below show:

(i) clitic sequences have to obey the order dative-accusative
(ii) all speakers reject a combination of a 2nd person dative clitic and 1st person accusative clitic (*2Dat 1Acc), but the reverse order (in terms of person) is acceptable (1Dat2Acc).

(15) a. ***Ţi m -** a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
2DAT 1ACC has introduced John at party
'John has introduced me to you at the party'
b. **Mi te -** a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
1DAT 2ACC has introduced John at party
'John has introduced you to me at the party'.

(iii) all speakers disallow a combination of a reflexive 3rd person dative clitic and a 1st or 2nd person accusative clitic (*ReflDat 1/2Acc), while the reverse order (in terms of person) is acceptable;

(16) a. *Maria **şi m-/ te -** a luat drept sclav.
Mary refl 1st/2nd acc has taken as slave
'Mary has taken me/you to be her slave (for herself)'
b. Maria **mi/ţi s-** a prezentat la petrecere.
Mary 1DAT/2DAT REFL.ACC has presented at party
'Mary has introduced herself to me/to you at the party'.

(iv) most, but not all speakers, reject a 3rd person dative clitic co-occurring with a 1st person accusative clitic (example (6) above).

Abstracting away for the time being from non reflexive third person, the hierarchies below summarize the two requirements in terms of Kase and Person that operate on the combinatorial possibilities of Romanian clitics:

(17) (i) dative > accusative
(ii) 1st person clitic >2nd person clitic >reflexive 3rd person clitic

(Preliminary Version)

I implement the fact that the behavior of Romanian clitics is subject to the hierarchies in (17) by proposing, within the cartographic tradition, that the

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functional sequence of the clause contains a K-ase field and a Person field. This, in conjunction with the theoretical assumptions regarding Agree and locality constraints on movement outlined in Section 3 will be shown to derive the cliticization patterns of Romanian.

A (somewhat) similar syntactic implementation of a person hierarchy can be found in Poletto (2000), which provides convincing evidence that in Northern Italian dialects 1st and 2nd subject clitics occupy a distinct position than 3rd person clitics, a conclusion also independently arrived at by Bianchi (2006) for object clitics in Italian[13]. More recently, Zanuttini (2009) argues for the existence of a Jussive Phrase in the functional structure of an imperative clause, whose function is to introduce a 2nd person feature into the discourse.

The proposal outlined in this paper is thus part of a family of similar accounts in the literature, which suggest a cartographic approach to clitic ordering, in the sense of Cinque (1999), Rizzi (2004). In the "person-field", Romanian distinguishes several such projections: Person1P, in whose specifier the 1st person clitic ends up, Person2P, which hosts the 2nd person clitic, and Reflexive3P, which attracts the 3rd person reflexive clitic. By placing the PersonPs above Tense, we account for the fact that clitics surface in preverbal position in finite contexts.

The functional sequence relevant for our purposes is as in (18) below:

(18) Person1P>Person2P>Refl3P>TP>KP-dat>KP-acc>>…>>V (Preliminary Version 2)

A possible objection to this proposal could be that it postulates designated case positions in the functional field, against more familiar views which dispense with Agr-like projections altogether, that is, with heads that only have uninterpretable features[14]. At this point, a note of clarification is in order. What is crucial for my proposal is the fact that the indirect object clitic has its dative case feature checked in a position higher than the position where the accusative clitic goes for the purposes of case checking. The argumentation is not harmed in any way if we assume instead that the direct object clitic checks case in a verb related position (spec vP) as standard accounts for accusative case checking assume. The labels KP-dat and KP-acc should thus be regarded as mnemonics for specific positions which are responsible for accusative and dative case checking, respectively.

[13] Bianchi (2006) does not discuss the behavior of reflexive clitics in her system, although her account can arguably be extended to include reflexives as well (See also Sigurdhsson 2004 for a related approach which argues that speech event participants are encoded syntactically).

[14] See however Collins (2003, 2005), Baker and Collins (2006), Baker (2008) for arguments in favor of functional projections that contain only uninterpretable features.

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Let us now see in detail the dynamics of the system.

First, the direct and indirect object clitics undergo XP movement to KP-acc and KP-dat in order to have their case features checked.[15] At this point of the derivation, any clitic with the right case specification can target these projections, so any 'person' combination would, in principle, be possible.

The surface combinatorial restrictions that we see in Romanian arise as the result of the fact that clitics undergo further movement to the Person projections, in a system in which the paths of the clitics are allowed to cross, but not to nest. Once each Person projection is merged, it attracts the clitic with the right person specification[16].

