Persons and Pronouns: Clitics in Judeo-Spanish

Naomi Kurtz
The University of Chicago

Clitic doubling in Judeo-Spanish (JS) presents an intriguing asymmetry: doubling is obligatory for 3rd person accusative (ACC) strong pronouns; for all other arguments, doubling is optional. This analysis argues that Agree between v and a clitic derives cliticization. Beneath v is a functional head X, which agrees with a clitic's person feature but does not generate cliticization. Agreement with X blocks Agree between a clitic and v. Conversely, X never agrees with a clitic that doubles 3rd ACC pronouns because they lack person features, by hypothesis. This analysis also proposes that X derives the Person-Case Constraint repair construction by blocking Agree between v and a dative (DAT) argument. Covertness of arguments is regulated by a clitic's ability to serve as an antecedent and license head ellipsis (Saab 2016).

1 Clitic Doubling. Spanish strong pronouns require a matching clitic (Ordóñez 2012), but JS clitic doubling behaves differently. The key generalizations are summarized in (1):
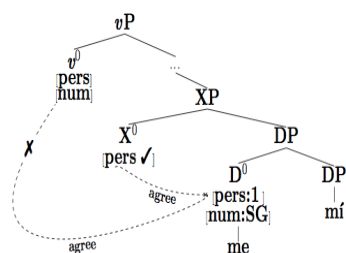
(1)	Argument Type	covert DAT/ACC	overt DAT	overt $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ pronoun	overt ACC full DP	ACC 3rd pronoun
	Doubled by Clitic	*obligatory* (not shown)	optional (ex. 4)	optional (ex. 2)	optional (ex. 5)	*obligatory* (ex. 3)

Doubling is obligatory for covert arguments and 3rd ACC pronouns: otherwise, it is optional.

(2) (Me) vido a mí
$1_{SG.ACC}$ saw$_{3SG}$ *a* me
"S/he saw me."

(3) *(Lo) vido a él
$3_{SG.ACC}$ saw$_{3SG}$ *a* him
"S/he saw him."

(4) (Le) mandó el livro a eya/Rachel
$3_{SG.DAT}$ sent$_{3SG}$ the book to her/Rachel
"S/he sent the book to her/Rachel."

(5) (La) vido a Rachel
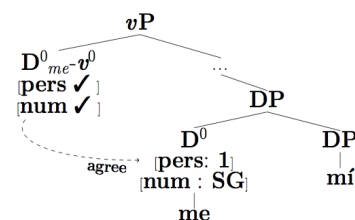$3_{SG.ACC}$ saw$_{3SG}$ *a* Rachel
"S/he saw Rachel."

Clitic doubling involves two person-licensing heads: v and X. I utilize a variant of the "Big DP hypothesis," wherein clitics and arguments originate within one DP (Torrego 1988; Uriagereka 1995). Doubling is the result of Agree between v and a clitic. An un-doubled structure is derived via Agree between X and a clitic: clitics are syntactically generated but unpronounced. Cliticization is long head movement (Rezac 2008; Roberts 2010; Preminger 2019). This analysis maintains that $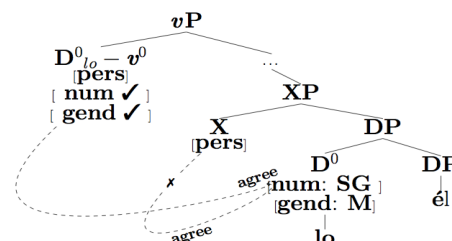1^{st}$, 2nd, and DAT 3rd person clitics have person features acquired from arguments. If X agrees with a clitic's person feature, agreement with v is blocked; pronouns appear un-doubled (6). Absence of X yields overt cliticization and doubling, as v licenses the clitic (7). But 3rd person ACC clitics lack person (cf. Béjar and Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003) and are never licensed by X. They are licensed by v, a probe specified for person and number (8). Agree between v and a clitic derives overt cliticization, independent of X, and doubling is obligatory. Another aspect of doubling is the realization of arguments. Unpronounced (licensed by X) clitics disallow null arguments. Null arguments

(6) *V a mí*

(7) *me V a mí*

(8) *(lo) V a él*

have undergone head ellipsis at PF; ellipsis is licensed if there is an identical antecedent, here a clitic. (Saab 2016). Adapting Saab's theory, I claim that a clitic is an antecedent for an argument if it is licensed by *v* and retains phi-features. However, if X licenses the clitic, the clitic's phi-features are deleted, and it is thus covert. Without phi-features, the clitic cannot be an antecedent: the argument must then be overt. I consider two alternatives for deletion: (i) total impoverishment, triggered by interaction with X, akin to accounts of anti-agreement (Baier 2017, 2018); or (ii) deletion of phi-features in the syntax by Agree ("*Un-Agree*"). This idea is novel but not without precedent (cf. Himmelreich (2019) for feature deletion through head movement).

