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HOMONYMIC AMBIGUITY, PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS  
AND THE CLITIC-LEM IN MODULAR LINGUISTICS\*

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0 Introduction

0.1 My purpose in this paper will be to contest the notion of 'Surface Structure Constraints' as to its necessity for the solution of the clitic problem; a problem brought to our attention by the work of Perlmutter (1971), (ftn.1).

0.2 I shall not attempt, however, to prove that surface structure constraints are not necessary within the context of a transformational theory of grammar premising the ordered rule hypothesis. As a matter of fact I tend to agree with Perlmutter's conclusion that within the context of such a theory surface structure constraints are indeed necessary. His lucid and logical argumentative treatment of the clitic problem in Walbiri, French and Spanish bears ample proof to such a conclusion. I happen though to dissent from accepting the notion of a system of grammar such as Perlmutter premises in his work.

I shall therefore not attempt to prove my thesis by pointing out contradictions in Perlmutter's logical approach; for contradictions are to be considered as such only within the system in which they develop, and when the premises of that very system are a-priori refuted, as is the case here, the argumentation dialogue is necessarily somewhat blocked.

Nor shall I attempt to prove my thesis by pointing out inconsistencies in Perlmutter's data; for I tend to believe that his data are quite reliable, although in a few instances our consideration of their semantic evaluation differs basically.

0.3 This leaves me with one last option: to develop that portion of a new system of grammar, which I shall tentatively call here 'Modular Linguistics', in which all of Perlmutter's clitic data, together with other clitic data as well, are satisfactorily explained.

Modular Linguistics as a self-contained theory of language will not be presented here. I do not expect this, however, to affect in any negative way the conclusions of this study or the comprehension of its new approach.

The languages which were researched for this study are: English, Arabic, French, Spanish, Walbiri, Albanian, Italian, German, Russian, Persian, Czech, Japanese, Indonesian and Thai, of which the latter three do not exhibit clitics of the kind under consideration in this paper.

I shall prove that a specific clitic surface-feature, which I term 'Homonymic Ambiguity' and symbolize as  $C_k^f$ , is primarily the only feature controlling the final surface clitic order in the above-mentioned languages. The data for English, Arabic, Walbiri, French and Spanish will be presented in detail. Due to space considerations, the remaining languages will only be sparingly commented upon.

In order to prove my thesis I shall proceed to:

1. define  $C_k^f$ ,
2. develop the new notion of a 'Clitic Linguistic Module', henceforth C-lem and define the mechanism of its functioning

- in terms of  $C_i^k$ , and indicate its position in the derivation process of the surface clitic order,
- 3. finally embark on the consideration of clitic data in different languages and the solution to our problem.
- 4. I shall then close with some considerations of a general nature.

1.  $C_i^k$ -definitions

1.1 The 'Pronominal and Clitic Systems' of English, Arabic, French and Spanish, henceforth the PCS of the specific language, as well as their respective C-lemas are given in the Appendix at the end of this paper.

Depicted as PCS-rows are the NPG clitic subsets, where in general,  
 N= Number= (Singular,Dual,Plural).....= (S,D,P)  
 P= Person= (First,Second,Third).....= (1,2,3)  
 G= Gender= (Masculine,Feminine,Neutral,Impersonal)= (M,F,N,I)  
 and where R stands for 'Reflexive'.

For instance, in French, P3M is the Plural 3rd person Masculine pronoun and clitic subset.

Depicted as PCS-columns are the semantic constituent subsets  $O^k$  where (k= 0,1,2,3), and which, in order to keep with current terminology, are rendered throughout this paper respectively as

- $O^k = (O^0, O^1, O^2, O^3)$
- = (Agent, Patient<sup>1</sup>, Patient<sup>2</sup>, Patient<sup>3</sup>)
- = (Nominative, Accusative, Dative<sup>1</sup>, Dative<sup>3</sup>)
- = (Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, Beneficial Object)
- = (Sbj, DO, IO, BO)

i.e. the superscript (k= 0,1,2,3) respectively denotes the semantic constituents ultimately giving rise to (Sbj, DO, IO, BO).

Each  $O^k$ -column heads two subcolumns: the pronoun set  $Pro^k$  and the corresponding clitic set  $C_i^k$ .

The Agent/Subject and Patient/Object identification in the above will be dwelled upon under 2.1.

The subscript 'i' in  $C_i^k$  indicates the 'Homonymic Ambiguity Value' of the clitic under consideration; a value presently to be defined under 1.2.

We can see from the PCS that for French P3M we have: for (k= 0,1,2,3),  $Pro^k = (ils, eux, eux, eux)$  and  $C_i^k = (ils_0, les_0, leur_1, leur_1)$

1.2 The following  $C_i^k$ -clitic-subset definitions rest on the consideration of clitic homonymy within each single NPG-row:

- $C_0^0$  is the subset of Sbj clitics not homonymous with any of BO, IO or DO clitics, e.g. spanish S2 'tu' and french P3M 'ils'.
- $C_0^1$  is the subset of DO clitics not homonymous with any of BO, IO or Sbj clitics, e.g. spanish S3F 'la'.
- $C_0^2$  is the subset of IO clitics not homonymous with any of BO, DO or Sbj clitics.
- $C_0^3$  is the subset of BO clitics not homonymous with any of IO, DO or Sbj clitics.
- $C_1$  is the subset of homonymous BO and IO clitics not homonymous with any of DO or Sbj clitics, e.g. french S3M 'lui' and P3M 'leur'.
- $C_2$  is the subset of homonymous BO and DO clitics not homonymous with any of IO or Sbj clitics.

- C<sub>3</sub> is the subset of homonymous IO and DO clitics not homonymous with any of BO or Sbj clitics.
- C<sub>4</sub> is the subset of homonymous BO, IO and DO clitics not homonymous with Sbj clitics, e.g. spanish P1 'nos', spanish dialect II (DII) S2 'te', french S1 'me' and all of the english and arabic clitics.
- C<sub>5</sub> is the subset of homonymous BO, IO, DO and Sbj clitics, e.g. spanish S3I 'se' and spanish dialect I (DI) S2 'te'.

