

# Diagnosing Syntax-Morphology Interactions from Clitic Restrictions: The Case of Maltese\*

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## 1 Introduction: Why Clitics?

**Pressing Question:** where is linguistic variation located in theories of grammar?

- CHOMSKY-BORER CONJECTURE: syntactic variation is limited to the featural structure of functional elements. The architecture of syntax is universal<sup>1</sup>

If we see variation at the syntax-morphology interface, where is it to be located in the grammar?

**Today's Plan:** a look at a series of clitic restrictions in Maltese and related dialects of Arabic that looks syntactic but needs a morphological account.

- **Question:** How do we know when a clitic restriction is syntactic or morphological?

(1) The PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT in French:

- a. \*Paul **me = lui** = présentera.  
Paul **1.ACC = 3.DAT** = introduce.FUT  
"Paul will introduce me to him." (Kayne, 1975:173-4)
- b. Paul me = présentera      **à lui**.  
Paul **1.ACC = introduce.FUT to 3.DAT**  
"Paul will introduce me to him." (Kayne, 1975:173-4)

(2) 3-3 INTERACTIONS in Spanish:

- a. \*A Pedro, el premio, **le lo** dieron ayer.  
to Pedro the prize **3.DAT 3.ACC** gave-PL yesterday  
"They gave Pedro the prize yesterday" (Nevins, 2007:275)
- b. A Pedro, el premio, **se lo** dieron ayer.  
to Pedro the prize **SE 3.ACC** gave-PL yesterday  
"They gave Pedro the prize yesterday." (Nevins, 2007:275)

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1. See Chomsky (1995) and Borer (2005a;b) for proposals of this sort.

## 2 Clitics in Maltese

Maltese has the clitic inventory shown in Table 1.

$\varphi$	POSS	DO	IO
<b>1</b>	i	ni	li
<b>2</b>	ek	(e)k <sup>2</sup>	lek
<b>3.m</b>	u	hu	lu
<b>3.f</b>	ha	ha	lha
<b>1.pl</b>	na	na	lna
<b>2.pl</b>	kom	kom	lkom
<b>3.pl</b>	hom	hom	lhom

Table 1: Clitics in Maltese

In general, doubling is not permitted with these clitics (3a–b).

- Examples with co-occurrence are plausibly clitic dislocation constructions.<sup>3</sup>

(3) No Clitic Doubling:

- (Jien) rajt(\* = **ha**) **Ċettina**.  
(I) see.PERF.1.SG(\* = **3.SG.FEM.ACC**) **Cettina**  
“I saw Cettina”
- (Jien) rajt = **ha** (**\*Ċettina**).  
(I) see.PERF.1.SG = **3.SG.FEM.ACC** (**\*Cettina**)  
“I saw her.”
- Ċettina**, (jien) rajt\*( = **ha**).  
**Cettina** (I) see.PERF.1.SG\*( = **3.SG.FEM.ACC**)  
“Cettina, I saw her.”

Clusters of enclitics are possible with ditransitives:

(4) Maltese Double Stacking (ACC > DAT):

- Ta = hu = li.  
give.PERF = 3.SG.MASC.ACC = 1.SG.DAT  
“He gave it to me.”
- \*Ta = li = hu.
- \*Hu = ta = li.
- \*Hu = li = ta.
- \*Li = hu = ta.
- \*Li = ta = hu.

## 3 Similar Restrictions in Clitic Clusters

**This section:** Demonstrate a series of restrictions on clitic clusters in Maltese reminiscent of the Person-Case/*me lui* Constraint found in Romance languages.

2. /e/ is present after consonant-final stems.

3. See Cinque (1977) and Cinque (1990) for initial discussion and Anagnostopoulou (2005a) and the papers in Anagnostopoulou *et al.* (1997) for an overview.

### 3.1 French and Maltese

French is known to disallow clitic clusters containing a dative clitic and any first/second/reflexive accusative clitic — this is the PERSON-CASE CONSTRAINT (PCC):<sup>4</sup>

(5) PCC Effects in French (from Kayne, 1975):

- a. \*Paul **me = lui** = présentera.  
Paul **1.ACC = 3.DAT** = introduce.FUT  
“Paul will introduce me to him.” (Kayne, 1975:173–4)
- b. Paul **me = présentera à lui**.  
Paul **1.ACC = introduce.FUT to 3.DAT**  
“Paul will introduce me to him.” (Kayne, 1975:173–4)
- c. \*Paul **vour = leur** = recommandera.  
Paul **2.ACC = 3.DAT** = recommend.  
“Paul will recommend you to them.” (Kayne, 1975:173–4)
- d. Paul **vous = recommandera à eux**.  
Paul **2.ACC = recommend.FUT to 3.DAT**  
“Paul will recommend you to them.” (Kayne, 1975:173–4)

A very similar set of restrictions holds of Maltese, namely the generalization:

In Maltese ACC-DAT clusters, ACC must be 3rd person.

