Enclisis and Proclisis

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1. The relation of proclisis to enclisis

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

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

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

If we factor out the impact of negation, complementsizers, and clause-peripheral affective operators, the directional of clitics in CASPIIT and GALPORT has a common core: in both language types, enclisis is manifested in subject and complement affirmative nonfinite clauses.
The theoretical challenge lies in formulating the principles that govern Romance clitic placement so as to express this common core and to explain why these two branches of Romance differ. The question is all the more intriguing since the patterns of clitics found in GALPORT are not unique. With minor differences, the pattern found with finite verbs is manifested in all varieties of Berber and in some varieties of Greek (such Romance-type infinitives as the comparison must be restricted to finite forms). These cross-linguistically disparate but consistent patterns should be treated by the same set of principles. The purpose of this chapter is to see how far we can go in pursuing this goal.

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

Both accounts of cliticization are compatible with the view that I endorse here: thatclitics obtain when, at a given point in the syntactic derivation, the clitic is sitting in a functional head position or is adjoined to one, and either or is adjoined to it. This derivation is schematized in (1).

![Diagram](image-url)

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

![Diagram](image-url)
Enclisis and proclisis can take other forms as well. For example, when the cotic precedes the host but is not, strictly speaking, incorporated to it. Cases like this abound: proclisis to nonfinite verbs in (literary) French which are separated from their host by an adverb, (3a), discussed in Kayne (1989, 1991); Galician object clitics that precede the subject, (3b), from Uriagereka (1992b); and (literary) European Portuguese clitics that can precede a coordination of verbs, (3c), from Rouveret (1999). In these three cases of proclisis, the nexus between the clitic and its host is looser than in (2).

(3) a. Nous le bien faire.
   I do...well to do
   "In order to do it well..."
   b. Cláus vesec a Pedro veu?
   how many times 3Sing.PAST Pedro saw
   "How many times did Pedro see her?"
   c. Algem 3Sing.PAST e saiu.
   Someone 3Sing.PAST and helped
   "Someone saw him and helped him."

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

1.1 Enclisis in CASPIT

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

(4) a. La canto.
   3Sing.PRES I sing
   "I sing it."
   b. che la cata
   that 3Sing.PRES sing-ing-PRES
   "that I sing it"
   c. La cantan-ri.
   3Sing.PRES sing-ing-PRES
   "I would sing it."
   d. cantar-ri
   to sing-3Sing
   "to sing it"
   e. cantan-ri
   singing-3Sing
   "singing it"
   f. cantan-ri
   (having) sung-3Sing
   "having sung it"
The question that arises is w/c enclisis is possible only in nonfinite clauses, or, conversely, why it is ruled out in finite ones. Although the salient difference between the verbal forms in (4) and (5) is the value of the feature [finite], it is not conceptually clear why finiteness should be a factor in determining clitic placement. Finiteness is an interpretive notion, relevant in Logical Form, while clitic placement constraints are morphosyntactic. But even if principles were devised to relate the feature [finite] to the position of the clitic with respect to its host, they would lack in generality and would not, ceteris paribus, carry over to the GALPORT system, nor to that of Berber, discussed later in this chapter. Whereas (affirmative) nonfinite verbs in GALPORT complement clauses manifest enclisis exactly as in CASPI-a consider (6)—proclisis is not manifested in [+finite] clauses. On the contrary, enclisis is the rule in root clauses, as shown by the contrast in (7) (data from Bladè and Rouveret 1989).

(6) a. A Ana esperar ver-te esta tarde.
    Ana hopes to see you this afternoon
b. O Despocia o Pedro, jugando-o incapaç disso.
    sent away the Pedro judging-incap is incapable of that
    "She sent Pedro away, judging him incapable of that."

(7) a. O João deu-lhe esse livro ontem.
    João gave-nch to him this book yesterday
b. O João deu-nh esse livro ontem.
    João gave-nch to him this book yesterday
    "João gave him this book yesterday."

A different tack is taken by Kayne (1991, 1994) and developed, with important modifications, by Rizzi (1980). The leaning idea, shared by both Kayne and Rizzi, is that the choice between enclisis and proclisis in CASPI-a does not depend on the value of the feature [finite] as such, but on the different morphological makeup of finite and nonfinite verb forms and their relative position in the functional hierarchy. Neither approach makes claims with respect to GALPORT. Example (8) slightly rephrases Rizzi’s generalization:

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

Rizzi (8b) holds by definition, as argued above in (1). Rizzi (8a) embodies the idea that nonfinite morphology is associated with a functional head Infinit, which is lower than the cliticization site, while finite morphology is associated with a higher head (Pollack 1989). It needs to also be assumed, and I take this to be the null hypothesis, that the cliticization site or sites are the same in finite and nonfinite clauses. Putting these ideas together, it transpires that the cliticization site lies hierarchically
between T—where finite inflection is checked—and Infinit, the syntactic head associated with finite-time morphology, or a part of it. Although subjunctive verbs in Italian raise at least as high as finite verbs (Belletriti 1990), or even higher in non-wh contexts (Cinque 1999), movement above Infinit does not result in the addition of any inflections. Nonfinite verbs are inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, and movement to or above the clitic has no inflectional consequences. Finite inflection, in contrast, is checked higher and, hence, finite verbs are incomplete inflectionally at the point at which they raise to or above the clitic.

Why is inflectional completeness relevant to clitic placement? Assume that inflectional feature checking is subject to a rigid version of the Head Movement Constraint (IMC), disallowing exocorporation. In other words, a φ-feature on a verb can only be checked against φ on a functional head if that verb is directly adjointed to F. If V is first adjointed to the clitic or to the head to which the clitic is adjointed, then, on the following cycle of head movement, the Xφ adjointing to F will not be V but, instead, ClV, or Xφ(1,cV). It is reasonable to suppose that the features of V are too deeply embedded in the multimorphic Xφ to be accessible to the checking head F. Thus, whenever the clitic head intervenes in the path of verb movement, the inflectional features of the verb remain unchecked.

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

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

1.2. Enclisis in GALPORT

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

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

If the cliticization site in (9) is in Comp, then the adverb and the subject that both precede the verb must also be in Comp, in topic or topic-like positions. But, as Rousseret (1999) points out, this word order is independent of enclisis; it is found in
contexts of prolixia, as in (9b) and when there is no clitic at all, as in (9c). Moreover, the clause-final subject may be a (non-left-dislocatable) quantifier, (9d). Hence, although the subject may occur in a topic in (9a), there is no reason why it must be a topic. If the subject may occupy Spec/AgrS, then, since the cliticization site is lower than Spec/AgrS, it must be in IP and not in CP.

(9) a. O João provavelmente deu-o à Maria ontem.
    the João probably gave it-o to Maria yesterday
    'João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.'

b. Tu digo que o João provavelmente o deu à Maria ontem.
    I say that the João probably gave it to Maria yesterday
    'I say that João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.'

(9c) O João provavelmente deu esse livro à Maria ontem.
    the João probably gave this book to Maria yesterday
    'João probably gave the book to Maria yesterday.'

d. Ninguem provavelmente erra.
    Nobody probably fails.
    'Nobody will probably fail.'

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

(10) Deu-lhe esse livro ontem.
    gave-o-lhe this book yesterday.
    'She gave it/this book yesterday.'

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

(11) a. Eu ouvi a Maria falar-lhe.
    I heard Maria speak-o-lhe
    'I heard Maria speaking to him.'

b. Eu vi João coming-o.
    I saw João coming-o.

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

(12) Lamento ele ter-em na vista / a ter-em vista.