In the above definitions I have not considered any other logically possible C<sub>1</sub><sup>k</sup>'s, for such did not occur in any of the languages researched for this paper and I suspect that they do not occur at all in any other natural language.

## 2 The C-lem

2.1 The cliticization process characterized by the C-lem accepts for input pronominalized (ftn.2) declarative (ftn.3) active grammatical (ftn.4) structures such as (i):

- (i) (Sbj) (V) (DO) to (IO) for (BO).
- (ii) (DO) (beVen) by (Sbj) to (IO) for (BO).
- (IO) (beVen) (DO) by (Sbj) for (BO).

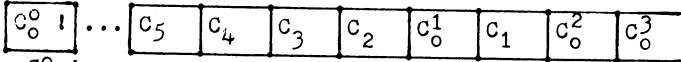
The order of the constituent Pro<sup>k</sup>'s in the above structures is not functional in Modular Linguistics. What is of importance here is whether the verb in the structure is (V) or (beVen); for as observation of language data tends to indicate, passivized structures such as (ii) do not qualify as C-lem input and thus cannot undergo cliticization. Given this observation and to keep with current terminology, I have identified above under 1.1, as one and the same the semantic notion of Agent and the syntactic one of Subject; for in a declarative active structure both Agent and Subject refer to the same semantic entity. The same is also true of the general identification Patient/Object. In Modular Linguistics, however, Q<sup>k</sup>'s will denote semantic, while (Sbj,DO,IO,BO) will denote syntactic notions.

2.2 The C-lem proper is formed for each specific language according to the characteristics of the C<sub>1</sub><sup>k</sup>-set of that language. These characteristics are different for different languages (cf. PCS-tables in Appendix); it follows then that the C-lem's are different for different languages. However, though different, they are so only in degree, not in substance; for they all can be shown to derive from a universal C-lem which is defined in terms both of its own operation and mechanism, and of its sublem architecture.

2.3 The universal C-lem requires the following assumptions of the language to which it belongs:

- (a) that it be that of an adult speaker of the language (ftn.5).
- (b) that it allow for the cliticization of all of BO, IO and DO pronouns in at least one and the same sentence. For the purposes of this paper 'Cliticization' is not to be confounded with 'Pronominalization'. 'Cliticization' involves here the movement of pronominalized objects i.e. of pronouns, and their transformation thus into clitics.
- (c) that it optionally allow for subject pronoun deletion and that it contain a C<sub>1</sub>-clitic, e.g. Spanish, Albanian and Italian. Such languages will undergo what will be referred to as the operation of C<sub>1</sub>-displacement (cf. KATHY below under 2.6 and in the Appendix).

2.4 The universal C-lem is a module whose building blocks are submodules  $C_0^0, C_0^2, C_1, C_1^0, C_2, C_3, C_4$  and  $C_5$  as defined above under 1.2 and arranged as in the following figure:



$C_0^0$  is not conceived as a C-lem submodule, and the symbol (!) denotes a Pointer or Scanner whose movement within the C-lem is well-defined (cf. footnotes to SALWA and KATHY in the Appendix).

2.5 The universal C-lem simplifies to the language specific C-lem because not all of the  $C_i^k$ 's which form the universal C-lem are usually found to exist in the specific language under consideration. The language specific C-lem's for English, Arabic, French and Spanish are shown in the Appendix, that for Walbiri is identical to that for English and Arabic. Notice the C-lem position relative to the V-lem. The C-lem is inserted into that position after 'Pronominalization' but prior to 'Cliticization'.

2.6 The universal C-lem is depicted in blockdiagram in the Appendix. TURING is the program that describes the C-lem operation. It consists of an input block INTENT and of two subprogram blocks SALWA and KATHY. Due to space limitations I cannot undertake here the detailed description of the inner operations of these subprograms; the step by step derivations which are included in the Appendix will help the reader to meticulously follow these operations.

INTENT primarily registers which pronouns are to be cliticized and which are not. SALWA describes the cliticization operation proper and KATHY describes  $C_1$ -displacement.

Whereas SALWA is language universal, KATHY is, in terms of changes it effects on the form of  $C_1$ -clitics (cf. footnotes to KATHY in the Appendix) during and because of  $C_1$ -displacement, language specific. In terms of the operations underlying  $C_1$ -displacement proper, but not of the  $C_1$ -clitic surface form change occurring, KATHY is also language universal.

2.7 The language that best demonstrates the operation of the universal C-lem is Spanish. It meets assumptions (a), (b) and (c) noted above under 2.3 and it contains a  $C_5$ -clitic, namely 'se'. French does not meet assumption (c) and would make the demonstration easier. English, Arabic and Walbiri are in reference to their respective C-lem's identical and three of the simpler languages. Walbiri differs though from English and Arabic in that it contains  $C_0^k$ -clitics while English and Arabic do not.

In the next section I shall discuss some derivations in English, Arabic, Walbiri, French and Spanish and I shall only advance a few comments on the remaining languages listed above under 0.3 .

### 3 Derivations

#### 3.1 General

3.1.1 In this section my main concern will be to acquaint the reader with the kind of derivations the modular C-lem approach provides us with.

The C-lem whose function is meticulously described by TURING is the only 'rule' controlling the cliticization process in all of the different languages considered here. It is thus a 'Universal of Language'. It is conceived of as being an

'obligatory rule' i.e. it must be gone through in any and all sentence derivations. The optionality of cliticizing one or more pronouns or none at all is a built-in TURING function provided for in INTENT.

