

THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF DATIVE CLITICS

Txuss Martín,

Dept. of Linguistics, New York University

Non-standard Catalan third person dative clitics (*l*-clitics, for short, in line with DÉCHAINED & WILTSCHKO 2002) show irregularities that reveal a missing element in the picture (BONET 1991, 1995). Unlike the rest of the dative clitics, *l*-clitics (1) present a special morpheme [*i*], (2) do not show syncretism with the corresponding accusative clitics, and (3) the plural form is irregular with respect to the singular:

An interesting fact, because it reveals a reanalysis of the data, is how speakers write the plural dative *l*-clitic in informal environments, namely as [*els hi*], with [*els*] being the orthographic form of both the accusative plural and normative dative plural *l*-clitics, and [*hi*] being the usual locative clitic (or deictic clitic, in line with Kayne, *to appear*). That is to say, the reanalysis would be of the form [DAT+LOC]. This leads us to two questions:

- (i) Why do these irregularities occur in the Catalan datives?, and
- (ii) Why does a deictic clitic appear with the dative *l*-clitics?

The answers to both questions are related. My proposal is that dative clitics (and dative in general) identify end or source positions in transference events, and as a result they require locative or, better, deictic information to determine their reference. This deixis is provided by person features in 1st / 2nd person clitics, which clearly identify the participants in the speech event. However, *l*-clitics lack person features, not only because *l*-clitics are considered 3rd person, and hence non-person (BENVENISTE 1966), but also because the *l*- is more a definiteness morpheme also present in the definite article, than a person morpheme (BERNSTEIN, in press). But then, since on the one hand, dative *l*-clitics, as dative, need deictic features, but as *l*-clitics lack person features, they need to associate with the deictic clitic *hi*, in order to identify the position of the dative DP, thus forming a structure [DAT+LOC], exactly the one we see in the dative clitics in Catalan. In support of this proposal we can see that although the dative singular *l*-clitic is usually written *li*, when it appears in combination with other clitics, it is reduced to the deictic clitic *hi*, and therefore the latter can apparently assume the function otherwise reserved for the dative. This is shown in the interaction of dative with accusative (4a), with partitive (4b), or in its use to avoid the Person Case Constraint (4c):

The proposal also explains why the locative clitic can be used sometimes to express the dative, in languages like Catalan, French, or Paduan as shown in the Paduan example in (5), extracted from KAYNE, to appear.

In addition, the proposal also explains the incompatibility in French or Catalan of dative and locative clitics. In French, the co-occurrence of a dative and the locative clitic is normally reduced to the occurrence of the dative, both with the singular and plural *l*-clitics, as evidenced by (6):

This and other data in Romance would be taken into consideration, in order to come to a new theory of datives, based on the close relation of this case with locativity or deixis. As a result, my theory brings back to a new more formal life the localist theory of case developed in ANDERSON 1971.

- (1) *l*-clitics: [*li*] – [*əlzɪ*] vs. 1st person [*m*] – [*ns*] and 2nd person [*t*] – [*ws*]
- (2) 1ST PERSON ACC = 1ST PERSON DATIVE: [*m*] – [*ns*]
 2ND PERSON ACC = 2ND PERSON DATIVE: [*t*] – [*ws*]
l-CLITICS ACC: [*l(s)*] – [*lə(s)*] ≠ *l*-CLITICS DAT: [*li*] – [*əlzɪ*]
- (3) singular: [*li*] – plural: [*əlzɪ*] (expected [**lis*])
- (4) a. *Li donaràs el llibre o no I' hi donaràs?*
 DAT.3S you-give.FU the book or NEG ACC.SM LOC you-give.FU
Will you give him the book, or will you not?
- b. *Si me' n demana deu, n' hi donaré dotze.*
 If DAT.1S PART he-asks ten PART LOC I-give.FU twelve
If he asks me for ten, I will give him twelve
- c. *Demà t' hi presentaran al(s) president(s)*
 Tomorrow ACC.2S LOC they.introduce to-the president(s)
Tomorrow you will be introduced to the president(s)
- (5) a. *Ghe dago el libro*
 LOC I-give the book
I'm giving him/her/them the book
- (6) *A la fête, je lui (*y) / leur (y) ai parlé*
 to the party NOM.1S DAT.3S LOC DAT.3S LOC I-have talked
I talked to him / them at the party

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