Whenever this restriction is violated (6a,c), the result is a periphrastic PREPOSITIONAL DATIVE construction with the preposition *li* (6b,d):

(6) Maltese Clitic Restrictions:

- a. \*Pietru wera = **ni** = **lu**.  
Peter show.PERF = **1.SG.ACC = 3.SG.MASC.DAT**  
“Peter showed/revealed me to him.”
- b. Pietru wera = ni **li = lu**.  
Peter show.PERF = **1.SG.ACC to = 3.SG.MASC.DAT**  
“Peter showed/revealed me to him.”
- c. \*Xandru bagħat = **kom** = **lha**.  
Xander sent = **2.PL.ACC = 3.SG.FEM.DAT**  
“Xander sent y’all to her.”
- d. Xandru bagħat = kom **li = lha**.  
Xander sent = **2.PL.ACC to = 3.FEM.SG.DAT**  
“Xander sent y’all to her.”

One difference arises in combinations of local person clitics. These are ungrammatical in Maltese:

(7) Local Person Combinations Are Bad:

- a. \*Louis bagħat = **ni** = **lek**  
Louis sent.3.MASC.SG = **1.SG.ACC = 2.SG.DAT**  
“Louis sent me to you.”
- b. Louis bagħat = ni **li = lek**  
Louis sent.3.MASC.SG = **1.SG.ACC to = 2.SG.DAT**  
“Louis sent me to you.”

4. Restrictions like those called the PCC here are widely documented and discussed: see Perlmutter (1971); Hale (1973); Kayne (1975); Harris (1981); Rosen (1990); Bonet (1991; 1994); Albizu (1997); Ormazabal (2000); Anagnostopoulou (2005b; 2003); Nevins (2007); Béjar (2003); Béjar & Rezac (2003); Haspelmath (2008; 2004); Sävescu (2006); Adger & Harbour (2007); Arregi & Nevins (2012); Kalin & McPherson (2012); Sturegon *et al.* (To Appear); Walkow (2012b;a); *i.a.*

- c. \*Louis bagħat = ek = li  
 Louis sent.3.MASC.SG = 2.SG.ACC = 1.SG.DAT  
 “Louis sent you to me.”
- d. Louis bagħat = ek li = li  
 Louis sent.3.MASC.SG = 2.SG.ACC to = 1.SG.DAT  
 “Louis sent you to me.”

These combinations are acceptable in some Romance languages; Greek forbids them entirely (8):

(8) Greek Local Person Combinations:

- a. \*O Kostas **mu se** sístise.  
 the Kostas 1.GEN 2.ACC introduced  
 “Kostas introduced you to me.” (Bonet, 1991:178)
- b. \*O Kostas **su me** sístise.  
 the Kostas 2.GEN 1.ACC introduced  
 “Kostas introduced you to me.” (Bonet, 1991:178)

This pattern is sometimes called the STRONG PERSON CASE CONSTRAINT and is schematized in Table 2 — number is irrelevant for this restriction in Maltese.

DO	IO		
	1	2	3
1	*	*	*
2	*	*	*
3	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: Clitic Restrictions Schema — Maltese

### 3.2 Other Arabic Varieties

Modern spoken varieties of Arabic from N. Africa have these same restrictions.

1. Egyptian (Woidich, 2006)
2. Moroccan (Harrell, 2004:136–9)
3. See Haspelmath (2008) for some broader context.

(9) Moroccan Arabic Clitics: 1 > 3:

- a. \*qeddem = na = lhom  
 introduced.3.SG = 1.PL.ACC = 3.PL.DAT  
 “He introduced us to them.”
- b. qeddem = na li = lhom  
 introduced.3.SG = 1.PL.ACC to = 3.PL.DAT  
 “He introduced us to them.” (Harrell, 2004:140)

(10) Moroccan Arabic Clitics: 2 > 3:

- a. \*qeddemt = kom = lha  
 introduced.1.SG = 2.PL.ACC = 3.FEM.SG.DAT  
 “I introduced y’all to her.” (Harrell, 2004:140)
- b. qeddemt = kom li = lha  
 introduced.1.SG = 2.PL.ACC to = 3.FEM.SG.DAT  
 “I introduced y’all to her.”

