CLITIC PLACEMENT IN PORTUGUESE*

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In Portuguese, as in many other languages,personal pronouns may appear in two forms: a 'strong' form, and a 'weak' form or 'clitic' form. Clitic pronouns are transformationally derived from pronouns introduced in the base in the position of an NP (Cf. Kayne, 1975). While in some languages a clitic pronoun must appear, in the surface structure, immediately after the verb, in other languages, and Portu guese among them, a clitic pronoun can appear, in the surface struc- ture, in more than one position in relation to the verb to which it is attached.

In this paper I will examine the conditions on the positioning of non-reflexive clitic pronouns in Portuguese. I will argue that clitic pronouns can be reordered only inside the sentences where they are generated and that, consequently, they cannot be moved out their original sentences to be attached to a verb in a higher sen - tence. A grammar of clitic placement in Portuguese will be offered to generate only the grammatical sentences and to block the un- grammatical ones. I will argue also that those cases in Portuguese in which a pronoun originated in an embedded sentence appears in the surface structure as a clitic attached to a verb in the matrix sen- tence do not get there via clitic movement, but by a different transformation, namely Raising from Subject to Object.

In this paper I will be referring to Quicoli's "Conditions on Clitic Movement in Portuguese" (1975), which is, to my knowledge,

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the most careful analysis of this problem. Even though we differ in certain points, some of which essential.

Any traditional grammar of Portuguese will state that clitic pronouns can appear in three different positions in relation to the verb they are attached to. A clitic pronoun may follow a verb, as in (1)

(1) Ele viu-me na rua.
    'He saw me in the street'.

or it may precede the verb, as in (2)

(2) Ele me viu na rua.
    He me saw in the street
    'He saw me in the street'.

or it may appear inside two verbal forms which are considered as simple forms by the traditional grammars of Portuguese, the Future of the Indicative (or Future of the Present), and the Conditional (or Future of the Preterit), as in (3) and (4)

(3) Ele ver-me-á na rua.
    'He will see me in the street'.

where verá is 'will see, 3rd person-singular'.

(4) Ele ver-me-ia na rua.
    'He would see me in the street'.

where veria is 'would see, 3rd person-singular'.

Constructions like (3) and (4) are obsolete in spoken Brazilian

Portuguese, and in these cases the clitic pronoun is placed before the verb, as in (5) and (6)

    (5) Ele <u>me</u> verá na rua.
        He me will see in the street
        'He will see me in the street'.

    (6) Ele <u>me</u> veria na rua.
        He me would see in the street
        'He would see me in the street'.

but <u>never</u> after the verb, as in (7) and (8)

    (7) * Ele verá-<u>me</u> na rua.
    (8) * Ele veria-<u>me</u> na rua.

As we can see from examples (1)-(8), the grammar of Portuguese must incorporate a rule to account for the different surface structures we can have. Let us call this rule Clitic Movement Rule (CMR, from now on). It seems to be obvious that we will want our CMR to be an optional rule. What is not obvious at all is the way we are going to formulate this rule. If we say that our CMR moves a clitic pronoun, optionally, from the right to the left of the verb, we will derive (2) from a structure corresponding to (1). But, if this is the case, then

A - There is no way to block the derivation of sentences like (7) and (8) , unless we impose any kind of constraint on these two verbal forms.

B - There is no way to derive sentences like (3) and (4) unless, again, we allow an idiosyncratic positioning for the clitic in these two verbal forms.

On the other hand, if we say that our CMR moves a clitic pronoun,

optionally, from the left to the right of a verb, we will derive
(1) from a structure corresponding to (2), but we still cannot
derive (3) and (4), and there is no way to block the derivation
of sentences like (7) and (8), unless we work out the ad hoc devi-
ces suggested in A and B above. In fact our second possibility has
an additional problem. If CMR is to move a clitic pronoun from
the left to the right of a verb, how can we explain the fact that
the clitic pronoun precedes the verb before the application of CMR,
as in (2), if it is a direct object, and so it would be expected
to follow the verb? Instead of trying to solve these problems now,
let us examine two other points. First, whenever there is a se -
quence of Aux-V in a sentence, the clitic pronoun may precede the
Aux, or it may come in between the Aux and the V, but it cannot
follow the V. Consider the sentences of (9)

(9) a- Ele nos tinha visto na rua.

   b- Ele tinha nos visto na rua.

   c- *Ele tinha visto-nos na rua.

      'He had seen us in the street'.

Second, whenever there is a sequence V1-V2, where V1 is a finite
verb and V2 is an infinite one, a clitic pronoun may occur in
between V1 and V2 without restriction.[1] It can precede V1 only if
it can function as the object of V1 and the subject of V2. On the
other hand, a clitic pronoun can follow V2 only if it is the ob-
ject of V2. Consider the sentences below.

(10) Ele viu-nos sair.

     'He saw us to leave'.

(11) Ele pretende nos ver.

     He intends us to see

· 'He intends to see us'.

(12) Ele nos viu sair.

He us saw to leave

'He saw us to leave'.

(13) Ele pretende ver-nos.

'He intends to see us'.

To make this point clear, in a sequence like (14)

(14) V1 - V2 - Clitic

the clitic pronoun is the object of V2, as in (13).
In a sequence like (15)

(15) Clitic - V1 - V2

the clitic pronoun is the object of V1 in the surface structure
but it is the subject of V2 in the deep structure, as in (12).
In a sequence like (16)

(16) V1 - Clitic - V2

the clitic pronoun is either the object of V2 as in (11), or it
has the characteristics mentioned for the clitic in (15), as in
(10).

Notice now that if the clitic pronoun is the object of V2
it cannot appear in a sequence like (15). Consider the underlying
structure (17)

(17) $_S$[Pedro - lamentou $_S$[PRO - informar - nos - sobre - isto]]

      Pedro   regretted   PRO   to inform   us   about   that

If the clitic follows the second verb we have (18)

(18) Pedro lamentou informar-nos sobre isto.