Finally, European Portuguese mesoclisis, exemplified in (13), should be understood as enclisis—that is, V-root followed by clitic adjunction to a higher, lexicalized (future tense) head. But this presupposes that enclisis applies lower than the
position of the future tense morpheme. (Moodless is further discussed later in this chapter.)

(13) a. Ele ver -re -n.
    he see -er -3s
    "He will see you."

b. Conduti -de -ei.
    (l) conductor -dsur-1s
    "I will conduct them."

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

(14) a. O João leu o ontom.
    the John read the novel.
    "John read it yesterday."

b. Disseram-me que o João a leu o ontom.
    they told that the John read it yesterday
    "They told me that John read it yesterday."

(15) a. I Maria obhjikevasen to.
    the Mary read 3ems
    "Mary read it."

b. Kasto ooi i Maria obhjikevasen to.
    (l) know that the Mary read 3ems
    "I know that Mary read it."

I come back to proclisis and its triggers later. The point to bear in mind here is only that Cypriot Greek provides even evidence for a process that is partially obscured in GALPORT: namely, that cliticization takes place below the complementizer. In summary, the evidence to the effect that cliticization in GALPORT avails itself of a clitic position in the left periphery, unavailable or unused in CASPI, is inconclusive. Let us therefore put this hypothesis aside and assume, essentially following Rouveret (1988), that the cliticization site in GALPORT is a functional head, internal to IP. Indeed, the strongest hypothesis we can make is that the cliticization site or sites in GALPORT are the same as in CASPI.

Now consider the following reasoning: if the cliticization site in GALPORT is not higher than in CASPI, then the difference between these two sets of languages
must lie with the position of finite inflection. The idea is that enclisis is conditioned in GALPORT by the possibility of checking or of assigning finite inflection in positions that are lower than in CASPIT. Moreover, we expect this to correlate to some extent with the domain of inflectionally driven verb movement.

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

(16) Ninguém provavelmente leu o livro.
Nobody probably read the book.

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

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

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

my son gave many things
b. Meu filho deu muitas coisas.
my son gave many things

Ter differs from haber in yet another sense: it licenses VP-ellipsis (see, in particular, Marois 1994b; Rouvret 1989, 1999). Compare the sentences in French and Italian in (18a and b), in which VP ellipsis is not possible, with the European Portuguese example in (18c), where it is (note also the difference in the relative positions of the auxiliary and the adverb meaning ‘also’):
1. *Gianni ha comprato romanzi di Faulkner e Pietro ha anche.
2. *Vêm a alcatas les romans de Faulkner et Pierre aussi.
3. *O João este comprado os romans de Faulkner e o Pedro tambêm tem.

One influential view of VP-ellipsis—elaborated in, for example, Lobeck (1987, 1995) and Zagona (1988a,b)—holds that ellipsed VPs must be head-governed by a lexical-filled functional head. This is why English VP ellipsis is only possible under an auxiliary or a modal. Zagona attributes the difference between English (where VP-ellipsis is possible) and CASPIT (where it is not) to the S-structure position of the auxiliaries in the two language types. For Lobeck, the difference is stated in terms of the strength of the inflectional features. Although Zagona’s claim that English auxiliaries do not move is surely overextended (as Martín 1999a/b points out), it is reasonable to adhere to a weaker version of her hypothesis and associate null VP licensing with the lexicalization of a relatively low functional head. English auxiliaries move, this much is certain, but they presumably do not move as high as their CASPIT counterparts. Similarly, European Portuguese*er targets a lower position than CASPIT haber, low enough to license the null VP.

The passive positional difference between ser and haber can be exploited to sketch an account for European Portuguese metadirect, as illustrated in (13). Descriptively, clitics are lodged between the verbal stem and the morphemes that represent the future tense or the conditional mood. These morphemes are etymologically descended from Vulgar Latin haber. Suppose that they are vestiges of the “high” Infl. If it is this Infl. positioned higher than the cliticization site, which is active and which feature-attracts the verb in the modern, haber-based systems, such as CASPIT. In CASPIT, indeed, the future and the conditional forms are inflectional suffixes that are no different in status from the present or imperfect ones. In European Portuguese, however, the “high” Infl. no longer attracts the verbal stem; it does not check any of its features. Checking the features of the verbal stem is efficient by the lower inflectional head which, it must be assumed, is active even in the presence of the higher Infl. Hence, the verb is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, and clitics do not impose adjunctness of the verbal stem (adjuncts to the clitic) to the future or conditional morphemes (or movement to Mood, as in Terzi 1999b and Peniche and Terzi 2002).

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

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

(19) a. O João deu-lhe esta livros ontem.
    the João gave-him this book yesterday.
    * João gave him/her this book yesterday.

b. O João não deu-lhe esta livros ontem.
    the João did not give him/her this book yesterday.

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

2.1 Cliticization in Berber and the impact of negation

The sentences in (20), taken from Garessi's (1985) description of Aït Seghrouchen Tamazight, are representative of a pervasive pattern in Berber (see also Boukhri 1998 on the Tamazight of Zemmour; Sadiq 1997, 1998 on Aït Hassan Tamazight; Oulalla 1989 on Tariit; and Meskini 1997 on Tashawiti). We see that the clitic appears to the right of the verb in an affirmative sentence and to its left in a negative one.

(20) a. ¬m!-twir-twir moh.
    sent-3sG dat-3sG add-adj moh
    'Moh sent it to her.'

b. -tr ir-tr muit moh,
    necdat-3sG add-adj sent-3sG moh
    'Moh didn't send it to her.'

c. -tr ir-tr muit moh,
    necsent-3sG dat-3sG add-adj moh
    'Moh didn't send it to her.'

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

As Boukhri (1998) notes, however, the sentences in (20) provide information as to the phonological attachment of Berber clitics, not necessarily about their syntactic role. The fact is that Berber clitics are prosodically associated with the prosodic word on their left. These prosodic supports should not be thought of as synstactic hosts, since they do not constitute a syntactic or categorie natural class. Thus, an X\textsuperscript{N} such as the negative head -tr, as in (20b), is (perhaps left-)dislocated subject, as in Boukhri's
(21) a. Nixt an inix bii, na inayxhr.
   I nod him, why does he continue? Yes.

b. Meyni wi-w iya? Moh?
   why don't you come here Moh?

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

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

Aside from this phonological difference, Berber resembles GALFORT and, in line with the earlier discussion of enclisis, I assume that the cliticization site in Berber is higher than the position(s) of the heads that mediate tense and agreement. The cliticization site, however, is lower than negation in all Berber dialects—with the possible exception of Imdawin Tashelhit (Dell and Emlen 1989), which is discussed at length in Ouhalla (2002). Not only does negation "trigger" proclisis, but, in addition, the verb undergoes internal vowel change. Looking at (20), we see yes 'he sent' and ay yaxch 'he did not send'. In a similar vein, in (22) it is not the presence of the negative word ar as such, that triggers the ablaut on the verb but the appearance of negation, in the form of a negative head or a negative adverb (perhaps associated with a phonetically unexpressed head):

(22) a. T-awa.
   'She drank.'

b. Ut-awa / *-awa
   yes 3s-drink / 3s-drink
   She did not drink.

c. Unaw t-awa / *-awa
   neve 3s-drink / 3s-drink
   'She never drank.'

