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On the Acquisition of Object Pronominal Clitics in Spanish

by

María Vicenta Blasco Aznar

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2002

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Abstract

ON THE ACQUISITION OF OBJECT PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN SPANISH

by

María Vicenta Blasco Aznar

Advisor: Professor Janet Dean Fodor

This dissertation investigates the development of clitics in early Spanish child language with two main objectives in mind: (i) to find out whether the developmental patterns observed in other languages apply also to Spanish (e.g., flawless distribution but persistent omissions) and (ii) to explore the relative ease of acquisition of more complex constructions with clitic clusters, doubling, dislocation, and climbing.

The theoretical framework adopted is the highly constrained approach of Kayne (1991, 1994). Since Kayne's theory treats all clitic contexts uniformly, it was predicted that children will do so too, except for differences pertaining to the acquisition of *other* aspects of the various contexts concerned. This prediction was confirmed.

Three Elicited Imitation experiments were conducted with children from 1;9 to 2;10, the youngest it is feasible to test. Examination of a longitudinal record of one child and her parents provided converging data.

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Results showed that clitics started to emerge as soon as the verbal contexts that host them were available, generally at 1;9-1;10 in simple clausal contexts (finite and non-finite respectively), clusters slightly later, and at 2;1 in two-clause climbing-type structures. Incidence was low in the first months and usage was not consistent. The results are in accord with observations by Guasti (1994) on Italian showing the greatest progress between 1;11 to 2;1, with essentially adult knowledge in place by 2;1-2;2 when the contexts have become productive.

Findings not previously documented for other languages include a high preference for clitic climbing where it is admissible. Parallel results were found in child-directed speech, but not in other adult language.

Knowledge of clitic doubling and dislocation constructions was basically in place by 2;2-2;3 (with just a few utterances before that). These findings are compatible with Kayne's (1994) analysis of these as closely related constructions.

The relatively few errors that occurred involved incorrect marking of phi-features and Case, overgeneralization of pronominal verbs, some clitic copying, and overextension of doubling (though the latter may have been due to the variant of Spanish - *leísmo* - spoken by the parents).

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A Pilar Aznar Tejero, mi madre
(Dic. 1913 - Nov. 2000)

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A special note of appreciation is also due to Helen Cairns for sharing her expertise in First Language Acquisition with me. Helen offered important suggestions and did a commendable job of critical editing of the experimental research. Her feedback made me rethink and clarify my ideas.

No one merits a special mention more than Janet Fodor. Janet made a tremendous impact on me from the time I took her classes, joined her discussion groups in the cafeteria and attended her presentations. I was impressed by her distinctive combination of a very knowledgeable and perceptive linguist,

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a stimulating and enthusiastic teacher, her unsurpassed commitment of energy to help students succeed and her absolute devotion to the life of the department and the linguistics field in general. I have had the opportunity to work with Janet closely during these years and my admiration and respect for her have only increased. Janet's contributions to this project have been immeasurable. She offered both thoughtful intellectual provocation and invaluable editorial suggestions. She has been both a demanding advisor and an extremely patient and generous teacher. I must credit her with much of my intellectual growth. Janet invested countless hours editing drafts, conveying to me in detail what needed to be improved and raising crucial topics to expand my vision and help me shape my thoughts. Her ability to simplify complex issues helped me to understand concepts and put me back on track. Her remarkable insight, unyielding commitment "to get it right" and crucial suggestions enlightened me and led me to pursue a clarification of pieces of evidence that were unclear or in dispute. Her detailed editing enhanced the clarity of the thesis and the writing style as well. Her high expectations and encouragement created concern in me and challenged me to do my best. Finally, Janet's immense and enduring support and deepest loyalty to the mission she undertook have been determining factors for this project to come to fruition. For all this investment, I extend to her my most heartfelt thanks and eternal appreciation.

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insightful and well-formulated comments always clarified ideas and helped me to improve my work.

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One more person who deserves appreciation from the Graduate Center is the director of the Office of International

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the development of pronominal object clitics in most of the contexts in which they occur in Spanish. Although the acquisition of clitics has been investigated in the literature for a number of years, the majority of the studies have been done on Italian and French and extensive information has not been gathered concerning Spanish.

The theoretical framework adopted for the description and analysis of the various structures under investigation is Generative Grammar, specifically the highly constrained and unified approach advocated by Kayne (1991 and 1994). Since UG (according to Kayne's theory) treats all clitic contexts uniformly, it is predicted that children will do so too, except for differences pertaining to the acquisition of *other* aspects of the various contexts concerned.

Chapters II, III and IV focus on syntactic issues related to pronominal clitics in the Romance languages with special emphasis on Spanish. Chapter II reports background information on the nature and complexities of the clitic system. Chapter III provides and discusses data concerning the two major patterns in which object clitics appear: local cliticization (+/- tense single clause contexts) and non-local cliticization (structures which allow or disallow clitic

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climbing). Chapter IV presents the main aspects of Kayne's (1991; 1994) theory and provides uniform analyses of clitic licensing across construction types. The analysis of clitics in simple +/- finite local contexts is from Kayne (1991) with some innovations from Kayne (1994). In these structures, the placement of the clitic is determined by the [+/- finite] feature of the verb. For non-local cliticization structures, I offer an analysis in line with Kayne (1994) and Chomsky (1995) in which the clitic is allowed to climb in one head movement step out of a non-finite clause to the clitic phrase (CLP), just as it moves upward via head movement to its proclitic spell-out position in finite local contexts. As in Kayne (1994), I consider that standard clitic doubling (CLDP), clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation (CLRD) are three closely related instances of the wider phenomenon of clitic doubling. The analysis of doubling is adopted from Uriagereka (1988; 1995) on the basis of then-unpublished research by Torrego with a modification in the vein of Kayne (1994) and an addition in the spirit of Harris (1991a) to extend the determiner-like properties of third person accusative clitics also to datives.

Chapter V reviews a representative sample of previous studies on topics related to the development of pronominal clitics in Italian (cf. Guasti 1994 and Schaeffer 1997),

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French (Hamann *et al.* 1996) and Spanish (Varela 1988).[1] There is a general finding that children at the earliest stages seem to know the fundamental properties of the clitic system. Two results of the Italian research concerned me the most and I wanted to explore them in Spanish: the apparent high degree of clitic omissions in environments where clitics are required in the adult language, and Guasti's suggestion that there seems to be a delay in first clitic use particularly in infinitive contexts compared to the first use of verbal movement and full DPs. (This definition of *delay* is from Guasti, personal communication.) The degree of omission is much more accentuated in Schaeffer's study (64% in the 2-year period, age 2;1-2;6, mean 2;5) than in Guasti's (36% at 1;11, the highest point; 6.6% from 2;0 to 2;6 and 2;7 included, and 2.7% at 2;5). In Guasti's, the first clitic instances in finite contexts occurred at 1;8 and 1;10 (Martina and Diana, respectively). However, this author points out that clitics in these contexts did not seem to stabilize until 2;1 (45% clitics, 37.5% lexical DPs and 17.5% omissions). This is also the time in which clitics first appeared in infinitive contexts. The proportion of lexical DPs was elevated, especially in infinitive contexts (100% up to 2;0 and 56.2%

[1] This was the only source available on Spanish at the time I began my research. Since then, Torrens and Wexler (1996; 2000) have contributed mainly with respect to the acquisition of clitic doubling. A brief report and commentary on their research is provided in Chapter V.

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from 2;1 to 2;7).[2] Therefore, this also became an objective to explore in Spanish.

Finally, the development of doubling also had to be tested further since Varela's research covered only third person datives and also did not establish a lower age bound on the mastery of these structures. (Later research by Torrens and Wexler, noted in footnote 1, illustrated a variety of doubling constructions in Spanish starting at 1;10.) Chapters VI and VII investigate these and other issues in Spanish on the basis of cross-sectional and longitudinal data. My purpose was to compare findings from these two methodologies to see whether they would converge on the same assessment of children's knowledge of the language.

Chapter VI describes three experiments which I conducted with *early* monolingual speakers of Spanish from Zaragoza (Spain) using sentences with 3rd person singular dative (*le*) and accusative (*lo* and *la*) clitics, and applying the Elicited Imitation (EI) method. For felicitous application of this task, each target sentence presented for imitation was preceded by a brief discourse context. Experiment 1: *Base Study*, examines children's production of single clitics and clusters (*se lo* and *se la*) in a variety of simple finite contexts where the presence of the clitic is required

---

[2] The percentages reported on a single month time frame from Guasti's research (see ages 2;5 and 2;1 above) correspond only to finite contexts. The data from infinitive contexts is presented grouped into two stages (before and after age 2) with no detail on the monthly time course.

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(inalienable possession constructions, as in (1) below, and structures with psychological verbs) or became required by having to refer to the established discourse context (structures with accusative clitics). The participants of this study were 20 children (of whom two were tested twice, five months apart) ranging in age from 1;9 to 2;10.

(1) Le pica la nariz
CLdat itches the nose
'His nose itches'

Experiment 2: *Clitic Doubling* (*CLDP* and *CLLD*), is a follow-up study to assess production of CLDP and CLLD structures (no CLRD structures were tested) with lexical and pronominal dative and accusative doubles (see (2), for instances with lexical datives). Clitic doubling is a very productive process in Spanish with the exception of accusative lexical CLDP which is disallowed in most varieties including the one spoken in Zaragoza (Spain). The participants were 12 of the initial 20 children ranging in age from 2;2 to 2;10.

(2) a. (Mommy elephant is taking a shower)

Le pide el jabón al elefantico
CLdat asks (for) the soap to the little elephant
'She asks the little elephant for the soap'

b. A Raquel le crece el cuello (Raquel= a giraffe)
to Raquel CLdat grows the neck
'Raquel's neck is growing'

Experiment 3: *Clitics in Infinitive Contexts*. The main concern was to find out if children could attach the clitic to

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the infinitive verb. Thus, this experiment explores the production of clitics in climbing contexts that allow climbing, in similar contexts where climbing is not permitted, and with adverbial infinitives which also ban climbing (see (3) for an example of each respectively). The participants of this study were 15 of the initial 20 children ranging in age from 2;1 to 2;10.

(3) a. Tienes que buscar*lo*
you have to find-CL
'You have to find it'

b. Hay que cuidar*la*
one has to take care-CL
'One has to take care of it'

c. Va sin avisar*le*
he goes without warning-CL
'He goes without telling her'

Chapter VII pursues the phenomena discussed in the previous chapters and climbing by means of longitudinal data on spontaneous production. This description considers all types of clitics and provides detailed timing information on the acquisition of clitics in the various contexts. The data are from a monolingual Spanish speaker, María, from the age of 1;9 to 2;11 (the entire corpus ranges from 1;7 to 4;0). Her parents' child-directed speech is also studied. This corpus is published in López Ornat (1994). (The same empirical material was consulted by Torrens and Wexler, 1996;2000, to study clitic doubling.) To investigate climbing further (to find out if there was a preference between the two possible

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climbing alternatives) I studied the child-directed speech of María's parents in detail and I conducted an experimental study with 22 adult native Spanish speakers (from Spain) on a variety of common climbing verbs. I also consulted a spontaneous production study with 25 native Mexican Spanish speaking children, ages 5;0 to 9;7 (Randeri, 1980) and two literary sources: a written colloquial dialogue (cf. *El Jarama* by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio) and a narrative in a more erudite style (cf. *La pasión turca* by Antonio Gala).

Chapter VIII summarizes the dissertation, lists conclusions of the research, and offers some suggestions for future research.

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Chapter II

PRONOMINAL CLITICS IN SPANISH AND OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES: OVERVIEW

Chapters II, III and IV provide background information on certain syntactic issues relating to pronominal cliticization in Romance, particularly Spanish.[1] Facts and proposals are presented from the point of view of Universal Grammar, drawing attention at the same time to language-specific idiosyncrasies. In some cases it is difficult to know what exactly is universal but not well understood, and what is really idiosyncratic. This is inevitable in the current state of research on the vast and complex area of clitic phenomena.

This chapter deals with the categorial nature of pronominal clitics. It introduces and describes the clitic system, it discusses clitic properties in relation to other pronominal forms, it notes certain differences that exist among them, and it covers distributional issues such as their combination in clusters and their placement in different types of environments.[2]

---

[1] When the same structure is present in several languages I generally draw the data primarily from standard (peninsular) Spanish, of which I am a native speaker.

[2] This chapter does not discuss the phonological or morphological interactions between clitics and their host. Detailed information on these issues can be found in Zwicky

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2.1. STRONG PRONOUNS VERSUS CLITIC PRONOUNS

Generally, romance displays two distinct series of personal pronouns: Strong forms and weak (or clitic) forms. The strong forms have essentially the same phonological and syntactic behavior as DPs, whereas the clitic forms present very different syntactic characteristics and, for the most part, also different phonological/morphological shapes. The strong pronouns in Peninsular Spanish can all appear as nominative forms. Spanish verbs are marked for person and number and Spanish permits null subjects (*pro*) with finite verbs, so the strong nominative pronouns are used only for emphasis, contrast or disambiguation. Most of these strong forms can also be used as accusatives, datives or objects of various prepositions, the only exception being the first and second person singular (yo-tú) for which *mí* and *ti* appear as accusatives, datives or other complements. A display of all strong pronouns (subject and object) is provided in Table 1 below.

(1977a), Klavans (1980/1985) and Halpern (1993), among others.

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Table 1. Spanish Strong Personal Pronouns

Number	Singular		Plural
Person	Subject	Object	Subject = Object
1st	yo 'I'	mí 'me'	nosotros/as 'we$_{m/f}$'
2nd informal	tú 'you'	ti 'you'	vosotros/as 'you$_{m/f}$'
formal	usted 'you'	usted 'you'	ustedes 'you$_{m/f}$'
	Subject =	Object	
3rd	él/ella	'he/she'	ellos/as 'they$_{m/f}$'

2.2. TYPES OF CLITICS: OBJECT, SUBJECT AND PP-CLITICS

2.2.1. Object clitics: dative and accusative

In the Romance languages, the most commonly used dative and accusative pronouns are clitics.[3] In these languages, clitics (like strong and phonologically null pronouns), reflect some/all phi-features (person, number, gender) and some instances are also specified for Case (Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Ablative). However, as Kayne (1975) first pointed out, clitics differ from strong pronominal (and full nominal) expressions with respect to a number of syntactic properties, illustrated in (1-6) examples

[3] The corresponding dative and accusative strong pronominal forms, for the most part, must co-occur with the equivalent clitic forms creating a *clitic doubling* structure. These constructions will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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a and *b* respectively:[4] (1) They cannot be used in isolation, (2) they cannot be modified, (3) they cannot be conjoined, (4) they may occur in contrastive environments, but they cannot receive focus/contrastive stress,[5] (5) they cannot be separated from the verb, unless by another clitic, or under very special circumstances in some Romance varieties[6] and

---

[4] Kayne's syntactic tests were drawn from French, but the same relevant contrasts apply to the other Romance languages. Similar facts also obtain in non-Romance languages (e.g., West Flemish (Haegeman, 1992), Dutch (Zwart, 1992), among many others).

[5] Kayne (personal communication) reports that there are counter-examples in some languages. For instance, in French, clitics may receive normal phrase-final phonological stress in cases like: *Fais-LE!* 'do-it'. Also Monachesi (1996 p. 66) states that in Napoletano when two clitics are enclitic, the first one receives stress. She illustrates this information with the sentence in (i).

(i) Porta-tí-lla
bring-2p cl$_{DAT}$-3p cl$_{ACC}$
'bring it with you'

[6] Kayne (1994, p. 144, note 8) points out that in Borgomanero (a northern Italian dialect) the finite verb can be separated from the clitics by various elements, among them the postverbal negation and tonic subject pronouns. He provides the example in (i), which he takes from Colombo (1967, p. 55). In this structure the strong pronoun *mé* (cf. French *moi*) separates the verb "dis" from the object Italian clitic *vi*.

(i) i dis mévvi
'subj.-cl.$_{1SG}$ say I (cf. Fr. *moi*) you$_{DAT.CL.}$ (cf. It. *vi*)'

Kayne (1991, p. 653) reports another dialect, Occitan (a southern French dialect which flourished in the 13th C) in which the clitics *y* and *en* can be separated from the infinitive by certain adverbs, as in (ii).

(ii) ..... en bien parler .....
of-it well to-speak

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(6) they cannot be the complement of a preposition.[7]

(1) (¿A quién llamas?)[8]
to whom call2sg.

a. * lo / la
him / her

b. a él / a ella
to him / to her

(2) a. * María [los dos] invitó
M. them two invited

b. María los invitó [a ellos dos]
M. them invited to them both

(3) a. * Juan [lo y la] quiere
J. him and her loves

b. Juan los quiere [a él y a ella]
J. them loves him and her

(4) a. * Yo LA saludo, no a Luís
I HER greet, not (to) Luís

b. Yo la saludo a ELLA, no a Luís
I her greet to her, not (to) Luís

(5) a. * Mario me pronto visitará
M. to me soon will visit

b. Mario me visitará pronto a mí
M. to me will visit soon to me

(6) a. * Tu novio a te habla cada día
your boyfriend to you talks each day

b. Tu novio habla de ti cada día
your boyfriend talks about you each day

---

[7] Spanish examples are provided here in place of Kayne's original French sentences (1-5a).

[8] In what follows, I will include an English translation only where I have been informed that it is not clear from the gloss.

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Another significant distinction also pointed out by Kayne (1975, p. 86, and elsewhere) is that third person clitics (subject and object) can readily refer to inanimate things, whereas the non-clitic forms (strong pronouns) favor a human (or at least an animate) referent. That is, the strong pronouns are more restricted in their interpretation. This is exemplified with Kayne's examples in (7) and (8) for clitics and strong pronouns, respectively.

(7) a. Il n'est pas mal, ton bouquin
it is not bad, your book

b. On le lit partout, ton bouquin
one it reads everywhere, your book

(8) a. ?Ses livres, il ne pense plus à eux
his books, he doesn't think about them, anymore

b. ?Ce livre-là, elle ne lit plus que lui
that book, she no longer reads anything but it

More recently, Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) have proposed that pronominal systems consist of three different 'classes' of pronouns which stand in the ordering relation: clitic < weak < strong. According to these authors, each class is gradually more deficient than the other throughout the components of grammar (morphology, phonology, syntax, semantics). Thus, compared with weak and strong pronouns, clitics are the least heavy morphologically, they are unstressed, they are limited to one specific position in the clause and they cannot introduce a new referent in the discourse. These properties are presented as a universal

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generalization.[9] Cardinaletti and Starke claim that when a context allows more than one type of pronoun, the weakest acceptable form is preferred. For instance, in (9) the clitic (a) is preferred over the strong pronoun (b).[10]

(9) *Il a peur de toi*
he has fear of you

a. *Il te craint*
he Cl2sg. fears

b. (?* Il craint toi)
he fears you

---

[9] There are in fact some specific contexts in which clitics receive stress, some language varieties that allow the clitic to appear in two positions at the time (i.e., instances of clitic reduplication), and arguably strong pronouns cannot introduce a new referent either. The two former points will be illustrated in the following sections.

[10] Kayne (1999, lecture at CUNY Graduate Center) presents some data showing that structure minimization is not always the preferred (or the acceptable) option. He illustrates this claim with the French finite (i) and gerund (ii) structures.

(i) a. Jean voit Marie ('Jean sees M')
b. * Moi voit Marie (moi 'me')
c. Je vois Marie ('I see M')

(ii) a. Jean ayant résolu le problème, tout va bien
Jean having solved the problem, all goes well
b. *Moi/LUI ayant résolu le problème, tout va bien
c. ** J'ayant résolu le problème, tout va bien

Kayne argues that although the unacceptability of (ib) with a subject pronoun seems to be derived by the availability of the equivalent clitic instance (namely, (ic)), cases like (ii) are problematic for Cardinaletti and Starke's proposal since neither the pronominal (ib), nor the clitic (ic) option is allowed. That is, there is no clitic alternative for the deviant strong pronoun in (iib).

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2.2.2. Subject clitics

In addition to object clitics, some languages have other types of pronominal clitics. For instance, French and the northern Italian dialects (or languages) have subject clitics. These elements, in general, also exhibit the properties (1) - (6) listed above from Kayne (1975); however, they are morphologically and syntactically different from object clitics. In Cardinaletti and Starke's terms, both subject and object clitics are structurally deficient elements across languages: the subject clitics are *weak pronouns* which appear in a spec-head configuration with the licensing head, whereas the object elements are genuine clitics which undergo head movement to be immediately adjacent to the licensing head. Thus, the similarities between subject and object clitics seem to be related to their deficient status, and their differences to the ways in which they are licensed.

According to Kayne (1983b, p. 220), the crucial difference between French subject and object clitics is that subject clitics cliticize in the phonology (they are not subject to syntactic movement), whereas object clitics cannot remain in their D-structure position at S-structure and they must undergo syntactic movement, as shown in (10). Kayne's hypothesis suggests that French subject clitics are "less clitics" than object clitics. This point will be of interest in Chapter V where I report the rate of acquisition of subject and object clitics in French.

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(10) a. Ils les voient
'they them see'

b. * Ils voient les

According to Kayne the "purely phonological cliticization" of *ils* in (10) also explains the ordering of clitics: object clitics never precede subjects (clitics or lexical NPs) in Romance (cf. Kayne, 1975, Chapter 2, note 18).[11]

Although the core properties (1-6) of clitics apply to subject clitics in French and the northern Italian dialects, these elements do not behave exactly the same in the two languages, not even within the dialects of each language, especially in the case of Italian. For instance, in some of the northern Italian dialects (e.g., Trentino, Fiorentino, Piedmontese etc.) subject clitics tend to co-occur with lexical subjects (a noun or a strong pronoun) with which they agree in all phi-features (e.g., *La Maria la* parla 'the Mary she speaks'). Other dialects (e.g., Paduan), however, do not allow the lexical subject if the clitic is present.[12] This restriction also applies to French except for a dialect in the

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[11] Referring to Kayne (1972), Kayne (1975, Chap. 2 note 18) proposes that subject clitics might adjoin to the verb after object clitics do, yielding the subject-object (clitic or otherwise) ordering. According to Kayne, this later attachment into the verb group might also explain the fact that subject clitics are not subject to any of the constraints on clitic sequences. That is, it could be that these constraints take effect before the subject clitics are dominated by the V node. Kayne's proposal needs to be revised to make it compatible with Kayne (1994).

[12] Detailed information on this and other related issues is provided by Renzi and Vanelli (1983).

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North of France, Picard, in which nominative doubling is obligatory (cf. Flutre, 1970; Debrie, 1974; Dauby 1979, among others) and in Québec Colloquial French where doubling applies optionally (cf. Carroll, 1982a; Roberge, 1990; Auger, 1994 among others). In addition, there are dialects in French (e.g., Occitan in the South of France) which allow pro-drop to a significant extent (cf. Kayne, 1989b, p. 249). These dialects are quite closely related to Catalan.

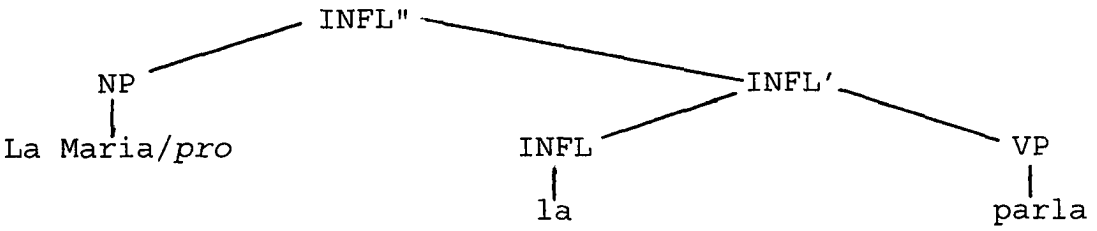
This diversity indicates that subject clitics across languages have a different categorial status and are subject to different distributional constraints. Rizzi (1986b) and Brandi and Cordin (1989) maintain that in the northern Italian dialects nominative clitics are syntactic clitics, pronominal instances of AGR (i.e., agreement markers) base generated in INFL (I°). (Kayne points out to me (p.c.) that these items still precede object clitics though sometimes not negation). The subject position in these varieties is filled either with a lexical subject (i.e., when doubling applies, in Trentito, Fiorentino, Piedmontese etc.) or with *pro* (e.g., in the non-doubling dialects, such as Paduan) which is licensed and identified by the subject clitic.[13] Rizzi proposes

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[13] Rizzi (1986b p. 393) points out that the only difference between the northern dialects and standard Italian is that in the northern dialects the strong AGR is spelled out in Phonetic Form, both in the verbal morphology and (obligatorily or optionally) in the abstract Infl projection, whereas in Standard Italian there is no reduplication of agreement and these features are only present in Phonetic Form in the verb endings. With respect to clitic combinations, Rizzi (p. 399) proposes that there are two clitic clusters: a

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the following representation for these structures:[14]



In the case of Standard French, however, these authors propose that subject clitics are NPs and their status as clitics is purely phonological. That is, they do not cliticize in the syntax, but rather, they are in subject [NP,S] position at S-structure.[15] Rizzi proposes the following structural representation for these structures:[16]

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cluster of subject clitics and negation which occurs under INFL, and a cluster of complement clitics which appears under VP. He argues that variations in the ordering of clitics within clusters (reorderings) take place inside each cluster, but not across them.

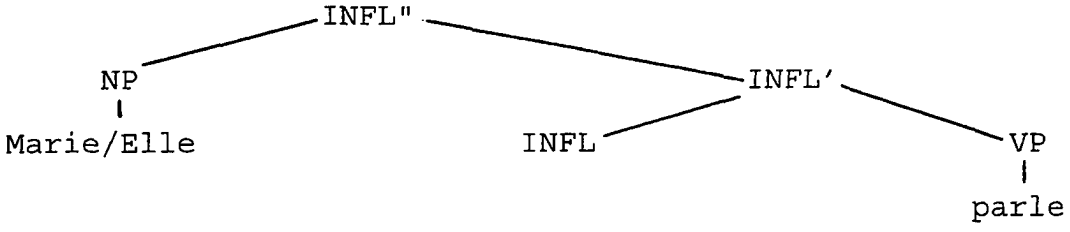
[14] This analysis of tensed sentences could be updated in terms of Belletti (1990) (e.g., splitting Infl into an AGRP and a TP projection). In that case, the subject clitic would be in AGR°.

[15] The fact that nominative clitics occupy the subject position explains the complementary distribution of lexical NP's (tonic pronouns are not present as subjects) and subject clitics in Standard French. That is, it accounts for the absence of nominative clitic doubling (i), except with a left dislocation reading (ii).

(i) * Marie elle a vu Jean
M. she has seen J.
(ii) Marie, elle a vu Jean

[16] This analysis could be updated in terms of Belletti, 1990 (i.e., splitting Infl into an AgrP and a TP projection). In that case, the subject clitic would be in the Spec of AgrP.

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However, Kayne (1991, p. 672, note 62) suggests that if subject clitics were to be assimilated to agreement morphology they should appear in every context, like verbal agreement does (e.g., they should be obligatorily absent even from plural imperatives). He points out that the northern Italian subject clitics differ from AGR in that they are obligatorily absent in imperatives, just like the equivalent French clitics which also fail to appear in these contexts. In spite of the research efforts directed towards these issues the theory is not yet entirely clear. What is plausible, though, is that the observed differences relate to the fact that French is a non-null subject language (non pro-drop), whereas the Italian dialects are (partially) null subject languages.[17] It would be of great interest to know how subject clitics are acquired

[17] It seems that the Pro-drop parameter has to be broken down into sub-parameters (Rizzi, 1986a; Platzack, 1987; Jaeggli and Safir, 1989; Valian, 1990a; Poletto, 1992; Speas, 1994; Vainikka and Levy, 1995; Elisha, 1997, among others). In French, the paradigm of subject clitics is obligatorily filled for every person and number. However, in the Northern Italian dialects for some choices of these grammatical features the clitic is obligatorily realized, but for others it is optional or not available at all. That is, French never allows null subjects, whereas the northern Italian dialects typically allow them in some contexts; cf. Renzi and Vanelli (1983); Rizzi (1986b p. 401); Brandi and Cordin, (1989, p. 113), among others.

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in French versus in the northern Italian dialects but I am not aware of any research that addresses this issue.

2.2.3. PP-clitics: Genitive and locative

Another category of clitics includes the locative and genitive, known as PP-clitics. This type of element appears in French (*en/y*), Italian (*ci/ne*) and Catalan (*ho/hi/en*), but not in Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanian and Romans.[18] Unlike dative and accusative clitics, PP-clitics do not vary at all with respect to person, number and gender. These elements are exemplified in the following Catalan sentences where the underlined constituents are substitutable by the partitive clitic *en* and the adverbial clitic *hi*. *En* alternates with prepositional phrases introduced by "de", that is, constituents of the form (*de+NP*), and *hi* substitutes for locative-directional PP's (typically headed by *a*). There are no alternations with nonclitic pronominal forms.

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[18] Following Marantz (1988), Bonet (1991) assumes that the syntax generates the same clitics for all languages; yet, in some cases certain clitics fail to map onto the Morphology. Bonet argues that Spanish is syntactically identical to Catalan with respect to locative clitics; however, in Catalan these elements are mapped onto the Morphology, whereas this is not so in Spanish. As Bonet points out, in terms of acquisition, it can be assumed that the unmarked setting is the no mapping alternative (Spanish, in this case) and positive evidence triggers the mapping application in languages like Catalan. I am not aware of any research on the acquisition of these clitics.

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(11) a. Venim de Barcelona ---> *En* venim
we come from Barcelona

b. Tots van a Barcelona ---> Tots *hi* van
all go to Barcelona

2.3. THE SPANISH CLITIC SYSTEM

The modern Spanish clitic system is not as rich as that of other Romance languages such as French, Italian and Catalan. The Spanish paradigm contains only accusative and dative clitics. Table 2 illustrates this system.

Table 2. Spanish Clitic System

Cat	Nom	Acc/Dat 1st	Acc/Dat 2nd	Acc 3rd	Dat 3rd	SE 3rd	PPcl
sg.	--	me	te	lom/laf	le	se	--
pl.	--	nos	os	losm/lasf	les	se	--

Spanish first and second person clitics have no morphological distinction for gender or Case and they can function as reflexive or non reflexive. That is, they are specified as [-gender, +number, +person], [-Case]. Third person clitics, however, are specified as [Case(ACC)] and [Case(DAT)]. The accusative forms, in turn, are [+gender, +number, +person] and the datives are [-gender, +number, +person].[19] *Se* (and

[19] Identical lexico-grammatical features are found also in French, Italian, Catalan (and others) with respect to first and second person clitics and almost the same generalization is found on the third person forms. These last elements are uniformly specified as [Case(ACC)] and [Case(DAT)] and the accusatives, in turn, as [+gender, +number, +person]. The

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its equivalents throughout Romance) is the least specified clitic since it is only [+person].[20] The difference between 1st/2nd and 3rd person clitics (strong non-determiner vs. weak determiner, respectively) is relevant for some syntactic analyses (cf. Laenzlinger, 1993; Uriagereka, 1995 and Kayne (1998), among others).

Some clitic forms are allophonic and this causes ambiguity in certain contexts. This occurs with third person accusative and dative clitics. For instance, an accusative form such as *la* can either indicate 'you' (2nd person feminine formal) or 'her' (third person feminine). The dative clitics *le/les* are even more ambiguous since their referent can be

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pattern of datives, however, changes slightly since, like in Spanish, these items are specified as [-gender, +number, +person] in French, Catalan, Rumanian and Portuguese, but mainly as [+gender, +number, +person] in Italian (the Italian masculine form *gli*, is not marked for number since it can be singular 'to him' and, in colloquial speech, also plural 'to them$_{masc/fem}$'. The corresponding formal form is *loro*). An exception to the Italian pattern are the Corsican and Trentito (northern) dialects which show no variation for gender and number (Blanchadell 1992, p. 23), perhaps like the case of *gli* in Italian.

[20] The pronoun *se* (or its equivalents across Romance) is semantically and syntactically more complex than the rest of the object clitics. This is due to the fact that it has multiple uses (e.g., in Spanish it can appear as a reflexive, as impersonal, as passive, as inherent, as reciprocal, as middle and as the so called 'spurious' *se* (cf. Perlmutter, 1971, chap. 2). Most of these functions are strictly associated to the subject position, and it seems likely that all, or most of them, are functionally derived from a single abstract SE in the lexicon. This topic is controversial and not well understood yet. For a detailed study of this pronominal clitic, I refer the reader to Belletti (1982), Rizzi (1982), Burzio (1986), Manzini (1986), Suñer (1988b), Cinque (1988), Campos (1989c), Harris (1997), Kayne (1998), among the most recent studies from a wide corpus of research.

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either 'you' (masculine/feminine formal) or masculine/ feminine third person. To avoid these possible ambiguities, a coreferent strong pronoun or a lexical DP can be used in addition to the clitic, as in the following example:

(12) Lem/f di $6 a ustedm/f/él/ella/Teo/Ana
I CL2m/f formal/3 dat m/f gave $6 to youformal/him/her/Teo/Ana

As indicated previously, when a strong pronoun (dative or accusative) is present, the pronominal clitic is almost always obligatory. With a lexical DP there is extra-linguistic and intra-linguistic variation. As mentioned, this phenomenon is known as *clitic doubling*.

An interesting dialectal variation is observed with non-reflexive third person dative and accusative Spanish clitics. This is a phenomenon known as *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo*. These are cases where the form that is used diverges from the etymologically/paradigmatically expected form. *Leísmo* occurs when the indirect object clitic *le* is used instead of *lo* (or more rarely, *la*) as a direct object. *Laísmo* is the usage of *la* instead of *le* for a dative feminine referent. Finally, *loísmo* takes place when *lo* is used instead of *le* for a dative masculine (or neuter) referent. The following sentences exemplify *leísmo, laísmo and loísmo* respectively:

(13) Su novia le conoció en una fiesta
his girlfriend him met in a party

(14) Su marido la preparó una sorpresa
her husband her(DAT) prepared a surprise

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(15) Lo echan mucho azúcar (al helado)
they it(DAT) put a lot of sugar (to the ice cream)

Leísmo is a quite widespread phenomenon in certain Spanish and Latin-American geographical areas.[21] *Laísmo* and especially *loísmo* are much more restricted. In spite of many years of study (cf. Cuervo (1895), Fernández Ramírez (1964), Lapesa (1968), García (1975, 1992), García and Otheguy (1977), Bosque (1983), Fernández Ordóñez (1994), among many others) these phenomena are not yet well understood with respect to either their historic evolution or their present day usage.

2.4. CLITIC CLUSTERING

A property of many pronominal clitic languages is that they allow more than one pronoun to cliticize, creating clusters which are subject to ordering constraints and clitic co-occurrence restrictions.

Clitic clusters differ significantly within closely related languages or even dialects. For the most part, they are formed of two clitics but in languages like Spanish, and even more commonly in Italian, the cluster can contain three clitics (see (16) from Spanish). Other languages, like

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[21] Referring to several authors, Fernández-Ordóñez (1994) reports on certain areas of Spain (e.g., some sections of Cantabria, Navarra, Madrid, Vizcaya etc.,) and Latin-America (e.g., certain parts of Ecuador, Paraguay, Perú, etc.) where *leísmo* appears to be the norm. That is, it seems to occur obligatorily. However, it appears that there is a considerable amount of variation with respect to usage in the different dialectal varieties.

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Catalan, allow an even larger number of clitics in a cluster, while Standard French usually permits only two object clitics at a time. I believe that the only Romance language which virtually always lacks clitic clusters is Brazilian Portuguese.[22] That is, this language does not allow sentences like the Spanish example in (17a). Instead, Brazilian Portuguese uses (17b).

(16) Se me le perdió el reloj a mi hijo
SE CL1sg. CL3sg.dat got lost the watch to my son
'my son's watch got lost on him'

(17) a. Yo se lo compré a ellos ayer
I SE it bought to them yesterday

b. Eu a comprei para eles ontem
I it bought for them yesterday

---

[22] In general, the use of clitic pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese is increasingly becoming more restricted (cf. Pizzini, 1981 p. 403). For instance, in colloquial Brazilian even single clitics tend to be avoided. They are either omitted (i) or replaced by the corresponding accusative or dative strong forms (e.g., (iia) with an accusative). Single clitics, however, still occur in the language, especially in formal or semiformal registers, mainly in the usage of the first person singular or plural (e.g., (iib) with a 3rd person accusative).

(Os convidados chegaram)
the guests arrived

(i) Eu sei. Eu vi
I know. I saw

(ii) a. Eu sei. Eu vi eles (=I saw them)
b. Eu sei. Eu os vi (=I them saw)

Thanks to Ingrid Finger for discussing these facts with me and for providing these (and other) data.

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Sentences like (16) are considered awkward by some speakers, and are quite limited in their distribution, yet they are judged grammatical. The first person clitic *me* in (16) is an "ethical" dative form.[23]

Clitic clustering in Romance is often subject to language internal idiosyncrasies. These are mostly exhibited in third person clusters. For instance, in French the systematic dative-accusative order observed in first/second and third person clitics (see (18a) below) - except for positive imperatives as in (18b), reverses to accusative-dative order for third person (18c). In Italian the combination *glielo* shows accusative-dative in a one-word sequence (e.g., (19a) below) and the dative feminine clitic *le* does not appear in clusters at all (see (19b).

(18) a. Jean me / te le donnera
J. to me / to you it will give

b. Dites-le-nous
tell -it-to us

c. Jean le lui donnera
J. it to him will give

[23] Ethical datives, for the most part, are only used in first person (for the speaker) and in second person (for the hearer) in languages like Spanish, Catalan, Italian and French. Third person ethicals tend to be marginal in most contexts for most speakers. Ethicals often express some sort of emotional attachment. With respect to ordering, first and second person ethicals (but not third) precede most other clitics. Ethical clitics do not have a specific role in the syntax (they are not part of the lexical argument structure of the verb). Bonet (1991, note 27, p. 63) believes that these items should be viewed as discourse particles.

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(19) a. Franco glielo presenterà
F. him to him/her will introduce
'F. will introduce him to him/her'

b. *Franco le lo presenterà

Third person clitic combinations are often also subject to some peculiar modifications. That is, sometimes they are not spelled out (e.g., (20b) from Bonet p. 37). As this example shows in the combination of the two third person clitics, the accusative clitic "le" does not surface in the structure. Sometimes a clitic acquires the form of another clitic (as in (21b) below from Spanish). The interpretation is nevertheless recoverable in both cases and the sentences are grammatical. The same phenomena are also displayed with genitive and with locative clitics. First, second, reflexive and impersonal clitics are immune to most of these changes.

(20) a. Je le lui donnerai (Standard French)
I 3rd-acc 3rd-dat will-give1st
'I will give it to him/her'

b. Je lui donnerai (French dialects)
I 3rd-dat will-give1st

A puzzling example is observed in Spanish. In this language, when two third person clitics co-occur, the regular dative clitic (*le* in (21a)) is replaced by *se* (21b).

(21) (Le envié un libro a mi hermano)
I to him sent a book to my brother

a. * Le lo envié por su cumpleaños
I to him it sent for his birthday

b. *Se* lo envié por su cumpleaños

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As noted above (note 20), this *se* is probably identical to the *se* which usually acts as an anaphoric or impersonal clitic. The *se* clitic in this usage is known as 'spurious' and the process that obligatorily derives the grammatical (21b) from the ungrammatical (21a) is known as the 'spurious *se*' rule.

As indicated above, clitic clustering is also subject to co-occurrence restrictions. A well-known case that applies almost universally in Romance is the so-called **Me lui-I-II Constraint*. This constraint prohibits the co-occurrence of a third person dative clitic with a first/second clitic form. This is illustrated in (22a) from Spanish. The correct way to express this combination is by using the corresponding strong dative form in the argument position of the predicate. This is shown in (22b).

(22) a. * Juan me le presentó
J. me to him/her introduced
'J. introduced me to him/her'

b. Juan me presentó a él /ella
J. me introduced to him/her
'J. introduced me to him/her'

Researchers within the framework of Transformational Generative Grammar (e.g., Perlmutter 1971; Seuren 1976; Wanner 1977; Burston 1983; Simpson and Withgott 1986; Bonet 1991; Harris 1994, among others) have studied the issue of clitic sequences in different (Romance) languages and have concluded that, at least in many cases, the constraints on clitic ordering and their co-occurrence restrictions cannot be

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accounted for by syntactic transformations or by any purely syntactic approach. There are two well-known analyses which consider clitics as syntactic elements, but they resort to other modules to account for clitic ordering and most of their morphophonological idiosyncracies. These approaches were developed by Perlmutter (1971), essentially for the Spanish and French clitic system, and Bonet (1991) for Catalan varieties and some Spanish and Italian phenomena.

Perlmutter's account makes use of phonological rules and a morphological template, whereas Bonet's considers only layered morphological information. This latter approach is also more complicated (the data addressed are more complex) and more systematic than Perlmutter's.

Perlmutter argues that all the properties which are relevant for clitic ordering are present at the surface level. Thus, the surface order of clitics is strictly determined by an output structure constraint, not by general syntactic principles. For instance, in Spanish, he claims that the order of clitics is determined on the basis of person, rather than by grammatical role. At least in French, person is not sufficient. Case is also relevant; it plays a role in the relative ordering of third person clitics (cf. (18b) above). Perlmutter proposes that for every language which contains clitics there is a template which represents the grammatical sequence of clitics. This template consists of slots which are filled optionally in some fixed order. Each slot of the

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template is specified for certain clitic forms and only one of these forms is allowed to appear at a time in the slot. This implies that there will be no clusters of clitics associated with the same slot, and that a clitic from an earlier slot must always precede a clitic (if present) from a later slot. Thus, the ordering relations are transitive, antisymmetric and irreflexive. The Spanish template is shown in Table 3.[24]

Table 3. Spanish Clitic Template

SE	2nd +/- Ref Dat/Acc	1st +/- Ref Dat/Acc	3rd Dat	3rd Acc
3rd impersonal 3rd reflexive 'Spurious' SE	te os	me nos	le les	lo/la los/las

As indicated, the pronominal *se* is the first in the template, followed by 2nd and 1st person (+/-reflexive) clitic forms irrespective of Case. The next slot corresponds to the 3rd

[24] Bonet observes that this filter uses two types of information: Phonological content (SE) and morphological (II-I-III, namely person). Bonet refers to person as a morphological feature. However, it seems more appropriate to consider it (like the rest of the phi-features) syntactic (lexico-grammatical in Laenzlinger's terminology). In this sense, *se* is the exception that proves the rule. The condition on *se* is a morphological condition since despite its very different functions, *se* always has the same syntactic position in the template. That is, *se* is ordered in the same place regardless of its syntactic features.

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person dative clitic which always precedes any 3rd person accusative clitic.[25,26] This is illustrated in (23).

(23) Juan me lo / * lo me presentó
J. to me him / him to me introduced

Perlmutter accounts for the *Spurious se* phenomenon by claiming that the dative pronoun, which always precedes the accusative, adopts a different shape, that is, it is converted into *se* by

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[25] Following Lapesa (1986), Uriagereka (1995) indicates that there are Romance dialects (i.e., Modern Aragonese) that do not always follow this route. In (i), the third person clitic (lo) precedes the second person form (te).

(i) Lo te diré
it you(DAT) say.will.I
'I will say it to you'

I presume that sentences like these are accepted only in some Aragonese areas. I am an Aragonese myself and I have never heard cases like (i). What is quite frequent in (many) rural Aragonese dialects is to reverse the *se-me/te* order to *me/te-se*, as in (iib).

(ii) a. Se me/te acaba de parar el reloj (Standard Spanish)
SE 1s./2s. just stopped the watch
'my/your watch just stopped working on me/you'
b. Me/te se acaba de parar el reloj (Rural Aragonese)

Curiously, this peculiarity does not occur in encliticization contexts (e.g., with an infinitive). That is, sentences like (iiib) are ungrammatical.

(iii) a. Acaba de parárseme/te el reloj (Standard Spanish)
just stopped-SE-1s./2s. the watch
'my/your watch just stopped working on me/you'
b. * Acaba de parár-me/te-se el reloj

Thanks to Francisco Ordóñez for bringing this interesting fact to my attention.

[26] There are sequences that respect the person filter but are nevertheless judged ungrammatical, as in the case of the **Me lui-I-II Constraint* referred to above (cf. (22)).

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means of some kind of obligatory phonological dissimilation rule, as shown in (24).[27]

(24) *Spurious* ***se*** *Rule* (Perlmutter 1971 p. 22)

Pro III Dat		Pro III Acc	
1		2	----> *se*, 2

Clusters in other languages (French, Catalan and especially Italian) can be more complex than in Spanish since, as indicated, their lexical system contains a larger number of clitic entries. Their corresponding templates are presented in the following tables:

Table 4. French Clitic Template (From Sportiche 1992/1996)

Nom	Neg	1st/2nd/Ref	3rd/Acc predicate	3rd/Dat	Loc	Gen
il	ne	me/te/se nous/vous	le/la les	lui leur	y	en

[27] Bonet argues against the way Perlmutter formulates the *Spurious se* rule. Her concern is that in his system the fact that the output form (*se*) coincides phonologically with an independently existing clitic (e.g., the reflexive/impersonal *se*) is a mere coincidence, whereas in her morphological approach, this is expected. Bonet also maintains that the *le* to *se* change cannot be considered phonological since it could not take place in only one phonological rule.

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Table 5. Standard Catalan Clitic Template

Nom	Neg	1st/2nd/Ref	3rd/Acc predicate	3rd/Dat	Gen	Loc
--	en	me/te/se nous	el/la els	li les	en	hi

Table 6. Standard Italian Clitic Template

Nom	Neg	1st/2nd/3rd Dat	Loc	Ref	3rd/Acc	Imp	Gen
--	non	mi/ti/gli/le ci/vi	ci	si	lo/la li/le	si	ne

Perlmutter's approach has been under scrutiny from the time of his seminal work (1971). Criticism has been raised against it (cf. Wanner (1977), Seuren (1976), Emonds (1975), among many others) basically, on the ground that it is an *ad hoc* process that needs to be supplemented by negative constraints to meet the demands of certain clitic combinations and dialectal variation.

Bonet's approach deals with clitic ordering, synthetic clusters (non-transparent combinations of clitics as produced by the Spurious *se* rule) and co-occurrence restrictions. With respect to the syntax of clitics she assumes the *Movement Approach* in the vein of Kayne in all his work since (1975). Kayne's analysis is presented in Chapter IV. Bonet claims that a syntax-based approach such as Kayne's might predict the ordering of clitics in languages with a very limited system of

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clitics (e.g., Modern Greek),[28] but it is not enough to account for the linear order among clitics in most Romance languages. Bonet's evidence is based on dialectal variation[29] and on the different uses or status of clitics, such as arguments (or inherent), adjuncts and ethicals.[30] Following Halle (1989a,b), Bonet assumes that there is an intermediate component between S-structure and PF which she refers to as the Morphology Component (MC). Next, she proposes that pronominal clitics in (most) Romance languages comprise hierarchical structures of morphological features (i.e., argument (+/-person or neuter) and oblique (genitive)), most of which are created in the mapping from S-structure to

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[28] In Modern Greek there are only two types of pronominal clitics with different morphological inflection: genitive (this corresponds both to syntactic genitive and syntactic dative) and accusative. There are no reflexive or adverbial clitics.

[29] Bonet presents clitic templates from three dialects/registers of Catalan: Mallorcan, Valencian and Standard Catalan. She argues (1.3. p. 73) that the order of clitics in these three varieties differs significantly even though there are no related syntactic differences among them.

[30] Bonet argues that at least in Romance, specific clitics occupy a particular surface position within a morphological cluster regardless of their syntactic function as argument or adjunct, while others (e.g., ethicals) have no syntactic role. She illustrates this point with cases like (i) from Catalan (Bonet 1.2 p. 66). Notice that although the linear order of clitics in (ia) and (ib) is the same (te-me), the functions are reversed: inherent-ethical (ia) and ethical-inherent (ib).

(i) a. No *te* *m'*enfadis
no refl-2p(inh.) 1p(eth) get-angry(pres. subj. 2p. sg)
'don't get angry! (on me)'
b. No *te* *m'*enfadaré
no 2p(eth.) refl-1p(inh) get-angry(pres. subj. 1p. sg)

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the MC. The surface order among clitics is set up within this intermediate component through the mapping to a template that makes use always (and only) of morphological information.[31] This mechanism also serves to account for the application of rules (morphological, insertion and deletion) that manipulate certain clitic combinations producing changes in the form of the clitics (e.g., association operations, insertion and delinking). A well-known case is the Spanish Spurious *se*.

Bonet's approach is more principle-based than Perlmutter's, but it is very complex for the data it covers. Bonet's rich data and theoretical proposals have advanced our understanding of clitic combinations, though many questions still remain. Next, I will report briefly on a few recent syntactic approaches to clitic combinations.

Works like Baker (1985a,b) and Pollock (1989) have encouraged the opinion that grammatical function changing (and other morphological phenomena such as inflection) can be derived directly from the syntax; yet, there are very few syntax-based approaches which confront the clitic clustering issues just discussed (clitic ordering, synthetic clusters and clitic co-occurrence restrictions). This is probably due to the extensive amount of variation displayed, making it very difficult for syntacticians to find satisfactory

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[31] Differently from Perlmutter, in Bonet's account phonological information is not available in the syntax, but rather it is introduced late in the MC through spelled-out rules. The spelled-out forms make up the input to phonology.

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generalizations even across Standard Romance. If one considers dialectal variation, especially within Italian, the output is so heterogeneous that it is virtually impossible to make strong universal claims. Researchers who have taken this challenge have typically focused either on a language-specific issue (e.g., the flexible ordering of clitics in Greek postverbal position, cf. Terzi, 1994, 1995; the adjunction of clitics, and their combinations, in some Spanish dialects, cf. Ordóñez and Terzi, 1997 and others), or on one or more aspects within various languages. For instance, Terzi (1995) accounts for the differences in surface clitic positioning in Cypriot versus Standard Greek; Laenzlinger (1993) discusses certain peculiarities and restrictions exhibited in object and PP-clitics in proclitic French, Italian and Spanish contexts; and Uriagereka (1988) presents an ECP-based account of the ordering of 3rd person dative and accusative clitics in Spanish, French and Galician tensed clauses. This analysis is done in line with Larson's (1988) theory for indirect objects. Finally, Uriagereka (1995) concentrates primarily on facts related to the sequential ordering of 1st and 2nd person clitics (*strong* "phrasal" clitics) versus 3rd person (accusative) clitics (*weak* determiner (head) clitics) mainly in tensed Spanish, French and Galician clauses.[32] His

[32] Third person dative clitics are put aside in this study. Uriagereka, referring to Sportiche (1992), describes them as "the dative equivalent of Agr_o or Agr_s" in Chomsky's (1993) terms. That is, they are regarded as *agreement* clitics which move into an Agr_{Io} head.

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insight is that the different orderings for *strong* and *weak* clitics follow from the different processes that move them: namely, adjunction-scrambling for strong clitics, and head movement (and perhaps substitution scrambling) for weak determiner clitics. This proposal employs several Minimalist strategies discussed in Chomsky (1993).

These cross-linguistic Romance studies reveal some interesting generalizations, although not all the arguments are convincing and some stipulations have to be resorted to. The Italian data in particular constitutes a serious challenge to any theoretically satisfactory account and this remains the most puzzling topic of the theory of clitics.

2.5. CLITIC PLACEMENT

Another complex fact that Romance grammars have to capture is the placement of clitics within the syntactic configuration. The basic word order in most Modern Romance languages is SVO (e.i., 25a); however, this basic order changes from SVO to SOV when dative or accusative DPs pronominalize, as in (25b).[33]

(25) a. Olga escribe una carta a su amigo
O. writes a letter to her friend

b. Olga se la escribe
O. to him it writes

[33] I would like to remind the reader that this applies only to weak pronouns. That is, the strong pronominal forms show the basic SVO order.

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More complex facts emerge when we look at specific constructions within the different languages. The structure that most widely deviates from the above SOV generalization is the case of positive imperatives where enclitic ordering is almost always required:[34]

(26) a. Dímelo, por favor
tell me it, please

b. * Me lo di, por favor
to me it tell, please

This observation holds not only for the majority of the Romance languages, but also for imperatives in other basically SVO Indo-European languages such as Modern Greek, Albanian, Modern Macedonian, etc. A similar encliticization pattern is found in infinitival clauses all through Romance with the exception of French, Occitan, Sardinian, Gardenese (some northern Italian dialects) and two varieties of Rhaeto-Romance; in these cases, clitics precede the infinitive. This

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[34] According to Madeira (1992 p. 96), positive imperatives in Brazilian Portuguese display the order clitic-verb (i). In fact, she states that in this variety clitics are exclusively proclitic. Most Romance languages exhibit both preverbal and postverbal clitics. No modern Romance language seems to be attested with only postverbal clitics. Borgomonero (cf. note 6) seems to be the closest attested language. According to Kayne (1994, p. 144, note 8) this dialect manifests encliticization almost always. More detailed information on this last point is provided in note 37 below.

(i) Me ajude
me-acc help
'help me'

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is illustrated in the following infinitival examples from Spanish and French:

	Spanish	French
(27) a.	El quiere dármelo he wants to give-me-it	b. Il veut me le donner he wants to me it to give

Some other languages and dialects are mixed, that is, they allow both orders (clitic-infinitive/infinitive-clitic). These include the Val d'Aosta dialect of northwestern Italy, Brazilian Portuguese, both of which are predominantly clitic-infinitive (Kayne 1991 p. 658, from Chenal 1986 p. 358, for Val d'Aosta; Kayne, 1991 p. 672, from Parkinson 1988 p. 159, for Brazilian Portuguese).[35] Mixed patterns are also found in Galician and European Portuguese.[36]

Contrary to the broadly general enclitic placement in positive imperatives, Romance exhibits some degree of variation with regard to the distribution of clitics in negative imperatives. The pattern is uniform in languages

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[35] Kayne's report of Parkinson (1988) differs from that of Madeira (1992) cited in note 34 above since Madeira states that clitics in Brazilian Portuguese are exclusively proclitic. This divergence could simply be due to dialectal idiosyncrasies since Kayne also reports that clitics in these contexts are predominantly proclitic.

[36] More detailed information on clitic placement and other related issues can be found in Kayne (1991). A study of the placement facts in Galician is provided by Alvarez (1980) and Campos (1989a), and for European Portuguese by Madeira (1992), among others. These languages have very challenging data with respect to this issue. Their clitics are now in a stage similar to that once exhibited by most of the other Romance languages. That is, regarding the position of clitics, these languages are somehow archaic.

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such as Spanish, French, Portuguese and Catalan, where clitics always follow the negation and precede the imperative verb form (which, in Spanish, requires subjunctive morphology). The sentences in (28) exemplify the contrast in clitic placement for positive and negative imperatives as well as the corresponding differences in verb form. The example in (28c) illustrates an affirmative/negative subjunctive non-imperative clause:

(28) (Los niños están jugando)
the children are playing

a. Llámalos
call-3sg. ind-them

b. No los llames
neg them call-2sg. subj.

c. Insisto que (no) los llames
I insist that you (neg) them call-2s subj.

The case of Italian is more complex since the distribution of clitics in negative imperatives in this language varies within different geographical areas, both in finite and infinitive contexts. The common pattern in the dialects of the Center and South is the proclitic ordering, whereas in the Northern Italian dialects encliticization is preferred. The following examples correspond to the Center/South and Northern areas in finite and infinitive contexts respectively:

	Center/South	Northern
(29) a. Finite:	Non lo fate! neg it do 2pl	Non fatelo! neg do-2pl-it
b. Infinitive:	Non lo fare! neg it do-inf	Non farlo! neg do-inf-it

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In tensed environments across Romance, clitics are for the most part proclitic in embedded sentences.[37] The same distribution applies to matrix clauses except for Portuguese and Galician where clitics precede or follow the verb according to certain complex language-specific constraints depending on tense, verb class and other factors. In the case of Portuguese these constraints vary between the European and the Brazilian dialects, the latter having shifted more towards the proclitic ordering.

2.6. SOME STRUCTURAL CLITIC DIFFERENCES: PERSON, CASE AND GRAMMATICAL STATUS.

In this section, I will point out some divergences attributed to clitics with respect to phi-features (specifically, person), Case and grammatical role (argumental vs. nonargumental clitics). Most researchers agree that generally object clitics in Romance belong to two different morphological paradigms: first and second person vs. the third person form. This divergence originates in their historical

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[37] Kayne (1994, p 144, note 8) points out that in Borgomanero object clitics follow the finite verb almost always, as in (i), (already in note 6 for a related matter).

(i) i dis mévvi
'subj.-cl.1sg say I (cf., Fr. *moi*) youDAT.CL. (cf., It. *vi*)'

Kayne (1991, p. 663) provides another counter-example from certain varieties of Friulian. He indicates that in these varieties a clitic can follow an embedded finite verb when this is preceded by the impersonal clitic *se* (that is, in the context: ..... *si* V CL .....).

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sources. The first and second person clitics derive from Latin personal pronouns, whereas the third person forms are a vernacular creation arising from demonstratives. Synchronic differences also become apparent when we observe their pattern of distribution.

Third person (dative) clitics can either alternate or co-occur with their equivalent lexical expressions (see (30a) below) but, for the most part, this option is not available to the first and second person forms.[38] First and second person (singular) clitics must always be present when the discourse requires a direct or an indirect object. Their equivalent strong pronominal forms cannot appear in the structure by themselves (cf. (30b) below)[39] and, as has just been

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[38] There is a specific Spanish context (where 1st and 2nd person reference is attributed to a 3rd person DP) in which a 1st person plural or an informal 2nd person plural clitic form can co-occur with a coreferent lexical expression. This is shown in (ia) and (ib). I believe this structure is also possible in Catalan.

(i) a. Nos vieron a los estudiantes
Someone us saw the students
'someone saw us students'
b. Os vieron a los estudiantes
Someone you saw the students
'someone saw you students'

[39] This restriction applies not only to the first and second person forms, but to every form in the paradigm. Dative and accusative argument object pronouns require the presence of the clitic. This is a near-universal constraint in Romance except for some varieties of Italian, various French context-specific counterexamples and Brazilian Portuguese, which does not seem to allow doubling (ic). Rigau (1988) explains this behavior by attending to the nature of the strong pronouns, rather than the clitic. She proposes that these pronouns appear in a peripheral position (an A' position) external to the VP, which accounts for their

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indicated, first and second person (singular) clitics cannot co-occur with their lexical counterparts (30c). The correct simple structure (with no doubling) is (30d).

(30) a. Le escribí (a María)
I to her wrote (to María)

b. * Escribí a ti anoche
I wrote to you last night

c. Te escribí a ti /*María anoche
I to you wrote to you/María last night

d. Te escribí anoche
I to you wrote last night

One more paradigm split is observed in Romance between first and second person clitics vs. third person (accusative) forms. Starting with Postal (1966), several authors (Laenzlinger, 1990, for French and Italian; Roca, 1992, for Spanish and Catalan; Torrego, 1998, for Spanish; Uriagereka, 1988; 1989; 1995 for Spanish and other Romance languages) have proposed that there is an analogy between third person (accusative) clitics and definite articles.[40] Both

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syntactic behavior and their interpretation. A related account is provided by Fernández Soriano (1989). Franco (1993), however, argues that these pronouns are true arguments and their obligatory co-occurrence with the clitic is derived from a correlation between agreement and an animacy hierarchy. All in all, this phenomenon remains unclear.

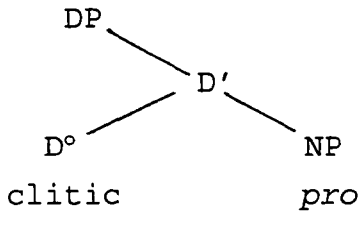
(i) a. Eu vejo ele/ela
I see him/her
b. Eu lhe vejo
I CL3p.acc see
c. * I lhe vejo ele/ela

[40] This analogy does not apply to 1st and 2nd person clitics. As indicated earlier, Uriagereka (1995) proposes that these categories are strong "phrasal" forms, good candidates for independent head elements.

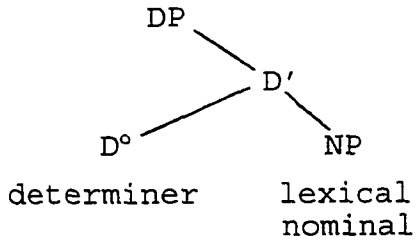
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categories have almost the same specification of phi-features and morphological form and they behave similarly in some syntactic and semantic respects. This similarity is observed in a number of languages, for example, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, French, Greek, etc. Uriagereka, adopting an insight from Torrego (1988), proposes that clitics of this type are heads (D°) of DP projections which license *pro* as their complement, just as definite articles (and other determiners) take an NP complement; see (31) below. I will elaborate more on this proposal when I present the analysis of clitic doubling in Chapter IV Section 4.2.1. below.

(31) a.



b.



A contrast has also been postulated within the third person dative and accusative clitic forms. This contrast concerns the following properties: (1) the overt features of the clitics, (2) clitic doubling structures, and (3) their relation with non-argumental objects.

With respect to overt features, we have already observed that Spanish (and most Romance) accusative clitics exhibit the same features as strong pronouns (that is, person, number and gender); however, dative clitics do not show gender.

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Also, accusative doubling is far more constrained than dative clitic doubling. For instance, in Peninsular Spanish and in Catalan, accusative doubling is only allowed when the direct object is a strong pronoun.[41] On the contrary, dative doubling is possible in most contexts and in all dialects I am aware of. This property will be illustrated in detail in Chapter III.

In reference to the relation between clitics and non-argumental objects, it should be noted that clitics do not always 'replace' an argument. That is, there are certain types of relations that can be expressed only by means of the dative clitic, and hence, the clitic is obligatorily present in sentences with these meanings. These include cases such as *inalienable possession*[42] (see (32a), both with a *DP* (i) and an *a+DP* (ii) lexical argument) (cf. Strozer 1976; Jaeggli 1982/86b; Borer 1984; Blanchadell 1992; etc.,), *benefactives* (32b)[43] (cf. Strozer 1976; Blanchadell 1992; Demonte 1993;

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[41] The sentence in (i) is an interesting counter-example. (This construction also appears in note 38 to illustrate a different point).

(i) Nos vieron a los estudiantes
Someone us saw the students
'Someone saw us students'

[42] These are structures in which the indirect object denotes the possessor of the referent of the direct object (the possessed). The possessed entity is considered to be an inseparable part of the possessor.

[43] If the dative clitic (*le*) is absent the sentence is still grammatical, but lacks the benefactive meaning, that is, it does not imply that the action is done for someone's benefit.

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etc.), *experiencers* that appear with psychological verbs (32c) (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Massullo 1992; etc.) and *ethical datives* (32d), already in (16) (cf. Strozer 1976; Jaeggli 1982/86b; Bonet 1991; Blanchadell 1992; among others). Ethical dative clitics co-occur only with verbs with overt direct and indirect objects (see (32d) below). They are optional. If the ethical clitic is not there, the sentence is still grammatical, but lacks the characteristic 'ethical' interpretation (as in (32e) below) (more details in note 23).

(32) a. (i) *(le) duele la cabeza
to him/her hurts the head

(ii) *(le) pica a Isabel
to her itches to Isabel

b. *(le) he preparado una sorpresa
I to him/her have prepared a surprise

c. *(le) gustan los bombones
to him/her please the chocolates

d. *Me* le robaron el reloj a mi hijo
CL1sg., eth to him stole the watch to my son
'my son's watch was stolen on him'

e. Le robaron el reloj a mi hijo
to him stole the watch to my son
'they stole my son's watch'

In all these contexts with a dative clitic, no dative object is subcategorized by the verb. By contrast, accusative clitics (33) and subcategorized dative clitics (which have a *goal* (34a) or a *source* (34b) thematic role) always express real verbal arguments (except in clitic climbing (35a) and causative constructions (35b); see Chapter III Section 3.2).

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(33) (Mi madre me echa de menos)
'my mother misses me'

La llamo frecuentemente
I her call frequently

(34) a. (Algunos de mis amigos viven en España)
some of my friends live in Spain

Les escribo de vez en cuando
I to them write once in a while

b. (La fruta del supermercado está insípida)
the fruit of the supermarket is insipid

Yo (les) compro la fruta a los agricultores
I (to them) buy the fruit to the farmers
'I buy the fruit from the farmers'

(35) a. (Hace mucho que no veo a mi familia)
it is a long time since I haven't seen my family

Los quiero visitar este verano
I them want to visit this summer

b. (Mis estudiantes quieren obtener buenas notas)
my students want to obtain good grades

Les hago estudiar duramente
I to them make to study hard
'I make them study hard'

2.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have shown that (Romance) pronominal clitics are weak (or unstressed) elements that exhibit a number of important properties that distinguish them from strong personal pronouns and from lexical DP's. One such property is that a clitic does not require the presence of the equivalent strong pronoun, but the strong pronoun (dative or accusative) requires the clitic almost universally across

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Romance and certainly in Spanish. In Chapter VII, I provide a piece of data concerning children's Spanish which bears on this issue.

I have also established the differences between the different types of clitics: subject, object (dative and accusative) and PP-clitics (ablative/locative and genitive/partitive), making reference to the fact that not every clitic type is available in the clitic system of each (Romance) language. Spanish has a reduced system compared to French, Catalan and others since this language contains only object clitics. Relevant acquisition similarities and differences between subject and object clitics, as well as among object clitics across languages, are noted in the research reported in Chapter V.

I have described the Spanish clitic system making reference to interesting geographical dialectal variations known as *leísmo, laísmo* and *loísmo*. Empirical evidence on these phenomena in child and adult language is provided in Chapter VII.

Focusing on object clitics, I have shown that across Romance these elements differ with respect to their lexical-grammatical features (i.e., person, number, gender and Case). First and second person clitics show no distinction for gender and Case and they can be reflexive or non-reflexive, whereas third person clitics are marked as [Case(ACC)] and [Case(DAT)] and the accusatives also for gender. The third person clitic

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SE is the least specified of all clitics since it is marked only for person. The Case distinction between first/second person clitics versus the third has been a crucial feature for some syntactic analyses (e.g., Uriagereka, 1995, among others). The syntax of third person clitics (dative vs. accusative) as well as the relationship between these elements and definite articles has also been noted. In Chapter V I report some studies that focus specifically on third person datives and on third person accusatives in child language (Varela, 1988, and Schaeffer, 1997). In Chapter VI I present experimental research on these two types of clitics and in Chapter VII I consider their properties in natural child speech. In Chapter VII I also explore the acquisition of first and second person clitics.

The present Chapter has also summarized the complex phenomenon of clitic clustering, presenting clitic ordering templates from Spanish, French, Catalan and Italian. I have shown that clusters are often subject to language internal idiosyncrasies and co-occurrence restrictions that have not been (and perhaps cannot be) satisfactorily explained by syntactic or morphological accounts. This phenomenon is investigated from the point of view of acquisition in Chapters VI and VII with respect to Spanish experimental and longitudinal corpus data respectively. The very high level of accuracy observed in children's performance from the earliest stages is important information for theoretical research.

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One more important topic covered here is the distribution of clitics with respect to their syntactic environment (finite vs. nonfinite contexts). This point is studied in the research reported in Chapter V with respect to Italian and French and also in Chapters VI and VII with respect to Spanish experimental and natural data on children's language. These studies show that children across languages respect the distributional constraints of clitics with respect to the +/- features of the verb from their earliest utterances. This is also important information for the theory.

This overview of the properties of clitics reveals the richness and complexity of the clitic system. In the following section I will show how the various components interact with each other, creating a diversity of syntactic structures the distribution of which varies within the different Romance languages. The commonality of the different structures across languages will become apparent, as well as the differences between them.

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Chapter III

OBJECT CLITIC CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter I consider the different constructions which can contain object clitics. The most "standard" cases throughout Romance are those in which dative and/or accusative clitics form a chain with an empty element in an argument position of the clause. I will refer to this process as *simple cliticization*. A good number of these structures have already been presented in the preceding discussion of the properties of clitics (cf. Chapter II). To remind the reader, I recall them briefly with the following Spanish accusative (1a) and dative (1b) examples:

(1) a. - ¿Ves *a tu vecina* por la ventana?
do you see your neighbor from the window?

- Sí, *la* veo cada mañana
yes, I her see every morning

b. - ¿Escribes *a tus padres* con frecuencia?
do you write to your parents frequently?

- Sí, *les* envío una carta cada semana
yes, I to them send a letter every week

A less universal pattern emerges with respect to other types of configurations such as *clitic doubling*, *clitic climbing* and *past participle agreement* constructions. Following Kayne (1994), within the doubling contexts I

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will include standard clitic doubling (CLDP), clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation (CLRD).[1]

3.1. CLITIC DOUBLING CONTEXTS

Clitic doubling constructions are those in which an object clitic co-occurs with a coreferential object DP (or an argument object DP is reduplicated by a coreferential clitic attached to the verb). This phenomenon can occur both in local contexts (that is, within a single clause) and in longer-distance contexts (e.g., clitic climbing) in a wide variety of natural languages though with a considerable amount of idiosyncratic variation. In Romance, doubling occurs in Spanish, Catalan, Rumanian, Portuguese, Galician and many Italian dialects. Standard Italian and French, however, are much more restricted with respect to this phenomenon since they do not exhibit standard clitic doubling of lexical DPs. Pronominal arguments, however, do double in these languages, especially in French.[2]

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[1] The terminology employed here follows the nomenclature established in the literature on this subject (Cinque 1977/1990; Jaeggli 1982/1986b; Suñer 1988; Debrovie-Sorin 1990; Iatridou 1991; Cecchetto 1994/1995; Sportiche 1996; Villalba 1996; among many others).

[2] Kayne (1994, and previous research) claims that these structures are present in French with a stressed dative or accusative pronoun, as in (ia) and (ib) below. The equivalent sentences, but with a stressed lexical NP instead are shown in (iia) and (iib); they are ungrammatical. Roberge (1990) reports that clitic doubling is found in some varieties of French, but he does not specify whether both lexical and pronominal.

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At least in Romance, doubling is considerably more productive in dative than in accusative environments. According to Kayne (1975, and subsequent research) accusative doubling in Spanish crucially depends on the presence of the so called "personal *a*" in front of the complement phrase. This is a language-specific property which the literature of the seventies (Strozer, 1976; Rivas, 1977; Quicoli 1976, for instance) referred to as *Kayne's Generalization.*[3] Accusative

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(i) a. Jean lui a parlé à elle
J. herdat has spoken to her
b. Jean la voit elle
J. her sees her

(ii) a. * Jean lui a parlé à Marie
b. * Jean la voit Marie

Kayne points out that, if Koopman (1993a) is correct, the difference between lexical and pronominal objects might be due to the pronoun being in a higher position than the lexical NP.

Doubling is also possible in French with stranded quantifiers (cf. Sportiche 1992, p. 45, 60b), as shown in (iiia). Interestingly, the preposition *a* is not obligatory in this doubling instance (it is obligatory when no doubling occurs, as in (iiib)). More information on this issue is provided next.

(iii) a. Elle leur offrira (à) tous des bonbons
she themdat will offer to all of bonbons
'she will offer all of them the bonbons'
b. Elle offrira à tous des bonbons

[3] A comparable preposition *pe* is also available in Rumanian, a productive clitic doubling language, and other languages might also have it, but covert. Since Romance clitics are nominal and encode Case morphology, bare objects cannot be doubled unless a (dummy) object marker is present to Case-mark them (Case cannot be assigned by the verb since the clitic absorbs the verb's government feature. Thus, to allow the NP to escape the effects of the Case filter an extra Case assigner is needed). In the case of Spanish, this device seems to be the preposition that often induces dative Case. Later research, however, has found that this generalization does not hold of every clitic doubling language. If this is

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doubling is subject to a substantial amount of dialectal variation. In what follows, I will present the distributional pattern of clitic doubling with respect to Spanish.

3.1.1. Obligatory Contexts

(i) An accusative or dative clitic must be present when the direct or indirect object argument is a personal pronoun. The personal pronoun is normally used only in contrastive structures (2 and 3 below), in cases of emphasis (4 and 5) and in conjoined DPs (6).[4] In dative constructions such as (3 and 5), the strong pronoun also clarifies the gender of the indirect object the clitic refers to (e.g., masculine in (3) and feminine in (5)).

(2) *(La) invité a ella, no a ti
I her invited her, neg to yousg.

(3) No *(le) prestes dinero a él, préstamelo a mí
neg to him lend money to him, lend-me-it to me

---

in fact the case, the explanatoriness of this proposal, of course, loses strength.

More detailed reports on this topic can be found in Lois (1982), Jaeggli (1982, 1986b), Torrego (1998) among others for Spanish, and Borer (1984), Dobrovie-Sorin (1987, 1990) and others for Rumanian. A different account on the Spanish data is presented in Suñer (1988) and Franco (1993), among others. The following examples of doubling are from River Plate Spanish (i) and Rumanian (ii); (ii) is from Dobrovie-Sorin (1990).

(i) Lo hemos visto *(a) Juan
him we have seen *(a) Juan

(ii) L-am vazut *(pe) Ion
him-(we) have seen *(pe) Ion

[4] The order of conjuncts is relevant for coordination. For instance, if we reverse the order of conjuncts in (6), the structure is ungrammatical, as seen in (i).

(i) * El jefe la invitó a su marido y a ella

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(4) *(Lo) veo a él todos los días
I him see him every day

(5) *(Le) envié un regalo a ella
I to her sent a present to her

(6) El jefe *(la) invitó a ella y a su marido
the boss her invited her and her husband

(ii) A dative clitic must be present in the context of inalienable possession (7), benefactives (8) and experiencers with psychological verbs (9).

(7) *(le) lloran los ojos al cocinero
to him cry the eyes to the cook

(8) *(le) han pintado el despacho al jefe
pro to him have painted the office to the boss

(9) *(les) gustan las pelotas a los niños
to them please the balls to the children

3.1.2. Highly Preferred Contexts

(i) The presence of the dative clitic is highly preferred, for most speakers, in most instances with lexical dative objects of ditransitive verbs as in (10) and (11) below:

(10) Le dieron un ramo de flores a la cantante
pro to her gave a bouquet of flowers to the singer

(11) Les han entregado las llaves a los inquilinos
pro to them have given the keys to the tenants

(ii) Accusative clitics frequently appear with animate accusative lexical objects in certain Spanish dialects such as that of the River Plate area of South America (Jaeggli 1982/1986b and Suñer 1988, among others) as in (12)) and for some Basque speakers of Spanish (Franco, 1993) as in (13). According to Franco's data, the speakers of this dialect seem also to be leístas.[5]

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[5] Accusative lexical doubling is also available in Rumanian. A detailed presentation of the doubling data in

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(12) Lo he visto al alcalde
I him have seen the mayor

(13) Le he visto a Pedro
I him have seen Pedro

3.1.3. Optional Contexts

Dative clitics can optionally appear with goal and source lexical dative objects as in (14) and (15). These cases tend to sound better when the clitic is present. It may be that Spanish is moving towards a requirement for doubling in dative contexts.

(14) Los padres (les) compran regalos a sus hijos
parents to them buy presents to their children

(15) Mi hermana (les) compra vino a los bodegueros
my sister to them buys wine to the butlers
'my sister buys wine from the butlers'

3.1.4. Restricted and Subject to Variation among Speakers

Accusative clitics can appear with inanimate definite lexical direct objects in Southern Cone Spanish (Suñer, 1988 and others).[6] This is a very restricted option for doubling in Romance.[7]

---

this language is provided by Farkas (1978), Steriade (1981) and Dobrovie-Sorin (1987).

[6] This seems to be a comprehensive cover term for some mainstream Spanish varieties spoken in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. It appears that doubling in these contexts is subject to variation among the speakers from these countries. Apparently, some speakers accept it, others consider it marginal, and others think that it is ungrammatical.

[7] This doubling option does not conform to what is known as *Kayne's Generalization* referred to above since the preposition *a* is not present. Sentences of this type are very close (if not identical) to the modern Greek and Albanian pattern of clitic doubling; therefore, they should probably be analyzed in the same manner. In modern Greek and in Albanian doubled accusative DPs can be inanimate and do not need to be preceded by a preposition. Thus, they do not fall under

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(16) Mi hermano la pinta la casa de blanco
my brother it paints the house in white

3.1.5. Doubling is not Acceptable

Accusative clitics are in strict complementary distribution in Spanish with lexical animate objects (e.g., (12), which carry the dummy preposition *a*) and with lexical inanimate objects (e.g., (16), which do not take *a*) in peninsular Spanish, in a good number of Latin American dialects and in Catalan.[8] In this respect, these varieties of Spanish and Catalan behave like standard Italian and French.[9]

Kayne's Generalization either (see the Greek sentence in (i) from Anagnostopoulou, 1994). For a detailed study of these constructions in Greek see Anagnostopoulou and Schneider-Zioga (1994). For Albanian consult Massey (1991). In spite of this anomaly, Kayne's proposal for doubling strongly prevails in Romance, especially if we consider that there are other Argentinean dialects (Cordoba and Tucuman) which exhibit doubling with inanimate DPs and the particle *a* is present.

(i) Toi diavasa afto to arthroi xtes
it I read this the article yesterday

[8] The fact that accusative clitics do not allow doubling with a lexical DP in many Spanish varieties and in Catalan is empirically well established in the literature, but not well understood.

[9] There is still an important difference, though, and it is that Spanish (but not Catalan, Italian and French) requires the presence of the preposition *a* in front of the direct object when this is animate and specific. For more information on this subject I refer the reader to the sources provided in note 3. The following examples are from Spanish (i), French (ii), Italian (iii) and Catalan (iv) respectively. The English translation is 'I have seen Paul'.

(i) a. He visto *a* Pablo
b. * He visto Pablo

(ii) a. J'ai vu Paul
b. * J'ai vu *à* Paul

(iii) a. Ho visto Paolo
b. * Ho visto *a* Paolo

(iv) a. He vist en Pau
b. * He vist *al* Pau

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As mentioned previously, in addition to these standard instances of clitic doubling (CLDP), there are (at least) two other contexts which show a clitic-resumptive strategy. These are the so called clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation constructions (CLRD). These contexts differ from the above in that there is an obligatory intonational break or pause right between the dislocated direct or indirect object DP, whether pronominal or lexical, and the remainder of the sentence. This pause (marked with a comma in the examples that follow) seems to be heavier when the reduplicated object follows the pause, in CLRD. The following Spanish constructions exemplify CLLD (17) and CLRD (18) with personal direct objects (a), with indirect objects (b) and with inanimate direct objects (c).

(17) a. A él /a ese glotón, no lo invito más
to him /that glutton, I neg him invite again

b. A ellos/los niños, les encanta jugar
to them/the children, to them delights playing

c. La película, la veré el domingo
the movie I it will see on Sunday

(18) a. No lo invito más, a él/ese glotón
I neg him invite again, to him/that glutton

b. Les encanta jugar, a ellos/los niños
to them delights playing, to them/the children

c. La veré el domingo, la película
I it will see on Sunday, the movie

Both types of construction (CLLD/CLRD) are widespread throughout Romance, including Standard Italian and French.

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However, CLLD has received more detailed attention in the literature (cf. Cinque 1977/1990; Debrovie-Sorin 1990; Vallduví 1990; Iatridou 1991; Cecchetto 1994; Escobar 1995; among others). More recently, Villalba (1996) has offered a comprehensive analysis of both clitic dislocation structures in Catalan, and Cecchetto (1995) presents an analysis for CLLD and sketches a proposal for CLRD. Furthermore, Kayne (1994) treats CLDP, CLLD and CLRD as three instances of a single phenomenon of clitic doubling. This proposal will be presented in Chapter IV. The language acquisition data presented in this dissertation (Chapters VI and VII) support this generalization.

3.2. CLITIC CLIMBING (CLCL)

As was briefly mentioned in Chapter II, clitics do not always appear attached to the element that selects them, for the most part a verb. That is, certain Romance (verb) configurations permit clitics to move out of an embedded tenseless domain (infinitive/gerund) to immediately precede the finite verb of a higher clause (see (19) below). This property allows clitics to appear either proclitic to the finite matrix verb or enclitic on the tenseless sentential complement verb. When the relevant conditions are met, both

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alternatives are equally acceptable and, at least in Spanish, their interpretation is the same in the majority of cases.[10]

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[10] The same pattern of distribution applies to Italian; however, Napoli (1981) claims that there is a different shade of meaning in the two alternatives, determined by the effect of the matrix verb on the lower verb. For instance, she maintains that a verb like "volere" 'to want' can express the *intent* and the *desire* of the speaker to perform the action in the lower clause, and that the clitic is expected to climb under the (aspectual-like) effect of *intent*, but not under the meaning of *desire*. Napoli's study was based on very specific climbing contexts with *modal, aspectual* and *motion* verbs in contexts in which the two alternatives are equally acceptable. I have consulted a number of other speakers of Spanish and do not generally find such differences of interpretation in most of the equivalent Spanish data. I have found only one case which shows a subtle difference. This occurs with motion verbs, as exemplified in (i) and (ii).

(¿Dónde está tu familia?)
where is your family?

(i) En España, *los* voy a ver en agosto
In Spain, I them am going to see in August

(ii) En España, voy a ver*los* en agosto
a. In Spain, I am going to see them in August
b. In Spain, I go in August to see them

The difference between the climbing in (i) and the non-climbing in (ii) is that the former context expresses only future, whereas the latter is ambiguous and expresses either future (a) or purpose (b). In other words, there is no climbing for purpose.

With respect to *querer*, I (and my informants) do not perceive any difference in the meaning of (a) and (b) in (iii) or (a) and (b) in (iv):

(iii) (¿Por qué quitas las cortinas?)
why do you take off the curtains?

a. Porque *las* quiero lavar
Because I them want to wash
b. Porque quiero lavar*las*
Because I want to wash-them

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This is illustrated in the following Spanish sentences:

(19) Juan puede/prefiere/tiene que pagar*lo* al contado
J. can /prefers /has to pay-it in cash

(20) Juan *lo* puede/prefiere/tiene que pagar al contado
J. it can /prefers /has to pay in cash

Clitics can also climb to non-finite positions as in cases of double embedding like (21) and (22) below.[11] These structures will be discussed in more detail later.