If the clitic appears between the two verbs we have (19)

(19) Pedro lamentou nos informar sobre isto.

But if the clitic precedes the first verb the result is (20)

(20) * Pedro nos lamentou informar sobre isto.

Consider also the sentences of (21) and (22)

(21) a- Pedro alegou ter nos informado sobre isto.

   b- Pedro alegou nos ter informado sobre isto.

   c- * Pedro nos alegou ter informado sobre isto.

      'Pedro claimed to have informed us about that'.

(22) a- Pedro preferiu visitar-nos.

   b- Pedro preferiu nos visitar.

   c- * Pedro nos preferiu visitar.

      'Pedro preferred to visit us'.

Notice that an attempt to explain the ungrammaticality of (20),
(21c) and (22c) in terms of factivity will fail. While lamentar
'to regret' and alegar 'to claim' are factive verbs, preferir
'to prefer' is not.

   Now that we have the facts, let us see how they can be

accounted for. Quicoli (1975), working on the same problem, proposes
the following rule of clitic movement:

(23) <u>Clitic Movement</u> (Optional)   (Quicoli's number (4))

$$X - V - Y - PRO - Z$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \Rightarrow 1 \quad 4+2 \quad 3 \quad \emptyset \quad 5$$

Quicoli explains the use of the variable Y and says that "there is,
in principle, no definite number of elements that may intervene
between the verb and the pronoun". The examples below are
extracted from Quicoli's paper, and they show that (23) may move
a clitic pronoun over the following constituents or sequences of
constituents:

a) over <u>V</u>, as in (24) (Quicoli (1b))

(24) O médico queria <u>nos</u> examinar.
    The doctor wanted us to examine
    'The doctor wanted to examine us'.

b) over <u>V-V</u>, as in (25) (Quicoli (2))

(25) O médico <u>nos</u> queria examinar.
    The doctor us wanted to examine
    'The doctor wanted to examine us'.

c) over <u>V-V-V</u>, as in (26) (Quicoli (i))

(26) O médico não <u>nos</u> queria vir ver.
    The doctor not us wanted to come to see
    'The doctor did not want to come see us'.

d) over <u>V</u>-<u>NP</u>, to form (27) (Quicoli (iia)) from (28) (Quicoli-(iib))

(27) José <u>nos</u> deu um livro.

    José us gave a book

    'José gave us a book'.

(28) $\left[\right.$ José - deu - um livro - nos $\left.\right]$

e) over <u>V</u>-<u>V</u>-<u>NP</u>, to form (29) (Quicoli(iiia)) from (30) (Quicoli(iiib))

(29) José <u>nos</u> queria dar o livro.

    José us wanted to give the book

    'José wanted to give us the book'.

(30) $\left[\right._S$ José - queria $\left[\right._S$ PRO - dar - o livro - nos $\left.\right]\left.\right]$

Finally, "Clitic Movement can move the pronoun over a participle to form sentences like (iv) (our (31)), which has undergone Passive at an earlier stage"

(31) Este livro <u>me</u> foi dado por José.

    This book me was given by José

    'This book was given me by José'.

"and it can move the pronoun over an intervening adverb to form (va) (our (32)) from (vb) (our (33))"

(32) Ele <u>lhes</u> quer bem.

    He   them likes well

    'He likes them well'.

(33) $\left[\right.$ Ele - quer - bem - lhes $\left.\right]$

So, (23) avoids the complexity of a formulation which would list
the actual constituents which can intervene between the verb   and
the clitic pronoun by using the variable $\underline{Y}$. (23) is, surely, a very
elegant rule, but we think that it presents, from what we already
know, some problems. The first set of problems comes from the
optional character of (23), which is the only rule in Quicoli's
paper. First, if (23) is optional, there is no way to derive senten
ces (3) and (4), and also there is no way to block sentences like
(7) and (8). Quicoli does not consider cases like (3), (4), (5),
(6),(7) and (8), but even if we consider only his own examples this
problem still remains. For instance, if we choose not to apply
(23) we get (34) instead of (31)

   (34) *Este livro foi dado-me por José.

or we get (35) from (33)

   (35) *Ele quer bem lhes.

or we get (36) from (30)

   (36) * José queria dar um livro nos.

or we get (37) from (28)

   (37) * José deu um livro nos.

and,just to mention another case, there is no way to block (9c) under
Quicoli's analysis. Second, (27) is not the only grammatical sentence
we can derive from (28). We can have also (27')

(27') José deu-<u>nos</u> um livro.

But (23) is not able to predict (27') since it states that the clitic pronoun will be moved and sister adjoined to the left of the verb. This problem does not exist for sentences (1) and (2). In (1) the clitic is generated to the right of the verb since it is a direct object. If (23) is not applied the result is (1). If (23) is applied the result is (2). But in (28) the clitic is an indirect object and it does not follow immediately the verb, and so (27') cannot be said to be a case of non-application of (23).Third, the variable $\underline{Y}$ in (23) makes it possible to have more than one factorization for some structures. Let us take (38) as the underlying structure to (24) and (25) before CMR is applied.

(38) $_S$[O médico - queria $_S$[PRO - examinar - nos]]
         The   doctor   wanted   PRO to examine us

If (23) is not applied we get (39)

(39)   O médico queria examinar-<u>nos</u>.
       'The doctor wanted to examine us'.

Now, if we factorize (38) as (40)

(40) $_S$[O médico - queria $_S$[PRO - examinar - nos]]

                      X   V   PRO

                      1   2   4

where Y and Z are null, the application of (23) will produce (24)

(24) O médico queria <u>nos</u> examinar.

But if we factorize (38) as (41)

(41) $\left[\underbrace{\text{O médico}}_{} - \underbrace{\text{queria}}_{} \left[\underbrace{\text{PRO} - \text{examinar}}_{} - \underbrace{\text{nos}}_{}\right]\right]$
$_{S}$ $_{S}$

X	V	Y	PRO
1	2	3	4

where Z is null, the application of (23) will produce (25)

(25)   * O médico <u>nos</u> queria examinar.