Suppose, with Bouskrih (1998), that the vowel [i] in, for example, (22b and c), is the phonetic realization of a quasi-inflational negative feature on the verb. Being a morphosyntactic feature, it has to enter a checking relationship with the negative head or in (22b and c). Let us assume that this feature is attracted to the negative head, its attraction being signaled phonologically (cf. note 10 on English negative auxiliaries.) Now, if V were to adjoin to the clitic before the negative inflection is checked, the
negative feature would be too deeply embedded to be accessible to Neg; it would remain unchecked, and the derivation would crash. To avert a crash, adjunction of \( V \) to the clitic, namely enclisis, is abandoned in favor of proclisis. Formally speaking, then, negation in Berber has the same impact on clisis and for the same reasons as finite inflection in CASPIIT.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) & \quad a. \text{ Lu iddu.} \\
& \quad \text{PREP 3MS-leave} \\
& \quad \text{"He is leaving."} \\
& \quad b. \text{ Ur lli iddu.} \\
& \quad \text{NEG PREP 3MS-leave} \\
& \quad \text{"He is not leaving."}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(24) & \quad \text{ Lu as itari.} \\
& \quad \text{PREP DAT-3S 3MS-write} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteright{}He is writing to him.\textquoteright{}}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

Alongside (20b), we expect (25a), but we get (25b):  

\[
\begin{align*}
(25) & \quad a. \text{ Ur as il itari.} \\
& \quad \text{NEG DAT-3S PREP 3MS-write} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteright{}He is writing to him.\textquoteright{}} \\
& \quad b. \text{ Ur lli as itari.} \\
& \quad \text{NEG PREP DAT-3S 3MS-write} \\
& \quad \text{\"He is not writing to him.\textquoteright{}}
\end{align*}
\]

This should lead us to reject the idea that the cliticization site is above the modal. Let us assume, instead, that it is below it but above the position of the verb. Thus, the verb does not move to or above the clitic in (24), but remains below it, as it is a participle of sorts. The negative feature on the modal does not encounter any barrier in its movement path or the negative head, and (25b) is the only possible output.
is a case of enclisis, there is no enclisis in (24) since condition, (8b) is not satisfied, independently of the presence of negation. Both (24) and (28b) are cases of proclisis.

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

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

2.2. Triggers for proclisis

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

(27) a. η Maria vomilavase v.
   the Marta read 3s
   'Marta read it.'

   b. Ein aon iriend.
   neg 3s CL.5 know
   'I don’t know him.'

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

(28) a. Strings of 'gwen Moh?
   why-3s-vol-ACC 3s sent Moh
   'Why did Moh send it to her?'

   b. M a y tsiy terbatt?
   'What did the girl buy?'

   c. Moh ay-at-a yu.
   Moh that 3s-vol-SUBJ sent
   'It is Moh who sent it to her.'

(29) a. Pits ton idhe?
   Who this saw
   'Who saw him?'

   b. Tune to vivi li edhokkio Maria
   this she book 2s gave the Maria
   'This book Maria gave you.'

(30) a. O qut she doko Maria onon?
   the what 3s give the Maria 3s
   'What did Maria give him/her yesterday?'
b. ISSBE the one eu.  
This day I said I  
'This is what I told him/her.'

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

The same reasoning carries over to the focalization cases in (28b)-(30b).

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

Grammatical systems in which I to C movement systematically applies in focalization or wh-movement just as systematically disallow I to C movement in topological or clitic left-dislocation structures. Admittedly, this is no accident and should be taken to indicate that the head of TopicP does not attract an IP-internal feature, perhaps, no feature at all if the absence of proclisis in clitic left-dislocation constructions in GALPORT (Rouveret 1999), Berber (Shlomsky 1984), and Cypriot Greek (Terzi 1999b) is a direct consequence of the.

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

(31)  a. O Pedro encontrou no cinema?  
the Pedro met+3sg.3sa-in the cinema
'Did Pedro meet in the cinema?'

b. Is-it yu3 ahmd?  
4 3sg saw Ahmad
'4 saw Ahmad'

This difference is surely related to the fact that Berber has an overt question morpheme in Comp, whereas GALPORT does not. Berber is a feature on the inflected verb, while in GALPORT, the Q position in Comp does not contain any lexical material and, hence, no feature that needs to be checked. In other words, it is not the presence of a Q operator as such that is relevant to the choice between enclisis and proclisis, but of a head that attracts features.
Similarly, interrogatives with a (non-echo) wh-in situ are possible in European Portuguese, but they do not trigger proclisis, as in (32), from Rouvenet (1999). This is due to the absence of an attracting element in Comp at the level at which the choice between enclisis and proclisis is taken (for similar reasons, wh-in situ does not trigger I to C movement in French, as Rizzi (1996a) argues).

(32) A Maria deu-lhe o que?
the-Maria gave-to her the what

Maria gave him/her 'what'?

2.3 Proclisis in embedded clauses

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

(33) a. Diá express-te que o João o leu ontem
(they) told-us that the João read yesterday

'They told me that João read it yesterday.'

b. Keneri tis Maria dechthai to
(1) know that the Maria read 3ms

'I know that Maria read it.'

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

(34) Thelo na na.t.ério.
(1) want you 3ms (1) see

'I want to see him.'

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

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

\[\text{\ldots} \]
(35) a. *'Pina qa-i yarzm isg yryn. (she) said that Jaa (he) opened with spoon
    'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'
   b. tua qa-yarzm-f isg yryn. (she) said that (he) opened Jaa with spoon
    'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'

(36) a. Sux is -is-a-yarzm Moh. (I know that DATS-ACCLES sent Moh.
    'I know that Moh sent it to her.'
   b. *Sux is yarzm-a-is-Moh. (I know that sent DATS-ACCLES Moh

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

(37) Sux Moh is tussim Tifa. (I know Moh that he kissed Tifa
    'I know that Moh, Tifa kissed him.'

Thinking of Irish 'it is probable in the next few days that he will leave' (McCloskey 1996) and of Italian penso a Gianni di doverlo farfare (Rizzi 1997), let us hypothesize that e occupies a lower position in the Comp system than qa, since it follows, rather than precedes, a topic. In particular, suppose that Tamazight qa sits in Fint, while Tarifit qa (and similarly Welchwit in Welsh, cf. Meziani, 1997) are in Force, above the highest topic position. Fint contains tense or tense-related features (cf., in this respect, Costa's 1995 analysis of Irish tense). Suppose that its "interfacing" with IP, in Rizzi's (1997) sense, means that it attracts a feature from the inflectional domain, from below the cliticization site in Berber. Hence, enclexsis under is blocked and preclxxsis is manifested. In Tarifit, only Force contains morphosyntactic features, but Force does not interact with IP and attracts no IP internal feature. Fint is not lexiconized in this Berber variety and does not attract any morphosyntactic features from inside IP. Hence, enclexsis is unperturbed under qa.

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

(38) Tareezon que a este hom, que non o malditam mu (they) said that this man that NEG ACCLES without
    'They said of this man that we should not treat him badly.'
3. Some remaining issues

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

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

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

There is some evidence for the low clitic position in French. Zulianarreta (1985) shows that the French clitic se can remain on the infinitival verbal complement of causative faire, contrasting sharply, though in different ways, with Spanish and Italian. Rouxette and Vergnaud (1999), as well as Kayne (1975), report similar facts for locative by and subordinating en. These observations might be interpreted to mean that in French—though neither in Spanish nor in Italian—there is a cliticization site internal to the reduced infinitival complement to the causative verb.