(iv) (¿Cómo quieres comprar las cortinas?)
how do you want to buy the curtains?

a. Las quiero comprar lisas
I them want to buy unpatterned
b. Quiero comprarlas lisas
I want to buy-them unpatterned

Some Italian speakers that I have consulted do not perceive a difference in Italian either.

[11] Kayne (personal communication), referring to Longobardi's research in the seventies, points out that when the matrix verb is an infinitive itself, as in (21), the Italian sentence equivalent to (21b) is fine, but the equivalent to (21a) is ungrammatical. Kayne indicates that this might be related to the fact that Spanish has a more extensive usage of the VSO (verb-subject-object) option. The fact that (21a) is ungrammatical in Italian suggest that climbing is obligatory in this context. However, a native southern Italian speaker (Nino Gulli) has pointed out to me that (21a) for him is worse that (21b), but not ungrammatical. In fact, he indicated that if the verb *volere* 'to want' is replaced with *potere* 'to be able to' as in (i), the sentence is perfect.

(i) L'importante è poter farlo bene

Gulli suggests that this difference might be explained in terms of Burzio's (1986) characterization of these verbs: *volere* as a control verb and *potere* as a raising verb.

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(21) a. Es importante querer hacer*lo* bien
it is important wanting to do-it well
b. Es importante querer*lo* hacer bien
it is important wanting-it to do well

(22) a. Quiero seguir tomándo*lo* caliente
I want to continue taking-it hot
b. Quiero seguir*lo* tomando caliente
I want to continue-it taking hot

For the most part clitic climbing out of finite clauses is not allowed (23b). However, Monachesi (1996 p. 200) referring to Calabrese (1993) reports a southern Italian variety, Salentino, which shows this kind of climbing (24b). She adds that climbing in this dialect is obligatory (24a).

(23) a. Quiero que los veas
I want that you them see
b. * Los quiero que veas
I them want that you see

(24) a. * Pottsu kkattarlu krai
can buy-cl$_{ACC}$ tomorrow
b. Lu pottsu kkattare krai
cl$_{ACC}$ can buy tomorrow
'I can buy it tomorrow'

Finally, as said, the element that selects the clitic in climbing contexts is mainly the verb, but in attributive contexts (sentences with the verbs "ser" and "estar" in Spanish, 'to be' in English) it can be an adjective, as in (25). Note, however, that the clitic never immediately precedes the adjective; it adjoins to the copula verb.[12] The unclimbed position of the clitic is shown by a trace in (25).

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[12] More information can be found in Cano Aguilar (1981) for Spanish and in Haverkort (1992) for French, among others.

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(25) a. Te_i estaré siempre muy agradecida t_i
I to you will be always very grateful

b. Mis amigos de verdad me_i han sido fieles t_i
my friends of truth to me have been faithful
'my true friends have been faithful to me'

3.2.1. Relevant Facts

An important characteristic of climbing is that it is not constrained to one clause. That is, clitics can iteratively climb up in a structure of multiple tenseless embedded domains as in (26).

(26) a. Quiero empezar a escribir*lo* pronto
I want to start to write-it soon

b. Quiero empezar*lo* a escribir pronto
I want to start-it to write soon

c. *Lo* quiero empezar a escribir pronto
I it want to start to write soon

Another consistent feature of climbing is that clitics move in blocks (Rizzi, 1982; Aissen & Perlmutter, 1983; and Kayne, 1991, among many others). That is, if more than one clitic is associated with the lower non-finite verb, in the vast majority of the cases it is not possible to raise one and leave the other(s) behind.[13] Instead, as in (27), either all

[13] According to Kayne (1991) this constraint holds in every Romance language in which the non-finite verb precedes the clitic (e.g., Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, etc), but not for every language in which the clitic precedes the infinitive (e.g., French). Kayne maintains that at least some of these latter languages/dialects with clitic climbing allow clitic clusters to split. He illustrates his claim with the examples in (i) from the Franco-Provençal auxiliary-participle construction, originally presented by Chenal (1986, 398).

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climb up together or they all remain in their embedded domain.

(27) a. Quiero comprár*telo* por tu cumpleaños
I want to buy-you-it for your birthday

b. *Te* *lo* quiero comprar por tu cumpleaños
I to you it want to buy for your birthday

c. * *Te* quiero comprar*lo* por tu cumpleaños
I to you want to buy-it for your birthday

d. * *Lo* quiero comprar*te* por tu cumpleaños
I it want to buy-you for your birthday

There are some cases of multiple clitics in which each clitic is underlyingly associated to a different verb (e.g., (28a) below). In some of these cases it can occur that a clitic moves up to a verb which already has its own clitic. When this happens, as in (28b), the two (or more) clitics weld into a cluster and any further movement will have to apply to all the components of the group, as in (28c), since the cluster cannot be split (cf. (28d)).

(28) a. Debo prohibir*te* ver*la*
I must to prohibit-you to see-her

b. Debo prohibír*tela* ver
I must to prohibit-you-her to see

c. *Te* *la* debo prohibir ver
I to you her must to prohibit to see

d. * *La* debo prohibir*te* ver
I her must to prohibit-you to see

(i) a. T'an- të prèdzà- nen?
you$_{dat}$-have they spoken of-it
b. T'an- të deut- lo?
you$_{dat}$-have they said it

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Another possibility in cases like (28a) is for the clitic of the intermediate verb to cliticize on its own into the matrix verb, as in (29).

(29) *Te* debo prohibir ver*la*
I to you must to prohibit to see-her

In these cases, however, the most embedded clitic has to remain in its clause. That is, this clitic cannot climb up to the intermediate verb, as shown in (30).

(30) * *Te* debo prohibir*la* ver
I to you must to prohibit-her to see

One more observation with respect to climbing is that the range of elements that can intervene between the two verbs involved is very limited. For instance, Spanish only allows the complementizer *que* 'that' (31a) and certain preposition-like complementizers (e.g., *a* (31b), *de* (31c), and less frequently, *por* (31d)) which introduce the infinitival complements of certain aspectual verbs.[14] This is exemplified in the following sentences:

---

[14] However, as we will consider later, there is a context with *que* which does not allow climbing, namely, impersonal *hay que* 'one has to/must' constructions like (ib) below. The correct unclimbed structure is given in (ia).

(i) a. Hay que pensar*lo* despacio
One has to think-it slowly
'One has to give it time'
b. * *Lo* hay que pensar despacio
One it has to think slowly

This structure does not permit clitic climbing in Italian or in modern French either.

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(31) a. Nos tenemos *que* levantar temprano
we us have to get up early

b. Me viene *a* saludar cada mañana
s/he to me comes to greet every morning

c. Te lo acabo *de* decir
I to you it have just to tell
'I have just told you'

d. Lo estuve *por* comprar pero no lo hice
I it was about to buy but I neg it did
'I was about to buy it, but I did not do it'

Other categories like some adverbs (32a), prepositions (32b), quantifiers (32c) and (for the most part) negation (32d) block climbing.[15]

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[15] Treviño (1991), a Spanish speaker from Mexico, claims that modals in Spanish allow clitics to climb up over negation, in examples (i) and (ii).

(i) Pedro *la* pudo no aceptar
P. it could not accept

(ii) *La* deberías de no pagar
you it should not pay

Curiously, Priscilla Martínez (also a Mexican Spanish speaker, I believe from the same area) indicates that for her (i) is quite marginal, (ii) is very marginal and (iii) is ungrammatical. My (Aragonese: Spain) judgment for (i) is that it is fairly acceptable, for (ii) that it is borderline and, in both instances, that the non-climbing option is highly preferred. Instances like (iii) are completely unacceptable.

(iii) * Lo deberías no regalar/comprar/mirar
you it should not give /buy /look at

Most of my informants from different Spanish varieties do not accept any instances with "deber" 'should' (ii&iii) and some hesitate with cases like (i).

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(32) a. * Te quiero *mucho/siempre* visitar
I to you want a lot/always to visit

b. * Lo vengo *sin/de/por/para* comprar
I it come without/from/to/in order to buy

c. * Se los propuse *a todos* vender
I SE them proposed to all to sell

d. * La prefiero *no* invitar
I her prefer neg to invite

The phenomenon of clitic climbing has received a great amount of attention especially within the literature on Romance (e.g., Strozer 1976; Quicoli 1976; Luján 1978/1980; Napoli 1981; Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986; Uriagereka 1988; Kayne 1989b/1991; Treviño 1991; Haverkort 1992; Roberts 1992; among others). In Romance, clitic climbing is widely attested in languages like Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Portuguese and others. In French, however, it is only allowed from a complement of a causative or a perception verb; "standard" climbing (climbing with restructuring verbs) does not take place. The following are instances with a causative verb (33), a perception verb (34), and a context that is a typical climbing context in other languages (35).

(33) Il *l'a* fait lire à Christine
he it has made read to Christine

(34) Jean *l'*a entendu/vu chanter une chanson
J. him heard/saw sing a song

(35) * Jean les veut voir
J. them wants to see

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For the most part, clitic climbing is optional in Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Portuguese and other languages. However, in some Italian dialects like Sardinian (Kayne, 1991 from Loi Corvetto, 1982), Calabrian (from Nino Gulli, a native speaker), Napoletano (Monachesi, 1996 from Bafile, 1993) and Salentino (Monachesi, 1996 from Calabrese, 1993) climbing in contexts where it is acceptable is obligatory (e.g., (25b) above from Salentino). Furthermore, there are some Catalan dialects from Gerona (Carme Picallo, personal communication), another from a Spanish Chilean area (Uriagereka, 1995 p. 86) and others from the northern Italian dialects (Kayne 1989b, pp. 256-257, note 37) which show what is known as reduplication or clitic copying. That is, in these varieties the same clitic occurs both as a raised proclitic element in the finite matrix clause and as a source enclitic in the embedded nonfinite clause.[16] This phenomenon is illustrated in (36a) from Catalan (a native speaker's example) and (36b) from Chilean Spanish (from Uriagereka).

(36) a. *Ho* wull/prefereixo veure-*ho*
I it want/prefer to see-it

b. *Los* vamos a ver*los*
we them are going to see-them

---

[16] Kayne refers to research by Rohlfs (1977, 185), Benincà (1986, 474), Morin (1979, note 5) Kany (1976, 160) and others for dialects with the same clitic before the matrix and after the infinitive, and to Camproux (1958, 489) for cases in which the clitic appears proclitic both to the matrix and the infinitival embedded complement.

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3.2.2. Climbing Contexts in Spanish

To determine the distribution of climbing is quite a task since it is constrained by the structural description and by the lexicon, namely, by the matrix verbs that meet the structural context. Climbing is restricted to certain classes of matrix verbs that take nonfinite sentential complements, such as the so-called restructuring verbs[17] (modals, aspectual, movement), subject control, causative and perception verbs. There are also lexical restrictions since not all verbs behave alike within these general verb classes.

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[17] Restructuring involves transforming an underlying biclausal structure into a simple sentence creating a single constituent, "a verbal complex" which contains the main verb and the embedded verb. This is an optional rule governed by a restricted but significant class of main verbs (modals, aspectuals, motion ...). Both Rizzi (1982) and Burzio (1986) argue against the Base hypothesis (a climbing verb sub-categorizes for a VP complex (as in Strozer, 1976) and support the Restructuring hypothesis claiming that this movement approach provides a unitary account of the semantic and formal behaviors of the class of main verbs involved in climbing and other related structures. Kayne (1989b) maintains that neither the Base hypothesis nor the Restructuring hypothesis is the correct solution. His analysis involves a biclausal structure and he argues that clitic climbing is related to the null-subject parameter.

An interesting approach to climbing is Cinque (2000) who proposes that "restructuring" verbs become auxiliary verbs and take a complement. The embedded infinitive+complement form a constituent. Cinque provides evidence for monoclausality in climbing (vs. Kayne, 1989b) and claims that the constituency is [XP Vrestr [XP V XP]] and not [[V Vrestr V]XP], as in Rizzi (1982). Finally, he shows that climbing favors an analysis which base generates the restructuring verb in a functional head of the extended projection of the lexical verb, rather than an analysis with "Double (CP and VP) Subcategorization", as in Strozer (1976), Picallo (1990) and others. In this analysis "restructuring" verbs correspond to distinct functional heads of a universal functional hierarchy.

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That is, even when the structural description is satisfied, there are verbs that block the promotion of the clitic/s.[18] The particular contexts that allow climbing in Spanish are shown next.[19]

3.2.2.1. So-called Restructuring Verbs

A. Modals: *poder* 'can', *deber* 'must/should', *saber* 'know', *querer* 'want', *tener que* 'have to' and arguably *soler* 'tend to'.

(37) a. Podemos/debemos/solemos visitar*la* el sábado
we can /should /tend to visit-her on Saturday

b. *La* podemos/debemos/solemos visitar el sábado
we her can /should /tend to visit on Saturday

---

[18] For instance, verbs like *querer* 'to want', *odiar* 'to hate' and *desear* 'to desire' all subcategorize for either a subjunctive or an infinitival complement. Yet, as we will see later, climbing is always allowed with *querer*, never with *odiar*, and *desear* is subject to dialectal (or even individual) variation. As mention in note 17, Cinque (2000) provides a UG approach for the variation in the membership of "restructuring" verbs.

[19] I believe that these contexts apply to Romance in general, except for French which, as indicated, only allows climbing with causative and perception verbs. I emphasize that this classification of climbing refers to the types of verbs that allow this operation, but not to every lexical entry within each class. A considerable amount of inter-language and intralanguage lexical variation occurs. For an innovative approach to these issues, I refer the reader to Cinque (2000).

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B. Volitional: *decidir* 'decide', *desear* 'wish' *mandar* 'tell', *prohibir* 'prohibit', *preferir* 'prefer', etc.

(38) a. Prefiero/deseo tomar*lo* caliente
I prefer /wish to take-it hot

b. *Lo* prefiero/deseo tomar caliente
I it want /prefer to take hot

Climbing is not allowed with verbs such as *pedir* 'ask', *rogar* 'beg', *obligar* 'force' *exigir* 'demand', etc.

(39) a. Me pidió/rogó/obligó a traer*lo*
s/he to me asked/begged/forced to bring-it

b. * Me *lo* pidió/rogó/obligó a traer
s/he to me it asked/begged/forced to bring

C. Aspectual: *ir a* 'going to', *terminar de* 'finish', *volver a* 'infinitive + again', *empezar/comenzar a* 'start', *estar* + *gerund* 'be + gerund', *seguir* + *gerund* 'continue + gerund', etc.

(40) a. Termino de/empiezo a leer*lo* el domingo
I'll finish /start reading-it on Sunday

b. *Lo* termino de/empiezo a leer el domingo
I'll it finish /start reading on Sunday

(41) a. Estoy/sigo viéndo*la* cada semana
I am/continue watching-it every week

b. *La* estoy/sigo viendo cada semana
I it am/continue watching every week

D. Motion: *ir a* 'going to', *venir a* 'come to', *pasar a* 'pass to', *entrar a* 'come in', and others.

(42) a. Voy/vengo a visitar*lo* todos los días
I go /come to visit-him every day

b. *Lo* voy/vengo a visitar todos los días
I him go /come to visit every day

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E. Other verbs: *intentar / procurar* 'try', *pensar* 'think', *lograr / conseguir* 'attain', among others.

(43) a. Intento/procuro/sé hacer*lo* bien
I try /attempt/know how to do-it well

b. *Lo* intento/procuro/sé hacer bien
I it try /attempt/know how to do well

Climbing is not allowed with verbs such as *odiar* 'hate', *jurar* 'swear', *creer* 'believe', *dudar* 'doubt', *negar* 'deny', *sentir/ lamentar* 'regret', *admitir* 'admit', *soñar* 'dream' *insistir* 'insist', *detestar* 'detest', etc.[20]

(44) a. Juan odió /juró /sintió ver*lo*
J. hated/swore/was sorry to see-him/it

b. * Juan *lo* odió /juró /sintió ver
J. him/it hated/swore/was sorry to see

---

[20] Luján (1978/1980) and Treviño (1991) maintain that there are some differences within this class of verbs based on Mood. The examples in (i), (ii) and (iii) are from Treviño, a native speaker of Mexican Spanish. The main verb in (i) is in the indicative mood; the main verb of the dependent fragment of the prospective conditional structure in (ii) is in the subjunctive mood, and the main verb of the structure in (iii) is in the conditional form.

(i) * María los odia recibir (a los maestros)
M. them hates to receive (the teachers)

(ii) (?) Si María los odiara recibir ....
if M. them hated$_{subj.}$ to receive ...

(iii) (?) Yo los odiaría recibir así
I them would hate to receive this way

I agree that there is improvement with the subjunctive mood, but the conditional to me (and to my Peninsular Spanish consultants) is as unacceptable as the indicative.

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3.2.2.2. Causatives: This is a very small set of verbs: *hacer* 'make' and *dejar* 'let'[21]

(45) a. Me hizo/dejó cantar*la* varias veces
s/he to me made/let to sing-it several times

b. Me *la* hizo/dejó cantar varias veces
s/he to me *it* made/let to sing several times

3.2.2.3. Perception Verbs: Also a very small number of verbs: *ver* 'see' and *oír/sentir* 'hear'[22]

(46) a. Me vio/oyó cantar*la* varias veces
s/he to me saw/heard to sing-it several times

b. Me *la* vio/oyó cantar varias veces
s/he to me it saw/heard to sing several times

---

[21] Causatives in Romance show very idiosyncratic behavior. They involve two verbs: the 'causal verb', (e.g., in Spanish hacer/dejar) and an infinitival (or subjunctive) complement which expresses what is 'caused' to a person, thing or situation. There seems to be no agreement among linguists with respect to their structure. As in regular climbing, the clitic can move up only under certain conditions and there are some important structural differences between Spanish and both French and Italian. I believe that climbing with causative verbs is for the most part obligatory in French, sometimes obligatory in Italian, and entirely optional in Spanish. Moreover, at least in Spanish, causative structures show a great deal of cross-dialectal variation. For details see Kayne (1975;1984;1991), Strozer (1976), Luján (1978/1980), Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980), Napolí (1981), Zubizarreta (1985) Burzio (1986), Bordelois (1988), Treviño (1994), Guasti (1992), den Dikken (1995) and Torrego (1998), among other sources.

[22] These verbs share some important properties with the verbs that enter into causative constructions. For a detailed study see Kayne (1975), Strozer (1976), Luján (1978/1980), among others.

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3.2.2.4. 'Subject Control' Verbs: Many restructuring verbs that allow climbing are subject control verbs (e.g., so-called semi-auxiliaries like *querer* and some aspectuals like *ir a/volver a/empezar a*, etc.).

(47) a. Yo no quiero/voy a arreglar*lo*
I neg want /going to fix-it

b. Yo no *lo* quiero/voy a arreglar
I neg it want /going to fix

3.2.3. Spanish Non-Climbing Contexts

We have seen that certain categories (e.g., adverbs, (most) prepositions, quantifiers, negation, etc.) block climbing in contexts which would otherwise permit it (see (32) above). I now present data from other contexts where climbing never takes place. These are cases of object control, raising and impersonal constructions:

3.2.3.1. 'Object Control' Verbs

(A) Dative DP-Object

(48) (¿Le prohibiste a Alan leer tus cartas?)
you to him prohibit to Alan to read your letters?

a. Sí le prohibí a Alan leer*las*
yes I to him prohibited to Alan to read-them

b. * Sí se *las* prohibí a Alan leer
yes I 3rdDATsg. them prohibited to Alan to read

c. Sí se las prohibí leer
yes I 3rdDATsg. them prohibited to read

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(B) Accusative DP-Object

(49) (¿Por qué se han podado los rosales?)
why SE have pruned the rosebushes?
'why have the rosebushes been pruned?'

a. El jefe obligó al jardinero a podar*los*
the boss forced the gardener to prune-them

b. * El jefe *los* obligó al jardinero a podar
the boss them forced the gardener to prune

What blocks these structures is the presence of the phonetically realized lexical object, namely, "a Alan" in (48) and "al jardinero" in (49). This object noun phrase is another category which systematically does not occur between the two verbs of a climbing context.[23]

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[23] Yet, there are some Spanish dialects (e.g., Mexican Spanish) in which a subject NP can appear between the main and the embedded verb(s) and climbing still takes place e.g.,

(i) a. *Lo* querrían los niños tener para la fiesta
it would want the children to have for the party
b. *Lo* querrían los niños poder tener
it would want the children to be able to have
'the children would like to be able to have it'

I would prefer the subject "los niños" in sentence-initial position, but both (ia) and (ib) are still acceptable to me. In addition, in a context like (ii), it is perfectly fine.

(ii) Juan: Este colchón es muy incómodo
this mattress is very uncomfortable
Amaya: Ya *lo* querrían los vagabundos tener ....
-- it would want the beggars to have
'the beggars wished they had it ...'

Sentences like (iiib), with two intervening verbs, are fully ungrammatical. Yet, even without climbing, this sentence, at least in Peninsular Spanish, is not grammatical (iiic). Thus, the problem is not related to climbing, but to the fact that the subject is between the verbs. Sentence (iiia), with the subject in initial position is, of course, perfect.

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3.2.3.2. Raising Verbs

(50) a. Andrés parecía conocer*la* bien
A. seemed to know-her well

b. * Andrés *la* parecía conocer bien
A. her seemed to know well

3.2.3.3. Impersonal Expressions

(A) Hay que + infinitive

(51) a. Hay que comprar*los*
there is that to buy-them
'one has to/must buy them'

b. * *Los* hay que comprar
them there is that to buy
'one has to/must buy them'

(B) Es necesario/possible/urgente+infinitive

(52) a. Es necesario/posible /urgente comprar*los*
it is necessary/possible/urgent to buy-them

b. * *Los* es necesario/posible /urgente comprar
it them is necessary/possible/urgent to buy

As we have seen, it is not clear what exactly accounts for these subtle distinctions with respect to the acceptability of climbing. It is to be hoped that these lexical/syntactic considerations though not fully universal, can nevertheless be shown to originate in UG.

(iii) a. Los niños querrían poder tener*lo*
the children would want to be able to have-it
b. * *Lo* querrían poder los niños tener
it would want to be able the children to have
c. * Querrían poder los niños tener*lo*
would want to be able the children to have-it

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3.3. PAST PARTICIPLE AGREEMENT WITH CLITICS

Past participle agreement is worth mentioning because it is of theoretical interest, though it is not present in Spanish. It is important because it is closely related to the subject/tense agreement relation and one can study their analogies and parametric differences (e.g., with respect to their optionality or obligatoriness). This phenomenon can occur both in main clauses and in embedded restructuring contexts.

Past participle agreement is an agreement relation between the past participle (a head) and the object XP (its specifier). According to Kayne (1989c), such agreement may not occur if the accusative DP appears in the canonical object position (namely after the participle)[24], but it may occur in the corresponding accusative clitic construction. This agreement relation is available in various degrees in languages like French, Catalan and Italian. The following French sentences are from Kayne (sentence (53a) is slightly modified).

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[24] Past participle agreement between the past participle and the accusative DP that follows the participle never occurs in French, but it is available in literary Italian (Kayne, 1989c from Lepschy and Lepschy, 1977, 200) and in an Italian substandard variety (Kayne 1989c from Parisi 1976, 78). Other Italian dialects (Salentino/Corese) and several varieties of Occitan also allow this agreement relation (Kayne, 1989c).

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(53) a. Paul a repeint(*es) les chaises
P. has repainted-(*FEM) the chairs-FEM

b. Paul les a repeintes
P. them-FEM has repainted-FEM

Kayne argues that the past participle in (53b) does not agree with the clitic directly, but rather, it agrees with an empty category that intervenes between the clitic and the past participle. According to this, the S-structure of (53b) is the following:

(54) Paul lesi a [e]i repeintes [e]i[25]

Kayne maintains that this analysis provides a more restricted characterization of agreement and has some empirical advantages.[26]

Past participle agreement presents a challenge to comparative studies in Romance since it is subject to some interesting asymmetries across languages and dialects. A main issue is that the agreement occurs with various degrees of obligatoriness in languages such as Italian, Catalán, and French, but is absent in Spanish, Portuguese and others. This

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[25] The rationale behind this claim is that in these contexts the DP (the clitic) moves through the specifier position (Spec AGR-O) of an agreement head (AGR-O) to INFL leaving its trace in the position passed through (Spec AGR-O). Then, the participle raises to the agreement head (AGR-O) and a direct agreement relation is established between the participle and the trace of the clitic.

[26] Other sources of research in this area are Kayne (1975; 1991), Franco (1993) and Sportiche (1996), among others.

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contrast is shown in the following sentences from Italian (55a), Catalan (55b), French (55c) and Spanish (55d):

(55)	a.	Paolo	le	ha	mangiate/*i
		P.	them-FEM	has	eaten-FEM/*MASC
	b.	Pau	les	ha	menjades/menjats
		P.	them-FEM	has	eaten-FEM/MASC
	c.	Paul	les	a	mangé/ées
		P.	them-FEM	has	eaten MASC/FEM
	d.	Pablo	las	ha	comido
		P.	them-FEM	has	eaten

These data indicate that in the presence of a third person accusative clitic, agreement applies obligatorily in Italian, optionally in Catalan and spoken French[27] and it does not manifest in Spanish. Agreement with non-Cased clitics (namely, the first and second person forms) for some Italian speakers is obligatory, for others optional and for others not possible. The equivalent French and Catalan structures show no agreement. This is illustrated in the following sentences from Italian (56a), French (56b) and Catalan (56c):

[27] More formal registers of French also exhibit obligatory agreement.

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(56) a. Paolo mi/ti ha vista/o[28]
P. meMASC/FEM/youMASC/FEM has seenFEM/MASC

b. Paul m'a/t'a vue/vu
P. meMASC/FEM/youMASC/FEM has seen

c. Pau m'ha/t'ha vist
P. me-MASC/FEM/you-MASC/FEM has seen

Moreover, no agreement relation is shown in any of these languages in structures where the object clitic is a third person dative form. The following data are from Italian (57a), French (57b) and Catalan (57c):

(57) a. Paolo le ha dato un libro
P. her has given a book

b. Paul lui a donné un livre

c. Pau li ha donat un llibre
'Paul has given her a book'

Finally, past participle agreement is homogeneous across all speakers of Standard Italian in the third person, but it is variable in French and Catalan. That is, there are some French and Catalan speakers who do not have this agreement relation even when it is generally available in these languages. As Kayne points out, these speakers share the Spanish/Portuguese paradigm.

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[28] Both, the feminine and the masculine participle forms are possible in this context. The agreement is not shown overtly because first and second person clitics are not specified for gender.

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3.4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

At this point we have shown that cliticization in Romance is a very complex and a quite productive phenomenon. All languages show *simple cliticization* of dative and/or accusative arguments to the verb complex (Brazilian Portuguese is the most restricted language). Other clitic constructions, however, are very productive in some languages, more restricted in others and mainly unattested in others. Examining *clitic doubling* in the most general sense (as in Kayne, 1994), we have observed that *standard clitic doubling* (CLDP) is very productive in Southern Cone Spanish, River Plate Spanish, a variety of Basque Spanish and Rumanian, less productive in Peninsular Spanish, Catalan, Galician and European Portuguese, and almost unattested in French, Italian and Brazilian Portuguese. In addition, CLDP is considerably more productive in dative than in accusative environments. Accusative CLDP, at least in Spanish, is also subject to a substantial amount of variation. This point bears directly on the language acquisition research presented in Chapters VI and VII since the Spanish variety spoken by the subjects who participated in the experiments reported in Chapter VI, and presumably the subject whose longitudinal data is studied in Chapter VII, does not allow accusative lexical CLDP. The other two instances of doubling, namely, *clitic left dislocation* (CLLD) and *clitic right dislocation* (CLRD) are widespread throughout Romance. The phenomenon of *simple*

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cliticization and *clitic doubling* in Spanish is investigated from the point of view of acquisition in Chapters VI and VII. Information from other studies on the development of some CLDP constructions in Spanish is reported in Chapter V.

Another limited process is *clitic climbing*. Climbing is quite productive in Spanish, Italian, Catalan, European Portuguese and Galician but almost completely absent in French. For the most part, climbing is optional; yet, there are some Spanish, Catalan and Italian dialects which show reduplication or copying (presence of the same clitic as a proclitic element in the finite matrix clause and as a source enclitic in the embedded nonfinite structure). Curiously, a similar phenomenon is observed in the natural speech of *some* children even when their target language does not allow these structures. A few Spanish instances were found (and will be reported) in the research presented in Chapter VI.

Focusing on the climbing contexts, I have indicated that climbing is restricted to certain classes of matrix verbs that take nonfinite sentential complements, such as the so-called restructuring verbs (modals, aspectuals, movement, etc.), subject control, causative and perception verbs. However, as noted, there are also lexical restrictions since some verbs within these classes impede the promotion of the clitic/s. I have also pointed out other contexts where climbing never takes place (e.g., object control, raising and impersonal constructions). In Chapter V I report on one experimental

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study on the acquisition of Italian restructuring verb constructions (Schaeffer, 1997). In Chapter VI I study the child production of clitics by means of Spanish experimental data on unclimbed clitics in climbing and in non-climbing constructions. In Chapter VII I explore the phenomena of climbing in detail by means of a spontaneous longitudinal study of a young child. Some aspects of these structures are pursued further in discussion of my observations of the child-directed speech of the child's parents, in a report of an experiment with older children as subjects (Randeri, 1980), and in experimental research I conducted with adults as subjects.

Finally, *Past Participle Agreement* occurs with certain restrictions in Italian, it is quite restricted in French and Catalan, and does not manifest in Spanish. In Chapter V I discuss an experimental study on the acquisition of this phenomenon in Italian early child language (Schaeffer, 1997).

Thus, in this chapter, I have presented a diversity of structures which can contain clitics and I have pointed out their distribution across the Romance languages. In this concluding part I have also looked ahead to the language acquisition research on these phenomena which is presented in Chapters V-VII. In Chapter IV I will present the main aspects of the syntactic theory I adopt (Kayne, 1991;1994) since it provides uniform analyses of clitics across construction types. It has no treatment of clitic doubling.

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The analysis I adopt for doubling is based on Uriagereka (1988;1995) with a modification in the vein of Kayne (1994) and an addition in the spirit of Harris (1991a). Neither Kayne nor Uriagereka has a recent account of clitic climbing. I present an account that is in line with Kayne (1994) and Chomsky (1995).

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Chapter IV

GENERATION AND PLACEMENT OF OBJECT CLITICS IN ROMANCE

There is at present no syntactic analysis of clitics that handles all the facts about structures containing clitics in a fully satisfactory way. Since a uniform account based solely on the principles of syntactic theory is most desirable from the point of view of both linguistic theory and in the theory of acquisition, I will focus on an approach of this kind, specifically, *The Movement Analysis*. I will show what it accomplishes and what it leaves unexplained. To provide the reader with a wider perspective, two other competing syntactic analyses will briefly be reported with commentary on their achievements and their weak points. These are *The Base Generation Analysis* and *The Mixed Type Analysis* (or what is known as Sportiche's Analysis).

4.1. A UNIFORM ANALYSIS OF CLITICS

In this section I will present a syntactic approach to cliticization within the framework of what is known as *The Movement Analysis*. This analysis was first motivated in Kayne (1975) by reference to the apparent complementary distribution in French between clitics and their associated argument object NP's. In the more recent versions of this analysis (cf. Kayne (1989b, 1989c, 1991 and 1994), clitics are considered to be

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complex X^0 categories which head phrasal DP's. A basic tenet of this analysis is that clitics are generated in the canonical VP-internal argument position and cliticization is an instance of *move alpha* subject to all the constraints on movement in general.[1] This line of research has been adopted

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[1] As mentioned, a contrary but also a very influential analysis is *The Base Generation Analysis.* This analysis was motivated in Strozer (1976) by the existence of Clitic Doubling constructions in Spanish and it is followed in one form or another by Strozer (1976), Rivas (1977), Aoun (1979), Jaeggli (1982, 1986b), Borer (1984), Suñer (1986, 1988), Campos (1989a&c), Fernández Soriano (1989) and Franco (1993) among many others. Clitics in this analysis went from being argumental affixes (cf. Aoun 1979, 1982; Jaeggli 1982, 1986b; Borer 1984; etc.) to being verbal agreement morphemes (cf. Suñer 1988; Fernández Soriano 1989; Franco 1993; among others). The most significant aspects of this account are that clitics are base-generated in their surface positions, and that they identify the empty internal argument position as *pro* (cf., Jaeggli (1986b) and later work). The rationale behind this proposal is that if the clitic is base-generated outside the VP, the argument object position is available for a coreferential DP, if clitic doubling takes place. A problem with the earlier versions of this analysis is that they do not capture the locality conditions that hold between the clitic and its associated internal argument position. The most updated versions are also problematic. For instance, Franco considers that doubling is an instance of object agreement and relativizes agreement based on a number of morphological properties and the syntactic operations in which clitics may enter. This relativicization of agreement as a continuum ranging from high to low allows him to account for *intra* and *inter* linguistic differences. For instance, he claims that Spanish clitics are more object agreement morphemes on the verb, whereas Italian and French clitics are more argument-like. Although the relation between object agreement and clitic doubling may well be on the right track (already suggested in Kayne, 1989c), the way Franco relativizes agreement is not very satisfactory (e.g., the properties that determine how strong the degree of agreement is in the different languages are more complex that seems appropriate and the way he ranks their strength is not rigorously established). Moreover, the fact that the categorial status of clitics turns out to be language specific is an undesirable result.

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in diverse ways by many linguists to account for data from different languages (i.e., Rizzi 1986a; Ouhalla 1989; Sportiche 1990; Dobrovie-Sorin 1990; Bonet 1991; Haverkort 1992; Madeira 1992; Rooryck 1992; Uriagereka 1988, 1995; Terzi 1995, 1996; Torrego 1998; just to provide a sampler).

In what follows, I will sketch a proposal by Kayne (1991) with some innovations in Kayne (1994). As indicated, this is a systematic derivational approach which accounts for the locality conditions that hold between the clitic and the argument position associated with it.[2] Kayne adopts this

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[2] A different but also interesting approach that accounts for the locality conditions is what is known as *The Mixed Type Analysis* (or Sportiche's Analysis 1992/1996). It is a mixed type analysis in the sense that it involves movement of the VP-internal complement, but clitics are generated in their surface positions as heads which project their own phrases or *Clitic Voices* (e.g., Nominative Voice, Accusative Voice, Dative Voice, Genitive Voice and Locative Voice). The idea is that the clitic (a complex agreement element) licenses in its specifier position certain features (person, number, gender, Case and arguably specificity) of its associated XP position in the predicate. To achieve agreement with the clitic, the XP must raise to the specifier position of the clitic phrase. This specifier/head relation determines the locality conditions between the clitic and the XP. Accusative clitics are assimilated to bare operators. They have an interpretive import since there is a link in specificity between the clitic and its associated XP object. On the other hand, dative clitics are not linked to specificity and they lack interpretive import. These clitics are considered to be pure agreement, parallel to AGR°. The distribution of clitic doubling is subject to the presence or absence of the specificity feature in the double. Although specificity seems to be a necessary condition for accusative doubling in certain Spanish dialects, some additional factor must be at stake to constrain the types of XP's that allow clitic doubling. Moreover, to have two types of projections (one to license specificity and the other to license dative Case) may add complexity to the learning process. Another fact that is not clear is how to account for the ordering of the clitic projections with respect to each other when they appear in

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analysis because it offers maximum generalization across the data, and uniformity in the theory. Analyses in which cliticization has construction-specific properties (e.g., doubling vs. non-doubling) and/or is subject to language-specific conditions (cf. Franco 1993, among others) are unsatisfying for syntactic and learnability theory.

Although certain points of Kayne's analysis remain unclear (e.g., the motivation behind clitic movement) and other aspects are unaccounted for (e.g., there is no analysis for clitic doubling) or need to be revised (i.e., the analysis of clitic climbing), I adhere to this analysis because it is the strongest attempt to deal with the facts in a purely syntactic manner. For instance, unlike Sportiche (1992; 1996), it does not appeal to "specificity" which is really a semantic/pragmatic matter.[3] One of its major strengths is that it accounts for the relative ordering of the clitic and the verb in a very successful uniform manner. In addition, learnability considerations clearly support a uniform treatment of clitics across construction types so that there

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clusters. Clitics in this account are functional heads which do not adjoin to other functional heads.

[3] Since work by Enç (1991) and Diesing (1992), several studies of clitics (e.g., Mahajan 1991; Sportiche 1992/1996; Anagnostopoulou 1994; Uriagereka 1995; among others) in one form or another share the opinion that the feature "specificity" is a crucial factor that plays a direct role in the syntax. However, the function of this feature is not fully understood since it appears to denote different concepts such as referentiality, familiarity, discourse linking, etc.

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is only one fact for children to learn rather than many. The results obtained in the cross-sectional and longitudinal Spanish language acquisition data reported in this dissertation also point in this direction since they reveal striking similarities across categories and sentence types. A universal pattern is also found with respect to the linguistic properties of clitics (e.g., placement, ordering, etc.) across different languages. In sum, the universalist perspective of this analysis provides insight into the acquisition facts and they in turn provide evidence which bears on issues arising within the analysis. The results and discussion of the Spanish language acquisition data will be presented in Chapters VI and VII of this dissertation.

4.1.1. Main Aspects of Kayne's (1994) Analysis

(i) The clitic originates as a subpart of the VP-internal DP argument (not as a pure head in the complement position of the verb). That is, it originates as a determiner (D°) whose NP sister is the empty category *pro*.[4]

(ii) A clitic in finite contexts left adjoins to an abstract functional head devoid of features (X°). This projection appears above the highest verb morpheme projection and it serves (and is referred to) as *Clitic Holder* (XP, in (4) and (7)).[5] In infinitive contexts the clitic can (in

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[4] This analysis started as a prcposal by Torrego (1980's ms.) and was later developed by Uriagereka (1988/1995).

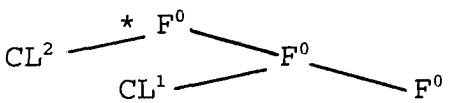
[5] Differently from his previous analyses (i.e., Kayne 1989b;1989c;1991), Kayne (1994) maintains that clitics never adjoin to verbal forms (nor to stems or prefixes). For finite contexts he proposes the existence of this abstract clitic projection (clitic holder). The rationale behind this proposal is that the verb cannot carry the clitic along with it when it raises as a verbal complex. This claim is exemplified with

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fact, should) legitimately move to T° since the verb does not adjoin to this functional head in the overt syntax and T° is already available in the structure. (The explicit distinction of clitic adjunction to two types of functional heads is a contribution of Terzi, 1999. According to Terzi clitics in imperatives also adjoin to T°.)

(iii) It is not possible to adjoin more than one clitic to the same head.[6]

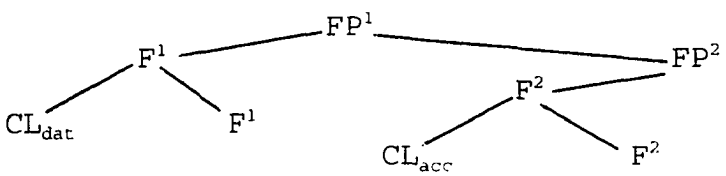
(1)



Therefore, when a cluster of two (or more) clitics occurs the options are as follows:

(iii-i) Each clitic adjoins to a different functional head, as in (2).

(2)



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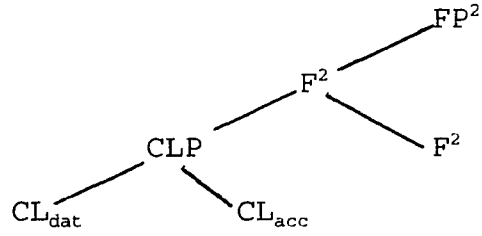
the structure of positive imperatives where the *V-CL* order is almost universal across Romance and other languages. Since the verb complex in these constructions moves to C° (cf. Rooryck (1992) and others), the *V-CL* order suggests that the verb has not been able to carry the clitic along to that location. Kayne associates the ungrammatical CL-V order of positive imperatives to infinitive contexts in Italian (Spanish, Catalan, etc.) where the order *CL-V*INF is also banned presumably for the same reason, namely, because the infinitive cannot carry the clitic when it raises to the left. This constraint yields the invariable *INF-CL* order in these languages, as discussed in section 1.2.1. (B.1) below.

[6] This adjunction would go against Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), postulated as a universal principle which ensures a rigid mapping between the hierarchical relations between specifier, head and complement and their corresponding linear order.

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(iii-ii) One clitic left adjoins to the other and this indissoluble complex adjoins to a functional head, as in (3).[7]

(3)



In either case, the clitic invariably precedes the head to which it adjoins. The theory allows both options, but it does not decide which alternative applies in each particular case (adjunction (iii-ii) is a very good candidate, but some cases seems to require (iii-i)). The representations (2) and (3) correspond to both Spanish and Italian, where 3rd person dative clitics precede 3rd person accusatives.

(iv) The different surface orders between the clitic and the verb result from the interaction between the scope of verb movement and the presence/absence of abstract functional nodes in the sentence.

As indicated in Chapter II Section 2.5. the surface order of clitics in Romance is sensitive to the [+/- tense] distinction.[8] The syntactic conditions which determine each order are given in section 4.1.2.1 below.

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[7] Terzi (1996) maintains that this is a preferred option for languages like Spanish. Tentative research by other linguists seems to confirm this claim. The final shape of clitics (namely, the application of morphophonological rules) will probably have to apply in the Clitic Holder projection.

[8] European Portuguese and Galician root clauses display the two alternative orders (clitic-verb/verb-clitic) in both [+/- tense] contexts. Therefore, an analysis of clitic movement in these languages is more complex than the one provided below for languages like French, Italian and Spanish. For an account of clitic placement in Portuguese see Madeira (1992); for Galician see Campos (1989a) and Uriagereka (1995).

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4.1.2. Patterns of Cliticization

There are two main patterns of cliticization across Romance. One applies within a clause (*Local Cliticization*) and the other across a two-clause structure (*Non-local cliticization*). Evidence for the first type will be extracted from Kayne (1991, 1994) with respect to the relative orders between the clitic and the verb in [+/- tense] contexts. The second type of cliticization will be exemplified with the process of clitic climbing. Since Kayne's (1989a) proposal for these structures must be revised to make it compatible with Kayne (1989c and other later work), I will sketch an analysis in line with Kayne (1991, 1994).[9]

4.1.2.1. Local Cliticization: [+/- Tense] Main Contexts

In local cliticization, a clitic attaches to the verbal complex to which it is related thematically. The placement of the clitic in these structures is determined (in most languages) by the [+/- finite] feature of the verb. Analyses of finite and non-finite instantiations are presented next.

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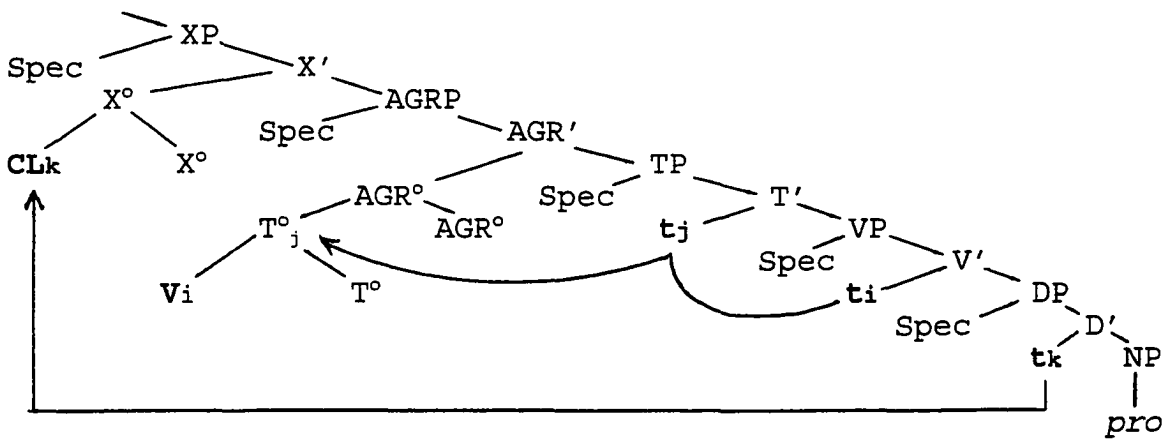
[9] I will not present an analysis of causative constructions since these are instances of reanalysis, not of restructuring (cf. Kayne 1984; Zubizarreta, 1985; Guasti, 1992; Treviño, 1994; den Dikken, 1995; Torrego, 1998, among other sources) and relate to questions that I do not address here. Moreover, these structures have not been considered in the language acquisition research included in this dissertation.

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A. Finite Clauses

Assuming with Belletti (1990) that the order of I(nflection)-type categories is AGR(eement) followed by T(ense),[10] and considering that Kayne (1994) invariably left-adjoins the clitic from the DP to an abstract functional head which serves as clitic holder (see X° below), I take the basic syntactic representation of clitic finite clauses in (most) Romance languages to be (4).[11]

(4)



[10] A different proposal is presented in Pollock (1989), where the above I-type categories appear in reverse order, namely, T above AGR. A reconciliatory approach to these hierarchical representations is presented in Chomsky (1993) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993). These authors propose that the basic IP structure contains two AGR elements, one above T that is involved in subject agreement and nominative Case (AGRsP) and the other below T and involved in object agreement and objective Case (AGRoP). An object agreement projection is also proposed in Kayne (1989c) for Past Participle Agreement (cf. Chapter III Section 3.3).

[11] I remind the reader that in addition to the mixed pattern found in Portuguese and Galician root clauses (note 8), the structure of positive imperatives also presents the reverse *Vfin-CL* order in almost all attested languages (cf. Chapter II Section 2.5.).

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As (4) indicates, the finite verb adjoins to T° to form a complex with the element that occupies it, and subsequently, this complex adjoins to the AGR° projection to pick up the agreement suffix. The clitic escapes the DP complement and moves directly to the left of the abstract functional head in the clitic place holder. As a result of this movement the clitic appears proclitic to the verb (*lo veo* '(I) it see').

B. Infinitive Clauses

In Romance, non-inflected infinitival clauses differ from their finite counterparts in that the I-type categories AGR and T do not project, since the infinitival form in these contexts does not show overt AGR or T suffixes. However, Kayne (1991) proposes that these clauses have an abstract free *I-type* (presumably, *T*) functional projection and an empty nominal-like functional node *InFn*.[12] Therefore, I take the

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[12] Kayne points out that the exact identity of the *I* node is not so clear since, as indicated, the non-finite verb in Italian (or Spanish, Catalan etc.) is not marked overtly for AGR or T suffixes. Referring to Stowell's (1982) and McCawley's (1988) suggestion that (English) infinitives might have an abstract T, Kayne tentatively assumes *I* to be *T*, rather than AGR. On the other hand, the functional *InFn* element is taken as the host of the Italian and French infinitival *-r(e)* suffix (or the Spanish *-r* suffix). Following Raposo (1987), Kayne considers these suffixes to be functional heads with nominal properties, comparable to *-ing* in English. I presume his assumption is based on the fact that the infinitive can also be used as a nominal, as in (ia), (1b) and (1c) from Spanish, Italian and French respectively.

(i)	a.	(El) comer	deprisa	causa	indigestión
	b.	Mangiare	in fretta	causa	indigestione
	c.	Manger	vite	cause	l'indigestion
		'eating	quickly	causes	indigestion'

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basic canonical structure of these clauses to be (5) with (T) followed by InFn.

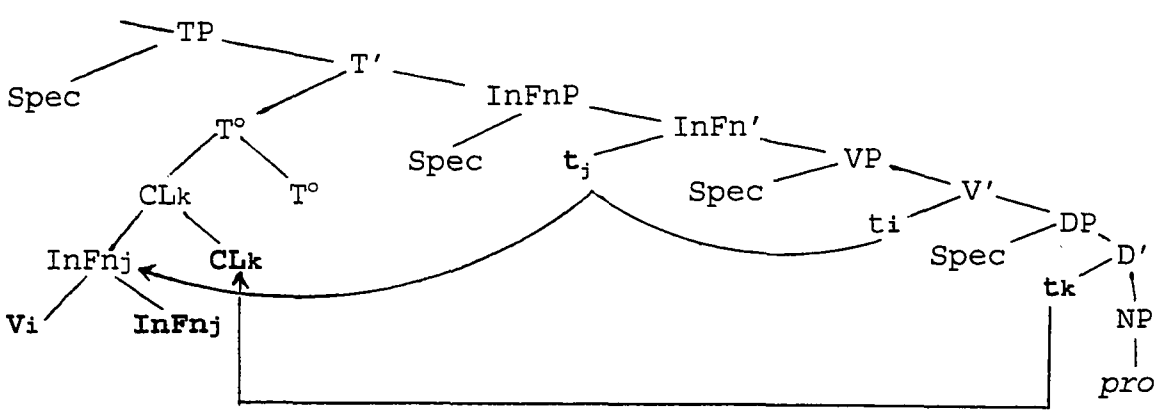
(5) [CP C [TNSP Spec [TNS' T [InFnP Spec [InFn' [VP V...]]]]]

If we consider the distribution of clitics in these constructions, we observe that Italian (Spanish, Catalan and others) differ from French. This difference is made evident in the contrasting clitic/verb order found in these languages. As indicated previously, Italian clitics follow the infinitive, whereas French clitics precede it. Kayne accounts for this contrast by focusing on the different movement of the infinitive in these two languages, as in (B.1) and (B.2).

B.1. Italian (and Spanish) Infinitives

The basic structural representation of clitic infinitive clauses in Italian (and Spanish) is presented in (6).

(6)



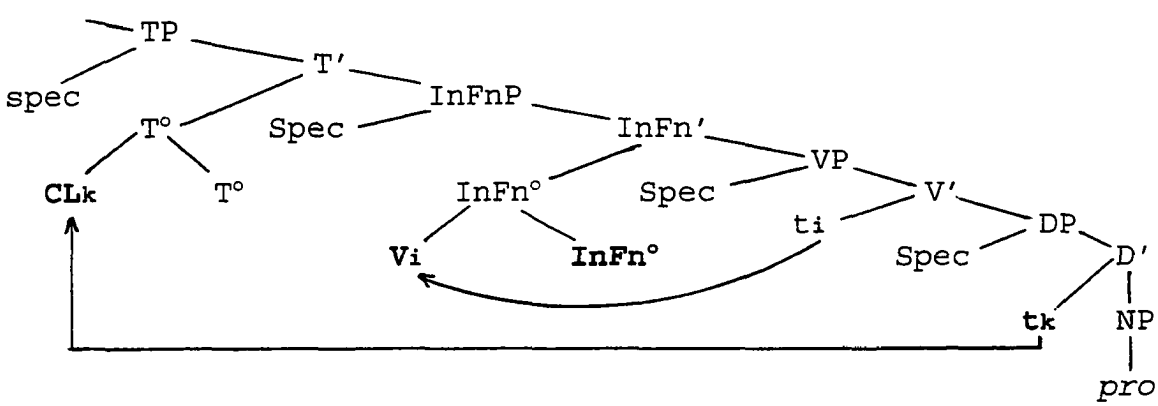
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This representation shows that the clitic in these languages moves up out of the complement DP and adjoins to the left of the abstract functional head (T°). Then, the bare verb raises to InFn to pick up the infinitive marker and subsequently, as proposed by Benincà and Cinque (1990), the infinitive complex adjoins to the left of the clitic, yielding the INF-CL order.[13]

B.2. French Infinitives

The derivation of French infinitives with clitics is illustrated in the following representation:

(7)



In this structure, by contrast, the bare verb moves up only to the InFn° node to add the infinitival suffix, and the clitic

[13] Kayne (1991) maintains that this latter movement is revealed by the fact that adverbs (or similar elements) which are generated (or subsequently placed) between T and InFn (e.g., left adjoined to InFn-P) have to appear to the right of the Infinitive at S-Structure.

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escapes the complement DP and adjoins to the left of the abstract functional head (T°) yielding the CL-INF order.[14]

4.1.2.2 Non-local Cliticization: Clitic Climbing

In non-local cliticization a clitic appears attached to the matrix verbal complex instead of being linked to the verb that subcategorizes for it. Since, as mentioned, Kayne's (1989a) proposal for clitic climbing must be revised to account for these structures satisfactorily, I will sketch an analysis in line with the theory presented for other structures, namely, Kayne (1991; 1994). I would like to propose that climbing is the result of clitic movement from an embedded tenseless domain (where the clitic is the head of the DP complement of that domain) directly to the left of the abstract functional head in the Clitic Phrase above the matrix verbal complex. This is an acceptable derivation because the clitic in its long movement crosses only traces (except for the verb) and traces do not have features. As for the verb, one may suggest that, in a sense, the X° to which the clitic adjoins is a kind of extension of AGR°, similar to what Nash & Rouveret (1996) call a "proxy head". If we consider that the XP is an extension of the AGRP, it can be claimed that the clitic does not cross over any intervening head and, thus, it

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[14] Kayne (1991) observes that no additional verb movement occurs in French, as shown by the fact that adverbs of the kind that adjoin to InFnP surface in this language to the left of the infinitive.

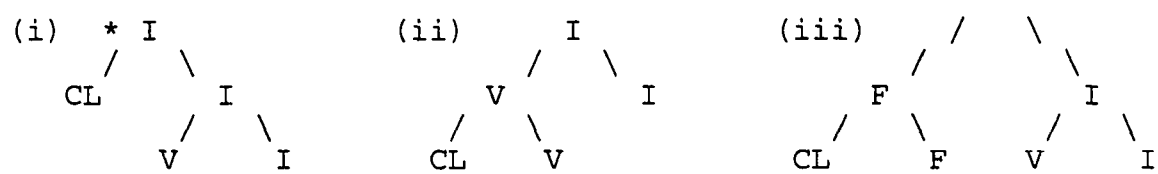
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is allowed to move in one fell swoop to its landing site.[15] These assumptions are Antisymmetric (Kayne 1994) and Minimalist (Chomsky 1995). In fact, it is Antisymmetry which makes it necessary to affirm that the clitic crosses over the landing site of the verb in proclisis,[16] although it is not

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[15] An alternative analysis would be to move the infinitival VP headed by the verb trace to the Spec of CP and from there extract the clitic to the head of the Clitic Phrase, as in Baker (1988) for causatives. A variant would be to extract the entire DP out of the VP (into the Spec of CP) to the Spec of AGROP and from there raise the clitic to the head of the clitic place holder. These alternatives were suggested to me by Marcel den Dikken. The second derivation of the latter variant, however, does not yield the right representation when doubling (CLDP) and climbing cooccur in the structure (e.g., *lo quiero ver a él* 'him I want to see him') since the double would incorrectly precede the nonfinite verb (e.g., *lo quiero a él ver). Attempts with a mixed-type movement (one or two steps of DP movement followed by head movement) are problematic because PRO is in the way of the DP moving to Spec AGR°P (PRO is in Spec TP). Moreover, when doubling and climbing cooccur, the structure would yield the incorrect outcome mentioned above. Namely, the nonfinite verb would appear lower in the tree than the DP that contains the double in the specifier.

[16] Proclisis could be represented as in (i), (ii) or (iii) below. Since adjunction is always to the left, option (i) has to be excluded because it represents multiple adjunctions. Option (ii) is not the correct representation because it cannot provide a motivation (or trigger) for clitic movement (since it is *not* a property of V that it needs a clitic to its left). Option (iii) is the correct representation because it can drive clitic movement as a property of F. We do not know what F is, nor what drives the movement, but it is something about F that triggers the adjunction of the clitic.



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clear what precisely motivates this derivation.[17] In Minimalist terms, one may argue that the clitic moves because AGR° has a feature that attracts the clitic. However, if AGR° contains more than one feature (e.g., the clitic-attracting (F1) and the verb-attracting (F2) features) this cannot happen because the two features cannot be checked in the same position.[18] To remedy the outcome of head adjunction, F2 stays in AGR° (where the main verb raises) and F1 is promoted to proxy head (X°) in the Clitic Phrase and the clitic moves

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[17] Cardinaletti (1993) following a suggestion of Rizzi claims that the factor responsible for the obligatory movement of clitics to the derived position is lack of the lexical NP projection. She claims (p. 211) that if a pronoun lacks stress and it is not modified or conjoined, the principle of *Minimize Structure* will lead to its interpretation as lacking the NP projection.

Ouhalla (1988) also argues that what motivates cliticization is the fact that clitics cannot stand as independent morphophonemic units since they do not have stress. According to him, clitics are affixal in nature and they move to obtain stress from the host element adjacent to them.

However, there seem to be contexts in which clitics do receive stress (cf. Chapter II note 5 and (i) below from Italian). In addition, clitics do not always appear immediately next to the element that host them (cf. Chapter II note 6).

(i) Franco: Non mi vuoi vedere piú
you neg me want to see anymore
Lucia: Io TI voglio vedere
I you want to see

Thanks to Nino Gulli for pointing out this Italian example to me. I do not find the comparable construction acceptable in Spanish, however.

[18] As indicated (4.1.1. (ii) and note 16), head adjunction is also banned in Kayne's (1994) analysis. Thus, Antisymmetry would also force upward movement of the clitic-attracting feature and, of course, of the clitic.

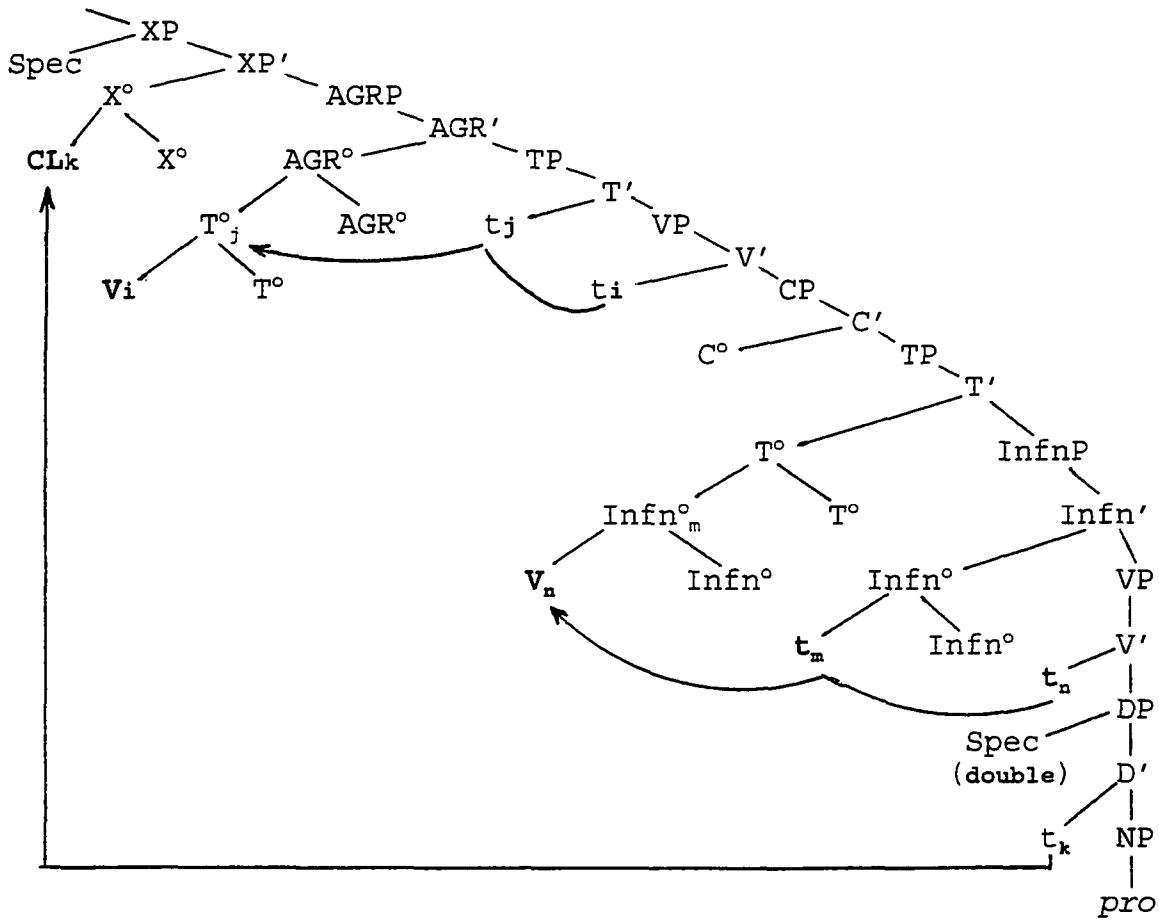
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up to X°. As indicated, being in this position (a kind of extension of AGR°), the clitic is no longer blocked by the verb and it is allowed to land. As anticipated, prior to clitic placement, the nonfinite verb of the embedded clause and the finite verb of the matrix sentence must move up in the manner indicated in 3.1.2.1/A and 3.1.2.1/B.1 respectively, so that they can pick up their corresponding verbal suffixes. In addition, some kind of clause union should take place, i.e., the lower verb (and C°) reanalyses with the matrix verb. This analysis is uniform with the one presented in local contexts. A representation of these structures (e.g., *lo quiero ver (a él)* 'him I want to see (to him)') is presented in (8).[19]

[19] Many thanks to Marcel den Dikken for discussion on these structures and for enlightening me in this line of thought.

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(8)



4.2. A UNIFORM ACCOUNT OF CLITIC DOUBLING: CLLD, CLRD, CLDP

Clitic doubling can occur both in local (e.i., 1.2.1.) and in non-local contexts (as in 1.2.2.). Contrary to other analyses (cf., Kayne 1975; Jaeggli 1982, 1986b; Cinque 1990; Franco 1993; Villalba 1996; among many others), Kayne (1994) proposes that CLLD, CLRD and CLDP are essentially three varieties of clitic doubling, in the sense that they all have an object clitic which is reduplicated by a coreferential argument DP. He argues that the difference between the

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standard type of doubling and right or left dislocation should be seen in terms of the intonational contour that characterizes these latter structures and the interpretation of the lexical DP. In addition, Kayne argues that the last two variants involve some kind of DP movement. A more specific proposal about each configuration is presented next.

A. Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

A CLLD construction contains a left-dislocated object and a coreferential clitic. An intonational break naturally occurs between the dislocated object and the rest of the sentence. The Italian sentence in (9), from Kayne (1994), illustrates this claim.

(9) A suo fratello, glielo dico subito
to his brother, himDAT+it I-say right-away

Kayne maintains that this structure is derived by moving overtly the left-dislocated phrase from the complement position to a landing site higher than the spec position of the clitic place holder and the subject position.[20] As indicated above, this structure is available also in Spanish, Catalan, French and other languages. However, French and Italian are more restricted (less productive) than Spanish.

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[20] A different approach to this phenomenon was taken in earlier studies by Cinque (1990) and Iatridou (1991). These authors claimed that the dislocated element is generated in its surface position. Thus, the empty element in the canonical object position can either be a coindexed *pro* or the trace of the clitic.

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Thus, these languages are a subset of Spanish with respect to left-dislocation and even more so with respect to standard doubling. (As noted in Chapter III Section 3.1., French and Italian do not exhibit standard doubling of lexical DPs.)

An interesting property of Italian is that dative left dislocated elements can appear without the coreferent clitic, as in (10). This option is never possible in Spanish (11a), in French (11b) or in Catalan (11c). However, when the dislocated element is a direct object, the clitic must appear obligatorily in all these languages.

(10) A Gianni, ho dato un libro

(11) a. A Juan, *(le) he dado un libro
b. Jean, je *(lui) ai donné un livre
c. A Joan, *(li) he donat un llibre
'to John I have given a book'

Another important characteristic of these structures is that in Italian, Spanish and Catalan a dislocated dative DP must always be preceded by the preposition *a*, whereas in conversational French it generally appears with no preposition. When the dislocated element is a direct object, the preposition *a* occurs always in Spanish, only with strong pronouns in Italian and Catalan, and it is absent in French.

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B. Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD)

A CLRD construction has frequently been analyzed as the mirror image of left dislocation (e.g., Vallduví (1990) and others). This phenomenon is shown in the following Italian sentence from Kayne.

(12) Glielo dico, a suo fratello
himDAT+it I-say, to his brother

On the basis of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (cf. note 6), Kayne argues against an analysis in terms of right adjunction and proposes that CLRD is the covert counterpart of CLLD. Kayne (pp. 82-3) suggests that this could be expressed "by having an optional feature present in the 'overt syntax' that would feed LF (triggering CLLD type movement) and PF (triggering a certain intonation contour)." That is, Kayne maintains that, as in CLDP, the right-dislocated element originates in the complement position, and it moves at LF to the same site which the dislocated complement overtly occupies in CLLD contexts (see (9)). According to Kayne (p. 83) this LF movement is in fact what distinguishes Romance right-dislocated phrases from regular complements. This covert form of dislocation is triggered by the overt feature signaled by the intonational break (or comma in written form) that precedes the dislocated phrase.[21,22]

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[21] Alternative analyses of these phenomena are given by Cecchetto (1995) for Italian, and Villalba (1996) for Catalan. The core idea underlying their proposals, however, supports

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As indicated, CLRD applies to Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian and other Romance languages. However, contrary to what the literature normally assumes, Kayne (referring to Benicà (1988a p. 146) reports that in Italian the clitic is optional, as in (13). He points out, though, that this option is not accepted by all speakers.

(13) a. Lo porto domani, il dolce
it I-bring tomorrow the sweet

b. Porto domani, il dolce

As (13) shows, right-dislocation is not subject to the presence of the clitic doubling the object; however, the presence of the clitic depends on the right-dislocation intonational break since standard (lexical) doubling (CLDP) is not allowed in Italian. This is shown in (14) from Kayne.

(14) * Lo porto domani il dolce

Kayne's rejection of the symmetric analysis of CLLD and CLRD. In fact, Cecchetto's approach is fairly close to Kayne's analysis.

[22] However, there are contexts (other than simple 'normal' VPs) in which the right-dislocated phrase can be separated from the sentence by some other elements. This is illustrated in (i) and (ii) where the intervening elements are adverbs.

(i) Alan lo llama cada día por la noche, a su hijo
A. him calls every day in the evening, to his son

(ii) Eva le envía dinero frecuentemente, a su madre
E. to her sends money frequently, to her mother

This type of sentence would appear to be problematic for the no-overt-movement analysis of CLRD since this word order is not acceptable in other cases. Kayne does not discuss such examples, and I will set them aside here.

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Contrary to Italian, CLRD in French, Catalán and Spanish requires the clitic along with the argument DP. Kayne states that the reasons for this cross-linguistic difference have not yet been established.

Differently from CLLD contexts, the preposition *a* in French dative CLRD structures appears obligatorily. This property is illustrated by Kayne's French example (15a). The same applies to Spanish (15b), Italian (15c) and Catalan (15d). In these languages, however, the preposition *a* is also required in CLLD constructions.

(15) a. Je lui parle souvent, *(à) ton ami
b. Yo le hablo frecuentemente, *(*a*) tu amigo
c. Io gli parlo spesso, *(*a*)l tuo amico
d. Jo li parlo sovint, *(*a*)l teu amic
'I him$_{dat}$ speak often (to) your friend'

Conversely, in accusative CLRD contexts only Spanish requires this preposition (16a); French (16b), Italian (16c) and Catalan (16d) do not. Spanish dative and accusative CLDP contexts are identical to CLRD with respect to this matter (cf. Chapter III note 9).

(16) a. Pablo la ve, *a* María
b. Paul la voit, Marie
c. Paolo la vede, Maria
d. Pau la veu, la Maria
'Paul her sees, Mary'

C. Standard Clitic Doubling (CLDP)

According to Kayne, the standard type of clitic doubling (CLDP) is almost identical to CLRD. In the overt syntax the

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two structures are exactly the same since both display clitic doubling. However, CLRD and CLDP differ in the intonation and in the interpretive status of their argument DP. This divergence is due to the fact that in CLDP there is no marked intonation contour (no trigger) and, as a result, the lexical DP does not move at LF. Kayne illustrates his point with the sentence in (17a) which he takes from Cinque (1990, p. 178) from a colloquial Italian dialect; this is an instance of dative CLDP. Kayne notes that according to Cinque, what allows (17a) is the presence of an accusative clitic in addition to the dative clitic. Doubling a dative in the presence of a lexical accusative DP, as in (17b), is unacceptable. The CLRD counterpart is also available (17c).[23]

(17) a. Gliel'ho detta a suo fratello
him+it I-have said to his brother

b. *? Gli ho detto una parolaccia a suo fratello
him I-have said a bad word to his brother

c. Gliel'ho detta, a suo fratello
him+it I-have said, to his brother

---

[23] Similarly, at least for some speakers, dative CLLD is better when there is an accusative clitic in addition to the dative clitic (Kayne from Zanuttini, p.c.). The fact that these two options (CLDP and CLLD) are subject to the same constraint (the presence of an additional accusative clitic) supports Kayne's proposal that CLDP, CLLD (and CLRD) are variants of the same syntactic phenomenon. As (17c) shows, the CLRD counterpart of CLDP (17a) is also possible. These structures, however, are also allowed in contexts that contain a single clitic.

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Note also that, as indicated previously (cf. Chapter III Section 3.1.), doubling of a lexical DP is not possible in standard Italian or in French. However, these constructions are prolific in Spanish and in other Romance languages (e.g., Rumanian, Catalan, European Portuguese, Galician, etc.). To account for the fact that French allows CLRD (i.e., sentences equivalent to (12)), but not CLDP (i.e., cases equivalent to (17)), Kayne (p. 83) states the constraint in (18).

(18) "No clitic can asymmetrically c-command the corresponding doubled lexical phrase at LF".

This constraint was proposed specifically for French, not as a universal, and Kayne leaves open the possibility that it might apply to other languages. Considering that the facts in standard Italian parallel the ones in French, one can assume that (18) would also apply to standard Italian. This constraint, however, does not hold for the sort of clitic doubling present in Spanish.[24] As we are about to see, it can easily be carried over to (lexical) accusative doubling in most Spanish varieties and in other languages (e.g., Catalan, European Portuguese, Galician etc.), but it does not apply to datives in the Italian register mentioned above (cf. (17)) or in Spanish (and presumably, not to other dative doubling

[24] I would like to remind the reader that Spanish CLDP is subject to a vast amount of variation both within grammatical categories (direct objects vs. indirect objects) and across dialects (e.g., Peninsular Spanish vs. some Latin American varieties). See discussion of this issue in Chapter III Section 3.1.

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languages such as Catalán, European Portuguese, Galician etc.). This constraint does not apply either to the type of lexical accusative doubling found in River Plate Spanish or in Cone Spanish.

Kayne illustrates (18) in French accusative doubling with examples of CLDP (19), CLRD (20) and CLLD (21).

(19) * Jean la voit Marie
J. her sees Marie

(20) Jean la voit, Marie

(21) Marie, Jean la voit

The ungrammaticality of (19) is based on the fact that the clitic in the head of the clitic phrase asymmetrically c-commands *Marie*, which is still in the complement position. No c-command violation occurs in (20) because *Marie* raises at LF. Finally, (21) is saved by the fact that the complement moves up overtly in the syntax to some kind of A' position above the subject and the clitic does not c-command it. The same could be said with respect to the standard Italian case in (12). This sentence is grammatical because the right-dislocated phrase moves at LF and consequently the clitic does not asymmetrically c-command it. On the contrary, the complement of the equivalent CLDP construction (namely, *glielo dico a suo fratello*) is not subject to covert movement and the clitic asymmetrically c-commands it at LF, incurring a violation of the constraint.

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To account for the fact that dative CLDP occurs in some instances of a colloquial Italian dialect (see (17a) above) and productively in Spanish (and other Romance languages), Kayne argues that a dative clitic in this Italian dialect and in Spanish is allowed to asymmetrically c-command the complement phrase at LF. That is, he indirectly claims that (18) does not apply to datives in some languages. The implication is that (18) is a parameter of cross-language variation rather than a consequence of UG principles. (Unless it follows from some other facts of the languages in question.)

A different perspective emerges with respect to Peninsular Spanish accusative clitics. These elements seem to behave like the French ones in (19)-(21) (details in Chapter III Section 3.1.5.). That is, they fully obey the constraint in (18), so standard doubling (CLDP) is not allowed. This is illustrated by the Spanish sentences in (22)-(24).

(22) * Juan la ve a María

(23) Juan la ve, a María

(24) A María, Juan la ve

The structure in (22), however, is allowed in River Plate and other varieties of Spanish when the direct object takes the preposition *a*.[25] Kayne claims that the clitic in this context

[25]As indicated in Chapter III notes 3 & 9, this use of the preposition (so-called personal *a*) is peculiar to Spanish; it is not available in French, Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, etc.

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has (partial) dative properties, but is "masked" (it is represented lexically) as accusative. On this basis, he suggests that the role of the preposition is to license the (partial) dativization of the clitic, so that (22) is assimilated to dative clitic doubling.[26] This puts sentences like (22) in River Plate Spanish (and other related dialects) at the same level with respect to (18) as dative doubling. That is, they would not fall under the constraint either.

Kayne does not mention the more restricted and rare cases of accusative CLDP found in Southern Cone Spanish. I am referring to contexts in which the accusative lexical DP is inanimate and definite without any preposition. The example in (25) illustrates this point:

(25) Cada día la toco la guitarra
every day I it play the guitar

---

[26] Contrary to other suggestions in the literature, Kayne does not believe that *a* is present for Case reasons. In fact, he argues that in contexts like (20), the right-dislocated element (*Marie*, in this clause) gets Case in the same manner as regular (un-doubled) complements. It seems that this preposition has multiple uses. For instance, Carme Picallo (p.c.) referring to Diesing (1992) indicates that it also has the property of inducing a specific reading in indefinite [+specific] contexts in Spanish, such as (i). The corresponding non-specific reading is expressed by (ii).

(i) Juan busca *a* un profesor
J. is looking for a professor (one in particular)

(ii) Juan busca un profesor (any professor)

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This construction can be associated to the kind of accusative CLDP found in modern Greek or Albanian (cf. Chapter III note 7). As indicated, in these languages, as in Southern Cone Spanish, the complement DP can be inanimate and it does not need to be preceded by a preposition. That is, Southern Cone Spanish seems to accept all types of accusative CLDP whatever their features are. *Structures like (25) do not abide at all* by the constraint in (18). Thus, after looking at the facts, one can conclude that Kayne's approach adds some light to the fact that French (or standard Italian) have CLRD but no CLDP, but it cannot be extended to Spanish to clarify the distribution of clitic doubling in this language. As indicated in Chapter III Section 3.1., this phenomenon shows important divergences based on the different doubling elements (stressed pronouns vs. lexical DPs), on the type of clitics involved (dative vs. accusative) and on dialectal variation.[27] These differences need to be captured by some general explanatory principles. This is the biggest challenge which present day linguistics faces with regard to doubling. Linguists have advanced several proposals but none of them appears to be fully satisfactory.

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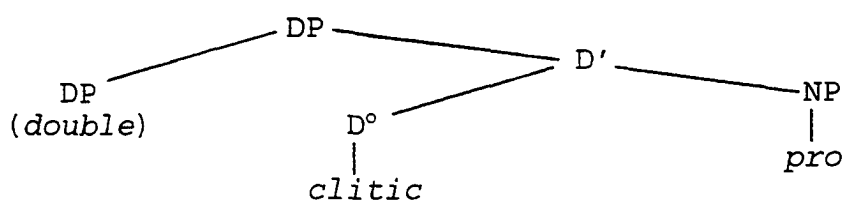
[27] Spanish is very productive with respect to CLDP; however, quite a number of restrictions apply within the different dialects. These restrictions are mainly based on Case, person, thematic hierarchy, specificity, referentiality, animacy, etc. Some of these have been mentioned in earlier sections.

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4.2.1. Structural Analysis

As in Section 4.1.2., the syntactic analysis adopted here for (Spanish) CLDP is in the spirit of the Movement Hypothesis. It is an approach from Uriagereka (1988, 1995) sketched on the basis of then-unpublished (1988) research by Torrego and with a modification in the vein of Kayne (1994). Uriagereka's analysis is along the lines of the determiner approach presented earlier for local undoubled instances of cliticization. That is, this proposal maintains that a clitic is a D° element (a determiner) that heads a DP generated in the object argument position. This head (the clitic) selects an empty category *pro* as its NP complement. The doubled phrase occupies the specifier position of the complex DP and it receives Case through spec-head agreement with the clitic. The structure of this double complex object DP is illustrated in (26).

(26)



Uriagereka applies this complex DP structure only to accusative clitics since he assumes that dative clitics are not determiners, but agreement (namely, heads of an agreement

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projection devoid of interpretation).[28] I would like to suggest instead that these two types of clitics are completely parallel (except for Case, of course). This idea was presented by Kayne (class lectures 1993) referring to Harris (1991a). The rationale behind this claim is that both dative and accusative clitics in essentially all major Romance languages (Portuguese accusatives, for the most part, are an exception) have an */l/*. This allows one to say that the third person dative forms (e.g., in Spanish *le/les*) are Cased marked variants of dative determiners. A clear example of this is observed in Romanian, a language which overtly shows dative Case in the 'determiner+NP' constituent. The fact that the other Romance languages do not show Case morphologically does not mean that they do not have it; it may be present though covert.[29] Adhering to this line of thought, I would like to propose that Uriagereka's complex DP analysis applies not only to accusative, but also to dative clitic doubling. (It should be borne in mind, though, that these two elements behave in a different manner with respect to CLDP (cf. Chapter III Section 3.1. and Chapter IV Section 4.2.C.). The structural

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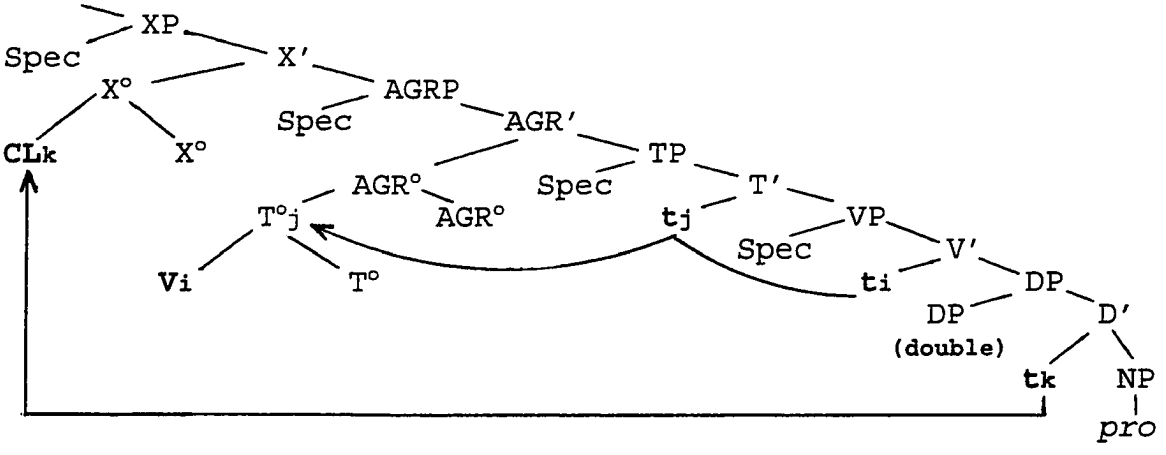
[28] For an analysis of dative clitic doubling, Uriagereka refers the reader to Sportiche (1992/1996).

[29] Marcel den Dikken has pointed out to me (p.c.) that there might be some morphological support for the suggestion that a dative clitic is also related to a D-head. For example, the French pronoun "leur" could perhaps be thought of as being formed with the article *le* plus the dative pronoun *eux*. It might be assumed that a dative clitic is a D° + some other element, whereas the accusative is just a D°.

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representation of these constructions in Spanish is illustrated in (27).

(27)



As (27) indicates, the finite verb adjoins to T° to form a complex with the element that occupies it, and subsequently this complex adjoins to the AGR° projection to pick up the agreement suffix. The clitic must split from the complement DP and move upward via head movement to its spell-out position. I would like to suggest that the functional head that hosts the clitic is not the designated functional head (F°) proposed by Uriagereka, but the same empty functional head postulated by Kayne for non-doubling finite contexts (cf. Section 4.1.2.1.).[30] There seems to be no need for a fixed

[30] Uriagereka's functional head (F°) is a very complex entity not compatible with Kayne's head of the Clitic Holder. Uriagereka's F° encodes the speaker's (or an embedded subject's) *point of view* which, in turn, determines attribution of reference, emphasis, loaded descriptions, among

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functional head since in non-finite doubling contexts (when CLDP occurs in biclausal structures with no climbing, e.g., *voy a prepararle una sorpresa a Juan* 'I am going to prepare-him a surprise to Juan') the clitic can adjoin to T° (as it does in non-doubling infinitive contexts) without violating the Linear Correspondence Axiom (cf. Terzi, 1999).