The Classical Arabic language allowed stacked clitics, but in the opposite order:<sup>5</sup>

(11) Classical Arabic Stacked Clitics (DAT > ACC):

Zawwajnaa = **ka** = **haa**.  
CAUS.marry.1.PL = **2.MASC.SG** = **3.FEM.SG**

“We married her to you (*lit., we had you marry her.*)”

(33 : 37)<sup>6</sup>

The Classical language also allowed a clear applicative construction called the DOUBLE ACCUSATIVE; this construction exists today in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA; see Ryding, 2005:69–72):

(12) MSA Equivalent of CA Double Accusatives:

a. ?aʕtay-tu **l-ṭaalib-a** **kitaab-a = hu**.  
gave-1.SG **DEF-student-ACC** **book-ACC = his**

“I gave the student his book.”

(Ouhalla, 1994:57)

b. \*?aʕtay-tu **ṣaahib-a = hu** **l-kitaab-a**.  
gave-1.SG **owner-ACC = its** **DEF-book-ACC**

“I gave the owner its book.”

(Ouhalla, 1994:57)

This construction is subject to the same restrictions when both internal arguments are accusative clitics, a fact overtly called a PCC by Bonet (1991) and Nevins (2007).<sup>7</sup>

- Periphrastic host ?iyya is not a preposition.
- Teeple (2011) and Walkow (2012b) both treat it as a dummy host.

(13) Clitic Restrictions in CA:

a. \*?aʕṭaa = **ka** = **nii**.  
gave.3.MASC.SG = **2.MASC.SG** = **1.SG**  
“He gave you me.”

(Siibawayhi, 1881:§211)

b. ?aʕṭaa = **ka** **?iyyaa = yaa**.  
gave.3.MASC.SG = **2.MASC.SG** **?IYYA = 1.SG**  
“He gave you me.”

(Siibawayhi, 1881:§211)

## 4 A Syntactic Account?

Recently, syntactic approaches to restrictions like these have gained popularity.

- Initial morphological approaches treated these restrictions as a syntax-morphology mapping problem.
- Syntactic approaches locate this restriction in the architecture of AGREE (Chomsky, 2000 *et seq.*).
- See Albizu (1997); Anagnostopoulou (2003; 2005b); Béjar & Rezac (2003); Adger & Harbour (2007); Nevins (2007); Rezac (2008); Arregi & Nevins (2012).

Could the Maltese/Arabic facts be modeled in syntactic approaches to the PCC?

5. How often it allowed these is a matter of some controversy. See Shlonsky (1997:262ff) and Gensler (1998) for some discussion, or ask me about it in the Q&A.

6. References to portions of the Qur’an follow the western numbering system where  $x : y$  denotes *surah* (chapter)  $x$ , *ayah* (verse)  $y$ .

7. This fact is well-documented; see Wright (1889a;b); Fassi Fehri (1993; 1988); Ryding (2005); Nevins (2007) and Walkow (2012b; 2010). I will depart from these authors in characterizing the effect in CA as identical to that in Maltese and Spoken Arabic in disallowing local person combinations and allowing 3-3 clusters. I am happy to field questions about this simplification.

### 4.1 What The Account Looks Like

These effects are a kind of INTERVENTION (Chomsky, 2001).

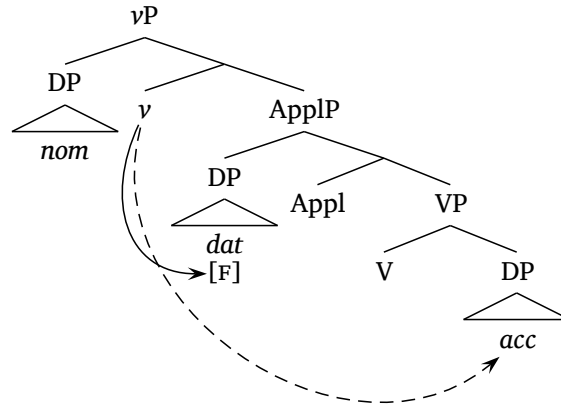


Figure 1: Intervention Model of the PCC

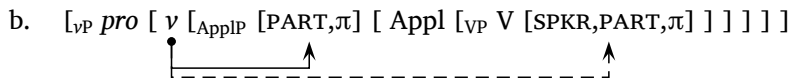
For CA/French, needed feature makes 1/2 intervene but not 3. From Harley & Ritter (2002), this would be [PART], which picks out the current discourse participants.