The French/Italian contrasts in cliticization behavior under tough movement also point to the presence of a lower cliticization site in French. In both languages, clitics are possible on infinitival complements to adjectives such as 'difficult'—see (39a) and (b) and (40a) and (b)—but only French allows the clitic to remain on the infinitive when tough movement tipples. Compare (41a) and (42a) with (41b) and (42b). If the infinitival complement to the adjective in (41) and (42) is a 'reduced' clause (lacking, e.g., a position for negation; viz. Rizzi 1986a), then the contrast can be taken to show that the lowest cliticization site in French is lower than in Italian:

(39) a. Il est difficile de spéarger questo noema (sgd student).
   It is difficult to explain this theorem (to the students).

b. Il est difficile à leur d'expliquer ce théorème (aux étudiants).
   It is difficult to explain this theorem to them (to the students).

(40) a. Il est difficile de spéarger questo quadro (il marchio).
   It is difficult to hang this painting (on the wall)

b. Il est difficile à y accrocher ce tableau (sur mur).
   It is difficult to hang this painting on the wall

   'Il is difficult to hang this painting (on the wall)

(41) a. "Questo noema è difficile da spiegare.
   This theorem is difficult to explain

b. Ce théorème est difficile à expliquer.
   This theorem is difficult to explain.
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(42) a. "Questo quadro è difficile da appendere."
   "This painting is difficult to hang." 
   b. "Ce tableau est difficile à accrocher."
   "This painting is difficult to hang there."

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

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

(43) Mange-le!
     eaut; fis
     'Eat it!'

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

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

(44) a. Ne le mange pas!
     neg; 3s manger pas
     'Don't eat it!' 
   b. *Ne mange le pas!
     neg; 3s manger neg
     'Don't eat it!'

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

(45) a. Le mange pas!
     3s manger pas
     'Don't eat it!' 
   b. *Ne mange le pas!
     neg; 3s manger neg
     'Don't eat it!'

We can make sense out of this pattern by assuming that in the variety in which ne is impossible, we are dealing with a different NegP, one that is crucially lower.
than the cliticization site (viz., Zanuttini 1997 on multiple negation positions in Romance). Enclisis in (45) is possible because the imperative form is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, where inflection now includes a (sometimes still) negative feature. When enclisis is possible, proclisis cannot apply.

Just as intriguing is the question of why CASPIT infinitives, participles, and so on do not revert to proclisis under negation (or wh-movement), since they do so in GALPORT, and the relative positions of InfN or PartN, NegN, and the cliticization site are presumably the same in both language types. The logic of the analysis pursued in this chapter should lead us to explore the idea that negation does not attract (a feature of) the head responsible for infinitival morphology—whether in GALPORT or in CASPIT—but that of another functional head situated below the cliticization site in GALPORT and above it in CASPIT. Further research is needed to determine the nature of this head: whether it is related to the nominal characteristics of nonfinite verbs, or alternatively, to their value as [focus], but note that its position relative to the cliticization site in the two language types mirrors the relative position of the active finite InfN.

Notes

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

2. See Martin (1994a) for a study of “interpretation effects” in Old Persian dialects, Barbara (1996), and Rajani (2000), who also notes that “one intriguing aspect of interpretation is that there are no attested cases where the clitic is separated from the verb, but with the positions... reversed, i.e. with the verb... higher than the clitic” (2/2). If enclisis is defined as adjunction of V to cl., then the absence of interpretation is expected (cf. note 3).

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

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

5. Moreover, the fact that (pro)clisis appear to the right of the subjunctive (mood) particle nix is an indication that they are within IP not in CP since nix is either an IP-internal Mood head (Rivero 1994) or Mood head (Tsimilli 1996) or, as Roussou (2009) argues, a realization of Rizzi’s (1997) “[...]-that is, a “low” head is the CP domain, directly interfacing with IP.”
6. In short, this argument is inconclusive since Spanish appears to pattern with European Portuguese and not with Italian insofar as adverb interpretation is concerned, and yet Spanish elsewhere exhibits finite clauses. This matter requires further investigation.

7. The auxilliary ter and its equivalents are found in some (Modern) CASPIT varieties, notably in certain Italian dialects of the upper south (see Rohde 1995 and Lopez-Ruiz 1998), as well as some local varieties of Spanish (see Cartagena 1990 and Yglesia 1999). Portuguese ter gradually replaced haber over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, coming through a stage in which it expressed the passive, as it continues to do in Modern Spanish (see Bruselas 1977: 387 and Diá 1876: 253). Raposo (2000) writes that the change from haber to ter was not complete until the early nineteenth century.

In this context, the Modern Spanish prepositional complex ABRIR-MANIPULATE evolved from vulgar Latin HABERE-JUSTAM, which was a resultant judgmental construction in pre-Classical Spanish, of the sort that would be expressed nowadays by means of, for example, tener, as in (b), cf. Lopez-Ruiz (1999). See Hume (1991) for further discussion.

(i) Tengo cuatro cincuenta del libro.
' 'I have five chapters of this book (already) written.'
Compare: 'I have written five chapters of this book.'

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

As for the AAVE for this movement step, one might entertain the idea that the semantically corresponding to the high infall enter into a checking relationship with features of the clitic head itself, which, even, must be present even when there is no clitic. Cardinaletti and Szlls (2000) argue that the clitic head is systematically represented even in the absence of a clitic. Whatever is correct, it is clear that movement of a head can continue beyond the cliticization site. The point is simply that such movement does not implicate any features of the precliticization head.

In this context, verbal agreement is a suffix on the finite or conditional morpheme. This might be taken to mean that Agr—Fel represented as an independent head—attaches T and not V (see Shlonsky 1997; chap. 3). This is indirectly supported by the fact that the clitics are preserved in European Portuguese infinities whether or not they are inflected for subject agreement. For example, compare (i) and (ii) from Madeira (1995). If Agr attracted V, we would expect proclisis in (ii);

(i) Posso conversa-lh. / * conversado.

(a) think to invite-3s / * 3s to invite
'I consider inviting her.'

b. Posso ter-em-m. / * ter-em conversado.

(a) think to have-3s-3s / * 3s to have-3s, invited
'I think they have invited her.'

In adjunct (propositional) infinitival CPs containing uninflected infinitives, proclisis and eclisis are in free variation (see the discussion in Raposo 2001). This might be due to whether the proposition is merged in CP (e.g., in If I like Italian di [cf. Rizzi 1997] or above or =, inducing proclisis only in the former case. Raposo shows that inflected infinitives in the
same context only allow proclisis, a fact which suggests that person inflection in infinitivals is lower than the cliticization site, while being higher in finite clauses.

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

11. Imagine that Italian clitics had the same property. Then, clitics would never occur in first position, so that, for example, (4a) would be grammatical, and the clitic lo is (4b) would be attached to the surface string to the subject Gianni anoma to the verb spiega. Clitic systems with these characteristics are no uncommon (particularly in Slavic and Old Romance; see, e.g., Benincà (1993), Cardinaletti and Roberts (2002); Halpern (1995); and Wanner (1997).)

(1) Gianni lo spiega agli studenti.

(2) Gianni ha spiegato agli studenti.

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

13. I stay aloof, here and throughout, of any specific implementation of proclisis. Revising the discussion surrounding (2) and taking inspiration from Belletti’s (1999) treatment of CANT proclisis (see das Laurantziger 1994), one might conceive of it as involving two steps. First, the verb "skips" the clitic head on its way up, thereby circumventing a potential crash. Second, the clitic head itself adjoins to the functional head above it (which hosts the verb). Although the first step violates the HMC derivationally, the second step correlates or underw the violation representatively since the traces of all the heads below the surface position of the verb can form a representational chain. For such a derivation to be acceptable (it is modeled on Belletti’s 1990 analysis of the cliticization of the negative head), the principle of strict cyclicity must be relaxed and this, perhaps, is unsuitable for other reasons.