Notice that given the order between these projections in (18), a 2nd person clitic or a 3rd person reflexive clitic will never end up in a position higher than the position in which the 1st person clitic surfaces. This is a desirable result, given that (to a large extent) Romanian is subject to the ***me-* first** requirement (see also Nevins 2007): whenever a 1st person clitic combines with a 3rd person reflexive or a 2nd person clitic, the 1st person clitic has to be the first one in the cluster:

(19) a. **Mi s -** a prezentat fără nici o introducere.
1DAT REFL.ACC has introduced without no a introduction
'He has introduced himself to me without any introduction'

b. **Mi te -** a recomandat la petrecerea Mariei.
1DAT 2ACC has recommended at party Mary's
'He/she has recommended you to me at Mary's party.'

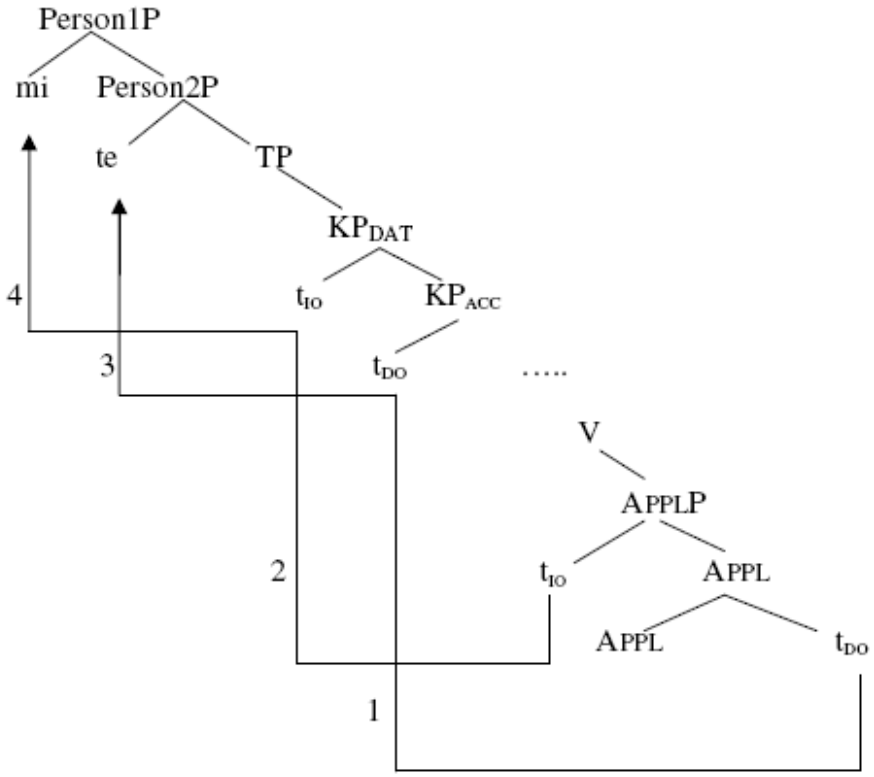
In (20) below the derivation of the **mi te** (1DAT 2ACC) cluster in (19b) is presented (a similar derivation will also obtain the cluster **mi se** (1DAT REFL) in (19a)):

[15] The proposal that clitics may target K(ase) projections is not new. Bošković (2003) argues in a somewhat similar vein that pronominal clitics in Serbo-Croatian end up in AgrIO and AgrDO, respectively, with the AgrIOP being higher than AgrDOP.

[16] I also adopt the view that personal pronouns are not attracted to this person field (in agreement with a suggestion by Anagnostopoulou 2005 that non clitic personal pronouns do not check person), which might suggest the possibility that the person field is actually a clitic field, much like in Poletto's (2000) discussion of the pre-verbal subject clitic field in Northern Italian dialects (I am grateful to Valentina Bianchi (pc) for pointing this out to me). Richard Kayne suggests (pc) that a different way of accounting for the fact that strong pronouns do not undergo movement to PersonP is to say that they might have extra structure that has the effect that the person morpheme is too deeply embedded to be seen by the head in the Person field.

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(20)



Stepwise,

(21) (i) K-acc is merged and it attracts the accusative clitic *te*.

(ii) After K-dat is merged, it attracts the 1st person clitic *mi:*

KP-dat KP-acc VP
mi **te**

(iii) Next, Person2P is merged and it attracts the accusative clitic:

Person2P (TP) KP-dat KP-acc
mi **te**

(iv) Once Person 1P is merged, it attracts the 1st person clitic.

Person1P Person2P (TP) KP-dat KP-acc
mi **te**

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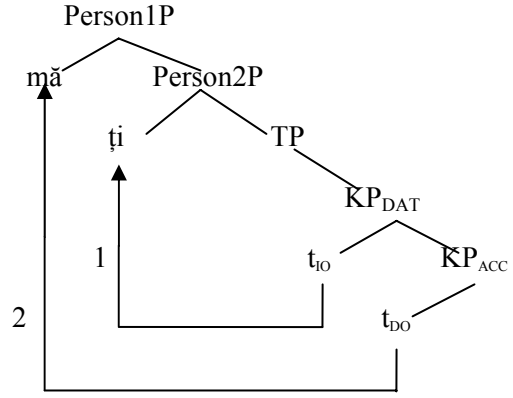
We thus obtain an order preserving structure: the order of the clitics in their argument position is maintained after the clitics have undergone movement to the Person and Kase projections.

