Morphological Opacity in combinations of third person clitics: Spanish Spurious Word order facts that Cuervo (2003) uses to argue for DO movement above IO also

3-3-Effects: When both DO and IO are 3, only one clitic has 3 marking.

Pros: - DO has agreement with the person category of the clitic it agrees with.

Cons: - DO cannot have agreement with both clitics.

3-3-Effects and PCC in Barceloní Catalan.

The strong PCC variety of Barceloní Catalan (Bonet 1991, 1994).

(4) can be realized as (6) by realizing IO without person features as bare dative /í/

Proposals:
- 3-3-Effects, UPE and PCC are derived by the same syntactic mechanism. Failure of the lower argument to enter /í/-agreement with /í/ drives the morphological absence of these features. Checking/licensing makes features visible to the PF interface (Chomsky 1995), failure of licensing leads to absence of morphological realization.

Which features the lower argument fails to license depends on how finely syntax distinguishes between features on DO and IO.

- Strong PCC Bonet (1994:35): Local person DOs are blocked irrespective of the person of IO. All person categories on IO are treated the same.

- IO can block person agreement between v and DO, leading to failure of DO to agree with /í/.

Deriving Absence of Features on Direct Objects

- analyze [o][w] as an exponent of accusative case.
- Lexical insertion rules. (third person)
- [ACC] → /í/ (dative)
- [PL] → /í/ (plural)
- [ACC] → /í/

- [w]: Why can [w][w] be plural marked in just this context?

- There are two kinds of DO clitics in the syntax: The inanimate clitic, and the marked clitics (/í/ and /í/).

- The neuter clitic lacks the syntactic structure that encodes number distinctions, hence number is never morphologically expressed on it.

- Marked clitics have the syntactic structure for plural. When person marking is absent due to 3-3-Effects, the accusative marker [o][w] can be inserted, and number features are inserted as usual.

Order and Opacity

The clitic with person and number morphology precedes the one without it.

- Consistently across dialects where different arguments are featureless: BC vs. MAJ.
- Stable across historical change. Prior to the 18th century MAJ had DO-IO order of 3-clitics and 3-3-Effects/UPe like BC. The clitic order changed to IO-DO, and opacity began targeting DO rather than IO.

- Consistent in dialects with alternating clitic orders, Table 5. In some varieties of Majorcan Catalan, IO is opaque when it is singular, but DO is opaque when IO is plural.

Assembling Morphological to Syntactic Restrictions on Clitics

- The Person Case Constraint (PCC, Bonet 1994): A restrictions on the presence of local person DOs in the presence of IOs for BC in (4).

- 3-3-Effects: When both DO and IO are 3, only one clitic has 3 marking.

- Unique Plural Exponent (UPE): When both DO and IO are 3-plural, only one clitic has plural marking.

- Order and Opacity: The clitic that bears person/number features is on the left, while the one without them is on the right.

Barceloni and Baix Camp Catalan: Featureless Indirect Objects

- For short ‘BC’.
- Inventory and clitic combinations in Tables 1 and 2 (from Bonet 1995, 2002).
- Examples from Baix Camp in (2).

2. Baix Camp:

a. 3s-DO+3I-IO: 3-3-Effects.

b. 3I-DO+3I-IO: 3-3-Effects+UPE.

Proposals:
- The combination of person categories and PLC would allow [w] to go unlicensed without causing a clash.

- The similarity between 3-3-Effects and UPE suggest plural should be treated the same way.

- Case: w-feature checking on w licenses object case (Chomsky 1991, 2001, Agnearagostopolou 2003, Béjar and Rezaz 2003). If licensing of both person and number fails in Table 4c/d, how is case licensed?

- Following Kozumi (1995) and Cuvro (2003), I assume that there is a case licensor different from w below w.

Deriving Featureless Indirect Objects

- BC and MAJ differ in two respects:
  - Order of the clitics: DO precedes IO in B.
  - Place of person marking: DO is person marked rather than IO.

- The pattern of person licensing follows, if v has access to DO before IO (Walkow, 1995).

Proposals: ML and BC differ whether or not H triggers movement. If H triggers movement of DO into its specifier, v will access DO before IO.

- Word order facts that Cuvro (2003) uses to argue for DO movement above IO also hold for BC.

- Some speakers who accept combinations of person DO and IO clitics only accepted them in a reading where the first one is DO.

- ml ha recomendat /í/ ha recomanat (see Table 5).

- They recommended you to me.

- ‘I have lent the books to the children yesterday’ (Bonet 2002:961)

Marina Baix/Vila Joiosa: Featureless Direct Objects


(3) Colomina/Vila Joiosa:

- 3O-DO+3I-IO: 3-3-Effects.

- [w] (given v) give [PL] /í/ /í/ (dative)

- ‘Give them’ (Todoli 1992:146)

- 3-3-Effects and UPE: Dative marking and the presence of [w], show that IO is realized with person and number marking.

- [wz] (given v) /í/ ha recomanat (comp. (5))

- ‘I have recommended’ (comp. (5))

- ‘I have recomended’ (comp. (6))

- ‘I have recomended’ (comp. (6))
References