To account for CLLD and CLRD constructions in the style of Kayne, both the clitic and the DP in the specifier position (the double) have to move out of the complex DP complement. The clitic must raise to the head of the clitic phrase (just as it does in CLDP structures) and the double to some kind of A' position above the subject. (Kayne cites Cinque 1990 p. 58 to indicate that more than one landing site is available.) Considering that in contexts like *A Juan que le dieron* 'to John (they) what to him gave' the *que* 'what' moves to the spec of CP, I would like to propose that in CLLD and CLRD structures, the double DP raises to the specifier of a projection higher than CP which I name dislocation phrase (DLP). In CLLD structures this movement takes place in the syntax and in CLRD at LF. I suggest that this last movement is triggered by the feature postulated in the overt syntax by

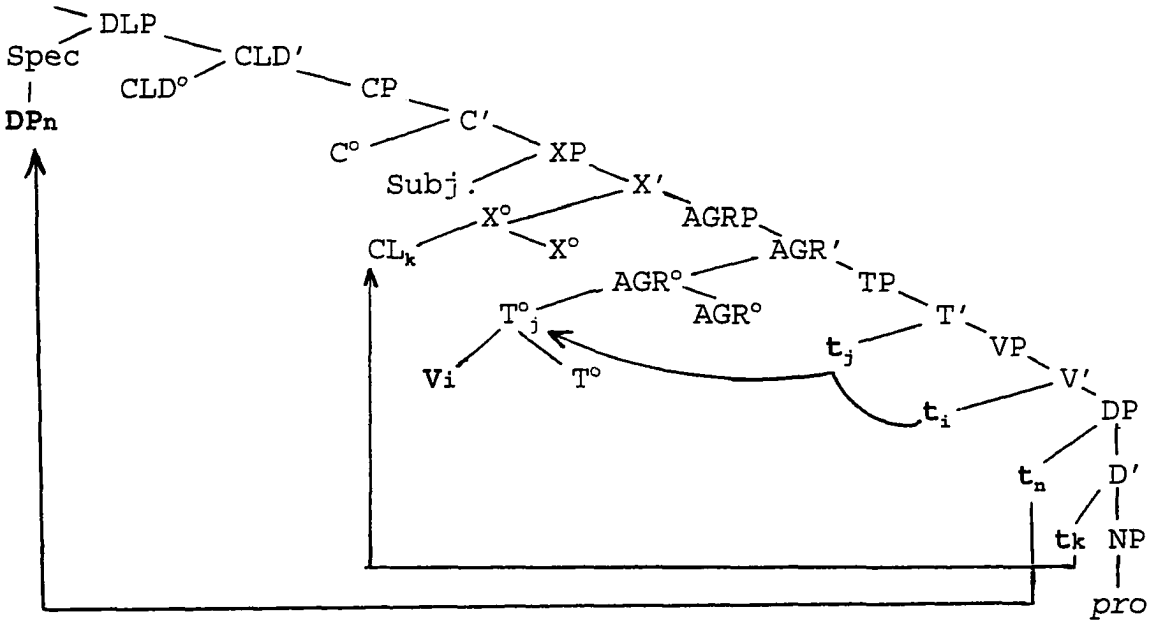
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others. He thinks of it "as a point of interface at LF between the competence levels of syntax and the performance levels of pragmatics" (p. 93). This functional head shows crosslinguistic variation based on the *strong* and *weak* features associated with the finite verb (Portuguese/Galician vs. Spanish/French respectively). The position of F° is the same in both types of languages, even when the placement of clitics differs among them.

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Kayne (1994). The representation of these constructions is illustrated in (28).

(28)



4.3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have presented a syntactic approach to cliticization within the *Movement Analysis* from Kayne (1991;1994). A basic tenet of this analysis is that clitics are generated in the canonical VP-internal argument position as a determiner (D^0) whose NP sister is the empty category *pro*. Cliticization in this approach is an instance of *move alpha* subject to all the constraints on movement in general. In finite contexts the clitic always left adjoins to the head of an abstract functional projection which serves as clitic

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holder (XP) and in infinitive contexts the clitic can move to T^0. I have adopted this analysis because it offers uniformity both in linguistic theory (based solely in syntactic principles) and the theory of acquisition (a uniform treatment of clitics across construction types).

As noted, there are two main patterns of cliticization across Romance. One applies within a clause (*Local Cliticization*) and the other across a two-clause structure (*Non-local Cliticization).* Evidence for the first type has been drawn from Kayne's (1991; 1994) analyses. This approach accounts for the relative order between the clitics and the verb in [+/- tense] contexts in a very successful manner across the Romance languages. The second type of cliticization has been exemplified with the process of clitic climbing. To account for both climbing and non-climbing structures, I have sketched an analysis of climbing in line with Kayne's (1994) research (though Kayne's 1989a proposal must be revised to make it compatible with Kayne, 1989c, and later research), and with Chomsky (1995), in which the clitic is allowed to climb in one step to the Clitic Phrase in the same manner as it does in local contexts. As in Kayne (1994), I have treated standard clitic doubling (CLDP), clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation (CLRD) as three closely related instances of the wider phenomenon of clitic doubling. The analysis presented for doubling is adopted from Uriagereka (1988;1995) with a modification in the

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vein of Kayne (1994) and an addition in the spirit of Harris (1991a) to extend the determiner-like properties of third person accusative clitics also to datives.

In Chapters VI and VII it will be shown that the acquisition data presented in this dissertation supports a very restricted and uniform theoretical analysis since the different clitic structures in Spanish are acquired very early and in a quite parallel manner.

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Chapter V

PREVIOUS ACQUISITION STUDIES

The acquisition of pronominal clitics has received substantial attention in recent years in a Generative-Grammar framework across a range of languages, particularly with respect to French and Italian. In this chapter I review a representative sample of studies designed to test children's knowledge of object and subject cliticization in French, and object cliticization in Italian and Spanish. Schaeffer (1997) adheres to Sportiche's (1992;1996) structural analysis, Guasti's (1994) syntactic account of certain clitic phenomena is in line with Kayne (1991, and other sources) and Hamann *et al.* (1996) make assumptions in terms of Kayne (1975 and 1983) and they argue that their results are consistent with Cardinaletti and Starke (1994) and Sportiche (1992). Finally, Varela's (1988) proposals on the binding behavior of clitic doubling in Spanish are mainly based on Barss (1986), a research inspired by Kayne (1983).

The goals of these research projects in language acquisition also vary. Some studies focus directly on core cliticization issues, such as the morpho-lexical distinction between clitic and free forms, the presence of clitics in obligatory contexts, the distributional patterns of clitics in finite/nonfinite, contexts etc. Other studies select a specific Case-type of object clitic (e.g., dative in Varela,

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1988; or accusative in Schaeffer, 1997) and study its properties and structures in relation to other associated structural processes in the language.

The data in these more specific studies (Varela, 1988 and Schaeffer, 1997) were obtained through experimental techniques in a cross-sectional study of a group of subjects, whereas in the more broadly oriented studies, the data come from a longitudinal study of the natural productions of one French child (Hamann *et al.*, 1996) and three Italian children (Guasti, 1994).

A detailed report of these studies appears next.

5.1. VARELA (1988)

The study reported by Varela involves both theoretical and experimental research on Binding Theory.[1] More specifically, it concerns the binding properties of indirect object clitic doubling in Spanish. This structure is illustrated in (1a), (1b) and (1c) with respect to doubling of an R-expression, a pronoun and an anaphor respectively:

(1) a. Isabel le ha dado un regalo a Teresa
Isabel her has given a present to Teresa

b. Isabel le ha dado un regalo a ella
Isabel her has given a present to her

---

[1] Binding theory consists of three universal principles A, B, and C that regulate the interpretation of noun phrases (anaphors, pronouns and R(eferential)-expressions, respectively). This theory is developed in Chomsky (1980a, 1981a, 1982, 1986a).

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c. Isabel se ha hecho un regalo a sí misma
Isabel SE has given a present to herself

Varela argues that although the clitic (*le/se*) and the double (*a Teresa/ella/sí misma*) are subject to strong and consistent binding effects, these items do not obey the Binding Principles. She maintains that clitic doubling creates a chain (the clitic and the double share a theta-role), presumably an A-chain. Then, she proposes that the clitic and the double, as a chain, are subject to binding with respect to other chains, but not with respect to each other.[2]

The experimental part of this research only tested the comprehension of sentences with lexical indirect objects, such as (1a); thus, it does not reveal whether children know the distributional properties of clitics (namely, the contexts that license doubling and where doubling is optional or obligatory). The pretest data showed that children as young as 2;11 had knowledge of clitic doubling.[3] Varela reports

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[2] Binding Theory is not the focus of my dissertation, so I will not expand further on this proposal but refer the reader to the original source.

[3] The pretest was specifically designed to test the comprehension of clitic doubling independently of binding. This procedure was required because knowledge of clitic doubling had to be established to be able to test for the application of binding.

The pretest contained 4 sentences, 2 instances of dative object clitic doubling (see (i) and (ii) below) and two fillers. To pass the pretest, 3 out of the 4 items (including the 2 doubling structures) had to be correct.

(i) Mickey le quita la coca-cola a Oliva
M. from her snatches the coke from Oliva

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that many children produced clitics spontaneously and correctly in their own explanations of some of the target sentences. These utterances are more informative since they imply that children not only correctly understood doubling, but also discriminated (at least some of) the contexts in which it applies.

A wide spectrum with respect to the distributional properties of clitic doubling was found by Torrens and Wexler (1996;2000) in their study of a longitudinal corpus of data from a native speaker of Peninsular Spanish, María, from the ages of 1;7 to 3;11. These authors claim that María had knowledge of the distribution of clitic doubling from a very young age; the earliest utterances reported are shown in (2a), (2b) and (2c) below.[4] These are instances of doubling of a

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(ii) Mickey le ha regalado la peseta a Donald
M. to him has given the peseta to Donald

[4] The isolated occurrence in (2a), three months before the next recorded instance is puzzling. I believe that there is a transcription (or a typing) error in (2a) and that this structure was not uttered by María but by her father. Two observations make me draw this conclusion: one, the discourse context in which it occurred (see (i) below from segment 231); and two, the fact that it is not consistent with the type of speech used by María at this early stage. This is a perfectly uttered structure which not only contains doubling but also a cluster. I have also consulted this corpus (see Chapter VII) and doubling structures with clusters are otherwise not observed until the age of 2;1. Alternatively, one could think in terms of Van Kampen (2000), but I do not think this claim applies here. (Van Kampen states that "newly emerging constructions may appear for some ten weeks or longer in less than 10% of the relevant instances, without any significant growth. At a certain point this period of latency is followed by a steep and irreversible change. The proportion of the new construction rises from less than 10% to more than 90% within 10 to 20 weeks".)

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lexical indirect object, a pronominal indirect object and a pronominal direct object, respectively. (The parentheses signify omission by María.)

(2) (a) Se lo digo a mamá (1;10)
I her_{dat} it_{acc} tell-1sg to mommy

(b) No te (lo) digo a ti (2;1)
I not you_{dat} (it_{acc}) tell-1sg to you

(c) Tú no me mires a mí (2;9)
you_{nom} not me_{acc} look at me

Torrens and Wexler report that only one error was found in the entire corpus involving pronominal accusative object clitic doubling. This is an obligatory doubling context in adult grammar but the child omits the clitic, as indicated in (3a). The grammatical structure is presented in (3b).

(i) (It is time to eat. María's mother gives her some ham. Instead of eating it, she keeps on touching it.)

Father: ... cómetelo, pero no lo guarrees, por favor.
eat-CL2sg-it, but neg it get dirty, please

María: (she picks the ham with her hand) ¿Eh? [=here/what?]

Father: Que no lo guarrees, por favor.
that neg it get dirty, please

María: ¿Qué? [what?]
(they keep on like this ....)

Father: Mamá, está guarreando el jamón.
Mommy, she is getting dirty the ham

Mother: (from the kitchen) ... qué quieres que yo le haga.
... what you want that I her do

María [father]: *Se lo digo a mamá*, ¿eh?

Mother: María que te voy a dar tás-tás en el culo.
M. that I CL2sg am going to spank the behind

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(3) a. * Voy a peinar a ti (2;5)
I am going to comb to you

b. Te voy a peinar a ti

However, Torrens and Wexler overlooked a quite consistent ungrammaticality that occurred with lexical direct object doubling (CLDP), both animate and inanimate. Detailed information on this issue is given in Chapter VII, Section 7.4.

To return now to Varela's study: Her own goals are the semantic properties of clitics. She is interested in particular in their behavior with respect to coreference or binding with other nominal categories.[5] In accordance with the theoretical analysis she adopts, Varela proposes that the Binding Principles for indirect object clitic doubling constructions are formulated and applied in terms of chains.[6] To test this hypothesis Varela compares the acquisition of

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[5] A clitic, like other pronouns, falls under Principle B of Binding Theory. It must be disjoint in reference from a nominal that c-commands it in its governing category (see (i) below); however, a clitic may be coreferential with or bound by a more distant nominal category, as in (ii) below.

(i) María$_1$ la$_2$ ha visitado
María her has visited

(ii) María$_1$ dice que Pedro la$_{1/2}$ ha visitado
María says that Pedro her has visited

[6] On the assumption that the Theta-Criterion is operative in children's grammar, Varela maintains that in cases like (1) the child will infer that the clitic and the double share a theta-role and thereby constitute a chain. She implies that the fact that these structures are very productive in the adult grammar means that children should have no difficulty acquiring them.

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indirect object clitic doubling (a *non-trivial chain* e.g., Type 2 and 4 below) to the acquisition of another indirect object structure which does not license doubling (*a trivial chain* e.g., Type 1 and 3 below).[7] These two instances differ in that in the case of non-trivial chains the indirect object is a DP which co-occurs with a coreferential clitic, whereas in the case of trivial chains, the indirect object is a PP which appears by itself. If children had Binding Theory as a constraint on relations between chains (not between their constituents), they would perform in the same manner with trivial and non-trivial chains. That is, the acquisition data would show that children know that the two dative constituents in clitic doubling (the clitic and the double DP) have a single role of indirect object, just as there is only one role for the single indirect object constituent (trivial chain). Then, on the assumption that the Binding Principles are part of Universal Grammar, Varela predicts that children will perform with a high degree of accuracy in both structures from a very young age.

To test this prediction, Varela conducted an experiment with 17 monolingual native Spanish speaking children from Madrid and five adult native speakers of Spanish. The ages of the children ranged from 2;11 to 4;1 with an average of 3;9.

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[7] Generally speaking, *trivial chains* are those that contain only one element (the tail, in this study) while *non-trivial chains* have both categories, the head and a tail.

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The procedures employed the truth-value judgement task (Crain and Mckee, 1985).[8] In half of the sentences the indirect object had an extrasentential interpretation and obeyed the Binding Principles, whereas in the other half, the indirect object was bound by the subject, causing a Principle C violation.

The stimuli consisted of 16 target sentences with 3 fillers interspersed at regular intervals (one filler after four target sentences).[9] The target sentences were of 4 different types differing with respect to the nature of the subject (an overt or phonologically null pronominal) and of the indirect object (a PP or a doubling DP preceded by preposition *a*). These sentence types were ordered in a different way in each of the corresponding four sets. All children received the 16 sentences in the same order of presentation. One of these sets of sentences appears next:

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[8] This is a game in which children are presented with an event staged with toys. Then a puppet says what he thinks happened (target sentence). The child has to reward the puppet if he says something true or make him eat something unpleasant (a rag, a stone), if he says something false (all of the puppet's sentences are grammatically correct, on some interpretation). The child's grammatical analysis of the structures under study is inferred by his/her judgement of the truth value of the target sentences.

[9] The proportion of fillers (16%) seems very small.

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(4) Type 1: *Overt subject - PP indirect object*

Ella hace un dibujo para Oliva
She makes a picture for Olive-Oyl

Type 2: *Null subject - clitic doubled indirect object*

Le hace un dibujo a Popeye
(Someone) him makes a picture to Popeye

Type 3: *Null subject - PP indirect object*

Ha hecho un dibujo para Dasy
(Someone) has made a picture for Daisy

Type 4: *Overt subject - clitic doubled indirect object*

El le hace un dibujo a Bruto
He him makes a picture to Bruto

A pronominal subject was used to allow for ambiguity in reference which, in turn, revealed if children applied correctly the relevant Binding Principle. This clarification is possible because a pronominal element allows for a situation in which it could corefer with the object of the sentence, constituting a Binding violation, or its interpretation could be 'extrasentential' and abide by Binding Principles. These possibilities allowed Varela to vary the referent of the pronominal subject in the act-out stories that she created for each construction. For instance, in one of these contexts the toy character Brutus would make a picture for himself. The sentence associated with this situation was the one in type 4 above (namely, *él le hace un dibujo a Bruto*). In the described context, this sentence constitutes a Principle C violation and Varela expects children to reject it. However, in an alternative situation in which some other

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character made a picture for Brutus, children were expected to accept the sentence. The alternation between the overt or null pronominal elements was necessary to control for possible pragmatic effects. This is because Spanish is a null subject language so an overt subject pronoun carries stress and emphatic contrast, while on the other hand, a null subject with no preceding context might not be easy to identify. Correct responses to target sentences had an even number of YES/NO answers, ordered at random to avoid any answering pattern. The correct answer to fillers was NO. At least two (out of three) had to be answered correctly for the child's data to be included in the statistical analysis.

The results indicated that the overall percentage of correct responses to fillers was 96% (the same as for the adult controls). The accuracy rates for the 272 analyzed responses to target sentences by children appear in Table (5.1.1), and the overall correct percentage by sentence type appears in Table (5.1.2):

Table 5.1.1. Correct Responses for all Target Sentences.

Acceptance	96.3%
Rejection	79.4%
Overall	87.9%

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Table 5.1.2. Overall (yes+no) correct % per sentence type.[10]

Sentence Type		Correct
Type I	(Overt Subject/PP-IO)	87%
Type II	(Null Subject/Clitic Doubling)	88%
Type III	(Null subject/PP-IO)	93%
Type IV	(Overt Subject/Clitic Doubling)	84%

In an analysis of variance with the factors "stress" and "chainhood",[11] Varela found no main effect of either the "stress" factor or the "chainhood" factor, and also found no interaction between them. This means that no significant difference was found between children's performance with single PP and double DP constructions. Varela interprets these results as support for her hypothesis that UG Binding Principles apply to coreference relations between chains. The fact that accuracy was below 100% is attributed to the intervention of performance or pragmatic factors in the children's choices.

Varela also found that age was not a factor in the children's level of accuracy, since some of the youngest

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[10] A separate percentage for acceptance and rejection would have been helpful here.

[11] The "stress" factor refers to the children's performance when the chain (trivial or non-trivial) was bound by (or free from) an overt subject pronoun compared with performance when the subject was null. The "chainhood" factor assesses children's performance with non-trivial (doubling) chains compared with trivial (PP) chains.

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children counted among those who were 100% correct, and some of the lowest scores were for the oldest children. This lack of an age effect allowed Varela to argue against Borer and Wexler's (1987) claim that A-chains mature with age.

In sum, Varela maintained that the results of this research confirmed that children had mastered the grammatical/semantic properties of dative lexical clitic doubling constructions by 2;11. Because it includes binding principles, this is a more complex phenomenon than just knowledge of clitic doubling. This result, however, is not very robust since there was only one subject at age 2;11. The next age was 3;1 with again only one subject and then there were no subjects until 3;6 with also one subject. Most of the subjects were from the ages of 3;7 to 4;1. An interesting fact to consider, though, is that the 2;11 child was one of the three subjects who were correct 100% of the time in the entire experiment. The other two were 3;7. This underlies Varela's conclusion that age was not a factor in the full command of these structures. In fact, this study does not put a lower age bound on mastery of doubling.

Varela's study was not designed to provide information on the distribution of the various types of standard clitic doubling structures in the child language. In Chapter VI it will be shown that some very young speakers already use the different options of clitic doubling quite accurately at the age of 2;2, 2;3 or 2;4. Similar results were found in the

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spontaneous longitudinal data discussed in Chapter VII and in Torrens and Wexler (1996;2000), as mentioned earlier.

5.2. HAMANN, RIZZI AND FRAUENFELDER (1996)

This paper by Hamann *et al.* reports some preliminary results on the acquisition of French subject and object clitics. I will mainly focus here on object clitics since Spanish does not have subject clitics.

Hamann *et al.* maintain that although subject and object clitics share a number of properties, they are very different on the abstract levels of linguistic representation: S-structure and LF. This hypothesis leads them to expect dissociations between the two clitic types in various empirical realizations, such as syntactic behavior, crosslinguistic distribution, selective manifestation in language development and selective loss in language impairment.

Focusing on the development of the clitic system the authors ask the following questions:

1) How early does the child show mastery of the morphological distinction between clitic and non-clitic forms, as well as of the syntactic consequences of this distinction?

2) Do subject and object clitics arise simultaneously in the course of acquisition? If not, how can we interpret the observed order?

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3) How do subject and object clitics distribute in tensed and untensed clauses during acquisition?[12]

In an attempt to shed light on these issues, the authors present a quantitative analysis of a corpus of natural productions. The corpus represents the speech of a monolingual child, Augustin, over a 10 month period from the age of 2;0;2 to 2;9;30.

The child was recorded ten times in 45 minute sessions from each of which only the first 30 minutes were transcribed. The recording sessions occurred about every three to four weeks except for an almost two month break between the seventh and eighth recording sessions (2;4;22-2;6;16), and a two and a half month break between the eighth and ninth sessions (2;6;16-2;9;2).

Romance clitics require a verbal element as the host. A preliminary count of verbal utterances indicated that of a total of 2,191 utterances in the corpus, 771 (=35.2%) were verbal expressions.[13] The usage of verbal utterances increased considerably during the testing period. Thus, in the first seven recordings (2;0;02 to 2;4;22), it rose from

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[12] French objects (clitic or DP) can occur in both tensed and untensed clauses, while subjects (clitic or DP) can occur in tensed clauses only.

[13] This count includes all utterances with verbal forms: finite, infinitive (including those introduced by a preposition), past participles, imperatives, verbal forms with a modal proform and with an auxiliary proform. In this case, the auxiliary verb complex was counted as one verbal form.

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15.7% up to 26.6% of the total, and in the last three recordings (2;6;16 to 2;9;30) it went from 53.2% to 56.6%.[14,15]

The authors found significant results relevant to each of the three focal questions they raised. The answer to the first question is that the distributional properties of clitics are acquired very early (age 2;0 approx.) and without errors.[16] In the Augustin corpus, the authors found 282 occurrences of the following unambiguous subject (*je, tu, il, on, ils, ce)*, object (*me, te, se, le, les)* and complement (locative and genitive: *y, en)* clitic forms.[17] There were no occurrences of these in a non-verbal utterance or in any non-clitic position of a verbal utterance.

To further assess Augustin's sensitivity to the distributional properties of clitics, Hamann *et al.* compared

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[14] Apparently during the two month break between the seventh and eighth recording, the usage of verbal utterances increased from 26.6% to 53.2%.

[15] The authors report that this sharp increase of verbal forms stand in agreement with the results obtained by Valian (1991) in a cross-sectional study of English.

[16] To inform the reader on the distributional properties of French clitics, the following inventory of clitic and non-clitic positions is provided. The major clitic position is the immediate preverbal position (for the most part, only another clitic can separate a clitic from the verbal form, e.g., *Je la lui donne* [I it him give]). Clitics can also appear in immediate postverbal position: in root questions for subject clitics (*est-il parti?* [is-he left?]) and in positive imperatives for object clitics (*prends-le* [take it]). No other position is available to clitics in French.

[17] Thirty two occurrences of *elle* [she] were excluded because of its ambiguous nature (it can be a subject or an oblique pronominal).

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the restricted distribution of pronominal clitics with the very wide distribution of the non-clitic demonstrative pronoun *ça*.[18] They found that of the 129 instances of *ça*, at least 121 occurred in positions from which a clitic would be banned in the adult grammar whereas, as indicated, all the 282 unambiguous clitic forms were correctly placed in clitic locations.[19] This solid evidence allows the authors to conclude that Augustin had mastered the lexical distinction between clitic and non-clitic forms, and the major syntactic consequences of this distinction, from the earliest relevant productions.[20]

Research on the second question reveals that the occurrence of object (and other complement) clitics appears to be significantly delayed relative to subject clitics.[21] In

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[18] The authors report that *ça* can appear in the following environments: In preverbal position, as a postcopular pro-predicate in the expression *c'est ça* [that's it], as a postverbal object, as a prepositional object in right and left dislocated position, modified by the quantifier *tout*, and in nonverbal utterances such as a short answer to a question.

[19] In fact, they indicate that already in the first two recordings (2;0;2 and 2;0;23), 15 out of 17 instances of *ça* occurred in non-clitic positions, while all the 21 clitic instances were placed in their acceptable positions.

[20] The authors also cite the research of Déprez & Pierce (1993) with respect to the early (around 1;10 to 2;0) acquisition of finite and nonfinite verb forms in French. They conclude more generally that the acquisition of the morpholexical properties of a category and the mastery of its syntactic properties occur at about the same time.

[21] Hamann *et al.* report that these results are consistent with other sources on French and on Dutch. For French they mention Friedemann (1992), Crysmann and Müller (1994) on bilingual French-speaking children, and White (1996) on child

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fact, as Table 4.2.1 illustrates, object clitics were almost absent from 2;0 to 2;6, and they appeared in significant (but still low) numbers only from the age of 2;9;2.[22] It should, however, be noted that the authors did not examine the discourse context and without this information we do not know how many contexts there were in which object clitics would have been obligatory, or whether Augustin developed a strategy for avoiding these clitics. A number of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* was found in object position (12 instances from 2;0;2 to 2;4;22), but we do not know whether the clitic pronoun might have been more felicitous in those occurrences. No information is provided as to how frequently the child used full DP objects or complements. It is not said either if there were contexts in which the object or the PP complement (clitic or otherwise) had been omitted entirely.

L2 acquisition; for Dutch, Haegeman (1996). Other relevant sources not mentioned by the authors are Kaiser (1994) and Müller, Crysmann and Kaiser (1996) on the bilingual acquisition of French. There is one study, however, which does not fully verify Hamann *et al.*'s findings: Van der Velde (1998). This author studied subject and object clitics in the speech of two monolingual French children: Victor (1;11;10-2;5;29) and Chloé (1;11;19-2;5;14) by means of spontaneous and experimental procedures. Van der Velde found that the results of the experimental research of both children stood in agreement with Hamann *et al.*'s dissociation. With respect to the spontaneous data, however, only Victor's speech confirmed this claim. The speech of Chloé contained both subject and object clitics from the earliest utterances.

[22] It should be remembered that this corpus has no data from 2;6;16 to 2;9;2. Thus, this increase could have started at any time after 2;6;16.

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This is an important point and so I include a brief digression here before continuing the report on Hamann *et al.*'s study. There is in general no clear information in the literature with respect to what children do when they do not use clitics. That is, we need to know what (if anything) they do instead. Moreover, in utterances where a required object is not present, the issue arises as to *what* is exactly deleted, the clitic or the corresponding full DP (or other complement). Jakubowicz, Müller, Kang, Riemer and Rigaut (1996) offer some evidence for French. These authors studied the development of pronouns in the speech of 9 children from the age of 2;3;20 to 2;5;29. The children were separated into two groups according to their MLU. Two testing methods were used: (1) spontaneous interactions and (2) an elicited production task. In the first task it was found that even the children with the more advanced MLU used object clitics with a low frequency (about 28%) while the proportion of lexical DPs was high (59%, approx.). The rest of the utterances contained strong pronouns (5%, approx.) or the object had been entirely omitted (8% approx.). To research further the low frequency of clitics and the high frequency of lexical DPs, they conducted the experimental task using also 10 French adults. The results of this task showed that children in both groups were using about three times more lexical DPs than adults (about 30 vs. 10, respectively). Moreover, the less advanced children produced fewer clitics (about 8%) and many

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more omissions (60%, approx.) than the more advanced children (45% vs. 12%, respectively). The authors believe that the high percentage of object omissions produced by the less advanced children is a by-product of the task itself since these children did much better in the spontaneous interaction task.

Some information on this issue is also available in Friedemann (1992;1994) for French and Haegeman (1996) for Dutch by means of spontaneous data. Both authors found that the proportion of object clitics was much lower than for lexical DPs. Friedemann shows that the first files of Philippe (age 2;1-2;3) contain 42 clitics and 625 lexical DP, and Grégoire (age 1;11-2;3) produced 1 clitic and 39 lexical DPs. Haegeman reports that of the 990 overt verb complements found in Hein's corpus (age 2;4-3;1), 53 were object clitics/weak pronouns (47 clitics and 6 weak pronouns), 9 were strong pronouns, 243 were demonstratives and the remaining 685 were lexical DPs. (She indicates that complements of prepositions are often realized as pronouns: 68 complements of P and 38 possessives.) No information is provided as to whether some objects were also deleted. These studies, however, do not examine the discourse context to verify if the presence of the clitic (rather than any other object) would have been more felicitous, nor do they check the adult speech of the corpora. To track the usage of clitics further, I have examined a corpus of child and adult spontaneous Spanish

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speech in parallel looking closely at the discourse context. The results will appear in Chapter VII Section 7.6. In this chapter I present a comprehensive study of the development of pronominal object clitics in Spanish. The data come from a longitudinal analysis of spontaneous productions from a child, María, a native monolingual Spanish speaker.

Table 5.2.1. Object and Complement Clitics in Augustin's Corpus.

Age	me	te	se	te	la	les	en	y	Total	% of relevant verbal utterances.[23]
2;0;2										0.0
2;0;23										0.0
2;1;15										0.0
2;2;13				1					1	3.8
2;3;10										0.0
2;4;1										0.0
2;4;22	1								1	5.0
2;6;16	1							1	2	3.9
2;9;2	1	2	1	2		2	2		10	14.3
2;9;30	1		4				4	13	22	23.9
Total	4	2	5	3		2	6	14	36	10.5

Hamann *et al.* provide an exhaustive list of grammatical object and complement clitics produced by the Augustin. This list reveals that proclitic forms started at 2;4;22 with finite verbs and at 2;9;2 with infinitives. Enclitic forms

[23] This is obtained by computing object clitics as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of complement-taking verbs. This includes all instances in which an object (direct or indirect) or a complement had to be obligatorily present and occurrences with a null complement if the verb obligatorily takes a complement. It is done to ensure that the low incidence of object clitics is not due to the child's failure to use verbs that take complements.

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appeared in two instances of positive imperative, one at 2;2;13 (the first genuine occurrence of an object clitic: *ateinds-le* (éteinds) [switch.off it]), and the other with a complement clitic (*vas-t-en* [go you away]) at 2;9;2. No instances were found of ungrammatical proclitic positive imperative forms, a result which stands in disagreement with Haverkort and Weissenborn's (1991) findings.[24] No instances were found of third person dative clitics (*lui/leur*), grammatical or ungrammatical.

In contrast to object clitics, Table 5.2.2 shows that 17 subject clitics were already in place at 2;0;2 and a total of

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[24] Haverkort and Weissenborn claim that French children go through three distinct stages in the acquisition of the order of verb and clitic in positive imperatives. During the first stage (2;00-2;04), children consistently use the clitic in the preverbal, unmarked position as in (i). Moreover, they often avoid clitics using instead a full DP or a deictic expression (e.g., a demonstrative pronoun) which occupy the canonical object position, even if the discourse requires a clitic. In the second stage (2;07-2;08), children use both orders interchangeably, that is, they use correct positive imperatives instances with the verb preceding the clitic and incorrect proclitic imperatives, as in (ii). During the third final stage (2;10-2;11), children use only the correct enclitic order indicated in (iii). As expected, the child's tendency to replace the clitic with a full DP or deictic expression in canonical position decreases in the later stages.

(i) Le mets là-dedans! (2;00;13)
it put there in

(ii) a. Lis le! (2;07;04)
read it
b. Le-fais! (2;08;25)
it do

(iii) Dis-le moi, maman! (2;10;18)
say it me mom

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74 utterances of five different types (vs. two object types) were found from 2;0;2 to 2;4;22.

Table 5.2.2. Subject Clitics in Augustin's Corpus

Age	je	tu	il	elle	on	ils	c'	Total	% of relevant verbal utterances
2;0;2			4		11		2	17	33.3
2;0;23			3				1	4	16.6
2;1;15					4			4	25.0
2;2;13			4	1	9		2	16	36.3
2;3;10			5		7			12	35.3
2;4;1		1	4		1		4	10	18.2
2;4;22			10				1	11	22.9
2;6;16			10	1	2		12	25	24.7
2;9;2	18	12	13	12	3	1	21	80	55.2
2;9;30	22	11	13	18	7	1	27	99	73.9
Total	40	24	66	32	44	2	70	278	42.6

Subject clitics remained fairly stable in frequency throughout the first seven recordings and in the last two recordings the number increased to over half of the relevant verbal utterances (179 out of the 278 total number of utterances from 2;9;2-2;9;30). The time-course of acquisition of object clitics was very different from this. As noted, object clitics were nearly absent until 2;6;16 (only 4 occurrences up to this point) and the number increased to a total of only 36 with the last two recordings (2;9). (Again, remember that this increase could have occurred any time after the age of 2;6;16 since there are no data from this time until 2;9;2.) The overall total represents only 10.5% of the relevant verbal utterances, in sharp contrast with the 42.6% for subject clitics.

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Next, these data were compared with the number of subject, object and complement clitics in the relevant productions in the adult speech in this corpus.[25] The results appear in Table 5.2.3.

Table 5.2.3. Adult and Child Clitics in the Augustin Corpus (% of all clitics produced (subject, object and complement).

	Adults		Child (Augustin)	
Subject Clitics	2,332	76.4%	278	88.5%
Obj.+ Compl. Cls	719	23.6%	36	11.5%
Total	3,051		314	

It was found that object (and complement) clitics were less frequent than subject clitics in the adult speech also.[26] However, Hamann *et al.* note that the ratio of object to subject clitics was "much higher" than in the child's corpus (1:3 vs. 1:8; no significance level reported). Yet, as the authors point out, this overall comparison does not do justice to the developmental effect for subject and object clitics (see Tables 5.2.2 and 5.2.1 respectively) since the production of object (and complement) clitics by Augustin clearly becomes prolific in the last two recordings at age 2;9;2 and 2;9;10.

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[25] Several adults were involved in the recordings: the experimenter, the mother, the father, a cousin, an aunt and an uncle.

[26] The authors imply that the higher proportion of subject clitics is predictable, and they relate it to the effect of the Extended Projection Principle and the fact that French is not a null-subject language.

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Only 2 complement clitics are produced by the child in the first seven recordings vs. 74 subject clitics. In the last recording, however, the child produces 22 object and complement clitics and 99 subject clitics, a ratio already quite close to the adult.

In short, this study reflects that there are major differences in the time-course of acquisition of French subject and object clitics, the former already productive at 2;0 (74 occurrences of five different clitics from 2;0;2-2;4;22), whereas the latter do not seem to flourish until after 2;6 (only 2 genuine clitics in the same range of time). As the authors point out, this asymmetry cannot be attributed to some general tendency to pronominalize subjects and failure to pronominalize objects since the child produced in the same period (2;0;2-2;4;22) a significant number of object as well as subject forms of the demonstrative pronoun ça (12 and 6 occurrences, respectively).

The authors' finding with respect to the third research question above is that there is also a "clear distinction" between subject and object clitics with respect to their distribution in tensed/untensed environments. However, as with the other data, no statistics are given. Because the total number of object clitics is low, the percentages for object clitics may not be stable. Hamann *et al.* point out that this investigation is particularly interesting because

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Augustin was within the *Root Infinitive* stage.[27] Root infinitives occurred in 10.9% of his verbal utterances. The subject/object difference is documented in Table 5.2.4

Table 5.2.4. Percentage of Finite Structures and Root Infinitives in Clitic Constructions[28]

Clitic category	Total occurrence	Finite verbs	Root infinitives
Subject	278	98.2% (273)	1.8% (5)
Object	36	88.2% (32)	11.1% (4)

Although object clitics were very scarce, the authors draw the conclusion that there is an asymmetry between objects and subject clitics with respect to the finiteness of their contexts.[29] They point out that since 10.9% of the verbal utterances in the whole corpus were root infinitives, the distribution of object clitics appears to be homogeneous

[27] That is, he produced not only inflected structures but also non-adult infinitives in declaratives. Some interesting sources on French root infinitives are Crisma (1992), Friedemann (1992;1994) and Pierce (1989), among others.

[28] Some constructions were excluded from the count. The excluded cases were: Infinitives introduced by a preposition, bare participles, imperatives and complex structures where the auxiliary or modal is a proform. The count of finite constructions included finite forms like *mange* and clear Aux+participle and Aux/Mod+infinitive complexes. The count of root infinitives included all the non-adult infinitives plus the structures where the pragmatic situation allowed an infinitive in adult speech.

[29] The authors indicate that the results for subject clitics replicate the findings of Pierce (1989) and White (1996) for French L1 and child L2 acquisition respectively.

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across the tensed/untensed distinction.[30] Subject clitics, on the other hand, show a very strong tendency to occur in finite contexts. Thus, it appears that this child knows that infinitives do not permit subjects in French.

In sum: with regard to object clitics which is the major concern here, the research by Hamann *et al.* has shown that Augustin fully mastered the distribution of object clitics (as well as that of subject clitics) from the very first appearance. However, it was also found that French object clitics emerge late compared with subject clitics in French (2;6 vs. 2;0) and they are relatively rare. In addition, it was found that object clitics distribute homogeneously in finite and infinitive contexts. The authors note that these findings are consistent with other empirical research in French (i.e., Friedman, 1992, and others, as in note 21) and in Dutch (Haegeman, 1996). The results obtained by Haegeman in Dutch parallel those of French, except that Dutch object clitics were not attested in root infinitive contexts.[31]

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[30] Hamann *et al.* indicate that the fact that French object clitics can occur with root infinitives (truncated structures in Rizzi, 1994) may bear directly on the analysis of root infinitives, and on the controversial proposals on the landing site of clitics in Romance. Their argument is that if French object clitics can appear in these truncated structures, their landing site must be lower than T°. In fact, they suggest that it is possibly AGR(O)°, as proposed by Belletti (1993).

[31] The fact that object clitics distribute differently in French and in Dutch (they were attested in both finite and root infinitive contexts in French, but only in finite contexts in Dutch) is taken by Haegeman as evidence against Sportiche's unified approach to cliticization in Romance and Germanic. Sportiche claims that the projections (voices)

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Hamann *et al.* also demonstrate that the problem with the late occurrence and the low numbers of object clitics is not object pronominalization as such, since demonstrative objects appeared in higher numbers than object clitics in these early stages.

Hamann *et al.* propose that this order of acquisition can be interpreted in terms of Cardinaletti and Starke's (1994) theory of markedness and acquisition. This theory postulates that there are three types of pronouns which stand in the ordering hierarchy: clitic < weak < strong. In this approach, French subject clitics are analyzed as 'weak pronouns' (phonetic clitics) i.e., maximal projections licensed by AgrS, whereas object clitics are genuine clitics i.e., simple heads. Under this account, subject clitics are less "deficient" (thus, less marked)[32] than their object counterparts, and as a result, they emerge earlier.[33]

---

whose heads host the clitics in these two types of languages are identical. In Sportiche's analysis, these projections dominate the agreement projections (AGR(S)P and AGR(O)P) and they have the clitic in the head, and the corresponding argument DP (in Romance) or the scrambled DP (in Germanic) in the specifier position. If Haegeman is correct, this argument would also be against Schaeffer's (1997) analysis (see section 4.4 below) since her unified account for scrambling and cliticization in Dutch and cliticization in Italian is based on Sportiche's proposal.

[32] Subject clitics are considered to be less deficient because they diverge less from a strong pronoun, which has the same behavior as a lexical noun phrase.

[33] Haegeman (1996) points out that Hamann *et al.*'s proposal in terms of Cardinaletti and Starke's markedness hierarchy does not explain the distribution of personal pronominal objects in the analogous data of a Dutch child,

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Hamann et *al.* also note that the observed order of acquisition is consistent with Sportiche's proposal for French subject and object clitics. These clitics occupy different positions (slots) in the clitic template and Sportiche assumes that each one (like any of the other clitics in the template) has a corresponding projection ('Clitic Voice') available. According to Sportiche, a lexical subject raises from the VP-internal position to the specifier of the Nominative Voice, whereas a nominative clitic is base-generated in the head of this projection. In the case of object clitics, each clitic type is base-generated as the head of its corresponding projection (Accusative Voice, Dative Voice etc.) and the argument DP corresponding to the clitic is realized either as *pro* (in simple clitic instances) or as an overt category (in clitic doubling contexts, e.g., in Spanish). This argument DP (overt or *pro*) moves to the specifier position of the corresponding clitic head and a Spec-head agreement relationship results. Thus, under this approach, clitics are treated

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Hein (2;4-3;1). Haegeman's argument is based on the fact that Hein's corpus contains 53 clitics/weak object pronouns (forty seven clitics and six object weak pronouns) and only nine object strong pronouns. Since strong pronouns are not structurally deficient at all, they are expected to be the most productive choice of the three. Haegeman maintains that an explanation for the rare and delayed presence of object clitics in French should also explain the analogous Dutch data, as Hamann *et al.* themselves agree.

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as a kind of agreement morpheme, although not exactly like regular subject and object agreement.[34]

Haegeman (1996) agrees with Hamann *et al.* that the problem with the late occurrence of clitics is not object pronominalization as such. Dutch demonstrative objects show a strong tendency for leftward movement and yet, like in French, Dutch object (and subject) demonstrative pronouns are well attested in the child's grammar, both in finite and in root infinitive contexts. According to Haegeman, what seems troublesome in the acquisition of object pronouns is "the realization of the verb complement as a personal pronoun with person, number and gender features, regardless of its specific realization as a clitic, a weak pronoun or a strong pronoun" (p. 299). Moreover, Haegemann referring to Clahsen *et al.* (1996), Haegemann (1994b) and Roeper (1992), suggests that the lack of object pronouns is possibly related to the development of the determiner system and of reference.

Haegeman's argument accounts for the fact that object (and subject) forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* appeared in higher numbers than clitics, since this pronoun has no *phi-features*. Yet to substantiate Haegeman's claim we first need evidence that clitics, weak pronouns and strong pronouns are all late compared to *ça;* they all have phi-features. Hamann *et al.* do not provide evidence on how strong pronouns compared

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[34] Sportiche's analysis is also followed by Schaeffer (1997) for Dutch and by Crysmann & Müller (1994) in French.

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to *ça* (nor to clitics or weak pronouns), but they do show that subject clitics (weak pronouns in Cardinaletti and Starke's analysis) were produced in a robust number in the same time frame as *ça*. In addition, both clitics and strong pronouns appear earlier in other Romance languages, such as Spanish (see Chapter VI and VII below). An alternative approach to understand the late emergence of French object clitics (vs. subject clitics) could be obtained by trying to see if there is a relation between the emergence of object clitics and other categories in French (e.g., articles).

5.3. GUASTI (1994)

The purpose of Guasti's study was to investigate the time-course of development of two phenomena related to verbal morphology in Italian: The distinction between finite and infinitive tense forms, and the verbal agreement system. To explore the former, Guasti studied two facts: the usage of finite and infinite forms in the child's production and the distribution of object pronominal clitics. Clitics are a dependable cue because in Italian the placement of object clitics varies according to the nature of the verb.[35]

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[35] Italian clitics appear to the left of the finite verbs and to the right of infinitives, as seen in the examples in (i) provided by Guasti.

(i) a. Giani lo mangia (CL+Vfin)
G. it eat-3sg.
b. Maria ha promeso di mangiarlo (Vinf+CL)
M. has promised of eat-inf-it

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Thus, if children placed clitics in the correct location it would show that they had already mastered the finite-infinite verbal distinction. I will not go into the usage of finite and infinite forms, but it is worth mentioning that the results clearly support the early differentiation of the two verbal forms. For details, see Tables 1, 2 and 3 of Guasti, 1994. I will also leave aside the second theme of this research, namely, the acquisition of the verbal agreement system and other related matters. In what follows, I will focus solely on what pertains to the distribution of pronominal clitics with respect to the finite-infinitive verbal alternation and some related issues.

Guasti's study is based on a quantitative analysis of longitudinal data from transcripts of spontaneous speech of three monolingual Italian children: Martina (1;8-2;7), Diana (1;10-2;6) and Guglielmo (2;2-2;7).[36] The pertinent analysis (namely, the distribution of clitics in finite and infinitive

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Infinitives can be governed by a preposition as in (ib), or by a finite verb (a modal, a causative or an aspectual). In the latter case, the clitic can surface either after the infinitive or before the finite verb by undergoing *clitic climbing*. Guasti exemplifies these alternatives with the examples (iia) and (iib), respectively.

(ii) a. Giani vuole scriverla (Vfin+Vinf+cl)
G. want-3sg. write-inf-it
b. Giani la vuole scrivere (cl+Vfin+Vinf)
G. it want-3sg. write-inf

[36] These data come from the CHILDES database (MacWhinney and Snow (1990)), and were contributed by Cipriani *et al.* (1993) # 4698 from the Instituto Stella Maris of Calambrone, Pisa).

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contexts) includes "decipherable multiword verb-containing utterances that are spontaneous" which require a complement of some kind. The complement could be a clitic or a lexical DP or PP; Guasti classifies the lexical complements into cliticizable and noncliticizable complements.[37,38] The analysis of lexical DPs was restricted to cliticizable complements, presumably in order to provide a fair comparison of the number of clitics and the number of lexical DPs used. In cases of multiple utterances of the same sentence only the first instance was considered. The structures under study were the following: indicative declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and infinitive sentences. Two types of infinitive sentence were included: cases in which the

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[37] Guasti defines "cliticizable complements" as "direct and indirect objects, as well as prepositional complements for which a corresponding clitic exists". She illustrates this point with the locative prepositional phrase *a Pisa* ('to Pisa') as complement of *vado* ('I go'); *a Pisa* is a cliticizable complement because it can be replaced (in appropriate contexts) by the clitic *ci* ('there'). It should be noted that Guasti did not check whether in the context in which it occurred, a non-clitic complement was felicitous, or whether it should have been cliticized (personal communication).

[38] Clitics for which a corresponding complement does not exist (e.g., impersonal *si* (as in (ia), inherent *si* (as in (ib) and *ci* (as in (ic)) were not included in this research. Guasti illustrates these with the following sentences:

(i) a. Si prende quetto
SI take-3sg. this
b. Si chiama Gianni
SI call 3sg. Gianni
c. C' ho un libro
CL have-1sg. a book

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infinitive was governed by a preposition or by a finite verb[39], and instances in which the infinitive was used as the main verb (so called 'optional infinitives' studied by Wexler, 1994, and others)[40] which are unacceptable in the adult language.[41] Imperative sentences were excluded from the

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[39] Infinitives governed by a preposition are not very common in Italian and do not permit raising (e.g., (ib) in note 35). However, in the environments in which the infinitive is governed by a finite matrix verb, a clitic can either be after the infinitive or climb over the matrix verb (e.g., (iia) and (iib) respectively in note 35). When the climbing option is not allowed (certain finite matrix verbs block this operation), the clitic must appear after the infinitive.

[40] These categories are referred as 'root infinitives' in the section on Hamann *et al.*

[41] Guasti reports that the root infinitive phenomenon is quite rare and brief in the speech of Italian children (up to 1;11 in Martina), in contrast with the findings for languages like French (Crisma, 1992; Friedemann, 1992; Pierce, 1989; Hamann *et al.*, 1996 etc.), English (Radford, 1994), Dutch (Kramer, 1994; Wijnen, 1994; Haegeman 1996 etc.), German (Weissenborn, 1990); Meisel, 1990; Boser *et al.*, 1992, etc.) and Swedish (Platzack 1992). In these languages children go through the root infinitive stage between 1;10 and 2;6 approximately. The cross-linguistic evidence, however, does not indicate that children fail to distinguish finite and infinitive forms, since root infinitives cooccur with infinitives that conform to the adult grammar. Guasti suggests that the low frequency of root infinitives in Italian might be related to the nature of the agreement system (e.g., to the fact that in Italian a verb (finite or infinitive) always raises to I, as in Belletti, 1990) or perhaps more accurately, to the presence of optional past participles (past participles lacking the auxiliary) in early grammar. Wexler (1994) explains the cross-linguistic root infinitive phenomenon by claiming that children at this stage have not yet mastered the syntax of tense. Rizzi (1992) views it as part of a more general pattern, that is, the child's tendency to omit functional elements such as prepositions, determiners etc. Guasti proposes that it is based on the semantic role of functional categories; namely, on the fact that children might not master the referential system associated with functional categories, such as tense and determiners. In this particular case, children would disregard the various referential properties of the tense system.

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count. The entire study is based on a total of 532, 660 and 217 verb-containing utterances for Martina, Diana and Guglielmo respectively. It is not stated how many of these utterances required an object or other complements, i.e. how many utterances contributed to the analysis of clitic use.[42] My count based on tables presented by Guasti (Table 5.3.1 in this dissertation) indicates that only 55% to 67% of the children's utterances in the entire study were relevant to this analysis.[43]

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[42] I would like to remind the reader that other themes were also studied in this research (e.g., agreement), for which the presence of clitics or cliticizable complements in sentences was not relevant.

[43] Number of contexts included in Guasti's analysis of clitic distribution, which required the presence of a complement:

Martina:	Finite Contexts	267:	up to 2;1 = 63
			after 2;1 = 204
	Infinitive Contexts	29:	up to 2;1 = 10
			after 2;1 = 19
	Total: 296 out of 532 utterances		
Diana:	Finite Contexts	336:	up to 2;1 = 43
			after 2;1 = 293
	Infinitive Contexts	37:	up to 2;1 = 5
			after 2;1 = 32
	Total: 373 out of 660 utterances		
Guglielmo:	Finite Contexts	123:	after 2;2
	Infinitive Contexts	22:	after 2;2
	Total: 145 out of 217 utterances		

The importance of the age range up to 2;1 is explained below.

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Table 5.3.1 below is provided by Guasti and the percentages are presumably relative to the total of utterances she reports. The table summarizes the number and the percentage of clitics with finite verbs in the corpus of each child. The first column (0+Vf) reports the number of clitic omissions in finite contexts. These include only utterances in which a complement is obligatory (not merely possible) in the adult language. To illustrate this point Guasti presents an example from Martina's data. Guasti reports that Martina's answer (1b) to her mother's question (1a) is judged ungrammatical by Italian speakers because it lacks the clitic *ci*. The correct answer is given in (1c):

(1) a. qui vicino a Marco che *ci* metti?
here next to Marco what there put-2sg.

b. - metto - bimba
- put-1sg. - child

c. *ci* metto la bimba
there put-1sg. the child

The second column of the table contains the number of correct clitics followed by finite verbs (simple verbs or *passato prossimo* [present perfect]) (cl+Vf).[44] The third column reports the number of finite verbs followed by cliticizable

[44] The existence of a clitic, in this position, is correct in the context in which it is uttered, but the choice of the clitic (e.g., use of a masculine form instead of a feminine one or a different morphophonemic variant) might be incorrect. These types of errors were disregarded in Guasti's research. There were no errors of clitic placement.

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complements (Vf+C). These include direct and indirect objects, as well as prepositional complements for which a corresponding clitic exists (for an example see note 37). Finally, the fourth column shows the number of presyntactic devices (PSD) followed by a finite verb.[45]

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[45] In the terminology of Bottari *et al.* (1994), PSD are undifferentiated phonetic segments ("place holders") that are likely to be precursors of certain syntactic entities like clitic pronouns or other categories. Bottari *et al.*'s include:

i. [*e*] *dai* *a bimba*? (conjecture: "mi dai la bimba?")
[e] you-give the little girl? (= can you give me the little girl?)

ii. [*en*] *prende* (= mi prende)

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Table 5.3.1. Distribution of Omissions, of Clitics, of Cliticizable Complements and of Presyntactic Devices (PSD) in finite contexts.

Classification Criteria

0+Vf = omitted clitic/s + finite verb; Cl+Vf = clitic/s + finite verb.
Vf+C = finite verb + cliticizable complement/s; PSD=presyntactic devices.
[a] = two sections grouped together

AGE	0 + Vf		CL + Vf		Vf + C		PSD + Vf	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Martina								
1;8[a]	3	27	8	73				
1;9			2	66	1	33		
1;10	5	38	4	31	3	23	1	7
1;11[a]	14	39	2	5	18	50	2	5
2;1	3	21	5	36	6	43		
2;3[a]	8	13	17	28	30	50	5	8
2;4	6	11	18	32	30	53	2	3
2;5	1	3	11	37	18	60		
2;7	2	4	25	57	16	36	1	2
Diana								
1;10	1	7	4	27	6	40	4	27
1;11	2	33	1	17	2	33	1	17
2;0[a]	3	14	3	14	16	73		
2;1	4	15	13	50	9	35		
2;5	2	3	47	69	18	26	1	1
2;6[a]	7	3	107	54	84	42	1	0
Guglielmo								
2;2	2	20	7	70	1	10		
2;3	1	12	3	37	3	37	1	12
2;4	1	5	14	67	6	28		
2;5			10	77	3	23		
2;7	4	6	42	59	23	32	2	3

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Based on these results, Guasti presents the following observations for finite contexts:

1. "The percentage of omissions and presyntactic devices decreases with age, whereas the percentage of clitics increases."
2. "It is unclear what the status of clitics is at this age [Martina 1;8 (73%)] given the notable decrease in clitics at 1;11 (5%)."
3. "The frequency of use of clitics seems to stabilize at about 2;1."

I will comment on these points in turn. The first finding is as expected. The third conclusion is relevant only to two subjects: Diana and Martina. Both show a considerable increase in pre-verbal clitics and Diana reaches the 50% frequency level at 2;1. Guglielmo is already over 50% (though variable) by 2;2. Conclusion 2, however, is quite enigmatic. Guasti does not offer an alternative account of what these clitics before 1;11 can be. That is, she does not explain what these elements are, if not clitics. (Yet, she grants the children at this early stage knowledge of the special phonological status of clitics - "reduced elements", in her terms - a property which according to her motivates cliticization).

If we assume that PSD are clitics which children do not utter clearly (perhaps for prosodic reasons), we find that the decrease of pre-verbal clitics at 1;11 for Martina (clitics + PSD go from 73% at age 1;8 to 10% at 1;11) also occurs in Diana (clitics + PSD go from 54% at age 1;10 to 14% at age

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2;0).[46] I see no clear grounds for claiming defective knowledge of clitics at the prior stage (e.g., no placement error found). Since this study does not provide information on the type of clitics that occurred at every stage, to find out if the earliest items came in all forms, I have checked the first recordings of the Martina and Diana corpora myself (up to 1;11 and 2;0 for Martina and Diana, respectively). My objective was to find out if some clitics which might have come later, and were used more frequently that the existing ones, could have offered some extra difficulty (e.g., the determiner-like clitics (3rd person) have more morphological features that SE and 1st and 2nd person clitics). My exploration indicates that both Martina and Diana used clitics with different forms determined by the syntactic features person, number, gender and Case at the early stages (see List 1 below). These items also appeared with different verbs in a diverse number of structures. In addition, every clitic instance in the count for each child corresponded to a different sentence type, unexpectedly some of them quite complex for this time period. This can be observed in Martina (1;8) (a) and (c) for instances of CLDP (not allowed in the adult grammar) and CLLD, respectively and in Diana (1;10) (e)

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[46] In Guglielmo's data, there is a decrease in the usage of clitics at 2;3, one month after the beginning of the recordings (2;2). It is impossible to know whether this is comparable to the decrease for Martina and Diana, though somewhat later, or whether Guglielmo might have shown a decrease also at 1;11.

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for what appears to be a climbing or a climbing attempt (the embedded infinitive is not clear) with a cluster. Therefore, this follow-up examination does not, at first sight, account for the crisis observed. Informally, though (no calculation of percentage done), I will point out that the percentage of clitics is higher if one includes imperatives (disregarded in Guasti's analysis) in the count. I have also noticed that the presence and absence of clitics co-occur within the same sequence of utterances. The majority of the omitted clitics at the critical time were the 3rd person clitics in a variety of forms with respect to gender, number and Case (e.g., *lo*, *li*, *le*, *la*)[47], or even one or the two clitics in a cluster (see List 2 below from Martina for examples with contexts that require single clitics, (a) and (b), and clusters, (c) and (d)).[48,49] Since this study does not discriminate between the presence of single clitics and clusters, the absence of a single clitic in the cluster seems to be recorded as a clitic omission rather than as incorrectness of a cluster. This

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[47] A high incidence of omissions was also observed at this time with definite articles with different morphological features.

[48] I believe that (d) is not the omission of a single clitic (*le*), as shown in the file, but of a whole cluster (*gliele*). A native Italian speaker has confirmed this point to me. I have changed the presentation of this sentence accordingly.

[49] The omitted elements in the earlier recordings of Martina were: *si* and *ci* (at 1;8;17), *lo* (at 1;9;1) and *si*, *la* and *lo* (at 1;10;29). The non-determiner omitted clitics in contexts where a single clitic was required were: *si* and *ci*. For convenience I just report Martina.

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raises the number of omissions at this time since clusters seem to offer some extra difficulty (they tend to occur a bit later than single clitics; see Chapters VI and VII of this dissertation) and I think that they should be recorded separately from single clitics.

List 1: Early utterances with clitics

Martina

1;8: a. lo lovo [voglio] pezzo [il pezzo]
CL3sg,m want1sg. the piece

b. l' api [apri] da solo
CL3sg. open2sg by yourself

c. a te ti piace quella bambolina ...
to you CL2sg. please3sg. that doll
'you like that doll'

d. e lo naccondi [nascondi] su[l] .....
and CL3sg,m hide2sg. on ....

e. qui si leva
here SI take3sg. off

f. o no[n] lo tocco
or neg CL3sg,m touch1sg.

g. no toccale, chiuse [non toccarle]
neg touch-CL3pl,f, closed

h. si p[r]ende l'acqua
SI take3sg. the water

i. no si gira ..... quello l' apre
neg SI turn3sg. ..... that CL3sg,m open3sg.

1;9: a. lascialo
leave-CL3sg,m

b. si vede Ow [la] bimba
SI see3sg. the girl
'one sees the firl'

1;10:a. me l' apri, mamma?
CL1sg. CL3sg. open2sg., mommy?

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Diana: 1;10

a. l' ha fatta la pipi ..... l' ha fatta
CL3sg. has made the pipi ..... CL3sg. has made

b. e @p vitto? [le hai viste?]
CL3pl,f have seen2sg.?
'Have you seen them'

c. dammi
give-CL1sg.

d. ecco e@i l' ap[r]o io
---- --- CL3sg. open I

e. ... te li pocio [posso] a@w magi@w [mangiare]
... CL2sg. CL3pl. can eat

f. le da na@d [la] manina
CL3sg. give3sg. the little hand

List 2: Some early omissions of clitics

Martina (1;11)

a. quetti Ow [li] Ow [ho] fatto io, a ccola [scuola]
these xx [CL3acc,m,pl] [have1sg] made I, at the school

b. io Ow [la] potro [poso] qui
I xx [CLacc,f,sg] put here

c. Io Ow [li] voglio, dalli [dammeli]
I [CL3acc,ms,pl] want, give-[CL1sg]-CL3acc,ms,pl'

d. Ow [gliele] do Ow [a] la mamma!
xx [CLdat CLacc] give1sg xx [to] mommy

A note of interest that can be inferred from these data is that children seem to fully learn that objects are obligatory in these contexts at about 2;5. At that point, omissions more or less cease. Up to this point, as they gradually eliminate the omissions, full complements take over. The highest rate of omissions prior to this stage occurs at

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1;11, a time at which Martina omits clitics in 39% of the contexts and Diana in 33%. The high percentage is mainly related to the decrease of clitics from the onset of language to age 1;11. As noted, the sample of data is very low. At the end of the Chapter I will provide some arguments (or speculations) related to the low incidence of clitics before they stabilized at about 2;1.

For infinitive contexts, the number and percentage of clitics in the corpus of the three children are summarized in Table 5.3.2. No omissions or PSD were attested in these environments. The data are grouped into two periods: up to 2;1 and after 2;1.[50] The former period contains data only for Martina and Diana, whereas the second one includes data for all three children.[51] The first column reports infinitives (governed and root) followed by a clitic (Vinf+cl), the second contains the number of (governed and root) infinitives plus cliticizable complements (Vinf+Compl.) and the third presents instances of clitic climbing (Cl+Vf+Vinf).[52]

---

[50] Guasti does not explain the rationale behind this decision. I presume it is related to the fact that the sample of data is very small (15 utterances before 2;1 and 32 from 2;1-2;6/2;7) and the incidence of clitics very low.

[51] The data and headings have been rearranged slightly from Guasti's presentation.

[52] Guasti reports that the governing verbs that children generally used are modal, volitional and aspectual.

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Table 5.3.2. Distribution of Cliticizable Complements and of Clitics in Infinitive Contexts.

Classification Criteria

Vinf+Cl = infinitive (governed & root) + clitic/s
Vinf+Comp = infinitive (governed & root) + cliticizable complement/s
CL+Vf+Vinf = clitic/s + finite verb + infinitive (clitic climbing)

AGE	Vinf+CL N	Vinf+CL %	Vinf+Comp N	Vinf+Comp %	CL+Vf+Vinf N	CL+Vf+Vinf %
1st Period: before 2;1						
Martina (1;8-2;0)			10	100		
Diana (1;10-2;0)			5	100		
2nd Period: after 2;1						
Martina (2;1-2;7)[53]	1	5	15	79	3	15
Diana (2;1-2;6)	2	6	19	59	11	34
Guglielmo (2;2-2;7)	5	23	7	32	10	45

Two conclusions were drawn from these data:

1. "Clitics appear in the context of an infinitive only around 2;1. "[54] This result is related to the fact that in finite contexts clitics seemed to stabilize also at 2;1.

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[53] I believe that the percentage of Vinf+CL and CL+Vf+Vinf (Inf+cl and cl+Vf+inf in Guasti's Table, respectively) are not accurate as published (they do not add to 100%). In an earlier version of this paper (a manuscript), she reported different numbers. In this section of Table 5.3.2 above, I have inserted the numbers from the earlier version since they seem to be the accurate ones.

[54] One earlier instance of a clitic in an infinitive context was found in Martina at age 1;8 (see List 1 (g). Since Guasti disregarded imperative contexts, it is not recorded in the study (perhaps not found by the computer search).

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2. "Clitics in infinitive contexts seem to be rarer than in finite contexts."[55]

As Table 5.3.2 indicates, before 2;1 children used lexical (non-clitic) complements in all cases where a complement was needed, while after 2;1 they used both lexical complements (mean 57%) and clitics (mean 43%).[56] (As noted, no omissions or PSD were attested in infinitive contexts). Though these claims are true of this research, the number of utterances is so small in the first period (15, of which 10 were from Martina (1;8-2;1) and 5 from Diana (1;10-2;1)) that statement 1 can only be taken as tentative (also see note 54). As for point 2, it is useful to consider how clitics compared to cliticizable complements in infinitive vs. finite contexts.

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[55] However, as Guasti points out, one should be aware that the number of infinitive contexts is much smaller than the number of finite contexts. Based on the counts of note 43, I have estimated that the ratio of infinitives to finite contexts is 1:7 (see table below). My calculation over the entire corpus of clitics based on Tables 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 indicates that the percentage of clitics up to age 2;1 in infinitive contexts is 0% and in finite contexts is 32%, and after 2;1 is 21% in infinitive contexts (Vinf+cl and cl+Vf+Vinf) vs. 52.5% in finite contexts. Thus, even relative to the lower incidence of infinitive contexts, Guasti's conclusion seems to be correct.

Ratio of finite to infinitive forms in clitic contexts:

	Martina	Diana	Guglielmo	Average
Up to 2;1	6:1	8:1	------	7:1
After 2;1	10:1	9:1	5:1	8:1
Combined (all ages)				7:1

[56] The individual rate of cliticizable complements and clitics was 79% vs. 20%, 59% vs. 40% and 32% vs. 68% for Martina, Diana and Guglielmo, respectively.

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By my calculation, the average percentages across children before 2;1 are: In finite contexts, 32% clitics vs. 42% of cliticizable complements and in infinitive contexts, 0% clitics vs. 100% cliticizable complements. After 2;1, the results are as follows: In finite contexts, 52% of clitics and 36% of cliticizable complements, and with infinitives, 43% clitics vs. 57% cliticizable complements. In finite contexts, as omissions and PDS decreased with age, the proportion of clitics increased. The proportion of cliticizable complements, however, is very variable and still high at the latest stage in the three children (32%-42%). Unfortunately it is not known what proportion of clitics and cliticizable complements an adult would have used in comparable contexts. It is not clear, therefore, how adult-like the children's usage is at this stage.

Also with respect to point 2, it would be helpful to know how many of the "Vinf+cl" instances were root infinitives and how many were potential climbing environments (that is, Vf+Vinf+cl.). Although it is clear that the climbing option was preferred over the "Vinf+cl" alternative, it is not possible to tell from the data as published how productive the non-climbing option was (there is no reference on whether the structures contained matrix verbs that would or would not allow climbing) or how exactly the two instantiations relate to each other. From a global evaluation of the data Guasti reached the following final conclusions:

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A) "Whenever clitics are used, they are placed correctly".

B) "Their frequency of use is somewhat low [compared to adults, both in finite and infinitive contexts] and their use delayed. In addition, children feel free to omit clitics".

C) "Clitics in infinitive contexts [and more specifically, in a climbing configuration] seem slightly delayed with respect to clitics in finite contexts".[57]

Result (A) is a very robust finding confirmed by a good number of researchers for several languages (e.g., Hyams (1983; 1986), Varela (1988), Antelmi (1992), Hamann *et al.* (1996) Schaeffer (1997), among others). This is the conclusion of greatest relevance to Guasti's claim concerning the development of the finite/nonfinite verbal distinction. With respect to (B) the issue arises of what clitics are delayed in relation to. Guasti indicates (personal communication) that they are delayed with respect to V-movement and full DPs. Verbal inflection, like cliticization, involves head movement and studies in various languages have concluded that it is almost fully in place from about 1;11 or 2;1 (cf. Hyams, 1983, 1986, 1992; Poeppel and Wexler, 1993; Weissenborn, 1990, Guasti, 1994, among many others).[58] This

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[57] Guasti reports that Antelmi (1992) and Cipriani *et al.* (1993) found comparable results.

[58] The mechanism of inflectional affixation in Italian is verb movement to I^0 (Belletti, 1990). Guasti claims that children have this knowledge from an early age and use it with a diversity of forms with almost no errors (error rate: Martina 8/486, Diana 9/619 and Guglielmo 7/208 for finite contexts).

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apparent difference between clitic usage and verbal inflection, however, might not be real if (contra Guasti) the dip in clitic usage at 1;11 were accidental or a statistical artifact of scarce data. If so, the children started to use clitics as early as 1;8 and 1;10 (cf. Martina's and Diana's data respectively) and clitic production became more stable around 2;1. It is true, however, (see Tables 5.3.1 and 5.3.2) that children show a greater tendency to use full lexical DP complements rather than clitics. This phenomenon is particularly true for the three children in infinitive contexts, and from around 1;11 to 2;5 in Martina and 1;10 to 2;0 in Diana in finite contexts where cliticizable complements are more frequent than clitics. Cliticizable complements are never more frequent than clitics in Guglielmo's finite contexts.[59]

As for the omission of clitics, Guasti reports that comparable findings were obtained by Antelmi (1992) and Cipriani *et al.* (1993) for Italian and by Friedemann (1992) for French. It is difficult, however, to distinguish missing clitics from missing DPs in general, including cliticizable complements. Arguably, it would be more accurate to register the omissions in Guasti's data as object omissions. Only a full discourse analysis might be able to distinguish what it

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[59] As noted (Section 5.2), an early preference for cliticizable complements is also supported by Friedemann (1992; 1994) with respect to French. Different results were observed in the Spanish data presented in Chapters VI and VII (Section 7.6) of this dissertation.

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is that the child would have uttered had it not been omitted.

To explain the findings in (B) Guasti, in accord with Antelmi (1992), suggests that the delay in the occurrence of clitics is caused by the difficulty of forming the A-chain created by the first step of clitic movement.[60,61] She maintains that actually what causes problems for children is the nature of the landing site of the A-movement (a nontheta position, presumably Spec AgrOP) and that cliticization should be acquired once the A-chain has matured. Yet, as she notices, this explanation leaves unclear the optional presence of clitics attested in the early stages. Guasti accounts for this by relating the omission of clitics to that of other functional categories such as determiners and prepositions. According to Guasti, optionality is an indication that the referential system associated with a functional category has not fully developed. In the case of clitics, omissions reflect an incomplete mastery of the referential system

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[60] Guasti maintains that initially the maximal projection undergoes A-movement to a specifier position; for concreteness, she assumes Spec AgrOP (Spec-head agreement with the Object Phrase). From this position a head containing the clitic can undergo head-movement to the designated functional projection I^0.

[61] Guasti traces this argument back to Borer and Wexler (1987, 1992) where verbal passives (1987) and movement of the VP-internal subject to Spec IP (1992) are claimed to be instances of argument-chains, A-chains. Borer and Wexler argue that the ability to form A-chains matures late (after 3 years). Guasti takes clitic chains to be more like subject chains than like passive chains since both involve A-movement to a nontheta position (Spec AgrSP and Spec AgrOP for subjects and object clitics respectively). She indicates that these chains mature earlier than passive chains.

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associated with nouns and pronouns. Thus, under Guasti's account, full command of cliticization requires both maturation of the appropriate A-chain and knowledge of the obligatoriness of functional categories.

Finally, the delay in the emergence of clitics in climbing contexts (point (C) above) is attributed to the extra complexity involved in the iterative application of A-movement. Guasti claims that in these structures the clitic moves first as an XP to the AgrOP associated with the infinitive verb, then, again as an XP, it raises to the AgrOP associated with the main verb and, finally, from this position, it undergoes head movement to its landing site, I^0. However, as Guasti notices, this account gives unexpected results for contexts in which the clitic surfaces after the infinitive (either the non-climbing construction, or when the infinitive is governed by a preposition). This is because A-movement in these structures presumably involves a single step and hence the pattern of acquisition should parallel cliticization in finite contexts. The infinitive plus clitic, however, seemed to emerge at the same time as clitic climbing (see note 54, though). No explanation is provided for this unexpected result. With respect to contexts in which the infinitive is governed by a preposition, Guasti suggests that the delay in the use of clitics might simply be related to the low incidence of this construction in the target language.

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In Chapters VI and VII, I will show that both cross-sectional and longitudinal Spanish data confirm Guasti's finding (A) and can shed some light on (B). The longitudinal data on Chapter VII shows a different finding on (C) with respect to contexts where the infinitive is governed by a preposition.

5.4. SCHAEFFER (1997)

The work reported in Schaeffer (1997) is a comprehensive study of the acquisition of two instances of direct object movement: Scrambling in Dutch, and object clitic movement in Dutch and Italian. In the spirit of Sportiche (1992), Schaeffer proposes that these two phenomena are essentially the same syntactic process which is driven by specificity.

With respect to language development, Schaeffer maintains that specificity is not always grammatically marked in the grammar of 2-year old children with the result that object scrambling and overt object clitic placement are optional even when they are obligatory in the target grammar. This means that at this early stage children leave DPs unscrambled in the VP-internal object position and clitics are omitted. Schaeffer argues that by age 3 children mark specificity in an adult-like manner, and scrambling and clitic placement are close to the target grammar. The reason why 2-year olds do not always mark a noun for specificity is attributed to lack of the relevant pragmatic knowledge and, as a result, the

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syntax cannot develop. Schaeffer maintains that the pragmatic development feeds into the syntax to enable syntactic development.

In her analysis of how specificity is marked, Schaeffer claims that the syntactic feature [+specific] of referential DP objects can either be linked to an entity introduced in the immediately preceding discourse, or the DP is understood to be referential because the speaker and the hearer share certain knowledge. The former type of phrases (most definite DPs e.g., the tree, the boy, the book etc.) are classified as [+specific, discourse-related] and receive their referential interpretation through a *linguistic* mechanism referred to as *'grammatical* interpretation'. The latter type of phrases (proper names and DPs such as the president, the bible, the constitution etc.) are classified as [+specific, non-discourse related] and they are interpreted referentially for *non-linguistic* reasons (e.g., because their referents happen to be 'unique'); this is referred to as *'direct* interpretation'. Pronominal DPs - (non-deictic) strong pronouns and *pro* - and clitics are inherently [+specific, discourse-related]. *Pro* receives a grammatical interpretation analogous to discourse-related DPs (lexical or pronominal) and clitics inherit it from *pro* (see below for details). Schaeffer argues that just as the tense feature of a clause can be non-past or past, the specificity of a DP can be linked to the discourse or not. This way of formulating specificity is referred to as *marking*

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specificity. Schaeffer states that a noun (or pronoun) is grammatically marked for specificity if and only if a formal distinction is made between these two values (discourse-related or non-discourse-related). She claims that to make this distinction the speaker must have the following discourse rule:

Discourse Rule - *pragmatic rule*

"Preceding linguistic discourse and knowledge of the interlocutor MUST be taken into account."

The syntactic analysis of scrambling and object clitic placement in Dutch and object clitic placement in Italian is based on Sportiche's analysis. A unified representation of these structures is shown next:

[CP[Agr_SP[DiscP(adv.)[TP[SpP[NegP(*Dutch*)[Agr_OP[VP[DP]]]]]]]]]

Specific objects (XPs) and clitics (X°s) must be licensed under spec head agreement in a functional phrase. Schaeffer introduces a designated functional projection for both specific object DPs and object clitics. This projection is referred to as 'Specificity Phrase' (SpP) ('Clitic Voice' in Sportiche's terms). It is proposed that this projection licenses [+specific, non-discourse-related] DPs.[62] An extra

[62] Although clitics must have an antecedent in the immediately preceding discourse (thus, they are discourse-related), Schaeffer rejects the possibility of generating them in the head of DiscP (see below). She does so because this would not allow her to account for the behavior of non-discourse-related DP's (e.g., the president). As noted, these

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functional projection is introduced to license [+specific, discourse-related] DPs. This projection is referred to as 'Discourse Phrase' (DiscP). With respect to clitic placement it is proposed that this involves a base-generated inherently referential (and thus specific) clitic in the head of SpP and a null direct object (*pro*) base-generated in the VP-internal XP position.[63] On this basis, Schaeffer proposes that the direct object XP (namely, *pro*) moves via spec AgrOP (where accusative Case features are checked, cf. Brugger and Poletto, 1995) to the spec of SpP where it enters into a spec-head relation with the clitic in Sp, licensing their mutual features, such as specificity.[64] Since in this account clitics are inherently referential and specific, but not discourse-related (see note 62), they inherit their discourse-relatedness from *pro* which is inherently [+specific, discourse-related] by spec-head agreement in spec SpP. Next, *pro* and the clitic move up to the spec and head respectively of DiscP where *pro* receives a grammatical interpretation and the clitic inherits it from *pro* under spec-head agreement. The main details of how *pro* and the clitic are interpreted in

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DPs are specific, but not discourse-related. That is, they have a fixed referent in the model of the world, but do not require a linguistic antecedent in the preceding discourse.

[63] Since my dissertation does not concern scrambling, in what follows I will leave the arguments pertaining to scrambling aside.

[64] This proposal is based on Sportiche's general spec-head licensing mechanism.

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the adult and in the child's grammar will be provided after presenting Schaeffer's experimental results.

The implications of this analysis for child language turn around what Schaeffer calls the 'optional marking hypothesis'. This hypothesis states that at an early age children may fail to mark specificity grammatically and instead they mark it in a direct manner.[65] This is possible in the child's (but not in the adult's) grammar because the 'Discourse Rule' stated above is missing in their pragmatic system. If children have not yet acquired this rule, they do not need to take the discourse or interlocutor knowledge into account and, as a result, the DP is not marked for specificity, or lacks a specificity feature, and movement to SpP or DiscP does not take place. With respect to object clitic placement, Schaeffer establishes the following predictions:

1. Initially, object clitic placement does not always take place in obligatory contexts in Italian (and in Dutch) child language.[66]

2. In Italian child language, past participles show show object agreement if and only if a clitic is present.

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[65] This difference will become clear later when the interpretation of clitics is established in the adult and in the child's grammar.

[66] Duth and Italian clitics differ considerably. The study of Dutch clitics will not be reported in this dissertation.

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These predictions set the lines for Schaeffer's experimental study. In what follows, I will only focus on (1) since Spanish does not have past participle agreement.

To overcome the limitations of data from spontaneous production[67] (low number of utterances, failure to distinguish different types of clitics etc.), Schaeffer conducted an experiment using a combination of the Truth Value Judgement Task and an Elicited Production Task (cf. Crain and Thornton, 1998) to probe children's comprehension of nominal specificity.[68] The subjects were 35 monolingual Italian children from the age of 2;1 to 5;11, and a control group of 15 native Italian speaking adults. The children were divided into four groups, as shown in Table 5.4.1.[69]

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[67] Italian studies of spontaneous production by children are Antelmi (1992), Cipriani *et al.* (1993) and Guasti (1994).

[68] The Truth Value Judgement Task did not test the comprehension of clitics. It tested the child's ability to link the clitic/s to the preceding discourse (a staged event). The Elicited Production Task that followed targeted children's ability to use clitics.

[69] To score the data by groups of children that cover a whole year is a rather insensitive procedure. At least in Spanish, the mastery of clitics (or the rate of omission, to be in accord with Schaeffer's research) varies substantially from the ages of 2;1 to 3 (cf. Chapters VI and VII of this dissertation, and other sources). Other Italian studies (e.g., Guasti, 1994) also show a considerable difference during this period of time. However, smaller age ranges would have resulted in very few children per group.

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Table 5.4.1. Description of Italian Subjects

Age Group	Age	Mean Age	Girls	Boys	Total
2	2;1-2;6	2;5	2	3	5
3	3;1-3;11	3;5	4	7	11
4	4;1-4;10	4;6	4	6	10
5	5;0-5;11	5;6	3	6	9
Total Children			13	22	35
Adults	> 19		7	8	15

The test was conducted (and videotaped) individually in two or three sessions of approximately 15-30 minutes, within one week. The study examined the production of direct object clitics. (The presence/absence of clitics in the child's productions was taken as evidence of whether or not the child had the ability to mark specificity in an adult-like manner). The experiment was designed according to the following conditions:

a) A varied linguistic environment: Simple present constructions, restructuring verb constructions, and passato prossimo constructions.[70]

b) Sentences with a single direct object clitic and sentences with two clitics (an indirect object followed by a direct object).[71]

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[70] In adult Italian, in finite clauses the clitic precedes the verb, in passato prossimo constructions it precedes the auxiliary, and in clitic climbing contexts it either precedes the matrix verb or follows the infinitive.

[71] It is not clear what the purpose was in including double clitic instances, since indirect object clitics are not relevant to this research and the production of clusters seems to offer more difficulty (see Chapters VI and VII of this dissertation). Testing clusters would have been more

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c) The passato prossimo constructions were tested with and without agreement (both grammatical).[72]

The experiment contained 21 test sentences (see Table 5.4.2) and 8 fillers yielding a total of 29 sentences.[73] Each child had to respond to the entire set.

Table 5.4.2. Types and Tokens of the Test Sentences

Number of CLs	Present Tense	Restructuring Verbs	Passato Prossimo Agreemt.	Passato Prossimo w/o Agreemt.
Single	3	3	5	1
Double	3	3	2	1

Two types of verbs were used: verbs that take a single object and verbs that subcategorize for double objects. Both types of verbs had to be a) clearly transitive; b) suitable to be acted out and c) in the vocabulary of the child. The verbs in

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informative if the data had been broken out to reveal some related factors (e.g., if the pattern of acquisition is the same (or different) for dative and accusative clitics, if children order clitics correctly, if the rate of omissions varies by using contexts with a single or double clitic etc.). These points are marginal to the goals of Schaeffer's own research, however.

[72] The passato prossimo construction is the only Italian environment which contains a past participle which can show agreement with a clitic. (Agreement occurs with various degrees of obligatoriness; see Chapter III Section 3.3 for details.) As indicated, Spanish lacks object agreement entirely.

[73] Only seven fillers appear in the scenarios of the appendix of Schaeffer's dissertation.

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the sentences with double clitics in addition had to allow the presence of a double object. Six pairs of verbs were selected. Each pair had to express a contrast on which the task could be based: *pettinare/lavare* (to comb/to wash), *dare/leggere* (to give/to read), *lavare/picchiare* (to wash/to hit), *regalare/rubare* (to give a present/to steal), *mangiare/bere* (to eat/ to drink), *portare/rubare* (to bring/to steal). These verbs were randomized across the conditions presented in Table 5.4.2; not every verb was tested in every condition.[74]

A scenario with a simple present tense construction and a single clitic is exemplified below. The "silly" character in the Truth Value Judgement Task was 'Raja', a puppet tiger who did not speak Italian very well.

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[74] For various design reasons, some verbs occurred slightly more often than others. For instance, the verbs *pettinare, lavare, and mangiare* had to be produced in four different utterances (a total of 12 sentences with a single clitic), whereas the verbs *dare, regalare and portare* had to be produced only in three utterances (a total of 9 sentences with double clitics).

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Scenario with simple present tense, single object clitic

Exp: *Guarda. Qui abbiamo Pluto, e la sirenetta, e un pettine. Guarda, che bei capelli biondi che ha la sirenetta! Sono un po' in disordine. Perciò, Pluto pettina la sirenetta.*
'Look. Here we have Pluto, and the Little Mermaid, and a comb. Look, how beautiful and blond the Little Mermaid's hair is! It's a bit messed up, though. Therefore, Pluto is combing the Little Mermaid's hair.'

Raja: *Io so cosa succede! Pluto <u>lava</u> la sirenetta!*[75]
I know what happens. Pluto washes the Little Mermaid
'I know what is happening! Pluto is washing the Little Mermaid!'

Child: *No!*
'No!'

Raja: *Perchè? Pluto non lava la sirenetta?*
Why. Pluto not washes the Little Mermaid
'Why? Is Pluto not washing the Little Mermaid?

(Exp: *Allora, dillo tu a Raja: cosa fa Pluto alla sirenetta?*)
'OK. Now you tell Raja what Pluto is really doing to the Little Mermaid'

Child: *<u>la</u> pettina*
it-OBJ (s/he) combs
'He's combing her'

In some scenarios 'Raja' uttered a correct description of the story by using the appropriate verb. These scenarios constituted the fillers.[76]

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[75] The sentence "Pluto lava la sirenetta!" is not accurately translated in the original report and I have made the pertinent corrections.