- 1<sup>st</sup> : [SP(EA)K(E)R, PART(ICIPANT), π]
- 2<sup>nd</sup> : [PART, π]
- 3<sup>rd</sup> : [π]

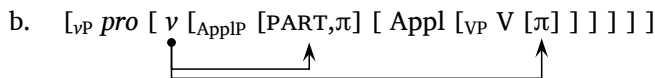
- (14) PERSON LICENSING CONDITION:  
 Interpretable 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person features must be licensed by entering into an AGREE relation with an appropriate functional category. (Béjar & Rezac, 2003:53)

When [PART] appears on DAT, this either exhausts or interrupts the AGREE relation and makes subsequent agreement with ACC impossible.

- (15)a. \*ʔaʔtaa = ka = nii.  
 gave.3.MASC.SG = 2.MASC.SG = 1.SG  
 “He gave you me.” (Siibawayhi, 1881:§211)



- (16)a. Yasʔal = kumuu = haa.  
 ask.3.MASC.SG = 2.MASC.PL = 3.FEM.SG  
 “He should ask it of you.” (47 : 37)



Two effects follow:

- PCC is a kind of AGREE failure, leaving ACC unlicensed.
- Prepositional Dative “repairs” are insertion of a preposition which licenses DAT.
- But in theory anything that takes one argument out of the domain of v qualifies as a repair.

For licit examples, the relevant feature is not present on [Spec,AppIP] and AGREE beyond that position is possible without intervention. There are three distinct approaches to how ACC gets Case:

1. Third person DAT does not exhaust the AGREE relation (Anagnostopoulou, 2005b; 2003).
2. MULTIPLE AGREE occurs in all cases but is subject to uniformity constraints (Nevins, 2007).
3. Third person ACC does not require agreement for licensing (Béjar & Rezac, 2009; 2003).

**Prediction:** the ACC argument should intervene if prominence is reversed (Figure 2).

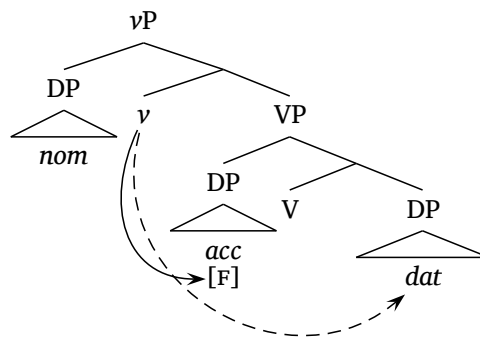


Figure 2: Intervention Model — Different Prominence

Problematic configurations allowed:

1. ACC = 2, DAT = 3 (17a–b)
2. ACC = 1, DAT = 3 (17c–d)

(17)a. \*Pietru wera = ni = lu.  
 Peter show.PERF = 1.SG.ACC = 3.SG.MASC.DAT  
 “Peter showed/revealed me to him.”

b. [<sub>VP</sub> *pro* [ <sub>v</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [SPKR,PART,π] [ V [π] ] ] ] ] ]

c. \*Xandru baghat = kom = lha.  
 Xander sent = 2.PL.ACC = 3.SG.FEM.DAT  
 “Xander sent y’all to her.”

d. [<sub>VP</sub> *pro* [ <sub>v</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [PART,π] [ V [π] ] ] ] ] ]

## 4.2 Issues for Maltese

Unfortunately, Maltese does seem to instantiate this problematic case for syntactic accounts.<sup>8</sup>

Maltese does not, in general, allow the prominence relation DAT > ACC

One obvious argument often overlooked: the order in Maltese is fixed at ACC > DAT (18a–b):

(18) Maltese Double Stacking (ACC > DAT):

a. Ta = hu = li.  
 give.PERF = 3.SG.MASC.ACC = 1.SG.DAT  
 “He gave it to me.”

b. \*Ta = li = hu.