3.1.2 I speak of an INTENT-input to denote the input sentence which is to undergo cliticization; of an INTENT-output feeding into a SALWA-input to denote the original sentence deemed by INTENT grammatical and candidate for cliticization, together with information as to which pronouns in it are to be cliticized; and of a TURING-output to denote the result of the overall cliticization process. The original sentence to undergo cliticization is thus deemed by TURING to be either cliticizable i.e. grammatical, in which case an output sentence O/GR is generated and printed out, or uncliticizable i.e. ungrammatical in which case the cliticization process has blocked somewhere and the information O/UNG is printed out.

3.1.3 The SALWA-input for each derivation is given as a parenthesized clitic quadruple  $(C_1^O, C_1^I, C_1^C, C_1^U)$  in which a symbol '#' substituting for a 'C' will denote a disregard instruction DRG.

Thus a SALWA-input candidate in French is (#,le,lui,me). Its TURING-output is the ordered quadruple 'me le lui' in which the symbol '#' has been disregarded. To indicate this input-output quadruple pair I shall write: (#,le,lui,me)/me le lui .

3.1.4 The french and spanish derivation lists of all of Perlmutter's clitic sentences, only partially included in the Appendix to this paper, use the above notation. The tables entitled 'Clitic Order Matrix',  $C_1^K$ OM and COM, in the Appendix, list quadruple pair information, complete for English, Arabic, French and Spanish. Due to space limitations, tables of the remaining languages have not been included. For the assiduous scrutinizer, some actual step by step derivations have been provided. These show in complete detail the actual inner workings of the C-lem. Whereas the  $C_1^K$ OM's and COM's only list the ordered quadruple pair (SALWA-input)/TURING-output, these step by step derivations show in detail what happens inside the C-lem from the moment SALWA accepts input to the moment TURING delivers output. The code numbers listed under 'DERIVATION STEPS' in these step by step derivations refer successively to the 'program step addresses' gone through in the derivation process. Such 'addresses' are marked next to each program step in the flowcharts of INTENT, SALWA and KATHY to be found in the Appendix. An example of one such derivation step is (S 18-19-20-25-GO TO KATHY-K 1-2.). It indicates that the program has successively gone through SALWA steps 18-19-20-25, then switched over to KATHY and then continued through KATHY steps 1-2, where it momentarily stopped to perform a change in the C-lem content. The C-lem content change resulting from the derivation step is listed under 'SENTENCE' to the right of the derivation step line.

3.1.5 Throughout the remainder of this paper, each sentence will have its own identifying code number. An example of such a code number is (...)Fr(1)P(49/91) where:

- (...) = Sentence identifying code in the present paper,
- Fr = Language of the sentence under consideration, here French,
- (1) = Sentence identifying number in the unpublished version of this paper.
- P = (Perlmutter, 1971); name of work where sentence originally appeared.

(49/ = P's page number, and  
 91) = P's sentence number.

All the text and tables reduced in print in the Appendix to this paper are duplicate copies taken as is from the unpublished version of this paper, and therefore do not show the first (...) number of the code.

And now.....ON WITH THE SHOW.

3.2 English and Arabic

3.2.1 English is an obligatory-subject language and Arabic, though an optional-subject language, does not contain any C<sub>1</sub>-clitics. Both languages, therefore, do not undergo C<sub>1</sub>-displacement and KATHY is always bypassed.

With respect to their C-lem, both languages are identical and two of the simpler ones. Because all of their clitics are without exception C<sub>4</sub>'s, their C-lem, simplify as shown in the Appendix. As a result, where neither 'emphasis' nor 'contrast' are intended, both languages do not permit, in one and the same sentence, cliticization of more than one pronoun, namely either Pro<sup>1</sup> or Pro<sup>2</sup> but never both together.

3.2.2 In the following examples of derivations '(1)' will denote the underlying structure US, '(2)' the pronominalized sentence, and '(3)' the cliticized sentence.

3.2.3

- (E1 -1 ) I gave the book to Jane.
- (E1 -2a ) I gave it<sub>p</sub> to Jane.
- ( b ) I gave the book to her<sub>p</sub>.
- ( c ) I gave it<sub>p</sub> to her<sub>p</sub>.
- (E1 -3a ) (#, it, #, #) / it..... I gave it<sub>c</sub> to Jane.
- ( b ) (#, #, her, #) / her..... I gave her<sub>c</sub> the book.
- ( c ) (#, it, her, #) / \*..... \*I gave it<sub>c</sub> her<sub>c</sub>.
- ( c' ) same..... \*I gave her<sub>c</sub> it<sub>c</sub>.

Notice that when emphasis or contrast are intended, Pro<sup>1</sup> which otherwise must cliticize, does not; and, given the right intonation, sentences paralleling (E1-3c') in their surface structure are acceptable. Notice however that in sentences such as these the DO though pronominalized is not and cannot be cliticized. Thus we have

- (E1 -3c'' ) (#, #, her, #) / her..... I gave her<sub>c</sub> IT<sub>p</sub> (for emphasis).
- (E1'-3 ) (#, #, him, #) / him..... I give him<sub>c</sub> you<sub>p</sub> in marriage,  
 not her<sub>p</sub> (for contrast).

3.2.4

- (E2 -1a ) He brings the book in.
- ( a' ) ?He brings in the book.
- ( 2a ) He brings it<sub>p</sub> in.
- ( a' ) He brings in it<sub>p</sub>.
- ( 3aa' ) (#, it, #, #) / it..... He brings it<sub>c</sub> in.
- ( 3aa'\* ) same..... \*He brings in it<sub>c</sub>.

The derivation of (E2-3aa'\* ) is impossible simply because the english C-lem is positioned directly to the right of the english V-lem, thus allowing no element whatsoever, e.g. 'in', to interfere inbetween the both of them. Sentence (E2-2a') is ungrammatical as a final surface structure because DO, once pronominalized to Pro<sup>1</sup>, must necessarily cliticize.

3.2.5

- (A1 -1 ) (?ana:) ?a9taytu ?al kita:ba li Jane.  
 I gave the book to Jane.