[76] It should be pointed out that not all scenarios are as straightforward as the one above. In scenarios with double clitics, the final question that the experimenter asks the child, to get him or her tell the puppet what really is happening, is not to my mind well-designed to induce young children to use clitics. I have checked with two native speakers and they agree. For an example, see below. However,

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In the analysis of data, Schaeffer collapsed all responses regardless of whether the scenario was intended to elicit a single clitic or a double clitic. Then, she calculated the average of overt productions and omissions of direct object clitics across scenarios based on this global number. The results appear in the following table. In each

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several native linguist speakers checked Schaeffer's experimental design, and 15 Italian adults took the test. I include here one of the scenarios:

Exp: *Guarda, qui abbiamo Pippo e un soldatino. L'amico di Pippo è malato, e si è un po' stufato. Perciò, Pippo porta il soldatino al suo amico per giocare un po'.*
Look, here we have Goofy and a little toy soldier. Goofy's friend is sick, and is a bit bored. Therefore, Goofy is bringing the soldier over to his friend to play a bit.

Raja: *Io so cosa succede! Pippo <u>ruba</u> il soldatino al suo amico!*
I know what happens! Goofy steals [is stealing] the soldier from his friend!

Child: *No!*
No!

Raja: *Perchè? Pippo non ruba il soldatino al suo amico?*
Raja: Why? Goofy doesn't steal the soldier from his friend?

(Exp: *Allora, dillo tu a Raja: cosa fa Pippo al suo amico col soldatino?*
Now you tell Raja: What does Goofy to his friend with the soldier
What is Goofy doing to his friend with the soldier?

Child: *<u>Glielo</u> porta.*
him-DAT-him-ACC brings
(He)'s bringing him [it] to him.

The problem lies in "<u>doing to</u> his friend <u>with</u> the soldier" in the experimenter's question: What is Goofy doing to his friend <u>with</u> the soldier? To this question one wants to reply something like: hit him/touch him/caress him, but it does not come naturally to say: Bring it to him.

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cell there are two numbers, one represents the percentage of occurrences of the relevant item and the other (in parentheses) shows the absolute number of occurrences.[77]

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[77] The information presented in Table 5.4.3 is quite puzzling. If one considers only accusative clitics, as is appropriate in Schaeffer's research (and the heading of the table indicates), the numbers reported differ from the number of responses expected, even for the adults. This is shown next.

Age	Cls		Clomiss		Full DOs	Total	Subj's		Sent's		Total should be
2	22	+	63	+	14	= 99	5	.	21	=	105
3	179	+	43	+	68	= 290	11	.	21	=	231
4	237	+	0	+	28	= 265	10	.	21	=	210
5	227	+	0	+	23	= 250	9	.	21	=	189
Adults	439	+	0	+	0	= 439	15	.	21	=	315

I would like to point out that these discrepancies could not be due to "other" responses that sometimes occur while conducting experimental research (e.g., the subject uses a wrong verb, makes an irrelevant comment, etc.), because in most cases the responses reported are *more* numerous than those expected.

The other alternative is that the 9 indirect object clitics of the sentences with clusters were included in the count (though Schaeffer does not mention these clitics in her data analysis). The results in this case are much closer to the ones reported in Table 5.4.3. The expected totals are now 150, 330, 300, 270 and 450. The discrepancies now make more sense since the number of the "other" responses declines with age (e.g., 51 at age 2, 40 at age 3, 35 at age 4, 20 at age 5 and 11 in the adults).

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Table 5.4.3. Overall usage: overt direct object clitics, omitted direct object clitics and full direct objects.[78]

Age Group	Mean Age	# of Subj	Overt Clitics	Omitted Clitics	Full DO's
2	2;5	5	22% (22)	64% (63)	14% (14)
3	3;5	11	62% (179)	15% (43)	23% (68)
4	4;6	10	89% (237)	0% (0)	11% (28)
5	5;6	9	91% (227)	0% (0)	9% (23)
Adults	>19	15	100% (439)	0% (0)	0% (0)

Based on these results, Schaeffer claims that across sentence types, Italian 2-year olds produced overt object clitics in only 22% of obligatory contexts. This is significantly different from the 100% adult rate ($p<.01$). The number of clitics increased to 62% of obligatory contexts by age 3. The difference between children and adults at age 3 was not statistically significant. With respect to omissions, the results indicated that 2-year olds omitted direct object clitics at a rate of 64%. The comparison of this result to the 0% omission rate for adults was statistically significant ($p<.01$). The 15% omission rate for 3-year olds was closer to the adult performance and the difference was not statistically significant. Finally, the appearance of full direct objects (instead of clitics) occurred at a rate of 14% at the age of 2, and increased to 23% at the age of 3 before declining

[78] The columns on "mean age" and "number of subjects" have been added to Schaeffer's original table.

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slightly in the older children.[79] By the age of 4 and 5 children's performance with respect to overt clitics, omitted clitics and full direct objects was close to adultlike.

According to Schaeffer, these results corroborate prediction (i) stated above and allow her to establish two developmental stages: Stage I, when specificity is optionally marked and Stage II when specificity is marked in an adultlike manner. The transitional point for this shift in the system is around age 3, a time at which the 'Discourse Rule' seems to be acquired.[80]

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[79] I would like to point out that in all scenarios of the experiment the child is improperly encouraged to use full DOs. This comment is based on the fact that Raja used the full DO in a structure where the clitic would have been more felicitous for discourse or pragmatic reasons. I am referring to the final utterance of Raja (e.g., in the scenario given in the text above for eliciting a single clitic: "Pluto non lava la sirenetta?" instead of saying: Pluto non *la* lava?). Since the full DO had already been mentioned in Raja's previous utterance (namely, in "Io so cosa succede! Pluto lava *la sirenetta*!"), the use of the clitic would have been more appropriate in this context. Presumably, the experimenter probably avoided using the clitic to ensure that the child's utterance were novel. Nevertheless, it could have had a distorting effect. That is, it could be due to Raja that the children overused full DOs.

[80] Schaeffer's motivation for establishing these two developmental stages is the big quantitative leap in performance that she finds between ages 2 and 3 in all experimental conditions (including all scrambling contexts). It should be noted, however, that the basis for this analysis with respect to Italian are the data of 5 subjects from the ages of 2;1 to 2;6 (average 2;5). No data were collected from 2;6 to 3;1. Schaeffer justifies the generalization for the whole 2-year-old period based on the fact that children at the age of 3;1 still did not perform in an adult manner. A more robust and gradual number of subjects in the 2 to 3 year age range would be desirable. More than half of the subjects (19 out of 35) belong to the 4- and 5-year age groups when children's performance is almost adult-like.

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To explain the transition between these two stages Schaeffer presents a syntactic/semantic analysis. This analysis establishes how clitics are interpreted in the adult's and in the child's grammar. In the spirit of Hoekstra and Hyams (1995), Schaeffer assumes that DP's can have a D-chain. In the case of *pro* (a DP) this chain is established by moving *pro* from N to D from where it establishes a link with the operator in spec DP. This operation is shown in (1).

(1) $[_{DP}\ Op_i\ [_{Di}\ pro\ [_{NumP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{Ni}\ t_i\ ]]]]]$

This D-chain makes the referentiality of the DP (*pro*) visible. To obtain its interpretation in the adult grammar the DP Op_1 (*pro* + trace) moves to spec DiscP where its operator (in spec DP) establishes a R(eferentiality) chain with the discourse operator in spec CP. The discourse operator, in turn, links *pro* to the discourse. This process is referred to as *grammatical interpretation*. As for the clitic, it is argued that it moves to the head of DiscP where it inherits its grammatical interpretation from *pro* under spec-head agreement. This process is illustrated in (2).

(2) discourse $[_{CP}\ Op_i\ [_{AgrSP}\ [_{DiscP}\ pro_i\ [_{Disc}$ clitic ...

With respect to the grammar of 2-year olds, where *pro* is only marked for specificity optionally (evidence, the optional presence of clitics), Schaeffer argues that *pro* does not form

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a chain with the operator in spec CP (the discourse is not taken into account), but rather, it refers directly as free pronouns do. This process is referred to as *direct interpretation*. Schaeffer maintains that once the Discourse Rule has been acquired, the direct interpretation is no longer permitted and specificity has to be marked through the grammar, as in the adult system.

Two more issues were investigated with regard to direct object clitics in child language: the developmental patterns of clitic placement across construction types, and the position of clitics. Based on the proposal that two functional projections (SpP/DiscP) are responsible for all types of object placement, Schaeffer formulates predictions (A) and (B). The results relevant to these predictions appear in Tables 5.4.4 and 5.4.5 respectively.

(A) Object clitic placement in Italian simple present tense, passato prossimo and restructuring verb constructions will show similar developmental patterns.

(B) Italian learners do not place elements (direct object clitics) lower than the position in which they are base-generated (namely, SpP in Schaeffer's analysis).

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Table 5.4.4 Proportions of overt clitics in Italian simple present, passato prossimo and restructuring constructions.

Age	Present Tense		Passato Prossimo		Restructuring	
2	24%	(6)	21%	(8)	14%	(3)
3	62%	(35)	62%	(57)	66%	(31)
4	94%	(48)	93%	(77)	92%	(46)
5	92%	(44)	96%	(72)	96%	(47)
Adults	100%	(89)	100%	(130)	100%	(85)

From these results Schaeffer concludes that the developmental patterns of direct object clitics across construction types are almost identical, a finding that comports with her theoretical analysis.

Schaeffer's point is clearly valid for 3, 4 and 5 year old children. For 2-year olds, the presence of clitics in the three environments is within a very low percentage range (14% to 24%), yet there are differences across the construction types. Schaeffer does not report whether these differences are statistically reliable. It is possible that these differences are meaningful. If so, prediction (A) maybe overstated with respect to 2-year old learners.

More robust support was found in favor of prediction (B). As Table 5.4.5 illustrates, all participants, regardless of age, performed 100% accurately. This result indicates that Italian children master the placement of clitics from a very early age. That is, they know that clitics when present must

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precede a finite verb, a modal or an auxiliary and follow a non-finite verb, as in restructuring contexts.[81]

Table 5.4.5 Overall proportions of overt direct object clitics in correct and incorrect position in Italian.

Age	Correct Position		Incorrect Position	
2	100%	(22)	0%	(0)
3	100%	(179)	0%	(0)
4	100%	(237)	0%	(0)
5	100%	(227)	0%	(0)
Adults	100%	(437)	0%	(0)

Schaeffer argues that the fact that clitics never appeared in a position lower that SpP supports the proposal that object clitics are base-generated in the head of a higher functional projection (cf. Jaeggli (1982; 1986), Borer (1984), Sportiche (1992) etc. for similar accounts) and do not originate in the canonical object position (Kayne 1975; 1989b; 1989c; 1991; 1994; Rizzi (1986), Cardinaletti (1993) and Uriagereka (1995), among others). She claims that if the latter approach were correct, children would leave 'unmoved' clitics in a position lower than the adult position, just like they leave DP objects

[81] The same perfect pattern of acquisition with respect to clitic placement has been found in other Italian studies (e.g., Hyams (1983; 1986), Antelmi (1992), Guasti (1994) etc.) and in other languages (e.g., Varela (1988) in Spanish and Hamann *et al.* (1996) in French, among others.

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unscrambled in Dutch.[82] This is an interesting argument, but it is not necessarily accurate. It is possible, after all, that the child has knowledge of the properties of clitics which motivate the movement out of the canonical object position. In Kayne's research, discussed in Chapter IV, no specific reference is made to this issue; that is, he does not discuss what motivates clitic movement. However, other linguists have made relevant proposals. In the analysis of Uriagereka (1995), the motivation arises from the specific and referential nature of clitics. That is, clitics have to move to a sentence peripheral position (F) to obtain their specific interpretation. According to Cardinaletti (1993), clitics move because they have a special phonological status (i.e., they are unstressed and categorically impoverished) and they need to be associated to their licensing head (presumably I°). Referring to Gleitman and Wanner (1982)[83], Guasti (1994) claims that children know that clitics are unstressed and, as a result, they never leave them in the base position.

Finally, the fact that 2-year old children correctly positioned their direct object clitics in all cases when a clitic was present (22% of the contexts) is seen as an indication that a form of the UG principle 'Move alpha' is

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[82] As noted, in Schaeffer's analysis object clitic placement and object scrambling are essentially the same syntactic process.

[83] Gleitman and Wanner maintain that children have knowledge of the phonological properties of words, especially the stressed versus unstressed distinction.

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operative in the child's grammar from the onset of language. It is assumed that clitics could not be positioned without movement of *pro*. This correct performance is also taken to indicate that the functional categories AgrOP, SpP and DiscP are present in the grammar from the beginning, in support of the 'Full Clause Hypothesis'.[84] As noted, the failure of Italian 2-year olds to use a direct object clitic in 78% of the cases in which adults do is taken as an indication that the pragmatic system had not matured yet and as a result the syntax (the feature [+specific]) could not develop. Lastly, the continuous development of syntax (e.g., 22% of clitics at age 2 vs. 62% at age 3) is attributed to the Continuity Hypothesis as proposed by White (1981), Klein (1982), Otsu (1981), Hyams (1983), Pinker (1984), Clahsen (1992) and others.

5.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In what follows, I will briefly summarize the results of the literature reviewed in this chapter. I will comment on some of these findings, I will draw conclusions relevant to the research to be presented in subsequent chapters, and I will state the main objectives of the research.

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[84] This hypothesis states that tree structure, including all functional categories, is available in its entirety in the child's grammar from the earliest stage of language development (cf. Hyams 1992; Pierce (1992); Verrips and Weissenborn 1992; Valian (1992); Poeppel and Wexler 1993, among others). The opposite claim is presented by Radford (1990).

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First, the morphological difference between clitic and non-clitic forms as well as the syntactic distribution of subject, object and complement clitics when they are present are evidenced in the earliest relevant productions (by at least 2;0-2;1 approximately,) in a flawless manner. In all of the studies reported here, children never placed clitics in a non-verbal utterance or in a non-clitic position. All clitic instances in all of the studied languages (French, Italian, and Spanish) appeared in their correct locations.

Second, Hamann *et al.* establish that French subject and object clitics do not arise simultaneously in the course of acquisition. Subject clitics appear at about age 2;0, whereas object clitics are almost absent until around 2;6.

Third, French object clitics seem to emerge considerably late compared to object clitics in other Romance languages (e.g., Italian and Spanish). This can be observed by comparing the longitudinal corpus studies of French (Hamann *et al.* 1996) and Italian (Guasti, 1994) presented in this chapter. No solid explanation is provided. This issue is not well understood yet in the field.

Fourth, the earliest object (and complement) clitics in the Italian corpus appeared at 1;8, yet there is apparently a notable decline at about 1;11. Guasti concludes that clitics do not stabilize until 2;1. Up to this age, the frequency of object clitics was low both in finite and infinitive contexts, with frequent omissions in finite contexts. Children seemed

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to prefer to use lexical complements instead. Clitics in infinitive contexts with and without climbing are slightly more delayed than with finite verbs. The optional presence of clitics is attributed by Guasti to a general tendency to omit functional categories (e.g., prepositions and articles) in the early stages of language development and the delay in the emergence of clitics in infinitive contexts is attributed to the application of A-movement in these contexts.

Optional realization of (direct object) clitics is also claimed by Schaeffer in a cross-sectional experimental study of Italian children. In the first stage of language development (before age 3), children used clitics 22%, omitted them 64% and used full DPs 14%. It should be noted that the percentage of omissions (64%) is much higher than the percentage that one obtains by calculating Guasti's data up to 2;7 (8.4%). In addition, in Guasti's research, the percentage of overt clitics up to this age was 46% (vs. the 22% in Schaeffer's experiment). Schaeffer attributes the omission of Italian clitics up to age 3 to the optionality of specificity marking in the early grammar caused by the immature pragmatic system of the child. In Schaeffer's experiment the developmental pattern of clitic placement in Italian was almost identical (maybe a slight difference in 2-year olds) across sentence types (present, past participle, and restructuring), and children always placed clitics accurately when they used them. The different estimates of clitic usage

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in Italian in the studies by Schaeffer and by Guasti could be due to differences in methodology (see discussion below): Schaeffer's subjects performed a special task, while Guasti's were talking spontaneously.

Varela's experimental study of Spanish revealed that children had standard dative clitic doubling by 2;11. A robust number of instances of doubling with accusatives and datives were also found in the children's spontaneous productions. Varela's data do not set a lower age bound on the mastery of doubling, though Torrens and Wexler (1996;2000) illustrate a variety of doubling constructions in Spanish starting at age 1;10.

Despite this growing collection of data, it is not well understood in the theory of language acquisition why children go through an optional stage in the development of clitics (or other functional categories). As has been proposed, it could be due to the light prosodic weight of these items, to the fact that they appear in a variety of morphological forms, to the fact that they carry less semantic load than lexical items so can be sacrificed to keep sentences simple, etc. It is also unexplained why younger children often seem to prefer the explicitness of the full DP.[85] This might be related to other phenomena of child language, such as a period of using

[85] It should be recalled that without adult baselines for clitics versus lexical DPs in the same contexts, it is of course unclear whether children are using more lexical DPs at this stage of development than fully accomplished speakers would.

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uncontracted auxiliaries after the contracted forms have been in use for some time; see Brown (1973). Alternatively, once they have learnt the obligatoriness of objects (2;1-2;3, in Guasti's study), children may have to learn a pragmatic rule (e.g., use a reduced form when it is felicitous).

A problem in interpreting the currently available data is to determine what genuinely differs across languages and constructions, and what is due to differences in methodology. For example, where there appears to be a contrast between early but erratic usage, and late but consistent use, this could be due instead to an artifact of sampling a corpus, or to the difference between experimental methods and spontaneous speech, or between comprehension and production. For instance, Van Kampen (2000) has documented the sporadic appearance of a construction for several weeks or months before a period of rapid development. Small samples of spontaneous language use could therefore fail to distinguish between early sporadic use and delayed acquisition. More intensive longitudinal study, or carefully designed experiments, could disambiguate such situations. But at present we are working with an unfinished patchwork which varies target language, age of learner, modality (comprehension versus production), and task demands (spontaneous speech versus experimental tasks of varying degrees of difficulty).

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Little research had been done on Spanish with respect to the acquisition of clitics when I began my research. Thus, I had four main objectives in mind: One was to find out how the developmental patterns observed in other languages apply to Spanish (e.g., low frequency, omissions, apparent preference for full DPs etc.). The second aim was to explore how some of the more complex clitic processes that occur in adult Spanish (standard doubling, dislocation, and climbing) manifest themselves in early Spanish child language. My third purpose was to compare findings from different methodologies, to see whether they would converge on the same assessment of children's knowledge of the language. Fourthly, I wished to focus on the youngest learners that it was feasible to test, since some - if not all - knowledge of clitics is evidently acquired very early.

To achieve these goals, I conducted a series of experimental studies with Spanish children (ages 1;9-2;10) and I consulted a corpus of natural data from a single Spanish child covering the same period of time. Information on the specific issues investigated and on the tasks employed will be presented in Chapters VI and VII. Chapter VI presents the experimental research and Chapter VII the longitudinal data.

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Chapter VI

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

6.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports experimental research on 3rd person pronominal object clitics (singular only for reasons explained below) in most of the contexts in which they occur in Peninsular Spanish. More specifically, it explores children's knowledge of these clitics in simple finite sentences, in clitic doubling environments (standard doubling and left dislocation; no instances of right dislocation were tested) and in infinitive contexts when enclitic to the embedded infinitive. (I did not explicitly test climbing by children though the verb choices were designed with climbing in mind.)

In Chapter II it was noted that Spanish 3rd person object clitics are specified for Case (dative and accusative), they reflect number, and the accusatives also show gender. Referring to Kayne (1975), it was pointed out that pronominal clitics in general present a number of almost exceptionless properties (lack of stress, cannot be used in isolation, cannot be separated from the verb unless by another clitic, cannot be conjoined, cannot be modified). These properties distinguish clitics from full nominal and pronominal expressions and restrict their distribution severely compared with these other nominal elements. In Chapter IV, following

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Kayne's (1991/1994) analysis it was assumed that object clitics are X^0 elements which head phrasal DP's. It was proposed that both dative and accusative 3rd person clitics originate as a determiner (D^0) whose NP sister is the empty category *pro*. In finite contexts, the clitic always undergoes syntactic movement to an abstract functional head devoid of features (X^0). The functional category that contains the clitic is called here *Clitic Phrase* (= Kayne's Place Holder) and it appears above the highest verb morpheme projection. Therefore, the order is CL-VERB. In infinitive contexts, the clitic can legitimately move to T^0 since the verb does not adjoin to this functional head in the overt syntax and T^0 is available in the structure. Then, the bare verb raises to InFn to pick up the infinitive marker. Subsequently, in Spanish, Italian and other languages (versus French) the infinitive complex adjoins to the left of the clitic yielding the INF-CL order. Thus, the surface order of clitics is sensitive to the [+/- tense] distinction. This analysis provides a uniform account for the distribution of clitics in both finite and infinitive contexts. Following Kayne (1994), it is assumed here that standard clitic doubling, clitic left dislocation and clitic right dislocation are essentially three instances of a general clitic doubling phenomenon. The analysis of doubling adopted is based on Uriagereka (1988;1995) with a modification in terms of Kayne (1994) and an addition in the spirit of Harris (1991a).

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This syntactic theory entails a number of acquisitional predictions. First, clitics in Romance will not appear until children have acquired verbs. (Romance clitics are verbal clitics in that they require a verbal element as their host.) Second, clitics will not be correctly positioned until children have acquired the difference between finite and non-finite forms. This leaves open the possibility that clitics are positioned incorrectly at first, before finiteness is mastered, but also the possibility that finiteness is acquired early enough that even the earliest clitics are correctly placed. According to Pierce (1989), Deprez and Pierce (1993) and Verrips and Weissenborn (1992) among others, the finite/nonfinite distinction in French and German is mastered from the earliest stages of verb use, namely from around the age of 1;10 to 2;0. Similar results were obtained by Guasti (1994) with respect to Italian and by Torrens (1995) with regard to Catalan and Spanish. As indicated in Chapter V, Guasti also found that children learning Italian never misplaced clitics. The same results were obtained by Hamann *et al.* (1996) with respect to French and by other researchers investigating these and other languages.

In relation to the acquisition of full lexical DPs, predictions are less clear. Since clitics and full nominal and pronominal expressions share Case, theta role and some or all phi-features, we expect all these categories to be learned simultaneously; however, this might not be the case since

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there are also important differences based on the type of item (e.g., clitics, for the most part, do not take stress) and on their distribution (e.g., clitics are subject to movement). These are reasons for thinking that if these elements are not acquired simultaneously, then clitics will be later. On the other hand, the extra complexity of a full lexical DP (number of words and amount of internal structure) might suggest that children in the early stages would avoid full DPs. However, it is a common observation that young children tend to use full (even expanded) forms where adults would use reduced forms. Therefore, no prediction is made with respect to lexical DPs. Bottari, Cipriani and Chilosi (1996a) state that Italian children use full nominal expressions at a very early age, namely, as soon as their productions contain the required contexts for DPs. As noted in Chapter V, Guasti's (1994) research on Italian shows that clitics and lexical DPs appeared at about the same time (i.e., from 1;8 to 1;10); however, lexical DPs were more numerous than clitics before 2;1-2;3 and then about equal almost to the end of the testing period (2;6-2;7) when the number of clitic omissions dropped significantly. With respect to French, Jakubowicz *et al.* (1996) in an experimental task found that children (9 subjects from the age of 2;3;20 to 2;5;29) used about three times more lexical DP objects than a group of 10 adult controls (about 30 vs. 10 respectively). A much higher percentage of lexical DPs objects than of clitics was also found by Friedemann

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(1992;1994) and Haegeman (1996) for French and Dutch respectively. These two authors and Guasti, however, did not have adult baseline data and did not examine the context to find out if the clitic would have been more felicitous for discourse or pragmatic reasons.

Finally, since third person clitics, are like definite articles, in being determiner heads of DP projections which take a sister NP, we expect clitics to be acquired simultaneously and in much the same manner as definite articles. However, the fact that clitics and articles differ with respect to other properties (e.g., articles are not subject to movement out of the DP, and in Spanish and other Romance languages are not marked for Case) might determine a difference in the developmental process. One can predict that if they are not acquired simultaneously, then clitics might occur later. In Crisma's (1999) study of articles based on a longitudinal analysis of Italian spontaneous speech, one of the children, Martina, shows 2 instances (and 28 omissions) of the articles *il* and *i* (masculine singular and plural) in non-initial position and a total of 34 instances (and 35 omissions) of *il, i* (initial), *la, le* (feminine singular and plural) and *lo, gli* (masculine singular and plural) from the age of 1;8 to 1;10. For the same child, and during the same period of time, Guasti (1994) reports 14 clitics (mixed types), 4 lexical DPs, 1 PSD (a schwa-like element that apparently performs the function of a clitic) and 8 clitic

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omissions. Since the results are reported by age range, we do not know which elements occurred earlier, but articles do appear to be omitted at a much higher rate than clitics.

With respect to the variety of clitic structures discussed above, predictions are as follows:

1. The many aspects of clitic distribution determined by UG will be present and correct early in children's productions, once events 2. and 3. below have occurred. For example, since UG determines that a clitic is always part of a non-trivial chain, no errors are expected in which learners leave the clitic in situ so that it has the same surface distribution as a lexical DP or a stressed pronoun.

2. Children need to acquire the inventory of clitics specific to the target language (Spanish), and this may take some time.

3. Children need to set parameters controlling the following phenomena: clitic order in clusters, clitic doubling (standard and dislocation), clitic climbing, etc., and this too may take time because it must be based on experience of the target language.

4. Clitics in finite and infinitive contexts should be acquired at approximately the same time, provided that both finite and infinitive verbs are already known and correctly distinguished including the landing site for the verb movement.

5. Because a clitic is always part of a non-trivial chain, there should be no significant difference in the time of acquisition of clitics in simple and doubling contexts, except those attributable to the complexity of the overt DP.

6. Lexical and pronominal doubling will be developed at approximately the same time, except for any differences attributable to the complexity difference between a lexical DP and a pronoun.

7. Clitics in standard doubling and clitic dislocation constructions will show a similar time of acquisition, provided that dislocation itself has been acquired.

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8. Dative and accusative clitics (which are both determiners in the analysis adopted here) will present a similar course of development.

In general, since UG (according to Kayne's theory) treats all clitic contexts uniformly, it is predicted that children will do so too, except for differences pertaining to the acquisition of *other* aspects of the various contexts concerned.

In Chapter V I reviewed several studies designed to test children's knowledge of pronominal clitics highlighting the existence of cross-linguistic (French vs. Italian) variability with respect to object clitics, and Case differences (subject vs. object) in French. With respect to object clitics, which are the only ones available in Spanish, the general conclusion was that French and Italian children seem to know the fundamental properties of the clitic system from quite early on (approximately 2;0 for Italian and later in French). The Italian studies also show that children's grammars allow for a high degree of optionality in environments where clitics are obligatory in the adult language. From the point of view of adult grammar, children's sentences lacking clitics in these contexts are ungrammatical. This pattern of omissions persists for several months. As indicated, it is more accentuated in some studies of Italian than in others. For example, Schaeffer reports 64% of omissions from 5 subjects age 2;1-2;6 (mean age, 2;5), whereas Guasti's study observed two children up to 2;1 omitting clitics 16.6%, and three

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children from 2;2 to 2;6 or 2;7 omitting only 5.1%. The difference between these two studies is likely to be related to the source of the data: a combination of a Truth Value Judgement Task and an Elicited Production Task (cf. Crain and Thornton, 1998) vs. natural production data, and/or to the method of scoring.

To test the predictions made by the theory and detect more precisely the nature of the omission phenomena reported by previous research (i.e., to disambiguate their results), I performed a detailed study with Spanish clitics that represent arguments of various types and occur in different environments. I focused on the youngest children that it was feasible to test (1;9 to 2;10). To provide converging evidence, I employed a production task and examined spontaneous production data. In the production experiment, four tokens were elicited of each type of clitic occurring with different verbs and in a variety of structural contexts. As discussed in Section 6.1 below, if most or all of these items were correctly produced by the child, that would be grounds to assume that s/he was drawing on his/her linguistic knowledge of clitics and hence that the performance task was revealing the child's competence. On the other hand, if the child's productions contained the required environments for clitics but s/he consistently left them out in obligatory contexts, one could infer that clitics are not available yet in his/her grammar. In either case, the conclusion would be

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strengthened if the same pattern of development is manifested in the child's corresponding spontaneous productions. To dissociate specific language grammar from UG, a cross-linguistic comparison is of utmost importance. Therefore, to examine whether there is a universal stage of presence (or absence) of clitic knowledge in children's grammars and how early these UG properties are manifested, the results of these Spanish studies will be compared with those obtained from production and comprehension studies on other languages, as discussed in Chapter V.

In this chapter, I present three experimental studies designed to assess children's production of clitics in the variety of structures listed above. The first two studies are complementary and differ from previous research in various ways. For one thing, the children are younger than the participants of other experimental studies. Another difference relates to the task chosen, namely, the Elicited Imitation Method (EI). An important advantage is that the same type of experimental task was used to assess the production of clitics in a range of different sentence types by the same subjects.

The chapter is divided into six sections. In Section 6.1, I describe the Elicited Imitation Method, emphasizing its appropriateness for the type of data to be gathered and age of the subjects investigated in this study. In Section 6.2, I present a general description of the experimental design used

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in each of the three experiments. Experiment 1: *Simple Cliticization (Base Study)* (Section 6.3), examines children's mastery of cliticization in simple local contexts. Experiment 2: *Clitic Doubling* (Section 6.4.) is a follow-up study which covers two of the three clitic doubling constructions: Standard Doubling (CLDP) and Left Dislocation (CLLD) identified as in Kayne (1994). Experiment 3: *Clitics in Infinitive Contexts* (Section 6.5.) explores the presence of clitics when enclitic to an embedded infinitive.

6.1. CHOOSING A METHODOLOGY: ELICITED IMITATION TASK

The subjects in these experiments are very young and young children have limited parsers. To minimize the nonlinguistic demands of language processing and access linguistic competence as directly as possible, I chose the Elicited Imitation Method (EI). This method has been used in many interesting studies such as Lust, Chien and Flynn (1987), Gerken (1987/1991), Valian, Hoeffner and Aubry (1994), Lust, Flynn and Foley (1996), Lust, Flynn, Foley and Chien (1999), among others. Another determining factor was the fact that this task allowed me to manipulate the stimulus sentences systematically and require the child to use the clitics directly in a variety of contexts, if they were available in his/her underlying grammar.

In the elicited imitation task, young children are asked to repeat a sentence exactly as they heard it from the

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investigator. Lust and her colleagues provide guidelines for a felicitous application of this task. The set of sentences that constitute the stimulus for a particular experiment must "vary only in critical grammatical factors, with all others controlled or held constant" (Lust *et al.*, 1996 p. 59). Lust *et al.* (1987), Lust *et al.* (1996) and Lust *et al.* (1999) provide extensive evidence that a controlled Elicited Imitation method can be an effective task to ground inference with respect to children's knowledge of specific aspects of grammatical knowledge. For instance, Lust *et al.* (1999, p. 439) describe the method in the following manner:

> "[This method] is founded on the fact that the child's imitation of sentences (beyond a minimal length and structure) is not simply processed by rote but is actively reconstructed through the child's syntactic and semantic systems-that is, it is interpreted, analyzed, and reconstructed actively in terms of the child's own grammar. Thus, children's imitation behaviors reflect their own analytic and reconstructed representations of the adult's stimulus sentence and mirror the child's grammar. Unlike in natural speech data, the child's target is clearly revealed in the EI task."

Lust *et al.* (1996) point out that the design of the batteries is complicated since the length and the complexity of sentences must be considered. This includes taking into account the following factors: (1) Sentence length in words and syllables; (2) the internal syntactic structure of every phrase; (3) the morphological complexity of every word and (4) the semantics of the lexical items selected for every stimulus sentence. These authors also maintain that no props are

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required in this task, that the investigator can just read a sentence and have the child repeat it. Although it is true that they are not required, I believe that at least the youngest children find the task much more natural, and engage in it better, when props are available.

6.2. EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

In this section I will present an overview description of some commonalities related to the subjects, materials and procedure of the three experiments conducted. A detailed description of each one of these factors will be provided in section 6.3 for Experiment 1, 6.4 for Experiment 2, and 6.5 for Experiment 3.

6.2.1. Subjects

These studies were conducted in several public and private daycare centers in Zaragoza (Spain), the area where I come from. The subjects had to meet the criteria in (1).

(1) a. Not to have any reported or evident speech, vision or hearing disorders.

b. To be monolingual speakers from the Zaragoza area.

c. To be early talkers

c1. To be able to use at least 4 word sentences

c2. To be familiar with the verbs (and other vocabulary) of the study.

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Prospective subjects were first selected by their caretakers and subsequently interviewed by this investigator to ascertain that each one met the characteristics in (1), felt at ease with the investigator and was willing to participate in the study. The final number of subjects was 20 ranging in age from 1;9 to 2;10. The data were collected in two testing periods five months apart, and I had the opportunity to test two of the subjects on both occasions (Oscar: 1;9/2;2 and Eric:1;10/2;3) in effect increasing to 22 the total number of subjects. Henceforth, I will refer to Oscar and Eric at their earlier and later ages as if each were two distinct children.

All 22 children participated in Experiment 1 (1;9-2;10), but only 12 of them (2;2-2;10) were part of Experiment 2, and 15 of the 22 participated in Experiment 3 (2;1-2;10). The reason for the exclusion of some children from Experiments 2 and 3 was greater complexity in the structures tested and other non-linguistic factors. The sentences in the last two experiments were either longer (e.g., clitic doubling) or more complex (e.g., two-verb contexts) than the ones in Experiment 1 and some children could not handle them. The capacity to endure the demands of an experimental task after having contributed for the first (or the first and the second) experiment, was also a relevant factor. Only children who could handle six-word sentences were exposed to Experiment 2, and only those who were capable of two-verb contexts were candidates for Experiment 3. Some of the younger children

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could have been candidates linguistically (in their natural speech they had produced structures like the ones included in Experiments 2 and 3 or expanded into doubling the sentences given in Experiment 1), but they showed that they had been submitted to the task enough and they wanted to communicate freely. A sample of their productions will be provided in Appendix 4. There I present a brief list of the available spontaneous production data from most of the subjects, relevant to the factors tested in each experiment. A description of all the subjects that participated in this research is shown in Table 1. This table also makes reference to the specific experiment/s in which each subject participated.

Table 1: Description of Subjects

Age	Females	Males	Total	Experiments
1;9	1	1	2	#1
1;10	0	2	2	#1
2;1	2	1	3	#1, #3 (2)
2;2	1	2	3	#1, #2 (2), #3
2;3	3	1	4	#1, #2 (2), #3 (2)
2;4	1	1	2	#1, #2, #3
2;6	1	0	1	#1, #2, #3
2;7	1	0	1	#1, #2, #3
2;8	2	0	2	#1, #2, #3
2;9	0	1	1	#1, #2, #3
2;10	1	0	1	#1, #2, #3
Total	13	9	22	

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6.2.2. Materials

The visual inputs for the interview session were two series of coloring and story-telling books with pictures. One was based on a bear called Plum (e.g., *Plum en el campo, Plum en el parque, Plum y las frutas, Plum en su pueblo* etc.) and the other on two cats called Pinto and Pinta (e.g., *Pinto y Pinta tienen un sombrero, Pinto y Pinta van a una fiesta, Pinto y Pinta y las comidas, Pinto y Pinta cuidan su casa* etc.)[1] For the Pretest and Experiment 1 the materials consisted of 2 and 24 respectively manual drawings (13" by 9") created to illustrate the content of each sentence. The 24 target sentences were divided into 4 batteries of 6 sentences. Every battery contained one token per sentence type ordered in the same manner in each battery. For Experiments 2 and 3 the visual inputs were two sets of 12 black and white prints (13" by 9"), one for each study.[2] In all three experiments (and in the pretest), each target sentence presented for imitation was preceded by a brief discourse context to provide a

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[1] The original collection *Ploum le petit ours à la campagne/au jardin public* etc., was published by Fernand Nathan, Paris 1983. The Spanish translation was published by Ediciones SM, Madrid 1985. The collection *Los Pintacuentos de Pinto y Pinta* was published by Ediciones SM, Madrid 1993.

[2] These prints were taken from the pictorial coloring collection *Album Color*. The characters of the books chosen were mainly animals (e.g., *Los amigos de la Granja, Los amigos de los animales, Simpáticos animalitos, Los deportes de Rumbo* etc.). The collection is published by Edelvives, Spain.

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referent for the clitic in the target sentence.[3] It was hoped that this linguistically encoded antecedent would make the task more natural (sentences with 3rd person clitics in a null context sound odd) and would help children perform optimally. This opinion is strongly defended in Crain and Thornton (1998). These authors maintain that when "sentences are presented in the so-called null context, the task is highly unnatural; it also fails to satisfy any presuppositions the test sentences might have ..... Because children are in the process of language learning, the may rely on immediate context to support sentence meaning to an extent that is not characteristic of adults" (p. 72). To engage the child in the task, both the discourse context and the input sentences were based on different themes related to children's general interest and experience (Exp. 1) or to fictional characters with a brief plot (Exp. 2 and 3). To keep the design clear and simple only two characters were included per discourse context and per sentence. To conduct the task smoothly and to ensure that every child received exactly the same stimulus, both the discourse context and the target sentences were hand written in the books, on the drawings or on the prints, for the experimenter to refer to. Since the children could not

[3] Otsu (1981) and Kaufman (1988) used the same strategy with the act-out and the truth-value judgment tasks respectively in their research with object pronouns in English.

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read, this created no problem. A sample of the input for each experiment is provided in the sections that follow.

The linguistic stimuli in the three experiments satisfied the following criteria. First, all sentences were in the simple present tense to prevent any unnecessary complexity of temporal reference. Second, the pronominal clitics were all 3rd person so that the investigator and the child would have a common referent. Third, in all contexts, clitics were controlled for Case (they were either dative or accusative) and accusatives were also controlled for gender.[4] To avoid any additional unnecessary grammatical complication, all clitics were used in the singular form. Thus, the clitics tested were: *le* (3rd person singular dative), *lo* (3rd person masculine, singular accusative) and *la* (3rd person feminine, singular accusative). In addition, when the sentence contained a cluster of two clitics, the sequence was either *se lo* or *se la*.[5]

Every testing session and encounter between a child and the investigator was audio-recorded for subsequent analysis.

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[4] I remind the reader that dative clitics do not show a gender distinction in Spanish.

[5] Readers may wish to consult the discussion of the 'spurious se' phenomenon in Chapter II Section 2.4.

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6.2.3. Procedure

For each subject, the interview session and the experimental tests were conducted in his or her daycare center within a period of two weeks. Children participated one at a time in a quiet room with the investigator for sessions of 20 to 30 minutes each. (Some children got attached to me and I spent more time with them in the room or while they were having lunch.) Some of the youngest children at first were reluctant to do so; however, when they became more familiar with me and they saw that other children were eager participants, they too volunteered gladly. A few children who I was told were very early talkers were hesitant to participate, even in the presence of their care-taker, and so were not tested.

The graphic materials (story books, drawings or prints) and a small stuffed animal were placed on the table where the child and the investigator sat next to each other. The audio tape recorder was placed on a small table nearby. All of the sessions were tape recorded for later transcription. In addition, some brief notes were taken before, during, or right after the sessions to record various aspects of the child's conduct, or utterances produced on the way to and out of the testing room.

A few days before I started working with the children, I made arrangements to meet the pertinent caretakers at each center to inform them of my research and the type of subjects

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I needed. Most of them invited me to their classroom where I had the opportunity to spend some time with the children. Subsequently, one or two days prior to the beginning of the experiments, I met individually each of the children selected for participation in the experiment. I spent some time getting to know them and discussing the fact that we were going to record our talk. Next, the children were presented with the story books, and I encouraged them to talk about them. To prevent problems related to lexical access, in my comments and questions I intentionally used the verbs (and other vocabulary) that would occur in Experiment 1 in order to make sure that the children were familiar with them. I took special care to confirm knowledge of the psychological verbs *encantar* 'to delight', *agradar* 'to please' and *alegrar* 'to cheer up' since these are rarely used by young children.[6] After 10 to 15 minutes, I began training the children on the elicited imitation task. First, I explained what I was going to do, and I requested their help. Then, I instructed them with the following statement:

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[6] The same procedure was followed with a few vocabulary items from Experiments 2 and 3 that I thought could be more unusual to children. For instance, the word *panizo* 'corn' in Experiment 2 (at least in this area of Spain, people do not normally eat grains of corn or corn, chickens do) and the verbal forms *hay que* 'one has to', *tratar de* 'to try to' and *avisar* 'to warn' from Experiment 3. In these cases the practice was done during the brief informal talk that preceded every experimental session.

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> "Vamos a mirar estos cuentos para ver de qué tratan. Yo te diré algo sobre lo que va pasando. Tú te fijas bien y cuando acabe me dices a mí (o al perrico) lo mismo que yo te he dicho. Acuérdate, tú tienes que decir lo mismo que yo. ¿Te parece bien?"
>
> ("We are going to look at these story books to see what they are about. I will tell you something about what is going on. Pay attention and, when I finish, tell me (or to the doggy) the same thing that I have said to you. Remember, you have to say exactly the same thing that I have said to you. Is it OK with you?")

The training sentences were based on the illustrations of the books we were looking at. I started with three-word sentences and then I increased the number of words to four. To the children who were comfortable with 4-word sentences, at the end I gave sentences with six words. I did this to explore ahead of time the children who would be good candidates for Experiment 2. The sentences presented in this training phase were unrelated to the test sentences in terms of syntactic structure. That is, they contained no clitics (e.g., *El pececico salta* 'the little fish jumps', *Plum juega con Lola* 'Plum plays with Lola', *El caracol anda con su casica* 'the snail walks with his little house', etc.) Although the children seemed to understand what they had to do, I had to coach them (especially the youngest) to *wait* until I had finished the entire sentence, to imitate *exactly* what I had modeled for them and to repeat the *whole* sentence. Children were never asked to modify the statement they had uttered and for whatever they said they were praised and appreciated. In some cases a second (or third) trial was required (see below

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for details). In these cases, I encouraged their participation by saying: *¡Va, otra vez!* 'let's go again'. This introductory session led me to realize that some of the children (especially the youngest) were much more at ease, and did better, if they addressed the imitated statement to the little stuffed animal (a dog, in most cases) rather than to me. I presume this was a more natural communicative process than repeating the sentence back to the person who had first uttered it.

In all uses of this experimental task, the sentences were uttered clearly, at normal speed and with natural intonation. Generally, each sentence was presented only once; however, there were reasons that justified the presentation of the target sentence two and even three times. The sentence was presented twice if the child omitted the clitic the first time, or when s/he was not cooperating well (e.g., when s/he did not respond at all or if s/he repeated only the final word or two of what s/he had heard) or if s/he was reacting to the stimulus sentence instead of performing the imitation task (e.g., when s/he expanded on what s/he had heard, when s/he commented on it or when s/he asked a question about it). A second repetition of the target was provided when the child's first two attempts conflicted (namely, when the clitic was absent in the first utterance, but present in the second one), or when it was obvious that s/he had not paid any attention at all the first two times, or when s/he continued to expand or

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comment on the target sentence instead of performing the task.[7] That is, the child received the same target sentence two or three times if necessary to ensure that s/he focused on the task. This guaranteed much less wastage of data that if the analysis had been based on first repetitions only. Of course, it might be thought that the repetitions constituted training of the child's linguistic ability to produce the target sentences. It is true that at least with younger children more clitics were uttered (i.e., there were fewer omissions) in later repetitions than in the initial one (see Table 8 below). It cannot be proved that this is not "a training effect"; yet, as the experimenter, I was careful to repeat only when the first attempt showed inattention to the task.

In the following sections, I will discuss the specifics concerning the design of each study. In section 6.3, I will describe Experiment 1. In section 6.4, I will describe Experiment 2. Finally, in section 6.5, I will describe Experiment 3.

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[7] The evaluation of the responses obtained (up to three trials) will be discussed later in the scoring section of each experiment.

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6.3. EXPERIMENT 1: SIMPLE CLITICIZATION (BASE STUDY)

This experiment was designed to assess children's production of object pronominal clitics in simple local contexts. More specifically, it was prepared to test the factors in (2) below. Some of them ((iii), (iv) and the "when" part of (v)) had not specifically been tested in previous research on other languages. Others ((i) and (ii)) were tested to find out more about the course of development with respect to previous claims about late occurrence of clitics relative to full DPs and omissions in other languages. The second part of (v) and (vi) were included for verification with a different experimental technique of the flawless results reported in other studies.

(2) (i) When clitics are first acquired by children.

(ii) Whether children omit clitics or are consistent in their usage of them.

(iii) Whether Case plays a role: dative vs. accusative clitics.

(iv) Whether there are differences in the use of clitics across construction types (e.g., inalienable possession, with psychological verbs, with accusative clitics).

(v) When clitic clusters are acquired and the ordering of clitics in clusters.

(vi) How clitics are distributed in the speech of children.

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6.3.1. Subjects

As indicated, 22 subjects ranging in age from 1;9 to 2;10 participated in this experiment. Not all children, however, completed the entire experiment. In particular, two of the youngest, Tania (1;9) and Simón (1;10) only responded to two and three respectively of the four sets of sentences. Tania got sick after the first session and Simón was very playful and restless and in his final fourth session (I was able to do only one sentence set per session with him) I could not get him to do any work. However, both did correctly repeat some clitics. They also used clitics sometimes in their spontaneous speech. A sample of spontaneous speech is provided in Appendix 4.

6.3.2. Stimuli

Adequate syntactic environments to test the points in (2) are those which obligatorily require the presence of a clitic. Good candidates are dative constructions which indicate *inalienable possession* and *with psychological verbs*. Inalienable possession structures as in (3) contain verbs such as *faltar* 'to miss', *doler* 'to hurt', *sudar* 'to sweat', *picar* 'to itch' and *salir* 'to come out'. The psychological verbs as illustrated in (4) are: *encantar* 'to charm/delight', *gustar* 'to like/please', *molestar* 'to bother', *alegrar* 'to cheer up' and *agradar* 'to like/to please'. There are no obligatory syntactic environments in Spanish for accusative clitics, so

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these elements were constrained through the discourse contexts that preceded every target sentence. That is, all the sentences involved reference to an individual already in the discourse and thus the clitic was virtually obligatory in the discourse context provided; the use of a full lexical DP would have been infelicitous (see items in Table 3 below). The transitive verbs taking accusative objects as exemplified in (5) are: *vestir* 'to dress', *beber* 'to drink', *peinar* 'to comb', *columpiar* 'to swing', *cuidar* 'to take care of', *dormir* 'to put to sleep', *coger* 'to pick up', *llevar* 'to take', *comer* 'to eat', *bañar* 'to bathe', *tapar* 'to cover', *regalar* 'to give a present', *mirar* 'to look' and *dar* 'to give'.

(3) Le pica la nariz
him(DAT) itches the nose
'his nose itches him'

(4) Le molesta el sol
him(DAT) bothers the sun
'the sun bothers him'

(5) La viste su yaya
her(ACC) dresses her grandma
'her grandma dresses her'

As indicated, the clitics were all third person singular, specified for Case: dative (*le*) and accusative, and also (for the accusative) marked for gender: masculine (*lo*) and feminine (*la*). Clitics are weak (unstressed) elements, which for the most part (see Chapter II note 6) occur immediately next to their host, a verb or verbal complex. They might therefore be misanalyzed by children as an initial morpheme of the verb.

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However, in this experiment, the different lexical properties of each clitic, and the fact that every one of them had to occur with four different verbs clearly supports that, if present, they must have been identified as clitics and had not been lexicalized as part of the verb.

To check that the children were not merely parroting the input language but were genuinely analyzing the structure, as Lust *et al.* have argued (see section 6.1), three pseudo (artificial) clitics were used in addition to the genuine clitics in similar contexts. An effort was made to create items that would be phonologically clearly distinguishable from the real clitics. The made-up clitics were: *ku* (in place of *le*), *pe* (in place of *lo*) and *to* (in place of *la*).

The clitic environment tested in Experiment 1 is shown in (6). This representation corresponds to finite sentences like the ones in (3), (4) and (5) above. In these contexts, dative and/or accusative clitics form a chain with an empty element in the argument position of the clause. I consider this element to be *pro*, as in Uriagereka (1995, among others). In Chapter IV Section 4.1.2, I referred to this process as *Local cliticization*.

(6) CL Verb_{fin} ..... pro

A two word sentence (three words with clitic clusters) would have been enough to examine clitics in these contexts (for example, *lo peina* 'CL$_{\text{ACC}}$ combs', *le molesta* 'CL$_{\text{DAT}}$ bothers', *se*

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lo bebe 'SE CLAcc drinks' etc.). However, to make the task more challenging (i.e., to reduce the likelihood of mere rote imitation of the input), all sentences contained four words. They were also equated for a similar number of syllables. As noted (section 6.2.2), the total number of experimental target sentences was 24. These were divided into 4 batteries (A/B/C/D/) of 6 sentences each. Every battery contained one token per sentence type alternating dative and accusative constructions and in the same order in each battery, as shown in (7).

(7) a. Inalienable possession (IN)
b. With an accusative feminine clitic (DO)
c. With a clitic cluster *(CL/CL)*
d. With a pseudo (or false) clitic (F)
e. With a psychological verb (PSY)
f. With an accusative masculine clitic (DO)

When the string contains a cluster which replaces two argumental objects (e.g., #3 in batteries B and D), a 'spurious *se*' occurs (see Chapter II Section 2.4 for details on these clusters); once it stood for a masculine and once for a feminine dative object. The clitic *se* (spurious, or inherent as in #3 of batteries A and C), in two clusters is followed by the masculine accusative clitic *lo* (e.g., *se lo*) and in the other two by the feminine form *la* (e.g., *se la*). Since there is only one dative singular clitic form (*le*) in

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the case of the pseudo clitics, the single "dative" item *ku* is present in two batteries, in one as the object of an inalienable construction and in the other as the object of a psychological verb. Each of the two "accusative" forms (*pe* and *to*) occurs only once per battery. To balance the experiment, the batteries were presented in four different orders. Each order was given to a comparable number (5 or 6) of children across the age range. The order of the batteries is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Order of Batteries of Sentences

1st session	A B	C D	B A	D C
2nd session	C D	A B	D C	B A

Each experimental sentence was preceded by the brief discourse context which provided a linguistic referent for the clitic. The two pretest sentences and a sample sentence battery with discourse contexts (A above) are provided in Table 3. The whole set of sentences (and their respective discourse contexts) appears in Appendix 1.

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Table 3. Sample of sentences (with discourse context) presented.

I. Pre-test

Discourse Context		Sentences
a. La mamá tiene un globo the mommy has a balloon	**DO**	a. La niña *lo* quiere the girl it wants
b. Luís es amigo de Angel Luis is Angel's friend	**IO**	b. *Le* deja su pelota to him lends his ball

II. Target Sentences (Battery A)

Discourse Context		Sentences
1. El payaso se rasca mucho the clown SE scratches a lot	**IN**	1. *Le* pica la nariz to him itches the nose
2. La niña ya está bañada the girl is already bathed	**DO**	2. *La* viste su yaya her dresses her grandma
3. Este chico tiene zumo this boy has juice	**CL/CL**	3. *Se lo* bebe todo Se it drinks all
4. Esta nena tiene calor this girl is hot	**F**	4. *ku* suda la cara ku sweats the face
5. Alex lleva gafas oscuras Alex wears glasses dark	**PSY**	5. *Le* molesta el sol to him bothers the sun
6. El niño tiene rizos the boy has curls	**DO**	6. *Lo* peina su yaya him combs his grandma

6.3.3. Procedure

After a brief introductory chat, the session began with the child being reminded about imitating the sentences. Following this, s/he was given a short pretest, to ensure that s/he was fully familiar with the task and was paying

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attention. The two pretest sentences were similar to the target sentences (they contained clitics, as shown in Table 3) and children generally did well on this pretest task. Next, the child was presented with the actual target sentences. For the most part, children did the entire test in two sessions of two batteries each (as noted, Simón 1;10 did only one battery per session). The younger children had a little playing break between the two batteries, and the session lasted for a total of about 25-30 minutes. The rest of the children simply paused for a few minutes, and the task was completed in 15 to 20 minutes. Some children handled the task with ease, and at the end of session I asked these children to imitate two six-word sentences. This was done to guide me in selecting the subjects for Experiment 2. These sentences were unrelated to the stimuli of Experiment 2 in terms of syntactic structure.

6.3.4. Transcription and Scoring

All the data were transcribed by the experimenter. The data from the 17 youngest children (77%, up to age 2;7) were transcribed independently by the investigator and by another native Spanish speaker who had worked with very young children for a number of years, but was unaware of the objectives and design of this experiment and unfamiliar with language acquisition research. When discrepancies occurred between the two transcripts, the data were listened to again by the investigator and by other native speakers that I consulted.

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To ensure reliability, several months later I listened to all the tapes once more and scored the data again for comparison with the earlier scoring.

The results were computed by two different counting methods, one including only the first imitation attempt and the other including instead the last attempt (either second or third), if repeats had been elicited. In either case, responses were computed according to the classification criteria shown in (8). The symbols in (8e), (8f) and (8g) reflect some strategies that children used when the sentence contained a pseudo clitic.[8]

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[8] A specification of the "Classification Criteria" is also provided at the end of the tables in Appendix 1. As noted there, the symbol (+) in the tables indicates that the presence of the real or pseudo clitic was carried over from the first attempt.

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(8) Classification Criteria, Experiment 1. Symbols

a. Presence of a real or pseudo clitic or of a complete cluster	+
b. Omission of a real or pseudo clitic or of a complete cluster	-
c. Omission of the first clitic of a cluster	{-}
d. Omission of the second clitic of a cluster	(-)
e. Replacement of pseudo clitic with real clitic	*
f. Replacement of pseudo clitic with lexical DP	[*]
g. Clitic + [pseudo clitic+verb][9]	{*}
h. Incomplete response (final word or two only)	#
i. No response (failure to respond at all)	n/r
j. Free response (a comment, question etc.)	f/r
k. Unclear utterance	u/u
l. Experimenter's error	e/e
m. Not presented	n/p

The scoring of the results was carried out only on the responses listed in (8a-8g). That is, responses were scored only with respect to the presence and absence of single clitics (real or pseudo) and clusters (8a-8d), and with respect to the linguistic strategies used in the case of

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[9] This refers to a case in which a child lexicalized the pseudo clitic and the verb (i.e., *ku* suda 'ku sweats' became *ku*suda) and to this created form, she added the corresponding clitic. That is, instead of repeating (i), she provided the utterance in (ii). This utterance was produced by Alicia (2;4). As shown, she also expanded this simple structure into a clitic doubling construction (CLLD, to be precise).

(i) *Ku* suda la cara
ku sweats the face

(ii) A la *nena le* kusuda la cara
to the girl CL$_{dat,sg}$ xxxxxx the face

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pseudo clitics (8e-8g).[10] The score for the first attempt only presents the omission measure, whereas the score for the last one is given both in terms of omissions and in terms of occurrences, for convenience in the evaluation of the results and to document responses to the pseudo clitics. Each correct response received one point and since there were four tokens per sentence type, the range for any sentence type was 0-4 per child. The percentage of scorable responses for each sentence type is also reported. The scoring per sentence is shown in Table 4A below and in the Tables of Appendix 1.

6.3.5. Results

The percentage presence/omission results in Tables 4B, 5B, 6B, 7B and 8 are calculated on the basis of the total scorable responses (not the total number of utterances). The percentage of scorable responses out of the total number of utterances, is reported in the corresponding Tables 4A, 5A, 6A, 7A. A summary of the major results by age group appears in Table 8.[11,12] The age range of the groups (age 1;9 to

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[10] Although the factors in (8h-8k) were considered irrelevant responses, and were nor scored, they were kept track of in order to see whether any revealing pattern emerged that distinguished one type of sentence compared with any other. This applies to the three experiments. The cases in (8l-8m) did not contribute to the data analyses.

[11] To help the reader identify the actual sentences, I have ordered the sentences here as they appear in Table 3.

[12] The percentages of omission of clusters reported in Tables 4B, 6B and 8 represent utterances in which either the whole cluster or one of the two clitics in the cluster were

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1;10, age 2;1 and 2;2 to 2;10) was chosen to reflect what appeared to be natural 'breaks' in the children's ability to produce clitics in the target structures. Unfortunately, no subjects were available at the age of 1;11 and 2;0.

Table 4A. Experiment 1: Percentage of Scorable Responses by Sentence Type.

Target S's	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
(1) Inalienable Poss. (1e)	76.7%	96.5%
(2) With Accusatives (1a)	68.4%	95.2%
(3) With Cluster (se lo/la)	67.4%	96.4%
(5) With Psych. Verbs (1e)	74.1%	100.0%
(6) With Accusatives (1o)	70.0%	98.8%
(4) S's with Pseudo Cls[13]	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
Inalienable Poss. (ku=le)	85.0%	60.0%
With Accusatives (pe=lo)	71.4%	47.6%
With Accusatives (to=la)	50.0%	72.7%
With Psych. Verbs (ku=le)	63.6%	77.3%

omitted. I present a breakdown of these combined data in the summary of results of this section. The reader may also consult the table of clusters in Appendix 1.

[13] There is an unexpected difference in scorable responses between the two sentences with accusative pseudoclitics (that is, of the results obtained with *pe* 'lo' vs *to* 'la'). I do not have an explanation for it, and can only assume it was due to other uncontrolled aspects of these sentences (se Appendix 1).

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Table 4B. Experiment 1: Presence/Omission of Clitics by Sentence Type.

Target S's	1st Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt pres.
(1) Inalienable Poss. (le)	9.0%	3.6%	96.4%
(2) With Accusatives (la)	10.2%	3.8%	96.2%
(3) With Cluster (se lo/la)	15.7%	9.7%	90.2%
(5) With Psych. Verbs (le)	8.0%	3.5%	96.5%
(6) With Accusatives (lo)	8.3%	3.6%	96.4%
(4) S's with Pseudo Cls	1st Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt pres.
Inalienable Poss. (ku=le)	41.2%	33.3%	25.0%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			33.3%
CL+[Pseudo CL+Verb]			8.3%
With Accusatives (pe=lo)	40.0%	10.0%	10.0%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			80.0%
With Accusatives (to=la)	27.3%	12.5%	12.5%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			68.7%
Pseudo CL -> Lex. DP			6.2%
With Psych. Verbs (ku=le)	14.3%	5.9%	23.5%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			70.6%

Table 5A. Experiment 1: Percentage of Scorable Responses by Clitic Case.

Target S's	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
(1)+(5) W/ Dat. CL (le)	75.4%	98.2%
(2)+(6) W/ Acc. CLs (la,lo)	69.2%	97.0%
(4) S's w/ Pseudo Cls	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
Dative (ku=le)	74.3%	68.6%
Accusatives (pe=lo;to=la)	60.7%	60.1%

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Table 5B. Experiment 1: Presence/Omission of Clitic According to Clitic Case.

Target S's	1st Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt pres.
(1)+(5) W/ Dat. CL (le)	8.5%	3.6%	96.4%
(2)+(6) W/ Acc. CLs (la,lo)	9.2%	3.7%	96.3%
(4) S's w/ Pseudo Cls	**1st Attempt omiss.**	**Last Attempt omiss.**	**Last Attempt pres.**
Datives (ku=le)	27.7%	19.6%	24.2%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			51.9%
CL+[Pseudo CL+Verb]			4.1%
Accusatives (pe=lo;to=la)	33.6%	11.2%	11.2%
Pseudo CL -> Real CL			74.3%
Pseudo CL -> Lex. DP			3.1%

Table 6A. Experiment 1: Percentage of Scorable Responses for Single Clitics vs. Clusters.

Target Sentences	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
With Single CLs (le,la,lo)	72.3%	97.3%
With Clusters (se lo, se la)	67.4%	96.4%

Table 6B. Experiment 1: Presence/Omission of Single Clitics vs. Clusters

Target Sentences	1st Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt pres.
With Single CLs (le,la,lo)	8.8%	3.6%	96.3%
With Clusters (se lo, se la)	15.7%	9.7%	90.2%

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Table 7A. Experiment 1: Percentage of Scorable Responses for Real vs. Pseudo Clitics.

Sentences	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
(1)+(2)+(3)+(5)+(6) Target	71.3%	97.4%
(4) With Pseudo CLs	67.5%	64.3%

Table 7B. Experiment 1: Real vs. Pseudo Clitics.

Sentences	1st Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt omiss.	Last Attempt pres.
(1)+(2)+(3)+(5)+(6) Target	10.2%	4.8%	95.1%
(4) With Pseudo CLs	30.7%	15.4%	17.7%
Pseudo Cl -> Real CL			63.1%
Pseudo Cl -> Lex. DP			1.5%
Cl+[Pseudo CL+Verb]			2.0%

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Table 8. Experiment 1: Summary of Major Results by Age Group

Age Group	Sentence Type	1st Attempt		Last Attempt		
		Scorable responses	% omiss.	Scorable responses	Percentage omiss.	pres.
1;9 to 1;10 (n=4)	Target					
	W/ single CLs (1)+(2)+(5)+(6)	52.6%	43.2%	92.7%	17.7%	82.3%
	W/ a cluster (3)	64.6%	75.0%	83.0%	56.2%	43.7%
	W/ Pseudo CLs (4)	25.0%	100.0%	43.7%	83.5%	00.0%
	Pseudo-> Lex DP					16.5%
2;1 (n=3)	Target					
	W/ single CLs (1)+(2)+(5)+(6)	56.2%	24.3%	100.0%	4.1%	95.8%
	W/ a cluster (3)	33.3%	16.7%	91.7%	16.7%	83.3%
	W/ Pseudo CLs (4)	58.3%	70.8%	66.7%	33.3%	00.0%
	Pseudo -> CL					66.7%
2;2 to 2;10 (n=15)	Target					
	W/ single CLs (1)+(2)+(5)+(6)	78.3%	1.7%	98.2%	0.0%	100.0%
	W/ a cluster (3)	73.3%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	W/ Pseudo CLs (4)	76.7%	17.2%	70.0%	5.5%	18.3%
	Pseudo -> CL					74.5%
	Pseudo+V ... -> CL+[Pseudo+V]..					1.7%

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Summary of Results

The main difference between the first repetition attempt and the last is that the non-scorable responses (cf. 8h to 8k) declined considerably, so I will focus here on this final attempt. It should be noted that none of the numbers presented here are large enough to warrant statistical treatment. The numerical results reveal the following:

1. *Real Clitics*

1a. Clitics are already present by 1;9-1;10; however, during this early stage, the numbers are lower than they are latter (92.7% scorable responses for single clitics) and omissions occurred more frequently (17.7% mean for single clitics). The lack of clusters is more frequent at this time (56.2% omissions out of 83.0% scorable responses). Children 1;9 to 1;10 sometimes omit one clitic of a cluster (first or second) or both. (Of the global 56.2% of omissions, 42.2% represent lack of the full cluster, 7% of the first clitic and 7% of the second clitic. In other words, when the youngest children found clusters too difficult, they typically omitted the whole cluster.

1b. Somewhere between 1;11 - 2;1 (no intermediate data available), clitics became better established since the number of omissions has decreased considerably by 2;1. The mean of single clitic omissions at 2;1 is 4.1% out of

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100% scorable responses. The omission of clusters at 2;1 also lowers to 16.7% out of 91.7% scorable responses. (Of the global 16.7% of omissions, 8.3% represent lack of the full cluster and 8.3% of the first clitic. No omissions of the second clitic are recorded at this time.)

1c. In the oldest age group (from 2;2 to 2;10), the scorable responses were very high (98.2% and 100% for single clitics and clusters respectively) and no omissions were found of either single clitics or clusters. This result shows that clitics are well established in the child's grammar by 2;2.

2. *Pseudo Clitics*

In the two first age groups the percentage of omissions of pseudo clitics is much higher than for real clitics (83.5% vs. 17.7% up to 1;10, and 33.3% vs. 4.1% by 2;1), suggesting that these children are not simply parroting the experimenter's words. It is also worth mentioning that children omit the pseudo clitic more often when it has a less transparent meaning: Inalienable (33.3%) versus the other types of sentences (10.0%, 12.5% and 5.9% for masculine accusative, feminine accusative and sentences with psychological verbs respectively). The remainder of the responses to pseudo clitics consist of alterations of the pseudo clitics into real clitics. Alterations are even more frequent after 2;2. This

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reinforces the conclusion that the real clitics were recognized as such, not just repeated as nonsense syllables. Only among the older children were found instances of repetitions of the pseudo clitics (three of the oldest children repeated exactly what they had heard, apparently fully aware that the utterance was amusing because it contained a nonsense word) and even then the percentage was very small compared with the percentage of real clitics uttered in the target sentences (18.3% vs. 100% respectively). This evidence from pseudo clitics converges with the other reasons to believe that children identified clitics from their earliest productions (e.g., the fact that there was a perfect distribution of a variety of clitics in a variety of contexts; see below). Similar results were also obtained with respect to the ordering of clitics in clusters. When children uttered them their performance was always accurate.

3. *Lexical DPs*

No substitutions are found of clitics by full lexical DPs (except in the case of pseudoclitics). This result diverges from Schaeffer's experimental research on Italian. This author found a considerable number of full DPs (e.g., 23% DPs vs. 62% clitics and 15% omissions from 3;1 to 3;11, mean age of 11 subjects 3;5) when 15 adults used only clitics. Similar findings are reported by

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Jakubowicz *et al.* for French (see Chapter V note 23 for details). These authors show that children (n=9, age 2;3;20 to 2;5;29) were using about three times more lexical DPs than adults (10 subjects) using the same experimental task. A high proportion of lexical DP objects vs. clitics in the early stages of language development is also reported by Guasti for Italian (see Chapter V Section 5.3) and Friedemann and Haegeman for French and Dutch respectively (see Chapter V note 23). These three studies, however, are based on spontaneous production data and the authors did not examine the discourse context or check the adult usage of clitics vs. lexical DPs in the same contexts. I have consulted the spontaneous utterances produced by the subjects of the studies reported in this chapter and there are no cases in which the use of the lexical DP was inappropriate and only two cases where in my judgement a clitic would be as good. The sample of data, however, is very small in size and I deliberately guided the conversation to give the child many opportunities for discourse reference. The investigation of the spontaneous longitudinal data discussed in Chapter VII is more comparable to Guasti's study of Italian. I will also examine there (Section 7.6) child and adult speech in parallel looking closely at the discourse context.

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4. *Production errors*

The only production (non-omission) errors found for the real clitics are lexical alterations of clitics from *la/lo* to *le*. Although the dialect spoken in Zaragoza (Spain) is not typically *leísta* this phenomenon is so irregularly spread that these could very well be instances of leísmo. This seems especially likely in the case of two children who almost consistently altered *la* and *lo* to *le*. One was the oldest child in the study.

5. *Sentence Type*

A slight effect of sentence type was found in the first and second age group. In the first: Inalienable, 27.0% omission vs. 18.7% for masculine accusative clitics, 12.5% for feminine accusative clitics, and 12.5% for clitics with psychological verbs. In the second age group, the numbers are even lower: 8.3% omission for feminine accusative clitics and 8.3% for datives with psychological verbs vs. no omissions in the rest of the sentences with single clitics.

As mentioned under point 1, a difference was found between sentences with single and double clitics. In the first age group the average omission of single clitics is 17.7% whereas the percentage of omissions of clusters (a combination of complete clusters and of one of the two clitics in the cluster) is 56.2%. In the second age group

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the number of omissions decreases considerably (4.1 vs. 16.7, for single clitics and clusters, respectively) yet the ratio is about the same. No difference is observed in the oldest age group where children performed perfectly with single and double clitics. As expected, clusters are harder to produce than single clitics, but apparently only up to the beginning of the second year.

6. *Case*

There is a very slight difference between dative and accusative clitics in the first age group (a mean of 19.7% vs. 15.6% of omissions respectively) and no difference at all (zero) in the second and third groups where the mean of omissions by clitic type is 4.1% and 0.0%, for the groups respectively. As will be discussed below, this finding is compatible with the syntactical analysis presented in Chapter IV where both types of clitics are considered to have determiner-like properties.

In summary, the results obtained basically confirm the earlier observations by Guasti on Italian that clitic knowledge is in place by about 2;1. Performance at this age is better than in Guasti's study with respect to the presence of clitics (95.8% and 83.3% for single clitics and clusters respectively in Spanish versus 45% - I presume both combined -in Italian) mainly as a result of a high presence of lexical DPs (37.5%) in Italian. It is relevant here, however, as has

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been noted above, that Guasti's study did not examine the discourse context to verify what proportion of clitics and lexical complements (DPs or PPs) an adult would have used in comparable contexts. It is not clear, therefore, whether the presence of the clitic - rather than the lexical complement - would have been more felicitous. Presumably, in some or most cases the non-use of a clitic was perfectly acceptable. By contrast, in the present study, a clitic was more or less obligatory in the contexts tested.

The Spanish results also show that performance soon starts to be adult-like (100% for single clitics and clusters from the age of 2;2). The subjects of Guasti's study never reached 100% use of clitics (they continued using a significant amount of full lexical DPs through the entire period) though omissions ceased almost entirely by the age of 2;5 (2.1%). This is presumably for the reason noted, viz. that some uses of lexical DPs rather than clitics were acceptable in the Italian experiment.

As noted, Schaeffer's (1997) experimental results in Italian differ considerably from Guasti's (Schaeffer observed 22% of clitics, 64% of omisssions and 14% of full DPs versus Guasti's 46% of clitics 8.4% of omissions 43.9% of full DPs and 2.6% PSD from 2;1 to 2;6 or 2;7). The fact that the results were obtained from two different tasks (experimental vs. spontaneous production) is most likely a very relevant factor. Schaeffer's findings differ even more so from the

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Spanish data provided in this Chapter. The results presented in Chapter VII obtained from a longitudinal study of spontaneous production will help us settle these issues further.

6.4. EXPERIMENT 2: CLITIC DOUBLING (CLDP & CLLD)

Experiment 2 was designed to assess children's production of standard clitic doubling (CLDP) and left dislocation (CLLD) constructions.[14] Few studies have investigated these structures directly or tangentially.[15] The only experimental study on the acquisition of Peninsular Spanish that I am aware of is Varela (1988). As indicated in Chapter V, Varela's study focuses on standard lexical dative doubling only and the subjects are considerably older (2;11-4;1, average age: 3;9) than those in Experiment 2 of the current study (2;2-2;10, average age 2;4). The relevant aspects of her data are presented above (Chapter V Section 5.1).

Experiment 2 was designed to evaluate the factors in (9).

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[14] I would like to remind the reader that no instances of clitic right dislocation (CLRD) were tested.

[15] Torrens and Wexler (1996; 2000) have contributed mainly with respect to the acquisition of CLDP. Their research, however, is done by means of longitudinal data on spontaneous production. I have referred to this study in Chapter V.

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(9) (i) When clitic doubling in general is acquired.

(ii) Whether children omit the clitic or the double element.

(iii) Whether clitic doubling is present more often with lexical DPs or with strong pronouns.

(iv) Whether the acquisition of doubling supports Kayne's Uniformity hypothesis. In particular, whether standard doubling (CLDP) and left dislocation (CLLD) are acquired simultaneously, as would be expected if they are two instances of the same phenomenon. The relevant aspects of this proposal appear in Chapter IV Section 4.2. above.

6.4.1. Subjects

The subjects in this experiment were 12 of the initial 22 who participated in Experiment 1. The ages of these children ranged from 2;2 to 2;10. These were children who had done well in Experiment 1 and had also handled six-word sentences well in an informal pretest (see section 6.2.3 above). Three other children (Jorge (2;2), Andrea (2;3) and Jael (2;3)) would also have been good candidates, but they were not available for testing in this experiment.[16] Some

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[16] As a note of interest: In Experiment I, Jorge turned almost every instance of *simple cliticization* in the input into one of *clitic doubling*, either standard doubling (e.g., (i), (ii) and (iii)) or right dislocation (e.g., (iv)).

(i) Experimenter: Le gusta la tele
her(DAT) pleases the TV

Jorge: Le gu(s)ta la tele a la nena pequeñita que está así [así = en cuclillas]
her(DAT) pleases the TV to the little girl who is like this [like this = squatting]

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spontaneous utterances by these three children will be provided in Appendix 4.

6.4.2. Stimuli

The target stimuli used in this experiment consisted of single-clause CLDP and CLLD structures with lexical and pronominal dative and accusative doubles. As in the previous experiment, all these sentences involved reference to an individual already in the discourse and thus the presence of the clitic was virtually obligatory in the discourse context given (see Table 9 below). However, the occurrence of a double (lexical or pronominal) is not obligatory, since the presence of the clitic does not force the double to appear in any context. That is, the *cl .... pro* alternative (an instance of *Simple Cliticization*, as tested in Experiment 1) is always an option. *Simple Cliticization* structures, and sentences with a lexical object DP and no clitic (with a

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(ii) Experimenter: Le pica la nariz
him(DAT) itches the nose

Jorge: Le pica la nariz al Espinete
him(DAT) itches the nose to Espinete [Espinete = a clown]

(iii) Experimenter: Se la da Pili [la = the ball]
him(DAT) it(ACC) gives Pili

Jorge: Se la da al nene que estaba en el columpio
him(DAT) it(ACC) gives to the boy who was in the swing

(iv) Experimenter: Lo duerme su mamá
him(ACC) puts to sleep his mommy

Jorge: Lo duerme su mamá, al nene
him(ACC) puts to sleep his mommy, to the little boy

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roughly equal processing complexity, i.e., same number of words) were included in the input as control sentences.

Like in Experiment 1, the target sentences were structures that expressed an *inalienable possession* (e.g., *crecer el cuello/un diente* 'to grow the neck/a tooth'), that contained *psychological verbs* (e.g., *gustar* 'to please' and *alegrar* 'to cheer up') or that had *transitive* verbs (e.g., *llamar* 'to call', *lavar* 'to wash', *pedir* 'to ask for', *querer* 'to love', *dar* 'to give', *cuidar* 'to take care of', *mover* 'to move' and *tener* 'to have'). The control sentences contained all these transitive verbs except *llamar* 'to call' and *querer* 'to love' and in addition had *abrir* 'to open'). Each verb was used in two different environments, one for each of two batteries of sentences.

As mentioned, the clitics were all third person singular, and specified for Case: dative (*le*) and accusative. The accusatives were marked for gender: masculine (*lo*) and feminine (*la*). No clusters were included here.

The target sentences were 4 instances of CLDP and 4 of CLLD. Both constructions included two tokens with a lexical DP double (a dative and an accusative) and two with a pronominal double (a dative and an accusative). In the case of CLDP, however, the lexical accusative doubling option is not allowed in this dialect (nor in most other Spanish varieties). It was used to see whether children were really

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aware of the distributional constraints on doubling.[17] If responses to this sentence diverged considerably from responses to grammatical CLDP, one can assume that children are aware of the distributional properties of CLDP in the target language. On the other hand, if children responded similarly in the grammatical and in the ungrammatical sentences, this would be an indication that the clitic in the lexical accusative context has not been differentiated in this respect from the dative. In Kayne's terms it would have (partial) dative properties (see Chapter IV Section 4.2.1). Then, we could suggest that the structure is assimilated to dative clitic doubling, just as in the adult grammar of Basque and River Plate Spanish.

As noted, the control sentences were 4 instances with no doubling (but of equal processing complexity): two tokens of *Simple Cliticization* (one dative and one accusative), as in (10c), and two utterances with a lexical object DP and no clitic, as in (10d).[18] The environment for the CLDP and CLLD structures is shown in (10a) and (10b), respectively.

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[17] I hesitated about giving the children an ungrammatical sentence in the imitation task, in case they construed it as evidence of acceptability in their target language, but on balance I decided to include it. The results indicate that the children did recognize it as ungrammatical; see section 6.4.5 below.

[18] I remind the reader that the equivalent pronominal object DP form is not allowed if the clitic is not present. Thus, it cannot be used as a control sentence in alternation with the object lexical DP.

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(10) a. Cl Verb$_{fin}$ ..... Lex/pron DP

b. Lex/Pron DP ..... CL Verb$_{fin}$

c. CL Verb$_{fin}$ ..... pro

d. ϕ ..... Verb$_{fin}$ Lex DP

The total number of sentences is 12: 4 of (a), 4 of (b), 2 of (c) and 2 of (d). All these sentences were equated for number of words (6) and for a similar number of syllables. A 4-word sentence would have been sufficient to test these structures (e.g., *la quieren a ella* 'they her love her'), but since the age range in this experiment is higher than in Experiment 1, to make the task more challenging (and thus to prevent any suspicion of rote imitation), I included six words. I was also concerned that some 4-word sentences could sound odd, even when preceded by a referential discourse context (e.g., *a Raquel le crece* 'to Raquel CL$_{dat}$ grows' with a *pro* subject).

Two equivalent batteries (1 and 2) with an inverted order of trials were presented for a total of 16 target sentences (8 instances of CLLD and 8 of CLDP) and 8 control sentences (4 tokens of simple cliticization and 4 with a lexical DP object and no clitic). A sample of each target sentence and one token per control type appears in Table 9. With CLLD, as in the first example here, the subject is postverbal; this is the natural word order in Spanish. With psychological verbs it is also natural for the theme to follow the verb. The complete sentence batteries for Experiment 2 appear in Appendix 2.

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Table 9. Input sample

Discourse Context (for the first sentence below)

Esta es la leona Vanesa y éste es su cachorro:
el leoncico Gino. La mamá leona dice: Ven Gino,
hijico, la comida está preparada.

(This is the female lion Vanesa and this is her cub:
the little lion Gino. The mommy lion says: Come Gino,
little son, lunch is ready).

Target Sentences

A Gino lo llama su mamá to Gino CL(ACC) calls his mommy	(CLLDlex,acc,masc)
A Raquel le crece el cuello to Raquel CL(DAT) grows the neck	(CLLDlex,dat,fem)
A él le alegra su canción to him CL(DAT) delights his song	(CLLDpron,dat,masc)
A ella la cuida un señor to her CL(ACC) takes care of a gentleman	(CLLDpron,acc,fem)
Le gusta el hueso a él CL(DAT) pleases the bone to him	(CLDPpron,dat,masc)
*El caballico la mueve la cola the little horse CL(ACC) moves the tail	(CLDPlex,acc,fem)
Los gaticos la quieren a ella the kittens CL(ACC) love to her	(CLDPpron,acc,fem)
Mariela le da vueltas al balón Mariela CL(DAT) spins the ball	(CLDPlex,dat,masc)

Control Sentences

Lo lava su mamá con jabón CL(ACC) washes his mommy with soap	(CLacc,masc - pro)
Tilo tiene un diente muy grande Tilo has a tooth very big	(ϕ - DPlex,acc,masc)

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6.4.3. Procedure

The children had successfully imitated sentences in Experiment 1, and then longer sentences also, so no pretest trials were included in Experiment 2. However, before exposure to the stimuli, I reminded each child of the task and we practiced informally with a few examples related to the warm up conversation we were engaged in. Following this, the child was presented with the input sentences for imitation. The entire list was completed in one session of about 20 minutes, with a brief break in the middle if I judged they needed to pause. The 12 children were divided into two groups both including children from across the age range. Each group received one order of the target sentences (i.e., one of the two batteries). All children completed the entire experiment.

6.4.4. Transcription and Scoring

The data for all children were transcribed by the experimenter. For the 7 youngest children (58%, up to age 2;7), the data were also transcribed independently by the same consultant as for Experiment 1 (a native Spanish speaker who had worked with young children, but was unaware of the objectives of the experiment). When discrepancies occurred between the two transcripts, the data were listened to again by the investigator and by several other native speakers that I consulted. For extra reliability, I listened to all the

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recordings once more several months later and scored them again for comparison with the earlier transcriptions.

As in Experiment 1, the results were computed in two different counts, one for the first elicited imitation and another for the last one (either 2nd or 3rd), if a repetition had been presented. In either attempt, responses were classified according to the Classification Criteria stated in (11).[19]

(11) Classification Criteria, Experiment 2.

		Symbols
a.	Presence of clitic doubling: CLDP and CLLD	+
b.	Presence of the clitic in the control sentences	+
c.	Presence of the lexical DP in the control sentences	*
d.	Omission of the clitic (in all sentence types)	-
e.	Omission of the object DP (in all sentence types)	[-]
f.	A simple clitic sentence altered to CLDP	[+]
g.	Alteration of CLLD into CLDP or vice versa	[*]
h.	Strategies used in ungrammatical $CLDP_{lex,acc}$ Ss[20]	{*}
i.	Incomplete response (final word or two only)	#
j.	No response (failure to respond at all)	n/r
k.	Free response (a comment, question etc.)	f/r

[19] A detailed specification of the Classification Criteria is also provided at the end of the tables in Appendix 2. As noted there, the symbols (+) and (*) indicate that the tested structure was already present in the first attempt and it is carried over from there.

[20] To avoid using this ungrammatical sentence, some children resorted to various strategies. I will present them at the end of this section, in the discussion of results.

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The scoring of the results was carried out only with respect to the factors in (11a) to (11h). That is, according to the absence or presence of CLDP and CLLD in the target sentences, the absence or presence of the clitic or the object DP in the controls, and with respect to the points in (11f-11h). As said above (note 10), the factors in (11i-11k) were considered irrelevant responses and were not scored. Like in Experiment 1, in the first attempt only the omission measure is presented, whereas in the last one both omissions and occurrences are made available for an evaluation of the results. Each correct response received one point and since there were four tokens per sentence type (two lexical and two pronominal), the range for any sentence type was 0-4 (or 0-2, if lexical and pronominal are counted separately) per child. The percentage of scorable responses for each sentence type was also computed, as the basis for percentage measures of correctness. A detailed break-down of the scoring per sentence is presented in Tables (10A) and (11A) below and in the Tables of Appendix 2.

6.4.5. Results

The percentage presence/omission results in Tables 10B and 11B) are calculated on the basis of the total scorable responses (not the total number of utterances). As noted, the percentage of scorable responses, out of the total number of utterances, is reported in the corresponding Tables 10A and

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11A. The data in Table 11A are the same as in Table 10A but rearranged. The same applies to the data in 11B and 10B. Since age was not a factor within the subjects of this study of doubling, all subjects (2;2-2;10) were analyzed as a single group.