This same order is found with lexical DPs, regardless of whether or not the dative argument is marked with the dative LIL (19):

8. I will not discuss the spoken Arabic varieties at this level of depth, both for space reasons and because that work is ongoing. I am happy to field questions on this.

- (19)a. Matthias bagħat **kiteb lill-kmandant**.  
 Matthew sent **book to.the-commander**  
 “Matthew sent a book to the commander.”
- b. \*Matthias bagħat **(lill)-kmandant kiteb**.  
 Matthew sent **(to.the)-commander book**  
 “Matthew sent the commander a book.”  
*Comment:* “Sounds like the speaker probably also knows English.”

Furthermore, there can't be short A' of either argument to derive ACC > DAT, since this would not predict the observed pattern of WEAK CROSSOVER (WCO; Postal, 1971).

- ACC → DAT binding is possible.
- This is not changed under A'-movement of ACC.
- A'-movement of DAT, however, does cause a WCO effect.

(20) Weak Crossover in Maltese:

- a. Bgħat-t il-ktieb<sub>i</sub> lil sid = u<sub>ij</sub>.  
 set-2.SG DEF-book<sub>i</sub> to owner = 3.SG.MASC<sub>ij</sub>  
 “You sent the book<sub>i</sub> to its<sub>ij</sub> owner.”
- b. Liema ktieb<sub>i</sub> bgħat-t lil sid = u<sub>ij</sub>?  
 which book<sub>i</sub> sent-2.SG to owner-3.SG<sub>ij</sub>  
 “Which book<sub>i</sub> did you send to its<sub>ij</sub> owner?”
- c. Lil liema sid<sub>i</sub> bagħt-t il-ktieb tiegħ = u<sub>\*ij</sub>?  
 to which owner<sub>i</sub> sent-2.SG DEF-book of = 3.SG.MASC<sub>\*ij</sub>  
 “To which owner<sub>i</sub> did you send his<sub>\*ij</sub> book?”

**Question:** could the accusative DP be undergoing short A-movement?

- The language *does* have possessor datives (Sadler, 2012b).
- Something like that is presumably needed to account for those anyway.<sup>9</sup>
- Movement could be to [Spec,ApplP] (Marantz, 1993; Pylkkänen, 2008).

**Problem:** Passives and Principle A/anaphoric binding don't show the predicted patterns:

- Passive only allows raising of theme/patient; goal/source passives not permitted (21).<sup>10</sup>
- Backwards binding from DAT → ACC not found, but reconstruction should be possible (22).<sup>11</sup>

- (21)a. (Huwa) bagħat il-ittra lil-Marija.  
 He sent DEF-letter to-Maria  
 “He sent the letter to Maria.”
- b. **Il-ittra** nt-bagħat lil-Marija.  
**the-letter** PASS-sent to-Maria.  
 “The letter was sent to Maria.”
- c. \***(Lil-)Marija** nt-bagħat il-ittra.  
**(to-)Maria** PASS-sent the-letter  
 “To Maria was sent the letter.”

(22) No Backwards Binding in Maltese Ditransitives:

- a. \*Oskar bagħat ritratti ta' **xulxin** lil Marija u Pawlu.  
 Oscar sent pictures of **each.other** to Maria and Paul.  
 “Oskar sent pictures of each other to Maria and Paul.”

9. For more on possessor datives and possessor raising, see Szabolcsi (1994; 1983); Borer & Grodzinsky (1987); Landau (1999); Lee-Schoenfeld (2006); Deal (To Appear); and references therein.

10. For most passives in the language; see Comrie & Borg (1985) and below for discussion. Cf., also, (Marantz, 1993; Baker, 1988) for discussion of expected passivization patterns.

11. See Belletti & Rizzi (1988); Pesetsky (1995); among others.



- b. \*Oskar baġhat pitturi ta' **innfishom** lil Marija u Pawlu.  
 Oskar sent pictures of **themselves** to Maria and Paul.  
 “Oskar sent pictures of themselves to Marija and Paul.”

**Question:** Could applicative syntax be limited to dative pronouns only?

- A very sensible proposal — one made quite often for Romance languages<sup>12</sup>
- Would explain why cliticization of datives is possible (23) despite the presence of lexical DP accusatives, assuming that cliticization has an A-movement precondition.<sup>13</sup>

- (23) Marija kitb-it = lu l-ittra.  
 Maria wrote-3.SG.FEM = **3.SG.MASC.DAT** DEF-letter  
 “Maria wrote the letter to him.”

