

# Persons & Pronouns: Clitics in Judeo-Spanish

Going Romance 34  
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## 1. Introduction

### Aims of the Analysis

- ✓ all arguments (strong pronouns & lexical DPs) are clitic doubled in the syntax
- ✓ optional or obligatory clitic doubling is regulated by particular functional heads that agree with clitics
- ✓ apply the derivational mechanisms behind doubling to the PCC & PCC repair
- ✓ highlight the place of Judeo-Spanish (JS) in contemporary syntactic theory

### Road Map for Today

- overview of JS (*section 1*)
- analysis of doubling (*section 4*)
- doubling background (*sections 2-3*)
- the PCC & PCC repair (*section 5*)

### Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)

- Romance language of Jewish people of Sephardic descent
- spoken in Spain until the Expulsion in 1492
- spread throughout Ottoman Empire: Balkans, Turkey, North Africa, Middle East
- estimated 400,000 speakers today (Vidal Sephiha 1977)
- modern JS: restructuring, simplification of paradigms, & borrowing from languages like Moroccan Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Greek, Slavic, Hebrew
- threats to the language (Vidal Sephiha 1977)
  - WWII & the Holocaust
  - isn't being transmitted to younger generations

## 2. Clitic Doubling in Judeo-Spanish

► **Clitic Doubling: clitic co-occurs with a corresponding nominal in argument position**

Table 1: Summary of JS Doubling Patterns

Argument Type	overt DAT DP	overt ACC DP	overt 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> pronoun	ACC 3 <sup>rd</sup> pronoun	covert DAT/ACC
Clitic Doubled	optional (1)	optional (2)	optional (3)	<b>obligatory</b> (4)	<b>obligatory</b> (5)

### Optional doubling of dative DPs

- (1) (le<sub>i</sub>) mandó el libro a Rachel;  
3SG<sub>DAT</sub> sent<sub>3SG</sub> the book to Rachel  
“He sent the book to Rachel.”

### Optional doubling of accusative DPs

- (2) (la<sub>i</sub>) vido a Rachel;  
3SG<sub>ACCF</sub> saw<sub>3SG</sub> a Rachel  
“He saw Rachel.”

### Obligatory doubling *only* for 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC strong pronouns & covert arguments

- (3) (te/me) vido a ti/mí (1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> person = optional)  
2/1SG<sub>ACC</sub> saw<sub>3SG</sub> a you<sub>SG</sub>/me  
“She saw you/me.”
- (4) \*(lo) vido a él (3<sup>rd</sup> person = obligatory)  
3SG<sub>ACCM</sub> saw<sub>3SG</sub> a him  
“She saw him.”
- (5) \*vido (covert nominals = obligatory)  
saw<sub>3SG</sub>  
“She saw him/you/me.”

► Strong pronoun doubling is obligatory in Spanish; DP (DAT/ACC) doubling is optional

### CLAIM 1: Doubling vs. Un-Doubling

- optional doubling derived via agree alternations with a clitic and *v* or X head
- obligatory doubling derived via clitic's inability to agree with X

### 3. Background on Clitic Doubling

#### The “Big DP Hypothesis”

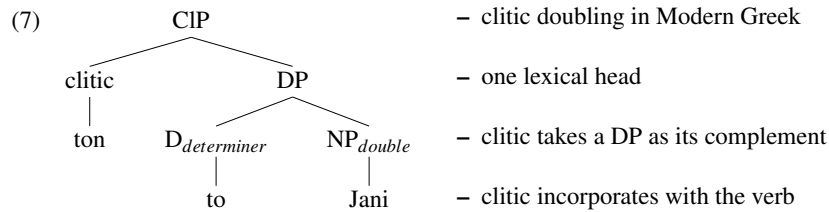
► **Base-generated doubled structure wherein clitic & argument form a constituent, from which the clitic extracts**

- Different formulations of the “Big DP”
- Torrego (1988), Uriagereka (1995), Belletti (1999, 2005), Cecchetto (2000), Bleam (2000), Papangeli (2000), & Arregi and Nevins (2012)