Table 10A. Experiment 2: Percentage of Responses that were Scorable, for Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD).

TARGET SENTENCES	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
CLDP		
Pronominal Accusative	75.0%	100.0%
Pronominal Dative	66.6%	100.0%
Lexical Dative	75.0%	91.7%
Mean	72.2%	97.2%
* Lexical Accusative	83.3%	91.7%
CLLD		
Pronoinal Accusative	83.3%	100.0%
Pronominal Dative	83.3%	100.0%
Lexical Accusative	75.0%	91.7%
Lexical Dative	66.7%	100.0%
Mean	77.1%	97.9%

CONTROL SENTENCES	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
CLacc ..... pro	91.7%	100.0%
CLdat ..... pro	83.3%	100.0%
ϕ .... Lex. DP_{acc}	91.7%	100.0%
ϕ .... Lex. DP_{dat}	66.7%	100.0%

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Table 10B. Experiment 2: Presence/Absence of Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD).

TARGET SENTENCES	1st Attempt omiss.		Last Attempt omiss.		pres.	other	
CLDP	CL	Lex.DP	CL	Lex.DP			
Pronominal Acc.	0.0%	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
Pronominal Dat.	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	8.3%	91.6%		
Lexical Dat.	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%		
Mean	0.0%	15.3%	0.0%	5.8%	94.2%		
						CLLD	other
* Lexical Acc.	20.0%	10.0%	27.3%	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%	45.4%
CLLD							
						CLDP	
Pronominal Acc.	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	16.6%	83.4%		
Pronominal Dat.	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	8.3%	83.3%	8.3%	
Lexical Acc.	0.0%	22.2%	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%		
Lexical Dat.	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	8.3%	91.7%		
Mean	0.0%	18.7%	0.0%	10.6%	87.3%		

CONTROL SENTENCES	1st Attempt omiss.		Last Attempt omiss.		pres.
	CL	Lex.DP	CL	Lex.DP	
CL_{acc} .... pro	0.0%	----	0.0%	----	100.0%
CL_{dat} .... pro	20.0%	----	8.3%	----	91.0%
ϕ ... Lex. DP_{acc}	----	0.0%	----	0.0%	100.0%
ϕ ... Lex. DP_{dat}	----	0.0%	----	0.0%	100.0%

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Table 11A. Experiment 2: Percentage of Responses that were Scorable, for Pronominal versus Lexical Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD).

PRONOMINAL DOUBLING	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
CLDP		
Accusative	75.0%	100.0%
Dative	66.6%	100.0%
Mean	70.8%	100.0%
CLLD		
Accusative	83.3%	100.0%
Dative	83.3%	100.0%
Mean	83.3%	100.0%
LEXICAL DOUBLING	**1st Attempt (scorable)**	**Last Attempt (scorable)**
CLDP		
Dative	75.0%	91.7%
CLLD		
Accusative	75.0%	91.7%
Dative	66.7%	100.0%
Mean	70.8%	95.8%

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Table 11B. Experiment 2: Presence/Absence of Pronominal vesus Lexical Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD).

PRONOMINAL DOUBLING	1st Attempt omiss.		Last Attempt omiss.		pres.	other (CLDP)
CLDP	CL	Lex.DP	CL	Lex. DP		
Accusative	0.0%	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Dative	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	8.3%	91.6%	
Mean	0.0%	17.3%	0.0%	4.1%	95.8%	
CLLD						
Accusative	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	16.6%	83.4%	
Dative	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	8.3%	83.3%	8.3%
Mean	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	12.4%	83.3%	

LEXICAL DOUBLING	1st Attempt omiss.		Last Attempt omiss.		pres.
CLDP	CL	Lex. DP	CL	Lex.DP	
Dative	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%
CLLD					
Accusative	0.0%	22.2%	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%
Dative	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	8.3%	91.7%
Mean	0.0%	17.3%	0.0%	8.7%	91.3%

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Summary of Results

As for the previous experiment, I will discuss the results obtained in the last imitation:

1. Standard doubling (CLDP), excluding lexical accusative: A 94.2% correct average over all children. Only two, Laura (2;3) and Patri (2;7) scored less than 100%.

2. Left Dislocation (CLLD): 87.3% correct overall. All subjects scored 100%, except Laura and Patri (25% and 50%, respectively). Obviously, these two children had difficulty with doubling in general.

3. In 8.3% of one of the four CLLD targets, the child changed this structure to CLDP. This suggests that the difference in accuracy between CLLD and CLDP is due to a slight dispreference for dislocation. In terms of the syntactic analysis presented in Chapter IV, this can be attributed to the fact that CLLD involves an extra syntactic derivational step than CLDP.

4. Errors on CLDP and CLLD (other than change to CLDP) are due to the omission of the double, not of the clitic. Omission suggests a preference for *simple cliticization*. The preference for omitting the double indicates that children were aware that it was not required, and suggests they also knew that to omit the clitic would have been

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ungrammatical (or in one case it would have altered the intended meaning).

5. A slight difference was shown between lexical and pronominal CLDP (90.9 vs. 95.8% correct respectively). The same occurred on CLLD but in this case the lexical option scored higher than the pronominal (91.3% vs. 83.3% correct respectively). Most probably these differences are not significant in a statistical sense; recall that no statistical tests were conducted due to the relatively small number of observations in each condition.

6. One ungrammatical lexical accusative CLDP target sentence was presented. Only the oldest child repeated it exactly (Isabel 2;10). Some children omitted the clitic (27.3%) and one omitted the lexical object DP (9.1%), making it a well-formed sentence with a lexical DP object or a clitic (that is, like the two constructions presented for control). In addition, 45.4% of the time children used different strategies which had the effect of making the sentence grammatical. For instance, in one case (sentence #8, Battery 1: El caballico la mueve la cola 'the little horse it moves the tail'), the doubling accusative clitic *la* was changed to *se* (reflexive) or the dative *le* (to him/her). In the other case (sentence #5, Battery 2: La llama a Pina su amiga 'CL$_{acc}$ calls Pina$_{acc}$ her friend$_{nom}$'), one child turned it into a focus structure: La llama PINA

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su amiga 'CLacc calls PINA her friendnom' by dropping the object marker. These sentences are grammatical, but the meaning was altered. That is, to avoid using a structurally deviant sentence, children did not respect the discourse content provided. Finally, one child turned sentence #5 into an instance of CLLD (A Pina la llama su amiga 'to Pina CLacc call her friend'). Since one other child (see point 3 above) changed a CLLD utterance into CLDP, it is not clear whether this alteration was done to save the structure.

7. Accuracy on the control sentences (without clitic or without double) was 100%, except one instance that contained a cluster (91.7%).

In sum:

Children showed knowledge of all the clitic chains tested, already at 2;2 (previously, Varela showed competence by 2;11-4;1 with lexical datives, but did not test younger children). The results are also compatible with Kayne's (1994) proposal that standard doubling (CLDP), and left dislocation (CLLP) (also right dislocation, CLRD, not tested here) are closely related instances of the more general phenomenon of clitic doubling and abide by the syntactic analysis presented in Chapter IV.

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A note of interest is that the only systematic changes from the given input occurred in cases of pseudo clitics (Experiment 1) and doubling with lexical direct objects (Experiment 2); that is, when the input was not grammatical. By making these changes, children indicate that they do not find these structures acceptable. This is an indirect form of ungrammaticality judgement, not unlike the explicit judgements elicited by McDaniel and Cairns (1996, and earlier research). Thus, the present finding supports these author's claim that children are able to detect ungrammaticality at a very early age.

6.5. EXPERIMENT 3: CLITICS IN INFINITIVE CONTEXTS

The third experiment was mainly designed to observe if children could attach a clitic to an infinitive verb. More specifically, its aim was to explore the factors in (12).

(12) (i) When clitics are first acquired in infinitive contexts.

(ii) Whether children omit clitics in infinitival contexts or are consistent in their usage of them.

(iii) How pervasive is the postulated tendency of children to climb clitics.

(iv) Whether children copy clitics rather than moving them, in climbing contexts (which is ungrammatical in adult Spanish).

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6.5.1. Subjects

The subjects of this study were 15 of the initial 22 children who participated in Experiment 1. The ages of these children ranged from 2;1 to 2;10. Unfortunately, the four youngest children (1;9 to 1;10) were unable to participate. Their data would have been very relevant to look for a parallelism between the first occurrences of clitics in finite and infinitive contexts. Three other children also dropped out for various reasons; one was 2;1 and two were 2;3. Some information, though, can be obtained from a few instances of their spontaneous utterances. Two examples from Oscar (1;9) are reported in (13) below, where he does clitic climbing once in a *estar*+Vgerund structure (13a) and twice with the verb *querer* 'to want' (13b). For a sample of other cases, the reader may consult Appendix 4 Section 3.

(13) a. Exp: - Este chico está colgado en la rama del árbol
This boy is hanging from the branch of the tree
Oscar: - La está ro(m)piendo
He it is breaking

b. Context: We had been placing some adhesive numbers on a blackboard and Oscar wanted to remove them. He said to me clearly, and not based on a similar utterance of mine:

Oscar: Los qu(i)ero quitar
I them want to remove

Context: We removed them. Then, he said again:

Oscar: Los qu(i)ero poner
I them want to put on

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6.5.2. Stimuli

The stimuli used in this experiment consisted of two-verb sentences with one or two clitics enclitic to the final infinitive verb. These sentences vary with respect to whether or not they allow clitic climbing. The structures that allow climbing contain *restructuring* verbs (modals, aspectual and movement). The non-climbing sentences contain mostly *non-restructuring* verbs and *adverbial infinitives*; even though *venir* is otherwise a restructuring verb (when taking an infinitival CP-complement with the prepositional complementizer *a*), when it takes a PP-complement headed by *de* 'from' (as in (15.1c)) it does not allow clitic-climbing since restructuring across an intervening preposition is impossible. The specific verbs used are shown in (14) and (15).

(14) Structures that allow clitic climbing

1. With restructuring Verbs

a. Modals: *tener*$_{fin}$ *que+inf* 'have+inf'
saber$_{fin}$+inf 'know how+inf'
querer$_{fin}$+inf 'want+inf'

b. Aspectual: *ir*$_{fin}$ *a+inf* 'going+inf' (=intention)

c. Movement: *ir*$_{fin}$ *a+inf* 'going+inf' (=physical motion)

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(15) Non-clitic-climbing constructions

1. With other Verbs

a. *hay que+inf* 'one has+inf' (=obligation)

b. *tratar*$_{fin}$ *de+inf* 'try+inf' (=effort)

c. *venir*$_{fin}$ *de+inf* 'come back from+gerund' (=motion)

2. With adverbial infinitives

a. *ir*$_{fin}$ *sin+inf* 'going without+gerund'

b. *jugar*$_{fin}$ *sin+inf* 'play without+gerund'

c. *saltar*$_{fin}$ *sin+inf* 'jump without+gerund'

As in the two previous experiments, the clitics were all third person singular, specified for Case: dative (*le*) and accusative, with the accusative marked for gender: masculine (*lo*) and feminine (*la*). The clusters were *se lo* and *se la*.

The total number of sentences was 12, six of which allow climbing (4 with modal verbs, 1 with an aspectual and one with a movement verb) and another six which do not allow it (3 with other verbs and 3 with adverbial infinitives). The sentences that allow climbing and the ones which do not allow it were alternated evenly. No ungrammatical sentences were presented in this study. The environment tested is shown in (16).

(16) $Verb_{fin}$ + $Verb_{inf}$+CL

Note that no sentences with climbed clitics were presented though the verbs choices were designed with climbing in mind.

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All sentences were equated for number of words (3) and for a similar number of syllables. A single battery of 12 sentences was administered to all subjects. A sample of each type of sentence appears in Table 12. The complete battery can be found in Appendix 3.

Table 12. Input sample

Discourse Context (for the first sentence below)

Este es el cocodrilo Birilo. No quiere ir al cole porque ha perdido su libro. Di:

(This is the crocodile Birilo. He does not want to go to school because he has lost his book. Say:)

Target Sentences

Tienes que buscarlo you have to find-CL	(Climbing is allowed)
Hay que cuidarla one has to take care of-CL	(Climbing is not allowed)
Va a echársela she is going to throw-CL/CL	(Climbing is allowed)
Va sin avisarle he goes without warning-CL	(Climbing is not allowed)

6.5.3. Procedure

Before exposing them to the stimuli, I made sure that the children were familiar with two verbs I thought might be less frequent in their vocabulary: *tratar de* 'to try to' and *avisar* 'to warn'. I used them cautiously (not to include clitics)

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and I elicited their production of them in the informal talk that preceded each session. Then, I reminded them of the task. The entire list was repeated by most children in one uninterrupted session of 15 to 20 minutes. All 15 children completed the experiment.

6.5.4. Transcription and Scoring

Once again, all the data were transcribed by the investigator, and the data for the 10 youngest children (67%, up to age 2;7) were transcribed independently by the consultant who had transcribed the data in Experiments 1 and 2. When discrepancies occurred between the two transcripts, the recordings were listened to again by the investigator and by several other native speakers that I consulted. Also I listened to all the recordings once more several months later and scored them again to check the earlier judgments.

As in the two previous studies, the results were computed by two different counting methods, one including only the first imitation attempt and the other including instead the last attempt (either second or third), if repeats had been elicited. In either attempt, responses were classified according to the classification criteria established in (17 below).[21]

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[21] A detailed specification of the Classification Criteria is also provided at the end of the tables in Appendix 3. As noted there, the symbol (+) indicates that the tested structure is carried over from the first attempt.

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(17) Classification Criteria, Experiment 3. Symbols

a.	Presence of a single clitic or of a whole cluster	+
b.	Omission of a single clitic or of a whole cluster	-
c.	Omission of the 1st clitic in the cluster	{-}
d.	Omission of the 2nd clitic in the cluster	(-)
e.	Frequency of clitic climbing	*
f.	Clitic copying (ungrammatical)	< >
g.	Incomplete response (final word or two only)	#
h.	No response (failure to respond at all)	n/r
i.	Free response (a comment, question etc.)	f/r

The scoring of the results was carried out only for the factors in (17a) to (17f); that is, with respect to the presence or absence of one or two clitics (17a-17d) and according to whether or not the results showed climbing or copying (17e and 17f). Each correct response received one point and since there were six tokens per context type (climbing vs. non-climbing contexts), the range for each context was 0-6 and the total 0-12 per child. A detailed break-down of the scoring per sentence is presented in Appendix 3.

6.5.5 Results

The percentage of the results in Table 12B are calculated on the basis of the total scorable responses (not the total number of utterances). The percentage of scorable responses, for Table 12B is reported in Table 12A. Since age was not a factor within the subjects of this study of clitics in

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infinitive contexts, all subjects (2;1-2;10), were analyzed as a single group.

Table 12A. Experiment 3: Percentage of Scorable Responses by Sentence Type (Infinitive Contexts).

CLIMBING IS ALLOWED	1st Attempt (scorable)	Last Attempt (scorable)
Restruct. Verbs		
Modal		
Tiene que+inf+CL	80.0%	100.0%
Sabe+inf+CL	73.0%	100.0%
Quiere+inf+CL	86.7%	100.0%
Aspectual		
Va a+inf+CL (intention)	80.0%	100.0%
Movement		
Va a+inf+CL (motion)	80.0%	93.3%
CLIMBING IS NOT ALLOWED	**1st Attempt (scorable)**	**Last Attempt (scorable)**
Other Verbs		
Hay que+inf+CL (obligation)	80.0%	100.0%
Trata de+inf+CL (effort)	66.7%	80.0%
Viene de+inf+CL (motion)	93.3%	86.7%
Adverbial Inf.		
Va sin inf+CL	60.0%	93.3%
Juega sin inf+CL	93.3%	100.0%
Salta sin inf+CL	86.7%	100.0%

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Table 12B. Experiment 3: Clitics (Encliticization to embedded verb) in Infinitive Contexts.

CLIMBING IS ALLOWED	1st Attempt omiss. CL	CL/CL	pres.	other CLCL	Copy	Last Attempt omiss.	pres.	other Copy
Restruc. Verbs								
Modal								
Tiene que+inf+CL	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%	0.0%		0.0%	100.0%	
Sabe+inf+CL	0.0%		90.0%	9.0%		0.0%	100.0%	
Quiere+inf+CL	0.0%		84.6%	15.3%		0.0%	93.3%	6.7%
Aspectual								
Va a+inf+CL (intention)	0.0%	8.3%	83.3%	8.3%		0.0%	100.0%	
Movement								
Va a+inf+CL (motion)	0.0%		83.3%		16.7%	0.0%	100.0%	

CLIMBING IS NOT ALLOWED	1st Attempt omiss.	pres.	Last Attempt omiss.	pres.
Other Verbs				
Hay que+inf+CL (obligation)	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Trata de+inf+CL (effort)	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Viene de inf+CL (motion)	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Adverbial Inf.				
Va sin inf+CL	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Juega sin inf+CL	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Salta sin inf+CL	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Note. CL/CL = clitic cluster. CLCL = clitic climbing

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Summary of results

As in the two previous experiments, I will focus on the results obtained in the child's final attempt at repetition, with some comments based on the first attempt. The main findings are as follows:

1. Clitics in infinitive contexts show almost perfect performance from 2;1 (99.4%). Unfortunately, the four youngest children were unable to participate. However, I have presented two pieces of evidence (see example (13) above) that show that at least one child had acquired climbing already by the age of 1;9. This observation stands in disagreement with Guasti's study, in which there was reported to be a delay on clitic climbing (not evidenced until 2;1 in her study), even when the environment for climbing was present at an earlier time.

2. No omissions at all of clitics. This finding stands in agreement with Guasti (1994). It is also in agreement with the findings obtained in simple finite contexts in Experiment 1 since by 2;1 only 4.1% of omissions were found (out of 100% scorable responses), and no omissions occurred after the age of 2;2 (out of 98.2% scorable responses). The fact that clitics are developed in a parallel manner in finite and infinitive contexts is compatible with the uniform analysis presented in Chapter IV.

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3. Some spontaneous climbing (well-formed) occurred with modal verbs (mean 8.1% in the 1st attempt, but none in the last attempt).[22] Some (ungrammatical) reduplication was also found (16.7% with a movement verb in the 1st attempt and 6.7% with a modal verb in the second attempt). These responses occurred no more than once per child and in only some children (one child used both climbing and reduplication, another showed climbing and two more used reduplication). This suggests that even these children had acquired encliticization to infinitival verbs. No climbing responses occurred with verbs that do not permit climbing. The climbing responses suggest that the climbing option (perhaps to a finite verb) is preferred at this age (see Chapter VII Section 7.5 for discussion of adult preferences). The occasional reduplication seems to show that acquisition is imperfect still. Possibly (some) children go through a transitional stage, in which they know that the clitic can occur in both environments, but they need to learn that it cannot be present in the two of them at once. A similar type of ungrammatical error was observed by Crain and Nakayama (1987) on an experimental study on auxiliary fronting in English questions. In this investigation, children (3 to 5 years old) produced sentences such as * *Is the boy who is being kissed by his*

[22] I would like to remind the reader that this experiment did not explicitly test climbing by children though the verb choices were designed with climbing in mind.

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mother is happy? where the auxiliary verb *is* that starts the question occurs both in the main clause and in the relative clause. These authors treat subject/AUX inversion as copying + deletion and AUX doubling occurs because children execute the first but they forget to delete the AUX from the source location. Crain and Nakayama argue that this is a failure in performance due to the complexity of these structures.

I will sum up and discuss conclusions in Chapter VIII, following presentation of the longitudinal spontaneous speech data in Chapter VII.

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Chapter VII

SPONTANEOUS PRODUCTION LONGITUDINAL DATA

As stated in the Introduction of Chapter VI, the theory of clitics presented in this dissertation entails a number of acquisitional predictions with respect to the various clitic constructions subject to study. These predictions bear on the nature of the grammar represented in the underlying linguistic system and the capacity of using these structures in the performance system. In Chapter VI I reported tests of children's production by means of the Elicited Imitation Method (EI). Since the evidence obtained by one method is reinforced if it converges with evidence from other methods, in this chapter I will examine these predictions further by means of longitudinal data on spontaneous production (from López Ornat *et al.*, 1994). If the data collection and coding are done in a rigorous manner, this method allows us to obtain a wealth of data that can reveal how the child's grammar develops from the earliest stages.

A limiting factor in using spontaneous production data is determining whether the absence of a particular functional form or grammatical construction is due to linguistic inability, not having been exposed to this form/construction, lack of the appropriate discourse context, or simply, that the child does not choose to produce it, even if it is generated

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by his/her grammar. This uncertainty arose frequently in the analysis of the data presented in this chapter. To compensate for this limitation, researchers may employ several supplementary resources, expanding the data base to include observations of several subjects, or data from the child's caretakers. If intervention is possible, the researcher may encourage the child to produce the construction of interest. In the present case, I must point out that I have had access to only one corpus containing fairly consistent data in the first stages from a Spanish subject, data as early as those obtained in the experimental studies presented in Chapter VI. The amount of data in this corpus is not as extensive as would have been desirable; yet, since the phenomenon under investigation is manifested at a very early age and is very productive in the language, the findings are still informative. I have also analyzed the adult child-directed speech of this corpus and I establish a correlation pointing out the similarities and differences that I have observed to exist between the child's and the adult's grammar.

As in the previous chapter, the aim of this research is to determine the syntactic development of pronominal object clitics in most of the contexts in which they occur in Peninsular Spanish. More precisely, it is to seek information on the syntactical factors stated in (1).

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(1) a. When clitics are first acquired by children and how they are distributed in their speech.

b. Whether children omit clitics or are consistent in their usage of them.

c. Whether Case pays a role: dative versus accusative clitics.

d. When clitic clusters are acquired and the ordering of clitics in clusters.

e. When clitic doubling in general is acquired and whether children omit the clitic or the double element.

f. Whether clitic doubling is present more often with lexical DPs or with strong pronouns.

g. Whether the acquisition of doubling supports Kayne's Uniformity hypothesis. In particular, whether standard doubling (CLDP), clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation (CLRD) are acquired simultaneously, as would be expected if they are three closely related instances of the same phenomenon. The relevant aspects of this proposal appear in Chapter IV Section 4.2. above.

h. When clitics are first acquired in nonfinite contexts and whether children omit them or are consistent in their usage of them.

i. How pervasive is the postulated tendency of children to climb clitics and whether they copy them (which is ungrammatical, at least in this variety of adult Spanish).

Differently from Chapter VI, the observations reported in this chapter were not limited to third person singular elements; instead, all types of clitics were considered. I should also indicate that I will not be able to discriminate precisely point (c) since the family members of the child are predominantly *laístas* (see (2) below) and *leístas* (see (3) below) though they also use the pronouns in the standard way. Sometimes, both usages occur within the same discourse, or

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even in the same utterance (see (4): mother and father, below). As is to be expected, the girl, María, does not always manifest a consistent usage of these elements either (see (4): María, below). An example of *loísmo* (see (5) below) was also found in her production. An exhaustive list of examples of *laísmo* and *leísmo* from María and her parents can be found in Appendix 5, List 1. The pronoun use in the standard variety is inserted in parentheses. For all the examples in this chapter, I have provided English glosses. I have included a translation only where the meaning may be unclear from the gloss. This applies to the entire chapter.

(2) Mother: *La*[le] voy a lavar las manos (283)
I her$_{acc[dat]}$ am going to wash the hands

Father: ¿*La*[le] quieres dar unos besos? (539)
You her$_{acc[dat]}$ want to give some kisses?

Aunt: ¿*La*[le] vas a pedir perdón? (332)
You her$_{acc[dat]}$ are going to apologize?

María: ¿Sabes que *la*[le] ha pasado? (2;5-473)
You know what her$_{acc[dat]}$ has happened?

(3) Mother: *Le* [la] tengo que cambiar (273)
I her$_{dat[acc]}$ have to change

Father: ¿Por qué *le*[lo] tapas? (459)
You why him$_{dat[acc]}$ cover?

Grandma: *Le* [lo] has perdido? (024)
You it$_{dat[acc]}$ have lost?

María: A su papá, tapa*le* [lo] (2;6-509)
To his father, cover-him$_{dat[acc]}$

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(4) Mother a. (María has lost an earring)

Vamos a buscar*le*[lo] ..... ¿Dónde *le* [lo]
has perdido, hija, dónde? ..... ¡Ya está,
María, el pendiente! ..... ¿Te *lo* pongo,
hija? ..... ¿Quieres que te *lo* ponga mamá? (238)
Let's look-it$_{dat[acc]}$ for ... You where it
have lost, daughter, where? ... That's it,
María, the earring! ... I CL$_{2p.s.}$ it shall
put on, daughter? ... You want that CL$_{2p.s.}$
it puts on mommy?

b. (The mother is cutting María's toe nails)

... las uñas de los piés, que las tienes
largas .. *las* [les] vamos a poner nombres
... Tú *le* [les] pones nombres ...
A la grande *la* [le] vamos a
poner como mamá (466)
... the nails of the feet, that you them
have long... We them$_{acc[dat]}$ are going to
give names ... You it$_{dat.sg[pl]}$ put names...
To the big one we it$_{acc[dat]}$ are going
to name like mommy.

Father: (Talking about the relationship between
the little boy and E.T. in the film "E.T.")

¿Y *le* [lo] quería mucho y se
lo quería llevar a su casa? (543)
and he him$_{dat\ [acc]}$ loved a lot and he SE
him wanted to take to his house?

María: Sí los gatitos. Mamá, no *los* saques
que se van a esconder y
les [los] cojo ... (2;3-441)
Yes the kittens. Mom neg them take out
that they SE are going to hide and I
them$_{dat[acc]}$ grab ...

(5) María: (Referring to her baby, a boy doll)

Y *lo* [le] voy a dar
esto y algo de [algunas] chuletas (2;4-451)
And I him$_{acc[dat]}$ am going to give
this and some chops

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Throughout the text section of this chapter, to help the reader find the referent of the clitic, I often provide a brief description of the discourse context in which that specific utterance took place. Contexts are not provided in the lists of the appendices. In both the text and the appendices, translations are based on the context in which the utterance took place. Clearly identifiable clitics which did not match the adult forms perfectly, but were phonetic approximations were also counted as clitics. Clitics that cannot be translated precisely (*SE*) or such that their gloss may cause confusion (e.g., *te*) are either provided in their original form or with grammatical features. Discourse context information and words (or pieces of words) that were not present in the child's utterance are inserted in parentheses, unintelligible speech is indicated with a series of x's, corrections of mispronounced forms or colloquialisms are placed inside brackets, and the presence of superfluous terms (e.g., *to* below) is signaled with empty square brackets following (I love to [ ] my mother). Every one of María's utterances is followed by her age at the time and the number of the segment that contains it. (A segment is defined as "a situation of verbal communication in which the subject participates and presents a unitary theme" - my translation, p. 7.) Adult utterances are followed by the number of the segment where they occur. Except for obvious typographical errors, all utterances are presented as typed in the original

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source. Finally, some utterances exemplify several different properties of clitics (e.g., an imperative sentence or a complex (non)climbing construction may also contain doubling), and therefore, may be drawn on in more than one section of the text to illustrate each property. In the results presented in the tables of the text and the appendix, however, each utterance is recorded only once. For this, imperatives that contain doubling are scored as doubling, and contexts that show both doubling and (non)climbing are classified as (non)climbing structures. It was done this way to record what I thought presumably would be a more difficult structure to produce.

7.0. LONGITUDINAL DATA

The data described in this section come from an analysis of naturally produced utterances of Standard Peninsular Spanish, published in López Ornat *et al.* (1994). López Ornat *et al.* present the data, discuss the methodology and coding, and comment on various aspects related to the process of grammar acquisition. In the same volume, other authors analyze the data from the point of view of language acquisition. These studies make some observations about clitics, but they do not focus on clitics directly. Since the current investigation began, however, Torrens and Wexler (1996;2000) have also examined this material to explore the acquisition of clitics in Spanish. Their perspective,

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however, is narrower than the present concerns. Torrens and Wexler's interest was solely in Clitic Doubling in Spanish and (a) how this process relates to other constructions (e.g., clitic left dislocation, floating quantifiers, scrambling in Dutch) which according to Sportiche (1992) have the same underlying structure; and (b) how it is unrelated to English passives (vs. Fox, Grodzinsky and Crain, 1995). In the current research, clitics are studied in most of the contexts in which they occur, without doubling and with doubling (here, standard doubling), clitic left dislocation and clitic right dislocation.

The corpus in question contains data from a single child, María, a native monolingual speaker from Madrid, from the age of 1;7 to 4;0. María appears as extrovert, talkative and fairly precocious in her development. Her parents are monolingual speakers of Peninsular Spanish characteristic of a middle class professional socio-economical background. This corpus was drawn from audio-visual recordings made by the father in sessions of at least 30 minutes in two week intervals. The recording took place at home with María interacting freely with her parents in a broad range of daily routines (e.g., during bath, play, feeding interactions etc.). An aunt and the grandmother were also briefly present in the discourse.

These data were also made available to the *Childes* data archive at Carnegie Mellon University (cf. MacWhinney and

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Snow 1990; MacWhinney 1991) and to the Max-Planck Psycholinguistics Institute in Nijmegen. The corpus represents speech between María and her interlocutors. There are basically no data (or at least no transcriptions available) of the adult to adult conversation. The contexts in which production took place are indicated. The girl's speech is divided into *segments*. Each conversational turn of the girl within a segment is called a *fragment*. A fragment represents "the minimum linguistic sequence that allows linguistic and psycholinguitic analysis ... A fragment can consist of only one word or of several sentences" (my translation, pp. 7,9). The entire corpus was orthographically transcribed by several collaborators as the data were collected.[1] This linguistic information was later coded using a system that the research team specifically developed for this project. To avoid the perils of sampling computer-readable transcripts using automated search programs, I examined every line of child and adult speech in the corpus as reported in the book and computed the summary data on that basis. To be consistent with the type of linguistic analysis elsewhere in this dissertation and in other works on

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[1]There seem to be some errors in the transcripts. I believe that some of the utterances attributed to María derive instead from her interlocutors (e.g., *se lo digo a mamá, ¿eh?* (1;10-231), *¿me vas a comprar unos?* (2;1-324), *no la coges porque no llegas* (2;1-328), *¡Hola!, ¿qué tal?* (2;1-340), *¿quieres que te saque papá?* (2;2-401)...). Conversely, a few were also found under the name of the adults that I believe belong to María (e.g., 340, 394).

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acquisition cited here, I considered [and counted] utterances instead of fragments. When a fragment (a conversational turn) contains more than one sentence, each can be informative and all must be taken into account. This is illustrated with the fragment in (6), containing a simple clitic sentence with a psychological verb, an instance of clitic left dislocation, and a reflexive construction. I analyzed this as three utterances. Imitations, repetitions, routines (verbal games, songs, etc.), hesitations, interrupted and uninterpretable utterances were not included in my analysis. Moreover, repetitions of the structure within each segment were counted only once. Finally, when the context offered did not provide enough information (or if the one given was not clear enough) to determine undoubtedly if an utterance was correct or deviant, such utterance was simply not included. This applies especially to cases in which the absence of the clitic might be correct or could be thought of as an omission error.

(6) ... xxx No te gusta la tele. A Carlete no le gusta la tele. A ti tampoco, y te peinas en el brazo, así. (2;3-417)
... xxx Neg CL2p.s pleases the TV. To Carlete neg CLdat.3p.s pleases the TV. To you neither, and you CLrefl.2p.s. comb in the arm, like this.

In the present research, I have mainly considered the data from 1;9 to 2;11. This age range was primarily determined on the basis of the specific grammatical phenomena being investigated. The starting point was defined based on

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a preliminary observation of the data and on Fernández Martínez (1994). This author reports that the first analyzed utterances with verbs in María's speech appeared at the age of 1;9 and, as stated in earlier chapters, we do not expect clitics to occur prior to verbs.[2] The ending period was

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[2] On a recent final revision of this corpus I went to the very first data available (1;7) and I realized that there was one clear clitic instance already at this time. I obviously must have discarded this datum in my earliest search. I now realized that I should have included it in the count and cover the period from 1;7 to 2;11. This utterance is presented in (i) below. If it is representative, it suggests that the first clitic to emerge may be SE. This is the only clitic instance found before 1;9. Moreover, I think that there are a few more analyzed verbal utterances (e.g., *e*(l) *cote* [coche] *no está* 'the car is not (here)' (1;7-060), *tenía pupa* 'I had pain' (1;7-064), *quita guauguau, guauguau quita, quita* 'get out doggy, doggy get out, get out' (1;8-089) etc.).

(i) Se cae e(l) nene [la nena] (1;7-047)
SE falls the little boy [girl]

It should be noted that in (i) María refers to herself in the third person. (See two more instances in (24a) and (24b) below.) This is a well-known phenomenon in language development. The adult utterance would have been: Me caigo 'I am falling'. In the early stages of this corpus María's mother frequently does the same thing. That is, she talks to the girl as if the girl were a third (instead of a second) person. Some examples are provided in (ii) (iii) (iv) and (v) below. In this last one we also observe that the mother makes the same error that the girl makes. That is, she uses the masculine (instead of the feminine) form to refer to María.

(ii) ¿Qué hace la nenita? (001)
what does the little girl?

(iii) Primero hay que desnudarla (001)
first one has to undress-her

(iv) Le damos crema ... (011)
we to her give [put on] cream ...

(v) No está el nene, aquí no está el nene (068)
not is the little boy, here not is the little boy

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chosen to coincide with the age limit of the experimental research since by this time children had shown knowledge of the structures under investigation, and these had also been observed in María's data. Another reason for this end point was the fact that from 2;10 onward the data collection was done in a less systematic way. No data at all are available at 2;10, 3;0, from 3;2 to 3;5, or at 3;8; moreover, the samples that were collected at the other ages are quite limited. In fact, the number of utterances per recording varies considerably throughout the entire data collection period and, for the most part, decreases from the earliest to the latest stages as is evident in the first two columns of Table 1 below. The total number of utterances included during the time frame under consideration here was 5,185. A breakdown by age appears in Table 1 of this text.

7.1. EVIDENCE FOR VERBAL UTTERANCES

Since clitics in Romance require a verbal item as their host, I did a preliminary counting of the number of verbal utterances that occurred at every age. Subsequently, I calculated the ratio of verbal utterances with respect to the total number of utterances per age. Of the 5,185 utterances in the entire corpus, there were 1,869 verbal utterances (36%). As expected, the percentage of verbal utterances increased considerably with age (5.5% before 1;11; 26.8% from 1;11 to 2;1; 41.2% from 2;1 to 2;3 and 52.2% from 2;4 to

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2;11). Though the numbers are too small for statistical testing, a sharp upturn seems to occur between 1;10 and 1;11 (17 percentage points in a month), and from 2;0 to 2;1 (11% in a month). From 2;2 to 2;4, verbal utterances rise sharply again to above 50%. After dropping again for two months, they then hold steady between 50% and 60%. A strong increase in the number of verbal utterances as age increases was also observed by Hamann *et al.* (1997) for French and by Valian (1991) for English. A count of the total number of utterances and verbal number of utterances is provided in Table 1. Examples of the different types of verbal utterances are shown in (7a,b,c,d) for finite verbs, (8a,b,c) for imperatives, and (9) for nonfinite forms, either an infinitive (a-e) or a gerund (f,g). (The absence of the final *r* in the embedded infinitive in (8c) and (9a-9e) is not a grammatical error. It is simply child's talk.) An auxiliary-verb complex was counted as a single verbal form.

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Table 1. Total Number of Utterances and Verbal Utterances (María from 1;9 to 2;11).

Age	Total Utter.	VERBAL UTTERANCES Finite	Imper.	Inf/Gerund Fragm's	Vf+Vnonf	Total Verbal Utter.	% of Verbal Utter.
1;9	476	8	1	2	0	11	2.3
1;10	652	34	9	11	3	57	8.7
1;11	291	53	11	8	3	75	25.8
2;0	334	55	17	12	9	93	27.8
2;1	469	105	49	12	16	182	38.8
2;2	552	137	28	8	32	205	37.1
2;3	462	154	24	11	32	221	47.8
2;4	292	105	27	10	22	164	56.1
2;5	470	146	23	15	32	216	45.9
2;6	275	68	19	2	20	109	39.6
2;7	146	44	10	3	22	79	54.1
2;8	275	108	25	0	15	148	53.8
2;9	260	106	13	6	23	148	56.9
2;11	240	81	12	17	32	142	59.1
Total	**5,185**	1,215	273	120	261	**1,869**	**36.0**

Note. Fragm's = fragments. Vf+Vnonf = Vfin + Vnon-fin

(7) a. No oi(g)o (1;9-099)
I neg hear

b. Mamá, m'a [me ha] chupao (el) guauguau (1;10-237)
Mommy, CL1.s. (it) has licked the doggy

c. No (le) cabe (a) papá e(l) s[z]apatito (1;11-263)
Neg (him) fits (to) daddy the little shoe

d. Que se vaya(n) (l)as mojcas [moscas] (1;11-273)
That SE go3p.s[pl]subj. away the flies

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(8) a. Sienta(te), sienta(te), mamá sienta(te) (1;9-146)
Sit(CL2p.s.), sit(CL2p.s.), mommy sit(CL2p.s)

b. No (te) quite(s) el s[z]apatito, papá (1;11-263)
Neg (CL2.s.) take off the shoe, daddy

c. Vamo(s) a jugá [jugar] a la pelota (1;11-272)
Let's go to play the ball

(9) a. Astudiá [a estudiar] (1;10-204)
To study

b. Voy a senta(r)(*me*)/(*me*) voy a
senta(r) (en) (la) sillita (1;10-244)
I am going to sit(me) /(me) I am going
to sit (in) (the) little chair

c. Voy a busca(r) la pelota (1;11-267)
I am going to look for the ball

d. Tenía que t(r)abajá(r) mamá (2;0-280)
Had to work mommy

e. No poro [puedo] sali(r) (2;1-349)
I cannot get out

f. El ot(r)o (es)tá bu(s)cando a Antonio (2;0-299)
The other one is looking for Antonio

g. (Father: Cuéntame que estás haciendo)
Tell me what you are doing

T(r)abajando, (es)toy t(r)abajando (2;1-346)
Working, I am working

These data (and the table provided) show that María's speech contained finite and non-finite forms from the earliest stages although the number of verbal utterances is very low until 1;11. No instances of root infinitives were found and, as (9b-g) indicate, her early speech already showed four verbs that take clausal complements: *ir a* (=going to, aspectual), *tener que* (=have to, modal), *poder* (=be able or can, modal) and *estar* (=to be, forms the progressive) followed by the

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required non-finite infinitival or gerund form. As we will see subsequently, these are some of the matrix verbs that permit optional clitic climbing out of the source position next to the non-finite form. Only three finiteness errors were found in the entire corpus: two ungrammatical Vfin+Vfin sequences (10a), and one ungrammatical form with a preposition + Vfin (10b). These results verify previous observations (Deprez and Pierce (1993) for French, Guasti (1994) for Italian, Torrens (1995) for Spanish and Catalan, among others) that children are sensitive to the finite/non-finite tense distinction starting from around 1;10 to 2;0.

(10a) (i) Voy a cojo [coger] una silla (2;1-321)
I am going take [to take] a chair

(ii) Te voy a llevé [llevar] a tu casa, a [ ] pipótamo [hipopótamo] (2:4-449)
I CL2sg. am going took [to take] to your house, to [ ] xxxx [hippopotamus]

(10b) Para que sal ... pa(ra) (que) (*me*) salir [saque] a mí. (2;1-348)
So that she xxx ... so (that) (CL1p.s.) to take (she takes) out to me

For comparison with this accuracy with verbs, it is worth noting that articles, prepositions and clitics are occasionally absent (cf. 7b,c and 8a,b, respectively). A few agreement errors were also found (e.g., 7d). The presence or absence of clitics in María's language development will be studied in detail next. Both argument clitics (clitics that can be replaced by a lexical or pronominal DP) and non-

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argument clitics (inherent, and 'pleonastic') will be taken into account.

7.2. EVIDENCE FOR THE PRESENCE OF CLITICS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION.

Different types of clitics appeared in María's speech already in the earliest transcripts examined. The first elements to occur were SE, 1st and 2nd person singular (reflexive and non-reflexive) and 3rd person singular. The plural forms appeared a bit later (e.g., *nos*, 1pl. at 2;0, as in (12b) and *los*, 3rd pl. at 2;1, as in (12d)) and they were less frequent in her speech. However, one should be cautious about interpreting this observation as late emergence. The absence of these forms in the transcripts does not guarantee that such forms were absent or prohibited in the child's grammar, especially as the pool of verbal utterances was quite low before 2;0.

Clitics occurred from a very early age in various simple finite contexts (11), in imperative constructions (12) and in infinitive contexts (13). Within the infinitive contexts, they occurred in fragments (13a), in 1st person plural positive commands (13b and 13d)[3] and a little later in the

[3] The structure in (13b) is also provided in (12b). First person plural commands in adult Spanish may be expressed either by using the first person plural of the present subjunctive (i) or by using the expression *vamos a + infinitive* 'let's ...' (ii). In this last case, however, sometimes the first verb is deleted (the finite form *vamos*) and only the *a +infinitive* form (somehow a fragment of the

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non-climbing alternative of a climbing context (13c). Their occurrence in finite environments was slightly prior to that in imperative and infinitive contexts (1;9 vs. 1;10. See also note 2 above); yet, for the most part, it can be said that they appeared roughly simultaneously with the verbal forms hosting them. A detailed specification of the different types of clitics that occurred in simple finite contexts and in imperatives is shown in Appendix 5, Tables 1 and 2 (A&B), respectively. Clitics in doubling and infinitive contexts will be presented later.

(11) a. (Talking about the dog)

Sí, (s)*e* calla (1;9-139)
Yes, it SE stops (barking)

b. ¡Ay!, *se* cae (la) llalleta [galleta] (1;10-177)
Woe! it SE falls (the) xxxxxxxx biscuit

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command expression) is used as a command (iii) in the adult language.

(i) Bañémonos en la piscina
bathe$_{1pl.\ pres.\ subj.}$-CL$_{1pl}$ in the pool
'let's bathe in the pool'

(ii) Vamos a bañarnos en la piscina
go$_{1pl,\ ind.}$ to bathe-CL$_{1pl}$ in the pool
'let's bathe in the pool'

(iii) A bañarnos en la piscina
to bathe-CL$_{1pl}$ in the pool

The first person plural form of the present subjunctive is *bañemos*, but in cases like (i), where the clitic *nos* is encliticized to the verb, the final *s* of the subjunctive form is dropped.

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c. (María sings a song with her mother)

Tú *lo* [la] sabes (1;10-224)
You itmasc[fem] know

d. *Me* he hecho pis (1;11-274)
I CL1p.s. have made piss

e. (Mother: Sí, a mí es que me encanta)
Yes, to me is that CLdat.1p.s. delights it
'Yes, I love it'

¿Te encanta? (2;0-281)
CLdat.2p.s. delights it?
'You love it?'

f. No *la* chupan las vacas (2;1-367)
Neg her lick the cows

g. ... *nos* tem[n]enos que ir (2;3-419)
... we CL1p.pl have to go

(12) a. ¡Hola, hola! Po(n)*me* e(l) pendiente (1;10-239)
Hey, hey! put-CL1p.s. the earring

b. ¡A bañar*no(s)* en la pist[c]ina! (2;0-280)
Let's bathinf-us in the pool!

c. Toma, una pelota, cóge*la* (2;1-325)
There, a ball, grab-it

d. (María had taken off her aunt's shoes and she is giving them back to her)

Toma, toman*[l]os* (2;1-325)
Have, have-them

e. (Referring to some kittens in a puzzle)

Mamá, no *los* saques (2;3-441)
Mommy, neg them bring out

(13) a. (Mother: Y qué le has hecho tú?)
And what him have done yousubj.?

Da(r)*le* (en) (el) culo (1;10-243)
Slapinf-him (on) (the) behind

b. ¡A bañar*no(s)* en la pist[c]ina! (2;0-280)
Let's bathinf-us in the pool!

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c. (María's father asks her to take out
a piece of candy from her toy gun)

No, no puedo saca(r)*lo* (2;1-365)
No, I cannot take-it out

d. (María's anisette candy has fallen off)

Vamos a guardar*los* (2;2-382)
Let's keep$_{INF}$-them up

As these examples illustrate, clitics were always placed in the correct position. The same flawless pattern was observed in the entire corpus. Only one utterance was found that could cast doubts. This is shown in (14) preceded by the context in which it occurred.

(14) (María: ... Y cojo un tambo(r) y cuando cojo
al osito Wily se, se choca con un tranvía y
vienen los bomberos y viene la policía ...
Así, así es, así (d)e g(r)ande, es así de
g(r)ande es el bombero) ...
And I grab a drum and when I grab the little
bear Wily SE, SE knocks against a tram and
there come the firemen and the police ...
Like this, it is like this, as big as this,
it is this big it is the fireman ...

* Se choca con un camión y logo [luego]
viene la polisias [policia] a saca(r)
a la, al tambor, al osito Wily (2;5-489)
SE crashes against a truck and then
come the police to take out
to her, the drum, the little bear Wily

It is not clear what type of error this is, but it is important to consider whether it is a clitic error, e.g., that perhaps the child is using the clitic (la) instead of the strong pronoun (ella). This seems unlikely. First, it is hard to know what the intended antecedent of the pronoun

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(clitic or strong) could have been. Second, it would have had to be a double clitic error since a coreferent clitic would be missing (it would have to be: a sacar*la a ella*). Third, such an error would be a prominent one, so if this error had been in the underlying grammar of the child, it would very likely have been observed elsewhere in the corpus. I think that it is reasonable to take this case as a performance error. Maybe in an attempt to form a noun phrase with the noun *tambor*, María started to say *a la* and before she completed the phrase she realized that *tambor* is masculine and she could not say *a la tambor*, but *al tambor*. The constituent "al tambor", however, is not grammatical either (although it might be used in careless adult talk) since non-animate accusative objects do not carry the 'personal *a*' and, therefore, there is no contraction (*a*+el -> al). That is, it should be: sacar xxxx, el tambor, ... etc. (to take out xxxx, the drum, etc...).

The adults' speech also shows some salient grammatical errors. Two examples within the same context are reported in (15). One apparently represents an incomplete utterance (a), and the other contains a negation placement error (b). The correct word order for (b) is (c). As this example shows, I would also use the feminine form of the demonstrative (namely, *esa* (that$_{fem}$) instead of *ese* (that$_{masc}$)).

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(15) Father: (¡Ah! Y el agua no se la va a beber) (522)
Ah! And the water (she) neg SE it is going to drink

a. * Es para no (522)
It is for no

b. * Ese agua es para *no* beber (522)
Thatmasc. water is for neg to drink

c. Esa agua *no* es para beber
Thatfem. water neg is to drink

The data on María's performance agree with other research sources (cf. Guasti (1994), Hamann *et al.* (1996), the cross-sectional research presented in this dissertation, and others) that the distributional constraints on clitics are operative from the earliest performance. The majority of errors found were omissions. A sample of clitic omissions in simple finite sentences (16), in imperative contexts (17) and in infinitive contexts (18) is presented next. Numerical results on omissions in simple finite and imperative contexts can be found in Appendix 5, Tables 3 and 4 (A&B), respectively. Omissions of clitics in doubling and infinitive contexts will be reported later in their respective sections.

(16) a. (María with some toy glasses in her hand)

(*Se*) a [han] l[r]oto (1;9-134)
They (SE) have broken
'They broke'

b. (The doggy is sucking his toy)

(El) guauguau, uy, (*lo*) chupa! (1;9-136)
(The) doggy, woe, (it) sucks!

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c. Aquí (*te*) sientas (1;10-208)
Here (CLdat.2p.s.) sit

d. No (*me*) shusta [gusta] (2;0-287)
No (CLdat.1p.s.) pleases it

e. No (*le*) cabe (a) papá e(l)
s[z]apatito (1;11-263)
Neg (him) fits on daddy the
little shoe

f. (Maria's father asks her to be careful
with the cable)

No, (*lo*) levanto, ... para (ar)riba (2;1-345)
Neg, I (it) lift, ... up

g. Para que sal ... pa(ra) (que) (*me*)
salir [saque] a mí. (2;1-348)
So that she xxx ... so (that) (CL1p.s.)
to take (she takes) out to me

h. (Mother: ¡Hala! Los anises. ... Dámelos)
Hey! the anisettes. . Give-to me-them

¿(*Los*) quieres todos? (2;2-381)
You them want all?

i. (Mother: Vamos a cortarte las uñas de los piés)
We're going to cut your toe nails

Sí, yo (*les*) pomp[g]o nobes [nombres] (2;5-466)
Yes, I (them) give names

(17) a. (L)evánta(*me*), (l)evánta(*me*) (1;10-226)
Lift(me) up, lift(me) up

b. ¡No (*me*) toca [toques] la carita! (1;11-276)
Neg (CL1p.s.) touchsubj. the little face

c. Sí, toma(*le*) [cógele] la mano a
Ca(r)litos (2;1-340)
Yes, take(him) [grab-him] the hand to
Carlitos.

(18) a. Voy a senta(r)(*me*)/ (*me*)
voy a senta(r) (en) (la) sillita (1;10-244)
I am going to sit(CL1p.s.)/I (CL1p.s.)
am going to sit (in) (the) little chair

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b. (Father: ¿Qué le vas a hacer al cochecito)
You what it are going to do to the little car?

Arrancar(*lo*) [levantarlo] (2;1-357)
Pull-(it) [lift-it] up

In contrast to Guasti (1994), these data show that clitics occurred at least in some infinitive contexts before 2;1 (see 13a and 13b), although the number is very low (just these two utterances). Also differently from Guasti, clitics are sometimes omitted in non-finite contexts (cf. 18a and 18b), just as in finite contexts. Although most omissions occurred before 2;1, a few were still found at a later time in both finite (19) and infinitive contexts (20).[4] Interestingly, in some cases, an identical clitic is present in an utterance by María immediately before or after the one in which the omission occurs (e.g., 19d and 19e). As (20b) shows, the use of articles is not consistent either, since an article is present (e.g., *el* arroz) and omitted (e.g., (*la*) chuleta) in the same utterance.

(19) a. A toma(r) una copa. ¿(*Te*) pares[c]e? (2;3-425)
To have a drink. (CL2p.s.) how about it?

b. ¡Hala, (*lo*) hi [he] tira(d)o por ahí! (2;4-449)
Hey!, (it) I have thrown some where!

---

[4] In cases like (18a), (20b) and (20c) it is not possible to determine where the omission occurs. This is because they are climbing structures and the clitic could have occurred either in front of the main finite verb or attached to the infinitive.

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c. Pero (*la*) m[ll]amo mamá, mamá (2;5-566)
But I (her) call mommy, mommy

d. Que no *te* pases mamá que
(*te*) doy un azote, ¿eh?. Que
te doy un boqu[f]etón muchas veces
en la cara (2;6-501)
That you neg CL2p.s. go too far mommy that
I (CL2p.s.) give a spanking, eh?. That I
CL2p.s. give a hard slap many times
in the face

e. (Father: María no me deja cantar)
M. neg CL1p.s allows to sing

Sí (*le*) dejo cantar. Siempre *le*
deja María cantar (2;7-517)
Yes I (him) allow to sing. Always him
allows María to sing

(20) a. Hay que pompar(*lo*) [ponerlo] encima de
la silla (2;3-422)
One has to put-(it) on top of
the chair

b. (Mother: ¿A qué le vas a invitar?
To what him you are going to invite?

(*Le*) vo(y) a des[c]i(r)/vo(y) a
des[c]i(r)-(*le*) que si qu(i)ere el
agós [arroz] e [y] (la) chuleta (2;4-458)
I (him) am going to say/I am going
to say-(him) that if he wants the
rice and (the) chop

c. (*Te*) voy a peinar / voy a
peinar(*te*) a ti (2;5-473)
I (CL2p.s) am going to comb/I am going
to comb-(CL2p.s) to you

There were also various morphological commission errors in the form of the clitics used, some also at a later age (e.g., 2;7, 2;9, 2;11). These were mainly based on person (21a and 21b),

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gender (22a-22e,) and number (23a-23c).[5] Many alternations were found with respect to clitic Case (cf. 2,3,4: María and Appendix 5, List 1: María) but, as pointed out above, these are presumably cases of laísmo and leísmo acquired from adult input. A very low number was also found of overgeneralization of the distribution of clitics and of substitutions. Four cases of overgeneralization occurred: three when the child treated non-inherent verbs as inherent/reflexive by adding the clitic SE (24a, 24b and 24c), and one in which she added a third person accusative clitic (24d).[6] One instance of

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[5] A case like (21b) might not be a grammatical error. It occurs as María talks to Irene (the doll) but, since her parents are listening to her, she also talks to them about Irene in the same sentence. She says this when her father asks her to explain why Irene's belly hurt. Under this interpretation, the use of *le3rd,sg* (instead of *te2nd,sg*) would be correct (there should be two separate utterances or at least a pause, though, to show a shift of addressees) since the referent would be Irene, not you. This peculiarity occurs three times within the same short stretch of discourse, for the last two times the transcriber notes that María looks at her father when she says "le dolía la tripa". I had the same perception earlier in the case of (10a(ii)) where she adds an extra preposition. In this case she talks to the hippopotamus, but at the same time she seems to talk to her father about it. If this is the case, instead of the preposition *a* she should have used *al* (a+el) before the dislocated phrase. For convenience, I provide the sentence again.

(i) Te voy a llevé [llevar] a tu casa, a [al] pipótamo [hipopótamo] (2:4-449)
I CL2p.s. am going took [to take] to your house, to [to the] xxxx [hippopotamus]
'I am going to take you to your house, to the hippopotamus'

[6] An alternative explanation of the example in (24d) is that the child leaves out the infinitive verb, perhaps because it is an unfamiliar one. In this case the presence of the clitic would be correct. In fact, it would show that she knew

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substitution was found, corresponding to a case in which the definite article was replaced with a possessive determiner while omitting the reflexive clitic (25).[7] The data also showed an example which might be construed as an instance of the clitic being used in place of the strong pronoun. This was reported in (14), and as indicated above, I do not think it need be taken as a grammatical error. The totality of possible commission errors with respect to clitics is reported in (21)-(25).

(21) a. Papá tú *me* [te] que(d)as conmigo (2;2-394)
Daddy you CLdat.1p.s.[2p.s] stay with me

---

that the clitic could climb to the matrix modal verb. This is shown in (i).

(i) No lo puedo (desabrochar) (2;9-556)
I neg it cannot (unfasten)

[7] In sentences like (25) in Spanish the possessive determiner is often replaced by the definite article (see the example provided in (i) below). This can be done because the dative clitic pronoun (a) or the reflexive clitic (b) - if the subject performs the action upon himself/herself- usually indicates who the possessor is. Since in (25) the clitic is omitted, it could also be that the child is dealing with this sentence as if it were not reflexive, i.e., is not discriminating between alienable and inalienable possession (e.g., as if the hands were no more part of her than a dress is). However, this seems unlikely, since children seem to be aware of this distinction from a very early age (see the results obtained in the experimental research reported in Chapter VI).

(i) a. El peluquero *me* corta *el* pelo
The hairdresser CL1p.s cuts the hair
b. Yo *me* corto *el* pelo
I CL1p.s. cut the hair

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b. ¿Por qué estabas malita y *le* [te]
dolía la t(r)ipa? (2;11-566)
Because you were sick and her[youdat.2p.s.]
hurt the belly?

(22) a. (Aunt: ¿Cantamos la del
pasito? (a song)
Shall we sing the one about
the little step?

Tú *lo* [la] sabes (1;10-224)
You itmasc[fem] know

b. (Aunt: ¿Qué le hiciste al yayito
con la tele?)
What him did you do to grandpa
with the TV?

Quita(r)*lo*[la] [apagarla] (2;1-326)
Take-itmasc[fem] [turn-it] off

c. Quítame*lo*[la] la toalla (2;2-407)
Take-CL1p.s.-itmasc[fem] off the towel

d. (María: No se apaga [enciende] esta tele..)
No SE turns off [on] this TV...

No *lo* [la] tero [quiero] apaga(r) yo (2:3-415)
No itmasc[fem] want to turn off I

e. (Mother: Te vamos a dar
una cremita ...)
We CL2p.s. are going to put
nice cream ...

Sí, *lo* [la] voy a traer
allí [aquí] (2;9-554)
Yes I itmasc[fem] am going to bring
there [here]

(23) a. Toma, quíta(te)*lo(s)* éstos (2;1-324)
There, take-(CL2p.s.)-it [them] off these

b. P(r)imero *lo(s)* tengo que ata(r)
los pollitos (2;3-439)
First I him [them] have to tie
the baby chicken

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c. (Mother: Y las niñas, ¿cómo deben ser?
And the girls, they how should be?
María: Buenas (=good)
Mother: Porque si no, ¿qué pasa?)
Because if not, what happens?

Le(s) da su mamá, con agua (2;7-522)
Her[them] splash their mommy with water

(24) a. Mother: (Diles donde has esta(d)o)
tell-them where you have been

*S'*a [ ] [ha] busca(d)o a mamá (2;0-280)
She SE [ ] has looked for mommy

b. (Mother: ¿Y tú dónde vas sentada
en el coche? ... En la
sillita, ¿a qué sí?).
And you where are you seating
in the car?... In the
little chair, aren't you?

Se [ ] ha llora(d)o la niña (2;0-280)
SE [ ] has cried the girl

c. Cuando se sienta en el suelo *se* [ ]
juega [juega] conmigo a la pelota ... (2;3-425)
When he SE seats on the floor he *SE* [ ]
plays with me to the ball .....

d. (Father: Ah, pues tienes que desabrocharlo
primero)
Ah, then you have to unfasten-it
first (her father's watch)

No *lo* [ ] puedo [no puedo] (2;9-556)
I neg it can [I can't]

(25) (*Me*) estoy lavando mis [las] manos (2;5-480)
I (CL1.s.) am washing my [the] hands

Out of a total of 744 uses of single clitics (see Appendix 5 Table 11), this is a strikingly small number of errors, and is probably an overestimate as suggested above.

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7.3. CLUSTERS AND THEIR ORDERING RESTRICTIONS

The acquisition of clusters seems to be slightly delayed relative to single cliticization. In the earliest stages only a few identifiable contexts for clusters arose and when these occurred, either one or both clitics were omitted. A strategy also used a few times by the child was to replace one of the clitics by the corresponding lexical DP in a context where an adult would preferably have used the clitic. Differently from what Guasti (1994) reports, this lexical replacement tendency was not observed in the case of single clitics (for details on this issue, see Section 7.6 below). Omission of one or both clitics and lexical replacement are illustrated in (26b, 26d) and (26a, 26c) and (26e), respectively.

(26) a. (Mother: ¿Qué pasa, se te caen las medias?)
what happens, are your stockings falling down?

Sí (*se*) (*me*) acá [caen] a [las]
me(d)ia(s) (1;9-152)
Yes (SE) (CL1p.s.) fall down the
stockings

b. (Mother: ¿Quieres un poquito de jamón?)
you want a bit of ham?

Se (*lo*) come mamá (1;10-189)
SE (it) eats mommy

c. (Mother: Ya no queda)
No more left

Mamá (*se*) (*lo*) come [ha comido] (1;10-189)
Mommy (SE) (it) eats [has eaten]

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d. (María: ¡No (te) quite(s)
(el) s[z]apatito!)
Neg (CL2.s.) take off
the nice shoe

S'a [*se* (*lo*) ha] quitao. ¡Toma! (1;11-263)
SE (it) has taken off. There!

e. (María takes off the shoes that her aunt is wearing because the aunt comments that they are broken. When later the aunt asks María what she [the aunt] is going to do with no shoes (¿qué hago yo ahora? 'what do I do now?'), María provides the sentence below).

Pone [poner]-(te) (los) s[z]apatitos
[Ponértelos] (2;1-324)
Put3sg. [putinf]-CL2sg. (the) little shoes
[To put-Cl2sg-them]

(Aunt: Pues Dámelos)
Well give-to me-them

The first utterance with a cluster appeared at 2;0. Only two instances were found at this time. The first clitics involved were some of the non-determiner-like clitics, namely a first person singular clitic and the reflexive SE. These occurred in the finite positive and negative sentences shown in (27). This cluster does not follow the standard ordering in Spanish. I will say more on this issue when I report on errors below.

(27) (María playing with her radio-duck)

Me *se* gompe [rompe] ... no *me* *se*
guompe [rompe], no *me* *se* guompe [rompe] (2;0-316)
It CL1p.s. SE breaks ... it neg CL1p.s SE
breaks, it neg CL1p.s. SE breaks

Clusters started to be more prolific at 2;1. Six occurrences with a diverse combination of clitics (*te los*, *te lo*, *me lo*, *se me*) and in the two possible locations (proclitic and

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enclitic) were found at this age. Two of the clusters appeared in simple finite contexts, four in positive imperatives. The two finite examples and two imperatives are reported in (28) and (29), respectively.

(28) a. *Se me* cague [cae] e(l) gorro (2;1-347)
SE CL1p.s. fall off the hat

b. (María is playing with a little car)

Me lo ha reg... [regalado] Antonio (2;1-357)
CL1p.s. it has given Antonio

(29) a. (María: Papá, toma unos s[z]apatitos...)
Daddy, have some little shoes ..

Quíta*telos* (2;1-324)
Take-CL2p.s.-them off

b. (María: Ya está, yo quié [quiero] caramelos
That's it, I want candy
Father: ¿Te lo abre papá? ¿Te lo doy?)
CL2p.s. it open daddy? CL2p.s. it give I?

Sí. Áb(r)e*melo* (2;1-368)
Yes. Open-CL1p.s.-it

The same type of clitic combinations (inherent *se* + *me/le* and *me/te* + *lo/la/los/las*) were found at 2;2; however, at this time, they occurred in most clitic contexts (e.g., simple finite, imperatives, climbing and doubling (standard and right dislocation). This proliferation is a sign of the child's growing ability to produce clusters, but is also related to the firmer development of climbing and doubling constructions. The total number of clusters produced at this age was 18 out

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of 21 verbal contexts in which a cluster would have been appropriate (86%). (In three structures the child omitted one clitic (the second) of the cluster. See (36c) (36d) and (36e) below.) Of this, 7 appeared in simple finite contexts (e.g., (30)), 4 in imperatives (e.g., (31)), 3 in climbing (cf. (32)) and 4 in doubling: standard (33a) or right dislocation (33b). In anticipation of the section on doubling, I note that the double in (33a) is an inanimate lexical direct object yielding a construction not allowed in most Spanish dialects, including the peninsular variety. The other examples are all correct. More will be said about these constructions when I discuss them specifically in the next section.

(30) (María's mother is going to sew her [María's] stockings)

No qu(i)ero que *me* *los* cosas (2;2-408)
Neg want that you CL1p.s. them sew

(31) Mira, mí(r)a*melos* (2;2-409)
Look, watch-CL1p.s.-them

(32) Noo, ese vestido no me b[g]usta,
no *me* *lo* quiero pompá [poner] (2;2-399)
No, that dress neg CL1p.s. please,
I neg CL1p.s. it want to put on

(33) a. ¿Quién *me* *lo* ha comp(r)ao este ve(s)tido? (2;2-409)
Who CL1p.s. it has bought this dress?

b. (Father:¿ Te estoy sacando una peli?)
I CL2p.s. am shooting a film?

No *me* *la* (saqu)es, una peli (2;2-404)
Neg CL1p.s. it shoot, a film

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The first cluster with a *Spurious SE* did not occur until 2;5. It appears in the positive command reported in (34). Of course, this could simply mean that a suitable context was not available at an earlier time or that the child did not choose to use it. No instances were found in the corpus up to 2;11 of clusters with first and second person plural clitics, either in first (e.g., *nos/os + lo/la/los/las*) or in second position (e.g., *se nos/os*). This is not surprising given that there were only a few (just 9) occurrences of *nos* and none of *os* as single clitics. For a complete report on clusters, I refer the reader to Appendix 5, Table 5A for simple finite contexts, Table 6A for imperatives, Table 7B for clitic doubling contexts and Table 9B for infinitive/gerund contexts. A summary of clusters in the various contexts is presented in Table 13 of the same appendix.

(34) (María has put on her doll a pair of glasses. Then, she cannot take them off and asks her father to do it).

Quíta*selas* tú a Irene (2;5-472)
Take-SE-them off you to Irene

Except for (27), whenever clusters are used, their combination obeys the ordering constraints for Spanish, namely, the template: *SE 2nd +/-Refl (Dat/Acc) 1st +/- (Dat/Acc) 3rd (Dat/Acc)*. The examples in (27) violate this constraint because the order of clitics is inverted, namely, it should be *se me* instead of the *me se* order uttered by María. As pointed out in Chapter II (note 25) there are some rural dialects in

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Aragón (Spain) in which the *me/te se* combination is used in finite contexts instead of the standard *se me/te* form. There are also speakers who are exposed to both dialects and at times use the variety that is less common to them. Being an Aragonese myself I am quite familiar with these utterances and I am reluctant to record (27) as ungrammatical, even though María and her parents are from a different area. Looking for further evidence in the corpus, I found that her father's speech also contained an instance with the inverted order (35). In his case, the cluster was *te se* instead of *se te*. Although there are only three tokens with the inverted order (two of *me se* in María's speech and one of *te se* in the speech of her father) and a substantial number of each of the standard *se me/te* combinations (e.g., 10 *se me* instances in María's simple finite sentences), I believe that these are grammatical instances of an existing Spanish variety that somehow they came in contact with.

(35) (María's father conversing with her)

¿Dónde *te* *se* sienta papá entonces? (356)
Where CL2p.s SE sits daddy then?

As in the case of single clitics, even when clusters seem to be quite stable a few omissions still occur. Omissions from the age of 2;2 are of one of the two clitics, rather than of the whole cluster, as happened in two cases (cf. 26a and 26c) at an earlier time (1;9 and 1;10, respectively). From the earliest stages, however, the deleted clitic tends to be the

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second one (6 out of 8 instances with a single clitic deletion) which in all clitic omission sequences that occurred happens to be a third person clitic, namely, a determiner-like clitic, either masculine or feminine singular. Since these clitics are slightly delayed compared with SE (a very prevalent first position clitic in a cluster) and the number of occurrences is very low until at least 2;1, it might be that the third person clitics just need a bit more time to fully stabilize. It could also be that when the child's processing and/or production system is overloaded by the cluster or the increase in length of the utterance, the second clitic is the one that tends to be left out. One needs to bear in mind that clusters with third person clitics in second position are much more frequent in the language than clusters with first and second person and that consequently this grants a higher probability of omission to third person clitics. These matters could be approached statistically, but only with a much larger corpus than María's. The fact that it is the second (and not the first) clitic that is frequently left out, however, still remains an interesting issue. It is relevant because one could try to find out if this strategy is part of a more general language processing and/or production phenomenon already observed in child or adult language. An exhaustive list of omissions after María starts producing them is provided in (36). Four earlier omissions were already reported in (26a-26d). As was noticed in the case of single

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clitics, sometimes the absence and the presence of the cluster co-occurred within the same sequence of utterances (e.g., 36a). A detailed report of omissions by context is in Appendix 5, Table 5B for simple finite contexts, Table 6B for imperatives, Table 8B for clitic doubling and Table 10B for infinitive/gerund contexts. A summary of the above is provided in Table 14 of the same appendix.

(36) a. Quíta(*te*) los s[z]apatitos,
quíta(*te*)*los* ... Quíta*telos* (2;1-324)
Take(-CL2p.s.) off the little shoes,
take-(CL2p.s.)-them.. take-CL2p.s.-them off

b. *M'*a [me (lo) has] quitao a mi (2;1-356)
CL1p.s. (it) have taken from me

c. (Father: Dime que frutas me
voy a comer)
Tell-me what fruits I CL1p.s
am going to eat

No sé. Te (*la*) voy a pela(r) (2;2-394)
I neg know. I CL2p.s (it) am going to peel

d. (Father: Me has echado agua
en las gafas)
You CL1p.s. have splashed water
on my glasses

Sí, no *te* (*lo*) voy a
hasé [hacer] más (2;2-396)
Yes, I neg CL2p.s. (it) am going
to do again

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e. (María: ¿Quién *me lo* ha comprado este vestido? ...
Father: No me gusta nada. ¿A ti te gusta? ...
María: A mí, a mí sí me gusta
Father: Pues eso es lo importante, porque
te lo vas a poner tú)
María: Who CL1p.s. it has bought this dress?
Father: I don't like it at all. Do you like it?
María: To me, to me it yes CL1p.s. pleases
Father: Then that's what's important because
CL2p.s. it are going to wear you

Papá no *sa*[se] (*lo*) va a ponée [poner] (2;2-409)
Daddy neg SE (it) is going to put on

f. (Talking to her father about her doll.

María: ¿Le quito las gafas?
Father: Quítaselas)
María: Her I take off the glasses?
Father: Take-SE-them off

Vale, (*se*) *las* quito, es que
tiene sol (2;5-472)
OK, (SE) them I take, is that she
has sun.

g. (María asks her mother if she also changes
her underwear every night. The mother says:
Yes, of course).

¿Por qué? ¿Po(r) qué (te) las quit(as)? (2;5-488)
Why? ¿Why you (CL2p.s) them take off?

h. (In the bath playing with the water.
María: A que la tiro
Father: A que no)
María: I'll bet I throw it
Father: Oh, no you won't

Ya *te* (*la*) he echado (2;8-532)
I already CL2p.s. (it) have thrown

A few commission errors were also made. As in the case of single clitics, these were mainly related to gender and number. When the referent does not occur in the previous discourse (e.g., 37a) these might not be clitic errors per se. That is, it could be that María does not identify correctly

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the gender and/or the number of the corresponding noun. For (37a), she might not know that the object is named "hoja" (=leaf) and, as a result, she might not attribute to the pronoun a feminine gender. The totality of examples found for gender, number or both are reported in (37), (38) and (39) respectively.

(37) a. (María takes a leaf(=hoja,fem) from the plant)

Papá, toma cómete*lo*[la] (2;1-343)
Daddy, take eat-CL2p.s.-itmasc[fem]

b. Quítame*lo*[la] la toalla (2;2-407)
Take-CL1p.s.-itmasc[fem] off the towel

(38) (María's mother complains because she has dropped aniseeds from a gun)

Te *lo(s)* doy yo (2;2-381)
CL2p.s. it[them] give I

(39) (María argues with her mother because she wants to wear sandals instead of slippers)

Pues ahora me *lo[las]*
voy a ..... (2;11-564)
Well now I CL1p.s. itmasc[themfem]
am going to...

However, in two utterances in the same conversation, María uses the cluster of (39) with the correct gender and number (*me las*) both in proclitic (40a) and enclitic positions (40b) to refer to the same antecedent, namely "sandalias". The instance in (40a) is a climbing construction and the one in (40b) is an infinitival fragment. The fact that the child identifies the morphological features of clitics both

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correctly and incorrectly, even within the same or consecutive utterance, indicates that the development of these features is in a transitional stage. That is, it is reasonable to suppose that the knowledge is available, but it has to be fully established, or recruited more efficiently in performance. The same pattern of development was observed above with respect to the presence and absence of clitics (e.g., 36a).

(40) a. Hala, no quiero, ahora *me* *las* voy a poner (2;11-564)
Hey, I neg want, I now CL1p.s. them am going to put on

b. (Father: ¿Qué vas a hacer?)
What are you going to do?

Poné(r)*melas* (2;11-564)
Putinf-CL1p.s.-them

One other cluster error was found. In this case María substitutes twice the cluster *se te* for *te lo* (41b). (In the cluster used by María there is also a gender and number mis-identification: *lo* should be *las* to refer to *las gafas* 'the glasses'.) This error, however, does not seem to be related to the cluster per se. It may have occurred because María used "caer" 'to fall' instead of "caer*se*" 'to fall off oneself' and by analogy with verbs like "quitar" 'to take off' and "quitar*se*" 'to take off oneself' she erroneously transitivized the verb "caer" and provided the direct object clitic *lo*[las] instead of the inherent clitic SE (and put those clitics in the right order). However, a correct instance with the same verb had just appeared in the previous utterance

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(41a). This inconstancy is one more proof of the existence of an "insecure" stage that affects both functional and lexical categories.

(41) a. (Talking to her father about the glasses of her doll, Irene)

Irene ... xxx *se* *l'*han [le han] caído (2;5-472)
Irene ... xxx SE to her have fallen off

b. (Talking to the doll about the glasses)

Te *lo*[las] [se te]
han *caído*, *te* *lo*[las]
[se te] han caido ¡Ay!,
la Irenica (2,5-472)
CL2p.s. it$_{masc.sg}$[them$_{fem.pl}$] [SE CL2p.s.]
have fallen off, CL2p.s it$_{masc.sg}$[them$_{fem.pl}$.]
[SE CL2p.s] have fallen off. Alas!
the little Irene
'have they fallen off you, have they fallen
of you? Alas!, the little Irene'

To conclude this section on clusters, I note that, except for the cases reported in (27), clitics were always ordered correctly within a cluster and clusters were never split up in climbing constructions.[8] Moreover, as was reported for single clitics, their distribution in the structure was always correct. Again, these findings comport with previous observations by other researchers with respect to other Romance languages.

[8] I would like to remind the reader that clusters invariably move as a unit in the adult language. Detailed information on this issue is provided in Chapter IV Section 4.1.1.

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7.4. EVIDENCE FOR CLITIC DOUBLING (CLDP, CLLD, CLRD)

The number of clitic doubling utterances is quite low in this corpus. First, the number of standard doubling contexts (CLDP) is quite low. Secondly, María's care-takers (and, as a result, herself) used the lexical dative doubling option less than I and other speakers that I have consulted would. I am referring not only to cases of goal or source objects in which the clitic is optional or preferred according to speakers, but also to structures where the clitic seems in general to be very highly preferred (obviously, not so much for these speakers). These are contexts with ditransitive verbs (e.g., *dar* "to give", *decir* "to say", *hacer* "to make") and with verbs acting as unergatives (*contar* "to tell", *pegar* "to hit"), as in (42). The clitic was also absent, when grammatically required, in one instance from the mother and another from María. Both were cases of inalienable CLDP structures, as shown in (43). To make the point clearer, I will insert the expected clitic in parentheses. For a detailed report on doubling: standard doubling (CLDP), clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic right dislocation (CLRD), I refer the reader to Appendix 5, Table 7a for single clitics and Table 7b for clusters.[9]

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[9] The doubling complements taken into account are stressed pronouns and lexical DPs. Doubling with quantifiers (i), with demonstratives (ii) and with possessives (iii) is not included in this count. Sentences like (ii) and (iii), however, are recorded as imperatives.

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(42)

Mother: a. Di(le) a papá cómo se llama esto (203)
Tell-(him) daddy what SE name3p.s. this
'Tell-(him) daddy what is the name for this'

b. María, cuenta(le) a Ricardo lo que hiciste ... (317)
María, explain-(him) to Ricardo it what you did ...

c. ¿(Le) hacemos una casa a ése? (509)
We (him) shall make a house to that one?

Father: d. ¿No tienes nada que decir(le) a papá? (063)
You neg have anything to tell-(him) to daddy?

e. ¿Estás vacilando(le) a tu padre? (270)
You are making fun of-(him) your father?

f. ¿Por qué no (le) haces una película a tu muñeco? (472)
You why neg (him) shoot a film to your male doll?

Aunt: g. No (le) pegues al muñeco, ¡pobrecito! (339)
Neg (him) spank the male doll, poor little thing!

(i) (María helps her mother to carry things)

Eso lo llevo yo todo (2;5-495)
That it carry I all

(ii) (Referring to the wire of the camera)

Quítalo e(s)to (2;2-375)
Take-it off this thing

(iii) (Referring to her mother's hands)

Escóndetelas las tuyas (2;2-387)
Hide-CLdat.2p.s-themacc.fem the yours

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h. ¿Qué vas a dar(le) a Carlitos de cenar? (341)
You what are going to give-(him) Carlitos for dinner?

(Father: No (le) des a la cámara)
Neg (it) hit the camara

María: i. (Le) da [doy] a la cámara [sí le doy (a la cámara)] (2;1-362)
She (it) hits [hit] the camera [yes I it hit (the camera)]

j. No (le) des un golpe, que se g[r]ompe eso (2;2-410)
Neg (it) give a blow, that SE breaks that

k. ... y cuando vienen los cazadores pues (le) dicen [cuentan] un chiste a Caperucita y se lo [la] llevan a la cárcel... (3;10-643)
... and when come the hunters then (her) say [tell] a joke to Little Redhood and SE him [her] take to jail...

(43)

Mother: a. Ha cogido un bastoncillo de esos y estaba limpiando(*le*) a la muñeca las orejas (123)
She has grabbed one of those cue-tips and she was cleaning-(her) to the doll the ears

María: b. Toma(*le*) [cógele] la mano a Ca(r)litos (2;1-340)
Take-(him) [grab-him] the hand to Carlitos

The earliest doubling occurrences in Maria's speech are instances of accusative and dative CLDP, both lexical and pronominal. Accusative and dative CLDP appeared at 1;11 and 2;1, respectively. A representative sample of accusative and dative CLDP utterances is provided in (44) and (45),

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respectively.[10] Cases like (44a) will be discussed in more detail below.

(44) a. (María talking to the dog, Aito)

Hola, Ito. * Déja*le*$_{dat}$ [lo$_{acc}$] a papá (1;11-255)
Hello, Ito. Leave-him daddy

b. *Te* he regañado a ti (2;3-415)
I CL$_{2p.s.}$ have scolded to you

c. No, *te* regaño yo a ti (2;3-415)
No, CL$_{2p.s.}$ scold I to you

(45) a. *Le'* [le he] comp(r)ao a Manena uno(s) zapato(s) (2;1-331)
I her have bought to Manena some shoes

b. *M'*a [me (lo) has] quitao a mí (2;1-356)
You CL$_{1p.s.}$ (it) have taken from me

c. No *te* (lo) digo a ti (2;1-362)
I neg CL$_{2p.s.}$ (it) say to you

d. No (*l*)*e* gusta e(l) cole a Pipo (2;2-331)
Neg him pleases the school to Pipo
'Pipo does not like school'

e. (Referring to the dress of the doll)

Se la [*le* ha] (des)ab(r)ochado esto a la niña (2;3-419)
SE her has unbutton this to the girl

f. *Se le* va a cae(r) a la niña (2;3-419)
It SE her is going to fall off the girl

g. *Le* voy a dar arroz a mi niño (2;4-457)
I him am going to give rice to my child

---

[10] I remind the reader that María's speech is sometimes *leísta* and *laísta*. When leísmo occurs, the dative clitics *le* and *les* stand for the accusative *la/lo* and *las/los* (singular and plural, respectively). In the laísmo cases, the accusative clitics *la* and *las* stand for the dative clitics *le* and *les* (singular and plural, respectively).

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h. (Referring to her doll and her glasses)

Quíta*selas* tú a Irene (2;5-472)
Take-SE-them off you$_{subj}$ to Irene

The first utterances of accusative and dative CLLD and CLRD occurred soon after CLDP (namely, at 2;2 for pronominal dative CLLD and lexical dative and accusative CLRD, and at 2;3 for lexical dative and accusative CLLD). A sample of accusative and dative CLLD is presented in (46) and (47), respectively. No pronominal accusative instances were encountered. With respect to CLRD, the only utterances available were lexical dative and accusatives. Pronominal accusatives and datives were not present at all. The absence of certain types of dislocation most probably means that the discourse contexts were not appropriate for these constructions or that the child chose not to use them. Moreover, I would think that dislocation (especially right dislocation) is not as productive in the language as standard doubling. All of the occurring cases of CLRD are reported in (48).[11]

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[11] The structure in (48a) implies that María is talking to herself about her father and she uses the second person clitic (te) instead of the third (lo). The same type of deviation is observed in (10a(ii)) and in (21b). (See note 4 for more details). Another way to look at (48a) is by assuming that María is talking directly to her father and what is wrong is that she added the preposition *a* in front of the vocative form *papá*, as in (i). In this case the clitic obviously is correct and *papá* would be in a focus position instead of being a right dislocated element. The first alternative seems more likely to me.

(i) Te vo(y) a mojar, papá
I CL$_{2pl.\ acc}$ am going to wet, daddy
'I am going to get you wet, daddy'

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(46) Ese coches[c]ito *lo* ha comp(r)ado ... ¡Nines! (2;3-421)
That little car it has bought? .... Nines!

(47) a. A mí *me* gu(s)tan las b(r)ujas pirujas (2;2-407)
To mi CL1p.s. please the witches sassy

b. A mí, a mí sí *me* gusta (2;2-409)
To me, to me yes CL1p.s. pleases it

c. A mí sí *me* vale ¿a que sí? (2;2-409)
It to me yes CL1p.s. fits, doesn't it?

d. (Referring to horses)

A mí no *me* gustan (2;3-429)
To me neg CL1p.s. please they

e. A Carlete no *le* gusta la tele (2;3-417)
To Carlete neg her please the TV

f. (A) Irene, *¿le* quito las gafas? (2;5-472)
(To) Irene I her take the glasses off?

(48) a. Te [lo] vo(y) a mojar, a papá (2;2-395)
I CL2p.s [CL3p.s.] going to wet, to daddy

b. No *me* *la* (saqu)es, una peli
Neg CL1p.s. it shoot, a film (2;2-404)

c. Ses [se] *lo* voy a dejar ahí,
el ag[rr]oz (2;4-458)
I SE it am going to leave there,
the rice

As shown in (44a), the first doubling occurrence in María's speech is ungrammatical. It is an instance of animate lexical accusative CLDP, and these constructions are not allowed in most Spanish varieties, including peninsular Spanish. I must stress that these structures, and even the more rare cases of inanimate lexical accusative CLDP, were quite productive in María's speech (12 instances total). These deviations occurred more frequently before 2;4 (8=67%),

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but they continued to be present for several more months (e.g., 2;7 (1); 2;9 (2) and (1) at 3;1).[12] One should also consider that no data at all are available at the ages of 2;10, 3;0 and from 3;1 to 3;6. An exhaustive list of ungrammatical instances of animate and inanimate CLDP is provided in (49) and (50), respectively.[13] For convenience, I will report the case seen in (44a) as (49a).