(Comrie & Borg, 1985:115)

**Problem:** Quantifiers associated with the dative pronoun can only float to the *right* of the accusative (24b), not to the left (24c).

- Two theories of floating quantifiers: STRANDING BY MOVEMENT OR BINDING.<sup>14</sup>
- Both theories place VP-internal floated quantifiers near/at argument position.
- Quantifier position is thus diagnostic of the argument position of DAT.

(24) Floating Quantifiers in Maltese Ditransitives:

- a. Mathias baġhat ittri lil **kull wieħed** minn = hom.  
 Matthew sent letters to **each one** of = them  
 “Matthew sent a letter to each one of them.”
- b. Mathias baġhati = lhom ittri **kull wieħed**.  
 Matthew sent = 3.PL.DAT letters **each one**  
 “Matthew sent them each letters.”
- c. \*Mathias baġhati = lhom **kull wieħed** ittri.  
 Matthew sent = 3.PL.DAT **each one** letters  
 “Matthew sent them each letters.”

In fact, it is because French patterns in precisely the opposite way that Kayne (1975:153) proposes the DAT > ACC structure for French ditransitives with dative clitics (25).

- (25)a. ?Je leur ai **tous** tout montré.  
 I 3.PL.DAT have **all** everything showed.  
 “I showed them all everything.”
- b. \*Je leur ai tout tous monté.

Finally, it's actually possible to show that there is limited applicativity in Maltese:

There is a double object construction in Maltese with a limited set of verbs.

Verbs like this include (see (Comrie & Borg, 1985; Camilleri, 2011; Sadler, 2012a)):

1. *ta/jaġhti*, “he gave/gives”
2. *wera/juri*, “he showed/shows”
3. *ġhalliem*, “he taught”

These verbs allow cliticization of the applied argument as an *accusative* clitic (26a), as opposed to the majority of verbs, which allow only the dative clitic option (26a):

12. See Kayne (1975); Demonte (1995); Anagnostopoulou (2003); Cuervo (2003); Rezac (2011); and references therein.

13. This is a recent idea which is gaining in popularity. See Roberts (2010); Nevins (2011); Harizanov (Under Review); Kramer (To Appear); and Tucker (In Prep.) for some discussion.

14. For proposals involving movement, see Kayne (1975); Sportiche (1988; 1996); Shlonsky (1991); Merchant (1996); McCloskey (2000); Starke (2001) and Bošković (2004); among others. For proposals involving binding, see Klein (1976); Williams (1980); Dowty & Brodie (1984); Kayne (1984); Déprez (1989); Miyagawa (1989); Doetjes (1992; 1997); Bobaljik (1995; 1998); Baltin (1995); Torrego (1996); Brisson (1998); Morzycki (1998); de Cat (2000) and Fitzpatrick (2006); among others.

## (26) Cliticization of the Indirect Object:

- a. Marija kitb-it = **lu** l-ittra.  
 Maria wrote-3.SG.FEM = **3.SG.MASC.DAT** DEF-letter  
 “Maria wrote the letter to him.” (Comrie & Borg, 1985:115)
- b. Marija ta-t = **u** / urie-t = **u** l-ittra.  
 Maria gave-3.SG.FEM = **3.SG.MASC.ACC** / showed-3.SG.FEM = **3.SG.MASC.ACC** DEF-letter  
 “Maria gave/showed him the letter.” (Comrie & Borg, 1985:117)

Moreover, these verbs allow passivization of *either* internal argument (27):

## (27) A Different Kind of Passive Behavior:

- a. **L-ittra** n-ghata-t / nt-werie-t lil Pawlu.  
**DEF-letter** PASS-gave-3.SG.FEM / PASS-showed-3.SG.FEM to Paul  
 “The letter was given/shown to Paul.” (Comrie & Borg, 1985:118)
- b. **Pawlu** n-ghata / nt-wera l-ittra.  
**Paul** PASS-gave / PASS-showed DEF-letter  
 “Paul was given/shown the letter.” (Comrie & Borg, 1985:118)

When both arguments are clitics, these verbs only allow the goal/source to appear as a dative clitic.

- Further evidence that these verbs allow both possible structures.
- Clitic clusters arise from the same structure as “regular” ditransitives.
- Since the majority of verbs don’t behave like *ta/wera/ghalliem*, then we have further evidence they don’t have this DAT > ACC structure.