As for me, I find (25) ungrammatical, as well as (26) and (29), and I found just one other person who accepts (25) as a good senten- ce (but not (26) and (29)). On the other hand I found no one who accepted either (20), or (21c) or (22c), even though they could be derived by (23) under one of the possible factorizations we can have for their underlying structures. Let us take (17) and see what we can get by means of (23)

(17) $\left[\text{Pedro} - \text{lamentou} \left[\text{PRO} - \text{informar} - \text{nos} - \text{sobre isto}\right]\right]$
$_{S}$ $_{S}$

     Pedro   regreted   PRO   to inform   us   about that

If CMR (23) is not applied we get (18). As (23) is ambiguous in relation to which verb the clitic will be attached to, if we choose to apply (23) we can do this according to the factorization in (42) or to the factorization in (43)

(42) $\left[\underbrace{\text{Pedro} - \text{lamentou}}_{} \left[\underbrace{\text{PRO} - \text{informar}}_{} - \underbrace{\text{nos}}_{} - \underbrace{\text{sobre isto}}_{}\right]\right]$
$_{S}$ $_{S}$

X	V	PRO.	Z
1	2	4	5

where Y is null and the application of (23) will produce (19)

(19) Pedro lamentou <u>nos</u> informar sobre isto.

(43) $\big[$ Pedro - lamentou $\big[$ PRO - informar - nos - sobre isto$\big]\big]$
  s ⎵⎵⎵⎵ ⎵⎵⎵⎵ s ⎵⎵⎵⎵⎵⎵ ⎵⎵ ⎵⎵⎵⎵

      X   V   Y   PRO   Z

      1   2   3   4   5

where the application of (23) will produce (20)

(20)   * Pedro <u>nos</u> lamentou informar sobre isto.

The same thing is true of (21c), and (22c), and this kind of bad predictions by (23) appears again in the sentences below.

(44) a- José desistiu de convidar-<u>nos</u> para a festa.

     b- José desistiu de <u>nos</u> convidar para a festa.

     c- *José.<u>nos</u> desistiu de convidar para a festa.

         'José gave up inviting us for the party'.

(45) a- José sentiu ter <u>nos</u> reprovado.

     b- José sentiu <u>nos</u> ter reprovado.

     c- *José <u>nos</u> sentiu ter reprovado.

         'José regreted that he had flunked us'.

(46) a- José concordou em enviar-<u>nos</u> um camelo.

     b- José concordou em <u>nos</u> enviar um camelo.

     c- *José <u>nos</u> concordou em enviar um camelo.

         'José agreed in sending us a camel'.

(47) a- José decidiu dizer-<u>nos</u> a verdade.

     b- José decidiu <u>nos</u> dizer a verdade.

     c- *José <u>nos</u> decidiu dizer a verdade.

         'José decided to tell us the truth'.

On the basis of these facts we think that the solution to this problem has to be further refined. If we pay attention to the ungrammatical sentences that can be derived when (23) is applied we see that they have one thing in common: whenever a clitic pronoun is extracted out of its original sentence the result turns out to be ungrammatical. So, we have to do two things. First, we will want to write the rule, or rules, necessary to account for the correct sentences and block the ungrammatical ones. Second, we will want a principle to explain why a clitic pronoun cannot be moved to a higher sentence.

Let us consider first our sentences from (1) to (9). The first thing one notices is the similarity between (3), (4), (5) and (6), on the one hand, and (9a)-(9b) on the other hand. In both sets a clitic pronoun cannot come in last position in relation to the main verb, as we see in (7), (8) and (9c). Also, sentences (3) and (4) have something unique, a clitic pronoun 'inside' a verbal form. Suppose we do not consider the verbal forms in (3), (4), (5) and (6) as simple forms, at least in one level of representation,and take them as a sequence of Aux + V. This is, certainly, true on historical grounds since we know that both futures are derived from Infinitive + Haver (< lat. habere). So, we could propose a rule in the grammar of Portuguese by which the auxiliar haver is moved obligatorily into the VP, sister-adjoined to the verb, under certain circunstances. This rule would be, essentially, (48)

(48) Haver-Attachment   (Obligatory)

   W1 -   Haver - Verb - W2
   1   2   3   4 $\Longrightarrow$ 1 $\emptyset$ 3+2   4

This would be a late rule in the grammar, following Subject/Verb Agreement. After the application of (48) a morphophonemic rule

would delete all the pre-tonic segments in the forms of <u>haver</u>, and we would have

	Fut. Pres	Fut. Pret
Infinitive +	ei	ia
	âs	ias
	â	. ia
	emos	îamos
	eis	îeis
	âo	iam

This being the case we reduce the possible positions for the clitic pronoun to two: before or after the verb. Assuming the existence of (48), let us see how we can account for the two positions of the clitic pronoun. Up to now we have seen facts which point to. the existence of an optional rule of CMR. On the other hand, we have also seen that the optionality of CMR puts a very serious problem, i.e., if it is not applied we derive sometimes sentences which are totally ungrammatical (e.g., (9c), (34), (35), (36), (37)). It seems then that a CMR will not solve the problem by itself. We need something else. Now, let us use some fresh examples to make our point. First of all, we will assume that clitic pronouns are derived from pronouns introduced under NP's, according to Kayne (1975). Second, we will put aside, for the moment, subject pronouns, to which we will return later. Third, we are going to consider only direct and indirect object NP's.

A clitic pronoun in Portuguese can be derived either in direct object position, or in indirect object position. Compare (49) - (50) and (51) - (52)

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(49) Eu enviei <u>as cartas</u> hoje.

'I sent the letters today'.

(50) Eu enviei-<u>as</u> hoje.

'I sent them today'.

(51) Eu enviei as cartas <u>aos meninos</u> hoje.

'I sent the letters to the boys today'.