(49) a. (María talking to the dog, Aito)

Hola, Ito. * Déja*le*[lo] a papá (1;11-255)
Hello, Ito. Leave-him daddy

b. (Playing with a puzzle)

* Vale. P(r)imero *lo(s)* tengo que ata(r) [colocar] los pollitos, ¿vale? (2;3-439)
Fine. I first it[them] have to tie [to place] the baby chicken, OK?

c. * Yo no puedo mirar*lo* a papá (2;7-510)
I neg can look-him at to daddy

d. * Sí, yo *le*[lo] quiero mucho a ET (2;9-543)
Yes, I him love a lot to ET

---

[12] Although the time frame examined in this chapter is only up to 2;11, I went over the limit in this case to report an utterance relevant to the discussed topic, namely, a case of ungrammatical CLDP that occurred at 3:1. This utterance, however, is not recorded in Table 7b.

[13] I remind the reader that personal (or animate, if animals are personalized) accusative objects in Spanish must be preceded by the preposition *a* (for details, see Chap. III Section 3.1). Also, I would like to point out that (49d) is an instance of *leísmo* since the clitic *le* is not dative here but accusative. This clitic co-refers to ET, a lexical direct object.

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(50) a. (Aunt: ¿Qué le hiciste al yayito
con la tele?)
You what him did to grandpa
with the TV?

* Paga( )*lo* [apagar*la*] la tele (al) yayito (2;1-326)
Shut-it$_{masc[fem]}$ off the TV (to) grandpa

b. (María in the bath talking to her father)

* Sácame*lo* este cacharro (2;2-403)
Take-CL$_{1p.s.}$-it this piece of junk

c. * Quítame*lo*[la] la toalla (2;2-407)
Take-CL$_{1p.s.}$-it$_{masc[fem]}$ the towel

d. * ¿Quién me *lo* ha comp(r)ao
este ve(s)tido? (2;2-409)
Who CL$_{1p.s.}$ it has bought
this dress?

e. * Que ten(g)o que gua(r)da(r)*las*
las cosas (2;3-419)
That I have to save-them
the things

f. * Si no jub[g]amos *la* tiro la tapa (2;4-450)
If we neg play I it throw the cover

g. * Es que no *la* he terminado
la película (2;9-543)
It is that I neg it have finished
the film

h. * Te *la* he hecho de juguete
la foto (3;1-577)
I CL$_{2p.s.}$ it have taken mock
the picture

As indicated in Chapter III Section 3.1, lexical accusative constructions are grammatical when a strong pause (a comma) precedes the lexical doubling object, that is, as instances of CLRD. Possibly such a pause occurred but was not transcribed. Setting that aside, however, one must seek some other explanation. At first sight, one is tempted to assume

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that these deviations occurred because María had not yet acquired the structure of CLRD. In terms of the syntactic theory followed in this dissertation (Kayne 1994), it would mean that she was not aware that the right dislocated element moves up to the DLP (dislocation phrase) at LF and, as a result, she left it in the base position, as it occurs in CLDP structures. The fact that two instances of lexical accusative CLRD were found in María's speech (cf. 48b and 48c at 2;2 and 2;4, respectively) suggests that at least from the age of 2;2 onward she did know the right structure, though of course she may have applied it inconsistently for a while, like other facts newly acquired.

A highly relevant fact is that these deviations were also present in her parents' speech. This is puzzling because it is hard to believe that they would consider them grammatical. Especially cases of inanimate lexical accusative CLDP sound very odd and are well identified as ungrammatical in most Spanish varieties including Peninsular Spanish.[14] The

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[14] Curiously, as I was examining the text of the novel *El Jarama* 'The Jarama' (a river in Madrid) by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, looking for (non)climbing structures, I came across one of these clitic doubling constructions (see (i) below). The fact that the author is not a speaker of the dialects that are known to permit it (the River Plate section of Argentina and some Basque areas in Spain) makes one think that this structure might not be as restricted as it is generally believed to be. It could also happen that it might occur sometimes in colloquial conversational speech. This is the style of this novel and, of course, of the interactions between María and her parents. The sample in this text, however, is very small, just one in 80 pages I consulted.

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complete set of the mother's and the father's ungrammatical utterances of this kind (animate and inanimate) is reported in (51) and (52), respectively.

(51) a. * ¿Qué *le* quieres a papá? (056)
That you him love to daddy?

b. * Cóge*le* el triciclo (170)
Take-it the tricycle

c. * *La* vamos a poner la tele (220)
We it are going to turn on the TV

d. * Ahora te *las* doy las cositas (229)
Now I CL2p.s. them give the little things

e. * Oye, mírа*le* a papá (260)
Listen, look-him at to daddy

f. * A ver cómo *te* comes la galleta que si no me *la* llevo la caja otra vez (470)
Let's see how you CL2p.s. eat the biscuit that if not I CL1p.s it take the box again

g. * María, no *le* pises a papá en las piernas (551)
M. neg him step daddy on the legs

(Character 1: He matado una cabra esta mañana ....
Character 2: ¿Esta mañana? ¿Y cómo, si no es día de mate?
Character 1: Se desgració esta noche ... Me mandaron razón a ver si la quería, y me quedé con ella).
Ch 1: I have killed a goat this morning ....
Ch 2: This morning? And how, if it wasn't a killing day?
Ch 1: Something happened to it last night ... They notified me to see if I wanted it and I took it.

(i) No iba a tener*lo* *al animalito* sufriendo hasta mañana. (p. 46)
I neg was going to have-it the poor animal suffering until tomorrow.

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(52) a. * No *me* *lo* des con el pie
que no *lo* quiero el cacharro (403)
You neg CL1p.s. it give with the foot
that I neg it want the piece of junk.

b. * ¿Quién *te* *la* ha regalado la armónica? (644)
Who CL2p.s. it has given the harmonica?

Setting aside the parents' data for a moment, I would like to suggest that María was aware of the difference between CLDP and CLRD at least by the age of 2;2. This is speculation, but it is based on the fact that she uttered two original grammatical CLRD sentences (cf. 48a and 48b for dative and accusative, respectively). Of course, it would be satisfactory to be able to support this suggestion more firmly by providing evidence from the other CLRD alternatives, namely, from pronominal accusative and dative utterances; however, as mentioned earlier, no instances of these constructions were found in the entire corpus. I reiterate that this could simply be due to lack of the appropriate discourse context, especially when the amount of data is not very great. As stated, I would also expect dislocation sentences (especially right dislocation) to occur less frequently than their standard doubling counterparts.

To account for the deviations, I will discuss several alternatives. I would like to suggest (although not without hesitation) that María's errors may have occurred because she did not fully discriminate the requirements for dative and accusative lexical doubling. That is, it could be that she was in the process of learning the distributional properties

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of CLDP in Peninsular Spanish (that lexical doubling is allowed with datives, but not with accusatives) and in the process she sometimes treated accusatives in the same manner as datives.[15] To ascertain precisely the significance of this overgeneralization one would have to look at all the potential contexts for lexical accusative doubling in the corpus. This is an arduous and complex task because of the type of speech used in the early stages and I doubt that it can be accomplished satisfactorily. Moreover, even if accuracy were feasible, the lack of doubling would not be significant since accusative CLDP, even in the dialects that allow the lexical alternative, is an optional, or at the most preferable, phenomenon. That is, as far as I am aware, the option with only the clitic or the lexical DP is always possible. Having observed that by 2;1-2;2 María's speech reflects not only presence, but perfect command of the structural properties of the other clitic constructions studied, I am very reluctant to think that it takes her that

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[15] The property (or properties) that control(s) this factor is still an unclear and controversial theoretical issue. For more information on this topic, I refer the reader to Chapter III Section 3.1. I also note that this claim disconfirms Torrens and Wexler (2000) which is based on the same corpus of data. Discussing the acquisition of clitic doubling by María, these authors claim that "she knows the obligatoriness, optionality and impossibility of use of the different contexts" ..... They conclude that María knows that "non-pronominal direct objects cannot double". They state: "we have not found instances of clitic doubling with non-pronominal direct objects, which is impossible". Apparently, they overlooked the four ungrammatical utterances of animate CLDP shown in (49) and the eight instances of inanimate CLDP presented in (50).

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long to figure out the different behavior of dative and accusative lexical DPs with respect to CLDP (still 4 of 12 utterances from 2;5-3;11). Very disconcerting is also the fact that, as indicated, María's parents and, as a result, the girl herself used the lexical dative doubling alternative much less than I and my consultants would. That is, they preferred the non-doubling option even with verbs that I believe highly favor doubling (cf. 42). Hence, if with datives they are more in favor of the non-doubling alternative, why do they use it in contexts where it is not allowed?

With respect to the parents' data, one may suggest that these instances might be used by (certain) speakers at times in a colloquial conversational style (see note 14 above). Otherwise, they are indeed ungrammatical utterances, which I presume must be due to performance factors. Several other types of deviations (syntactic and morphological) were also found throughout the adult corpus; for instance, (15b) above represents misplacement of negation, (53a-53d) and (53j) below are cases of clitic omission in a single context and in a cluster, (53e, 53f, 53k, 53o) represent number alteration of clitics, (53o) also contains an incorrect preposition, (53h) shows gender alteration of the clitic, (53g) is a clitic alteration of both gender and number, (53l, 53n,) are caused by misconjugation of the verbs, (53l) also reflects omission of the conjunction "que", (53p) is due to an error of mood, (53i) reflects gender alteration of a demonstrative pronoun

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and (53m) shows an error of number in an interrogative pronoun. I presume that all these deviations must also be understood as performance errors (if not transcription errors). If adults do make a considerable amount of errors, there are two reasons why we should be more lenient toward the child. (1) The child can also be expected to make some performance errors. (2) the parent's incorrect speech is the input for the child's acquisition, and could result in a wrong grammar, at least temporarily until further experience can distinguish the normal case from the exceptions. It remains as a methodological problem to determine the difference between a grammatical and a performance error in the child's discourse. A normal adult native speaker is granted grammatical competence, and thus, the structural deviations s/he makes from her/his grammar are interpreted to be the result of performance or extra-linguistic factors.

(53)

Mother: a. (María touches something)

Esto es de papá, no (lo) toques (288)
This belongs to daddy, neg (it) touch

b. (María pointing to her dress tells her mother that she does not want her to take it off)

No hombre, eso no te (lo) voy a quitar. Estás muy guapa (164)
No man, that I neg CL2p.s (it) am going to take off. You look very pretty

c. (Referring to María's tights)

Si es que te (los) voy a coser (408)
If is that I CL2p.s. (them) am going to sew

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d. A ver, pon(te) las braguitas limpitas (488)
Let's see put-(CL2p.s.) on the underwear clean

e. Que le [les] digas a los niños que se callen (253)
That CL3p.s. [CL3p.pl.] tell the children that they SE keep quiet

f. (Referring to María's toe nails)

Tú le [les] pones nombres (455)
You it [them] put names

g. Ahora te lo [las] limpio, las orejitas, hija (019)
Now I CL2p.s. itmasc [themfem] clean, the little ears, daughter

h. (María and her mother in a game building houses (=casasfem). One of them falls down)

Ahora ya no te lo [la] hago (509)
Now I anymore neg CL2p.s. itmasc[fem] build

i. Mira, éste [ésta] es la entrada (509)
Look, thismasc [fem] is the entrance

Father: j. (¡Que no nos quedan churros! (394)
That neg CL1p.pl. left churros!)

(Te) los has comido todos (394)
You CL2p.s. them have eaten all

k. Bueno, dile [les] a los nenes que hablan mucho (251)
Well, tell-CLdat.3p.s. [CLpl] the kids that they talk a lot

l. No quiero [quieres] (que) yo te seque (400)
You neg want1sg [2sg] (that) I CL2p.s dry

m. ¿Quién [quienes] vamos a jugar? (537)
Whosg [pl] are going1pl to play?

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n. Has [ha] sido tu tía que bebe en vaso (552)
It have2sg [has] been your aunt who drinks in a glass

o. Oye, por qué no te sientas por [en] la mesa y les [le] enseñas algo al personal (625)
Listen, you why neg CL2p.s. sit along [on/at] the table and CLdat.3p.p.[sing] show something to the personnel

p. Dime qué te parece que hacemos [hagamos] estas vacaciones (626)
Tell-me what CL2p.s think that we doIndicative[Subjunctive] these vacations

Coming back to the deviant cases of CLDP, the only structural motivation I can think of that could account for the ungrammatical CLDP structures in the child and in the adult grammar, is that it is caused by the fact that these speakers (parents and child) are leístas and lexical doubling is allowed with dative clitics *le* and *les*. That is, it may occur that since lexical accusatives with datives is permitted - and *le* and *les* are also used as accusatives in the leístas' dialects - the distributional properties of dative doubling is extended to accusatives, regardless of whether accusative case is expressed with *le* or *les*, or with the etymological forms: *la, lo, las,* or *los*. Both types of instances are observed in María's data (see 49a and 49d when leísmo applies and 49b, 49c, 50a etc., when it does not) and in her mother's data (e.g., 51a and 51b, 51e, 51g when leísmo applies and 51c, 51d and 51f when it does not). The deviant occurrences in the father's data contain the etymological forms (see 52a and

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52b). If this were the case, lexical accusative CLDP structures would be a possible option in the leísta dialects and an ungrammaticality in the varieties in which leísmo does not take place. This point, of course, can be checked empirically. I have asked two leístas from Madrid about the sentences in (49), (50), (51) and others I provided, and although their judgments were not entirely uniform within their own responses or across the two of them (they sometimes rejected doubling instances when leísmo applies, preferring instead the corresponding non-doubling lexical alternative) I have found two interesting parallelisms between the two of them. First, they frequently accepted doubling when the accusative clitic was *le* or *les* and the coreferent lexical object was animate (e.g., cases like (49a) above), but never when the clitic was one of the etymological accusative forms (*la, lo, las, los*) or when the double lexical object was inanimate (e.g., cases like (49c), (51b) and (51c) above). Second, when in cases of doubling with one of the etymological accusative clitics and an animate lexical DP object (e.g., (49c) above) I asked them what they would say instead, they sometimes fixed the structure by replacing the etymological accusative clitic with the corresponding dative clitic (e.g., sentences like: Yo no puedo mirar*lo* a papá (49c above) were turned into: Yo no puedo mirar*le* a papá). (Other times they simply deleted the clitic leaving a simple structure such as: Yo no puedo mirar a papá.) Thus, these results show that

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leístas do in fact accept lexical accusative doubling when the doubling clitic is dative (namely, le or les). The fact that they do not do it consistently (as noted, they sometimes preferred the non-doubling alternative) I presume is due to the fact that these particular speakers are not pure leístas (if indeed that extreme degree of laísmo actually exists) and they tend to use the two varieties. This is not surprising since both subjects have lived away from Madrid (or other leísta areas) for a very long time. Therefore, I suggest that these findings should be taken as tentative. A more in depth study needs to be made to explore these issues further on a larger number of subjects who are exposed to leísmo in their daily lives.

A final thought that would also explain the ungrammaticality of these structures (especially the totally unaccounted cases of doubling with inanimate lexical DPs) both in the child and in the adult, is that it may have happened that the transcriber(s) failed to mark the pause that precedes the dislocated DP (as marked in earlier pages). As stated, if the pause is not signaled with a comma, what would be an instance of (CLRD) is inevitably read as a CLDP structure. It is relevant that I have also encountered a lack of commas (and of other orthographical symbols) in contexts that require them in this corpus. An example is presented in (54a), an utterance in the form of a question which not only lacks the comma but also the question marks. It is unclear, however,

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whether all the dislocation errors could be due to transcriber error. However, some instances of lexical CLRD in the adult data (e.g., 54b) were transcribed with commas.

(54) a. (María addresses her male doll and reports what she believes he would say)

- Pipóo. (¿) Te guz(s)ta el cole (,) Pipóo (?) (2:02-376)
  Pipóo. CL2p.s pleases the school (,) Pipóo (?)
  'Pipóo'. 'Do you like going to school, Pipóo?'

- No (l)e gusta e(l) cole a Pipóo (2;02-376)
  Neg him pleases the school to Pipóo
  'Pipóo does not like going to school'

b. Ahora te lo [las] limpio, las orejitas, hija (019)
Now I CL2p.s. itmasc [themfem] clean, the little ears, daughter

A few other clitic commission and omission errors were also encountered in María's data. The commission errors were related to number and gender. These appeared in the sentences shown in (49b) and (50a and 50c), respectively.[16] The omission errors occurred in a pronominal dative CLRD construction (55)[17], with an accusative quantifier in a CLDP

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[16] One more number error was found, shown in (i) below. This utterance also shows an omission of the dative clitic in the cluster.

(i) (María talks to her aunt about her [her aunt's] shoes)

Toma. Quíta(te)lo(s) éstos (2;1-324)
There. Take-Cl2p.s.-it[them] off these

[17] The sentence that María evidently wants to utter requires the subjunctive and, although she is aware of it, she seems to have great difficulty using it. Since the clitic is

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structure (56) and in inalienable lexical dative and accusative pronominal CLDP contexts (57 and 58, respectively). These utterances are presented next.

(55) (María is banging the door of the terrace and her father asked her: ¿Qué haces, María? 'What are you doing, M.?'

Llama(n)do a mamá ... para (que) *me* salga[saque] ... Para que (me) sal... pa[para] salir-(me) [sacarme], a mí (2;1-348)
Calling mommy ... so that she CL1p.s. leaves[takes] out... So that (CL1p.s) xxx... to leave-(CL1p.s.) [take-CL1p.s] out to me

(56) (The anisette candy from a toy gun fell on the floor)

Te *los* doy yo. ¿(Los) quieres todos? (2;2-381)
CL2p.s them give I. You (them) want all?

(57) a. No (le) cabe (a) papá e(l) s[z]apatito (1;11-263)
Neg (him) fits (to) daddy the little shoe

b. Sí, toma(le) la mano a Ca(r)litos (2;1-340)
Yes, take-(him) the hand to Carlitos

(58) (*Te*) voy a peinar / voy a peinar(*te*) a ti (2;5-473)
I (CL2p.s) am going to comb/ I am going to comb-(CL2p.s) to you

To end this section, I would like to highlight that, as expected, doubling occurred a few months later than simple

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present in her first attempt to express her thought, the fact that she omits it later might be related to her struggle to come up with the correct verb form. María also uses the verb *salir* 'to leave' when she should have used *sacar* 'to take out'.

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cliticization (about 2;1-2;2 vs. 1;9) and that there seems to be a slight delay in CLLD and CLRD compared with CLDP. A quite consistent usage of ungrammatical lexical accusative CLDP utterances was observed in María until the age of 3;1. This was also observed in the speech of her parents. Some omission and commission errors were also encountered; the latter were mainly morphological, that is, incorrect marking of person and number features.

7.5. EVIDENCE FOR CLITIC CLIMBING

As pointed out in 7.1, María's early speech already contained four different verbal environments that allow climbing: *ir a+inf* at 1;10 and 1;11 (aspectual and pure motion, respectively), *tener que+inf* at 2;0 (modal), *estar+gerund* at 2;0 (progressive) and *poder+inf* at 2;1 (modal). A sample is shown in (59a-59f). Most of these utterances were already presented in (9).

(59) a. Vamo(s) a (es)tudia(r) (1;10-204)
We are going to study

b. Voy a busca(r) la pelota (1;11-267)
I am going to look for the ball

c. Voy a sop(l)a(r) las velas (2;0-281)
I am going to blow out the candles

d. Tenía que t(r)abaja(r) mamá (2;0-280)
Had to work mommy

e. El ot(r)o (es)tá bu(s)cando a Antonio (2;0-299)
The other one is looking for Antonio

f. No poro [puedo] salir (2;1-349)
I cannot get out

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Although these contexts occurred early, the total number of occurrences was very small until 2;1 or 2;2. Most of them were of the aspectual form *ir a+inf*. According to the results in Table 1 there were: 3 tokens of all types at 1;10 (5.3% of verbal utterances), 3 at 1;11 (4%), 9 at 2;0 (9.7%), 16 at 2;1 (8.8%) and 32 at 2;2 (15.6%). The average percentage from 2;2 to 2;11 is 16.9% with monthly percentages oscillating from 10.1% to 27.9%. This oscillation must have been determined by the topic of the conversations that took place at each age level and/or by what María undertook to say in each interaction since the lowest and highest percentages of these verbal environments do not coincide with the earliest and latest stages (15.6% at 2;2, 14.5% at 2;3, 13.4% at 2;4, 14.8% at 2;5, 18.3% at 2;6, 27.9% at 2;7, 10.1% at 2;8, 15.6% at 2;9 and 22.6% at 2;11). In view of these results, one can claim that María had a fairly good command and productive usage of climbing contexts by about 2;2 (only two errors were found in the entire corpus, one at 2;1 (10a(i)) and the other at 2;4 (10a(ii))). As will become clear, 2;2 is exactly the time when clitic climbing became quite prolific.

As noted in Section 7.2., clitic usage became fairly stable in both finite and infinitive contexts by about 2;1. Since the linguistic analysis proposed in this dissertation provides a uniform account for the distribution of clitics in local and non-local contexts (climbing and non-climbing), we expect clitic climbing to occur at approximately the same time

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as clitics in simple local contexts. A close look at the data, however, shows that clitics appeared slightly earlier (1;9-2;0) in simple finite sentences (60) and in infinitival fragments and first person plural commands (61a and 61b, respectively; see note 2 for details on 61b) than in climbing-type structures. The first climbable utterances (with or without climbing) were found at 2;1 (cf. 62a and 62b, respectively). Two-clause constructions where the enclitic pronoun is not allowed to climb occurred slightly later, namely, at 2;2 (cf. 62c).[18]

(60) a. (The dog is barking)

Sí, (*s*)*e* calla (1;9-139)
Yes it SE stops

b. Tú *lo* [la] sabes (1;10-224)
You it$_{masc\ [fem]}$ know

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[18] I would like to remind the reader that clitic climbing is exhibited only with a subset of the verbs that could structurally allow it. The lexical type of the matrix verb (modals, aspectual, motion, etc.) plays a role. In addition, some lexical restrictions within these verb classes also apply. For instance, climbing is always allow with modal verbs (such as *querer* 'to want', *poder* 'to be able to', *tener que* 'to have to' and *saber* 'to know'), with aspectuals (such as *ir a +inf* 'going to'), with motion verbs (such as *ir a +inf* 'going to') and with a progressive form (such as *estar + Ving* 'be + Ving'). With other verbs there is variation among speakers with respect to the degree of climbing they exhibit. Some which may allow climbing are: *pedir* 'to ask', *mandar* 'to tell', *necesitar* 'to need', *aprender* 'to learn', *preferir* 'to prefer' *decidir* 'to decide', among others. Some well identified non-climbing verbs are: *admitir* 'to admit', *jurar* 'to swear', *dudar* 'to doubt', *odiar* 'to hate', *creer* 'to believe', among others. A more detailed discussion of the issues raised by this construction is provided in Chapter III Section 3.2.

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c. *Me* he hecho pis (1;11-274)
I CL1p.s. have made piss

(61) a. (Mother: Y qué le has hecho tú?)
And what him have done you?

Da(r)*le* (en) (el) culo (1;10-243)
Slap$_{inf}$-him (on) (the) behind

b. ¡A bañar*no(s)* en la pist(c)ina! (2;0-280)
Let's bath$_{inf}$-us in the pool

(62) a. *Climbing*

(María talking to her mother who had uttered a bad word)

Si (*l*)*o* vuve [vuelves] a desí [decir]
e(s) que te doy en el culo (2;1-355)
If you it again say$_{inf}$
is that I CL2p.s. spank on the behind

b. *No climbing*:

No, no puedo saca(r)*lo* (2;1-365)
No, I neg can take$_{inf}$-it out

c. *Climbing not allowed*:

(María's mother wants to sew her tights)

No, no hay que coser*los*,
no qu(i)ero que me los cosas (2;2-408)
No, one neg has to sew-them,
I neg want that you CL1p.s. them sew

A small sample of spontaneous production data (in conversation between testing sessions) from some of the youngest children who participated in the experimental research reported in Chapter VI, showed clitics in climbing structures (with and without climbing) at an earlier time.[19]

[19] I remind the reader that I selected children who were early speakers to participate in these experiments.

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I present these utterances in (63), (64a) and (65) from Oscar (1;9), Tania (1;9) and Simón (1;10), respectively. The examples in (63) were already provided in Chapter VI. For convenience, I include them here again. The examples in (64a) and (65) indicate that encliticization is available to these children but they have difficulty in using clusters. In the example in (64b), the child leaves out the two clitics, that is, she cannot handle the cluster at all.[20] These data suggest that although clitics in complex infinitive contexts appear early, children go through an optional usage stage, just as they do in simple finite contexts. The apparent extra difficulty in using clusters has an effect on it too. The fact that in (64b) the clitic (me1sg, dat) is omitted and the doubling pronoun is present suggests that the child might have had difficulty with the doubling structure and preferred to use the strong pronoun. This preference was also shown in one of María's utterances at the age of 2;5 (see 58 above).[21]

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[20] All the other utterances that Tania provided (just a small number) show that she was struggling with clusters.

[21] Other Spanish and Italian researchers have noted parallel results. For Spanish this is documented in Hernández Pina (1984) with respect to Rafael's spontaneous speech. Some examples are provided in (i) below.

(i) a. ¿Qué (me) pasa a mí? (R:2;6)
what (CL1sg.) happens to me
b. ¿(Me) bajas a mí? (R:2;7)
(CL1sg.) put down to me?
c. ¿Tú (me) haces (una) foto a mí (R:2;11)
you (CL1sg.) take (a) photograph to me

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(63) a. Exp., Este chico está colgado en la rama del árbol
This boy is hanging from the branch of the tree

Oscar: La está ro(m)piendo (1;9)
He it is breaking

b. Context: We had been placing some adhesive numbers on a board and Oscar wanted to remove them. He said:

Oscar: Los qu(i)ero quitar
I them want to remove

Context: Once off, he said:

Oscar: Los qu(i)ero poner
I them want to put on

(64) a. Exp: Dile al perrico que te dé los colores
Tell-it to the doggy that it to you gives the colors

Tania: No me (los) quele [quiere] dar. (1;9)
No quele [quiere] darme(los)
He neg to me (them) wants to give
he neg wants to give-me(them)

b. Exp: Bueno, pues dile que te deje la goma
Well, then tell-him that he to you lends the eraser

Tania: No quele [quiere] deja(r)-(me)-(la) a mí
He neg wants to lend-(to me)-(it) to mí

(65) Exp: Pregúntale al perrico si te da la rueda
Ask-to him to the doggy if he to you gives the wheel

Simón: No qu(i)ere dar-me-(la) (1;10)
He neg wants to give-me-(it)

As in the case of María, the later appearance of clitics in climbing contexts (with or without climbing) than in simple

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finite sentences was also found by Guasti (1994) for Italian. As reported in Chapter V, Guasti takes simple cliticization as a process that involves one step of A-movement followed by head movement. In climbing structures, however, A-movement occurs in two steps and, in her view, this is specifically what causes the slight delay of climbing (that is, of structures like 62a vs. the ones in 60). However, as Guasti noted, this proposal is not pertinent to encliticization (i.e., non-climbed clitics, as in 62b and 62c) since presumably this process involves a single A-movement step and, as a result, it should pattern with cliticization in finite contexts and precede climbing. Guasti points out that the sample of data was very small, as a possible explanation for the fact that this predicted acquisition order was not observed. The fact that in the analysis of clitic climbing proposed in this dissertation the clitic undergoes a very long movement (from the head of the DP complement of the embedded tenseless verb directly to the left of the abstract functional head in the clitic place holder above the matrix verbal complex) might be thought to predict a delay in clitic climbing compared to procliticization in finite contexts and encliticization with nonfinite verbs. This prediction is weakened, however, by the fact that encliticization in climbing contexts occurred no sooner than clitic climbing (in fact, at exactly the same time in these data (2;1) in structures where climbing is allowed and a bit later (2;2)

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when it is not permitted). The data presented in (63), (64a) and (65) do not support it either.

Since the analysis proposed in this dissertation involves a single movement process both in single-clause sentences and in complex structures (i.e., climbing contexts with or without climbing) my predictions differ from Guasti's. Guasti commented that finite contexts are more productive in the language than infinitival contexts, but her tables on the distribution of these two verbal forms do not show percentages or numbers of utterances by age. My interpretation based on María's data (cf. Table 1) is that the number of climbing contexts before 2;1 is so small (15, 6.3% of verbal utterances) by itself, and compared to finite utterances (150, 63.5%), that the lack of climbing or of encliticization in the climbing contexts should not be very surprising. With this in mind, I would like to suggest that the slight delay of occurrences of clitics in climbing contexts (either with climbing or with encliticization to the lower verb) is not related to the climbing process, but to the low occurrence of climbing environments in the child's production. The data in (63) from a child of 1;9 also suggests that the climbing process does not necessarily offer an extra difficulty to children.

Looking at the Italian data examined by Guasti, I observe the same phenomenon as in the corpus presented in this dissertation, but more accentuated: *Scarcity of climbing*

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contexts. Of the three subjects studied, Martina uses climbing contexts three times prior to 2;1 (1 at 1;9 and two at 1;10), Diana none, and no data at all are available for Guglielmo until 2;2. Moreover, the first utterances of climbing contexts for Guglielmo do not occur until the age of 2;3, with 6 tokens at this stage.

As indicated, the first climbing utterances with a clitic in María's data were found at the age of 2;1. They were climbable structures. As shown, the clitic appeared once in each position, proclitic to the triggering matrix verb (62a) and enclitic to the non-finite verb beneath (62b). In the entire corpus up to 2;11, however, the climbing option was much more frequent than the non-climbing alternative (99 vs. 14, respectively), even when both are grammatical and their interpretation is the same in the vast majority of cases.[22] Most climbed clitics occurred in *ir a+inf* aspectual structures. This is not surprising since, as noted, these were the most productive of the potential climbing

[22] The fact that the clitic can occur in either position without affecting the meaning of the utterance is an interesting property which is still not well captured theoretically. There is also some controversy about it. The same pattern of distribution applies to Italian; however, Napoli (1981) claims that there is a different shade of meaning in the two alternatives, determined by the effect of the matrix verb on the lower clause. A more detailed discussion of this issue is provided in Chapter III Section 3.2.

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contexts.[23] Several examples of climbing over different matrix verbs and at different ages are provided in (66). An exhaustive list of constructions with the clitic in the source enclitic position is given in (67).[24] In either structure, there are instances that contained both climbing and doubling (e.g., 66j, 66m, 66n, 66o and 67d, 67i). (All of them were instances of CLDP, except 66o, which was a CLRD utterance.) These appear a bit later (2;3), presumably because of the extra length of the sentence. A variety of clusters was also present and, as required, the two clitics always raised or remained together beneath the lower verb (e.g., 66g, 66h, 66i,

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[23] These structures continue being abundant all through the latest stages of María's data up to age 3;11, and also occur often in the adults' utterances.

[24] Instances of the expression *ir a+infinitive* in the context of first-person plural commands with an enclitic pronoun (i) were not included in this section since the climbing alternative (ii) would not be a command (iia), but a regular aspectual clitic climbing construction (iib). That is, the expression *ir a+infinitive* in the context of a first person plural command cannot have a proclitic pronoun. In some *ir a+inf+CL* structures, it is not easy to discern if María (or her interlocutors) meant to use a command or a climbing sentence. In these cases, I have followed my best judgment.

(Some anisette candy had fallen on the floor)

(i) Vamos a guardar*los* (2;2-382)
Let's putinf-them away

(ii) *Los* vamos a guardar
a. * Them let's putinf away
b. We them are going to put away

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66m, 66o, 66y, 66z).[25] Finally, only one example with a clitic was found with a matrix verb that cannot trigger climbing. It is an impersonal expression, shown in (68). Note that the clitic has not climbed.

For complete information on the presence of clitics in optional climbing/non-climbing complex structures, I refer the reader to Appendix 5, List A:2.1 and 2.2, respectively. Structures with verbs that do not allow climbing can be found in List A:3.1. Collated information of clitics in climbing constructions can be found in Tables 9A and 9B in Appendix 5 for single clitics and clusters, respectively. A global summary of cliticization (all types of structures) is provided in Tables 11 (for single clitics) and 13 (for clusters) of the same appendix.

(66) a. (Maria's father says a bad word)

Si (*l*)*o* vuve [vuelves] a deci(r) e(s) que *te* doy en el culo (2;1-355)
If you it say$_{inf}$ again is that I CL$_{2p.s.}$ slap in the behind

---

[25] I would like to remind the reader that in Spanish (and many other clitic languages), if there are two (or more) clitics that semantically belong to the same verb, they must either climb together or all remain enclitic to the lower verb. That is, sentences with split clitics are ungrammatical (i). The correct utterances are given in (ii).

(i) * *Se* quiero darlo
I SE want to give-it

(ii) a. *Se lo* quiero dar
I SE it want to give
b. Quiero dárselo
I want to give-SE-it

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b. (María is seating on her father's legs)

Te voy a tirar (2;1-358)
I CL2p.s. am going to throw

c. *Te* vas a caer (2;1-359)
You CL2p.s are going to fall

d. Yo *me* voy a senta(r) aquí, aquí (2;1-364)
I CL1p.s am going to sit here, here

e. *Te* voy (a) hacer una peli (2;2-370)
I CL2p.s am going (to) make a film

f. *Me* e(s)toy bañando aquí (2;2-389)
I CL1p.s am bathing here

g. No *me* *la* vo(y) a bebe(r) (2;2-392)
I neg CL1p.s it am going to drink

h. Noo [no], ese vestido no me b[g]usta,
no *me* *lo* quiero pompá [poner] (2;2-399)
No, that dress neg CL1p.s. like,
I neg CL1p.s. it want to wear

i. *Se me* va a efiá [enfriar] un pie (2;2-408)
SE CL1p.s. is going to get cold a foot

j. P(r)imero *lo*(s) tengo que
ata(r) [colocar] (a) los pollitos, ¿vale? (2;3-439)
First I him [them] have
to tie [place] the baby chicken, OK?

k. No *lo* [la] tero [quiero] apagá
[apagar] yo (2;3-415)
No itmasc[fem] xxxx [want]
to switch off I

l. Los gaticos .. *se* van a esconder.. (2;3-411)
The kittens .. they SE are going to hide..

m. *Se le* va a cae(r) a la niña (2;3-419)
Se her is going to fall off to the girl

n. *Le* voy a dar arroz a mi niño (2;4-457)
I him am going to give rice to my child

o. *Ses* [se] *lo* voy a dejar ahí,
el agós [arroz] (2;4-458)
I xxx [SE] it am going to leave there,
the xxxx [rice]

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p. Papá, no *se* puede mover porque ss... (2;5-492)
Daddy, neg SE cannot moveinf because ss...

q. Coge eso p(r)onto. *Lo* tienes que recoger (2;5-494)
Wipe up that soon. You it have to wipe up

r. El papá no *se* quiere bañar (2;6-506)
The daddy neg SE want to bathe

s. ¡Ay!, que eso *se* va a caer! (2;6-506)
Woe!, that that SE is going to fall down!

t. ¿Quién *me* va a quitar el jersey? (2;7-510)
Who CL1p.s. is going to take off the sweater?

u. Yo *lo* puedo llenar soli(ta) (2;7-522)
I it can fill up by myself

v. *Me* voy a bañar en la pist[c]ina g(r)ande (2;8-526)
I CL1p.s am going to bathe in the pool big

w. Sí, mira tú *te* tienes que tomar el desayuno (2;8-533)
Yes, look you CL2p.s have to take the breakfast

x. Yo no *lo* sabo [sé] contar (2;9-543)
I neg it knowreg. [knowirreg.] how to tell

y. Pero *me* *lo* quiero poner (2;9-555)
But I CL1p.s. it want to put on

z. Hala, no quiero, ahora *me* *las* voy a poner (2;11-564)
Hey, I neg want, now I CL1p.s. them am going to put on

(67) a. No, no puedo saca(r)*lo* (2;1-365)
No, I neg can takeinf-it out

b. Po [pues] voy a buscar*la* ¿vale? (2;2-390)
Well I am going to look-her for, OK?

c. No qu(i)ero seca(r)*me* (2;2-400)
I neg want to dry-CL1p.s.

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d. Que ten(g)o que gua(r)da(r)*las* las cosas (2;3-419)
That I have to save-them the things

e. Voy a lee(r)lo (2;3-428)
I am going to read-it

f. Yo no puedo limpiar*me* los mocos with la mano, ¿a que no? (2;5-478)
I neg can cleaninf-CL1p.s the mucuses with the hand, can I?

g. Voy a sacar*los* (2;6-509)
I am going to take-them out

h. Voy a bañar*me* (2;7-510)
I am going to bathe-CL1p.s.

i. Yo no puedo mirar*lo* a papá (2;7-510)
I neg can lookinf-him to daddy

j. Voy a ab(r)i(r)*lo* (2;7-524)
I am going to open-it

k. Voy a ab(r)i(r)le la t(r)ipa (2;7-524)
I am going to open-it the belly

l. ¿Quieres verlo, niña? (2;11-563)
You want to see-it, girl

m. Yo no sé poner*lo* (r)ecto (2;11-566)
I neg know how to put-it straight

(68) No, no, no hay que coser*los* (2;2-408)
One neg, neg, neg. have to sew-them

Even though (66) gives only a sample of climbing (vs. the exhaustive list of 67), it points to the fact that there was a clear preponderance of climbing in every climbable verbal environment (i.e., aspectual, motion, modal, etc.) that occurred in María's output to 2;11 (as said, the global number of climbable structures with and without climbing is 99 vs. 14, respectively). I do not find a principled distinction

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between the cases where María climbs the clitic and the cases where she does not. It is possible that this is an arbitrary choice. At present, we do not know whether there are universal principles that determine preferred clitic position where there is a choice. (In fact, we do not even know well what universal principles determine the distribution of clitics in general.[26] Preverbal position is certainly frequent, especially in languages like Spanish and Italian.[27]) As suggested informally by other researchers, one possibility is that climbing is more common because children have proclisis (CL+V) as a default. The very early and accurate presence of Spanish clitics in positive imperatives (12a and 12b), in infinitival fragments (13a) and in climbable contexts with no climbing (64a and 65), however, disproves any strong default precluding early recognition of enclitics.

Another way to account for this preference is by considering the verbs that most strongly prompt the climbing option (e.g., aspectuals, motion, modals etc.) to see if there is any semantic generalization. Since only a set of the verbs that meet the structural description for climbing in

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[26] For detailed information on this subject, see Chapter II Section 2.5.

[27] Let me remind the reader briefly that proclisis occurs in Spanish and Italian in finite contexts and in negative imperatives. Positive imperatives, on the other hand, require enclisis. French differs from these languages in that clitics precede infinitives.

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fact trigger climbing, a quick way to learn about this preference would be to check whether children climb clitics over verbs that structurally could permit climbing but for which climbing would yield semantically deviant sentences (see note 18 for details). If they do, then we do not find support for the proposal that learning is accomplished through semantic generalization. In fact only one structure of this type was found in this corpus (cf. 68 with the verb *hay*+que 'one has to') and the clitic was placed correctly, namely in the enclitic position. Most verbs of this kind (i.e. which take infinitives but do not permit climbing, e.g., *dudar*, *jurar*, *odiar*, *creer* etc.) do not seem to enter into the child's lexicon until more advanced stages of language acquisition. Verbs which are subject to variation among speakers concerning climbing (cf. note 18) did not occur in María's two-clause contexts either.

With the exception of modals, María used only a small number of verbs from each verb class, to be precise, one aspectual verb (*ir a* + inf = going to), one pure motion verb (*ir a* + inf = going to), four modals (*poder* = to be able to; *querer* = to want; *saber* = to know and *tener que* = to have to), one progressive form (*estar* + gerund = to be + gerund) and one other verb (*volver a* + infinitive = to do it again + infinitive).[28] The same aspectual, motion and modal verbs

[28] The most productive progressive form, at least in Spanish, is *estar* + gerund. Some other progressive forms that

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(and only these) were used by María in structures where the clitic did not raise to the matrix verb.[29] The only type of verbs that would allow us to see if there is a semantic generalization is the modal category. The set of verbs belonging to this class in the adult language is rather small and María already had climbing structures with four different lexical items. The data show that with *tener que* the climbing option is almost the only alternative (12 tokens vs. 1) and *querer* does not fall much more behind (8 tokens vs. 2). With the verb *poder* the ratio is still almost double (5 vs. 3), but with *saber* the numbers are even (1 vs. 1). The fact that climbing is numerically preferred with three of the modal verbs suggests that at least this verb class might fall under a semantic criterion. The difference in ratios among them may

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also allow optional climbing (not drawn from the corpus) appear in (i).

(i) a. A mi madre. La *sigo* llamando los domingos
To my mother. I her continue calling on Sundays
b. La cena. La *voy* preparando mientras te duchas
Dinner. I it go preparing while you CL2p.s. shower
'I am preparing it while you shower'
c. Te lo *vengo* diciendo desde hace días
I CL2p.s. it come saying for days
'I have been saying it to you for days'

[29] As said, an exhaustive report of all these structures is given in Appendix 5, List A:2. The reader will observe that although some climbing environments contain a quite large number of utterances (the aspectual section with climbing is typical) all entries are utterances with the same verb, namely, with the verb *ir a* + infinitive. As said earlier, this is a very high frequency verb in the language, it was one of the earliest forms to appear in a matrix clause with nonfinite complement, and it also occurred quite frequently prior to climbing.

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weaken this point, but is unlikely to be statistically significant with such small numbers. Since the sample from the other verb classes is very limited (the number of lexical items per class is small to start with), one cannot rely on the numerical distribution of clitics in this corpus to decide this issue.

A preference for climbing has also been claimed for child language in Italian by Antelmi (1992). To find out if this is a tendency that applies only to the early stages of acquisition, or is a more general phenomenon, I consulted a study testing the use of clitics in the spontaneous production of twenty five 5;0 to 9;7 Mexican Spanish speaking children living in Southern California (Randeri, 1980). I also examined the utterances of María's parents while they were interacting with her. If the strong preference for climbing prevails in later stages of acquisition, or in adulthood, this would be of independent interest, and would also increase the chance of finding a rich sample of climbing verbs per structural environment to help us establish what determines climbing preference (given that it is permitted). It would be interesting to find out why adults would prefer procliticization to the matrix verb rather than encliticization to the verb that subcategorizes for the clitic, if that is indeed the case. If it were a characteristic of only child language, one would like to know what motivates this choice in the child grammar.

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Randeri reports, and supports with a substantial number of representative examples (pp. 161-188), that all 25 children in her study climbed clitics productively and accurately in the various contexts when the lower verb was an infinitive, and climbed at least twice when it was a gerund. She indicates that the non-climbing structure was only produced by 22 subjects, even though the other three children were very articulate speakers. She comments that the non-climbing option was generally less common, although it occurred at least once per context in the speech of the 22 children who uttered it. Thus, these children had a preference for climbing. The matrix verbs that Randeri reports as being most productive with respect to climbing are: five modals (*poder, deber* 'must', *querer, tener que* and *saber*), three aspectuals (*ir a, comenzar a/empezar a* 'to begin', 'to start'), two motion verbs (*ir* 'to go' and *venir* 'to come') and three progressive forms (*estar, andar/ir* 'to go around', 'to be going'). This is a quite rich sample of climbing verbs (very rich with respect to modals), but in general still a subset of adult-climbable verbs, even though these children are 5 years and older. Based on these data, Randeri concluded that climbing was a basic structure in the grammar of her subjects and that it was more prominent than the non-climbing alternative.[30]

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[30] Randeri adds that structures with and without climbing were probably acquired before 5;0. Randeri, however, does not provide total findings by age. Therefore, we do not know how

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Randeri also notes that no deviant climbing sentences were found in the entire corpus. Randeri's findings with respect to the frequency of climbing are in agreement with the data reported above for early childhood acquisition. As expected, Randeri's subjects had some more items per verb class than are evident in María's corpus. Unfortunately, since the data are not fully documented, we cannot find out how prevalent climbing was in the different environments.

With respect to the adult productions in María's corpus, I examined every single utterance of the corpus up to when María was 2;11 and I found that both parents also used climbing in the various environments with a much higher frequency than the non-climbing alternative. The global results per environment for María and her parents are presented in Table 2. As noted, a more specific report for María can be found in Appendix 5 Tables 9A and 9B. As said, an exhaustive presentation of relevant utterances by María and her parents up to the time limit of the study is also in Appendix 5, List 2 for optional climbing structures and in List 3 for the cases that disallow climbing.

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much climbing the 5 year olds did. We cannot find out either if climbing increased with age or if it was already at maximum at five. In fact, more current results such as reported in the present work suggest that the two alternatives are available at a much earlier time.

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Table 2. Clitic Climbing Contexts

Subjects	Climbing (CL+V+fin+V-fin)			Non-Climbing (V+fin+V-fin+CL)		
María	Aspectual:	59	91%	Aspectual:	6	9%
	Motion:	4	80%	Motion:	1	20%
	Modals:	26	79%	Modals:	7	21%
	Progressive:	12	100%	Progressive:	0	0%
	Others:	1	100%	Others:	0	0%
	Total:	102	88%	Total:	14	12%
Mother	Aspectual:	94	86%	Aspectual:	15	14%
	Motion:	7	87%	Motion:	1	13%
	Modals:	43	74%	Modals:	15	26%
	Progressive:	10	90%	Progressive:	1	10%
	Others:	4	57%	Others:	3	43%
	Total:	158	82%	Total:	35	18%
Father	Aspectual:	68	94%	Aspectual:	4	6%
	Motion:	2	100%	Motion:	0	0%
	Modals:	51	78%	Modals:	14	22%
	Progressive:	22	100%	Progressive:	0	0%
	Others:	3	100%	Others:	0	0%
	Total:	146	89%	Total:	18	11%

This table documents the preference for climbing for all three speakers in every relevant environment. In most cases, this tendency was very strong, well over 50%. List 2 and List 3 of the Appendix, each with a separate section for the data of María (A), the mother (B) and the father (C), show that the parents used almost the same climbing verbs as María (plus a few more: *deber, acabar de, empezar a, terminar de, aprender*

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a and *pensar*).[31] The results for the individual verbs per environment are very similar, quite comparable to the global average. That is, as in María's case, the parents' child-directed speech highly favored climbing with almost every lexical item per environment. When non-climbing was preferred, the number of utterances was so low (1 or 2 tokens with each verb) that the results cannot be taken as significant. (The same is true, of course, for the few verbs that showed a preference for climbing with a very low number of utterances.) Interestingly, some of the verbs that occurred with low numbers in both climbing and non-climbing forms were the same for all three subjects. The fact that these are verbs with a quite high frequency in regular adult-to-adult speech (e.g., saber, volver a) is worthy of attention. It indicates once more how limited and routinized adult child-directed speech tends to be. (There is practically no adult-to-adult speech at all in this corpus as transcribed, so it is not possible to check for a contrast.)

For the parents, as for María, the most complete class of climbing verbs is modals. Almost every modal verb is present in their speech and most of them (poder, querer, tener que) in

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[31] The parents repeated themselves a lot. The utterances usually were not identical, but closely related. This is a characteristic of adult child-directed speech. To examine this characteristic, the reader may consult Appendix 5 Lists 2 and 3, sections B and C for the mother and the father, respectively.

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quite high numbers. This is not surprising; modals are very high frequency verbs in general.

The modals that appeared most often showed a definitive tendency for climbing. Again, like in María's data, constructions with the aspectual verb *ir a* and the progressive form with *estar* show a very high percentage of climbing. This, however, was not replicated within the other items of each respective set. However, it should be taken into account that no other progressive forms occurred in the sample and that the number of utterances of the other aspectual verbs available (*empezar a, acabar de, terminar de*) was very small to start with. The problem, then, as in María's case, is that this corpus (and perhaps, adult speech directed to young children in general) offers only a limited representation of climbing and, as a result, one cannot clearly determine how productive this tendency is.

To obtain further information about a possible adult preference for climbing, I conducted a study with 22 adult native speakers from different areas of Spain. I used a wide array of commonly active climbing verbs from the various climbing verb classes. There were 25 target structures interleaved with filler sentences of other types. Each target sentence had a lexically different matrix verb from one of the various climbing classes (modals, aspectuals, motion, progressive and others). All these verbs had been selected by myself, and three other native Spanish speakers from the same

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areas of Spain as the subjects in the experiment, as verbs that allow climbing.[32] The experiment was conducted orally and subjects had a double task: Elicited production, and a preference judgment. The two were administered in this order. In the first task, the subjects had to answer questions, or complete statements, using either the climbing or the non-climbing option according to their preference. In the second task, they heard each triggering verb in both contexts and they had to express their preference for one option over the other (or their sameness, if they thought they were equally acceptable). The individual and overall results of the first part showed a higher preference for the non-climbing option (only one verb *poder* 'to be able') showed a higher percentage of climbing (52% vs. 48%), and the overall results were 21% vs. 79% for the climbing and the non-climbing alternatives, respectively). Since in the second part there were three options, the results were more divided, but still they showed a preference for the non-climbing alternative, both individually and globally. Individually, no verb showed a preference for climbing; four verbs, *ir a* 'going to', *estar* 'to be', *poder* 'to be able to' and *querer* 'to want', showed no preference; and the remaining 21 verbs (84%) scored higher in

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[32] Some of these verbs, however, gave all of us a stronger conviction (e.g., the modals, *ir a +inf*, *estar+gerund*, *soler* 'to be in the habit of', *intentar* and *procurar* 'to try' and others) compared with *mandar* 'to order', *pensar* 'to think', *continuar* and *seguir* 'to continue', *lograr* and *conseguir* 'to manage to', *preferir* 'to prefer', etc.

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the non-climbing option. The overall means were 19%, 29.5% and 51.5% for climbing, no difference, and the non-climbing alternatives, respectively.

The fact that the results differed greatly from the adult natural production in Maria's corpus cannot be blamed on the experimental method. In the completion task the subjects heard a context that contained the lexical DP (which in their response had to be replaced by a clitic), and lexical objects follow the verb. That is, subjects might have been influenced by having just heard the lexical DP in the object (post-verbal) position. However, this does not apply to the judgment task, since subjects heard only sentences with clitics, with climbing and non-climbing in random order. In this case, however, the results still favored enclisis (non-climbing). Climbing was the least preferred option.

For both tasks, the results did not show any clear semantic pattern within the set of verbs per verb class, neither in the choice of option nor in their percentage. In the completion task, for instance, the modal verb *poder* showed a preference for climbing, whereas other modal verbs like *tener que* 'have to', *querer* 'want', *deber* 'must' etc., scored higher in the non-climbing option. In the judgment task, *poder* and *querer* showed no preference, whereas the other modal verbs (*tener que, saber, deber*) showed a preference for the non-climbing alternative. Thus, what these results tell us is that there is no semantic basis for the strength of the

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climbing preference. In addition, these results reveal a different outcome than the one observed in the adult natural production data in María's corpus, and in child speech. That is, they do not support the claim, for *any* set of verbs, that climbing is a more prevalent alternative. In fact, if any option prevails, the experiment indicates that the more typical preference is the non-climbing alternative.

One more empirical domain could still be explored with the adults. Namely, one can observe climbing in regular spontaneous speech. A large-scale computer-based corpus could be consulted; however, caution is necessary here. It is possible that the difference between the two alternatives, at least in part, is related to speech register. It has been suggested that climbing tends to occur in colloquial interactions and non-climbing in more formal contexts. This, of course, would make sense in the case of María and her interlocutors, and would also explain the results of the experiment conducted with adults if it can be assumed that subjects tend to treat the experimental situation like an examination and adopt a more formal register than in every day conversation. To check this suggestion tentatively, I consulted the first 80 pages of two Spanish novels, one full of dialogue: *El Jarama* (already mentioned) by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio and the other written in a narrative style: *La pasión turca 'The Turkish Passion'* by Antonio Gala. The first one is a very clear example of colloquial speech and the second of

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a more erudite literary style. Climbing was numerically more frequent in the novel that contained colloquial speech (77 utterances, 58% vs. 55 instances, 42%, climbing and non-climbing, respectively) and the non-climbing form was much more prolific in the more literary narrative text (11 utterances, 15% vs. 60 instances, 85%, climbing and non-climbing, respectively). However, note that the colloquial preference for climbing is very slight. And when we focus on each particular context, we observe that this climbing preference holds for *aspectuals* and the *progressive* form, but not for *modals* or other categories. In the text with the colloquial speech the number of climbing and non-climbing utterances is practically equal (27 vs. 28 utterances for modals, and 11 vs. 14 for the other categories). In the more literary style text the non-climbing option is highly preferred for both modal and other verbs (35 vs. 3 utterances for modals, and 10 vs. 3 for other categories).[33]

Putting all these sources of evidence together, the conclusion appears to be that there is no very great preference for climbing in adult colloquial Spanish. However,

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[33] A complete break down per context type with respect to the climbing/non-climbing option is as follows. In *El Jarama:* 31 vs. 11 for aspectuals; 3 vs. 2 for motion verbs; 27 vs. 28 for modals; 5 vs. 0 for a progressive form and 11 vs. 14 for other contexts. In *La Pasión Turca:* 3 vs. 14 for aspectuals; 0 vs. 1 for motion verbs; 3 vs. 35 for modals; 2 vs. 0 for a progressive form and 3 vs. 10 for other contexts.

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this is only suggestive. A much more extensive study would be needed to establish firm facts on this phenomenon.

Coming back to María's use of climbing (and, apparently, that of young children in general, at least in languages that have been studied), what is really remarkable is how well children do in spite of the complexity involved in these structures. No structural commission errors were found in these constructions with respect to either the placement of clitics or the ordering of clusters. As reported for other types of structures, a few deviations occurred with regard to some of their morphological properties; in climbing-type constructions there were a low number of errors related to gender (69) and Case (70). Differently from what has been observed in other children (Spanish or Italian), no instances of copying or reduplication (e.g., cases like: *lo* quiero ver*lo* 'I it want to see-it') were manifested by María either. (Some instances were found in some of the children who participated in the experimental research. These can be found in Appendix 4, Section 4.3.) This suggests that it is a transitional stage only some children go through until they learn that the clitic can only be present in one location, or before their production skills have caught up with their grammatical knowledge . As in simple contexts, the most frequent errors consisted in the child failing to utter a clitic pronoun or a cluster where it was obligatory for the adult language. These omission errors were found both in a few climbing structures

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(71) and in one of the two instances with a non-climbing verb (72, which occurs with a clitic, unclimbed, in 68). The omission of the clitic in cases like (71c) does not tell us anything with respect to the distribution of climbing. In cases like (71a and 71b), where one clitic is already present (it has climbed), I assume that the absence of the second clitic has to do with difficulty in dealing with the cluster, and not with climbing. As noted earlier, when one of the clitics of the cluster is left out, the tendency seems to be to omit the last one. For a complete report on omissions in optional climbing contexts, I refer the reader to Appendix 5, Table 10A for single clitics, Table 10B for clusters, and Tables 12 and 14 for a summary of omissions of single clitics and clusters in all contexts.

(69) Sí *lo* [la] voy a traer allí [aquí]
Yes I it$_{masc[fem]}$ going to bring there [here] (2;9-554)

(70) Y *lo* [le] voy a dar esto y algo de [algunas] chuletas (2;4-458)
And I him$_{acc[dat]}$ am going to give this and some chops

(71) a. Sí, no *te* (lo) voy a hasé [hacer] más (2;2-396)
Yes, I neg CL$_{2p.s.}$ it am going to do again

b. Papá no *sa* [se] (lo) va a poner (2;2-409)
Daddy neg SE it is going to put on

c. Vo(y) a des[c]i(rle)/(le) vo(y) a des[c]i(r) que si quiere el agós [arroz] [y] (la) chuleta (2;4-458)
I am going to tell-(him)/(him) I am going to tell that if he wants the xxx [rise] and (the) chop

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(72) Hay que pompar(*lo*) [ponerlo] encima de la silla (2;3-422)
One has xxxxx-it [to put-it] on top of the chair

To conclude this section, I would like to indicate that the state of affairs observed in climbing (its theoretical considerations and empirical observations) makes it very difficult to explain how these structures are acquired. There appears to be no syntactic/semantic rational, so it seems that climbing verbs must be acquired individually. On the other hand, it is unclear whether conservative learning models can account successfully for the rapidity with which this learning takes place. I think that the idiosyncracies involved (see Chapter III Section 3.2.2 for a detailed discussion on climbing) presumably are co-determined by syntactic and lexical restrictions that fall within UG. The classification of verbs most probably calls for some explicit marking of climbing verbs in the lexicon, but syntactic constraints must play an important role to account for the universality of these structures and the similarity of the lexical licensing facts across languages.

7.6. CLITICS VS. FULL DPs

As noted in earlier chapters, several French (Friedemann 1994; Jakubowicz *et al.*, 1996 etc.), Italian (Guasti, 1994; Schaeffer, 1997, etc.) and Dutch (Haegeman, 1996) sources on clitics observed a high proportion of full DPs rather than

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clitics in the early stages of acquisition. As said in Chapter VI, this information was not replicated in the experimental studies reported in this dissertation or in the small sample of spontaneous utterances by the subjects of this research (no full DP objects at all were found in the grammatical instances of the experimental task, and only two in the spontaneous sample where in my judgement an adult would probably have preferred to use a clitic). It is relevant here, however, as indicated already in earlier chapters, that the spontaneous speech studies (e.g., Guasti for Italian, Friedemann for French, and Haegeman for Dutch) do not examine the discourse context to verify if the presence of the clitic (rather than a full DP) would have been more felicitous. These three studies also do not check the adult speech in the corpus to find out what proportion of clitics and full DPs an adult would have used in comparable contexts.

To explore this issue further with a comparable source of data, I conducted a follow-up examination of child and child-directed speech in parallel, looking closely to the discourse context in which full DPs occurred. To provide a fair comparison of the number of clitics and the number of full DPs used, I restricted the analysis to full DP objects (dative and accusative) for which a corresponding clitic exists (i.e., utterances with impersonal *se*, with reflexives, with inherent clitics etc., were discarded). Full DPs in structures where the verb had been omitted (i.e., cases like *(los) pes [pies]*

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(tienen) caca '(the) feet (have) dirt') were not counted either. Some utterances exemplify several different properties of clitics (e.g., an imperative sentence or a complex (non)climbing construction may also contain doubling, and a doubling structure may show also either simplification of a cluster -if a clitic other than the one that corefers with the canonical object is absent- or preference for a full DP, if the canonical object is used instead of the non-coreferent clitic). In the results presented, each utterance is recorded only once. For this, imperative and (non)climbing constructions that contain doubling are classified as doubling; contexts that show both doubling and omission of cluster are scored as omission; and I have not found doubling structures where a full DP inappropriately replaces the non-coreferential clitic of a cluster. As noted in section 7.4 above, the adult speakers in the corpus (and, as a result, the child herself) made a productive (but not consistent) usage of accusative lexical doubling, an option which is not allowed in most Spanish varieties. In a considerable number of cases (8 out of 12 in the child's speech and 3 out of 7 in the mother's) the required element in my judgment is the lexical DP and the clitic is extra. In two of the other four cases in the child's speech, I would use the clitic only, and in the other two either element seems appropriate. In the other 4 instances of the mother and in the two tokens used by the father the clitic is pragmatically

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more appropriate. It is quite possible that lexical accusative doubling is permitted in the dialect spoken by María and her parents (see section 7.4 for a detailed account on this issue) and that it applies optionally. As noted, these constructions are productive in these speakers, but they do not occur consistently. The non-doubling option is also present within the same discourse context. Some examples are provided in (73) and (74) for María and her mother respectively.

(73) a. ¡Ay! Que m'a [me ha] compao [comprado] este vestido (2;2-409)
Woe! That CL1sg has bought this dress

b. ¿Quién me lo ha compao este ve(s)tido? (2;2-409)
Who CL1sg it has bought this dress?

(74) a. (María: Cositas)
Little things

Ahora te las doy las cositas ... (229)
Now I CL2sg them give the little things ...

b. Cuando termine te doy las cositas (229)
When I finish CL2sg give the little things

Lexical accusative doubling structures and a number of instances of optional dative doubling found in the adult speech (doubling with goal and source objects) are recorded in Table 4. As said in section 7.4, these speakers (parents and child) used the lexical dative doubling alternative much less than I and my consultants would. That is, they preferred the

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non-doubling option even with verbs that I believe highly favor doubling (see (42) above).

Table 3 below summarizes the occurrences of each type, by number and by percentage, in contexts where the clitic is obligatory. Table 4 documents "other cases" present in the discourse. These are cases where a full DP is needed or appropriate in the discourse context and doubling instances where the clitic is optional or infelicitous (as said, utterances with lexical accusative doubling and cases with goal or source dative doubling). To be more specific I divided the data in two age groups determined by what appeared to be the natural 'break' (age 2;1) in the child's ability to produce clitics.

Table 3. Instances where the Clitic is Obligatory

Subjects	**Clitics** CL & CL+CL		**Lexical DPs** (infelicitous)		**Omissions** (ungrammatical) CL & CL+CL		**CL Doubling** (correct) (CLDP+CLLD+CLRD)	
María (1;9-2;0)	10	40%	2	8%	13	52%	0	0%
María (2;1-2;11)	403	87%	3	1%	18	4%	38	8%
Total M[a]	413	85%	5	1%	31	6%	38	8%
Mother	616	91%	0	0%	5	1%	56	8%
Father	452	91%	0	0%	1	1%	44	9%

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Table 4. Other Cases: Clitic not Obligatory

Subjects	Lexical DPs (acceptable)	Clitic Doubling: CLDP (Optional or infelicitous)
María (1;9-2;0)	50	1
María (2;1-2;11)	253	11
Total M[a]	303	12
Mother	298	21
Father	190	13

The information presented in Table 3 shows that María made a lexical replacement in only 2 instances (8% mean of production) in the first stage (age 1;10 and 2;0) and in three (1%) in the second stage (age 2;1, 2;5 and 2;6). These numbers are so low that the difference between the two stages with respect to this property is not significant. In these few cases the child used the lexical DP in contexts where an adult would preferably have used a clitic (see (75) below). This tendency was not observed at a later time than 2;6 or in the parents' speech. It should also be noticed that the rate of clitics in doubling and in non-doubling constructions in the second stage (8% and 87% respectively) is comparable to the adult production in these contexts (8% or 9% and 91% respectively). The data also illustrate that the low percentage of clitics in the first stage (40%) is not due to lexical replacement (only 8%) but to the elevated percentage

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of omissions that occur at this time (52%). As shown, the number of obligatory contexts for clitics before 2;1 is quite limited (only 25 in a total of 1753 utterances). (A higher number of clitics - and consequently a lower percentage of omissions- is found in the corpus over this period of time when we remove the restriction placed on the present analysis. That is, if we incorporate the discarded clitics: impersonal, reflexive, inherent, etc. Some of these items are the first and almost the only ones to appear in the early stages of language development.)

The five errors María made are shown in (75).

(75) a. (Father: ¿Qué estás haciendo con los zapatos?)
What are you doing with the shoes?

(Z)apatos abochá [abrochármelos] (1;10-186)
Shoes to tie [to tie-CL1sg-them]

b. (María in her chair. She has just finished dinner. She utters two sentences in succession.)

A quita(r) e(l) babero.
Quitá e(l) babero [quítamelo] (2;0-309)
To take off the bib
Take off the bib [take-CL1sg-it]

c. (María takes off the shoes that her aunt is wearing because the aunt comments that they are broken. When later the aunt asks María what she [the aunt] is going to do with no shoes (¿qué hago yo ahora? 'what do I do now?'), María provides the sentence below).

Pone [poner]-(te) (los) s[z]apatitos
[Ponértelos] (2;1-324)
Put3sg. [putinf]-CL2sg. (the) little shoes
[To put-Cl2sg-them]

(Aunt: Pues Dámelos)
Well give-CL1sg-them

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d. (María says that Irene, her doll, "has sun". Her father asks her if that is why she has put the glasses on her (Y por eso le has puesto las gafas?). María provides the answer below).

Se han puesto las gafas
[se las he puesto] porque
tenía mucho sol (2;5-472)
SE have put on the glasses
[I SE them have put on] because
she had a lot of sun

e. (María is building a house with her building blocks and she utters the sentences below).

Háceme [hazme] una casa. Háceme una casa
[házmela], mamá (2;6-505)
Build-me a house. Build-me a house
[build-me-it], mommy

My judgment that the lexical DP in these examples is infelicitous may be too severe. For example, in (75b) and (75e) María might simply have been repeating her demand since it was not responded to (maybe not heard) the first time. Note also that the five instances presented involve cluster formation. No lexical replacement was observed at any age in contexts with single clitics. This suggests that lexical replacement in Spanish is rare and brief and that it is related to the child's growing ability to produce clusters, a widely observed phenomenon in this corpus and in the experimental and natural data presented in Chapter VI.

I am aware that the sample is quite limited until at least 2;1. However, the available data are quite consistent. Therefore, I would like to claim that pronominalization (and not the explicitness of the full DP, as has been argued by

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other researchers) is the highly preferred option for young learners, at least in Spanish, especially once omissions have begun to decline. The data show that María is aware of the relevant principles of discourse, and when a context favors object pronominalization rather than a full DP, she almost invariably uses the pronominal form. As noted, similar results were observed in the experimental studies reported in this dissertation and in the small sample of spontaneous utterances by the subjects of this research. The discrepancy between these and other results needs to be understood. The different estimates obtained by Schaeffer's experimental research for Italian (23% full DPs, mean age of 11 subjects 3;5 vs. 0% used by adults) and Jakubowicz *et al.'s* spontaneous interactions and elicited production data for French (three times more lexical DPs than adults in comparable contexts) could be due in some way to differences in method or might be related to structural or discourse phenomena in these other target languages. It would be valuable to conduct closely matched studies in several languages, but I must leave this issue open for further research.

7.7. SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The spontaneous speech longitudinal data presented in this section (María: 1;9-2;11) have revealed a number of informative results. First, they have shown that María started using clitics in simple and in complex structures as soon as

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the verbal contexts that host them were available. This means that clitics were first used at 1;9 (ex. 11) and 1;10 (ex. 13) in simple finite and nonfinite contexts, respectively, and at 2;1 in complex structures, such as climbing or non-climbing (ex. 62a, 62b, 62c). The fact that clitics occurred in nonfinite environments almost at the same time as in the finite ones is consistent with the uniform analysis presented in Chapter IV.

Second, the first clitic to appear was SE as an inherent clitic with a singular referent (1;9, ex. 11a). This was followed by the determiner (3rd person, 1;10, ex. 11c) and the non-determiner (1st and 2nd person, 1;11, ex. 11d) clitics in their singular form. The plural forms appeared at a slightly later time: 2;0 (ex. 13b) and 2;1 (ex. 12d), for the non-determiner and the determiner type, respectively. Plural forms also occurred less frequently (cf. Appendix 5, Tables 1 and 2). As has been observed with other categories (Valian, 1991), this slight delay could be due to the presence of a non-default feature, namely plurality. In general, clitics became more productive by the age of 2;0-2;1. This result stands in agreement with the experimental cross-sectional data presented in Chapter VI and with Guasti's (1994) research in Italian.

Third, clusters were slightly delayed with respect to single cliticization (2;0, ex. 27); however, one should consider that only a few appropriate contexts were identified

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in the early stages. This delay could be related to the extra length involved in these utterances and probably to the fact that two clitics are disproportionately harder for the performance system to utter than one. The first clusters occurred in simple contexts and contained mainly singular clitics (ex. 28 and 29); yet, by the age of 2;2 a wide variety of clusters was found in various types of finite/nonfinite structures (ex. 30-33). This proliferation obviously reflects the child's growing ability to produce clusters, but is also probably due to the firmer development at this time of the constructions that may (or must) contain clitics. The first cluster with the *Spurious SE* did not appear until the age of 2;5 (ex. 34). This, of course, could simply mean that an appropriate context had not arisen before. No instances of clusters were found with 1st or 2nd person plural clitics in either first or second position. This is not surprising given that there were only a few instances of *nos* (1st person) and none of *os* (2nd person) as single clitics. A slight delay of clusters was also generally found in the cross-sectional experimental data reported in Chapter VI. This was taken as indicating only that two clitics are probably harder to use than one. No other research that I am aware of has studied the specific development of clusters other than reporting briefly on age of first occurrences and commenting on the accuracy of clitic ordering. A detailed account of clusters in simple finite contexts and in imperatives is provided in

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Appendix 5, Tables 5A and 6A respectively. A summary of clusters in all contexts is given in Table 13 of the same appendix.

Fourth, the earliest doubling structures were instances of lexical accusative (1;11, ex. 44a) and lexical and pronominal dative (2;1, ex. 45a and 45b/45c, respectively) CLDP. Dative and accusative instances of CLLD appeared at 2;2 and 2;3, respectively (ex. 47 and 46) and accusative CLRD constructions occurred at the age of 2;2 (ex. 48). Certain pronominal types of CLLD (accusative) and CLRD (dative and accusative) were never present. This absence, however, could simply mean that a relevant discourse context did not arise. In general, it seems likely also that dislocation structures occur less frequently (for both adults and children) than non-dislocation structures. This might be for discourse reasons, or because dislocation involves an extra syntactic derivational step. Detailed information on the presence of doubling is provided in Appendix 5, Tables 7A and 7B.

Fifth, María's earliest speech already contained four types of verbal environments with the potential for climbing: aspectual (*ir a+inf*, 59a and 59c), motion verbs (*ir a+inf*, 59b), modals (*tener que+inf* and *poder+inf*, 59d and 59f) and the progressive form (*estar+gerund*, 59e). The number of such utterances was very small until the age of 2;1 when they were fairly productive and 2;2 when they were quite prolific (cf. Table 1 above). The first clitics in climbing-type contexts

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that permit climbing did not appear in the corpus until the age of 2;1 (62a and 62b, for climbing and nonclimbing, respectively). However, a few examples of both types were spontaneously produced by children as young as 1;9 who participated in the experimental research presented in Chapter VI (see ex. 63, 64a and 65). Clitics (unclimbed) in climbing-type structures that disallow climbing were observed at the age of 2;2 (62c). The later appearance of clitics in all climbing-type contexts than in single-clause sentences can reasonably be attributed to the low occurrence of the base structural contexts in the child's production. It need not be ascribed to a delay in the process of climbing per se, as has been suggested by Antelmi (1992) and Guasti (1994) with respect to Italian. Thus, the climbing data are compatible with the uniform analysis of pronominal clitics presented in Chapter IV of this dissertation, which implies that climbing should be readily available to learners. A complete report on climbing-type contexts can be found in Appendix 5, Tables 9A and 9B.

In agreement with informal observations for Italian, María showed a preference for climbing in contexts where the two alternatives seem to have about the same degree of acceptability, and for which the non-climbing option was also present in María's speech at the time. It is difficult to find a grammatical explanation for this preference. A preference for climbing was also observed in a spontaneous

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production study with 25 native Mexican Spanish speaking children, ages 5;0 to 9;7 (Randeri, 1980) and in the spontaneous utterances of Maria's parents while interacting with her (cf. Table 2 of the text for a summary of María and her parents). The opposite preference was found, however, in an experimental study with 22 adult native Spaniards on a wide variety of commonly active climbing verbs. Observations of written colloquial dialogue (cf. *El Jarama* by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio) and of a more erudite narrative style (cf. *La pasión turca* by Antonio Gala) do not support an adult preference for climbing either, except in certain contexts (with aspectuals and the progressive) in the colloquial text. With respect to the child-directed speech of María's parents, it maybe be that climbing is a characteristic of *matherese* (caretaker speech to children) adapted to conform to child preference. Of course, this requires that there be some reason why children prefer it (perhaps, as suggested, because they disfavor encliticization although they can learn and use it). I am not aware of other observations of adult and child-directed speech with respect to this issue, to find out whether the same adult varies in his or her usage of climbing depending on the age of the addressee. Obviously, further work is needed in this area in general to reconcile the disparities in the data.

In accord with previous research, no cases of improper climbing were found in María's speech, whether in non-climbing structures, nor in climbing-type sentences with verbs that do

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not permit climbing (only one of the recalcitrant verbs was present in this corpus, though). Differently from other sources (including the experimental child language data presented in this dissertation), no instances of copying or reduplication occurred in the entire corpus. This type of deviation which is an attested structure in other Romance languages, may be present only in some children. I believe this is so for other copying phenomena, such as English aux doubling in inversion, as in Crain and Nakayama (1987).

Sixth, differently from what other researchers have argued with respect to French (Friedemann, 1994; Jakubowicsz *et al.*, 1996 etc.), Italian (Guasti, 1994; Schaeffer, 1997, etc.) and Dutch (Haegeman, 1996) the data show that María is aware of the relevant principles of discourse, and when a context favors object pronominalization rather than a full DP, she almost invariably uses the pronominal form. As Table 3 illustrates, María made a lexical replacement in only 2 instances (8% mean of production) in the first stage (age 1;10 and 2;0) and in three (1%) in the second stage (age 2;1, 2;5 and 2;6). In these few cases the child used the lexical DP in contexts where an adult would preferably have used a clitic (see ex. 75). Note that the five instances reported involve cluster formation. No lexical replacement was observed at any age in contexts with single clitics. This suggests that lexical replacement in Spanish is rare and brief and that it is related to the child's growing ability to produce clusters.

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Similar results were observed in the experimental studies reported in Chapter VI and in the small sample of spontaneous utterances by the subjects of this research. That is, at least in Spanish, pronominalization (and not the explicitness of the full DP, as has been claimed by other researchers) is the highly preferred option for young learners, especially once omissions have begun to decline. The discrepancy between these and other results needs to be understood.

Seventh, in agreement with the experimental data reported in the previous chapter and with other sources from various languages (cf. Guasti, 1994; Hamann *et al.*, 1996; Schaeffer, 1997, and many others), abundant evidence was found that clitic pronouns were recognized as such and were used appropriately. Distributional constraints and ordering requirements within the various clusters were fully respected from the earliest performance. This study of María's speech also verifies previous observations on the inconsistency of the presence of clitics, sometimes in similar contexts, even within the same or nearby utterances (e.g., 19d 19e, among many others). However, the percentage of clitics is higher than that reported by Guasti for Italian. As in the experimental data presented in Chapter VI, this corpus also shows that the presence of single clitics became stable by 2;0-2;1 (85% and 91%, respectively, of all contexts in which the clitic is required for grammaticality). A similar claim for age 2;1 was made by Guasti. From 2;2 to 2;6 the average

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occurrence was 96% and by 2;7 accuracy was 100%. With respect to clusters, the natural divide is after 2;1-2;2 with 67% and 86% accuracy, respectively. From there on, the percentage is basically 100% (86% at age 2;5 and 96% at age 2;8). When only one clitic of a required cluster was present, the omitted item was usually the second one. A summary of the presence and absence of single clitics and clusters in the different contexts is given available in Appendix 5 Tables 11 to 14. A global summary of the presence and absence of clitics in all types of structures is provided in Tables 15 and 16 respectively.

Some commission errors were also found. Most of them were morphological, that is, incorrect marking of person (i.e., 21), or of gender (i.e., 22) or number (i.e., 23) in the various contexts. Many apparent errors of Case morphology were also observed; yet, these may not be true errors since the parents are leístas and laístas, hence this is the variety of Spanish to which María is exposed (cf. Appendix 5, List 1). A few other errors were also encountered. These were cases of overgeneralization of inherent/reflexive SE (i.e., 24) and substitution (i.e., 25). Lastly, a quite consistent ungrammaticality was observed. These are instances of accusative lexical CLDP, both animate (49) and inanimate (50), which persisted throughout the period studied. Apparently María does not clearly discriminate the requirements for dative and accusative lexical CLDP. The fact that some

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instances were also present in the parents' speech suggests that María acquired accusative lexical CLDP from her input. But that pushes the puzzle back by one generation: Why do the parents use this form, which is generally regarded as ungrammatical in Spanish? The best explanation I can propose is that these "ungrammatical" CLDP structures are caused by the fact that these speakers are leístas, and lexical doubling is allowed in Spanish with the dative clitics *le* and *les*. That is, it may be that since lexical doubling with datives is permitted, and since *le* and *les* are also used as accusatives in the leístas' dialects, the distribution of dative doubling is extended to accusatives, regardless of whether accusative case is expressed with *le* or *les*, or with the etymological forms: *la, lo, las,* or *los*. Both types of instances are observed in María's data (see 49a and 49d when leísmo applies and 49b, 49c, 50a etc., when it does not) and in her father's data (e.g., 51a and 51b when leísmo applies and 51c and 51d when it does not). The deviant occurrences in the mother's data contain the etymological forms (see 52a and 52b). If this account is correct, lexical accusative CLDP structures would be a grammatical option in the leísta dialects though ungrammatical in the varieties without leísmo. Some empirical support for this is provided here by a small-scale study with two adult leístas. Clearly, more extensive empirical work is needed.

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In short, the data presented show that clitic knowledge is manifested at a very early age and that performance soon starts to be adult-like. Only a few and minor commission errors were found in the course of development of the various clitic processes in spite of the intricacies of the clitic system. This early level of accuracy suggests that children are guided by strong universal principles.

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A

On the Acquisition of Object Pronominal Clitics in Spanish

by

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Volume II

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Chapter VIII

SUMMARY, RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1. RECAP OF PREDICTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

In this dissertation I have investigated the development of object pronominal clitics in early child language in most of the contexts in which they occur in Spanish. Little research had been done on Spanish when I started this research. Thus, I had four objectives in mind: one was to find out how the developmental patterns observed in other languages (see Chapter V) apply to Spanish (e.g., low frequency, omissions, apparent preference for full DPs, flawless syntactic distribution etc.). The second aim was to explore how some of the more complex clitic process that occur in adult Spanish (standard doubling, dislocation, and climbing) manifest themselves in early Spanish child language. My third purpose was to compare findings from different methodologies to see whether they would converge on the same assessment of children's knowledge of the language. Fourthly, I wished to focus on the youngest learners that it was feasible to test, since I was not aware of any experimental studies on clitics that tested children at such a young age and some -if not all - knowledge of clitics is obviously acquired very early.

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The theoretical framework adopted for the description and analysis of these structures is Generative Grammar, specifically the highly constrained and unified approach advocated by Kayne (1991 and 1994). Since UG (according to Kayne's theory) treats all clitic contexts uniformly, it was predicted that children will do so too, except for differences pertaining to the acquisition of *other* aspects of the various contexts concerned.[1] As will be noted in more detail below, a careful look at the relevant data showed that this prediction was confirmed.

The dissertation proceeded as follows: After an introduction, Chapters II to IV focused on syntactic issues related to pronominal clitics in the Romance languages with special emphasis on Spanish. Chapter II offered background information on the characteristics and intricacies of the clitic system. Chapter III provided and discussed a wide array of data concerning the two major patterns in which clitics appear: local cliticization (+/- tense single clause contexts) and non-local cliticization (structures which allow or disallow clitic climbing) and Chapter IV presented the main aspects of Kayne's (1991 and 1994) theory and provided uniform analyses of clitic licensing across construction types.

A detailed review and evaluation of a representative sample of previous sources on themes related to the

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[1] A more specific report of predictions with respect to the various clitic structures can be found in Chapter VI, Section 6.0.

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acquisition of pronominal clitics in Italian (cf. Guasti, 1994 and Schaeffer, 1997), French (Hamann *et al.*, 1996) and Spanish (Varela, 1988) was provided in Chapter V. The development of clitics by Spanish children was investigated in Chapters VI and VII. Chapter VI described three experiments applying the Elicited Imitation method (EI). Experiment 1: *Base Study* examined the production of single clitics and clusters in simple finite contexts by 20 children ranging in age from 1;9 to 2;10. Experiment 2: *Clitic Doubling* assessed production of standard doubling (CLDP) and left dislocation (CLLD) structures by 12 of the initial 20 children ranging in age from 2;2 to 2;10. Experiment 3: *Clitics in Infinitive Contexts* explored the attachment of the clitic to the infinitive verb (and other issues) by 15 children of the initial 20 ranging in age from 2;1 to 2;10.

Finally, Chapter VII provided an intensive longitudinal study of the spontaneous productions of a single Spanish child, María, covering the same period of time (1;9-2;11. No data available at 2;10). This description offered detailed timing information for the acquisition of clitics in the various contexts. The child-directed speech of María's parents was also studied. Moreover, for a better understanding of climbing, I consulted a spontaneous production study with 25 native Mexican Spanish speaking children, ages 5;0 to 9;7 (Randeri, 1980), I conducted an experimental study with 22 adult native Spanish speakers (from

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Spain) and I examined excerpts from two literary sources: a written colloquial dialogue (cf. *El Jarama* by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio) and a narrative in a more erudite style (cf. *La pasión turca* by Antonio Gala). Details and results from these additional sources were reported in Chapter VII.

8.2. COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE VARIOUS CLITIC PROCESSES

As noted, the development of pronominal clitics has been approached both experimentally and through spontaneous production data, leading to two parallel sets of results which I recap in the next sections which are organized by the type of clitic construction.

8.2.1. Clitics in Simple Finite Contexts

8.2.1.1. Experimental Results

The *Base Study* (Experiment 1) revealed a number of informative results which I summarize next.

A. Clitics

First, clitics were already present by 1;9-1;10; they were used by all four of the children in this age group. However, the numbers were lower than they were later (scorable responses for single clitics 92.7%; clitics produced 82.3%; omission 17.7%). The lack of clusters was more frequent at this time (scorable responses 83%; clusters present 43.7%;

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omission 56.2%: 42.2% of the full cluster, 7% of the first clitic and 7% of the second clitic). In other words, when children found clusters too difficult, they typically omitted the whole cluster. Similar results were observed in a small sample of spontaneous utterances by these subjects. In addition, the variety of clitics in the spontaneous production is wider since children were not constrained by the task to use only 3rd person clitics. One child even used a third person plural form (*los*) and another the first person plural clitic *nos*. This last child also produced two correct clusters *me le[la]* and *se me*. Both children were 1;9 (cf. Appendix 4).