Substitution of arabic '?iyya:hu' for english Pro<sup>1</sup> 'it', of 'hu' for C<sup>1</sup> 'it' and of 'ha:' for Pro<sup>2</sup>/C<sup>2</sup> 'her' yields:

(A1 -3a )	(#,hu,#,#)/hu.....	?a9taytu-hu <sub>C</sub> li Jane.
( b )	(#,#,ha:,#)/ha:.....	?a9taytu-ha: <sub>C</sub> ?al kita:ba.
( c )	(#,hu,ha:,#)/*.....	*?a9taytu-hu <sub>C</sub> -ha: <sub>C</sub> .
( c' )	same.....	*?a9taytu-ha: <sub>C</sub> -hu <sub>C</sub> .
( c'' )	(#,#,ha:,#)/ha:.....	?a9taytu-ha: <sub>C</sub> ?iyya:hu <sub>p</sub>
(E1'-3 )	(#,#,hu,#)/hu,hi....	?u9ti:-hi <sub>C</sub> ?iyya:ki <sub>p</sub> ka' zawjat, wa laysa ?iyya:ha: <sub>p</sub> . I give him you as wife and not her

3.2.6 In the above examples I have considered only the verb 'to give'/?a9ta:'. Other verbs could have served as well; except that not all verbs that allow Pro<sup>2</sup>-cliticization like 'to give'/?a9ta:' match in English and Arabic. Thus while 'to write' in English allows Pro<sup>2</sup>-cliticization, its counterpart 'kataba' in Arabic does not. I cannot, however, consider here the reasons for this behaviour.

### 3.3 Walbiri

3.3.1 Given Perlmutter's data, Walbiri seems to be an obligatory-subject language that however always simultaneously cliticizes its sentence subject. It therefore does not undergo C<sub>1</sub>-displacement. I have noted above under 2.7 that the walbiri C-lem is identical to that of English and Arabic. Strictly speaking this is not completely true, although given the nature of the walbiri C-set that Perlmutter provides us with, the walbiri C-lem can simplify to the equivalent of the english and arabic one. The walbiri C-lem is theoretically identical to the french C-lem and like it, it is positioned before the V-lem. But consider now the walbiri C<sup>1</sup>'s and C<sup>2</sup>'s. Unlike French which contains in C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> clitics whose i = (0,1,4), Walbiri contains only clitics whose i = (1,4); here I am discarding clitics whose surface form is 'ø' and whose 'i', by necessity, equals 'o'. If I now set the only C<sub>1</sub>-clitic 'la<sub>1</sub>' to equal 'la<sub>0</sub>' instead, the walbiri C-lem will logically simplify to that of English and Arabic and at the same time remain in its function logically equivalent to the french C-lem when applied to the walbiri C-set. In both the simplified and the unsimplified versions of the C-lem, Pro<sup>3</sup> does not cliticize (cf. 3.3.4 below).

3.3.2 In the following, the change 'la<sub>1</sub>' to 'la<sub>0</sub>' has been noted and the resulting Perlmutter's (S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>, S<sub>3</sub>, P<sub>3</sub>) walbiri clitics are respectively: C<sup>0</sup> = (na<sub>0</sub>, npa<sub>0</sub>, ø<sub>0</sub>, ?), C<sup>1</sup> = (tyu<sub>4</sub>, nku<sub>4</sub>, ø<sub>0</sub>, (ø<sub>0</sub>, tyana<sub>4</sub>)) and C<sup>2</sup> = (tyu<sub>4</sub>, nku<sub>4</sub>, la<sub>0</sub>, tyana<sub>4</sub>).

3.3.3 The following walbiri COM's predict the surface clitic order in all of Perlmutter's walbiri sentences P(89., 93/10..31): (C<sup>0</sup>, ø, C<sup>2</sup>, #)/C<sup>0</sup>C<sup>2</sup>, (C<sup>0</sup>, C<sup>1</sup>, #, #)/C<sup>0</sup>C<sup>1</sup>, (C<sup>0</sup>, C<sub>4</sub>, C<sub>0</sub>, #)/C<sup>0</sup>C<sub>4</sub>C<sub>0</sub> and all others (C<sup>0</sup>, C<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>, #)/\*.

3.3.4 Kenneth Hale (1973) provides more complete data to allow for an in-depth study of the walbiri cliticization process. A first reading of Hale's paper tends to indicate that his data are C-lem predictable.

### 3.4 French

3.4.1 French is an obligatory-subject language and therefore does not undergo C<sub>1</sub>-displacement. Its C-lem is positioned directly before its V-lem. In a sense, it is a straightforward case for the demonstration of the C-lem action. It is neither as simple as English or Arabic nor nearly as complex as Spanish. In the following examples of derivations I have deleted the pronominalization step '2'.

3.4.2  
(F1-1)

- ( 3a) (#,le<sub>0</sub>,#, #)/le
- ( b) (#,#,leur<sub>1</sub>,#)/leur
- ( c) (#,le,leur,#)/le leur

Tu donnes le livre aux étudiants.  
 You give the book to the students.  
 Tu le donnes aux étudiants.  
 Tu le donnes à eux .  
 Tu leur donnes le livre.  
 Tu le leur donnes.

3.4.3  
(F2-1)

- ( 3a) (#,les<sub>0</sub>,#, #)/les
- ( b) (#,#,me<sub>4</sub>,#)/me
- ( c) (#,les,me,#)/me les

Tu donnes les livres à moi.  
 You give the books to me.  
 Tu les donnes à moi.  
 Tu me donnes les livres.  
 Tu me les donnes.

3.4.4  
(F3-1)

- ( 3a) (#,te<sub>4</sub>,#, #)/te
- ( b) (#,#,lui<sub>1</sub>,#)/\*
- ( c) (#,te,lui,#)/\*

Je donnes toi à lui en mariage.  
 I give you to him in marriage.  
 Je te donnes à lui en mariage.  
 \*Je lui donnes toi en mariage.  
 Je lui donnes TOI en mariage.  
 .....,et non pas Jane.  
 \*Je te lui donnes en mariage.