Another option, which revises and adapts Oshahli’s (1998) original treatment of Barber cliticization, is that the verb (or a modal) simply fails to raise above the clitic when it is preceded by negation or some other proclisis trigger.

14. The gemenate (as the negative form of the modal is a vestige of its underlying form, derived from "be" and which is realized as "di" in the closely related Alt Siegmochar dialect; see Gnesuel (1985).)

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

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

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

18. For further discussion of Tamazight complexities, see Shlomsky (1987). Shlomsky and Piggot (1986), written under different assumptions, and, pomm定了 Oshahli (2002).}

19. This should be distinguished from the homophonous t+Q in Tamazight, see (3ib). See Oshahli (2002) for the view that the two are related.
20. The imperative head must be lower than (French: Infinitif) which, in turn, is higher than the objectification site. See Lexellinger (1994), Rizzi (1997), Rooryck (1995), Rivers and Terzi (1995) among others, for the view that the imperative head is in Comp.

References


Enclusis and Proclusis

UR SHLONSKY

1. The relation of proclusis to enclusis

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both accounts of cliticization are compatible with the view that I endorse here: that enclisis obtains when, at a given point in the syntactic derivation, the clitic is sitting in a functional head position or is adjoined to one, and V0 or P0 is adjoined to it. This derivation is schematized in (1).

\[ (1) \]

\[ V_0 \text{ or } P_0 \text{ moved.} \]

Proclisis should be thought of not as a simple alternative to enclisis but as a mechanism applied to whatever enclisis—as diagrammed in (1)—leads to a derivational crash. Unlike enclisis, proclisis is not a unity phenomenon but, rather, a cover term for a family of language-specific rules, the output of which display a clitic to the left of its host. A common form of proclisis is manifested when the clitic is itself adjoined to V0 or P0. This situation can come about when, for example, the clitic is the head of an XP in specifier position at the point in the derivation at which the verb moves above it to F and movement of V to F is followed by extraction of the clitic head and its incorporation to the c-commanding head. This kind of proclisis is a strict inversion of enclisis: instead of the host adjoining to the clitic, as in (1), the clitic adjoins to the host. An analysis of this sort is developed in Belletti (1999) and Hegarty (1999), for example. It is schematized in (2), where the numbers indicate the steps in the derivation:

\[ (2) \]

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

(3) a. Faire le bien faire... to do it well...
   b. Céntas vezes o Pedro viu?
      how many times did Pedro see?
   c. Algém o seu e conservou. Someone saw and helped
   d. Someone saw him and helped him.

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

1.1 Enclisis in CASPIT

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

(4) a. La canto.  
   3s (1) sing-3s  
   'I sing it.'
   b. che la caizi  
   that 3s (1) sing-3s  
   'that I sing it'
   c. La canterei.  
   3s (1) sing-3s  
   'I would sing it.'

(5) a. certeiza  
   to sing-3s  
   'to sing it'
   b. cantaridade  
   singing-3s  
   'singing it'
   c. canceizale  
   (having) sung-3s  
   'having sung it'
The question that arises is why enclisis is possible only in nonfinite clauses, or, conversely, why it is ruled out in finite ones. Although the salient difference between the verbal forms in (6) and (7) is the value of the feature [finite], it is not conceptually clear why finiteness should be a factor in determining clitic placement. Finiteness is an interpretive notion, relevant in Logical Form, while clitic placement constraints are morphosyntactic. But even if principles were devised to relate the feature [finite] to the position of the clitic with respect to its host, they would lack in generality and would not, ceteris paribus, carry over to the GALPORT system, nor to that of Berber, discussed later in this chapter. Whereas (affirmative) nonfinite verbs in GALPORT complement clauses manifest enclisis exactly as in CASPIT—consider (6)—proclisis is not manifested in [+finite] clauses. On the contrary, enclisis is the rule in root clauses, as shown by the contrast in (7) (data from Maida 1993 and Rouveret 1989).

(6) a. A Ana espera ver-te esta tarde.
   the Ana hopes to see-2s this afternoon
   'Ana hopes to see you this afternoon.'
   b. Despedida o Pedro, julgando-o incapaz disso.
   sent away the Pedro judging-acc-clitic incapable of that
   'She sent Pedro away, judging him incapable of that.'

(7) a. O João deu-lhe esse livro aman.
   the João gave-3ps this book yesterday
   'João gave him/her this book yesterday.'
   b. O João lhe deu esse livro ontem.
   the João gave-3ps this book yesterday
   'João gave him/her this book yesterday.'

A different tack is taken by Kayne (1991, 1994) and developed, with important modifications, by Rizzi (1990). The leading idea, shared by both Kayne and Rizzi, is that the choice between enclisis and proclisis in CASPIT does not depend on the value of the feature [finite] as such, but on the different morphological makeup of finite and nonfinite verb forms and their relative position in the functional hierarchy. Neither approach makes claims with respect to GALPORT.

Example (8) slightly rephrases Rizzi's generalization:

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

\[ \text{The case of} \]

\[ \text{the case of} \]

\[ \text{Pascaline (8b) holds by definition, as argued above in (1). Pascaline (8a) embodies the idea that nonfinite morphology is associated with a functional head Infinit, which is lower than the cliticization site, while finite morphology is associated with a higher head (Pollard 1989). It needs to also be assumed, and I take this to be the null hypothesis, that the cliticization site or sites are the same in finite and nonfinite clauses. Putting these ideas together, it transpires that the cliticization site lies hierarchically} \]
between T—where finite inflection is checked—and Infinit, the syntactic head associated with finite morphology (or a part of it).

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

Why is inflectional completeness relevant to clitic placement? Assume that inflectional feature checking is subject to a rigid version of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC), disallowing extraposition. In other words, a φ-feature on a verb can only be checked against φ on a functional head F when V is directly adjoined to F. If V is first adjoined to the clitic or to the head to which the clitic is adjoined, then, on the following cycle of head movement, the Xφ adjoined to F will not be V but, instead, C1V (or X_{1V-epsilon}). It is reasonable to suppose that the features of V are too deeply embedded in the multimeorphic Xφ to be accessible to the checking head F. Thus, whenever the clitic head intervenes in the path of verb movement, the inflectional features of the verb remain unchecked.

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

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

1.2. Enclisis in GALPORT

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

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

If the cliticization site in (9) is in Comp, then the adverb and the subject that both precede the verb must also be in Comp, in topic or topic-like positions. But, as Roussin (1999) points out, this word order is independent of enclisis; it is found in...
contexts of proclisis, as in (9b) and when there is no clitic at all, as in (9c). Moreover, the clause-initial subject may be a (non left-dislocable) quantifier, (9d). Hence, although the subject may occupy Spec/AgS, then, since the cliticization site is lower than Spec/AgS, it must be in IP and not in CP.

(9) a. O João provavelmente deu-o à Maria ontem. 
   João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.
   the João probably gave-3s to Maria yesterday
b. Tu digo que o João provavelmente deu à Maria ontem.
   I say that the João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.
   I say that João probably gave it to Maria yesterday.
c. O João provavelmente deu esse livro à Maria ontem.
   João probably gave this book to Maria yesterday.
   the João probably gave the book to Maria yesterday.
d. Ninguém provavelmente errou.
   Nobody probably failed.
   somebody will probably fail.

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

(10) Heu-thi esse livro ontem.
   she gave this book yesterday.
   gave this book yesterday.
   'She gave him/her this book yesterday.'
Furthermore, clitics can appear in reduced or small clause complements to perception verbs. Such clausal chunks are characterized by an impoverished left-periphery incapable of housing wh-words, focused content, focused adverbs or clitics, left-dislocated arguments. There is thus very little if any configurational space in the left periphery of the embedded small clauses in (11) to host Uraigereka's (1995a,b) F position.

