The contexts triggering proclisis in European Portuguese and their effect on clitic placement
Ana Luís (University of Coimbra) and Ryo Otoguro (University of Essex)

While the preverbal and postverbal placement of clitic pronouns in most Romance languages (e.g., Spanish, French, Italian) is conditioned by the finiteness features of the verb, in European Portuguese (EP) the alternation between enclisis and proclisis is sensitive to a specific set of words and phrases in preverbal position. These elements include the negation marker, aspectual adverbs, relative pronouns, wh-phrases, focused phrases, subordinating conjunctions, and complementisers – see, for example, the contrasts in (1a) and (1b).

(1) a. O Pedro encontrou -os, porque os procurou.
   the Pedro brought -3PL.MASC.ACC, because 3PL.MASC.ACC searched ‘Pedro found them, because he searched for them’

   b. As professoras deram -lhes lápis, mas não lhes deram papel.
   the teachers gave -3PL.DAT pencils; but not 3PL.DAT gave paper ‘the teachers gave them pencils, but they didn’t give them paper’

We take with Anderson (2000), Luís & Spencer (in press) and Luís (2004) the view that the syntactic conditioning of proclisis does not invalidate an inflectional analysis of cliticisation in this language, and generate clitic pronouns as affixes in Paradigm Function Morphology (PFM) (Stump 2001). The directional and hierarchical properties of these affixal clitics are derived through a morphological placement function which aligns affixal clitics to right edge of a Vstem, for enclisis, and to the left edge of a V0 phrasal node, for proclisis.

Assuming that cliticisation constitutes an essentially inflectional phenomenon, this paper examines the interaction between inflectional morphology and the contexts triggering proclisis. At issue is the question of how elements in the syntax can condition clitic placement. Formally, the analysis combines the theory of PFM with Lexical Functional Grammar, following insights from Sadler & Spencer (2001), Ackerman & Stump (2004) and Sadler & Nordlinger (2004). It is argued that the morphology must have access to the information associated with the proclisis triggers, based on Luís & Sadler (2003) and Luís (2004). However, it is further argued that neither purely configurational nor purely f-structural information can capture the enclisis/proclisis alternation. Instead, reference must be made to both the c-structural linear order and f-structural function.

To account for the interaction between the morphology and the proclitic contexts, we start by proposing the following skeletal c-structure for European Portuguese:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{XP} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{IP} \\
\text{NP/DP} \\
\text{Adv/Neg} \\
\text{I} \\
\text{Adv} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{NP/DP}
\end{array}
\]

A finite verb is base-generated under I, whereas a non-finite verb is under V. A subject NP/DP is in Spec-IP and an object is a complement of V. The negative marker and some adverbs are adjoined to I. Various elements appear in Spec-CP including preverbal wh-phrases, relative pronouns, a complementiser, temporal subordinate conjunctions. Focused/topicalised XPs are also placed in Spec-CP and in that case the finite verb is base-generated in C. As observed above, proclitic triggers systematically precede the finite verb. Because of the type of morphological model we assume, we need to ‘translate’ the ‘linear’ position of the triggers into f-structure information, to enable the morphology to know when a given clause is a proclitic context or not. To do this we place the morphology in correspondence with the syntax by proposing the following f-precedence constraints:

\[
\begin{align*}
(\uparrow \text{FOC}) &< f (\uparrow \text{OBJ}(2)) \\
(\uparrow \text{ADJ}a) &< f (\uparrow \text{OBJ}(2)) \\
(\uparrow \text{COMP SPEC}) &< f (\uparrow \text{OBJ}(2)) \\
(\uparrow \text{ADJ SPEC}) &< f (\uparrow \text{OBJ}(2)) \\
\ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Following Bresnan’s (2001:195) version of f-precedence, defined as “\( \alpha < f \beta \) if the rightmost node in \( \phi^{-1}(\alpha) \) precedes the rightmost node of \( \phi^{-1}(\beta) \)”, the constraints in (3) define the situations where the rightmost c-structure node specified by the \( \phi^{-1} \) of the proclitic trigger’s f-structure precedes the rightmost node defined by \( \phi^{-1} \) of the verbal projection (in the case of EP, the verbal projection is also the domain within which the affixal clitic appears). In addition, we assume that complementisers and subordinate conjunctions contribute \text{PRED} values (e.g., ‘THAT’ and ‘WHEN’) to the SPEC attribute of \text{COMP} and \text{ADJ} respectively; following Sells (2001), we also assume that sentential negation is treated as a kind of \text{ADJ}. Accordingly, these elements are mapped onto independent f-structures.
Crucial to our analysis is the idea that the information provided by the constraints in (3) will serve as input to the morphology. So, if (3) holds, then an alignment function of the type ‘Align (X, LEFT, BARQ)’ aligns the affixal clitics as a phrasal affix to the left of a phrasal node. In the default case, ‘Align (X, RIGHT, Vstem)’ attaches affixal clitics to the right of a verbal stem. In (4–6), we illustrate how the c-structure positions and f-structure functions of EP proclitic contexts interact with clitic placement:

(4)  este livro  te  dou  eu  
this book  you  give  I
‘I give you this BOOK’

(5)  este livro,  dou-to  eu  
this book  give-you-it  I
‘This book I give it to you’

(6) a. 

As alluded to above, the c-structure configurations in (4) and (5) are identical. But functionally, while Spec-CP is a focus in (4), it is a topic in (5). The constraints in (3), however, predict that only the preposed focus in (4) can trigger proclisis. In (6), on the contrary, linear order in c-structure plays a more decisive role in determining whether clitics are placed preverbally or postverbally. Even though (6a, b) have the same f-structure, only in (6a) do we find the adverb preceding the finite verb, producing procliticisation. In (6b), the default alignment function applies triggering encliticisation to the verbal stem. The data in (4–6) then clearly shows that neither pure configurational account nor pure f-structural account are able to capture the alternation in European Portuguese. With a set of constraints referring to both c-structural linear order and f-structural function, we capture clitic placement without weakening the inflectional status of clitic pronouns.

References