These clitic restrictions hold independent of internal argument prominence.

## (28) One More PCC Example in Maltese

- a. \*Ġorġ ta = **k** = **lhom**.  
 George give.PERF = **2.SG.ACC** = **3.PL.DAT**  
 “George gave you to them.”
- b. Ġorġ ta = **k** **li** = **lhom**.  
 George give.PERF = **2.SG.ACC** **to** = **3.PL.DAT**  
 “George gave you to them.”

## 5 A Morphological Account

**Proposal:** This is actually a morphological phenomenon.<sup>15</sup>

Three major classes of morphological approaches in the literature:

1. MORPHOLOGICAL TEMPLATES (Perlmutter, 1971).
2. MORPHOLOGICAL MAPPING (Bonet, 1991; 1994).
3. MORPHOLOGICAL DERIVATION CANCELLATION (Chung, 2012).

Any of these can putatively work for Maltese, but...

- Morphological templates would have to vary quite wildly cross-linguistically.<sup>16</sup>
- Derivation cancellation requires TRANSDERIVATIONAL COMPARISON — in some languages the repair is not otherwise grammatical.<sup>17</sup>

15. See Preminger (2011:184) for speculation that just such an approach is needed based on different argumentation than what is given here.

16. See the surveys in Haspelmath (2004) and Nevins (2007) for some sample of the space of variation on this point.

17. This is a fact explicitly acknowledged and defended in Rezac (2011).



- d. M-Merger 2 Fails:  
 $[_{VP} \text{Dumniku} [ <lu> [ v=ni [_{VP} <ni> [ V \text{lu} ] ] ] ] ] ]$
- e. PF Insertion of *li*:  
 $[_{VP} \text{Dumniku} [ v=ni [_{VP} <ni> [ V \text{lilu} ] ] ] ] ]$

## 5.2 What Makes a Dative Clitic?

The PCC is known not to apply to just any dative clitic.

The PCC does not apply to datives generated outside  $vP$

This fact predicts that ETHICAL DATIVES should not show the PCC.<sup>19</sup>

- They do not in French.

(32) ETHICAL DATIVES Don't Obey the PCC:

Demain je (**me**) vous (**me**) emmène en vacances.  
 tomorrow I 1.SG 2.PL 1.SG take in vacations  
 "Tomorrow I will take you on vacation."

(Jouitteau & Rezac, 2007:100)

**Interesting Observation:** Ethical datives in Maltese *do* trigger the Maltese clitic restriction.

- Dative argument cannot be realized as a lexical DP — hallmark of EDs (33d).
- Third person ACC is fine (33b).
- Yet we still see the prohibition on local themes (33c)

(33) ED's in Maltese:

- a. Lawrenz hasel = **ili** il-kelb.  
 Laurence washed = 1.SG.DAT the-dog  
 "Laurence washed the dog for me."
- b. Lawrenz hasel = **u** = **li**.  
 Laurence washed = 3.SG.MASC.ACC = 1.SG.DAT  
 "Laurence washed it for me."
- c. \*Lawrenz hasel = **ek** = **li**.  
 Laurence washed = 2.SG.ACC = 1.SG.DAT  
 "Laurence washed you for me."
- d. ?Lawrenz hasel = ek **għalija**.  
 Laurence washed = 2.SG.ACC **for.me**  
 "Laurence washed you for me."

## 6 Conclusions

Not all clitic restrictions with identical surface distributions of clitics have the same properties, upon deep examination.

- French and Maltese/Moroccan/Egyptian have *a priori* identical restrictions on clitic clusters.
- But they do not have the same underlying syntax.
- Nor do datives pattern identically in the two cases.

**Potential Worries:**

- How is a constraint like this learned?
- How stipulative is this constraint? Does it need to be?

19. See Kayne (1975); Postal (1990); Bonet (1991); and Jouitteau & Rezac (2007) for more on this.

**Pressing Followup:** What is to be done with variation in clitic restrictions?

- Least interesting option: not everything which looks like a PCC is a PCC.
- More interesting option: argument person-based restrictions where the repair is otherwise grammatical are distinct from those where the repair is not licit otherwise.
- Most interesting option: person-based restrictions like those discussed by Aissen (1997) and Chung (2012) are the agreement correlates of this clitic-based restriction.

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