► *one formulation of the big DP ...*

#### “Big DP” Structure (Papangeli 2000)

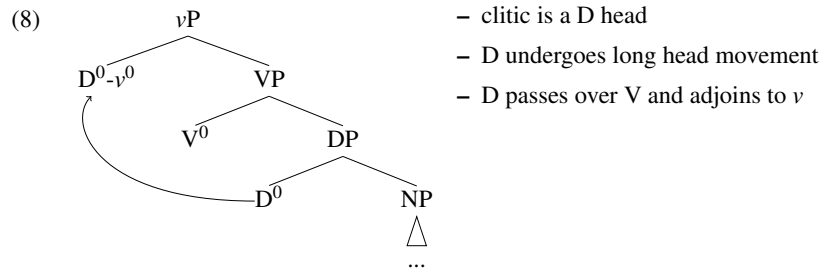
(6) *ton idha to Jani*  
 cl-3SG<sub>ACCM</sub> saw<sub>1SG</sub> the Jani<sub>ACC</sub>  
 “I saw Jani.”



#### Cliticization

Rezac (2008), Roberts (2010), & Preminger (2019)

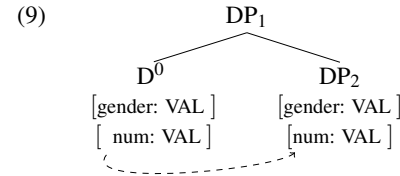
#### Process of cliticization Preminger (2019)



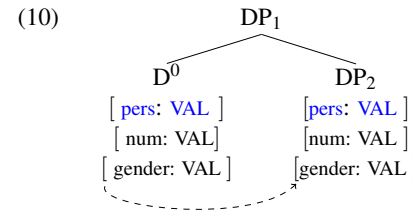
### 4. Optional vs. Obligatory Doubling: [pers] is Key

#### CLITICS & ARGUMENTS

- nothing critical in this analysis depends on a particular big DP structure
- structure similar to Papangeli (2000)
- clitics & arguments match in phi-features



- DP<sub>2</sub> = 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC strong pronoun: *argument that is obligatorily doubled*
- 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC strong pronouns have no person features, which is shared with the clitic, D
- clitics doubling 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC pronouns lack [pers] also

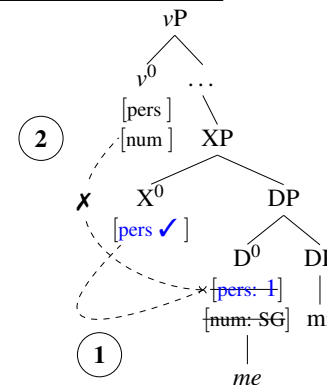


- DP<sub>2</sub> = all other arguments: optionally doubled
- DP<sub>2</sub> has a person feature, which is shared with the clitic, D

#### DERIVING OPTIONAL DOUBLING

- except for 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC pronouns, all arguments are optionally doubled
- 2 probes regulate realization of a clitic: v & a functional head/person probe, X

(11) un-doubling: vido a mí



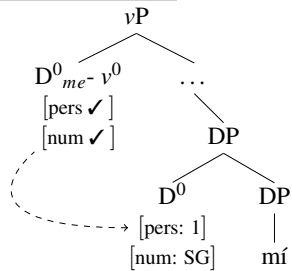
Step ①

- X is strictly a person probe: X only probes for person
- unlike v which probes for [pers] & [num]
- Agree with X & D causes clitic to be null: X deletes clitic’s phi-features

Step ②

- Agree with X & D also blocks Agree between v & D

(12) **doubling: me vido a mí**

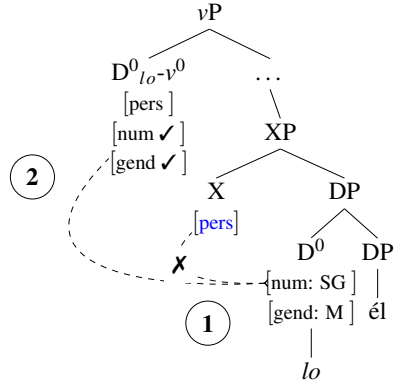


- if X is absent: v probes & agrees with D
- Agree with v yields overt cliticization: because v doesn't delete clitic's phi-features