(52) Eu enviei-<u>lhes</u> as cartas hoje.

'I sent them the letters today'.

Notice that, while a full NP may appear separated from the verb,
as the underlined NP's in (51) and (53)

(53) Eu enviei hoje <u>as   cartas</u>.

    I sent   today   the letters

a clitic pronoun corresponding to them cannot appear separeted
from the verb, as in (54) and (55)

(54) *Eu enviei hoje <u>as</u>.

    I sent   today   them

(55) *Eu enviei as cartas <u>lhes</u>.

    I   sent the letters   them

This points to the obvious fact that whenever a   clitic
pronoun appears in   a structure it   <u>has to be</u> attached
to a verb. So,   we will   assume that the   grammar   of
Portuguese has   a rule of Clitic Attachment which   attaches,
obligatorily, a clitic pronoun to a verb. If Clitic Attachment is

a separate rule, or if it is just a subpart of a Cliticization rule, this is not an important issue here. Whatever its status is, our problem is to formulate it. But, before formulating this rule, we must know what its effect is. Will it attach a clitic to the right or to the left of the verb? One thing seems to be clear: whatever the result of Clitic Attachment is, Clitic Movement will reverse, optionally, the positions of the verb and the clitic. If we consider cases like (1) and (2), it seems that it makes no difference if Clitic Attachment attaches the clitic to be right or to the left of the verb. In either way we do it, Clitic Attachment will give us one sentence and Clitic Movement will give us the other one. But, consider the sentences of (9), where we have a sequence of Aux-V, which turns out to be a sequence of V-V. Let us call them Va and Vb, respectively. The ungrammaticality of (9c) shows that we will not want to have a derived structure like (56) as the result of Clitic Attachment,

(56)   Va - $_V[$Vb   #   Clitic$]$

since a possible non-application of Clitic Movement would make (9c) a derivable sentence.Now,if the result of Clitic Attachment is (57)

(57)   Va - $_V[$Clitic - Vb$]$

then (9b) will be derived by Clitic Attachment and (9a) will be derived by another version of Clitic Movement. It is clear that we would need a different version of Clitic Movement since we were thinking about Clitic Movement as a rule which would reverse the positions between the clitic and the verb after the application of Clitic Attachment; and in this case we would need a rule of Clitic

Movement which would move the clitic further to the left. This is certainly plausible, but in this solution we could never derive a sentence like (1). So, we disconsider (57). We still have two possibilities, (58) and (59), as candidates to the output of Clitic Attachment.

(58) $_V[Va - Clitic] -$ Vb

(59) $[Clitic - Va] -$ Vb
       $_V$

With either (58) or (59), we don't have any problems for sentences like (1) and (2). Under (58), (9b) is derived by Clitic Attachment, and (9a) is derived by Clitic Attachment and Clitic Movement. Under (59), (9a) is derived by Clitic Attachment, and (9b) is derived by Clitic Attachment and Clitic Movement. Both (58) and (59) point to two things: first, a clitic pronoun has to be attached to the left-most verb in a sentence and, second, the rule of Haver-Attachment has to precede Clitic Attachment[2]. How can we decide between (58) and (59)? The examples we have up to now do not provide any way to decide for one. So we will have to refer to another aspect of the problem of clitic pronouns in Portuguese. Consider sentence (60)

(60) José tinha dado os livros a mim.
     'José had   given the books to me'.

where os livros is a direct object and mim is an indirect object pronoun in its 'strong' form (and so, not a clitic). If we have a clitic pronoun either in the position of os livros or in the position of mim, it will appear either before the auxiliar tinha or between tinha and dado, as shown in (61)

(61) a- José os tinha dado a mim.

b- José tinha-os dado a mim.

   'José had given them to me'.

c- José me tinha dado os livros.

d- José tinha me dado os livros.

   'José had given me the books'.

Now, if we have two clitics, a direct and an indirect one, two things must be observed: first, they are amalgamated in a single form and, second, they have to precede the auxiliar. Of the senten-ces of (62), only the first one is grammatical

   (62) a- José   mos   tinha   dado.

        José me+them had   given

        'José had given them to me'.

      b- *José tinha mos dado.

      c- *José tinha dado-mos.

      d- *José me tinha os dado.

      e- *José os tinha me dado.

      f- *José me os tinha dado.

      g- *José os me tinha dado.

      h- *José tinha me os dado.

      i- *José tinha os me dado.

These facts point to (59) as the correct result of Clitic Attach-ment, and to avoid the ungrammatical sentences of (62) we will have to write our Clitic Movement rule in a way to prevent it from moving clitics in a block (in both senses of the term). Now, how can we formulate our Clitic Attachment rule? As we have seen, a clitic can be derived in either direct or indirect object position. Also, we have seen that a sentence may contain one verb or more. Finally,we have seen that the clitic must be attached to the leftmost verb in

a sentence. The possible sequences we are considering, before Clitic Attachment is applied, are exemplified in (63)

(63) a- V - Clitic

b- V - NP - Clitic

c- V - V - Clitic

d- V - V - NP - Clitic
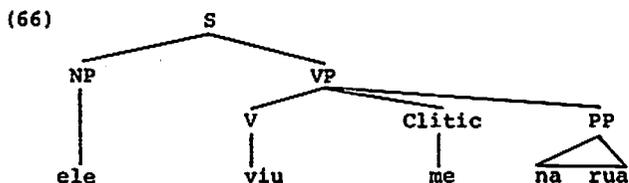
We can write our Clitic Attachment rule as (64)[3]

(64) <u>Clitic Attachment</u>   (Obligatory)

W1 - NP - V - W2 - Clitic - W3

1   2   3   4   5   6 $\Longrightarrow$

1   2   5#3   4 $\emptyset$ 6

(64) can be optionally followed by a rule of <u>Clitic Movement</u> which will reverse the positions of constituents 5 and 3 in the output of (64). Our rule of <u>Clitic Movement</u> can be writen as (65)

(65) <u>Clitic Movement</u>   (Optional)