3.4.5  
(F4-1)

- ( 3a) (#,le,lui,te)/te le lui
- ( b) (#,#,lui,te)/te lui; with 'cela' not pronominalized,

Je dirai cela à John pour toi.  
 I will say this to John for you.  
 Je te le lui dirai.  
 Je te lui dirai cela.

3.4.6 Comparison of (F3-3c) and (F4-3b) indicates that the clitic sequence 'te lui' is in and by itself neither grammatical nor ungrammatical.

3.4.7 Notice that if DO 'cela' is deleted in (F4-1) the sentence will be deemed ungrammatical by INTENT first constraint (✓or#,NE,✓,✓)/\*. Thus (F4-3c) (#,NE,lui,te)/\* \*Je te lui dirai.

Notice however that in this case the original US sentence is ungrammatical prior to C-lem entry. This is why I have noted in INTENT that the 'first constraints' might very well be superfluous.

3.4.8 The derivations of eight of Perlmutter's french sentences are given in the Appendix. Also, as indicated in the Appendix, notice that the set of clitics (me;te;nous;vous;se) which appears as a constituent in Perlmutter's surface structure constraint on french clitics P(57/121) exactly matches the french C4-set according to the C-lem approach.

3.4.9 I have not considered here sentences in which the french clitics 'y' and 'en' appear P(59/124..130), nor sentences whose verb is a compound of two or more verbs, e.g. 'laisser voir/ to let see' P(55/111..114), but it can be shown that these can be easily incorporated in the C-lem theory. All others of Perlmutter's french sentences are found to be C-lem predictable.

3.5 Spanish

3.5.1 Spanish is an optional-subject language and it contains a C<sub>1</sub>-clitic. It therefore undergoes C<sub>1</sub>-displacement i.e. KATHY comes into action here.

C<sub>1</sub>-displacement achieves in Spanish what Perlmutter's 'spurious se rule' P(22/10) was set up to accomplish. Like the 'spurious se rule' C<sub>1</sub>-displacement requires a C<sub>1</sub>-clitic surface

form change. In Spanish it is the following: all  $C_1$ -clitics will change into 'se<sub>5</sub>'.

3.5.2  $C_1$ -displacement is, however, not to be equated with the 'spurious se rule'. For KATHY, which describes the function of  $C_1$ -displacement, is a universal process that applies not only in Spanish but also as well in Albanian and Italian, and in all other optional-subject languages containing a  $C_1$ -clitic, while the 'spurious se rule' does not make such a universal claim.

3.5.3 Unlike English, Arabic, Walbiri and French, Spanish raises the possibility that in one and the same sentence all of the four clitics in the SALWA-input quadruple might be marked by INTENT for cliticization. But as we can observe in Spanish  $C_1$  FROM-13, ( $C_5C_1C_2C_3$ )/\*, this cliticization is always ruled out as ungrammatical. This conclusion can be easily proven to follow logically from the TURING operation itself. Given my observations to this date, I can safely predict that in any and all languages the maximum number of clitics, of the kind that we are dealing with in this paper, that can appear together in one and the same sentence is 'THREE', and that this fact is a Universal of Language.

3.5.4 Observation of Spanish data P(51/94-95-96) reported in the Appendix, leads to the necessary conclusion that the Spanish two dialects reported by Perlmutter differ only in that in one dialect DI the clitic 'te' is  $C_5$ , while in the other DII it is  $C_4$ . In DI but not in DII 'te' is conceived of also as Sbj-clitic.

3.5.5 A derivation list of all of Perlmutter's Spanish sentences is available; it cannot, however, be included here. Relying upon this list, I can safely state that all of Perlmutter's Spanish sentences are C-lem predictable.

3.5.6 To state only a few observations: we now have an explanation for:

- (a) the ambiguity of P(62/141) 'Te me recomendaron/(i) they recommended me to you, and (ii) they recommended you to me'. P(62/141) can derive from both (#,me,#,te) and (#,te,#,me).
- (b) the ungrammaticality of sentences such as P(70/161b) '\*Ramon me le complico la vida a mi hija, pero a mi hijo no se me la complico'. It is not ungrammatical due to clitic order considerations but due to what I have termed 'Semantic Clash', a notion not defined in this paper.
- (c) the ungrammaticality of sentences such as P(76/174ab) '\*Me lo queria seguir gritandomelo, and \*Me lo queria seguirmelo gritandomelo'. They are both ungrammatical due to the occurrence of the grammatical clitic sequence 'me lo' more than once in the sentence, with no apparent justification.

3.5.7 In the Appendix I have included derivations of and comments upon Perlmutter's sentences P(51/94-95-96). These, together with others not reported on here, prove beyond any doubt my contention that in Spanish DI 'te' is a  $C_5$ -subject clitic.

Here, a note is in order on the verb 'echar' which appears in P(51/95): In his 'Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages', Velazquez (1967:257-258) reports that 'the verb 'echar' is well described by a Spanish lexicographer as a verb of general utility; (and that) it serves frequently to assist the meaning of another verb, (and that) it enters into many phrases'; whereupon he lists over a hundred different meanings for 'echar' as it appears in different phrases. Some of these meanings translate into English reflexives, some do not. Given that P(51/95) 'Te me le echaste encima' translates into French as 'Tu me lui as saute dessus' using the non-reflexive verb 'sauter/to jump', I translate

it into English as 'You jumped him over (on me)'. Notice that thus we have the lexical equivalence 'encima/dessus/over', and the syntactic quasi-equivalence of the sentence in the three languages. The Spanish sentence and its French translation are only semantically, but not syntactically, equivalent to Perlmutter's English translation 'You threw yourself on him on me'. Thus, I differ basically with Perlmutter in my interpretation of this sentence.

3.5.8 I have also included in the Appendix one of Emonds Spanish sentences as reported by Rivero (1973:698/1) 'El hombre que quiere lavarse se fue/'The man who wants to wash himself left'. It is apparent that its derivation is a straightforward case of cliticization dealing not with one but with two C-lem. (In Appendix text please correct 'to elope' so as to read 'to flee').