**Deriving Obligatory Doubling**

► only 3<sup>rd</sup> ACC pronouns require a corresponding clitic

(13) **obligatory doubling: \*(lo) vido a él**



Step ①

- X never agrees with D because X is a person probe
- ACC 3<sup>rd</sup> pronouns always lack [pers]

Step ②

- v invariably agrees with D
- agree with v yields overt cliticization

**REALIZATION OF THE ARGUMENT**

- Judeo-Spanish does not have *pro*-drop of objects
- one element *must* overtly express the object; if clitic is null, then argument is overt

(14) *vido saw <sub>3SG</sub> "He saw me."	(15) me vido 1SG <sub>ACC</sub> saw <sub>3SG</sub> "He saw me."	(16) vido a mí saw <sub>3SG</sub> a 1SG <sub>ACC</sub> "He saw me."
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► **Saab (2009a, 2009b, 2016):** *pro*-drop is head/morphological ellipsis, i.e., ellipsis at PF

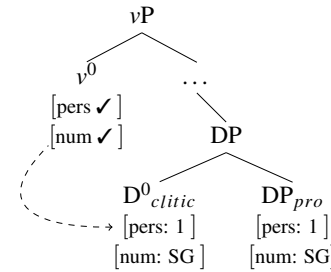
- head ellipsis is licensed if there is a formally identical antecedent
- *pro*-drop of subjects in Spanish is licensed by an identical AGR morpheme on the verb
- ellipsis = insertion of a [+I] feature on head; [+I] blocks lexical insertion

► **In JS, *pro*-drop (head ellipsis) of the argument is licensed if ...**

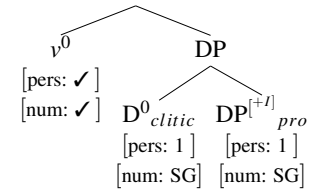
- clitic is formally identical to argument, and clitic can therefore be an antecedent

***pro*-drop: me vido**

(17)



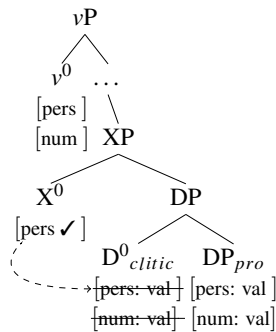
(18)



- v agrees with the clitic, but v does not delete clitic's features (17)
- clitic, formally identical to the argument, can be an antecedent and license ellipsis
- argument is marked with [+I]; lexical insertion blocked on this node (18)

**NO *pro*-drop: vido \*(a mí)**

(19)



- X agrees with the clitic
- phi-features of the clitic are therefore deleted
- insertion of [+I] on argument is blocked as clitic isn't identical to argument
- clitic cannot be the antecedent and license ellipsis
- lexical insertion applies to argument, which is overt

**Three Deletion Alternatives**

1. Impoverishment, akin to Baier on anti-agreement (2016, 2018)
  - clitic acquires a feature [x] from X via Agree
  - at PF, [x] triggers an impoverishment rule of all clitic's phi-features
2. Deletion through Agree: "Un-Agree"
  - Agree operation values [pers] on X
  - Agree also deletes all phi-features on clitic
3. Feature Movement (cf. Himmelreich 2019)
  - clitic's features move to X; lower occurrence of the moved features is deleted
  - a general Obliteration rule (Arregi & Nevins 2012) applies to X at PF (since no exponent seems to realize X's features)
  - Obliteration rule also deletes higher occurrence of clitic's features in the process

## 5. Another Clitic-Argument Phenomenon: The Person-Case Constraint

### ► The Person-Case Constraint (PCC)

- restriction on combinations of clitic internal arguments (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991)
- **STRONG PCC:** in a combination of clitic direct object (DO) & clitic indirect object (IO), the DO must be third person (Bonet 1991).

#### PCC Violation

(20) \*me le recomendó  
 1SG<sub>ACC</sub> 3SG<sub>DAT</sub> recommended<sub>3SG</sub>  
 “He recommended me to him.”

#### PCC Repair: Dative = Strong Pronoun

(21) me recomendó a él  
 1SG<sub>ACC</sub> recommended<sub>3SG</sub> to him  
 “He recommended me to him.”