W1 - $_{V}\left[\text{Clitic-V}\right]$ - W2

1   2   3   4 $\Longrightarrow$ 1   3#2   4

Notice that (64) and (65) will predict the correct sentences, and block the ungrammatical ones, whenever the verb in question and the clitic pronoun are clause mates. But the variable <u>W2</u> in (64) does not prevent a clitic from being moved out of its original sentence. Consider, e.g., the factorization in (43), which is a possible one under (64), and the bad result in (20), both on page 55. How can we avoid a sentence like (20) (or (44c), (45c), (46c), (47c)) if we have a rule like (64)? As we said on page 56 ,we

want two things: the rules to account for the facts we have and a
principle to explain why a clitic cannot be moved to a higher senten
ce. As we will see, there is a constraint, independently motivated,
that will make it possible for us to keep (64) (and (65)), and also
to rule out sentences like (20). Let us see how our grammar of
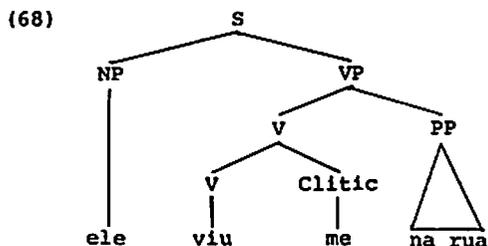clitic placement works. Before Clitic Attachment, the structure
underlying (1) and (2) can be reprensented as (66)   (details apart)

(66)

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                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │            ┌─────────┼──────────────┐
         │            V       Clitic           PP
         │            │         │              ╱╲
        ele          viu       me           na  rua
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By (64), (66) is converted into (67)

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                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │              ┌───────┴──────┐
         │              V              PP
         │          ┌───┴───┐          ╱╲
         │        clitic    V         ╱  ╲
         │          │       │        ╱____╲
        ele         me     viu       na rua
```
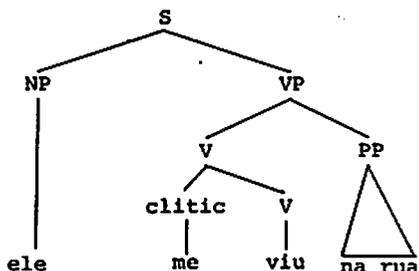
which corresponds to (2). If (65) is applied to (67) we get

(68)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │              ┌───────┴──────┐
         │              V              PP
         │          ┌───┴───┐          ╱╲
         │          V     Clitic      ╱  ╲
         │          │       │        ╱____╲
        ele        viu      me       na rua
```

which corresponds to (1).

The sentences of (9), before <u>Clitic Attachment</u>, can be represented by (69).

(69)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
        NP         Aux             VP
         │          │          ┌────┼──────┐
         │          V          V  Clitic   PP
         │          │          │    │      ╱╲
        ele       tinha      visto nos   na rua
```
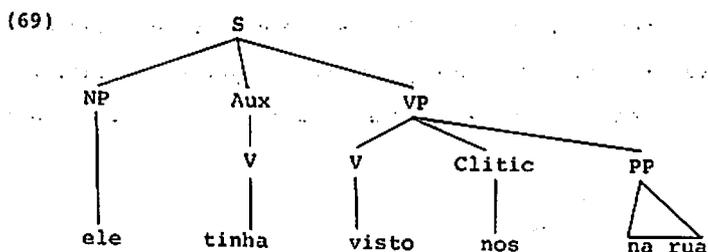
By <u>Clitic Attachment</u> we get (70)

(70)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
        NP         Aux             VP
         │          │          ┌────┴───┐
         │          V          V        PP
         │       ┌──┴──┐       │        ╱╲
         │     Clitic  V       │       ╱  ╲
         │       │     │       │      ╱____╲
        ele     nos  tinha   visto    na rua
```
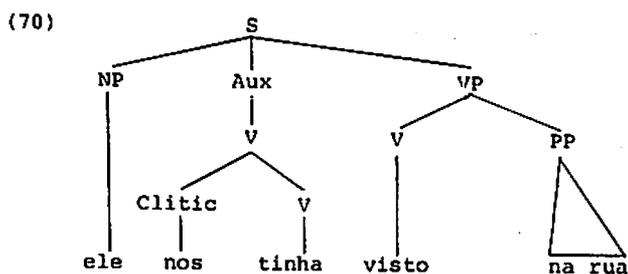
which corresponds to (9a). By <u>Clitic Movement</u> on (70) we get

(71)

```
                    S
         ┌──────────┼──────────────┐
        NP         Aux             VP
         │          │          ┌────┴───┐
         │          V          V        PP
         │       ┌──┴───┐      │        ╱╲
         │       V    Clitic   │       ╱  ╲
         │       │      │      │      ╱____╲
        ele    tinha   nos   visto    na rua
```
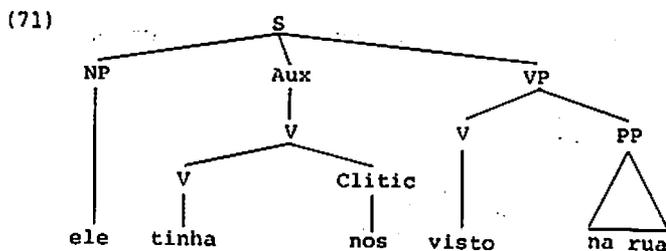
Now, what about sentences like (18), (19) and (20) (repeated here)?

(18) Pedro lamentou informar-<u>nos</u> sobre isto.

(19) Pedro lamentou <u>nos</u> informar sobre isto.

(20) *Pedro <u>nos</u> lamentou informar sobre isto.

'Pedro regretted to inform us about that'.

with the underlying structure in (17)

(17) $_s$[Pedro - lamentou $_s$[PRO - informar - nos - sobre isto]]

Pedro   regretted   Pro   to inform   us   about that

To solve this, let us refer to Quicoli (1975). In his paper Quicoli
has the following problem. He accepts as grammatical a sentence
like (72)

(72) *O médico <u>a</u> queria informar sobre o resultado. (Qui-
coli (59))

The doctor her wanted to inform about the results

'The doctor wanted to inform her about the results'.