3.5.9 Due to space limitations, it is quite impossible to give the clitic problem in Spanish its due consideration here. Much has necessarily been left out, and the many predictions, explanations and foundations of ungrammaticality that it affords us with will have to wait for another forum.

### 3.6 Comments on the remaining languages

Albanian and Italian, like Spanish, are languages that undergo  $C_1$ -displacement. Their respective  $C_1$ -clitic surface form changes are indicated in the footnotes to KATHY in the Appendix. The Albanian clitic order is completely C-lem predictable. That of Italian is C-lem predictable except for one category of instances involving the clitic 'si'. This category of seemingly unpredictable instances can however be explained by incorporating an otherwise well-motivated principle into our theory of Language. Roughly, this principle states that 'the linguistic system of a specific language is, like Man himself, an adaptive system; and that it therefore tends to reach its optimal state of development by successively striking a middle ground between its own hardware/software structure and an optimal state of understanding and comprehension of its output messages by other like-systems in its own family'.

This principle, which I metaphorically term 'L-SURVIVAL', motivates us to incorporate a new rule specific to Italian and based on an extended notion of 'Homonymic Ambiguity', in order to completely explain and predict the Italian surface clitic order. In German, L-SURVIVAL has the effect that the C-lem allows only for  $Pro^1$ -cliticization, never for  $Pro^2$ ; the result is that in German we are always dealing with a surface clitic order which is  $C^1Pro^2$  and which happens to be homonymic with  $Pro^1Pro^2$ , i.e. in German, due to specific reasons not stated here, L-SURVIVAL opts for the simplification of the C-lem action. In French and Spanish, it is also L-SURVIVAL (if not pre-C-lem semantic constraints) that rules out all, except for one, identical i.e. homonymic surface sequences of clitics generated by the C-lem. In Russian, the C-lem can optionally be positioned either before or after the V-lem, and the surface clitic order is completely C-lem predictable. Work is in progress on Persian and Czech; and Japanese, Indonesian and Thai do not exhibit clitics of the kind we have been discussing here.

#### 4 Concluding remarks

My involvement with the clitic problem stemmed mainly from a deep-seated dislike of mine of the notion of 'Surface Structure Constraints'. At the very moment I became aware of the existence in Linguistics of such a notion, I found that it not only disturbed my sense of scientific symmetry but also that it ran as well counter my sense of scientific logicity. For what are 'surface structure constraints' if not an easy backstage comeback to a quasi-tagmemicist view of how language phenomena are to be handled? The argument that, in Perlmutter's approach, surface structures have been 'generated' should not escape our scrutiny. Theoretically, the generation by any means of an infinity of surface structures of which the ungrammatical ones are to be ruled out by surface structure constraints, is simply equivalent to no more than just a description of the remaining grammatical surface structures of the language. No matter what the generation means are, if but one surface structure constraint of the kind Perlmutter proposes is allowed into linguistics, the fact will necessarily remain that such a linguistics will basically always be of the descriptive kind. I wholeheartedly agree with Suñer (1974:149-150) in her evaluation of surface structure constraints:

'...it is pertinent to ask about the explanatory power of a device such as SSC. It has none. A SSC does not explain anything. It is merely an expression of despair, like throwing one's arms up in the air and confessing that in spite of all the powerful machinery we have at our disposal, we are not able to filter out ill-formed sentences, so we give up and add an extra piece of machinery at the end of the production line in order to discard the 'bad sentences'.'

In order to solve the clitic problem, I have developed in this paper, rudiments of a novel approach to research, namely that of a new modular linguistics methodology. I have also introduced a number of new notions, namely those of the 'clitic linguistic module, C-lem', of the L-SURVIVAL principle and of the surface feature of 'homonymic ambiguity' which I have shown to play the central role in the syntactic derivation of the surface clitic order in many languages. I have presented complete solutions to the clitic problem in English, Arabic, Walbiri, French and Spanish; and I have indicated that the problem is solved in Albanian, Italian, German and Russian. Much, however, had to be left out.

The preponderance of evidence presented here in favor of the new theory cannot be denied. But the strength of the argument for Modular Linguistics and the C-lem mechanism lies not in that they explain clitic data, but in that they explain it not only across different languages, but also across different families of Language; and also in that the C-lem is a principled mechanism, only one in number, and not an ad-hoc pragmatic multitude of mechanisms. The strength of the argument points to a 'Universal of Language', and its challenge for the incorporation of this Universal, if at all possible, into the structure of current linguistic theories.

Generally, theories are always in a state of flux. At a certain point in time, a theory is perceived to be less than adequate if the unexplained data that it contains, the contradictions that it generates and the ad-hoc constraints that it requires greatly outweigh the explanations that it provides. Such is today the state of linguistic theory.

It is only when a new theory is introduced, that has the power to overwhelmingly explain the data, ease out the contradictions and do away with the ad-hoc constraints, that the old theory is proven wrong to the satisfaction of a new generation of researchers and in time discarded by them in favor of the newcomer. Such a new theory was at the basis of this presentation.

.....CURTAIN.