(11) a. Eu ouvi a Maria falar-lhe.
   I heard Maria speak to him.
   I heard Maria speaking to him.
b. Eu vi João como-lo.
   I saw João eat-3s.
   I saw João eating it.

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

(12) Lamento ele ter-3s-nu visto à ter-em visto.
   I regret they have not seen. / I've seen 'em. / I've not seen 'em. seen

Finally, European Portuguese enclisis, exemplified in (13), should be understood as enclisis—that is, V=sel—followed by clitic adjunction to a higher, lexicalized (future tense) head. But this presupposes that enclisis applies lower than the
position of the future tense morpheme. (MesoE.o.ion is further discussed later in this chapter.)

(13) a. Ele ver-te-an.
    he see 3s you
    'He will see you.'

b. Conduzi -le-ci.
    (i) conduct 3s-loc
    'I will conduct him.'

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

(14) a. O João leus a o entom.
    the João read 3s you
    ' João read it yesterday.'

b. Dixeram-me que o João o nu o entom.
    (they) told 3s that the João 3s read yesterday
    'They told me that João read it yesterday.'

(15) a. I Maria odhikivase n.
    the Maria read 3s
    'Maria read it.'

b. Kαρτο oti 2 Maria odhikivase n.
    (i) know that the Maria read 3s
    'I know that Maria read it.'

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

In summary, the evidence to the effect that cliticization in GALPORT avails itself of a clitic position in the left periphery, unavailable or unused in CASPII, is inconclusive. Let us therefore put this hypothesis aside and assume, essentially following Hourveret (1988), that the cliticization site in GALPORT is a functional head, internal to IP. Indeed, the strongest hypothesis we can make is that the cliticization site on sites in GALPORT are the same as in CASPII.

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

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

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

(16) Ninguém prova velmente leu o livro.

Nobody probably read the book.

Costa also shows that the inflected perfect auxiliary ter occurs below já, whereas Cinque has demonstrated that Italian avere must raise above già. These differences suggest that obligatory verb movement in European Portuguese systematically targets a position that is lower than what is targeted in Italian. This difference can be interpreted to mean that the heads responsible for morphological feature-checking are lower in Portuguese than in Italian.²

GALPORT differs from CASPET in yet another respect. In the former, the auxiliary employed in the complex tenses is ter and not haber or avere. Suppose, now, that there is a correlation between the lexical form of the auxiliary (i.e., ter or haber) and the position of finite inflection such that ter is located in a higher position in the clause in haber systems than it is in ter systems.⁴

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

   I have given him many things.
   b. *Muitas coisas ele ter dado.
   Many things he has given

Ter differs from haber in yet another sense: it licenses VP-ellipsis (see, in particular, Martins 1994b; Rourevert 1989, 1999). Compare the sentences in French and Italian in (18a and b), in which VP ellipsis is not possible, with the European Portuguese example in (18c), where it is (note also the difference in the relative positions of the auxiliary and the adverb meaning ‘also’):
b. ISSB: the done eu.
   *This day is said I
   *This is what told himher.*

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

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

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

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

(3\') a. Q Pedro encontrou o cinema?
   the Pedro met-loc:3s-o in-the cinema
   "Did Pedro meet in the cinema?"

b. Is it you ahmed?
   ¿3s see Ahmed
   "Did Ahmed see her?"

This difference is surely related to the fact that Berber has an overt question morpheme in Comp, whereas GALPORT does not. Berber is attracts a feature on the inflected verb, while in GALPORT, the Q position in Comp does not contain any lexical material and, hence, no feature that needs to be checked. In other words, it is not the presence of a Q operator as such that is relevant to the choice between enclisis and proclisis, but of a head that attracts features.
One influential view of VP-ellipsis—elaborated in, for example, Lobeck (1987, 1993) and Zagorna (1988a, b)—holds that ellipsed VPs must be head-governed by a lexically-filled functional head. This is why English VP ellipses, it only possible under an auxiliary or a modal. Zagorna attributes the difference between English (where VP-ellipsis is possible) and CASPIT (where it is not) to the S-structure position of the auxiliaries in the two language types. (For Lobeck, the difference is stated in terms of the strength of the inflectional features.) Although Zagorna’s claim that English auxiliaries do not move is surely overstated (as Martin’s 1994b points out), it is reasonable to adhere to a weaker version of her hypothesis and associate null VP licensing with the lexification of a relatively low functional head. English auxiliaries move, this much is certain, but they presumably do not move as high as their CASPIT counterparts. Similarly, European Portuguese’s targets a lower position than CASPIT haber, low enough to license the null VP.

The passive positional difference between for and haber can be exploited to sketch an account for European Portuguese metadiscourse, as illustrated in (23). Descriptively, clitics are lodged between the verbal stem and the morphemes that represent the future tense or the conditional mood. These morphemes are etymologically descended from Vulgar Latin habere. Suppose that they are vestiges of the “high” Inf, h in this Inf, positioned higher than the classicalization site, which is active and which feature-attracts the verb in the modern, haber-based systems, such as CASPIT. In CASPIT, indeed, the future and the conditional forms are inflectional suffixes that are not different in status from their present or imperfect ones. In European Portuguese, however, the “high” Inf no longer attracts the verbal stem; it does not check any of its features. Checking the features of the verbal stem is efficient by the lower inflectional head which, it must be assumed, is active even in the presence of the higher Inf. Hence, the verb is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site and enclisis does not impede adjunction of the verbal stem (adjoined to the clitic) to the future or conditional morphemes (or movement to Mood, as in Terzi 1999b and Penneu and Terzi 2002).

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

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

the Jilo gave-[DAT]-3Sg this book yesterday.'
    Jilo gave him/her this book yesterday.'

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

2.1 Cliticization in Berber and the impact of negation

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

(20) a. \textit{wus-\textit{it}}-\textit{it} Mohon.
    sent-3Sg [DAT]-3Sg Moh.

b. \textit{wus-\textit{it}}/-\textit{it} Mohon.
    sent-3Sg [DAT]-3Sg Moh.

c. \textit{wus-\textit{it}}/-\textit{it} Mohon.
    sent-3Sg [DAT]-3Sg Moh.

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

As Boukhri’s (1998) notes, however, the sentences in (20) provide information as to the phonological attachment of Berber clitics, not necessarily about their syntax. The fact is that Berber clitics are prosodically associated with the prosodic word on their left. These prosodic supports should not be thought of as syntactic hosts, since they do not constitute a syntactic or categorial natural class. Thus, an X\textsuperscript{c} such as the negative head \textit{ur}, as in (20b), is (perhaps left-dislocated) subject, as in Boukhri’s
In the framework developed in this essay, we have syntactic enclisis only when (1) is manifested. This comes about only when the host raises and adjoins to the clitic—namely, in (20a): only verbs can be syntactic hosts for enclisis. Thus, (20b), as well as (21a) and (b) should be considered cases of syntactic proclisis, which, in the terms of this essay means nonenclisis. Proclisis can take a myriad forms, none of which involve attachment of the host to the left of the clitic.

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

Aside from this phonological difference, Berber resembles GALFORT and, in line with the earlier discussion of enclisis, I assume that the cliticization site in Berber is higher than the position(s) of the heads that encode tense and agreement.