Second, somewhere between 1;11-2;1 (no intermediate data available), clitics become better established; the number of omissions decreased considerably by 2;1 with three children tested at this time (scorable responses for single clitics 100%; clitics produced 95.8%; omission 4.1%). The omission of clusters also lowered at this age level (scorable responses 91.7%; clusters present 83.3%; omission 16.7%: 8.3 of the full cluster and 8.3% of the first clitic. No omissions of the second clitic were recorded at this time). This improvement was also clear in the few spontaneous utterances available. Clitics were only omitted here by one of the two children who attempted a cluster. She omitted the second clitic in one out of the five clusters she used.

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Third, in the oldest age group of 15 children (from 2;2 to 2;10) performance was adult-like for single clitics (scorable responses 98.2%; clitics produced 100%; omission 0%) and for clusters (scorable responses 100%; clusters produced 100%; omission 0%). In fact, results showed that clitics are well established in the child's grammar by 2;2. One omission was found in the spontaneous speech of one of these children at the age of 2;3. It is a standard clitic doubling instance and the child deletes the required clitic and keeps the double strong pronoun.

Fourth, a slight effect of sentence type was found in the first and second age group. In the first (four children, age 1;9 to 1;10): 27% omission for inalienable (of 91.6% scorable responses) vs. 18.7% (of 93.7%) for masculine accusative clitics, 12.5% (of 93.7%) for feminine accusative clitics, and 12.5% (of 100%) for clitics with psychological verbs. In the second age group (3 children, age 2;1), the numbers are even lower; 8.3% omissions (of 100% scorable responses) for feminine accusative clitics and 8.3% (of 100%) for datives with psychological verbs vs. no omissions (of 100%) in the rest of the sentences with single clitics.

Fifth, there was a slight difference with respect to Case (dative vs. accusative clitics) in the first age group (scorable responses 95.8%; omissions 19.7% vs. scorable responses 93.7%; omissions 15.6%, respectively) and no difference at all (zero) in the second and third groups where

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the mean of omission by clitic type was 4.1% (of 100% scorable responses) and 0.0% (of 100%) for the groups respectively. This finding is compatible with the syntactic analysis presented in Chapter IV where these clitics are argued to be alike in having determiner-like properties.

B. Full DPs

No substitutions were found of clitics by full lexical DPs, although one would not expect this to occur with the Elicited Imitation method. I consulted the spontaneous utterances produced by the subjects of this study and there were no cases in which the use of the lexical DP was inappropriate and only two cases where in my judgment a clitic would be as good. The sample of data, however, is very small in size and I deliberately guided the conversation to give the child many opportunities for discourse reference.

8.2.1.2. Longitudinal Spontaneous Data

Similar results were obtained in María's spontaneous speech. First, these data show that María started using clitics in simple and in complex structures as soon as the verbal contexts that host them were available. This means that clitics started to emerge at 1;9 and 1;10 in simple finite and nonfinite contexts respectively.[2] Second, as

[2] One earlier clitic utterance was found on a recent final revision of this corpus. For details I refer the reader to Chapter VII footnote #2. For convenience I provide this

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noted, the first clitic to appear was SE with a singular referent. This was followed by the determiner (3rd person, at age 1;10) and non-determiner (1st and 2nd person, at 1;11) clitics in the singular form. The plural forms emerged at a slightly later time (at 2;0 and 2;1 for the non-determiner and determiner types, respectively) and they also occurred less frequently (cf. Appendix 5, Tables 1 and 2 for finite and imperative contexts respectively). In general, though, clitics became more productive by the age of 2;0-2;1. Third, clusters were slightly delayed with respect to single cliticization (one single token at 2;0 and 6 at 2;1); however, one should consider that only a few appropriate contexts were identified in the early stages. The first clusters occurred in simple sentence contexts and contained mainly singular clitics. By the age of 2;2, however, a wide variety of clusters was found in various types of finite/nonfinite structures (18 tokens). At age 2;8, 24 clusters were found. (See Appendix 5 Table 13 for further details).

This study of María's speech also verifies previous observations on the inconsistency of clitic usage for a period after their first appearance. As in the experimental data, this corpus also showed that the presence of single clitics became stable by 2;0-2;1 (85% and 92%, respectively, of all

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utterance again in (i) below. If it is representative, it suggests that the first clitic to emerge may be SE.

(i) SE cae e [el] nene [la nena] (047-1;7)
SE falls the$_{masc.[fem]}$ baby$_{masc.[fem]}$

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contexts in which the clitic is required for grammaticality). From 2;2 to 2;6 the average occurrence was 97%, and by 2;7 accuracy was 100%. With respect to clusters, the natural divide was after 2;1-2;2 with 75% and 87% accuracy, respectively. From here on, percentages oscillate between 92% and 100%. When only one clitic of a required cluster was present, the omitted item was usually the second one. A summary of the presence and absence of single clitics and clusters in the different contexts is provided in Appendix 5 Tables 11 to 14.

8.2.2. Clitic Doubling (CLDP, CLLD and CLRD)

8.2.2.1. Experimental Results (CLDP and CLLD)

The results of the study on doubling (Experiment 2) showed 94.2% correct average (97.2% scorable responses) over all 12 children (ages 2;2 to 2;10) on CLDP. Only two children, ages 2;3 and 2;7, scored less than 100%. Slightly lower results were obtained with respect to CLLD; the correct overall on these structures was 87.3%. (97.9% scorable responses). All subjects scored 100%, except the same two children ages 2;3 and 2;7. For one of the four CLLD targets, one child changed this structure to CLDP. The difference in accuracy between CLLD and CLDP suggests a small dispreference for dislocation. A narrow difference was observed between lexical and pronominal CLDP in the experimental data (scorable responses 91.7%; CLDP 90.9% vs. scorable responses 100%; CLDP

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95.8% correct respectively). The same occurred on CLLD but in this case the lexical option scored higher than the pronominal (scorable responses 95.8%; CLLD 91.3% vs. scorable responses 100%; CLLD 83.3% correct respectively). Most probably these differences are not significant in a statistical sense; recall that no statistical tests were conducted due to the relatively small number of observations in each condition. All three types of doubling instances (CLDP, CLLD and CLRD) were observed in the spontaneous production sample of some of these children basically from the age of 2;2. (Two earlier utterances were found by two of the 1;9 year-olds. No instances were observed between 1;9 and 2;2, but this may be attributable to the reduced size of the sample or to discourse factors.)

One ungrammatical lexical accusative CLDP target sentence was presented. Only the oldest child (age 2;10) repeated it exactly. Some children omitted the clitic (27.3% of 91.7% scorable responses) and one omitted the lexical DP object (9.1% of 91.7% scorable responses), making it a well-formed sentence with a lexical DP object or a clitic. In addition, 45.4% of the children used different strategies which had the effect of making the sentence grammatical (see Chapter VI Section 6.4: Summary of Results for details).

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8.2.2.2. Longitudinal Spontaneous Data

In the available longitudinal data on doubling, the earliest cases were instances of lexical accusative CLDP (at 1;11) and lexical and pronominal dative CLDP (at 2;1). Dative and accusative instances of CLLD appeared at 2;2 and 2;3 respectively, and accusative CLRD constructions were first observed at the age of 2;2. Certain pronominal types of CLLD and CLRD never occurred. This absence, however, could simply mean that a relevant discourse context did not arise. (See Appendix 5, Tables 7A and 7B for details). In the spontaneous production of the experimental subjects no delay in CLLD and CLRD compared with CLDP was observed (viz. children as young as 2;2 provided examples of each type of structure). In the longitudinal data of María a few omissions of single clitic and clusters were found in doubling contexts. None occurred after the age of 2;5.

8.2.3. Clitics in Infinitive Contexts

8.2.3.1. Experimental Results

The results of Experiment 3 revealed that encliticization to infinitive verbs was almost perfect from 2;1 (a mean of 99.4% of 95% scorable responses). Unfortunately, the four youngest children (ages 1;9 to 1;10) were unable to participate; however, two instances of encliticization were found in the spontaneous production of two children, ages 1;9

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and 1;10 (cf. Appendix 4 Section 4.3). (Both structures required a cluster and the children omitted one of the two clitics. Thus, there was lack of cluster but still a clitic was present. The same was done by the 1;9 year old child in a climbing structure. She used and climbed one clitic, but there was a lack of cluster.) In addition, I have presented two pieces of evidence (see Chapter VI example (13) or Appendix 4 Section 4.3) that show that at least one child had acquired climbing by the age of 1;9.

8.2.3.2. Spontaneous Longitudinal Data

The presence of clitics in infinitive contexts was observed roughly simultaneously with the verbal contexts that host them. This means that clitics were first used at 1;10 in fragments and in 1st person plural positive commands, and a little bit later (2;1) in climbable structures with and without climbing. The number of instances at this age is about the same as is found in the later stages, and the number of contexts is also comparable. Clitics (unclimbed) in climbing-type constructions that disallow climbing were observed at the age of 2;2 and this was the only instance in the entire corpus.

María showed a high preference for climbing (102 vs. 13 instances up to 2;11) in contexts where the two alternatives seem to have about the same degree of acceptability, and for which the non-climbing option was also present in her speech

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at the time with most of the verbs she used. A preference for climbing was also observed in a spontaneous production study with 25 native Mexican Spanish speaking children, ages 5;0 to 9;7 (Randeri, 1980) and in the spontaneous utterances of María's parents while interacting with her (cf. Chapter VII Table 2 for a summary of María and her parents). The opposite preference was found, however, in an experimental study with 22 adult native Spaniards on a wide variety of climbing verbs. Observations of two literary sources: *El Jarama* by Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio (a colloquial dialogue) and *La pasión Turca* by Antonio Gala (a more erudite narrative style) do not support an adult preference for climbing either, except in certain contexts (with aspectuals and the progressive) in the colloquial text.

8.3. DEVIATIONS FROM THE TARGET GRAMMAR

In this section I consider the production errors observed both in the Elicited Imitation method and in the spontaneous cross-sectional and longitudinal data.

8.3.1. Clitics

The only errors (other than omissions) found for clitics in the Imitation task were lexical alterations of Case morphology. That is, a change from *la/lo* to *le*. Although the dialect spoken in Zaragoza (Spain) is not typically *leísta*, this phenomenon is so irregularly spread that these could very

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well be instances of *leísmo*. This seems especially likely in the case of two children who almost consistently altered *la* and *lo* to *le*. One was the oldest child of the study. These alterations were also observed in some of the spontaneous utterances produced by these two and a few other subjects of the study. As noted in Chapter VII, María's longitudinal spontaneous speech also shows a substantial usage of the clitics *le* and *les* instead of the etymological accusative forms *lo, la, los* and *las*. Since the parents are leístas (although they do not use this variety consistently), I argued that María's utterances are presumably also instances of leísmo and not errors of Case morphology.

A few other sporadic commission errors were found in the spontaneous conversation of the subjects of the experimental research and in María's longitudinal spontaneous productions. Two typical cases were: (a) the nonagreement in person, gender and number of clitics with their referents and (b) the overgeneralization of inherent/reflexive pronominal verbs (e.g., jugar*se*, llorar*se* etc.).

No errors at all were found in the experimental or in the spontaneous production data (cross-sectional or longitudinal) with regard to the position of clitics with respect to their host, the verbal complex, or in their ordering in clusters. I will comment on these findings below.

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8.3.2. Clitic Doubling (CLDP, CLLD and CLRD)

The results of the experimental research revealed two types of deviations from the target input. Neither of them, however, resulted in ungrammaticality. (i) Omission of the double DP object, lexical or pronominal (not of the clitic). This omission suggests a preference for *simple cliticization*. This deletion was observed both in CLDP (5.8% of 97.2% scorable responses of the grammatical targets) and CLLD (10.6% of 97.9% scorable responses). (ii) Alteration from CLLD into CLDP. In one case, a child changed a CLLD target to CLDP. Again this is not a grammatical error, but it shows a slight dispreference for dislocation.

Two departures from correctness were observed in the sample of spontaneous cross-sectional data and in María's longitudinal spontaneous productions. (i) the omission of the clitic when the double DP object is pronominal (e.g., *(me) está esperando a mí* 'she (CL1sg.) is waiting to me' or *(te) voy a peinar a ti* 'I (CL2sg.) am going to comb to you'. From Jael at 2;3 - one of the subjects in the cross-sectional sample - and María - the subject of the longitudinal study - at 2;5, respectively). This is un ungrammatical structure since the presence of the clitic is required when the double is also pronominal. (ii) the presence of lexical accusative doubling, which is ungrammatical in most Spanish varieties including in Zaragoza (Spain). This error was rare in the spontaneous cross-sectional sample (it occurred in only two children and

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only one instance per child, one of them with what appears to be a case of leísmo: *no seo [se lo] come el boli el guau-guau* 'neg SE it eats the pen the doggy' and *les*$_{dat\,[acc]}$ *llamará la Rosa a los papás* 'them will call the Rosa to the [my] parents' from Jorge at 2;2 and Jael at 2;3, respectively), but quite productive in María's longitudinal speech and in her parents who, as mentioned, were leístas. (I will comment later on how being a leísta speaker may bear on these structures.)

8.3.3. Climbing-Type Structures that Permit Climbing

Some instances of clitic copying in climbing contexts (the use of the same clitic/s to the left of the finite verb as well as to the immediate right of the non-finite verb) were found in the experimental research, two on the first attempt by two of the oldest children (Celia, 2;8 and Isabel, 2;10) and one on the last attempt by Laura at the age of 2;3. More of these ungrammatical structures were also encountered in the sample of spontaneous productions of 6 of the children who participated in the experimental research (e.g., *Os voy a pintaros una* 'I CL$_{2pl.}$ am going to paint-CL$_{2pl.}$ one', *lo quiere cogerlo así* 'He it wants to grab-it like this', *¿me la quieres dármela*? 'You CL$_{1sg.}$ it want to give-CL$_{1sg.}$-it?', *a veces me caigo de mi cama y me empiezo a reirme* 'sometimes I CL$_{1sg.}$ fall off my bed and I CL$_{1sg.}$ start to laugh-CL$_{1sg.}$' etc. from Jorge at 2;2, Laura at 2;3, Alicia at 2;4 and Jorge M. at 2;9, respectively). There are few spontaneous utterances of

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climbing-type contexts from the subjects of this research, but 5 of the 6 children who produced these errors also used the two correct alternatives (that is, they either climbed or left the clitics unclimbed) using basically the same verbs.

No instances of copying were found in the longitudinal corpus for María (or in her parents' data). No utterances at all of improper climbing (climbing over verbs that do not allow this process) were found in either the experimental or the spontaneous production data (cross-sectional or longitudinal). I will comment on the development of these structures in the section below.

8.4. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

The child language data presented have basically revealed parallel results across methodologies, a fact that gives strength to the conclusions drawn from them. First, they have shown that children start using clitics in finite and in non-finite structures as soon as they get the opportunity to do so, that is, at the time in which the verbal contexts that host them are available to them. This means that clitics were first used at 1;9 and 1;10 (one finite earlier instance (1;7) in the longitudinal data) in simple finite and infinitive contexts respectively and generally a bit later (by 2;1) in complex climbing-type structures such as climbing and non-climbing (but, two instances were found at 1;9 in one precocious child). The fact that clitics occurred in finite

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and nonfinite structures at about the same time provides support for the uniform analysis presented in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

Second, in accord with previous research (Guasti, 1994; Hamann *et al.*, 1996; Schaeffer, 1997, and many others) the two sources of data show that children recognized clitics as such, they discriminate the syntactic contexts in which they can/must occur, and had a perfect distribution of a variety of them in a variety of those contexts. Similar results were also obtained with respect to the ordering of clitics in clusters. When children uttered them, their performance was always accurate. This remarkable uniformity in accuracy from such an early age suggests that children are guided by strong universal principles.

Third, also in agreement with earlier research (see sources cited), it has been noted that in the first months in which clitics appear, their incidence is not very high (though, since there are relatively few contexts available, the lack might be accidental). Also at first the usage is not consistent (clitics can be present and absent even within the same utterance). It was found that clusters for the most part were slightly delayed with respect to single cliticization. This delay was caused by omission of one of the clitics of the cluster (first or second) or both. This suggests that clitics present some difficulty for the performance system, and two clitics may often exceed its capabilities.

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Fourth, it has been found that, in general, the plural clitic forms appeared at a slightly later time. As has been observed with other categories (Valian, 1991), this brief delay could be due to the fact that plurality is a *non*-default feature.

Fifth, results have also basically confirmed observations by Guasti (1994) on Italian that the biggest change in the development of clitics takes place from 1;11 to 2;1 and that clitic knowledge is in place by about 2;1. Performance by the age 2;1 is better than in Guasti's study with respect to the presence of clitics (EI task: 95.8% and 83.3%; longitudinal data: 92.4% and 75% for single clitics and clusters respectively in Spanish, versus 45% - I presume both combined -in Italian) mainly as a result of a high presence of lexical DPs (37.5%) in the Italian data. It is relevant here, however, as noted already in other chapters, that Guasti's study did not examine the discourse context to verify what proportion of clitics and lexical complements (DPs or PPs) an adult would have used in comparable contexts. It is not clear, therefore, whether the presence of the clitic - rather than the lexical complement - would have been more felicitous. Presumably in some or most of the cases the non-use of a clitic was perfectly acceptable. By contrast, in the contexts presented in the experimental research the clitic was more or less obligatory, and very few utterances were found in the sample of their spontaneous production or in the longitudinal

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data where an adult would probably have used a clitic instead of the lexical DP used by the child. In fact, the Spanish data show that children are aware of the relevant principles of discourse, and when a context favors object pronominalazation, rather than a full DP, they almost invariably use de pronominal form (c.f., 7.6).

The experimental results for Spanish also show that performance soon starts to be adult-like (100% of single clitics and clusters from the age of 2;2). Similar findings were also obtained in the spontaneous speech of these children (only one omission after 2;2, the second clitic of a cluster, precisely at 2;3). In the longitudinal data single clitics were very productive by 2;2 (comparable to the latest months observed) and the number of omissions decreased from the already low numbers (96.4% present vs. 3.6% omission). Clusters also improved by 2;2 (85.7% present vs. 14.3% omission) but they did not fully stabilize until 2;6. By that age both clitics and clusters became adult-like. The subjects of Guasti's study never reached 100% use of clitics (they continued using a significant amount of lexical DPs through the entire period) though object omissions ceased almost entirely by the age of 2;5 (2%). As noted, less than 100% use of clitics presumably happened because some uses of lexical DPs rather than clitics were acceptable in the Italian study.

Sixth, with respect to doubling, both experimental and longitudinal data confirmed that children had knowledge of all

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these structures already at 2;2 to 2;3 (previously, Varela showed competence by 2;11-4;1 with lexical dative CLDP, but did not test young children). The results are compatible with Kayne's (1994) proposal that standard doubling (CLDP), left dislocation (CLLD) and right dislocation (CLRD) are closely related instances of the more general phenomenon of clitic doubling and abide by the syntactic analysis presented in Chapter IV. A slight delay (about one month) appears to occur in CLLD and CLRD with respect to CLDP in the spontaneous longitudinal data (not in the sample of spontaneous cross-sectional data, though a small dispreference for CLLD was observed in one of the children in the experimental task). This might be for discourse reasons (it seems likely that dislocation structures occur less frequently - for both adults and children - than non-dislocation structures) or because dislocation involves an extra syntactic derivational step.

Seventh, the first clitics in climbing-type contexts with and without climbing were observed at 2;1 in the longitudinal spontaneous production data (only single clitics at this time, clusters appeared at 2;2) with a level of accuracy comparable to the latest months observed (90% and 10% utterances with and without climbing respectively; no omissions). After this age, two omissions of a single clitic occurred at the age of 2;3 and 2;5 (9.1% and 8.3%, respectively) and three of a cluster (50%) at 2;2. (In Experiment 3 I did not test for climbing explicitly though the verbs choices in this

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experiment were designed with climbing in mind.) Moreover, a couple of climbing-type structures with and without climbing were spontaneously produced by children as young as 1;9 (the same age that clitics were found in single clause sentences) who participated in the experimental research. This observation stands in disagreement with Guasti's study, in which there was reported to be a delay in clitic climbing (which was not evidenced until 2;1 in her study), even when some environments for climbing were present at an earlier time. Climbing-type structures that disallow climbing occur very rarely at these early stages because the verbs in the matrix clause are not generally used by young children. Only one case was found and it occurred in the longitudinal data at the age of 2;2 (correctly, without climbing). The later appearance of clitics in all these two-clause contexts than in single-clause sentences can reasonably be attributed to the low incidence of the base structural contexts in the child's early production. It need not be ascribed to a delay in the process of climbing per se, as has been suggested by Antelmi (1992) and Guasti (1994) with respect to Italian. Thus, the data on climbing are compatible with the uniform analysis of clitics presented in Chapter IV which implies that climbing should be readily available to learners.

Eighth, as noted, the longitudinal data showed that María had a high preference for climbing. This seems to be also true of some children in the cross-sectional sample of

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spontaneous production. It has also been found in informal observations of Italian children (Guasti, Monachesi, and others). It is difficult to find a grammatical explanation for this preference. It is tempting to think that children find this option easier to use because it involves procliticization rather than encliticization, and procliticization occurs much more commonly in other constructions (it is always required in finite contexts and in negative imperatives which are very frequent structures). The problem for this account is positive imperatives which are also very frequent and require enclisis. However, it is relevant that climbing is also highly preferred in the child-directed speech of María's parents (but not in the other adult speakers studied). It may be, therefore, that climbing is a characteristic of *motherese* (caretaker speech to children), adapted to conform to *child* preference. Of course, this requires that there be some reason why children prefer it (perhaps, as suggested, because they disfavor encliticization although they can learn and use it), but then the adult usage would reinforce this preference. I am not aware of other observations of adult child-directed speech with respect to this issue, to find out whether the same adult varies in his or her usage of climbing depending on the age of the addressee. This strikes me as unlikely. It may be a characteristic of these adults in particular.

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Ninth, despite such early acquisition, a number of production errors were found, mainly in the spontaneous production data. A typical case is a lexical alteration of clitics from the accusative forms *la(s) and lo(s)* to the dative forms *le(s)*. As mentioned, I presume that most of these alterations (if not all) are instances of *leísmo* and, therefore, not true errors. This applies especially to the longitudinal data since we know that the parents were leístas. Also common errors were cases of incorrect marking of person, number and gender in the various context. These errors seem to persist (although in lower numbers) until the last months observed. A few overgeneralization errors were also encountered in María's speech (and a couple in the cross-sectional data) which consisted in the creation of inherent/reflexive pronominal verbs.

An important and quite consistent ungrammaticality was also found in María's productions (and two more in the cross-sectional data, one by a child who had instances of leísmo while the other did not). These are instances of accusative lexical CLDP, both animate and inanimate. These instances are more frequent before 2;4, but they persisted until 3;1. The fact that some instances were also present in her parent's speech suggests that María had acquired these structures from her input. The best explanation I can provide that can account for these "ungrammatical" CLDP structures in the child and in the adult grammar, is that they are caused by the fact

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that these speakers (parents and child) are leístas and lexical doubling is allowed with dative clitics *le* and *les*. That is, it may be that since lexical doubling with datives is permitted, and since *le* and *les* are also used as accusatives in the leístas' dialects, the distribution of dative doubling is extended to accusatives, regardless of whether accusative case is expressed with *le* or *les* or with the etymological forms *la(s)* or *lo(s)*. Both types of instances are observed in María's data and in her mother's data. The deviant occurrences in the father's data contain the etymological forms. If this account is correct, lexical accusative CLDP structures would be a grammatical option in the leísta dialects though ungrammatical in the varieties without leísmo. Some empirical support for this is provided here by a small-scale study with two adult leístas. Clearly, more extensive empirical work is needed. In particular, it needs to be determined whether children not exposed to accusative lexical CLDP show any tendency to create it, by overgeneralization.

Finally, several instances of clitic copying were found in some of the children from the experimental study. This occasional reduplication seems to show that (some) children go through a transitional stage, in which they know that the clitic can occur in both environments, but they need to learn that it cannot be present in both of them at once. Interestingly, these are grammatical structures in other Romance languages. A similar type of error, copying instead

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of movement of an auxiliary, was observed by Crain and Nakayama (1987) in an experimental study on auxiliary fronting in English questions. Crain and Nakayama argue that this is a failure in performance due to the complexity of these structures. This might be so in the case of clitic copying also. Further research is needed to distinguish competence and performance explanations.

A final thought on the presence of errors is that all the cases presented are only observed in some children. Moreover, when present, they do not occur consistently. There is no single overwhelming type of error that children make uniformly, other than omission. This inconsistency indicates the existence of an "insecure stage" that seems to affect some categories or structures but not others, and differently in different children.

In sum, I believe that the results of this research have demonstrated that clitic phenomena, in spite of their complexity, emerge early and develop rapidly and with remarkable accuracy (the errors observed are minor and few, compared to the errors that could have been made). This provides a convincing case for the presence of strong innate grammatical principles that constrain the generation of clitic structures, even though some learning of language-specific properties must also take place.

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8.5. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Though I have presented a fairly intensive survey on the course of development of clitics, a number of issues require further investigation. The following deserve attention.

First, where a required object is completely absent, the issue arises as to what was deleted, the clitic or the corresponding full DP (or other complement in languages with a wider variety of clitics). This issue is a difficult one. It can be addressed only by examining the discourse context to determine whether the clitic (rather than any other object) would have been more felicitous. This requires comparison with adult usage as well. Moreover, there is discrepancy across languages (French and Italian vs. Spanish) as to whether children favor a full DP (rather than a clitic) when a context requires pronominalization. It would be valuable to conduct closely matched studies in several languages.

Second, as noted, one factor that the present experiments did not test was climbing. Hence, it is important to carry out a thorough investigation of these structures to validate and refine the hints derived from the spontaneous data with respect to the time course of the development of climbing, the tendency toward copying, and the high preference for climbing in child and in adult child-directed speech (but not in the adult speakers studied).

Third, it needs to be explored whether in *leísta* dialects the distribution of dative doubling in the adult language is

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extended to accusatives, regardless of whether accusative case is expressed with *le* or *les* or with the etymological forms *la(s)* or *lo(s)*. With respect to child language acquisition, it must be determined whether children not exposed to accusative lexical CLDP show any tendency to create it spontaneously. If it is found (as the preliminary data provided here suggest) that dative lexical CLDP is indeed extended to accusatives in leísta dialects, this will be compatible with the view that children and adults do not have a distinct grammar.

Lastly, I hope that the conclusions reached in this analysis of child language provide a useful foundation for comparison in future crosslinguistic work using other methods, other linguistic materials and, what is the dream of every researcher, a more extensive amount of new empirical data. Utterances from interlocutors are also useful so that we know what input is feeding the child's acquisition, and corpora of adult-to-adult speech can reveal how frequently each construction typically occurs in the language. This will help us determine whether omission by children (by far the most common error) occurs because of a low level of input or unfamiliarity with the relevant contexts, or because the phenomenon is inherently difficult to acquire. All these kinds of information are essential to deepen our understanding of the highly complex phenomenon of Romance pronominal clitics.

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APPENDIX 1

(Chapter VI)

Experiment 1: Simple Local Cliticization

Stimuli and Tables

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EXPERIMENT 1: Simple Local Cliticization

Discourse context		EI Sentences
I) Pre-test Samples		
1. La mamá tiene un globo The mother has a balloon		1. La niña lo quiere The girl CL(ACC) wants
2. Luís es amigo de Angel Luis is Angel's friend		2. Le deja su pelota CL(DAT) lends his ball
II) Test Data	**(Battery A)**	
1. El payaso se rasca mucho The clown SE scratches a lot	**IN**	1. *Le* pica la nariz CL(DAT) itches the nose
2. La niña ya está bañada The girl is already bathed	**DO**	2. *La* viste su yaya CL(ACC) dresses her grandma
3. Este chico tiene zumo This boy has juice	**CL/CL**	3. *Se lo* bebe todo Se CL(ACC) drinks all
4. Esta nena tiene calor The girl is hot	**F**	4. *Ku* suda la cara Ku sweats the face
5. Alex lleva gafas oscuras Alex wears glasses dark	**DO**	5. *Le* molesta el sol CL(DAT) bothers the sun
6. El niño tiene rizos The boy has curls	**DO**	6. *Lo* peina su yaya CL(ACC) combs his grandma
	(Battery B)	
1. La nena está llorando The girl is crying	**IN**	1. *Le* duele la cabeza CL(DAT) hurts the head
2. La nena juega en el parque The girl plays in the park	**DO**	2. *La* cuida su papá CL(ACC) takes care of her dad
3. Juan quiere la pelota Juan wants the ball	**CL/CL**	3. *Se la* da Pili Se CL(ACC) gives Pili
4. A Pepe le gusta columpiarse To Pepe CL(DAT) pleases swinging	**F**	4. *Pe* columpia su tío Pe swings his uncle
5. La nena está calladica The girl is quiet	**PSY**	5. *Le* gusta la tele CL(DAT) pleases the TV
6. El bebé está en la cuna The baby is in the cradle	**DO**	6. *Lo* duerme su mamá CL(ACC) puts to sleep his mom

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(Battery C)

1. El coche está roto The car is broken	**IN**	1. *Le* falta una rueda CL(DAT) miss3rd,sg. a wheel
2. Eva va a la guardería Eva goes to the nursery	**DO**	2. *La* lleva su mamá CL(ACC) takes her mummy
3. Esta niña tiene un helado This girl has an ice cream	**CL/CL**	3. *Se lo* come despacio Se CL(ACC) eats slowly
4. Ana quiere ir en hombros Ana wants to go on the shoulders	**F**	4. *To* coge su tío To picks up her uncle
5. El niño va a la piscina The boy goes to the pool	**PSY**	5. *Le* encanta el agua CL(DAT) delights the water
6. El bebé está muy limpico The baby is very clean	**DO**	6. *Lo* baña su mamá CL(ACC) bathes his mommy

(Battery D)

1. Amaya ya es mayor Amaya is already a grown up	**IN**	1. *Le* sale un diente CL(DAT) comes out a tooth
2. La niña está muy guapa The girl is very beautiful	**DO**	2. *La* mira su amigo CL(ACC) looks at her friend
3. Tom le regala una cartera Tom CL(DAT) gives a backpack	**CL/CL**	3. *Se la* regala bonita Se CL(ACC) gives pretty
4. El niño lee en la playa The boy reads at the beach	**F**	4. *Ku* agrada el cuento Ku pleases the story book
5. La niña pone un disco The girl plays a CD	**PSY**	5. *Le* alegra la música CL(DAT) cheers up the music
6. El nene está en la cama The boy is in bed	**DO**	6. *Lo* tapa su mamá CL(ACC) covers his mommy

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Subject	Age	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	
		Le pica la nariz		Le duele la cabeza		Le falta una rueda		Le sale un diente	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		f/r	-	+	(+)
Oscar	1;9	+	(+)	-	-	+	(+)	f/r	+
Eric	1;10	+	(+)	#	#	+	(+)	-	-
Simón	1;10	n/p		u/u	+	f/r	+	#	+
Sofía	2;1	-	+	+	(+)	#	+	#	+
Luís	2;1	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	n/r	+
Ana	2;1	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge	2;2	-	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jael	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Andrea	2;3	f/r	+	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	f/r	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	f/r	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	-	+	+	(+)	n/r	+
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		95	100	76.1	95.2	72.2	90.9	63.6	100
% Omission		**10.5**	**0**	**12.5**	**5**	**6.2**	**5**	**7.1**	**4.7**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
u/u = unclear utterance
n/p = not presented

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EXPERIMENT 1: With a Feminine Direct Object (LA)

Subject	Age	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	
		La viste su yaya		La cuida su papá		La lleva su mamá		La mira su amigo	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		-	+	f/r	+
Oscar	1;9	-	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	1;10	-	-	#	-	+	(+)	+	(+)
Simón	1;10	n/p		-	+	f/r	+	-	#
Sofia	2;1	f/r	+	n/r	+	+	(+)	#	-
Luís	2;1	-	+	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Ana	2;1	+	(+)	+	(+)	u/u	+	f/r	+
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge	2;2	n/r	+	+	(+)	n/r	+	n/r	f/r
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jael	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	#	+
Andrea	2;3	n/r	f/r	f/r	+	n/r	+	f/r	+
Laura	2;3	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+	f/r	+
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	f/r	f/r	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		75	90	71.4	100	63.6	100	63.6	90.9
% Omission		**20**	**5.5**	**6.6**	**4.7**	**7.1**	**0**	**7.1**	**5**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
u/u = unclear utterance
n/p = not presented

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Subject	Age	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	
		Se lo bebe todo		Se la da Pili		Se lo come despacico		Se la regala bonita	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		+	(+)	n/r	-
Oscar	1;9	(-)	+	{-}	{-}	-	-	f/r	+
Eric	1;10	-	-	-	+	{-}	(-)	n/r	+
Simón	1;10	n/p		-	-	u/u	f/r	-	f/r
Sofía	2;1	#	-	f/r	+	#	+	{-}	{-}
Luís	2;1	#	#	+	(+)	#	+	#	+
Ana	2;1	f/r	+	n/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Jorge	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jael	2;3	+	(+)	#	+	#	+	+	(+)
Andrea	2;3	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	f/r	+
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	f/r	+
Marina	2;6	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		75	95	80.9	100	59.1	95.4	54.5	95.4
% Omission		**13.3**	**10.5**	**17.6**	**9.5**	**15.3**	**9.5**	**16.6**	**9.5**

Classification Criteria

+ = presence of the complete cluster
(+) = presence of the complete cluster carried over from the 1st attempt
- = omission of the complete cluster
{-} = omission of the first clitic of the cluster
(-) = omission of the second clitic of the cluster
= incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
u/u = unclear utterance
n/p = not presented

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Subject	Age	(A): ku=le		(B): pe=lo		(C): to=la		(D): ku=le	
		Ku suda la cara		Pe columpia su tío		To coge su tío		Ku agrada el cuento	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		n/r	-	f/r	+
Oscar	1;9	n/r	-	-	n/r	#	[*]	n/r	e/e
Eric	1;10	-	f/r	-	#	n/r	e/e	-	-
Simón	1;10	n/p		f/r	n/r	#	#	n/r	#
Sofía	2;1	#	-	n/r	u/u	n/r	#	n/r	*
Luís	2;1	-	n/r	n/r	#	-	*	*	*
Ana	2;1	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	*
Merche	2;2	-	e/e	*	*	-	*	*	*
Jorge	2;2	*	f/r	[*]	*	n/r	f/r	n/r	*
Oscar	2;2	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eric	2;3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Jael	2;3	*	n/r	#	#	#	*	f/r	+
Andrea	2;3	n/r	e/e	-	f/r	f/r	*	*	n/r
Laura	2;3	-	*	-	*	*	*	f/r	*
Alicia	2;4	-	{*}	*	*	f/r	*	f/r	*
Pedro	2;4	*	*	f/r	f/r	-	-	*	*
Marina	2;6	*	f/r	n/r	f/r	n/r	*	*	*
Patri	2;7	*	-	-	*	*	e/e	*	n/r
Tania L.	2;8	*	*	*	e/e	*	+	*	+
Celia	2;8	-	n/r	*	*	#	f/r	*	n/r
Jorge M.	2;9	*	+	*	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	*	n/r	*	*	*	*
Results:									
% Scorable		85	60	71.4	47.6	50	72.7	63.6	77.3
% Omission		**41.2**	**33.3**	**40.0**	**10.0**	**27.3**	**12.5**	**14.3**	**5.9**
% Presence		**5.8**	**25.0**	**0.0**	**10.0**	**9.1**	**12.5**	**7.1**	**23.5**
% Pseudo → CL		**52.9**	**33.3**	**53.3**	**80.0**	**63.6**	**68.7**	**78.6**	**70.6**
% Pseudo → Lex. DP		—	—	**6.6**	—	—	**6.2**	—	—
% CL [Pseudo+Verb]		—	**8.3**	—	—	—	—	—	—

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the pseudo clitic
(+) = presence of the pseudo clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the pseudo clitic
* = replacement of pseudo clitic with real clitic
[*] = replacement of pseudo clitic with a lexical DP
{*} = clitic + [pseudo clitic + verb]
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
u/u = unclear utterance
n/p = not presented
e/e = experimenter's error

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Subject	Age	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	
		Le molesta el sol		Le gusta la tele		Le encanta el agua		Le alegra la música	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		n/r	+	f/r	+
Oscar	1;9	f/r	+	+	(+)	#	-	#	+
Eric	1;10	#	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	-
Simón	1;10	n/p		-	+	#	+	n/r	+
Sofía	2;1	u/u	+	#	+	-	+	#	+
Luís	2;1	n/r	-	n/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Ana	2;1	-	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Jorge	2;2	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jael	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+	+	(+)
Andrea	2;3	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	+
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		70	100	85.7	100	72.7	100	68.2	100
% Omission		**7.1**	**5**	**5.5**	**0**	**6.2**	**4.5**	**13.3**	**4.5**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
u/u = unclear utterance
n/p = not presented

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EXPERIMENT 1: With a Masculine Direct Object (LO)

Subject	Age	(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	
		Lo peina su yaya		Lo duerme su mamá		Lo baña su mamá		Lo tapa su mamá	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Tania	1;9	n/p		n/p		f/r	+	n/r	-
Oscar	1;9	-	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+
Eric	1;10	-	-	+	(+)	n/r	-	+	(+)
Simón	1;10	n/p		+	(+)	f/r	+	-	f/r
Sofía	2;1	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	#	+
Luís	2;1	-	+	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+
Ana	2;1	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)	n/r	+
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Jorge	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	n/r	+
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jael	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+	#	+
Andrea	2;3	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	f/r	+	f/r	+	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		90	100	80.9	100	54.5	100	54.5	95.4
% Omission		**16.6**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**8.3**	**4.5**	**8.3**	**4.7**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)
n/p = not presented

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APPENDIX 2

(Chapter VI)

Experiment 2: Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD)

Stimuli and Tables

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EXPERIMENT 2: Clitic Doubling (CLDP and CLLD)

Battery #1

Discourse Context: for 1st sentence below

Sentence 1: Esta es la leona Vanesa y éste es su cachorro: el leoncico Gino. La mamá leona dice: Ven Gino, hijico, la comida está preparada.
(This is the female lion Vanesa and this is her cub: the little lion Gino. The mommy lion says: Come Gino, little son, lunch is ready).

EI SENTENCES

1. A Gino lo llama su mamá (CLLDlex,acc)
   To Gino CL(ACC) calls his mommy

2. A Raquel le crece el cuello (CLLDlex,dat)
   To Raquel CL(DAT) grows the neck

3. Se le abre mucho la boca (SE CLdat - pro)
   SE CL(DAT) opens a lot the mouth

4. Lo lava su mamá con jabón (CLacc - pro)
   CL(ACC) washes his mommy with soap

5. A él le alegra su canción (CLLDpron,dat)
   To him CL(DAT) delights his song

6. Tilo tiene un diente muy grande (ϕ - Lexical DPacc)
   Tilo has a tooth very big

7. Le gusta el hueso a él (CLDPpron,dat)
   CL(DAT) pleases the bone to him

8. *El caballico la mueve la cola (CLDPlex,acc)
   The little horse CL(ACC) moves the tail

9. Lía pide panizo a su mamá (ϕ-lex DPacc/DPdat)
   Lia asks for corn to her mommy

10. Los gaticos la quieren a ella (CLDPpron,acc)
    The kittens CL(ACC) love to her

11. Mariela le da vueltas al balón (CLDPlex,dat)
    Mariela CL(DAT) gives spinnings to the ball

12. A ella la cuida un señor (CLLDpron,acc)
    To her CL(ACC) takes care of a gentleman

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Battery #2

Discourse Context: for 1st sentence below

Sentence 1: Esta es la leona Vanesa y éste es su cachorro: el leoncico Gino. La mamá leona dice: Ven Gino, hijico, la comida está preparada. Vanesa es una mamá muy buena.
(This is the female lion Vanesa and this is her cub: the little lion Gino. The mommy lion says: Come Gino, little son, lunch is ready. Vanesa is a very good mommy).

EI SENTENCES

1. A ella la quiere el leoncico (CLLDpron,acc)
   To her CL(ACC) loves the little lion

2. Le pide el jabón al elefantico (CLDPlex,dat)
   CL(DAT) asks for the soap to the little elephant

3. Su mamá la lava a ella (CLDPpron,acc)
   Her mummy CL(ACC) washes to her

4. Nanda da besos a sus gaticos (ϕ- Lex DPacc/DPdat)
   Nanda gives kisses to her kittens

5. *La llama a Pina su amiga (CLDPlex,acc)
   CL(ACC) calls to Pina her friend

6. Le crece un diente a él (CLDPpron,dat)
   CL(DAT) grows a tooth to him

7. Pío abre el pico para cantar (ϕ - Lexical DPacc)
   Pío opens the beck to sing

8. A ella le gusta la comidica (CLLDpron,dat)
   To her CL(DAT) pleases the small meal

9. Lo cuida un señor muy bien (CLacc - pro)
   CL(ACC) takes care of a gentleman very well

10. El aire le mueve la pelota (CLdat - pro)
    The air CL(DAT) moves the ball

11. El hueso lo tiene el perrico (CLLDlex,acc)
    The bone CL(ACC) has the doggy

12 A Pam le alegra dar salticos (CLLDlex,dat)
   To Pam CL(DAT) cheers to give little jumps

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Subject	Age	Pronominal (D0)		Pronominal (IO)		Lexical (IO)	
		Battery 1 (#10) Los gaticos la quieren a ella Battery 2 (#3) Su mamá la lava a ella		Battery 1 (#7) Le gusta el hueso a él Battery 2 (#6) Le crece un diente a él		Battery 1 (#11) Mariela le da vueltas al balón Battery 2 (#2) Le pide el jabón al elefantico	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	-	+
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	#	+	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	f/r	+	n/r	+	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	[-]	+	[-]	[-]	n/r	#
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Marina	2;6	[-]	+	f/r	+	+	(+)
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	f/r	+	n/r	[-]
Tania L.	2;8	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:							
% Scorable		75.0	100.0	66.6	100.0	75.0	91.7
% Omiss. CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**11.1**	**0.0**
% Omiss. Lex.DP		**22.2**	**0.0**	**12.5**	**8.3**	**0.0**	**9.1**
% of CLDP		**77.8**	**100.0**	**87.5**	**91.7**	**88.9**	**90.9**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of CLDP
(+) = presence of CLDP carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
[-] = omission of the object DP
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc)

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Subject	Age	Pronominal (DO)		Lexical (DO)		Pronominal (IO)		Lexical (IO)	
		Battery 1 (#12) A ella la cuida un señor Battery 2 (#1) A ella la quiere el leoncico		Battery 1 (#1) A Gino lo llama Su mamá Battery 2 (#11) El hueso lo tiene el perrico		Battery 1 (#5) A él le alegra su canción Battery 2 (#8) A ella le gusta la comidica		Battery 1 (#2) A Raquel le crece el cuello Battery 2 (#12) A Pam le alegra dar salticos	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+
Oscar	2;2	f/r	+	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	[-]	[-]	f/r	[-]	[-]	[-]	[-]	+
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	f/r	+	f/r	n/r	+	(+)	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	[-]	+	+	(+)	#	+
Patri	2;7	[-]	[-]	f/r	+	[-]	+	n/r	[-]
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	[*]	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	[-]	+	+	(+)	n/r	+
Results:									
% Scorable		83.3	100.0	75.0	91.7	83.3	100.0	66.7	100.0
% Omiss. CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Omiss. DP		**20.0**	**16.6**	**22.2**	**9.1**	**20.0**	**8.3**	**12.5**	**8.3**
% CLLD		**80.0**	**83.4**	**77.8**	**90.9**	**80.0**	**83.3**	**87.5**	**91.7**
% CLLP → CLDP		—	—	—	—	—	**8.3**	—	—

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of CLLD
(+) = presence of CLLD carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
[-] = omission of the object DP
[*] = alteration of CLLD into CLDP
\# = incomplete response (final word of two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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EXPERIMENT 2: Ungrammatical Standard Clitic Doubling (Lexical Acc. CLDP)

Subject	Age	Lexical DO	
		Battery 1 (#8) El caballico la mueve la cola Battery 2 (#5) La llama a Pina su amiga	
		First	Last
Merche	2;2	[*]	[*]
Oscar	2;2	{*}	-
Eric	2;3	{*}	{*}
Laura	2;3	-	-
Alicia	2;4	-	[-]
Pedro	2;4	{*}	{*}
Marina	2;6	#	-
Patri	2;7	[-]	n/r
Tania L.	2;8	{*}	{*}
Celia	2;8	[*]	{*}
Jorge M.	2;9	{*}	{*}
Isabel	2;10	f/r	+
Results:			
% Scorable		83.3	91.7
% Omiss. CL **% Omiss. Lex. DP** **% CLDP** **% CLDP → CLLD** **% Strategies**		**20.0** **10.0** **0.0** **20.0** **50.0**	**27.3** **9.1** **9.1** **9.1** **45.4**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of CLDP
(+) = presence of CLDP carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic
[-] = omission of the object DP
[*] = alteration of CLDP into CLLD
{*} = strategies used
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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Subject	Age	CLdo - pro		CLio - pro		ϕ - Lex D0		ϕ - Lex DO/IO	
		Battery 1 (#4) Lo lava su mamá con jabón Battery 2 (#9) Lo cuida un señor muy bien		Battery 1 (#3) Se le abre mucho la boca Battery 2 (#10) El aire le mueve la pelota		Battery 1 (#6) Tilo tiene un diente muy grande Battery 2 (#7) Pío abre el pico para cantar		Battery 1 (#9) Lía pide panizo a su mamá Battery 2 (#4) Nanda da besos a sus gaticos	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	n/r	+	*	(*)	n/r	*
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	-	+	*	(*)	f/r	*
Laura	2;3	f/r	+	+	(+)	*	(*)	[+]	(*)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	f/r	-	*	(*)	#	[+]
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	-	+	*	(*)	f/r	*
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	(*)	*	(*)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	(*)	*	(*)
Results:									
% Scorable		91.7	100.0	83.3	100.0	91.7	100.0	66.7	100.0
% Omiss. of CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**20.0**	**8.3**	—	—	—	—
% Omiss. of Lex. DP		—	—	—	—	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Simple S. → CLDP		—	—	—	—	**0.0**	**0.0**	**12.5**	—
% Control S's		**100.0**	**100.0**	**80.0**	**91.7**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**87.5**	**100.0**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic(s)
(+) = presence of the clitic(s) carried over from the 1st attempt
\- = omission of the clitic(s)
* = presence of the lexical DP
(*) = presence of the lexical DP carried over from the 1st attempt
[+] = a simple clitic sentence altered to CLDP
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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APPENDIX 3

(Chapter VI)

Experiment 3: Enclitization in Infinitive Context

Stimuli and Tables

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EXPERIMENT 3: Encliticization in Infinitive Contexts

Discourse Context: for 1st sentence below

Sentence 1: Este es el cocodrilo Birilo. No quiere ir al cole porque ha perdido su libro. Dile:
(This is the cocodrile Birilo. He does not want to go to school because he has lost his book. Tell him:)

EI SENTENCES

1. Tienes que buscarlo (Modal verb, CLCL[1] allowed)
   You have to find-CLacc

2. Hay que cuidarla (Other verbs, CLCL not allowed)
   One has to take care of-CLacc

3. Va a echársela (Aspectual verb, CLCL allowed)
   She's going to through-CLdat/CLacc

4. Trata de cogerlo (Other verbs, CLCL not allowed)
   She tries to get-CLacc

5. Sabe pintarlo bien (Modal verb, CLCL allowed)
   She knows how to paint-CLacc well

6. Va sin avisarle (Adverbial Inf, CLCL not allowed)
   He goes without warning-CLdat

7. Tiene que decírselo (Modal verb, CLCL allowed)
   She has to tell-CLdat/CLacc

8. Viene de verlo (Other verbs, CLCL not allowed)
   She comes back from seeing-CLacc

9. Va a esconderse (Movement verb, CLCL allowed)
   He is going to hide-SE

10. Juega sin pegarle (Adverbial Inf, CLCL not allowed)
    He plays without hitting-CLdat

11. Quiere tocarla despacico (Modal verb, CLCL allowed)
    She wants to touch-CLacc softly

12. Salta sin romperla (Adverbial Inf, CLCL not allowed)
    He jumps without breaking-CLacc off

---

[1] As noted in the text, CLCL stands for clitic climbing.

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EXPERIMENT 3: Enclitic Climbing in Infinitive Contexts

3.1 Structures that allow Clitic Climbing

a) With Modals

Subject	Age	(#1)		(#5)		(#7)		(#11)	
		Tienes que buscarlo		Sabe pintarlo bien		Tiene que decírselo		Quiere tocarla despacico	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Luis	2;1	+	(+)	#	+	{-}	+	+	(+)
Ana	2;1	+	(+)	#	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge	2;2	f/r	+	+	(+)	n/r	n/r	+	(+)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	#	+
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	#	+	{-}	+	*	<>
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+
Marina	2;6	f/r	+	*	+	f/r	f/r	+	(+)
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)	*	+
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Results:									
% Scorable		86.7	100.0	73.3	100.0	73.3	86.7	86.7	100.0
% Omiss. of CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Omiss.1st of cluster		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**18.2**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Presence of CL		**100.0**	**100.0**	**90.0**	**100.0**	**81.8**	**100.0**	**84.6**	**93.3**
% Clitic Climbing		**0.0**	**0.0**	**9.1**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**15.3**	**0.0**
% Clitic Copying		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**6.6**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of a single clitic or of a whole cluster
(+) = presence of a clitic or a whole cluster carried over from the 1st attempt
{-} = omission of the 1st clitic in the cluster
* = frequency of clitic climbing
<> = clitic copying (cl+Vfin+Inf+cl)
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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EXPERIMENT 3: Encliticization in Infinitive Contexts
3.1 Structures that allow Clitic Climbing
b) With Aspectual/Motion verbs

Subject	Age	(#3)		(#9)	
		Va a echársela		Va a esconderse	
		First	Last	First	Last
Luis	2;1	+	(+)	+	(+)
Ana	2;1	{-}	+	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge	2;2	n/r	+	n/r	+
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	f/r	n/r	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	*	+	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	+	(+)
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	f/r	+
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	f/r	+
Celia	2;8	f/r	+	<>	+
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	<>	f/r
Results:					
% Scorable		80.0	100.0	80.0	93.3
% Omiss. of CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Omiss: 1st of cluster		**8.3**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% Presence of CL		**83.3**	**0.0**	**83.3**	**100.0**
% Clitic Climbing		**8.3**	**100.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
% CL Copying		**0.0**	**0.0**	**16.7**	**0.0**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of a single clitic or of a whole cluster
(+) = presence of a single clitic or of a whole cluster carried over from the 1st attempt
{-} = omission of the 1st clitic in the cluster
* = frequency of clitic climbing
<> = clitic copying (cl+Vfin+Inf+cl)
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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EXPERIMENT 3: Encliticization in Infinitive Contexts
3.2 Structures that do not allow Clitic Climbing
a) With Other Verbs

Subject	Age	(#2)		(#4)		(#8)	
		Hay que cuidarla		Trata de cogerlo		Viene de verlo	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Luis	2;1	n/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Ana	2;1	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	+	(+)	n/r	+	+	(+)
Jorge	2;2	+	(+)	f/r	#	+	(+)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	f/r	f/r	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	f/r	n/r	f/r	+
Patri	2;7	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:							
% Scorable		80.0	100.0	66.7	80.0	93.3	86.7
% Omiss. of CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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3.2 Structures that do not allow Clitic Climbing
b) With Adverbial Infinitives

Subject	Age	(#6)		(#10)		(#12)	
		Va sin avisarle		Juega sin pegarle		Salta sin romperla	
		First	Last	First	Last	First	Last
Luis	2;1	f/r	+	+	(+)	#	+
Ana	2;1	#	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Merche	2;2	n/r	n/r	+	(+)	#	+
Jorge	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Oscar	2;2	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Eric	2;3	n/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Laura	2;3	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Alicia	2;4	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Pedro	2;4	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Marina	2;6	+	(+)	f/r	+	+	(+)
Patri	2;7	f/r	+	+	(+)	+	(+)
Tania L.	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Celia	2;8	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Jorge M.	2;9	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Isabel	2;10	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	(+)
Results:							
% Scorable		60.0	93.3	93.3	100.0	86.7	100.0
% Omiss. of CL		**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**

Classification Criteria

\+ = presence of the clitic
(+) = presence of the clitic carried over from the 1st attempt
\# = incomplete response (final word or two only)
n/r = no response (failure to respond at all)
f/r = free response (a comment, question etc.)

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APPENDIX 4

(Chapter VI)

Cross-Sectional Spontaneous Production Data

4.1 Clitics in Simple Finite Contexts

4.2 Clitics Doubling: CLDP, CLLD, CLRD

4.3 Clitics in Infinitive Contexts

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4.1 CLITICS IN SIMPLE FINITE CONTEXTS

Symbols

( ) = omission of words or pieces of words; [ ] = corrections of leísmo or of ungrammatical or mispronounced forms; { } = presence of superfluous terms; * = presence of lexical DP where a clitic would have been more felicitous

Tania (1;9)

Exp: - Mira, un balón
Look, a ball

Tania: - Lo coge é(s)te
It takes this one

Exp: - Mira, este es Plum. Y éste es el lobo
Look, this is Plum. And this is the wolf

Tania: - Y (se) lo come el bolo [lobo]
And (SE) him eats the wolf

Exp: - No, pobrecico Plum
Neg, poor little Plum

Tania: - ¡No (te lo) comes [comas]!
Neg (CL2sg. it) eat$_{indic.[subj.]}$!

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Exp: - Mira que nena tan majica
Look what little girl so pretty

Tania: - Le gu(s)tan los ca(ra)melos
To her please the candy

Exp: - Dile al señor que te dé
la cesta
Tell-him the gentleman that he CL2sg. gives
the basket

Tania: - No quele [quiere]. No me le [la] da
He neg wants. Neg CL1sg. itdat[acc] gives
Exp: - Mira, el nene está en el río bañándose
y el conejico le coge la ropa
Look, the little boy is in the river bathing
and the little rabbit to him takes the clothing

Tania: - No coges [cojas] la g[r]opa. No le [la]
coges [cojas]
Neg takeindic. [subj.] the clothing. Neg itdat[acc]
takeindic.[subj.]

Exp: - Mira que pececico más majico
Look what a little fish so pretty

Tania: - T(i)ene ojos que nos mi(r)an
It has eyes that CL1pl. look at

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Exp: - Un caballico ¿lo ves?
A little horse, you it see?

Tania: - S'a [se ha] caido
It SE has fallen

Exp: - Y un niño ....
And a little boy ....

Tania: - No se cae
He neg SE falls

Exp: - ¡Uy! Se te ha roto la uña, cariño.
¿Te duele?
Ah! SE CL2sg. has broken the nail, darling.
CL2sg. it hurts?

Tania: - Se (me) ha roto (la) una [uña] a mí
SE (CL1sg.) has broken (the) nail to me

Context: (Pointing to the recorder)

Tania: - Oye, dale (la) gueta [vuelta]
Listen, give-it (the) turn
'Turn it over'

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Context: (After the session, I was carrying Tania back downstairs to the classroom. She was clutching several small toys in her hands and suddenly she said to me:)

Tania: - Este se me cae
This one SE CL1sg. falls
'This one is falling on me'

Simón (1;10)

Exp: - Mira que balón tan grande
Look what ball so big

Simón: - Chútalo co(n) (l)os piés
Shoot-it with the feet

Exp: - A mí no me gusta el fútbol
To me neg CL1sg. pleases the football

Simón: - ¡No te gu(s)ta!
Neg CL2sg. please?
'Don't you like it!

Exp: - Mira, un perrico en el río
Look, a doggy in the river

Simón: - Se ha caído
SE has fallen

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Context: (To the dog)

Simón: - ¿Te mojas?
You CL2sg. get wet?
'Are you getting wet?'

Context: (To a boy who is also there in the water)

Simón: - Sácalo, que se moja
Take-it out that it SE is getting wet

Contex: (To me)

Simón: - No lo saca
He neg it takes out

Simón: - Me (he) roto el tatalón [pantalón]
I CL1sg (have) ripped the trousers

Exp: - ¡Mamá se va a enfadar ....!
Mommy SE is going to get mad ....!

Simón: - No (me) pega
She neg (CL1sg) smack

Simón: - ¿Me das un ca(r)amelo?
You CL1sg give a piece of candy

Context: (I give him a bunch of them)

Exp: - Dale uno a Lola
Give-her one to Lola

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Simón: - No lo qu(i)ere. (L)o tira
She neg it wants. She it throws

Exp: - ¿Me como yo uno?
CL1sg. eat I one

Simón: - ¡No (te) lo comes [comas]!
Neg (CL2sg.) it eatindic.[subj.]!

Exp: - Mira, una goma
Look, an eraser

Simón: - Yo (l)a tiro
I it throw

Oscar (1;9)

Context: (To a little boy on the swing)

Oscar: - No te setes [sueltes]
Neg CL2sg. let go of

Exp: - Mira este dibujo que bonito
Look at this drawing how pretty

Oscar: - Pónelo [pónlo] aquí
Put-it here

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Oscar: - Tiene(s) gafas. * Ponme (l)as gafas
[Pónmelas]
You have glasses. Put-CL1sg. the glasses
[put-CL1sg-them]

Exp: - Mira el perrico como corre .....
Look the doggy how it runs .....

Oscar: - Cógelo.
- Grab-it

Exp: - No, tranquilo, que no se escapa.
Neg, relax, that it neg SE escapes.

Oscar: - ¡Vigílalo!
¡Watch-it!

Luís (2;1)

Exp: - Mira, el perrico mueve la cola
Look, the doggy wags the tail

Luís: - No le hace pupa
It neg to it hurts

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Exp: - ¡Ay! Ven que te pongo bien la chaqueta.
La llevas al revés
Ah! Come that I CL2sg. put on well the sweater.
You it wear inside out

Luís: - No, la quiero al guevés [revés]
No I it want inside out

Exp: - Mira cuantos colores
Look how many colored pencils

Luís: - Dámelos pa(ra) pintar
Give-CL1sg.-them to paint

Exp: - ¿Te hago un dibujo?
I CL2sg. make a drawing?

Luís: - Yo lo hago
I it make

Sofía (2;1)

Exp: - ¡Qué nariz más graciosa!
What nose so funny!

Sofía: - La han pintado
They it have painted

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Context: (A boy next to a girl who is on a swing)

Sofía: - ¡Ay! Se lo ha quitao
Ah! He to her it has taken off

Context: (Sofía is drawing a girl. Referring to a tooth she says:)

Sofía: - Lo he pintao. Se lo he pintao
I it have painted. I to her it have painted

Exp: - Este chico se está quitando los zapatos.
Dile que no se los quite
This boy SE is taking off the shoes.
Tell-him that he neg SE them take off

Sofía: - Ya se (los) ha quitao
He already SE (them) has taken off

Exp: - Todavía no. Dile que no se los quite
Yet no [no yet]. Tell-him that he neg SE them take off

Sofía: - Sí, ya se (l)os ha quitao
Yes, he already SE them has taken off

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Context: (The recorder is far from her and she says:)

Sofía: - Póneselo [pónmelo] aquí. Lo quiero aquí
Put-to her-it [put-to me-it] here. I it want here

Exp: - Pregúntale al señor si te columpia
Ask the gentleman if he CL2sg. swings

Sofía: - ¿A yo [mí]?
To I [me]?

Merche (2;2)

Exp: - A este chico le gusta la merienda
To this boy to him pleases the afternoon snack

Merche: - Cómetela toda. Los cocos [huevos] también le gustan
Eat-CL2sg-it all. The eggs also to him please

Exp: - Mira, un globo. Y una niña
Look, a balloon. And a girl

Merche: - Lo coge para que no se caiga
She it grabs so that it neg SE falls

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Exp: - Mira, este chico tiene una pupa
Look, this boy has a booboo

Merche: - ¡No te la toques!
Neg CL2sg it touch!

Context: (I am singing a children's song)

Merche: - Así no se canta
That way it neg SE sings

Exp: - Me voy a comer el sugus
I CL1sg. am going to eat the candy

Merche: - Yo ya me lo he comido. Cómetelo todo
I already CL1sg. it have eaten. Eat-CL2sg.-it all

Exp: - ¿Tienes una bici?
You have a bicycle?

Merche: - Sí, me la compró mi papá
Yes, CL1sg. it bought my daddy

Context: (Referring to the recorder)

Merche: - ¡Ay! se te ha parao
Ah! it SE CL2sg. has stopped

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Jorge (2;2)

Exp: - Mira que arbolico tan majico ...
Look what little tree so pretty ....

Jorge: - Se (l)e cae una manzana
SE to it falls off an apple
'An apple is falling off it'

Jorge: - ¿Qué es esto?
What is this?

Exp: - El botón de la maquinica
The botton of the little machine

Jorge: - ¿Lo apr(i)eto?

Exp: - No cariño, que se para. Háblale, anda
Neg darling, that it SE stops. Talk-to it, come on

Jorge: - Yo le hablo
I to it speak

Context: (I take off my glasses)

Jorge: - No teas [te las] quites
Neg CL2sg. them take off

Jorge: - Mira, me he hecho pupa
Look, I CL1sg. have hurt

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Exp: - Mira este chico que mal vestido va
Looks this boy how badly dress he looks

Jorge: - Se (l)e cae la camisa. Se (l)e cae el sombrero
Se to him falls off the shirt. SE to him falls off the hat

Exp: - ¡Mira cuantos colores tengo!
Look how many colors I have!

Jorge: - ¡Que se te caen .... !
That they SE CL2sg fall off .... !
'They are falling off .... !'

Context: (He takes the colors)

Jorge: - Ahora te pinto una mano
Now I CL2sg. paint a hand

Exp: - Ahora yo pinto mi mano
Now I paint my hand

Context: (I trace my fingers)

Jorge: - ¡Que te manchas ... ! Ta's [te has] pintao
That you CL2sg. get dirty ..! You CL2sg. have painted

Exp: - Dile al nene que ponga la manica aquí y se la pintamos
Tell the little boy that he puts the little hand here and we SE it trace

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Jorge: - Póntete [pon] (l)a manica
Put-CL2sg-CL2sg [put] the little hand

Exp: - ¿Qué?
What?

Jorge: - Póntete [ponla] aquí
Put-CL2sg-CL2sg [put-it] here

Jorge: - Ahora te pinto el sol ¿eh?.
Ahora lo quito [borro]
Now I CL2sg. paint the sun, shall I?
Now I it take [araise]

Exp: - ¡Qué sol tan grande!
What sun so big!

Jorge: - Pinto una seta. Mira, me { } (l)a pinto al guevés [revés]. ¡Ay! Se ha pintao el Jo(r)ge
I paint a mushroom. Look, I CL1sg. { } it paint upside down. Ah! SE has painted the Jorge

Jorge: - Un nene .... se baña en el agua.
Se va al agua.
Se sienta así ¡pumba!
A boy .... SE bathes in the water.
He SE goes to the water.
He SE seats like this, pluff!

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Exp: - ¿Y la ropa? ¿Dónde está la ropa?
And the clothing? Where is the clothing?

Jorge: - Este nene se (l)a gualda [guarda].
No se le cae al agua
This boy SE it stores
It neg SE to him falls in the water

Exp: - Mira, un pajarico.
Look, a little bird.

Context: (He looks at his finger)

Jorge: - Me lo ha picao
It CL1sg. it has pecked

Context: (He takes the recorder)

Exp: - Guárdala con las manicas. ¡Ten cuidadico!
Hold-it with the little hands. Be careful!

Jorge: - Yo la gua(r)do
I it keep

Exp: - Bueno
OK

Jorge: - ¡Apágala!
Turn-it off!

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Andrea (2;3)

Andrea: - ¿Qué es eso que le aprietas?
¿son los ojicos?
What is that that you to it press?
Are they the little eyes?

Exp: - ¿Los ojicos de la maquinica?
Se ve una luz ¿verdad?
The little eyes of the little machine?
SE sees a light, right?
'One sees a light, right?

Exp: - Pregúntale al conejico si quiere la comidica
Ask-him the little rabbit if he wants the little food

Andrea: - No quiere. Está cerrada la boca. No lo [la] quiere. Me lo [la] como yo
He neg wants. Is closed the mouth. Neg it$_{masc.[fem]}$ wants. CL$_{1sg.}$ it eat I

Exp: - Lola y Plum se van a la piscina
Lola and Plum SE go to the pool

Andrea: - Ese no se va a la piscina
That one neg SE goes to the pool

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Jael (2;3)

Context: (Looking at the story books)

Jael: - ¿Me los das? ¿Me los regalas?
You CL1sg. them give? You CL1sg. them give as a gift?

Exp: - Estos no. Los tienen que ver otros niños.
Ya te traeré otros, ¿eh?
These no. They them have to see other children.
I CL2sg. will bring others, OK?

Jael: - ¿Y me los llevo a mi casa?
And I CL1sg. them take home?

Exp: - Si, claro
Yes, of course

Jael: - Para que no me los quiten los niños
So that neg CL1sg. them take the children

Jael: - Se me sale el zapato.
Me los quito así
SE CL1sg comes off the shoe.
I CL1sg. them take off like this

Exp: - Mira, ¿qué es esto?
Look, what is this?

Jael: - Cerezas
Cherries

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Exp: - Pregúntale a Plum si le gustan
Ask-him to Plum if to him please
'Ask him if he likes them'

Jael: - ¿Te las { } gustan?
CL2sg. them { } please?

Exp: - Pregúntale si le gustan las manzanicas
Ask-him if to him please the little apples

Jael: - Las manzanicas, ¿te gustan?
The little apples, CL2sg. please?

Exp: - Ahora pregúntale si le gusta el melón
Now ask-him if to him please the melon

Jael: - El melón, ¿te gusta?
The mellon, CL2sg. pleases?

Exp: - ¿Y las fresas? Pregúntale si le gustan las fresas
And the strawberries? Ask-him if to him please the strawberries

Jael: - ¿Te las { } gustan?
CL2sg. them { } please?

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Alicia (2;4)

Exp: - Mira el pececico que majico
Look at the little fish how pretty

Alicia: - Dice su mamá que lo mandemos a la calle
Says his mommy that we it send to the street

Alicia: - El conejico se ha metido en el sombrero. Sácalo
The little rabbit SE has crawled inside the hat
Take-it out

Context: (I put the bag of candy in the purse)

Alicia: - ¿Por qué los escondes?
Why you them hide?

Exp: - No los escondo, bonica, los guardo para después
I neg them hide, cutie, I them save for later

Exp: - ¿Has tocao la nieve?
You have touched the snow?

Alicia: - Hago una bola grande y se la echo a papá
I make a ball large and I SE it throw at daddy

Alicia: - Me duele el pie
CL1sg. hurts the foot

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Pedro (2;4)

Exp: - ¡Mira que cuento tan bonito!
Look what a story book so pretty!

Pedro: - Este ya lo he leído. ¿Me lo das?
This I already it have read. You CL1sg. it give?

Exp: - No que lo necesito
Neg that I it need

Pedro: - Ya te lo he quitao
I already CL2sg. it have taken away

Exp: - Venga, dámelo
Come on, give-CL1sg-it

Pedro: - Ahora te lo doy
Now I CL2sg. it give

Exp: - Lola lleva una flor
Lola holds a flower

Pedro: - Y se la pone en la cabecita
And she SE it puts on the little head

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Exp: - Mira que bocata lleva el niño
Look what a hero sandwich has the boy

Pedro: - Y se lo lleva a la guardería.
Y se lo come
And he SE it takes to the day care center.
And he SE it eats

Exp: - Mira la gallinica
Look at the little hen

Pedro: - Tiene un huevo. Se lo come.
Yo me lo he comido
It has an egg. It SE it eats.
I $CL_{1sg.}$ it have eaten

Context: (Pedro has been drawing)

Pedro: - Toma, te lo he pintao
Here, I $CL_{2sg.}$ it have painted

Marina (2;6)

Marina: - Es que se acaba el globo
Is that SE finishes the balloon

Exp: - ¡Se le sale el aire!
SE $CL_{3sg,dat}$ comes out the air!

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Marina: - Llevas pendientes. Tú los tienes grandes.
Yo los tengo pequeñitos. Yo los quiero grandes
You have earings. You them have large.
I them have little ones. I them want large

Exp: - Mira, están desayunando. Toman chocolate
Look, they are having breakfast. They take chocolate

Marina: - Se lo comen y se lo beben
SE it eat and SE it drink

Exp: - Llevas el lazo suelto
You have the ribbon lose

Marina: - Pues me lo he quitao yo. Me lo ha ponido [puesto] papá. No me gustan los lazos
Well CL1sg. it have taken off I. CL1sg. it has put daddy. Neg CL1sg please the ribbons

Context: (Looking at my nails)

Marina: - Tú las tienes grandes. Yo las tengo pequeñitas
You them have large. I them have small

Context: (A thread is coming off her dress)

Marina: - Mira, un hilo ¿me lo quitas?
Look, a thread, CL1sg. it take off?

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Context (A boy is pulling the tail of a cat)

Exp: - ¿Qué le hace este chico al gatico?
What to it is doing this boy to the little cat?

Marina: - Pues le tira del rabo y le hace pupa
Well to it pulls the tail and to it hurts

Tania (2;8)

Context: (Pointing at the recorder)

Tania: - Se le habla aquí y luego te oyes.
Yo la pongo aquí. Yo le aprieto esto
One SE to it speaks here and then you CL2sg. hear
I it put here. I to it press this

Exp: - No, cariño, que se para y luego no oímos
lo que hablamos
No, darling, that it SE stops and then we neg hear
it that we talk

Tania: - A que no la toca nadie ..... Solo tú
I bet neg it touches no one .... Only you

Exp: - Cuando acabemos te dejo que
la apagues
When we finish I CL2sg. let that
you it turn off

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Exp: - Mira, desde aquí vemos la piscina
Look, from here we see the pool

Tania: - Esta pi(s)tina es grande. Se bañan los papás.
Yo me meto con mi papá
This pool is big. SE bathe the parents.
I CL1sg go in with my daddy

Context: (Looking at a tree outside the window)

Tania: - Mira el pajarico se come las hojas. Las huele y luego se las come
Look at the little bird SE eats the leaves. It them smells and then SE them eats

Context: (Looking at a lady who is hanging out clothing)

Tania: - Pero la ha puesto al revés. Pero ponla así ...
But she it has put upside down. But put-it like this ...

Exp: - ¿Tú tiendes con tu mamá?
You hang out clothing with your mommy?

Tania: - Sí. Un día al poner el plástico se le escapó y se le cayó una braga
Yes. One day while putting the plastic it SE to her escaped and SE to her fell a pair of panties

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Context: (Looking at the lady who is hanging out clothing)

Tania: - Lleva rulos. Se los pone en la cabecita. Mi mamá se ha pintao [teñido] el pelo
She wears rollers. Ella SE them puts on the little head. My mommy SE has painted [dyed] the hair

Exp: - Tú no porque lo tienes largo y muy bonito. ¿Quién te peina?
You neg because you it have long and very pretty. Who CL2sg. combs?

Tania: - Mi mamá. Y se me caen las gotas [lágrimas] de llorar
My mommy. And SE CL1sg. fall off the drops [tears] from crying

Exp: - Pero tu mamá te peina con cuidadico .....
But your mommy CL2sg combs with care ....

Jorge, M. (2;9)

Exp: - Vamos a ver unos cuentos. Este te encantará
Let's see some story books. This CL2sg will delight

Jorge: - Este me encanta
This CL1sg. delights

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Exp: - Mira cuantos globos tiene este conejico
Look how many balloons has this little rabbit

Jorge: - Los lleva al parque para jugar. No se explotan cuando los tiran
It them takes to the park to play. They neg SE burst when they them throw

Exp: - Un caracol
A snail

Jorge: - Se esconde debajo de la seta
It SE hides under the mushroom

Exp: - Este pajarico se columpia en la rama
This little bird SE swings on the branch

Jorge: - El otro ojo lo tiene escondido
The other eye it it has hidden

Exp: - ¡Qué jersey más bonito llevas!
What a sweater so pretty you wear!

Jorge: - Me lo ha traído Papá Noel
CL1sg it has brought Santa Claus

Jorge: - ¿Sabes que me han puesto una tabla en la cama para que no me caiga?
You know that they CL1sg. have put a board on the bed so that I neg CL1sg. fall off?

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Exp: - Oye, ¿y el de las jirafas?
Listen, and the one of the giraffes?.

Jorge: - Ese ya lo he leído
That one I already it have read

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4.2 CLITIC DOUBLING: CLDP, CLLD, CLRD[1]

Symbols

( ) = omission of words or pieces of words; [ ] = corrections of leímo or of ungrammatical or mispronounced forms;
* = ungrammatical CLDP

Tania (1;9)

Context: (She gives a piece of candy to the doggy)

Tania: - No (se) (l)o come, el sugus. No abre (la) boca
It neg (SE) it eats, the candy. It neg opens (the) mouth

Oscar (1;9)

Context: (He does not want to look anymore at the story book)

Oscar: - ¡Déjalo e(s)to!
Leave-it this!

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[1] Structures containing doubling and climbing are included in Sections 4.2 and Section 4.3.

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Eric (2;2)

Context: (I held him to see the drawings on the wall and there was a clown. Remembering the sentence of the experiment he had done previously, he said:)

Eric: - A e(s)te no le pica (l)a na(r)iz
To this one neg to him itches the nose

Merche (2;2)

Context: (Looking at a picture in the story book)

Exp: - Mira lo que está haciendo el perro. Está jugando y tira todo por el suelo
See it what is doing the dog. It is playing and it throws everything on the floor

Merche: - La botella también la ha tirao. Aquí no la ha tirao, la botella
The bottle it also it has thrown. It here neg it has thrown, the bottle

Context: (Looking at a drawing)

Merche: - Le sale humo a la casa
To it comes out smoke to the house
'Smoke comes out of the house'

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Jorge (2;2)

Jorge: - Me (l)o das a mí
You CL1sg. it give to me

- A ti no te hace caso
To you neg CL2sg. pays attention

- * No seo [se lo] come el boli el guau-guau
Neg SE it eats the pen the doggy

- Seo (se lo) dejará al nene que estaba en el colu(m)pio
He to him it will lend to the little boy who was on the swing

- ¿Vas a ve(r)lo(s), a tus amigos
You are going to see-him[them], to your friends

Exp: - Las hormiguicas se van a casa a cenar y a dormir
The little ants SE go home to dine and to sleep

Jorge: - Se van a ver .... a verlo, a su papá
They SE go to see .... to see-it, to their daddy

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Andrea (2;3)

Andrea: - Yo me (l)o como todo
I CL1sg. it eat all

Andrea: - ¿A ti te gu(s)ta el pescao?
To you CL2sg. pleases the fish?

Exp: - Sí, me gusta mucho
Yes, CL1sg. pleases it a lot

Andrea: - A mí no
To mi neg

Andrea: - ¿Me lo das, el perrico?
You CL1sg. it give, the doggy?

Exp: - No puedo. Es para otros niños también.
Pero te lo dejo ....
I neg can. It is for other children too.
But I CL2sg. it lend ....

Jael (2;3)

Exp: - En el verano te bañas ¿verdad?
In the summer you CL2sg. bathe, right?

Jael: - Sí, y me los quito, los zapatos
Yes and I Cl1sg. them take off, the shoes

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Jael: - Cógela, la pelota
Grab-it, the ball

Jael: - Y le quita el barquico al niño
And he to him snatches the little boat to the boy

Context: (Referring to the caretaker)

Jael: - A mí la Rosa me está esperando. Vamos a buscarle[la]!
To me the Rosa CL1sg. is waiting for. Let's go to find-herdat[acc]

- La Rosa está arriba. (Me) está esperando a mí
The Rose is upstairs. She (CL1sg.) is waiting for me

- Les [los] llamará la Rosa a los papás
Themdat[acc] will call the Rose to the [my] parents

Alicia (2;4)

Exp: - Mira, el perrico está en el agua
Look, the little dog is in the water

Alicia: - ¿Quieres sacarlo, a este perrito?
You want to take-it out, to this little dog?

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Alicia: - El sombrero no se lo quiere dar
The hat he neg SE it wants to give

- A mi me gusta el agua y me la bebo despacico
To me CL1sg. pleases the water and I CL1sg. it drink slowly

Pedro (2;4)

Pedro: - A mí no me van a cortar el pelo
To me they neg CL1sg. are going to cut the hair

Marina (2;6)

Context: (After doing each experimental sentence, often she comments on that content with respect to herself)

Marina: - A mí me suda la cara po(r)que hace calor
To me CL1sg. sweats the face because it is hot

- A mí la yaya se me ha ido
To me the [my] granny SE CL1sg. has gone
'My granny has left'

- Ya me han salido a mí los dientes
Already CL1sg. have come out to me the teeth

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- A mí no me pica
  To me neg CL1sg. itches

Context: (I sat with her while they were having lunch)

Marina: - Yo me lo voy a comer todo ¿eh?
  I CL1sg. it going to eat all, right?

Patri (2;7)

Patri: - Y a éste no le gustan
  And to this one neg to it please

- Así la coge, la pelotica
  This way he it takes, the little ball

- ¿Dónde lo dejo e(s)to?
  I where [where I] it leave this?

- Se lo comerá todo
  He SE it will eat all

- A éste lo buscan. Se va a e(s)conder
  To this one they him look for. He SE is going to hide

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Celia (2;8)

Celia: - A estos no les quito el papel
To these I neg them take off the wrapper

- ¿Y a que a Javier no le [lo]
dejamos venir?
And I bet that to Javier we neg him
allow to come

Tania (2;8)

Tania: - Al arbolico le sale(n) hojas
To the little tree to it come out leaves

Jorge M (2;9)

Jorge: - Pues a mí en la merienda papá
me echa zumo
Well to me in the afternoon snack daddy
CL1sg. includes juice

- Pero a mí no me ponen gafas
But to me neg CL1sg. put on glasses

- Pues a mí mi yaya me lleva al parque
Well to me my granny CL1sg. takes to the park

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- A mí me peinan cuando me bañan
  To me they CL1sg. comb when they CL1sg. bathe

- Pues a mí no me dan de eso
  Well, to me they neg CL1sg. give of that

- Pues yo también la tengo, la bici.
  La tengo roja
  Well I also it have, the bike.
  I it have red

- Yo le dejo mi bici a mi prima
  I to her lend my bike to my cousin

Isabel (2;10)

Ysabel: - A mí mi mamá me corta el flequillo
  To me my mommy CL1sg. cuts the bangs

- Yo le doy un beso al perrico
  I to it give a kiss to the doggy

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4.3 CLITICS IN INFINITIVE CONTEXTS

Symbols

( ) = omission of words or pieces of words; [ ] = corrections of leímo or of ungrammatical or mispronounced forms; { } = presence of superfluous terms; * = clitic copying (or reduplication)

Tania (1;9)

Exp: - Dile al perrico que te dé los colores
Tell-it to the doggy that it CL2sg. gives the colors

Tania: - No me (los) quele [quiere] dar.
No quele [quiere] darme(los)
It neg CL1sg. (them) wants to give.
It neg wants to give-CL1sg.-(them)

Exp: - Bueno pues dile que te deje la goma
Well then tell-it that it CL2sg. lends the eraser

Tania: - No quele [quiere] deja(r)-(me)-(la) a mí
It neg wants to lend-(CL1sg.)-(it) to me

Exp: - Que sí te la deja, pídesela
That yes it CL2sg. it lends, ask-to it-it
'It does, ask it for it'

Tania: - No quele [quiere] da(r)(me)-la a mí
It neg wants to give(CL1sg.)-it to me

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Exp: - No te quites el zapato. Dile al perrico que te lo ponga
Neg CL2sg. take off the shoe. Tell-it the doggy that it CL2sg. it puts on

Tania: - No (me) (lo) quele [quiere] poner a mí
It neg (CL1sg.) (CL3sg.) wants to put on to me

Simón (1;10)

Exp: - Pregúntale al perrico si te da la rueda
Ask the doggy if it CL2sg. gives the wheel

Simón: - No qu(i)ere dar-me(la)
It neg wants to give-CL1sg.-(it)

Oscar (1;9)

Exp: - Este chico está colgado en la rama del árbol
This boy is hanging from the branch of the tree

Oscar: - La está ro(m)piendo
He it is breaking

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Context: (We had been placing some adhesive numbers on a blackboard and he wanted to remove them. He said:)

Oscar: - Los qu(i)ero quitar
I them want to remove

Context: (Once off, he said:)

Oscar: - Los qu(i)ero poner
I them want to put on

Merche (2;2)

Exp: - Mira un nido con tres pajaricos
Look a nest with three little birds

Merche: - Su mamá los va a ver
Their mommy them is going to see

Exp: - Mira que gorra lleva este chico. Pregúntale si te la deja
Look what a cup wears this boy. Ask-him if he CL2sg. it lends

Merche: - ¿Me la quieres dejar?
You CL1sg. it want to lend?

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Exp: - Espera, que tengo que sacar una cosica
del bolso
Wait, that I have to take out a little thing
from the handbag

Merche: - Que quiero verlo
That I want to see-it

Exp: - ¿Y qué hacemos con la basura?
And we what [what we] do with the garbage?

Merche: - Limpiarla [sacarla]
To clean-it [to take it out]

Exp: - ¿Qué le está haciendo este chico al gatico?
What to it is doing this boy to the kitten?