Quicoli points out that, as the embedded sentence in (17) is non-
tensed, and as the subject of the embedded sentence in (17) is
missing in the surface structure, neither the 'Tensed-S Condition'
nor the 'Specified Subject Condition' can prevent the clitic a
'her' from being moved from its position after <u>informar</u> 'to inform'
in the embedded sentence to the position before <u>queria</u> 'wanted' in
the matrix sentence. But, he points out, there are two other cases
in which the same two conditions are also inoperative and, even
though, the clitic pronoun cannot be moved out of the embedded
sentence. These two cases are repeated here as (73) and (74)

(73) *Bruno <u>a</u> persuadiu o médico a informar sobre o resultado
Bruno her persuaded the doctor to inform about the results

(74) *O médico a prometeu a Bruno informar sobre o resultado

The doctor her promised Bruno to inform about the results

The structures underlying (72), (73) and (75) are (75), (76) and (77), respectively.

(75) $[_S$ O médico - queria $[_S$ PRO - informar - a - sobre o resultado $]]$

(76) $[_S$ Bruno - persuadiu - o médico $[_S$ PRO - informar - a - sobre o resultado $]]$

(77) $[_S$ O médico - prometeu - a Bruno $[_S$ PRO - informar - a - sobre o resultado $]]$

Quicoli points out, correctly, that if we take into account the subpart of the 'Specified Subject Condition' (in fact the 'Subject Condition'), applying to controlled subjects (Cf. Chomsky, 1973), we would expect the blocking of (73,(74) as well as (72).The subject condition, in its relevant part to our case, is restated as (78)

(78) "No rule can involve X,Y (X superior to Y) in the structure

... X ... $[_\alpha$ ... Z ... - WYV ... $]$

where Z is the subject of WYV and is not controlled by a category containing X".

In (75), (76) and (77) X is the verb in the matrix sentence, Z is PRO and Y is a, and X does not control Z. Quicoli's problem is to explain why (72) is grammatical. As for us, who find (72) ungrammatical, if we have (64) and (78), we do not have any problems. (78) is the principle we want to explain why a clitic cannot be moved to a higher sentence: subjects of embedded sentences in

Portuguese are never controlled by a verb in a higher sentence.Also, even when the subject of the embedded sentence is missing in the sur face structure, as in (20), (72), (73) and (74), (64) still assigns the clitic pronoun to its correct place since PRO's, which are inter preted subjects, are dominated by NP. Quicoli's solution to the problem he has is a very ingenious one. He says that there is a difference between persuadir and prometer, on the one hand, and querer on the other hand. The difference is that with persuadir and prometer the subject of the embedded sentence "must be obliga-torily controlled by an NP in the higher sentence, whereas, in the case of querer 'control' is optional". So, whenever querer is followed by a sentence with a subject which is distinct from its subject, a 'that-Subjunctive' occurs in the complement sentence. On the other hand, if the complement of querer has the same subject of querer, and in this case the complement subject is 'controlled', this complement sentence has an infinitive. These situations cannot be reversed. Consider the sentences of (79) and (80)

(79) a- José queria que eu fosse.

José wanted that I went (subj)

'José wanted me to go'.

b- *José queria eu ir.

José wanted I to go.

(80) a- José queria ir.

'José wanted to go'.

b- *José$_i$ queria que ele$_i$ fosse.

José$_i$ wanted that he$_i$ went (subj)

We have the following observations. First, it is not always the case that the subject of the complement of persuadir and prometer are controlled by an NP in the higher sentence. Examples:

(81) José persuadiu João de que Maria tinha boas intenções.

'José persuaded João that Maria had good intentions'.

(82) José prometeu a João que a operação seria um sucesso.

'José promised João that the operation would be a success'.

Second, verbs like <u>lamentar</u> 'to regret', <u>preferir</u> 'to prefer' and <u>concordar</u> 'to agree' behave exactly like <u>querer</u> 'to want' concerning the distribution of infinitives and 'that-subjunctive' clauses in the complement sentence. Even though, a clitic pronoun originated in the embedded sentence cannot be attached to them, in the higher sentence, as can be seen in (20), (22c) and (46c). We think that the distinction between 'deleted' subjects in the complement of <u>querer</u> and 'interpreted' subjects in the complement of <u>prometer</u> and <u>persuadir</u>, made by Quicoli, is not necessary. We can say that the complement subject in (73), (74) and (72) is always interpreted and never deleted. The distinction between interpreted and deleted subjects is important under the analysis Quicoli presents. If the subject is really deleted, then no constraint can prevent the clitic from being moved to a higher sentence.

Finally, we still have to explain cases like (12)

(12) Ele <u>nos</u> viu sair

He us saw to leave

'He saw us leaving'.

where <u>nos</u> 'us' is a clitic, attached to the verb in the higher sentence, and originated from the embedded sentence in which it is the subject of <u>sair</u> 'to leave'. A case like (12) is explained, under Quicoli's analysis, by <u>Clitic Movement</u> and, according to the analysis we are trying to motivate (12) should be ruled out, since

we are saying that clitics cannot be moved out of their original sen-
tences in Portuguese. One possible solution we could think of to
avoid the problem that (12) presents to our analysis would be to say
that ver 'to see' is followed by NP-S, and not by S. In this case
we would say that the underlying structure to (12) is (83)

(83) $_S\big[$ Ele - viu - nos $_S\big[$PRO - sair$\big]\big]$

(83) guarantees the correct interpretation of the subject of sair
(as in (76)), and we do not have any problems anymore, since (12)
would not be a case where a clitic is moved to a higher sentence.
However, Quicoli (1975) shows, convincingly, that ver 'to see' is
followed by S, and not by NP-S. He gives 5 arguments for this, and
I will repeat here 3 of them, which are enough to show that (83) is
undefensable.First, Quicoli points out that "there is no difference
in 'cognitive synonymy' between embedded active and passive"
complements of ver. E.g.,

    (84) Joana viu o   policial agredir a mulher (Quicoli)
        'Joana saw the policeman hit   the woman'.