The cliticization site, however, is lower than negation in all Berber dialects— with the possible exception of Imishlün Tasheltiyyt (Dell and Elmelech 1989), which is discussed at length in Ouhalla (2002). Not only does negation "trigger" proclisis, but, in addition, the verb undergoes internal vowel change. Looking at (20), we see yaça 'he sent' and ya yaça 'he did not send'. In a similar vein, in (20) it is not the presence of the negative word ya as such, that triggers the ablaut on the verb but the appearance of negation, in the form of a negative head or a negative adverb (perhaps associated with a phonetically unexpressed head):

```
(21) a. Ya(s) yacà.  
Yes 3ms drank / 3ms drank
She drank.'

b. Yac yacà.  
Yes 3ms drank / 3ms drank
She did not drink.'

c. Yac a yacà.  
Yes 3ms drank / 3ms drank
She never drank.'
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Suppose, with Bookhvis (1998), that the vowel [i] in, for example, (22b) and (c), is the phonetic realization of a quasi-inflectional negative feature on the verb. Being a morphosyntactic feature, it has to enter a checking relationship with the negative head or in (22b and c). Let us assume that this feature is attracted to the negative head, its attaction being signaled phonologically (cf. note 10 on English negative auxiliaries.) Now, if V were to adjoin to the clitic before the negative inflection is checked, the
negative feature would be too deeply embedded to be accessible to Neg; it would remain unchecked, and the derivation would crash. To avert a crash, adjunction of V to the clitic, namely exclvis, is abandoned in favor of preclisis. Formally speaking, then, negation in Berber has the same impact on clisis and for the same reasons as finite inflection in CASPIT.

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

(23) a. Lu iddu.
   PREP 3M-leave
   *He is leaving.*

b. Ur lll iddu.
   NEG PREP 3M-leave
   *He is not leaving.*

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

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

(24) Lu as lllar.
   PREP DAT-3M 3M-write
   *He is writing to him.*

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

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

(25) a. Ur as lllitar.
   NEG DAT-3M PREP 3M-write
   *He is writing to him.*

b. Ur lll as lllar.
   NEG PREP DAT-3M 3M-write
   *He is writing to him.*

This should lead us to reject the idea that the cliticization site is above the modal. Let us assume, instead, that it is below if but above the position of the verb. Thus, the verb does not move to or above the clitic in (24), but remains below it, as it is a participle of sorts. The negative feature on the modal does not encounter any barrier in its movement path or the negative head, and (25b) is the only possible output. While (20a)
is a case of enclisis, there is no enclisis in (24) since condition, (8b) is not satisfied, independently of the presence of negation. Both (24) and (25b) are cases of proclisis.

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

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

2.2. Triggers for proclisis

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

(27) a. If Maria vodkikasen a.
   the Maria read 3sz
   "Maria read it."

b. En an wersen.
  NEG 3sz-T know
   'I don’t know him.'

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

(28) a. Mami ay-at d-yeen Moh?
   Why 3sz-acc 3sz sent Moh
   "Why did Moh send it to her?"

   a’. M ay truy terbati?
   What that bought girl
   "What did the girl buy?"

b. Moh ay-at a-yeet
   Moh that 3sz-acc sent
   "It is Moh who sent it to her."

(29) a. 3z en ton idhe?
   Who 3sz saw
   "Who saw him?"

b. Tuni s violine aw edshoken.
   Maria
   this she book 2sz gave Maria
   "This book Maria gave you."

(30) a. O gare de do a Maria oni?
   the what 3sz gave the Maria 3sz
   "What did Maria give him/her yesterday?"
Similarly, interrogatives with a (non-echo) wh-in situ are possible in European Portuguese, but they do not trigger proclisis, as in (32), from Rouvent (1999). This is due to the absence of an attracting element in Comp at the level at which the choice between enclisis and proclisis is taken (for similar reasons, wh-in situ does not trigger I to C movement in French, as Rizzi (1996a) argues).

(32) A Maria deu-ta o que? the Maria gave-to.3sg the what
Maria gave him/her what?

2.3 Proclisis in embedded clauses

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

(33) a. Discissors-te que o João o leu onom.
     (they) told-3sg that the João 3sg read yesterday.

     'They told me that João read it yesterday.'

b. Kiero oti Maria odikiosan no.
     I know that the Maria read 3sg
     'I know that Maria read it.'

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

(34) Thelo na toa, dho.
     (I) want you 3sg see
     'I want to see him.'

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

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

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(35) a. "Pinda qa-t yarzim ti tufiyt. (she) said that 3am (he) opened with spoon
'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'

b. tana qa-yarz-im ti tufiyt. (she) said, not (be) opened 3am with spoon
'She said that he opened it with a spoon.'

(36) a. Saax is -wa-a yarzim Moh.
(t) know that 3am ACCESS sent Moh.
'I know that Moh sent it to her.'

b. Saax is yarz-im wa-a Moh.
(t) know that sent 3am ACCESS Moh

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

(37) Saax Moh is tundim Tifa.
(t) know Moh that 3am kissed Tifa
'I know that Moh, Tifa kissed him.'

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

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

(38) Exaexon que a esse hom que non e maltratemos.
(they) said that this man that we ACC him untrust
'They said of this man that we should not trust him badly.'
3. Some remaining issues

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

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

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

There is some evidence for the low clitic position in French. Zulixiavetsa (1985) shows that the French clitic se can remain on the infinitival verbal complement of causative faire, contrasting sharply, though in different ways, with Spanish and Italian: Roulet and Vergnaud (1999), as well as Kayne (1975), report similar facts for locative y and adnominal en. These observations might be interpreted to mean that in French—though neither in Spanish nor in Italian—there is a cliticization site internal to the reduced infinitival complement to the causative verb.

The French/Italian contrast in cliticization sites under tough movement also points to the presence of a lower cliticization site in French. In both languages, clitics are possible on infinitival complements to adjectives such as difficile—see (39a) and (b) and (40a) and (b)—but only French allows the clitic to remain on the infinitive when tough movement applies. Compare (41a) and (42a) with (41b) and (42b). If the infinitival complement to the adjective in (41) and (42) is a reduced clause (lacking, e.g., a position for negation; viz. Rizzi 1988a), then the contrast can be taken to show that the lowest cliticization site in French is lower than in Italian.

(39) a. Il est difficile de spiegarli questo nozema (ugli studenti).
   Il est difficile d'expliquer ce théorème (aux étudiants).
   It is difficult to explain this theorem (to the students).

b. Il est difficile à leur de spiegarli questo nozema.
   It is difficult to explain the theorem to them (to the students).

(40) a. Il est difficile d'arginare questo quadro (al maro).
   It is difficult to hang this painting (on the wall)
   Il est difficile à l'hostrach de tableurs (sa mere).
   It is difficult to hang this painting (on the wall)

b. 'Il est difficile a lui de spiazzarlo.
   'It is difficult to hang this painting there (on the wall).

(41) a. 'Questo nozema è difficile da spiegarlo.
   This theorem is difficult to explain.

b. Ce théorème est difficile à expliquer.
   'This theorem is difficult to explain to them.'
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(42) a. "Questo quadro è difficile da appendere.
     This painting is difficult to hang.

b. "Ce tableau à est difficile à accrocher.
     It is difficult to hang this painting there."

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

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

(43) Mangez-le!
     eat-3SG
     'Eat it!'

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

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

(44) a. Ne la mange pas!
     NEG 3SG eat NEG
     'Don't eat it!'

b. "Ne mange la paix!
     NEG eat 3SG NEG
     'Don't eat it!''

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

(45) a. Le mange pas!
     3SG eat NEG
     'Don't eat it!'

b. Ne mange la paix!
     NEG eat 3SG NEG
     'Don't eat it!'

We can make sense out of this pattern by assuming that in the variety in which ne is impossible, we are dealing with a different NegP, one that is crucially lower