Recall, however, that an accusative clitic cannot precede a dative. Example (22) below is sharply ungrammatical, despite the person requirement (1st person> 2nd person) being respected:

(22) ***Mă ți** a prezentat.
1ACC 2DAT has presented
'He has introduced me to you'.

Given the prohibition against nesting discussed in Section 3, our system correctly rules out the derivation in (23):

(23) ***mă ți**



Note that the type of intervention effects discussed in Anagnostopoulou's (2005, 2007) or Béjar and Rezac's (2003) proposals do not appear in my system. Recall from Section 2 that according to these approaches, the ban on a 2nd or 1st person accusative clitic in the presence of a higher 3rd person dative clitic arises because the dative argument checks its person feature against the same head as the accusative argument. As a result, the person feature of the accusative argument remains unchecked, which leads to the crash of the derivation.

In my proposal, each Person head is specified for a particular person feature, and it attracts to its specifier *only* the argument that exhibits that feature. In this work, Agree takes place instead between features *which have the same value.* As such, here, the probe Person1 only sees the clitic argument that has a 1st person specification, and is blind to any intervening argument with a different person value. What prevents the 1st person accusative clitic (the lower argument) from reaching Person1P when a dative clitic is also present is the requirement that

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movement should proceed in such a way that only one link of a chain of the same type (where "same type" crucially doesn't require "same person feature") should be crossed[17].

This requirement is then a condition on movement chains, with the immediate consequence that the pre-movement order of the clitic arguments is maintained after the clitics have reached the person field. In this respect, the current proposal shares aspects of Fox and Pesetsky's (2004) view on the architecture of the mapping between syntax and that aspect of phonology which determines ordering. With Fox and Pesetsky (2004), *"information about linearization, once established at the end of a given spell-out domain, is never deleted in the course of the derivation"* (p. 5). In their system, the sole function of the Spell-out mechanism is *to add information,* a property which they call *Order Preservation.* The difference between Fox and Pesetsky's account and mine, however, is that here, order preservation with clitics follows as a *consequence* of specific locality constraints on the output of the derivation; with Fox and Pesetsky, order preservation is a *condition* on the final output, and crossing paths are the *result* of *order preservation*. While Fox and Pesetsky's theory says nothing about the syntactic conditions that drive or block movement, the current proposal does.

4.2. 3rd person clitics revisited

We have so far seen how the system developed above can derive the grammatical clitic sequences for the distribution of 1st, 2nd and reflexive 3rd person clitics in preverbal position in Romanian. I now return to 3rd person (non reflexive) clitics.

Recall that all Romanian speakers allow a 3rd person dative clitic to combine with a 2nd person accusative clitic:

(24) **I te** - am recomandat.
3DAT 2ACC have recommended
'I recommended you to him'.

This means that a 3rd person dative clitic targets a projection (Person3P) above the position where the accusative 2nd clitic ends up in the person field.

Note, moreover, that two 3rd person clitics can freely combine in Romanian, with the dative one being higher than the accusative[18]:

[17] The requirement against nesting is then to be understood as a requirement on chains of the same type, and it should not preclude derivations in which an A chain is encompassed by an A' chain, for instance. See also Rizzi (2002)

[18] Romanian is then more relaxed than Spanish, for instance, where a similar cluster is subject to the well-known Spurious SE Rule (Perlmutter 1971): the pronominal dative clitic is substituted

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(25) **I l-** am arătat.
3DAT 3 ACC have shown
'I have shown it to him/her'.

In the light of the current proposal, the 'Person field' in Romanian makes available two Person3 projections: one is situated above Person2P and it hosts the 3rd person dative clitic[19] and the second one is the lowest in the hierarchy. The functional sequence of the Person field in Romanian is thus given in (26):

(26) Person1P>Person3P>Person2P>Refl3P>Person3P>TP>K-dat>K-acc>..>V[20] (Final Version)

Note that even though a lower 3rd person position is available, it cannot host a 3rd person dative clitic which would combine with, say, an accusative 2nd person clitic. The prohibition against nesting dependencies would correctly rule out the ungrammatical example in (27a) below, as shown in (27b). Similarly, having a 3rd person accusative in the higher Person3P is excluded if it crosses a dative (28):

(27) a. *Ion **te i** – a prezentat.
John 2ACC 3DAT has presented
'John has introduced you to him'

b. ***te i (acc dat)***



(28) a. *Ion **l i** - a prezentat.
John 3ACC 3DAT has presented
'John has introduced him to her'