2 The Person-Case Constraint (PCC) and PCC Repair. JS has the Strong PCC: in ditransitive constructions in which both internal arguments are clitic doubled, the direct object must be 3rd person (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991, 1994).

(9)   *Te   le   recomendó   (10)   Te   recomendó   a él
      $2_{SG.ACC}$ $3_{SG.DAT}$ recommended$_{3SG}$ $2_{SG.ACC}$ recommended$_{3SG}$ to him
                              "S/he recommended you to him."

The ACC clitic cannot be 2nd (or 1st) person, regardless of the person of the DAT. Given this ban on co-occurrences of person features, the language resorts to a 'repair' strategy (10). This strategy is not a syntactic repair, but an alternate configuration in which the DAT is realized as an argument, and the ACC as a clitic. This analysis follows the widely adopted account of the PCC (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Béjar and Rezac 2003), and assumes the Person Licensing Condition (PLC), according to which 1st/2nd person features must be licensed (Béjar & Řezác 2003; Preminger 2014). The DAT clitic intervenes between the licensing head and ACC clitic. The repair is derived via X, which determines whether arguments are doubled or un-doubled.

(11) **CL$_{ACC}$ V *a* PRONOUN$_{DAT}$**   (12) ✗**CL$_{1/2.ACC}$**/✓**CL$_{3.ACC}$ CL$_{DAT}$ V**   *v* probes first for person (pers), which it values on the DAT clitic; the person probe is inaccessible for later licensing. Number on DAT is inaccessible to *v* (Taraldsen 1995), and *v*
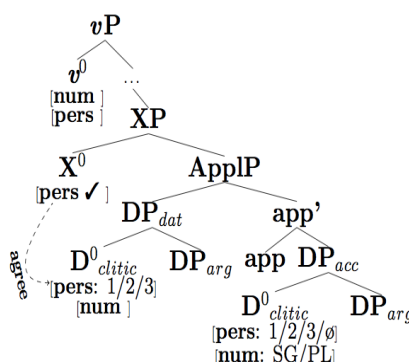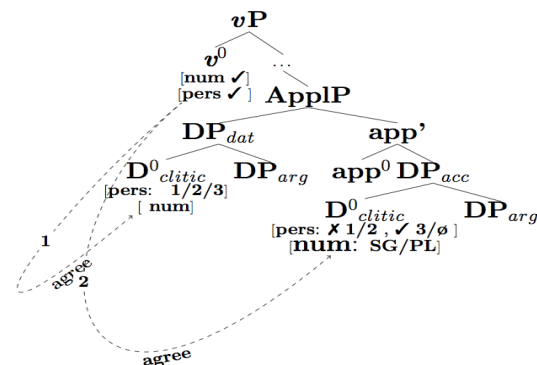
probes again to value number: it does so on the ACC clitic. If the ACC is 1st or 2nd, the structure is ungrammatical, since these features are not licensed and violate the PLC. If the ACC clitic doubles a 3rd person pronoun or lexical DP, the structure is acceptable either because the clitic has no person feature and vacuously satisfies the PLC, or because the clitic bears a 3rd person feature, which does not require licensing and also vacuously satisfies the PLC. The 'repair' construction is produced by licensing between X and the DAT clitic (11). Specifically, X causes the clitic to be covert, which forces the pronoun to be overt. Licensing of a clitic by X prevents licensing by *v*. Person and number are available on *v*, which licenses 1st, 2nd, and 3rd ACC clitics.

5 Consequences for Theories of Clitic Behaviors. This proposal offers new insights on doubling and the PCC repair: in particular, it posits one functional head that yields doubling or un-doubling as well as the repair strategy, thereby unifying these constructions. Secondary aims of the analysis are to examine the person features of species of pronouns and to investigate the mechanisms behind pro-drop.