#### Acknowledgments

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#### Notes

- \* This paper heavily relies on data appearing in (Perlmutter.1971). The reader is well-advised to consult Perlmutter's book in conjunction with this paper.
- \*\* 'The views of the author do not purport to reflect the position of the Department of the Army or the Department of Defense.'
- (1) Dinnsen (1972) subsequently added to the notion of 'surface structure constraints' in Spanish, and to my knowledge Lakoff (1968) used it in at least one of his papers.
- (2) Modular Linguistics will eventually allow cliticization to take place without pronominalization having first taken place. Some spanish and some french sentences give good indication that the above might very well be the case.
- (3) Although not covered here, imperative structures such as french 'Donne le lui/Give it to him' and 'Donne le moi/Give it to me' are easily explained within the C-lem approach.
- (4) Although in the final analysis the C-lem input will have to be grammatical - in the sense that structures whose underlying structure is itself ungrammatical prior to C-lem entry will not be generated and thus will not possibly become candidates for cliticization -, in this paper, I have built into the C-lem INTENT-block (cf.2.6 below) such mechanism as to rule out ungrammatical structures in the sense noted above. Such mechanism can however be completely omitted

from INTENT without in the least affecting the C-lem overall function and output. The inclusion of such a mechanism here is due to the fact that the tables given in the Appendix to this paper, are duplicate copies of tables appearing in the unpublished preliminary version of this paper and that they could not be rewritten at this time. The same is also the reason why the 'current terminology' (Sbj,DO, IO,BO) and not the modular O<sup>k</sup>-terminology is used throughout. Such mechanism as noted above can be viewed as a double check on the grammaticality of C-lem input-structures without however carrying in the least any theoretical weight or meaning.

- (5) The realm of a study interested in the possible evolution of the C-lem from child to adult speaker of the language is that of psycholinguistics and might prove to be very enlightening.

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The Appendix follows.....

HOMONYMIC AMBIGUITY, PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS  
AND THE CLITIC-LEM IN MODULAR LINGUISTICS

Post-meeting notes

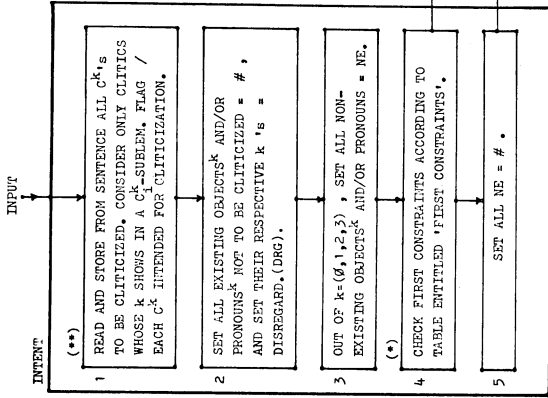
1. A question was raised during the meeting concerning the notational semantic/syntactic identification Agent/Subject and Patient/Object discussed under 1.1 , 2.1 and in ftn.4 . So as to dispel any possible misunderstanding, the reader is kindly requested to read throughout ( $0^0, 0^1, 0^2, 0^3$ ) for (Sbj, DO, IO, BO) respectively, keeping in mind that we are dealing here exclusively with semantic not syntactic categories, i.e. in all of the following three structures:
  - (a) John gave the book to Jane (for Jack).
  - (b) The book was given by John to Jane (for Jack).
  - (c) Jane was given the book by John (for Jack).

$0^0$  is the semantic category relation that holds between 'John' and the verb 'to give'.

$0^1$  is the semantic category relation that holds between 'book' and the verb 'to give'.

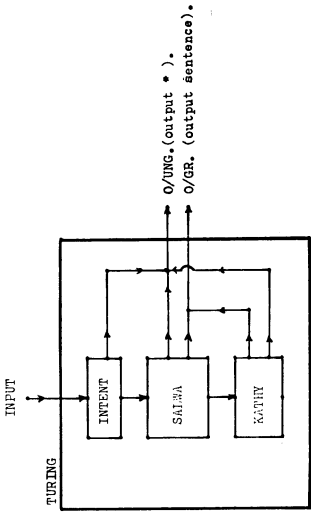
$0^2$  is the semantic category relation that holds between 'Jane' and the verb 'to give'.

$0^3$  is the semantic category relation that holds between 'Jack' and the verb 'to give'.
2. Contrary to what is stated under 2.1 some french passive structures can undergo cliticization, e.g. 'Le livre lui a été donné/The book was given to him'. This paper deals however exclusively with active declarative structures and with this in mind its conclusions stand as stated.
3. The walbiri case discussed under 3.3 is not rigorously defined. Its description follows a permissible logical simplification that is however not explicitly stated. Its conclusions stand as stated.



(\*\*) These first constraints may turn out to be universals and logically derivable from the C-lem operation or otherwise and may turn out to be pre-lem entry constraints. Also, as usual, the symbol # indicates the underlying subject S<sub>U</sub> is assumed always to exist.

(\*\*) Given the C-set for a specific language, it can logically be predicted whether DO-pronoun can or cannot cliticize into C<sup>3</sup> in that language. As is the case in Arabic and English, this prediction allows for simplification in the construction of the C-set proper, where, as we shall see later, the C<sup>3</sup>-set is the only one that is necessary. In the case of a truly natural language, one must assume the existence of C<sup>3</sup>-clitics in the language under consideration and prove that they cannot possibly cliticize; for otherwise, without the stated assumption, one would just be begging the question. Thus one finds that while in French, Spanish and Albanian DO-pronouns cliticize, they do not cliticize in Arabic or English. (Note that for all languages considered, the C<sup>3</sup>-set is identical to the C<sup>2</sup>-set of clitics.)



FIRST CONSTRAINTS

IF	Subj/C <sup>0</sup>	DO/C <sup>1</sup>	IO/C <sup>2</sup>	EO/C <sup>3</sup>	THEN GOTO
✓	#	✓	✓	✓	SALWA
✓	/or#	✓	✓	NE	SALWA
✓	/or#	✓	NE	✓	O/UNG
✓	/or#	NE	✓	✓	SALWA
✓	/or#	NE	NE	NE	O/UNG!
✓	/or#	NE	✓	NE	O/UNG!
✓	/or#	NE	NE	✓	O/UNG
✓	/or#	NE	NE	NE	SALWA
NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NO SENTENCE