than the cliticization site (viz., Zanuttini 1997 on multiple negation positions in Romance). Enclisis in (45) is possible because the imperative form is inflectionally complete under the cliticization site, where inflection now includes a (sometimes null) negative feature. When enclisis is possible, proclisis cannot apply.

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

\textbf{Notes}

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1. This derivation departs from Kayne's (1954) proposal, according to which enclisis obtains when the verb moves to a higher head position than that occupied by the clitic; see also Terzi (1999b). Kayne's analysis does not square well with the strict adjacency requirement that is characteristic of the verb-clitic nexus; see, for instance, Cinque (1995).

2. See Martin (1996a) for a study of "interpretation effects" in Old Persian dialects, Barbara (1996), and Rapo (2000), who also writes that "One intriguing aspect of interpretation is that there are no attested cases where the clitic is separated from the verb, but with the positions... reversed, i.e. with \textsc{the verb}... higher than the clitic" (2000). If enclisis is defined as adjunction of V to d., then the absence of interpretation is expected (cf. note 1).

3. Alternatively, if heads movement pied-pipes features (Chomsky 1982), then the condition of accessibility of these features might resemble those which hold of wh-pied piping in many languages (see Welthen 1982).

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

5. Moreover, the fact that (pro)clisis appear to the right of the subjunctive (mood) particle is an indication that they are within IP but not in CP since it is either an IP-internal Mood head (Rivero 1994) or ModP head (Tsimpis 1996) or, as Rousou (2000) argues, a realization of Rizzi's (1995) PlC—that is, a "low" head is the CP domain, directly interfacing with IP.
6. In art of itself, this argument is inconclusive since Spanish appears to pattern with European Portuguese and not with Italian insofar as adverb interpretation is concerned, and yet Spanish echoes preclauses in finite clauses. This matter requires further investigation.

7. The auxiliary ter and its equivalents are found in some (Modern) CASPIT varieties, notably in certain Italian dialects from the upper south (see Robins 1991 and Lupovic 1985), as well as in some local varieties of Spanish (see Cartagena 1991 and Ylizaro 1990). Portuguese ter gradually replaced haber over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, turning through a stage in which it expressed the passive, as it continues to do in Modern Spanish (see Bruehl 1957: 381 and Díaz 1976: 251). Rappaport (2000) notes that the change from haber to ter was not complete until the early nineteenth century.

In this context, the Modern Spanish periphrastic complex haber + participle evolved from vulgar Latin habere faciam, which is a resultativeobject construction in pre-Classical Spanish, of the sort that would be expressed nowadays by means of, for example, tener, as in (i), cf. Lopucan (1990). See Hume (1991) for further discussion.

(i) Tengo éxito con mis capitulados del libro.

'I have five chapters of this book (already) written.'

Compare: 'I have written five chapters of this book.'

b. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: §3.3) point out that the Portuguese periphrastic present perfect (with ter) encodes an infinitive interpretation, unlike both its Latin counterpart (with averr) and the Portuguese simple past. See (Schmitt 2001) for in-depth discussion. This should correlate with the position of ter in the clause hierarchy, although it is not clear to me how.

The iterative interpretation is only associated with the present perfect—that is, with ter in the present tense. The plus effect, formed with ter in the past tense, has the same interpretation as its CASPIT counterparts.

As for the ATTE for this movement step, one might entertain the idea that it semantically be the initial element in the check that associates features of the clitic head itself, which, then, must be present even when there is no clitic. Tardanelli and Slonosky (2000) argue that the clitic head is psychologically represented even in the absence of a clitic. Whatever is incorrect, it is clear that movement of a head can continue beyond the cliticization site. The point is simply that such movement does not imply any features of the precliticization head.

In this context, verbal agreement is a suffix on the finite or conditional-nomenehe. This might be taken to mean that Agr—iff represented as an independent head—attains T and not V (see Slonosky 1997: ch. 3). This is indirectly supported by the fact that clefts is preserved in European Portuguese infinities whether or not they are inflected for subject agreement. For example, compare (i) and (ii) from Madeira (1995). If Agr attracted V, we would expect proclisis in (ii).

(i) a. Penso coidade-la. / *coidou

(1) think to invite.3s / * saw to invite

'I consider inviting her.'


(1) think to have.3s-em / * saw-em invited

'I think they have invited her.'

In adjunct (prepositional) infinital CPs containing uninflected infinitives, proclisis and enclisis are in free variation (see the discussion in Rappaport (2001)). This might be due to whether the proposition is merged in CP (e.g., in Frr like Italian di; cf. Rizzi (1997) or above r, inducing proclisis only in the former case. Rigo shows that inflected infinitives in the
same context only allow proclisis, a fact which suggests that personal pronouns in infinitival clauses are lower than the clausalization site, while being higher in finite clauses.

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

11. Imagine that Italian clitics had the same property. Then, clitics would never occur in first position, so that, for example, (4a) would be grammatical, and the clitic li to (4b) would be attached to the surface string to the subject Giammi at or to the verb spiegare. Clitic systems with these characteristics are no uncommon (particularly in Slavic and Old Romance; see, e.g., Besnier 1993; Cardinaletti and Roberts 2002; Halpern 1995; and Wanek 1987).

(1) Giammi lo spiega agli studenti.
Giammi he explains to the students

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

13. I may add, here and throughout, of any specific implementation of proclisis. Recall the discussion surrounding (2) and taking inspiration from Belletti’s (1999) treatment of CAPIT proclisis (see das Lautenberger 1994), one might conceive of it as involving two steps. First, the verb “skips” the clitic head on its way up, thereby circumventing a potential clash. Second, the clitic head itself adjoins to the functional head above it (which hosts the verb). Although the first step violates the HMC derivationally, the second step corrects or undoes the violation representationally since the traces of all the heads below the surface position of the verb can form a representational chain. For such a derivation to be acceptable (as is modeled on Belletti’s 1990 analysis of the cliticization of the negative head), the principle of strict cyclicity must be relaxed and this, perhaps, is understandable for other reasons. Another option, which Revius and adapt Oshall’s (1989) original treatment of Barrier cliticization, is that a verb (or a modal) simply fail to raise above the clitic when it is preceded by negation or some other proclisis trigger.

14. The gerundive of the negative form of the modal is a vestige of its underlying form, derived from ‘be’ and which is realized as li in the closely related Alt Sogdianic dialect; see Guenzel (1985).

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

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

17. Rousser (1999) argues that proclisis is optional in embedded topicalization. His examples (50) and (51) contain (nonfulf.) PP. It is possible that these sentences are structurally ambiguous between focalization and topicalization, since topicalized PPs, unlike focalized PPs, are only optionally associated with a clitic in Romance, as Capelle (1998) and Rizzi (1997) have shown. The different interpretations of focalization and topicalization are presumably masked in the context of subordination. Enclisis would then be retained under topicalization but give way to proclisis under focalization.

18. For further discussion of Tamazight complements, see Shlonsky (1987), Shlonsky and Sigler (1986), written under different auspices, and pemememala Oshall (2002).

19. This should be distinguished from the homophonous (lep) is in Tamazight; see (31b). See Oshall (2002) for the view that the two are related.
20. The imperative head must be lower than (French) Infinitive, which, in turn, is higher than the oblicviation site. See Lestrangier (1994), Rizzi (1997), Rooyck (1993), Rivers and Terzi (1995) among others, for the view that the imperative head is in Comp.

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