    (85) Joana viu a mulher ser agredida pelo policial. (Qui-
        coli).
        'Joana saw the woman be   hit   by the policeman'.

and, Quicoli says, "verbs which are subcategorized as V-NP-S, ...,
typically display lack of 'cognitive synonymy' between embedded
active and passive". E.g.,

    (86) Joana persuadiu o policial   a agredir a mulher.(Quico-
        li)
        'Joana persuaded the policeman to hit the woman'.

(87) Joana   persuadiu a   mulher   a   ser   agredida pelo poli -
     cial (Quicoli)
     'Joana   persuaded the woman   to be   hit   by the poli-
     ceman'.

Second, "the infinitive under <u>ver</u> undergoes Subject-Verb Agreement
with the preceding NP", and <u>V-NP-S</u> does not. E.g.

     (88) a- Joana   viu   os homens   se barbear<u>em</u>. (Quicoli)
          b- *Joana viu   os homens   se barbear. (Quicoli)   (For me,
             OK)
             'Joana saw the men   to   shave (3rd person-plural)
             themselves'.
     (89) a- *Joana persuadiu os   homens a   se   barbearem.
          b- Joana persuadiu os   homens a   se barbear.
             'Joana persuaded the men   to   shave (unmarked) them-
             selves'.

Third, "unlike verbs subcategorized as <u>V-NP-S</u>, <u>ver</u> allows the pre-
sence of 'subjectless' sentences as its complement". E.g.,

     (90) Nós vimos relampejar nas   montanhas.
          'We saw that it was lightening in the mountains'.

Besides these arguments Quicoli points out, too, that verbs which
are subcategorized as <u>V-NP-S</u> can undergo passive in the matrix
sentence, but <u>ver</u> cannot. E.g.,

     (91) Joana persuadiu o   homem a roubar o dinheiro.
          'Joana persuaded the man   to steal   the money'.
     (92) O homem foi persuadido por Joana a roubar o dinheiro.

'The man was persuaded by Joana to steal the money'.

(93) Joana   viu o homem roubar o dinheiro.

'Joana saw the man to steal the money'.

(94) *O homem foi visto por Joana roubar o dinheiro.

'The man was seen by Joana to steal the money'.

So, if we had (83), there is no way to prevent us from deriving by
Passive a sentence like (95)

(95) *Nós fomos vistos por ele sair

We   were   seen   by him to leave.

Notice that we cannot block (95) by saying that <u>ver</u> does not undergo
Passive. Consider (96)

(96) a- O menino viu o ladrão

'The boy saw the thief'.

b- O ladrão foi visto pelo menino

'The thief was seen by the boy'.

On the basis of this convincing evidence we have no alternative but
giving up (83). So, the problem remains for us to explain (12).But
before presenting our solution, let us consider the analysis by
which (12) is derived by <u>Clitic Movement</u>. Assuming for the moment
that <u>CMR(23)</u> presents no problems and that a clitic can be moved
to a higher sentence, we would say, with Quicoli, that CMR(23) is
applied to (97) instead of (83)

(97) $_s\left[\text{Ele} - \text{viu} \; _s\left[\text{nos} - \text{sair}\right]\right]$ (Cf. Quicoli (20))

He   saw   us   to leave

The problem with (98) is that the subject of <u>sair</u> is being consider-
ed a clitic; we have <u>nos</u> 'us', instead of <u>nos</u> 'we'. This analysis is
certainly derived from Kayne's (1975) analysis of French, where
subject pronouns are clitics. This may be true of French, but this
is not true of Portuguese. As we have seen before, clitic pronouns
cannot be separated from the verb in Portuguese (Cf. (54), (55)).
One of the reasons that Kayne presents for considering subject
pronouns as clitics in French is that they cannot be either separat-
ed from the verb or coordinated with a full NP, exactly as it
happens to the object clitic pronouns. Consider the sentences of
(98)

     (98) a- *<u>Je</u> souvent mange du fromage.

          'I frequently eat cheese'.

        b- *<u>Nous</u> deux partirons demain.

          'We two will leave tomorrow'

        c- *Marie et <u>il</u> partiront demain.

          'Mary and he will leave tomorrow'.

But, consider the Portuguese equivalents to (98) in (99)

     (99) a- <u>Eu</u> frequentemente como queijo

        b- <u>Nós</u> dois partiremos amanhã

        c- Maria e <u>ele</u> partirão amanhã.

So, the first objection we have to (97) is the lack of motivation to
consider subject pronouns in Portuguese as clitics. This being the
case, we do not see why <u>nos</u> 'us' instead of <u>nos</u> 'we' in (97). And,
consequently, we cannot see how (12) can be derived by <u>CMR(23)</u> in
(97) if there is no clitic to be moved. Someone could say that
whenever we have a sequence of <u>V-NP</u>, and this <u>NP</u> is a pronoun, this

NP has to be a clitic pronoun, and it does not matter whether this NP
is in subject or in object position. The fact that we have (100a)
but not (100b)

    (100)a- Maria viu-os

          'Maria saw them'

      b- *Maria viu eles.

          'Maria saw they'.

is an evidence for this proposal when the pronoun is in object posi-
tion, and (12), from (97), would be an evidence when the pronoun is
in subject position. But this would be true if we could show that,
like (100), we cannot have a non-clitic pronoun in subject position
after a verb. As Quicoli pointed out (Cf. (89a)), an infinitive
under ver undergoes Subject-Verb Agreement with the preceding NP.
Notice that in Portuguese there is no agreement between clitics and
verbs. We can have (12) but not

    (101) *Ele nos viu saírmos.