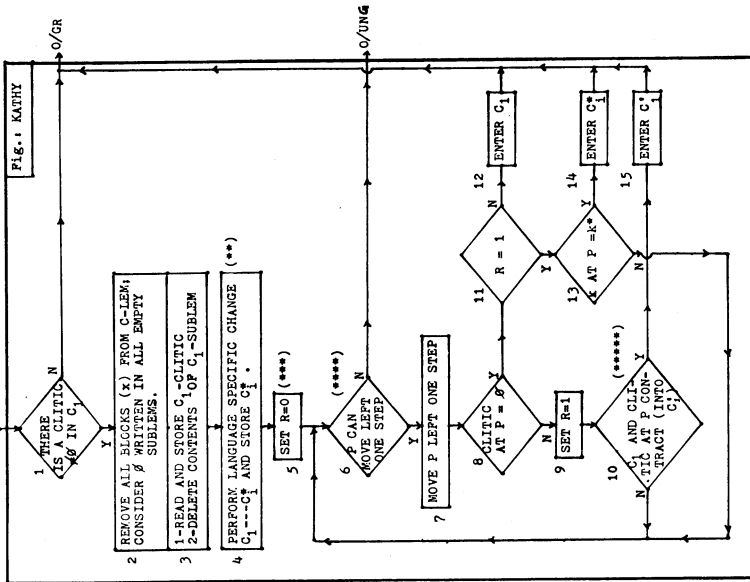
(!) Unless EO can in some way be considered IO in the language, in which case GOTO SALWA.  
 (!!) Unless the verb in the sentence is intransitive, in which case GOTO SALWA.

GENERALLY:

- (a) DO-pronoun always cliticizes except when emphasis is intoned.
- (b) IO-pronoun cliticizes if and only if DO-pronoun cliticizes, or DO appears in the sentence.
- (c) EO-pronoun cliticizes if and only if either IO or DO is pronominalized and (d) holds true.
- (d) IO-pronoun and/or DO-pronoun cliticizes.



KATHY (\*) SALWA



(\*) Language specific due to KATHY-steps M4 and K10.

(\*\*) Language specific changes: C1 ---- C1 always in Spanish C1i in Spanish C1i in Albanian

(\*\*\*) R=0 means that P has not previously crossed over a non-vacant sublem. R=1 means that P has previously crossed over a non-vacant sublem.

(\*\*\*\*) When P is at the leftmost sublem of the C-lem, e.g. C5 in Spanish and C4 in Italian, then P cannot move left anymore and the output is 'NO'.

(\*\*\*\*\*) At this point some clitics in Albanian will undergo contraction.



FRENCH: PFS: Pronominal and Clitic Systems.

MPG	Subj	DO	IO	BO
Pro <sup>0</sup>	C <sup>0</sup>	Pro <sup>1</sup>	Pro <sup>2</sup>	Pro <sup>3</sup>
I	SI je	moi	me <sub>4</sub>	
you	SE tu	toi	te <sub>4</sub>	
he	SM il	lui	lu <sub>1</sub>	
she	SF elle	elle	le <sub>0</sub>	
we	PI nous	nous	nous <sub>4</sub>	
you	P2 vous	vous	vous <sub>4</sub>	
they	PM ils	eux	leur <sub>1</sub>	
	PF elles	elles	leur <sub>1</sub>	
	S3 on	sol-meme	se <sub>4</sub>	
	-SR	Pro <sup>1</sup> -meme	se <sub>4</sub>	

C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
					V=lem

(EngDer.1):-  
 DERIVATION STEPS  
 US  
 I 1-2-3-4-5. GO TO SALWA.  
 Pronominalization  
 1) Fred gave the book to Jane.  
 Object # book IO Jane #  
 Pronoun # it her #  
 Clitic C<sup>0</sup>=# C<sub>1</sub>= it ✓  
 Flag # ✓  
 S 1. Fred gave /C<sub>1</sub> /C<sub>2</sub> / it to her.  
 (11) to (vii) same as (EngDer.1) vii)  
 S 18-21-5-6-7-9-12-14-15-8---O/MS-viii) . . .

ES: The ungrammatical sentence ' \* Fred gave her<sub>c</sub> it<sub>c</sub> ' has the same blocked derivation as (EngDer.3)  
 The grammatical sentence ' Fred gave her<sub>c</sub> it<sub>c</sub> ' has the same derivation as (EngDer.2) with pronominalization but not cliticization of DO for reasons of emphasis as noted in the text. To indicate emphasis we could write the sentence as ' Fred gave her<sub>c</sub> IP<sub>c</sub> ' .  
 Notice that emphasis of DO-pronoun here is achieved by de-emphasizing IO-pronoun through cliticization.

(EngDer.4):-  
 DERIVATION STEPS  
 US  
 I 1-2-3-4-5. GO TO SALWA.  
 Pronominalization  
 1) He brings the paper in the paper.  
 Object # paper IO #  
 Pronoun # it #  
 Clitic C<sup>0</sup>=# C<sub>1</sub>= it C<sub>2</sub>=#  
 Flag # ✓  
 S 1 He brings /C<sub>4</sub> /C<sub>1</sub> /C<sub>2</sub> / (it in )<sub>p</sub>  
 Derivation same as (EngDer.1) with IO deleted.

ES: The derivation of the ungrammatical sentence ' \* He brings in it<sub>c</sub> ' is impossible simply because the C-lem in English is positioned directly after the verb thus allowing no element to interfere inbetween the both of them.  
 The sentence ' He brings in it<sub>p</sub> ' or ' He brings in IP<sub>p</sub> ' is grammatical as the output of Pronominalization only if emphasis of DO-pronoun is intended, (See PS of (EngDer.2)

FRENCH: C<sub>1</sub>-COMA

1- (C<sup>0</sup>C<sup>2</sup>)

	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>1</sub>	*	*

2- (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>3</sup>)

	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>3</sub> @	*

3- (# C<sup>2</sup>C<sup>3</sup>)

	C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>2</sub>	*	C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>4</sub> @ ✓
C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> @	*

4- (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sub>3</sub>)

	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>1</sub>	*	*

5- (C<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>C<sub>4</sub>)

	C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>0</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>0</sub> C <sub>4</sub>
C <sub>1</sub>	*	*

PS: Identical on the surface are elements marked '@' and elements marked '§' .