#### CLAIM 2: THE PCC & PCC REPAIR

- extend the same analytic machinery of doubling to the PCC & PCC repair
- adopt a previous account of the PCC plus the addition of the X head

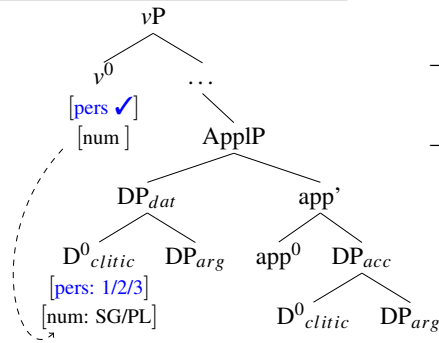
### DERIVING THE PCC

- Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), Béjar and Rezac (2003), Ormazabal and Romero (2002), Stegovec (2017), and others

### ► “one-probe/two-goals” style account (in terminology of Stegovec (2017))

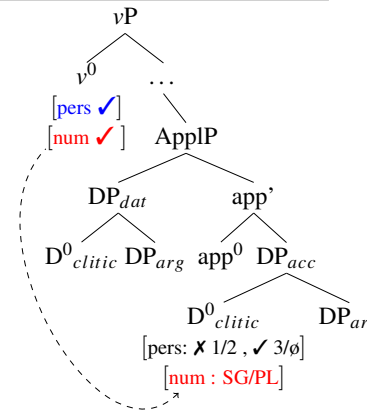
- higher indirect object intervenes between  $v$  and the lower direct object
- **The Person Licensing Condition (PLC):** interpretable 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person features must enter into an Agree relation with a functional category (Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009; Preminger 2019)

#### (22) Step 1: agree between $v$ & clitic<sub>DAT</sub>



- $v$  probes clitic<sub>DAT</sub> first because it is the closest goal
- clitic<sub>DAT</sub> agrees for [pers] with  $v$  but not for [num]
- by hypothesis, [num] is inaccessible to  $v$  (Taraldsen 1995)

#### (23) Step 2: agree between $v$ & clitic<sub>ACC</sub>

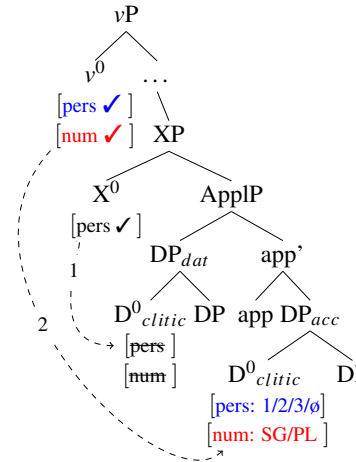


- $v$  probes again to agree for [num], which it does on the clitic<sub>ACC</sub>
- derivation crashes: PLC is violated if clitic<sub>ACC</sub> is 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person
- $v$  cannot license [pers] of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> clitic<sub>ACC</sub>
- if clitic doubles an ACC lexical DP → PLC is satisfied because 3<sup>rd</sup> person features do not need licensing
- if clitic doubles an ACC 3<sup>rd</sup> strong pronoun → PLC is satisfied because it lacks a person feature and requires no licensing (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003)

### DERIVING THE PCC REPAIR: JUST ADD X

- presence of X in the structure derives the repair

#### (24) X eliminates intervention effects



- X agrees with clitic<sub>DAT</sub> (which always has [pers])
- X deletes clitic’s phi-features
- clitic<sub>DAT</sub> is therefore null and argument<sub>DAT</sub> is pronounced, parallel to un-doubling
- $v$  has both [pers] & [num]; probes to agree for both
- $v$  agrees with both features on the clitic<sub>ACC</sub>, which can be any person, doubling a strong pronoun or lexical DP

### Conclusion

- propose an account of doubling & the PCC repair
- theoretical claims:
  - a new functional head X
  - all arguments (strong pronouns & DPs) are clitic doubled in the syntax
  - realization of a clitic is regulated by which functional head it enters into an agree relation with
- from an empirical perspective
  - highlight the place of JS in contemporary syntactic theory
- potential avenues of further inquiry
  - dialectical variation within Judeo-Spanish (Haketía vs. Judezmo)
  - other variation across Judeo-Spanish and Old & Modern Spanish

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