Merche: - Romperle [tirarle/arrancarle] el rabo.
Eso no se hace
To break-it [to pull-it/to rip off] the tail.
That neg SE do
'That we don't do'

Exp: - Claro que no
Of course not

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Jorge (2;2)

Exp: - Mira cuantos animalicos. Pregúntale al niño si va a verlos
See how many little animals. Ask the boy if he is going to see-them

Jorge: - ¿Vas a ve(r)lo(s), a tus amigos
You are going to see-him[them], to your friends

Context: (There was a little car on one of the shelves of the bookcase)

Jorge: - Quiero cogerlo
I want to get-it

Context: (I got it for him)

Exp: - ¿Para que lo quieres?
For what it want you?

Jorge: - Para jugarse [jugar] en el suelo.
Así, ¡pumba!
To play-SE [to play] on the ground.
Like this, pluff!

Context: (After a little while)

Exp: - Venga, ya está, luego juegas más
Come on, that's it, later you play more

Jorge: - Guárdalo aquí. Ahora guárdalo. Guárdalo, ¿eh?
Keep-it here. Now keep-it. Keep-it, OK?

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Exp: - Jorge, ¿qué haces?
Jorge, what do you [you do]?

Jorge: - Voy a e(s)conde(r)me. Voy a esconde(r)me por aquí
I am going to hide-CL1sg.. I am going to hide-CL1sg. around here

Context: (He takes the car again)

Jorge: - Voy a pone(r)lo ahí
I am going to put-it there

Exp: - Las hormiguicas se van a casa a cenar y a dormir
The little ants SE go home to dine and to sleep

Jorge - Se van a ver .... a verlo, a su papá
They SE go to see .... to see-it, to their daddy

Exp: - Estos animalicos no tienen casa
These little animals neg have home

Jorge: - * Os voy a pintaros una
I CL2pl. going to paint-CL2pl. one

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Exp: - Los monos se están columpiando en la rama del árbol
The monkeys SE are swinging on the branch of the tree

Jorge: - Han pompido [roto] el árbol.
Van a romperlo más
They have broken the tree.
They are going to break-it more

Context: (It is lunch time. They ask me to finish)

Jorge: - Que no me qu(i)ero ir a comer
That I neg CL1sg. want to go to eat

Andrea (2;3)

Andrea: - Me voy a lavar las manos.
Las tengo sucias
I CL1sg. am going to wash the hands.
I them have dirty

Context: (When I was going to show her a drawing she said:)

Andrea: - Esta no quiero
I this [this I] neg want

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Context: (I place it on the desk, anyway. She said:)

Andrea: - * Que no la quiero verla. Que yo quiero irme ya a casa
That I neg it want to see-it. That I want to go-CL1sg now home

Andrea: - Me voy a ir de vacaciones
I CL1sg. going to go on a vacation

Jael (2;3)

Context: (Jael always carried a picture of her parents in her pocket. Referring to them she said:)

Jael: - ¿Quieres a { } verles[los]?
You want to { } to see-them?

Context: (She wants to wear my watch)

Exp: - Dime: ¿Puedes ponérmelo?
Tell-me: You can [can you] to put-CL1sg.-it

Jael: - Me lo puedes poner
You CL1sg. it can to put

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Context: (Referring to the caretaker)

Jael: - A mí la Rosa me está esperando. Vamos a buscarle[la]!
To me the Rosa CL1sg. is waiting for. Let's go to find-herdat[acc]

Laura (2;3)

Context: (Looking at a picture of a pool)

Exp: - Un barquito. Plum quiere cogerlo
A little boat. Plum wants to get-it

Laura: - Lo quiere coger fuerte. Para que no se (le) escape. * Lo quiere cogerlo así
He it wants to grab tightly. So that it neg SE (to him) escapes. He it wants to grab-it like this

Alicia (2;4)

Context: (Referring to a ball)

Exp: - Pregúntale si puede echártela
Ask-him if he can throw-CL2sg.-it

Alicia: - ¿Me la puedes echar?
You CL1sg. it can throw?

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Exp: - Este perro lleva un hueso en la boca ¿ves?.
Pregúntale si quiere dártelo
This dog carries a bone in the mouth, you see?
Ask-it if it wants to give-CL2sg.-it

Alicia: - ¿Quieres dármelo?
You want to give-CL1sg.-it?

Exp: - Y la foca lleva una pelota. Pregúntale si quiere dártela
And the seal holds a ball. Ask-it if it wants to give-CL2sg.-it

Alicia: - * ¿Me la quieres dármela
You CL1sg. it want to give-CL1sg.-it

Exp: - Lola lleva un paraguas. Pregúntale si te lo quiere dejar
Lola carries an umbrella. Ask-her if she CL2sg. it wants to lend

Alicia: - * ¿Me lo quieres dejármelo?
You CL1sg. it want to lend-CL1sg.-it?

Exp: - Pregúntale al caballico si quiere mover la cola
Ask-it to the little horse if it wants to move the tail

Alicia: - ¿Quieres moverla?
You want to move-it?

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Exp: - Pregúntale a la gallina si va a
echarles comida a los pollicos
Ask-it to the hen if it is going
to throw-them food to the chicks

Alicia: - ¿Vas a echarles comida?
You are going to throw-them food?

Exp: - Mira, el perrico está en el agua
Look, the little dog is in the water

Alicia: - ¿Quieres sacarlo, a este perrito?
You want to take-it out, to this little dog?

- El sombrero no se lo quiere dar
The hat he neg SE it wants to give

Pedro (2;4)

Exp: - Mira, Pinto se tira por el tobogan
Look, Pinto SE [himself] throws down the toboggan
Pedro: - Va a cogerlo su papá
Is going to grab-him his daddy

Pedro: - A mí no me van a cortar el pelo
To me they neg CL1sg. are going to cut the hair

Exp: - Lola lleva un libro. Ella también va al cole

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Exp: - Lola lleva un libro. Ella también va al cole
Lola carries a book. She too goes to school

Pedro: - ¿Le están enseñando a leer?
They to her are teaching how to read?

Context: (A rabbit is holding a carrot)

Exp: - Dile: ¿Vas a comértela?
Tell-to it: You are going to eat-CL2sg.-it

Pedro: - * ¿Te la vas a comértela?
You CL2sg. it are going to eat-CL2sg.-it

Pedro: - * Me voy a sentarme
I CL1sg. go to sit-CL1sg. down

Marina (2;6)

Marina: - Vamos a senta(r)nos aquí. Tenemos f(r)ío
Let's sit-CL1pl. here. We are cold

Context: (I sat with her while they were having lunch)

Marina: - Yo me lo voy a comer todo ¿eh?
I CL1sg. it going to eat all, right?

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Patri (2;7)

Exp: - Estos chicos están jugando
These children are playing

Patri: - A éste lo buscan. Se va a e(s)conder
To this one they him look for. He SE is going to hide

Context: (Referring to the recorder)

Patri: - Esto hay que cuidarlo
This one has to take care of-it

Context: (Referring to a story book)

Patri: - Quiero verlo, éste
I want to see-it, this one

Celia (2;8)

Celia: - No se lo va a dar
He neg SE it is going to give

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Tania L (2;8)

Context: (Referring to a lady who is picking up clothing)

Tania: - Está cogiendo la ropa y no la puede coger
She is picking up clothing and she neg it can pick up

Jorge M (2;9)

Exp: - ¡Qué cocodrilo tan grande!
What a crocodile so big!

Jorge: - Lo quiero ver
I it want to see

Exp: - ¿Qué hace el cocodrilo?
What does the crocodile?

Jorge: - Se está riendo. Mira, los dientes
It SE is laughing. Look, the teeth

Context: (There are some markers on a table and he wants to get them)

Exp: - Esos colores no que te manchas las manos y luego ¿qué haces?
Those colors no that you CL2sg. get dirty the hands and then what you do?

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Jorge: - Limpiarme aquí, en la bata
To clean-Cl1sg. here, on the robe

Exp: - ¡Ah! muy bien. Eso no se hace
Ah! very well. That neg SE do
'Ah!, great. That we don't do'

Jorge: - Yo sí lo hago
I yes it do

Jorge: - ¿Cuándo me vas a dar los sugus?
You when CL1sg. are going to give the candy

Isabel (2;10)

Context: (She wants to look out of the window)

Isabel: - Quiero ver (a) los nenes. Quiero verles[los] jugar en el patio
I want to see (to) the children. I want to see-themdat[acc] play in the playground

Exp: - Este chico lleva un escarabajo en la mano
This boy has a black beetle in the hand

Isabel: - ¿Qué le va a hacer?
He what to it is going to do?

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Isabel: - Al pececico no le [lo] puedes coger
To the little fish you neg itdat[acc] can take

Isabel: - ¿Sabes? A mí me van a cortar el pelo
You know? To me they CL1sg. are going to cut the hair

Context: (Referring to her twin sister)

Isabel: - ¿Vamos a verla al patio?
We are going to see-her to the playground?
'Shall we go to the playground see her'

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APPENDIX 5

(Chapter VII)

Longitudinal Child Spontaneous Production Data and Adult Child Directed Speech

I) DATA[1]

List 1: A. Laísmo B. Leísmo

List 2: Climbable Constructions

2.1: Climbing Structures
2.2: Non-Climbing Structures

List 3: Non-Climbable Constructions

II) TABLES

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[1] María's utterances are followed by the age in wich they occurred and the number of segment that contains them. Adult sentences are followed by the number of the segment where they appear.

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List 1

A. Laísmo

Mother

- ¡No hay quien *la* [le] ponga el pañal últimamente! (124)
  There's no one who her put on the diaper lately!

- No quiere que *la* [le] corte las uñas de los piés (125)
  She neg want that her I cut the nails of the toes

- *La* [le] voy a lavar las manos un poco (283)
  I her am going to wash the hands a little

- *Las* [les] vamos a poner nombres (466)
  We them are going to give names

- A la grande *la* [le] vamos a poner como mamá (466)
  To the big one we it are going to name like mommy

Father

- Di*la* [le] que va a cobrar (419)
  Tell-her that she is going to be smacked

- Y oye, ¿por qué no juegas un poco con mamá? Que *la* [le] apetece mucho (503)
  And listen, you why neg play a bit with mommy? That her fancies it a lot

- Es que a mamá *la* [le] apetece que *la* [le] cuentes cosas y que juegues un ratito (503)
  It is that to mommy her pleases that her you tell things and that you play a little

- Desde el otro lado *la* [le] puedes ayudar mejor. Venga, desde ahí (509)
  From the other side you her can help better. Come on, from there

María

La [le] pego yo (2;11-564)
Her smack I

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B. Leísmo

Mother

- Ponle un nombre, a ver cómo *le* [lo] llamamos (029)
  Give-him a name, let's see how we him name

- ¿Qué *le* [lo] quieres a papá? (056)
  That you him love to daddy?

- Cántale una canción y duérme*le*[lo] (084)
  Sing-him a song and put to sleep-him

- Cóge*le*[lo] el triciclo (170)
  Grab-it the tricycle

- Cóge*le*[lo] y sáca*le*[lo] de ahí (170)
  Grab-it and take-it out of there

- Cóge*le*[lo], mi amor (170)
  Grab-it, my love

- ¿Qué *le* [lo] lleve a la camita? (233)
  That I him take to the little bed?

- Vamos a darle una torta al guauguau por cochino.
  Llámа*le*[lo] cochino (237)
  We are going to slap the doggy for being piggy.
  Call-him piggy

- Vamos a buscar*le*[lo] (238)
  Let's go to find-it (an earing)

- ¿Dónde *le* [lo] has perdido, hija, dónde? (238)
  You where it have lost, daughter, where?

- Tú *le* [la] llamas como te da la gana, ¿no? (266)
  You her named as you please, don't you?

- *Le* [la] tengo que cambiar (273)
  I her have to change

- Antes *le* [la] estabas durmiendo (287)
  Before you her were putting to sleep

- Siempre se sale cuando *le* [la] bañamos (412)
  It always SE comes out when her we bathe

- ¿*Le* [lo] vas a invitar? (425)
  You him are going to invite?

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- Tú *le* [la] llamas mamá solo (466)
  You her call mommy only

- No *le* [lo] deja María cantar a papá (517)
  Neg him allow María to sing to daddy

- Ese ponle[lo] en otro piso, mujer (508)
  That one put-it in another floor, woman

Father

- *Yo creo que sí, a ver, mírale*[lo] (449)
  I believe that yes let's see, look at-it

- ¿Dónde está el fantasma que no *le* [lo] veo? (455)
  Where is the ghost that I neg him see?

- ¿Por qué *le* [lo] tapas? (459)
  Why you him cover up?

- ¿Puedes peinarle[la]? (535)
  You can comb-her?

María

- Déjale[lo] a papá, (d)éjale[lo] (1;11-255)
  Leave-him to daddy, leave-him

- Mi(r)a, u(n) pal[r]aguas ... (d)éjale[lo] (2;1-343)
  Look, an umbrella ..... leave-it

- Déjale[lo] pasar. Por aquí. (2;6-508)
  Let-him get in. Through here

- A su papá, tápale[lo] (2;6-509)
  To their daddy, cover-him up

- Siempre *le* [lo] deja María cantar (2;7-517)
  Always him allows María to sing

- *Le* [lo] cuento [contamos] entre los dos (2;9-542)
  I [we] it tell3p.s. [tell3p.p] between both of us

- Sí, yo *le* [lo] quiero mucho a E.T. (2;9-543)
  Yes, I him love a lot to E.T.

- Y también venía el cazador de matar al lobo y *le* [lo] mató (2;11-566)
  And also came the hunter from killing the wolf and he to it killed

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List 2.0 Climbable Constructions

2.1 Climbing Structures: CL+VerbFIN+Inf/Gerund
2.2 Non-Climbing Structures: VerbFIN+Inf/Gerund+CL

A. MARÍA'S DATA (2;1-2;11)

2.1 Climbing Structures

2.1.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.1.1.1 CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- No te caigas, que ahora te voy a coger (2;1-347)
  Neg CL2p.s. fall, that now I CL2p.s am going to pick up

- Te voy a tirar (2;1-358)
  I CL2p.s. am going to throw

- Te vas a caer (2;1-359)
  You CL2p.s. are going to fall

- Te voy a matar (2;1-362)
  I Cl2p.s. am going to kill

- Me voy a senta(r) aquí, aligualito (2;1-363)
  I CL1p.s. am going to sit here, just like that

- Yo me voy a senta(r) aquí, aquí (2;1-364)
  I CL1p.s. am going to sit here, here

- Te voy a matar (2;1-366)
  I CL2p.s. am going to kill

- Lo voy a arra-tirar (2;1-368)
  I it am going to xxxx-throw

- Te voy (a) hacer una peli (2;2-370)
  I CL2p.s. am going to make a film

- Ti[te] voy a matar ahora (2;2-381)
  I CL2p.s. am going to kill now

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- No me la vo(y) a bebe(r) (2;2-392)
  I neg CL1p.s. it am going to drink

- La fruta ... Te (la) voy a pela(r) (2;2-394)
  The fruit I Cl2p.s. (it) am going to peal

- Te vo(y) a mojar, a [ ] papá (2;2-395)
  I CL2p.s. am going to splash, to [ ] daddy

- Sí, no te (lo) voy a hasé [hacer] más (2;2-396)
  Yes, I neg CL2p.s. (it) am going to do again

- Papito, me voy a lava(r) las manos (2;2-403)
  Daddy, I CL1p.s. am going to wash the hands

- Se me va a efiá [enfriar] un pie (2;2-408)
  SE CL1p.s. is going to get cold a foot

- Papá no sa [se] (lo) va a pone(r) (2;2-409)
  Daddy neg SE (it) is going to put on

- Me voy a senta(r) (2;2-412)
  I CL1p.s. am going to sit

- Se le va a cae(r) a la niña (2;3-419)
  Se her is going to fall off to the girl

- Pues, pues ya lo sé que no lo voy a tirar (2;3-439)
  Well, well I already it know that I neg it am going to throw

- Ahora lo voy a recoger, ¿sabes? (2;3-439)
  Now I it am going to pick up, you know?

- Sí me lo voy a tomar (2;3-440)
  Yes I CL1p.s it am going to take

- ¿A quién le vamos a dar? (2;3-440)
  We to whom CLdat.3p.s. are going to give?

- Los gaticos ..... se van a esconder ... (2;3-441)
  The kittens ... they SE are going to hide ...

- A ver pipótamo [hipopótamo],
  ¿te voy a pegar? (2;4-449)
  Let's see xxxxxx [hippopotamus], I
  CL2p.s. am going to hit?

- Le voy a dar arroz a mi niño (2;4-457)
  I him am going to give rice to my child

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- Y lo [le] voy a dar esto y
  algo de [algunas] chuletas (2;4-458)
  And I him am going to give this and
  some chops

- Ses [sabes] lo voy a dejar ahí,
  el ag[rr]oz (2;4-458)
  You know I it am going to leave there,
  the rice

- Te lo vas a tomar (2;4-458)
  You CL2p.s it are going to take

- Po [pues] le voy a dar leche
  como yo (2;4-458)
  xx [well] I him am going to give milk
  just like me

- Le vo(y) a dar un ... leche (2;4-459)
  I him am going to give a ... milk

- Tú ta[e] vas a vesti(r) ahora
  ¿a qué sí? (2;5-471)
  You CL2p.s. are going to dress now,
  aren't you?

- La voy a peina(r) (2;5-473)
  I her am going to comb the hair

- Te voy a peina(r) (2;5-473)
  I CL2p.s. am going to comb your hair

- Esta noche me lo voy a comer todo ... (2;5-487)
  This night I CL1p.s. it am going to eat all ...

- ¡Ay!, que eso se va a caer! (2;6-506)
  Woe!, for that SE is going to fall down!

- ¿Quién me va a quitar el jersey? (2;7-510)
  Who CL1p.s. is going to take off the sweater?

- ¿Esto me vas a traer,
  para bañarme? (2;7-512)
  This you CL1p.s. are going to bring,
  to bath me?

- A ver que lo voy a abrir (2;7-515)
  Let me see that I it am going to open

- Es que la voy a llenar (2;7-522)
  It is that I it am going to fill up

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- Y la [el] agua no se la va a beber (2;7-522)
  And the water s/he neg SE it is going to drink

- Te voy a tirar un día agua (2;7-522)
  I CL2p.s. am going to throw one day water

- Yo no me voy a casar con nadie (2;7-524)
  I neg CL1p.s. am going to get married with anyone

- ¿Cómo que yo me voy a casar con alguien? (2;7-524)
  What do you mean that I CL1p.s. am going to get married with someone?

- Te voy a echar jabón así ... (2;7-525)
  I CL2p.s. am going to throw soap, like this ...

- Me voy a bañar en la pist[c]ina g(r)ande (2;8-526)
  I CL1p.s. am going to bathe in the pool big

- Y me vas a bañar, ¿eh? (2;8-526)
  And you CL1p.s. are going to bath, aren't you?

- Te lo vas a tomar entero ... (2;8-528)
  You CL2p.s. it are going to take all

- Espera que te voy a echar más, agüita (2;8-532)
  Wait that I CL2p.s. am going to throw more, nice water

- Te voy a echar agua ¿sabes? (2;8-532)
  I CL2p.s. am going to throw water, don't you know?

- ¿Me vas a peinar? (2;8-535)
  You CL1p.s. are going to comb my hair?

- Te voy a contar ahora el cuento de Caperucita (2;9-544)
  I CL2p.s. am going to tell now the story of Little Red Riding Hood

- Te la voy a dar, ¿eh? (2;9-246)
  I CL2p.s. it am going to give, OK?

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- Me voy a escapar (2;9-548)
  I CL1p.s. am going to get away

- Ya se lo voy a decir (2;9-553)
  I already SE it am going to tell

- Sí lo [la] voy a traer allí [aquí] (2;9-554)
  Yes I itmasc[fem] am going to bring there [here]

- ... pero a la madrastra no la voy a dejar que ent(r)e en mi fiesta (2;11-562)
  ... but to the stepmother I neg her am going to allow that she came to my party

- Ahora me voy a sentar para verlo (2;11-563)
  Now I CL1p.s. am going to sit to see-it

- Hala, no quiero, ahora me las voy a poner (2;11-564)
  Hey, I neg want, now I CL1p.s. them am going to put on

2.1.2 With Pure Motion Verbs

2.1.2.1 CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- Te voy a llevé [llevar] a tu casa, a [ ] pipótamo [hipopótamo] (2;4-449)
  I CL2p.s. am going took [to take] to your house, to [ ] xxxxx [hippopotamus]

- Entonces me voy a esconder en una puerta (2;11-566)
  Then I CL1p.s. am going to hide at a door

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2.1.3 With Modal Verbs

2.1.3.1 CL + **Poder** + Infinitive

- Papá, no se puede mover porque ss... (2;5-492)
  Daddy, neg SE cannot move because ss....

- Yo lo puedo llenar soli(ta) (2;7-522)
  I it can fill up by myself

- ¡No lo puedo quitar yo! (2;9-556)
  I neg it can take off I !

- ... Irene se puede venir conmigo si quiere (2;11-567)
  ... Irene SE can come with me if she wants

- Irene, tú te puedes venir conmigo pero no llores (2;11-567)
  Irene, you CL2p.s. can come with me but neg cry

2.1.3.2 CL + **Querer** + Infinitive

- Noo [no], ese vestido no me b[g]usta, no me lo quiero pompá [poner] (2;2-399)
  No, that dress I neg CL1p.s. pleases, I neg CL1p.s. it want to wear

- No lo [la] tero [quiero] apaga(r) yo (2;3-415)
  Neg it xxxx [want] to switch off I

- No me quiero ir (2;3-427)
  I neg CL1.s. want to go

- El papá no se quiere bañar (2;6-506)
  The daddy neg SE want to bathe

- Una madrastra muy mala y la quería matar (2;9-542)
  A stepmother very bad and she her wanted to kill

- Pues el lobo como era tan malo se quería comer a todas (2;9-544)
  Well the wolf since it was so bad SE wanted to eat all of them

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- El lobo se quería comer a su abuelita (2;9-544)
  The wolf SE wanted to eat her grandmother

- Pero me lo quiero poner (2;9-555)
  But I CL1p.s. it want to put

2.1.3.3 CL + **Saber** + Infinitive

- No lo sé, yo no lo sabo [sé] contar (2;9-543)
  I neg it know, I neg it xxxx [know] to tell

2.1.3.4 CL + **Tener que** + Infinitive

- Me tie(n)e(s) que cose(r) ..... (2;2-408)
  mi agujerito
  You CL1p.s. have to sew .....
  my little whole

- ... va, nos tenemos que ir (2;3-419)
  ... come on, we CL1p.p. have to go

- P(r)imero lo(s) tengo que ata(r) [colocar]
  (a) los pollitos, ¿vale? (2;3-439)
  First I him [them] have to tie [place]
  (to) the baby chicken, OK?

- Me tengo que bañar (2;5-461)
  I CL1p.s. have to bathe

- Me tengo que salir (2;5-461)
  I CL1p.s. have to get out

- Como el as[z]úcar se va, que se
  t(i)ene que ir (2;5-461)
  Like the sugar SE leaves, that it SE
  has to leave

- Como ya me está pequeño me
  tengo que pompá [poner] e(s)te pijama ¿eh? (2;5-487)
  Because it already CL1p.s. is small I CL1p.s.
  have to wear this pijama, don't I?

- Recoge eso p(r)onto. Lo tienes que recoger (2;5-494)
  Wipe up that soon. You it have to wipe up

- Ahora la tienes que hacer ot(r)a vez (2;6-508)
  Now you it have to make again

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- Sí, mira tú te tienes que tomar el desayuno (2;8-533)
  Yes, look you CL2p.s. have to take breakfast

- Te tienes que tomar esto, de puta vez (2;8-537)
  You CL2p.s. have to take this, once it for all

- Te tienes que meter dentro (2;9-548)
  You CL2p.s. have to get inside

2.1.4 With Progressive Forms

2.1.4.1 CL + **Estar** + Gerund

- Me e(s)toy bañando aquí. Me estoy bañando (2;2-389)
  I CL1p.s. am bathing here. I CL1p.s. am bathing

- Me estoy poniendo una camiseta (2;2-390)
  I CL1p.s. am putting on a undershirt

- Me estoy poniendo los calcetines (2;2-390)
  I CL1p.s. am putting on the socks

- Ya se está acabando la película, ¿a qué sí? (2;2-412)
  Already SE is winding down the tape, isn't it?

- Sí, ésta se está acabando (2;2-412)
  Yes, this one SE is reaching the end

- Sí, pero te estoy vacilando po(r)que ... (2;5-470)
  Yes, but I CL2p.s. am vacilating because ...

- Me estoy echando agua yo (2;8-532)
  CL1p.s. am throwing water I

- E.T. ... y se estaba cayendo (2;9-543)
  E.T. ... and he SE was falling

- Noo, me estoy cayendo (2;9-548)
  No, I CL1p.s. am falling

- Mira, mi mamá me está limpiando la boca (2;11-558)
  Look, my mommy CL1p.s is cleaning the mouth

- ¿Qué me estás viendo? (2;11-565)
  What you CL1p.s. are watching

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- Tú no te duermas, que te estoy contando un cuento, ¡hombre! (2;11-566)
  You neg CL2p.s. fall asleep, that I CL2p.s. am telling a story, man!

2.1.5 With Other Climbing Verbs

2.1.5.1 CL + **Volver a** + Infinitive

- Si (l)o vuve [vuelves] a deci(r) e(s) que te doy en el culo (2;1-355)
  If you it say it again is that I CL2p.s. spank in the behind

2.2 Non-Climbing Structures

2.2.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.2.1.1. **Ir a** + Infinitive + CL

- Voy a lee(r)lo (2;3-428)
  I am going to read-it

- Voy a sacarlos (2;6-509)
  I am going to take-them out

- Voy a bañarme (2;7-510)
  I am going to bathe-me

- Voy a ab(r)i(r)lo (2;7-524)
  I am going to open-it

- Voy a ab(r)i(r)le la t(r)ipa (2;7-524)
  I am going to open-it the belly

- Vamos a ve(r)lo (2;11-563)
  We are going to see-it

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2.2.2 With Pure Motion

2.2.2.1 **Ir a** + Infinitive + CL

- Po [pues] voy a buscarla ¿vale? (2;2-390)
  Well I am going to look for her OK?

2.2.3 With Modal Verbs

2.2.3.1 **Poder** + Infinitive + CL

- No, no puedo saca(r)lo (2;1-365)
  No, I neg can take-it out

- Yo no puedo limpiarme los mocos con la mano, ¿a que no? (2;5-478)
  I neg can clean-CL1p.s the nose with the hand, can I?

- Yo no puedo mirarlo a papá (2;7-510)
  I neg can lookinf-him to daddy

2.2.3.2 **Querer** + Infinitive + CL

- No qu(i)ero seca(r)me (2;2-400)
  I neg want to dry-Cl1p.s.

- ¿Quieres verlo, niña? (2;11-563)
  You want to see-it, girl?

2.2.3.3 **Tener que** + Infinitive + CL

- Que ten(g)o que gua(r)da(r)las las cosas (2;3-419)
  For I have to save-them the things

2.2.3.4 **Saber** + Infinitive + CL

- Yo no sé ponerlo [gu]ecto [recto] (2;11-566)
  I neg know to put-it straight

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B. MOTHER'S DATA (María 1;7-2;11)

2.1 Climbing Structures

2.1.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.1.1.1. CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- Ya no te voy a hacer más favores (029)
  I any more CL2p.s. am going to do more favors

- ... los payasos ... tú pinta que te los voy a poner (034)
  ... the clowns ... you paint that I CL2p.s them am going to put

- ¿Sabes qué te voy a dar después? (036)
  You know what I CL2p.s am going to give later

- ¿Te lo vas a comer? (042)
  You CL2p.s. it are going to eat?

- Un beso... sí te lo va a dar, pero no te acercas (042)
  A kiss ... yes s/he CL2p.s it is going to give, but you neg CL2p.s. get close

- Siéntate, siéntate que nos vamos a vestir (050)
  Sit-CL2p.s., sit-CL2p.s. that we CL1p.p are going to get dressed

- ¿Qué le vas a decir a papá? (053)
  You what him are going to tell to daddy?

- ... te vamos a limpiar las orejitas (054)
  ... we CL2p.s are going to clean the little ears

- ... te vamos a dar cremita en el culo (056)
  ... we CL2p.s are going to give nice cream on the behind

- Hale, que te vamos a poner el pañal, venga (056)
  Come on, that we Cl2p.s are going to put the diaper, let's go

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- ¿Qué te vamos a poner? (056)
  We what CL2p.s are going to put?

- Espera que te vamos a dar un poquito de crema en la cara ... (058)
  Wait that we CL2p.s are going to give a bit of cream on the face ...

- Espera un poquito, que te voy a dar jabón ¿quieres? (061)
  Wait a bit, that I Cl2p.s am going to give soap, is it OK?

- Te vamos a aclarar la cabeza y salimos ¿vale? (068)
  We CL2p.s are going to rinse the head and we go out OK?

- María, lo vas a romper, ¿eh? (072)
  María you it are going to break eh?

- Todo lo que quieres lo vas dejando ahí (088)
  Everything it that you want you it are leaving there

- Lo que no quieras lo vamos a dejar aquí (088)
  It that you neg want we it are going to leave here

- Dile, quita, que si no le voy a dar tás-tás (092)
  Tell-him, stay away, that if not I him am going to give a slap

- ¿Le vas a dar de verdad? (092)
  You him are going to slap truly?

- Oye, ¿sabes lo que te voy a comprar para la bañera? (109)
  Listen, you know CL3p.s what I CL2p.s am going to buy for the bathtub?

- Me lo vas a tener que hacer tú, papá, no me suelta (115)
  CL1p.s it are going to have to do yousubj., daddy, she neg CL1p.s let go

- Mecachis, le vamos a hacer tás-tás (138)
  Well, we him are going to give a slap

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- Dile lo que le vas a hacer (145)
  Tell-him it what you him are going to do

- Te va a comprar mamá una sillita para que te sientes en la terraza ¿quieres? (146)
  CL2p.s is going to buy mommy a little chair so that you CL2p.s. sit in the terrace, do you want to?

- María, ¿dónde me vas a poner? (147)
  María, where you Cl1p.s. are going to put?

- No, papá se va a marchar (148)
  No, daddy SE is going to leave

- ¡Qué le vamos a hacer! (153)
  We what (about) CLdat.3p.s are going to do!

- Las medias... te vamos a tener que poner la faja para que no se te caigan (152)
  The stockings... We CL2p.s are going to have to put the girdle so that neg SE Cl2p.s fall

- No, hombre, eso no te (lo) voy a quitar (164)
  No, man, that I neg CL2p.s (it) am going to take off

- Te vas a ensuciar (174)
  You Cl2p.s are going to get dirty

- Espera que te voy a traer una silla (174)
  Wait that I Cl2p.s am going to bring a chair

- ¿A Susana le vas a dar un beso? (191)
  To Susana you her are going to give a kiss?

- Se quita, no mi vida, cómo lo vas a quitar ... (205)
  It SE removes, no my love, you how it are going to remove ...

- Te vas a hacer pupa (214)
  You CL2p.s are going to hurt

- La vamos a poner la tele (220)
  We it are going to put on the TV

- María que te voy a dar tás-tás en el culo (231)
  María that I CL2p.s am going to give a slap on the behind

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- ¿Pilar te va a dar tás-tás en el culo? (242)
  Pilar CL2p.s is going to give a slap in the behind?

- Te voy a dar en el culo (244)
  I CL2p.s am going to slap in the behind
- ¿Te vas a sentar? (255)
  You CL2p.s. are going to sit?

- Dile a papá que le vas a dar
  tás-tás como se quite los zapatos (263)
  Tell-him to daddy that you him are going to give
  a slap if he SE takes off the shoes

- ... que te van a ver luego en la
  película (280)
  ... that they CL2p.s are going to see later in the
  movie

- Vamos a poner las velas en la tarta
  y las vamos a soplar (281)
  We are going to put the candles in the cake
  and we them are going to blow off

- Te voy a dar la medicina entonces (281)
  I CL2p.s am going to give the medicine then

- Ahora le vamos a cantar cumpleaños feliz (284)
  Now we her are going to sing birthday happy

- Mañana te va a regalar mamá un cuento
  ¿quieres? (294)
  Tomorrow CL2p.s is going to give mommy a story book
  do you want to?

- No sé a quién le voy a dar
  una torta de los dos (354)
  I neg know to whom I CLdat.3p.s am going to give
  a slap of the two

- Dile qué le vas a hacer... (355)
  You tell-him what him are going to do

- La peli te la van a hacer a ti (370)
  The movie they CL2p.s it are going to shoot to you

- Si es que te (los) voy a coser (408)
  If is that I CL2p.s (them) am going to sew

- Sí. ¿Dónde lo vas a poner? (422)
  Yes. You where it are going to put?

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- ¿Le vas a invitar? (425)
  You him are going to invite?

- ¿A qué le vas a invitar? (425)
  You to what him are going to invite?

- ¿Quién le va a dar de comer? (426)
  Who him is going to feed?

- ¿Y qué le vas a dar? (426)
  And you what him are going to give?

- Papá, ¿te la vas a llevar a la calle cuando saques al perro? (436)
  Daddy, you CL2p.s. her are going to take to the street when you take out the dog?

- ... al conejito ... que se va a quedar con hambre (440)
  ... to the little rabit... that it SE is going to be left hungry

- ¿A éste le vamos a dar? (440)
  To this one we him are going to give?

- ... y le vas a dar un sorbo al pequeñito (440)
  ... and you him are going to give a sip to the little one

- Di, sí me lo voy a beber todo, ¡tonto! (442)
  Say, yes I CL1p.s. it am going to drink all, silly!

- Trae, que la voy a secar (453)
  Bring, that I it am going to dry

- ... uñas de los pies... las vamos a poner nombres (466)
  ... nails of the feet ... we them are going to give names

- A la grande la vamos a poner como mamá (466)
  To the big one we it are going to name like mommy

- Espera que te lo vas a colocar (467)
  Wait that you CL2p.s. it are going to place

- No te voy a volver a desnudar (471)
  I neg CL2p.s am going to again undress

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- No te vamos a dejar mucho tiempo en el baño porque estás costipada (478)
  We neg CL2p.s are going to leave much time in the tab because you have a cold

- Ahora le vamos a poner el chandal (487)
  Now we her are going to put on the chandal

- Que sí, ¿esta noche te lo vas a comer todo? (487)
  Oh yes, this night you CL2p.s. it are going to eat all?

- ¡Qué te va a doler! (491)
  That CL2p.s is going to hurt!

- ... las otras botas ... si no éstas se te van a estropear enseguida (494)
  ... the other boots ... if not these SE CL2p.s are going to wear out soon

- Me vais a dejar un ratito en paz ... (504)
  You2p.p. CL1p.s are going to leave for a little while in peace ...

- ¿Lo vas a enchufar? (506)
  You it are going to switch on?

- Este era el niño que se iba a bañar (506)
  This was the boy that he SE was going to bathe

- No, ponte mirando para papá que te va a hacer una peli (510)
  No, place-CL2p.s looking towards daddy that he CL2p.s is going to shoot a movie

- A ver, que te vamos a echar los pelitos para atrás (514)
  Let's see, that we CL2p.s are going to pull the little hairs back

- ¿Qué pantalones te vas a poner mañana? (516)
  What pants you CL2p.s. are going to put on tomorrow?

- Me voy a bañar en mi bañera (526)
  I CL1p.s. am going to bathe in my tub

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- ... la bañera ... en el verano la vamos a sacar (526)
  ... the tub ... in the summer we it are going to take out

- ... la bañera ... y la vamos a poner en la terraza (526)
  ... the tub ... and we it are going to put in the terrace

- Me voy a bañar en la terraza ¿vale? (526)
  I CL1p.s. am going to bathe on the terrace, OK?

- Te voy a traer unos juguetitos, ¿vale? (526)
  I CL2p.s am going to bring some little toys, OK?

- Mamá te va a preguntar cositas (550)
  Mommy CL2p.s is going to ask nice things

- ¿Cómo se va a llamar Moreno? (550)
  What that he SE is going to be called Moreno?

- Luego te vamos a dar una cremita chiquitita de los ojos (554)
  Then we CL2p.s are going to give a nice cream little for the eyes

- La leche ... ¿Y quién se la va a tomar? (558)
  The milk ... And whom SE it is going to take?

- Ese peine lo vamos a guardar en tu bolsita ..... (560)
  That comb we it are going to keep in your little bag .....

- ... a papá ... ¿Qué le vas a contar? (561)
  ... to daddy ... You what him are going to tell?

- Y te van a hacer regalitos (562)
  And they CL2p.s are going to give nice presents

- ¿Y te vamos a cantar qué? (562)
  And we CL2p.s are going to sing what?

- Por favor, si luego te vamos a bañar (564)
  Please, for we later CL2p.s are going to bathe

- Ven con mamá, reina, que te voy a contar un cuento (566)
  Come with mommy, queen, that I CL2p.s am going to tell a story

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2.1.1.2 CL + **Acabar de** + infinitive

- Sí, hombre, te acabo de bañar y vas a tener caca (057)
  Yes, man, I CL2p.s just bathed and you are going to have to go potty

- Lo acabo de sacar de la nevera (231)
  I it just got out of the fridge

- Ahora no que te acabo de vestir con el chantal (471)
  Now no that I Cl2p.s just finished dressing with the chandal

2.1.1.3 CL + **Empezar a** + Infinitive

- ... le empezaron a salir plumas muy bonitas (433)
  ... to him started to come out feathers very pretty

2.1.2 With Pure Motion Verbs

2.1.2.1 CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- Ahora la vas a buscar, ¿vale? (058)
  Now you it are going to search for, OK?

- Espera, el pequeñito te voy a traer (073)
  Wait, the little one I CL2p.s am going to bring

- La voy a lavar las manos un poco (283)
  I her am going to wash the hands a bit

- ¿Te bajamos? Te vas a ir por el suelo (412)
  We CL2p.s. shall bring down? You CL2p.s. are going to walk on the floor

- Me voy a ir a plancharte la ropa para mañana (514)
  I CL1p.s. am going to go to iron-CL2p.s. the clothes for tomorrow

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- ¿Tú le has ido a soplar las velas? (518)
  You her have gone to blow the candles?

- ¿La vas a traer? (554)
  You it are going to bring?

2.1.3 With Modal Verbs

2.1.3.1 CL + **Poder** + Infinitive

- No se puede comer uno la galleta ... (016)
  Neg SE can eat one the biscuit

- Mira, esto se puede cerrar (046)
  Look, this SE can close

- Papá está haciendo una cosa y no se puede mover (078)
  Daddy is doing something and neg SE can move

- Tú eso no lo puedes tocar porque es caca (136)
  You that neg it can touch because it is poo-poo

- No pises eso porque te puedes caer (147)
  Neg step on that because you CL2p.s. can fall

- Bueno, ahora no me puedo levantar (147)
  Well, now I neg CL1p.s. can get up

- ... un geraneo ... pero no lo toques que las flores no se pueden tocar (166)
  ... a geranium ... but you neg it touch that the flowers neg SE can touch

- ¿Por qué no te puedes sentar? (174)
  Why you neg CL2p.s. can sit?

- Ya te lo puedes comer (231)
  You already CL2p.s. it can eat

- No lo podemos guardar aquí porque se pierde (382)
  We neg it can keep here because SE gets lost

- La tapa la puedes dejar ahí (439)
  The cover it you can leave there

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- ¿Por qué no se puede mover papá? (492)
  Why neg SE can move daddy?

2.1.3.2 CL + **Querer** + Infinitive

- ¿Me quieres contar un cuento? (047)
  You CL1p.s. want to tell a story?

- ¿No le quieres decir gracias? (048)
  You neg him want to say thank you

- ... las uñas ... ¿te las quieres cortar tú? (055)
  ... the nails... CL2p.s. them want to cut you?

- Por eso te quería dar la crema (055)
  Because of that I to you wanted to give the cream

- ¿No lo quieres decir? (067)
  You neg it want to tell?

- ¿Te quieres sentar un poquito? (115)
  You CL2p.s. want to sit a little while?

- ¿Te quieres sentar en la silla? (178)
  You CL2p.s. want to sit in the chair?

- ¿Por qué te quieres salir ya? (460)
  Why you CL2p.s. want to go out already?

- ¿Me quieres ayudar a llevar esto a la habitación? (495)
  You CL1p.s. want to help to take this to the bedroom?

- ¿Dónde lo quieres poner ése? (508)
  You where it want to put that?

- ¿Te quieres poner el chandal rosa mañana? (520)
  You CL2p.s. want put the chandal pink tomorrow?

- ¿Y por qué la quería matar? (542)
  And why he her wanted to kill?

- ... la quería matar porque Blancanieves era... (542)
  ... he her wanted to kill because Snow White was...

- ¿Qué ropita te quieres poner? (564)
  You what clothes CL2p.s. want to put on

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2.1.3.3 CL + **Tener que** + Infinitive

- Me tengo que enfadar contigo para que te termines la cena (036)
  I CL1p.s. have to get angry at you so that you CL2p.s. finish the dinner

- Espera, espera, que me lo tengo que quitar ... (053)
  Wait, wait, that CL1p.s. it have to take off...

- Me tienes que cambiar de sitio, papá (069)
  You CL1p.s. have to change place, daddy

- Me tengo que comprar unos zapatos (101)
  I CL1p.s. have to buy some shoes

- Te tendré que secar y vestir ¿no? (115)
  I CL2p.s. will have to dry and dress, won't I?

- María, si es que te lo tengo que hacer? (125)
  María, if is that I CL2p.s. it have to do?

- Hija, te los tengo que arreglar (125)
  Daughter, I CL2p.s. them have to take care of

- Pero, hombre, no la tires ahí que luego la tengo que barrer yo, eres muy listo (150)
  But, man, you neg it throw here that then it have to sweep I, you are very smart

- Oye María ... Le tengo que cambiar (273)
  Listen María ... I her have to change

- ¿Te tienes que lavar la cabeza? (397)
  You CL2p.s. have to wash the head

- ... me tienes que cantar la canción de los patitos (415)
  ... You CL1p.s. have to sing the song of the little ducks

- Espera, hombre, que te tengo que colocar primero (468)
  Wait, man, that I CL2p.s. have to straighten up first

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- Te tengo que mojar el pelo (477)
  I CL2p.s have to wet the hair

- Pero te tienes que lavar tú, ¿eh? (512)
  But CL2p.s. have to wash you, OK?

- Pero te lo tengo que limpiar un poquito (554)
  But I CL2p.s. it have to clean a little bit

2.1.4 With Progressive Forms

2.1.4.1 CL + **Estar** + Gerund

- ... uno ... mientras le están cambiando (016)
  ... one ... while someone her is changing

- ... el tenedor ... lo estás cogiendo mal (039)
  ... the fork ... you it are holding wrong

- ... un frasco ... ¿Lo estás tapando, mi amor? (071)
  ... a bottle ... You it are covering, my love

- ¿Qué te estoy poniendo, Marieta? (137)
  I what to you am putting on, Marieta?

- ¿Qué te está poniendo mamá? (137)
  What CL2p.s is putting on mommy?

- ... una vaquita ... Está llorando, la estoy oyendo yo (438)
  ... a little cow ... It is crying, it am hearing I

- Mira, que se está comiendo la zanahoria ... (440)
  Look, that it SE is eating the carrot ...

- Mabel ... Se está poniendo, ¿qué? (518)
  Mabel ... SE is putting, what?

- Esta mañana me estaba vistiendo y me dice María, mamá, estás gordísima (519)
  This morning I CL1p.s. was getting dressed and CL1p.s. say María, mommy, you are very fat

- No, es que se te estaba cayendo una gotita ... (563)
  No, is that SE CL2p.s. was falling a little drop...

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2.1.5 With Other Climbing Verbs

2.1.5.1 CL + **Volver a** + Infinitive

- ... las gafas ... las has vuelto a romper ... (134)
  ... the glasses .. You them have again broken

- ... no te lo vuelvo a arreglar más (135)
  ... I neg CL2p.s. it again fix more

- Espera, María, te has vuelto a manchar las manos (304)
  Wait, María, you CL2p.s. have again dirt the hands

- ... te volvemos a poner el pañal otra vez (465)
  .. we CL2p.s. again put the diaper once more

2.2 Non-Climbing Structures

2.2.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.2.1.1 **Ir a** + Infinitive + CL

- Espera, que voy a secarte, así (069)
  Wait, that I am going to dry-CL2p.s, like this

- Cana [Encarna] pis? ... Ahora vamos a ponerla (124)
  xxxx Encarna piss?... Now we are going to put-her

- Ahora vamos a ponerte a ti el pañal ¿vale? (124)
  Now we are going to put-CL2p.s to you the diaper, OK?

- Dile lo que vas a hacerle (145)
  Tell-him it that you are going to do-him

- ¿Vas a abrocharme la cremallera de la falda? (163)
  You are going to zip up-CL1p.s. the zipper of the skirt?

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- Vamos a darle una torta al guau-guau por cochino (237)
  We are going to give a slap to the doggy for being a piggy

- ¿Qué vamos a cantarle a María? (278)
  We what are going to sing-her to María

- Vamos a lavarte las manos (281)
  We are going to wash-CL2p.s. the hands

- Venga, vamos a darle al conejito ¿vale? (440)
  Come on, let's give-him the little rabit, OK?

- Voy a ponerte el chandal (465)
  I am going to put-CL2p.s the chandal

- Vamos a contarle un poquito las uñas de los pies (466)
  We are going to cut-her a little bit the nails of the feet

- Ahora vamos a ponerte los pantalones (489)
  Now we are going to put-CL2p.s the pants

- ... el cacharrito ... Sí, eso es para ti, pero vamos a lavarlo hoy ... (560)
  ... the little trinket ... Yes, that is for you, but we are going to wash-it today ...

2.2.1.2 **Terminar de** + Infinitive + CL

- Cuando termine papá de hacerte la película (564)
  When finishes daddy of making the movie

2.2.1.3 **Acabar de** + Infinitive + CL

- Pero si acabamos de empezar a rodarte (460)
  But if we just finished filming-CL2p.s

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2.2.2 With Pure Motion Verbs

2.2.2.1 **Ir a** + Infinitive + CL

- Es una amiga de mi hermana, que va a buscarla (218)
  She is a friend of my sister, that she is going to pick-her up

2.2.3 With Modal Verbs

2.2.3.1 **Poder** + Infinitive + CL

- Pero es que no puedo cogerlas contigo en brazos (113)
  But is that I neg can grab-them with you in my harms

- Pero bueno, no puedo ponértela así (118)
  But, well, I neg can put-CL2p.s-it like this

- Dos añitos. No sabe ponerlos, pobre (278)
  Two years. She neg know how to put-them, poor

2.2.3.2 **Querer** + Infinitive + CL

- Quiere sentarse donde estás tú (146)
  She wants to sit-SE where are you

- No, yo no quiero leerte cuentos (433)
  No, I neg want to read-CL2p.s. stories

2.2.3.3 **Tener que** + Infinitive + CL

- A ver, tengo que mirarlo (059)
  Let's see, I have to look-it

- Tienes que darle bien de comer (077)
  You have to give-him well to eat

- María, tendré que lavarte, hija (100)
  María, I will have to wash-CL2p.s, daughter

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- Las uñas de los piés ... Cada vez que la baño tengo que cortarle una (125)
  The nails of the feet ... Every time that I her bathe I have to cut-her one

- María, ésa es tu leche y tú tienes que tomártela ¿eh? (435)
  María, this is your milk and you have to take-CL2p.s-it, OK?

- Porque te he bañado y tengo que vaciarlo, hija (492)
  Because I you have bathed and I have to empty-it, daughter

- Tienes que hacerlo desde aquí (509)
  You have to do-it from here

2.2.3.4 **Saber** + Infinitive + CL

- Que tú sabes decirlo (027)
  That you know how to say-it

- ¿Tú sabes ponerte los calcetines? (467)
  You know how to put-CL2p.s the socks?

2.2.3.5 **Deber** + Infinitive + CL

- Deberías tomarla desde aquí (090)
  You should film-her from here

2.2.4 With Progressive Forms

2.1.4.1 **Estar** + Gerund + CL

- ¿Qué estoy haciéndote, María? (479)
  I what am doing-CL2p.s, María?

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2.2.5 With Other Climbing Verbs

2.2.5.1 **Volver a** + infinitive + CL

- Cómo vuelvas a romperlo ... (135)
  If you again break-it

- Ten cuidado que ahora vuelve mamá a limpiarlo ¿vale? (229)
  You be careful that now again mommy is going to clean-it OK?

2.2.5.2 **Aprender a** + Infinitive + CL

- ¿Cómo habrá aprendido a utilizarlo? (272)
  How she will have learned to use-it?

C. FATHER'S DATA (María 1;7-2;11)

2.1 Climbing Structures

2.1.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.1.1.1 CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- No, no, nos vamos a poner a estudiar el "tanto" (104)
  No, no, we CL1p.p. are going to begin to study the xxxxx

- María, ¿te vas a bañar y vas a hablar hoy, no? (099)
  María, you CL are going to bathe and you are going to talk today, arent't you?

- ¿Te vas a hacer pis? (202)
  CL2p.s. are going to do pee-pee?

- Ten cuidado porque te vas a caer de la silla (282)
  Be careful because you CL2p.s. are going to fall off the chair

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- ¿No me vas a contar el cuento tan bonito? (319)
  You neg CL1p.s. are going to tell the story so pretty?

- Y, ¿qué le vas a hacer ahora al muñeco? (346)
  And you what him are going to do now to the male doll?

- ¿Qué le vas a hacer al muñeco? (346)
  You what him are going to do to the male doll?

- Me voy a comer un bocata ¿y tú? (350)
  I CL1p.s. am going to eat a sandwich, and you?

- Yo me voy a comer un bocata (350)
  I CL1p.s. am going to eat a sandwich

- Oye, verás como venga mamá lo que te va a dar (354)
  Listen, you will see if mommy comes it what she CL2p.s. is going to give

- Que me va a regañar a mí ¿sabes? (354)
  That she CL1p.s. is going to scold to me, don't you know?

- Que mamá nos va a regañar a ti y a mí (354)
  That mommy CL1p.p. is going to scold to you and to me

- Porque la estoy filmando (354)
  Because I her am filming

- Dile qué le vas a hacer .... (355)
  Tell-her what you her are going to do ....

- Sí, y ¿qué le vas a hacer al cochecito? (357)
  Yes, and you what CLdat. 3p.s are going to do to the little car?

- Muy bien, lo vas a levantar, ¿no? (357)
  Very well, you it are going to lift, aren't you?

- ¿Te vas a sentar en las piernas de papá? (358)
  You CL2p.s. are going to sit on the legs of daddy?

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- Me voy a tirar pa(ra) ti otra vez (360)
  I CL1p.s. am going to throw towards you again

- Te advierto que luego me voy a morir (366)
  I CL2p.s. warn that then I CL1p.s. am going to die

- Tú me vas a matar (366)
  You CL1p.s. are going to kill

- Te voy a mandar con las vacas (367)
  I CL2p.s. am going to send with the cows

- Del suelo no los vas a coger ¿vale? (368)
  From the ground you neg them are going to pick up, OK?

- Que del suelo no los vas a coger, ¿vale? (368)
  That from the ground you neg them are going to pick up, OK?

- ¿Dónde lo vas a tirar? (368)
  You where it are going to throw

- Pero poquito que se va a acabar la peli (368)
  But a little that SE is going to finish the film

- Los caramelos... porque si no se van a caer muchos (368)
  The candy .... because if neg SE are going to fall many

- ¿Me vas a perdonar? (389)
  You CL1p.s. are going to forgive

- Pero, ¿Qué fruta me vas a dar? (394)
  But, You what fruit CL1p.s. are going to give?

- ¿La Angeles me va a dar una fruta? (394)
  The Angeles CL1p.s. is going to give a fruit?

- Pero dime qué frutas me voy a comer (394)
  But tell-me what fruits I CL1p.s. am going to eat

- Pero me vas a pelar ¿el qué? (394)
  But you CL1p.s. are going to peel, what?

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- ... dime qué fruta me vas a dar ¿vale? (394)
  ... tell-me what fruit you CL1p.s. are going to give, OK?

- Yo te voy a secar el culo (395)
  I CL2p.s. am going to dry the behind

- ¿No me vas a echar más? (396)
  You neg CL1p.s. are going to throw anymore?

- ¿Quién te va a secar? (402)
  Who CL2p.s. is going to dry?

- ¿Cómo te vas a quedar regadita? (402)
  You how CL2p.s. are going to remain all wet?

- Un vestido .. porque te lo vas a poner tú (409)
  A dress ... because CL2p.s. it are going to wear you

- Porque papá no se lo va a poner ¿sabes? (409)
  Because daddy neg SE it is going to wear, don't you know?

- Que papá no se lo va a poner (409)
  That daddy neg SE it is going to wear

- Oye, te voy a engañar (415)
  Listen, I CL2p.s. am going to fool

- No, no porque te voy a engañar (415)
  Neg, neg because I CL2p.s. am going to fool

- Te vas a beber el agua (420)
  You CL2p.s. are going to drink the water

- Oye, y tú te vas a acostar pronto ¿no? (430)
  Listen, and you CL2p.s. are going to go to bed soon, aren't you?

- ¡Una leche, me vas a convertir a mí! (433)
  Damned, you CL1p.s. are going to change me!

- ¿Y qué le vas a hacer al muñeco? (435)
  And you what him are going to do to the male doll?

- La leche ... te la vas a tomar (437)
  The milk ... you CL2p.s. it are going to drink

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- ¿A quién le vamos a hacer la película? (447)
  We to whom him/her are going to shoot the film?

- ¿Y qué me vas a hacer? (455)
  And you what CL1p.s. are going to do?

- ¿Qué me vas a hacer? (455)
  You what CL1p.s. are going to do?

- ¿Qué le vas a limpiar? (457)
  You what him are going to clean

- No le voy a dar una galleta (470)
  I neg him am going to give a biscuit

- Me parece que se le van a caer las tejas otra vez (508)
  CL1p.s. seems that SE CLdat. 3p.s. are going to fall off the tiles again

- Lo vamos a llenar mucho (515)
  We it are going to fill up a lot

- María, te va a doler la tripa (521)
  María, CL2p.s. is going to hurt the tummy

- Pues de pequeña decías que te ibas a casar ... (524)
  Well when you were little you said that you CL2p.s. were going to get married

- ¿Con quién te vas a casar? (524)
  With whom you CL2p.s. are going to get married?

- Me parece que ése tampoco me va a gustar (530)
  CL1p.s. seems that that one neither CL1p.s. is going to like

- ... porque me ha dicho que me va a doler (531)
  ... because he CL1p.s. has told that CL1p.s. is going to hurt

- ... me ha dicho que el agua me va a sentar mal... (531)
  ... he CL1p.s. has said that the water CL1p.s. is going to agree badly ...

- ¡Qué le vamos a hacer! (535)
  We what CLdat.3p.s. are going to do!

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- Porque estoy malito y peor que me voy a poner (536)
  Because I am ill and worse that I CL1p.s. am going to get

- Como pases por aquí te voy a coger de la peñas[piernas] (548)
  If you pass by here I CL2p.s. am going to grab by the legs

- Ten cuidado que te vas a caer de culo (548)
  Be careful that you CL2p.s. are going to fall on your behind

- No me pises otra vez que me vas a dejar hecho polvo (552)
  Neg CL1p.s. step again that you CL1p.s. are going to leave a wreck

- Y ahora le vas a decir a mamá lo que yo te diga (553)
  And now you her are going to tell to mommy it that I CL2p.s. tell

- Le vas a decir: Papá tiene una bicicleta con tres tornillos verdes (553)
  You her are going to tell: Daddy has a bicycle with three screws green

- Te va a engañar (564)
  She CL2p.s. is going to fool

- Pues yo no te lo voy a decir (564)
  Well I neg CL2p.s. it am going to tell

2.1.2 With Pure Motion Verbs

2.1.2.1 CL + **Ir a** + Infinitive

- Que, que me voy a tirar pa(ra) ti (362)
  That, that I CL1p.s. am going to throw towards you

- Me parece que me voy a ir a la calle yo solito (385)
  CL1p.s. seems that I CL1p.s. am going to go to the street I alone

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2.1.3 With Modal Verbs

2.1.3.1 CL + **Poder** + Infinitive

- Pero, ¿quieres dejar de hacer el trasto, que no te puedo ver? (094)
  But, you want to stop moving around so much, that I neg CL2p.s. can see?

- Ah, pues te puedo quitar la nariz y comérmela ... (361)
  Ah, well I CL2p.s. can rip off the nose and eat-CL1p.s.-it ...

- Un poquito más lejos para que papá lo pueda ver bien (389)
  A little bit further so that daddy it can see well

- Sí, porque esta mañana papá no te ha podido despertar (430)
  Yes, because this morning daddy neg CL2p.s. has been able to wake up

- ... pero no te lo puedo permitir (437)
  ... but I neg CL2p.s. it can allow

- ... que si no no le podemos hacer una película bonita (447)
  ... that if not we neg it can shoot a film pretty

- ... y yo no te puedo ver (455)
  ... and I neg CL2p.s. can see

- Desde el otro lado la puedes ayudar mejor (509)
  From the other side you her can help better

- Tú no me lo puedes dar en la boca (534)
  You neg CL1p.s. it can give in the mouth

- Pero si es que no me lo puedo tomar (537)
  But the thing is that I neg CL1p.s. it can take

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- Pero es que no te puedo ver así (547)
  But the thing is that I neg CL2p.s. can see like that

- No te puedes escapar (548)
  You neg CL2p.s. can escape

- No me lo puedo creer (549)
  I neg CL1p.s. it can believe

- Ahora no puedo porque te estoy haciendo una peli (565)
  Now I neg can because I CL2p.s. am shooting a movie

- Y a una señorita no se le pueden ver la peñas (567)
  And to a lady one neg SE her can see the legs

2.1.3.2 CL + **Querer** + Infinitive

- ¿Dónde te quieres sentar? (356)
  You where CL2p.s. want to sit?

- ¿Ahora me quieres decir lo que estás haciendo? (357)
  Now you CL1p.s. want to tell it that you are doing?

- ¿Te quieres poner de pie, por favor? (360)
  You CL2p.s. want to stand up, please?

- ¿Me quieres hacer caso? (360)
  You CL1p.s. want to pay attention?

- Oye, ¿te quieres dar la vuelta? (361)
  Listen, you CL2p.s. want to turn around?

- Que te quieres ir con Angeles también ... (367)
  That you CL2p.s. want to go with Angeles also ...

- ¿Con quién te quieres ir? (367)
  You with whom CL2p.s. want to go?

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- Que luego te quieres casar conmigo ... (433)
  That you then CL2p.s. want to get married with me ...

- ¿Te quieres venir conmigo? (471)
  You CL2p.s. want to come with me?

- ¿Tú te acuerdas de con quién te querías casar de pequeña? (524)
  You CL2p.s. remember with whom you CL2p.s. wanted to get married when little?

- María, ¿tú te quieres casar? (524)
  María, you CL2p.s. want to get married?

- ¿La quieres dar unos besos? (539)
  You her want to give some kisses

- Y se lo quería llevar a su casa (543)
  And he SE him wanted to take to his house

2.1.3.3 CL + **Deber** + Infinitive

- ¿Tú crees que a un padre se le debe faltar al respeto? ¿Eh, foca? (360)
  You think that to a father one SE him must lack respect? Eh, seal?

2.1.3.4 CL + **Tener que** + Infinitive

- Sí, va, que como te tengo que hacer la peli ... (200)
  Yes, come on, that since I CL2p.s. have to shoot the film ...

- Qué, ¿le tienes que dar otra? (187)
  What, You her have to give other?

- Nos tienes que dar clase ¿eh? (249)
  You CL1p.p have to give classes, don't you?

- Bueno, pero me tendrás que preparar algo más ... (394)
  Fine, but you CL1p.s will have to prepare something more ...

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- Nos tenemos que ir (419)
  We CL1p.p have to go

- ... me tienes que decir cómo hacemos la peli ¿vale? (435)
  ... You CL1p.s have to tell how we shoot the movie, OK?

- Te tienes que tomar un sorbito de leche por cada uno (438)
  You CL2p.s. have to take a sip of milk for each one

- Sí, venga, pero te tienes que acercar donde está Aito (450)
  Yes, come on, but you CL2p.s. have to get close where is Aito

- Te tienes que esconder y luego ... (455)
  You CL2p.s. have to hide and then ...

- ... me tienes que asustar (455)
  ... you CL1p.s. have to scare

- Te tienes que esconder y yo ... (455)
  You CL2p.s. have to hide and I ...

- A lo mejor se lo tienes que dar con cuidado (457)
  Maybe you SE it have to give carefully

- ¿Todo esto te lo tienes que comer, hija? (487)
  All this you CL2p.s. it have to eat, daughter?

- Te tengo que lavar la cabeza (535)
  I CL2p.s. have to wash the head

- Pues primero te tengo que lavar la cabeza ¿vale? (540)
  Well first I CL2p.s. have to wash the head, OK?

- Luego tú me dices cuándo me tengo que beber la Coca-Cola (547)
  Then you CL1p.s. tell when I CL1p.s. have to drink the Coca-Cola

- Te tienes que meter dentro ... (548)
  You CL2p.s. have to get inside ...

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- Pero se lo tienes que decir a mamá (553)
  But you SE it have to tell to mommy

- No, mira, le tienes que decir: Mamá, últimamente bebes mucho alpiste (553)
  Neg, look, you her have to tell: Mommy, lately you drink a lot of canary-seed

- Otra cosa, le tienes que decir: Papá es guapísimo porque bebe licor de manzana (553)
  Another thing, you her have to tell: Daddy is very handsome because he drinks liquor of apple

2.1.4 With Progressive Forms

2.1.4.1 CL + **Estar** + Gerund

- María, ¿qué te están haciendo? (054)
  María, they what CL2p.s. are doing?

- ¿Te estás lavando las manos? (063)
  You CL2p.s. are washing the hands?

- María, se nos está acabando la cinta (097)
  María, SE CL1p.p. is finishing the tape

- Di adiós, María, que se está acabando la cinta (191)
  Say goodbye, María, that SE is finishing the tape

- ¿Qué le estás haciendo a la plantita? (352)
  You what it are doing to the little plant?

- Oye, ¿me estás vacilando? (356)
  Listen, you CL1p.s. are vacilating?

- ¿Me estás oyendo? (360)
  You CL1p.s. are listening?

- Oye, que me estás dando (362)
  Listen, you what CL1p.s. are giving

- ¿Te estás enterando? (366)
  You CL2p.s. are hearing?

- ... o no te estás enterando (366)
  ... o you neg CL2p.s. are hearing

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- Los caramelos... porque los estás tirando, so bestia (368)
  The candy ... because you them are throwing, you little beast

- Que no te enrolles que sabes lo que te estoy diciendo (402)
  That you neg CL2p.s. rumble on that you know it what I CL2p.s. am telling

- ¿Te estoy sacando una peli (404)
  I CL2p.s. am taking a film

- Una casa ... que te está quedando muy chula (451)
  A house ... that it CL2p.s. is looking very pretty

- La casa... le está quedando muy chula (451)
  The house ... her is looking very pretty

- Vale, ¿qué le estás dando de comer? (458)
  OK, you what her are feeding?

- No los estoy pisando (476)
  I neg them am stepping on

- Me estabas mirando a mí (520)
  You CL1p.s. were looking at me

- Sí, yo creo que lo estás haciendo casi bien (545)
  Yes, I believe that you it are doing almost well

- Hombre, me estabas diciendo que tenías un lazo ... (545)
  Man, you CL1p.s. were telling that you had a ribbon ...

- ¡Uy! Me estás pisando las peñas[piernas (548)
  Uy! You CL1p.s. are stepping on the legs

- Sí, ¡¡pero me estás pisando en la peña!! (551)
  Yes, but you CL1p.s. are stepping on the leg!

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2.1.5 With Other Climbing Verbs

2.1.5.1 CL + **Volver a** + Infinitive

- Te has vuelto a quitar la bota ¿no? (038)
  You CL2p.s. have again taken off the boot, haven't you?

- Dile qué le vas a hacer si lo vuelve a decir (355)
  Tell-her what you her are going to do if she it again says

2.1.5.2 CL + **Pensar** + Infinitive

- Sí, lo tienes claro, porque no te pienso llevar (135)
  Yes, you it have clear, because I neg CL2p.s. going to take

2.2 Non-Climbing Structures

2.2.1 With Aspectual Verbs

2.2.1.1 **Ir a** + Infinitive + CL

- ¿Y cómo voy a filmarte? (358)
  And I how am going to film-CL2p.s.

- ¿Dónde vas a sentarte?
  You where are going to sit-CL2p.s.

2.2.1.2 **Acabar de** + Infinitive + CL

- María, va a acabarse la cinta (343)
  María, is going to finish-SE the tape

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2.2.1.3 **Terminar de** + Infinitive + Cl

- ¿Que vas a hacer cuando termine papá de hacerte la peli? (380)
  You what are going to do when finishes daddy shooting-CL2p.s. the movie?

2.2.3 With Modal Verbs

2.2.3.1 **Poder** + Infinitive + CL

- ¿Dónde vas María? Que no podemos filmarte afuera (270)
  You where are going María? That we neg can film-CL2p.s. outside

- ¿Puedes peinarle? (535)
  You can combinf-him?

- Un poco más lejos, si no no puedo hacerte la peli (547)
  A bit further, or else I neg can shoot-CL2p.s. the film

- No, no puedo cogerte (548)
  Neg, I neg can catch-CL2p.s.

2.2.3.2 **Querer** + Infinitive + CL

- No, no quiero verlo (202)
  Neg I neg want to see-it

- ¿Quieres convertirte en un príncipe azul (433)
  You want to become-CL2p.s. a prince blue

2.2.3.3 **Tener que** + Infinitive + CL

- ... ¿sabes? que tienes que contarme algo (200)
  ... You know? that you have to tell-CL1p.s. something

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- Tienes que tomarte la leche (437)
  You have to take-CL2p.s. the milk

- Tienes que esconderte como hacen los fantasmas (455)
  You have to hide-CL2p.s. like do the ghosts

- Pero tienes que decirle algo a Irene, contarle algo (472)
  But you have to say-her something to Irene, tell-her something

- ¿Cuánto tengo que tomarme? (547)
  I how much have to take-CL1p.s.

- Ah, pues tienes que desabrocharlo primero (556)
  Ah, well you have to unfasten-it first

- La peli ... porque luego tenemos que verla (558)
  The movie ... because later we have to watch-it

2.2.3.4 **Saber** + Infinitive + CL

- ¿Tú sabes hacerlo? (420)
  You know how to do-it

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List 3.0 Non-Climbable Constructions

(* CL+**Verb**+Infinitive)

A. MARÍA'S DATA (2;1-2;11)

3.1 **Hay** que + Infinitive + CL

- No, no, no hay que coserlos (2;2-408)
  One neg, neg, neg. has to sew-them

- Hay que pompar(lo) [ponerlo] encima de la silla (2;3-422)
  One has xxxxxx(it) [to put-it] on top of the chair

B. MOTHER'S DATA (María 1;7-2;11)

3.1 **Hay** que + Infinitive + CL

- Hay que quitarte la ropita (001)
  One has to take-CL2p.s. off the little cloths

- ¡Uy, qué manos tan sucias! Hay que lavártelas (179)
  Uy! such dirty hands! One has to wash-CL2p.s.-them

- Ese vestido ... Hay que ponérselo (399)
  That dress ... One has to put-SE-it on

- Las orejitas hay que limpiarlas (410)
  The little ears, one has to clean-them

- El día que había que vestirte de pastora no querías (470)
  The day that one had to dress-CL2p.s. as a shepherd you neg wanted

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- Ahora que no hay que vestirte [de pastora] quieres (470)
  Now, that one neg has to dress-CL2p.s. you want
- ¿Y qué hay que hacerte para ponerte guapa? (471)
  And one what has to do-CL2p.s. to make-CL2p.s. look pretty

- Todas las noches hay que cambiarte las braguitas (488)
  Every night one has to change-CL2p.s. the little pants

- Pero las otras botas hay que ponerlas de vez en cuando (494)
  But the other boots one has to wear-them once in a while

C. FATHER'S DATA (María 1;7-2;11)

3.1 **Hay** que + Infinitive + CL

- Esto hay que abrirlo, me parece (365)
  This one has to open-it, it CL1p.s. seems

- Venga que hay que secarte (380)
  Come on that one has to dry-CL2p.s.

- Pero hay que tomarse la leche primero (437)
  But one has to take-SE the milk first

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APPENDIX 5

Table 1: Single Clitics in Simple Finite Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME		1	2		10	20	9	4	24	4	14	12	7	21	128
TE				1	13	14	15	7	9	4	4	14	4	8	93
SE (sing)	1	13	12	16	10	11	18	10	23	9	2	3	23	8	159
NOS							1					1	2	1	5
OS															0
SE (plural)							2			4					6
Total	**1**	**14**	**14**	**17**	**33**	**45**	**45**	**21**	**56**	**21**	**20**	**30**	**36**	**38**	**391**
3rd Person															
LO		1		1	4	4	6	6	1	5	4	4	11	7	54
LA(acc)					3	3	6		4			2	5	2	25
LA(dat)									1					1	2
LOS							1								1
LAS									2						2
LE(acc)									3				2		5
LE(dat)						1	1	3	2		1		2	4	14
LES (acc)							1								1
LES(dat)															0
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**7**	**8**	**15**	**9**	**13**	**5**	**5**	**6**	**20**	**14**	**104**
Overall Total	**1**	**15**	**14**	**18**	**40**	**53**	**60**	**30**	**69**	**26**	**25**	**36**	**56**	**52**	**495**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 2. A: Simple Clitics in Positive Imperatives in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME		2			1	2	4		8	5	2	1	1		26
TE	1		1	3	1			4		2	1		4	2	19
SE (sing)															0
NOS					1	1								2	4
OS															0
SE (plural)															0
Total	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**4**	**8**	**7**	**3**	**1**	**5**	**4**	**49**
3rd Person															
LO		1			2	3			1	2			1	1	11
LA				1	2		1						2		6
LOS					1	1	1								3
LAS						1									1
LE(acc)			1					1		2					4
LE(dat)											2			1	3
LES (acc)															0
LES(dat)															0
Total	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**28**
Overall Total	**1**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**9**	**11**	**5**	**1**	**8**	**6**	**77**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 2. B: Simple Clitics in Negative Imperatives in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME							1								1
TE					1										1
SE (sing)															0
NOS															0
OS															0
SE (plural)															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
3rd Person															
LO							1								1
LA							1								1
LOS							1								1
LAS															0
LE(acc)															0
LE(dat)															0
LES (acc)															0
LES(dat)															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 3: Omissions of Single Clitics in Simple Finite Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME	5	1	2	1											9
TE		1	3							1					5
SE (sing)	1				1	1	1								4
NOS															0
OS															0
SE (plural)															0
Total	**6**	**2**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**18**
3rd Person															
LO	1				1		1	1							4
LA									1						1
LOS						1									1
LAS															0
LE(acc)		1													1
LE(dat)															0
LES (acc)															0
LES(dat)									1						1
Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**8**
Overall Total	**7**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**26**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 4. A: Omission of Simple Clitics in Positive Imperatives in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME		1		1		1									3
TE	1				1										2
SE (sing)															0
NOS															0
OS															0
SE (plural)															0
Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**
3rd Person															
LO															0
LA															0
LOS															0
LAS															0
LE(acc)															0
LE(dat)					1										1
LES (acc)															0
LES(dat)															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Overall Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 4. B: Omission of Single Clitics in Negative Imperatives in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1st/2nd /SE															
ME			1												1
TE			1												1
SE (sing)															0
NOS															0
OS															0
SE (plural)															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
3rd Person															
LO															0
LA															0
LOS															0
LAS															0
LE(acc)															0
LE(dat)															0
LES (acc)															0
LES(dat)															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 5. A: Clusters in Simple Finite Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
Me lo					1	1	5	1	1	1		2	1	1	14
la						2		2	1				1		6
los						1									1
las															0
se*				2											2
Te lo						3	1		1			14	1	1	21
la								3				1			4
los									1						1
las									1						1
Se me					1		1	2		2		3	1		10
te/nos/os															0
Se lo							1		2				2		5
la								1						1	2
los/las															0
Se le								1							1
les															0
Nos lo										1					1
la/los/las															0
Os lo/la/los/las															0
Overall Total	0	0	0	2	2	7	8	10	7	4	0	20	6	3	69

* As indicated in the text, the "me se" cluster is not used in Standard Spanish. However, it occurs in some rural varieties of Spain.

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APPENDIX 5

Table 5. B: Omission of Clusters in Simple Finite Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
Me lo														0	0
la/los/las															0
Te lo															0
la												1			1
los/las															0
Se me/te/nos/os	1														1
Se lo		2	1												3
la/los															0
las									2						2
Se le/les															0
Nos lo/la/los/las															0
Os lo/la/los/las															0
Overall Total	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	7

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APPENDIX 5

Table 6. A: Clusters in Imperatives in the Corpus of Maria

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1. Positive Imperatives															
Me lo					2		3		2						7
la															0
los						2									2
las															0
Te lo					1	1						3			5
la															0
los					1										1
las						1		1							2
Se me/te/nos/os															0
Se lo/la/los/las									1						1
Se le/les															0
Nos lo/la/los/las															0
Os lo/la/los/las															0
Total	0	0	0	0	4	4	3	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	18
2. Negative Imperatives															0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	18
Overall Total	0	0	0	0	4	4	3	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	18

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APPENDIX 5

Table 6. B: Omission of Clusters in Imperatives in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1. Positive Imperatives															
Me lo/la/los/las															0
Te lo/la															0
los					1										1
las															0
Se me/te/nos/os															0
Se lo/la/los/las															0
Se le/les															0
Nos lo/la/los/las															0
Os lo/la/los/las															0
Total	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2. Negative Imperatives															
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Overall Total	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

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APPENDIX 5

Table 7. A: Single Clitics in Clitic Doubling Context in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0. CLDP															
1.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical*			1		1		2	1			1		2		8
b. Pronominal							2						1		3
1.2. Dative															
a. Lexical					1	1	1	1				1	2	2	9
b. Pronominal							2						1		3
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**7**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**6**	**2**	**23**
2.0. CLLD															
2.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical							2								2
b. Pronominal															0
2.2. Dative															
a. Lexical							1		1						2
b. Pronominal						3	1		1	1	1	7		1	15
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**0**	**1**	**19**
3.0. CLRD															
3.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
3.2. Dative															
a. Lexical						1									1
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**5**	**11**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**8**	**6**	**3**	**43**

* As indicated, doubling with lexical accusatives is not allowed in most Spanish varieties including Peninsular Spanish.

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APPENDIX 5

Table 7. B: Clusters in Clitic Doubling Contexts in the Courpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0. CLDP															
1.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical						3									3
b. Pronominal															0
1.2. Dative															
a. Lexical							1		1						2
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**
2.0. CLLD															
2.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
2.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
3.0. CLRD															
3.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical						1		1							2
b. Pronominal															0
3.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 8. A: Omission of Single Clitics in Clitic Doubling Context in the Coupus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0. CLDP															
1.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical*															0
b. Pronominal															0
1.2. Dative															
a. Lexical			1		1	1		1							4
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
2.0. CLLD															
2.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
2.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
3.0. CLRD															
3.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal					1										1
3.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 8. B: Omission of Clusters in Clitic Doubling Context in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0. CLDP															
1.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical*															0
b. Pronominal															0
1.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal					2										1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
2.0. CLLD															
2.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
2.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
3.0. CLRD															
3.1. Accusative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
3.2. Dative															
a. Lexical															0
b. Pronominal															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 9. A: Single Clitics in Infinitive/Gerund Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Fragments		1		1	1			1	6		2		3	8	23
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**6**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**8**	**23**
2.0 Optional CLCL															
2.1 Climbing															
2.1.1 Aspectuals					8	5	4	6	3	1	8	5	3	2	45
2.1.2 Motion								1					2	1	4
2.1.3 Modals						1	4		6	2	1	2	6	2	24
2.1.4 Progressive						5			1			1	2	3	12
2.1.5 Other					1										1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**9**	**11**	**8**	**7**	**10**	**3**	**9**	**8**	**13**	**8**	**86**
2.2 No Climbing															
2.2.1 Aspectuals							1			1	3			1	6
2.2.2 Motion						1									1
2.2.3 Modals					1	1	1		1		1			2	7
2.2.4 Progressive															0
2.2.5 Other															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**14**
3.0 No CLCL Allowed						1									1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Overall Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**14**	**10**	**8**	**17**	**4**	**15**	**8**	**16**	**19**	**124**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 9. B: Clusters in Infinitive/Gerund Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Fragments														1	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
2.0 Optional CLCL															
2.1 Climbing															
2.1.1 Aspectuals						2	2	1	1		1	1	2	1	11
2.1.2 Motion															0
2.1.3 Modals						1							1		2
2.1.4 Progressive															0
2.1.5 Other															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**13**
2.2 No Climbing															
2.2.1 Aspectuals															0
2.2.2 Motion															0
2.2.3 Modals															0
2.2.4 Progressive															0
2.2.5 Other															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
3.0 No CLCL Allowed															0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**14**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 10. A: Omission of Single Clitics in Infinitive/Gerund Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Fragments		1													1
Total	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2.0 Optional CLCL															
2.1 Aspectuals		1		2					1						4
2.2 Motion															0
2.3 Modals															0
2.4 Progressive															0
2.5 Other															0
Total	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
3.0 No CLCL Allowed															0
3.1 Hay que + INF + CL							1								1
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Overall Total	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6

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APPENDIX 5

Table 10. B: Omission of Clusters in Infinitive/Gerund Contexts in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Fragments															0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.0 Optional CLCL															
2.1 Aspectuals						3									3
2.2 Motion															0
2.3 Modals															0
2.4 Progressive															0
2.5 Other															0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
3.0 No CLCL Allowed															0
3.1 Hay que + INF + CL															0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Overall Total	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

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APPENDIX 5

Table 11: Summary of Single Clitics in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	1	15	14	18	40	53	60	30	69	26	25	36	56	52	495
Total	**1**	**15**	**14**	**18**	**40**	**53**	**60**	**30**	**69**	**26**	**25**	**36**	**56**	**52**	**495**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	1	3	2	4	8	8	6	5	9	11	5	1	8	6	77
2.2 Negative	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Total	**1**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**9**	**8**	**10**	**5**	**9**	**11**	**5**	**1**	**8**	**6**	**82**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	1	0	2	1	7	2	0	0	1	1	6	2	23
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	2	1	1	7	0	1	19
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**5**	**11**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**8**	**6**	**3**	**43**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund*															
4.1 Fragments	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	6	0	2	0	3	8	23
4.2 Optional CLCL															
4.2.1 Climbing	0	0	0	0	9	11	8	7	10	3	9	8	13	8	86
4.2.2 No Climbing	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	3	14
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**14**	**10**	**8**	**17**	**4**	**15**	**8**	**16**	**19**	**124**
Overall Total	**2**	**19**	**17**	**23**	**62**	**80**	**91**	**45**	**97**	**42**	**47**	**53**	**86**	**80**	**744**

* Sentences that contain both climbing and doubling are included in this section

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APPENDIX 5

Table 12: Summary of Omissions of Single Clitics in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	7	3	5	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	26
Total	**7**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**26**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
2.2 Negative	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**8**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund															
4.1 Fragments	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.2 Optional CLCL	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**
Overal Total	**8**	**6**	**8**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**45**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 13: Summary of Clusters in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	0	0	0	2	2	7	8	10	7	4	0	20	6	3	69
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**7**	**8**	**10**	**7**	**4**	**0**	**20**	**6**	**3**	**69**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	0	0	0	0	4	4	3	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	18
2.2 Negative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**18**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund															
4.1 Fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
4.2 Optional CLCL															
4.2.1 Climbing	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	13
4.2.2 No Climbing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**14**
Overall Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**6**	**18**	**14**	**13**	**12**	**4**	**1**	**24**	**9**	**5**	**108**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 14: Summary of Omissions of Clusters in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	7
Total	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**7**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2.2 Negative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund															
4.1 Fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.2 Optional CLCL	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Overall Total	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**13**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 15: Summary of Single Clitics and Clusters in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	1	15	14	20	42	60	68	40	76	30	25	56	62	55	564
Total	**1**	**15**	**14**	**20**	**42**	**60**	**68**	**40**	**76**	**30**	**25**	**56**	**62**	**55**	**564**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	1	3	2	4	12	12	9	6	12	11	5	4	8	6	95
2.2 Negative	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Total	**1**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**13**	**12**	**13**	**6**	**12**	**11**	**5**	**4**	**8**	**6**	**100**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	1	0	2	4	8	2	1	0	1	1	6	2	28
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	2	1	1	7	0	1	19
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**9**	**12**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**8**	**6**	**3**	**50**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund															
4.1 Fragments	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	6	0	2	0	3	9	24
4.2 Optional CLCL															
4.2.1 Climbing	0	0	0	0	9	14	10	8	11	3	10	9	16	9	99
4.2.2 No Climbing	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	3	14
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**17**	**12**	**9**	**18**	**4**	**16**	**9**	**19**	**21**	**138**
Overall Total	**2**	**19**	**17**	**25**	**68**	**98**	**105**	**58**	**109**	**46**	**48**	**77**	**95**	**85**	**852**

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APPENDIX 5

Table 16: Summary of Omissions of Single Clitics and Clusters in the Corpus of María

Age	1;9	1;10	1;11	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;11	Results
1.0 Simple Finite Context	8	5	6	1	2	2	2	1	4	1	0	1	0	0	33
Total	**8**	**5**	**6**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**33**
2.0 Imperatives															
2.1 Positive	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
2.2 Negative	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**9**
3.0 Clitic Doubling															
3.1 CLDP	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
3.2 CLLD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.3 CLRD	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**
4.0 Clitics with Inf./Gerund															
4.1 Fragments	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4.2 Optional CLCL	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
4.3 No CLCL Allowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**9**
Overall Total	**9**	**8**	**9**	**4**	**9**	**7**	**3**	**2**	**5**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**58**

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