        He us saw to leave (1rst person-plural)

      'He saw us leaving'

But we can have, instead of (12), a sentence like (102)

    (102) Ele viu nós saírmos

        He saw we to leave (1rst person-plural)

      'He saw us leaving'.

where nós 'we' is a pronoun under NP, following a verb (viu) and
is not a clitic. The same two options, illustrated by (12) and
(102), are considered in Quicoli (1974), where he uses the follow-
ing examples:

(103) a- Convêm-<u>nos</u> comprar uma ratoeira. (Quicoli (91a))

    Is-convenient-us to buy(unmk.) a mousetrap

  b- Convêm <u>nós</u> comprar<u>mos</u> uma ratoeira. (Quicoli (89b))

    Is-convenient we buy (1rst person-plural) a mousetrap

    'It is convenient for us to buy a mousetrap'.

So, if (12) is not derived from (97) by <u>CMR(23)</u> (or, alternatively, by our <u>Clitic Attachment</u> rule), how can it be derived? Up to now we know that neither (83) nor (97) is the underlying structure of (12). We know also that <u>Cliticization</u> is an obligatory rule (Cf. (100)) and that it does not affect subject pronouns (Cf. (12)-(102) and the pair in (103)). So, if we have <u>nós</u> 'we', and not <u>nos</u> 'us', as the subject of <u>sair</u> in the structure undelying (12) and (102), it seems that the only way to derive (12) is by raising the subject <u>nós</u> of <u>sair</u> to the position of object of <u>ver</u> in the matrix sentence. We propose (104) as the underlying structure to (12) and (102)

$$(104) \quad {}_S\big[\text{Ele - Past - ver } {}_S[\text{nós - sair }]\big]$$

If <u>nós</u> is not raised, Subject-Verb Agreement will be applied, post-cyclically, to (104), giving (102). Now, if <u>Raising from Subject to Object</u> is applied to (104) we get (105)

$$(105) \quad {}_S\big[\text{Ele - Past - ver - nós } {}_S[\text{sair }]\big]$$

where <u>nós</u> is in object position. As we have seen in (100), in these cases the pronoun has to become a clitic. So, by <u>Cliticization</u> in (105) we get (106)

$$(106) \quad \big[\text{ Ele - Past - ver - nos } {}_S[\text{sair }]\big]$$

which is the input for our obligatory rule of <u>Clitic Attachment</u>.
<u>Clitic Attachment</u> converts (106) into (107)

(107) $\left[_s \text{Ele} - \text{Past} - \left[_v \text{nos} - \text{ver}\right] \left[_s \text{sair}\right]\right]$

which corresponds to (12)[4]. Under this analysis we avoid the in -
conveniences of calling subject pronouns clitics, and we do not
contradict our claim that clitics cannot be moved out of their
original sentences. But we still have a problem. How can we avoid
the derivation of a sentence like (95)? We know from independent
facts that Passive is a cyclical rule in Portuguese. So, after
Raising, (105) provides the conditions for the application of
Passive. To avoid this we propose that Raising is a post-cyclical
rule in Portuguese, ordered before Subject-Verb Agreement. I know
of no counter evidence to say that Raising from Subject to Object
is post-cyclical in Portuguese. In fact, I know of another case
of Raising (Cf. Quicoli's <u>NP-Detachment</u>, 1972) in which a
constituent is raised to a non-subject position, that is proved
to be post-cyclical.

In this paper we presented a grammar of clitic placement in
Portuguese, namely (64) and (65), which, together with the 'Sub-
ject Condition' in (78) assigns the correct place for a clitic
pronoun in a sentence and blocks its moving out of its original
sentence. We tried to show that the distinction between 'deleted'
and 'interpreted' subjects is not necessary to account for these
facts of Portuguese. Several inconveniences which we found else-
where are not found here. Also, our analysis is much more simple
and general than Quicoli's analysis, since we did not make use
of any other conditions but the 'Subject Condition' to explain
the facts. Cases like

(108) *Marta <u>a</u>   viu   que o menino apanhou.,(Quicoli (9))

Marta it(fem.) saw that the boy   caught

(109) *Paulo <u>a</u>   viu o especialista examinar.,(Quicoli (17))

Paulo her   saw the specialist examine

which are explained by Quicoli as violations to the 'Tensed-S Con-
dition' and to the 'Specified Subject Condition', respectively,can
all be explained as violations to the 'Subject Condition' in (78).

NOTES

1. This is not quite so. If the clitic pronoun is 3rd person, accusative, it has to follow V2. This is a problem that any analysis of clitic placement in Portuguese must face and I think that we will need a surface constraint to rule out a 3rd person accusative clitic pronoun between V1 and V2.

2. If Clitic Attachment applies before Haver-Attachment, if we have the output in (58) it will be possible to derive (7) and (8) by the non-application of Clitic Movement, and either (3)-(4) or (5)-(6) would be ruled out. On the other hand, if we have the output in (59) Clitic Movement will have to move a clitic to the left if we want (3),(4),(5) and (6). But, in this case we cannot derive, e.g., (1).

3. My thanks to Ivan Sag, who pointed several problems in the previous formulations of this rule, and who discussed some possible ways to present it. Needless to say, any defect in the analysis is my own responsability.

4. The two derivations exemplified in (12) and (102) can be used to explain a controversy among grammarians of Portuguese. Some grammarians accept (a) but not (b), and some others accept both.

    (a) Eu vi os cavalos correrem.

        I saw the horses to run (3rd, plural)

    (b) Eu vi os cavalos correr.

        I saw the horses to run (unmk)

    Quicoli rejects (b). But Perini (1974) accepts (b) and (a) as grammatical (although he says that ver is followed by NP-S). I accept both of them (see observation at the right of (88b)), and I would say that (b) involves the application of Raising from Subject to Object (post-cyclically, before Subject-Verb

Agreement, blocking its application in the infinitive),whereas
(a) does not (and so Subject-Verb Agreement is obligatorily
applied to the infinitive _correr_ 'to run') .

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