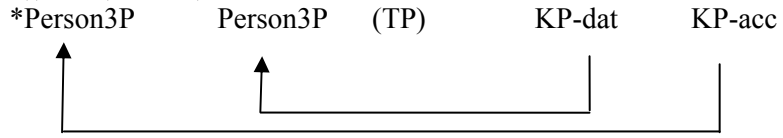
with 'se'. In French, the order of 3rd person clitics is accusative dative: *le lui.* It could be the case that in French, for instance, *lui* is ambiguous between a clitic and a weak pronoun, which might account for the fact that when the accusative-dative occurs we actually see a clitic preceding a weak pronoun, which is expected under the system of structural deficiency proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

[19] For those speakers that accept a 3rd person dative clitic to combine with a 1st person accusative clitic, Person3P will be merged above Person1P.

[20] By having Person3P as part of the Person field, I treat 3rd person clitic pronouns on a par with 1st, 2nd and reflexive 3rd person clitics, thus departing from much known literature going back to Benveniste (1966), which treats the 3rd person clitic pronoun as lacking a specification for person. In agreement with Bianchi (2006), I thus maintain that 3rd person pronouns have a feature comparable to that of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the sense that they are *context determined* in a way that non pronominal DPs are not

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b. ***(î)l i (acc dat)**



4.3. Cartography vs Case/Agree

The proposal outlined in this paper has several advantages over previous syntactic analyses to clitic co-occurrence restrictions which rely instead on multiple agree relations between two arguments and a single probing head. In Section 2 two such approaches were discussed: Anagnostopolou (2003, 2005) and Béjar and Rezac (2003). The essence of these proposals is that the person feature of a higher dative argument blocks complete phi – checking between the probing head and the lower, accusative argument, which thus leads to the crash of the derivation.

We already saw in Section 2 that certain assumptions made by Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) and Béjar and Rezac (2003) regarding the fact that 3rd person clitics are sometimes number defective, sometimes person defective are problematic. One major problem faced by these approaches (and for any other analysis built along similar lines) is that they crucially make the prediction that a language like Romanian, in which a 2nd person can actually combine with a 3rd dative should not exist. If a 3rd person dative is specified for person, and if it is higher than an accusative 2nd person, then it will block agreement between the uninterpretable person feature on the probing head and the accusative argument. The underlying assumption (borrowed from Chomsky 2000, 2001a, 2001b) is that (defective) intervention effects are induced irrespective of the value of a particular feature: as long as an argument has a(ny) specification for person, it will then block agreement between a probing head with an uninterpretable person feature and a lower argument. It is very hard, if not impossible, to see how grammatical *3dat 2acc* combinations can be derived in such a system.

Our proposal does not have this problem: by having person and case be checked in separate functional (probing) heads, and, furthermore, by splitting the person field into separate person projections which are rigidly ordered with respect to each other, we derive the desired clitic combinations in a system in which locality is computed with respect to intervening (sub)chains, rather than intervening features. The type of intervention effects which we saw above in the *Case-Agree* approaches do not arise in this system: given that I take Agree to hold between features with the same value, a 3rd person clitic never counts as an intervener between a probing Person2 head and a 2nd person clitic[21].

[21] Feature intervention effects would arise in this system when a (higher, intervening) DP is *underspecified* for a particular feature value. For instance, under a view of case syncretism as case underspecification, if a higher DP argument is underspecified for case (in a scenario where dative and accusative clitics, for instance, are case syncretic, like 1st and 2nd person clitics in French, Italian or Spanish), then the higher argument could block a syntactic dependency between a probe and a lower argument. See Săvescu (2009) for a proposal.

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Recall, moreover, that a limited number of Romanian speakers allow clusters containing a 3rd person dative clitic and a 1st person accusative clitic. Crucially, there are no speakers that allow the combination 3DAT 1ACC and disallow 3DAT 2ACC. This is a very strong empirical argument in favor of the cartographic approach, which cannot easily be captured by analyses which do not rely on a view of person in terms of hierarchies: if a 3rd person dative can reach a position to the left of Person1P, then, by necessity, it will also reach a position to the left of Person2P[22].

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis and data in this paper have shown that not only is a cartographic approach to clitic ordering in Romance tenable, but that it is superior to the Case/Agree approach in accounting for the existence of certain co-occurrence restrictions on Romanian pronominal clitics which are otherwise not expected under previous accounts.

A structural implementation of Person and K-ase hierarchies was proposed, in a system that combines aspects of the cartographic approach with (i) a modification of the Chomskian Agree system and (ii) a locality requirement which prohibits nesting dependencies.

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[22] See, however, Nevins (2007) for an alternative proposal.

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