

Identity effects within the M-word domain

In phonological haplology, one of two identical strings is deleted (Yip 1998). We argue that identity effects can also be observed at the level of abstract morphological features in the domain of the morphological word (M-word), but that they have two crucial properties that distinguish them from their phonological analogues: (i) cooccurrence of a single identical feature in two morphemes is sufficient to trigger deletion at this level; and (ii) deletion does not necessarily target the offending feature. Specifically, cooccurrence of two morphemes with the same feature results in a marked configuration in the postsyntactic component, which like other marked structures, triggers deletions (Impoverishment) that reduce overall markedness (Noyer 1992). The result can thus be deletion of (i) the offending feature, (ii) one of the morphemes, or (iii) some other feature. These deletions can be observed in neutralizations that arise in these marked contexts. Evidence comes from 3/3-effects, which arise in clusters with two [−Participant] clitics in Spanish (spurious *se*), Barceloní Catalan, Standard Italian, Tavullia (Northern Italian), and Ondarru (Western Basque). We compare this theory with phonology- and syntax-based analyses, which fail to account for cases where the two clitics have no common phonology, or where the two clitics do not interact syntactically.

1. 3/3-effects in dative-accusative clusters. In Spanish 3/3 clitic clusters (1), neutralization of person results in insertion of the impersonal clitic *se* in place of syntactically motivated dative *le(s)* (Nevins 2007). In Barceloní (2), the same configuration leads to realization of the dative clitic as a locative (neutralization of person features in Bonet 1995). In Italian (3), gender is neutralized in the dative clitic (Pescarini 2010).

- (1) El libro, se lo dí a ella. ‘I gave the book to her.’ Spanish
 the book CL.IMP CL.ACC.3SG.M I.gave to her
- (2) [əlz] [i] donaré demà. ‘I’ll give them to him tomorrow.’ Barceloní
 CL.ACC.3PL.M CL.LOC I.will.give tomorrow
- (3) [ʌe/*le] -lo presto. ‘I lend it to him/her.’ Italian
 CL.D.3SG -CL.ACC.3SG.M I.lend

Both Spanish and Barceloní Catalan effect a type of person neutralization, but the surface effect is different, which is related to the existence of a locative clitic only in Catalan.

2. 3/3-effects in clusters with subject clitics. In Tavullia, a third person (singular) subject clitic is deleted in the context of a third person object clitic (Manzini&Savoia 2004):

- (4) (*ɛl) la ‘cema ‘He calls her.’ Tavullia
 CL.SBJ.3SG.M CL.ACC.3SG.F calls

In Ondarru Basque, number in a third person dative is neutralized in the context of a third ergative (see Preminger 2009 for evidence that these morphemes are clitics, not agreement):

- (5) Emongo do -tz (*-e) -∅. (>tza/*tze) ‘He’ll give it to him/them.’
 will.give AUX -CL.DAT.3 (*-CL.DAT.PL) -CL.ERG.3SG Ondarru

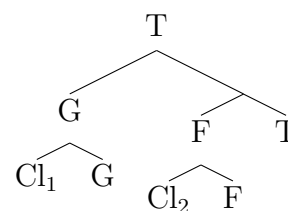
The presence of a null ergative clitic is diagnosed by the effect it has on the form of other morphemes: in the absence of an ergative argument, the auxiliary/clitic cluster is *ga-ko(-e)*.

3. Analysis: Impoverishment in marked contexts. We propose that feature identity within the M-word leads to morphological markedness, which triggers feature/morpheme deletion (Impoverishment). This occurs even in cases where relevant feature is [−Participant], which on its own is not marked (as opposed to [+Participant]). In 3/3-effects, the Impoverishment rule is (6) (further specification is needed to account for language-particular idiosyncrasies). Like all Impoverishment rules, the domain of 3/3-Impoverishment is the M-word, a

complex head generated in the syntax. We assume that clitics adjoin to separate functional heads, which undergo Head Movement to T to form the verb/clitic cluster (7). Clustering under a complex head creates a domain for postsyntactic Impoverishment, which targets marked structures, including those where two morphemes share some feature.

(6) **3/3-Impoverishment:** Given two [-Participant] morphemes M_1, M_2 within a single M-word:

- a. Delete person in M_1 (Spanish, Barceloní).
- b. Delete gender in M_1 (Italian).
- c. Delete number in M_1 (Ondarru).
- d. Delete M_1 (Tavullia).



4. Against a phonological analysis. 3/3-effects in Romance have been argued to be purely phonological dissimilation phenomena (e.g. Gerlach 2002), based on the fact that the two clitics in the cluster typically have *l*-stems. Ondarru provides decisive evidence against this view, since the two clitics involved do not share phonological features (*-tz*, $-\emptyset$ in (5)).

5. Against a syntactic analysis. Person-Case Constraint (PCC) effects in Romance clitic clusters have successfully been analyzed in terms of licensing of clitic features by a head (e.g. *v* in Anagnostopoulou 2003). Dative and accusative clitics are generated in the same syntactic domain, which makes licensing by a single head impossible. A similar analysis accounts for Basque PCC in absolutive/dative contexts (Rezac 2008):

(8) *Presentako n -a -tzu -e. ‘They’ll introduce me to you.’
 will.introduce CL.ABS.1SG -AUX -CL.DAT.2SG -CL.ERG.3PL Ondarru

PCC effects can thus be used as a tool for diagnosing syntactic interaction between clitics. 3/3-effects do arise in the same domain as the PCC in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian, but they do not in Tavullia and Ondarru, where PCC effects are absent in clusters with subject clitics:

(9) a. ϵl te ‘cɛma ‘He calls you.’ Tavullia
 CL.SBJ.3SG.M CL.ACC.2SG calls
 b. t ϵl ‘cɛ:m ‘You call him.’ Tavullia
 CL.SBJ.2SG CL.ACC.3SG.M call.2sg

(10) a. Presentako do -tz -t. (>tzat) ‘I’ll introduce him to him.’
 will.introduce AUX.PRS -CL.DAT.3SG -CL.ERG.1SG Ondarru
 b. Presentako do -st $-\emptyset$. (>sta) ‘He’ll introduce him to me.’
 will.introduce AUX.PRS -CL.DAT.1SG -CL.ERG.3SG Ondarru

Since subject and object clitics are not generated in the same syntactic domain, they are not licensed by the same head, hence the absence of PCC effects. This argues against a syntactic analysis of 3/3-effects (Walkow 2010). The postsyntactic component provides a natural place to account for the facts, since the M-word is the typical domain for operations in this component. This allows for a unified analysis of 3/3-effects in all the languages above.

6. Conclusion. 3/3-effects provide crucial illustration of identity-induced markedness at the level of abstract morphological features in the postsyntactic component: (i) identity in a single feature triggers deletion; (ii) the target of deletion can vary, but the result is always a less marked configuration, and (iii) the relevant domain is the M-word.

Selected references. ANAGNOSTOPOULOU 2003: *The syntax of ditransitives*, Mouton. BONET 1995: *NLLT*. GERLACH 2002: *Clitics in phonology, morphology, and syntax*, Benjamins. MANZINI&SAVOIA 2004: In *The structure of CP and IP*, OUP. NEVINS 2007: *NLLT*. PESCARINI 2010: *LI*. PREMINGER 2009: *LI*. REZAC 2008: *NLLT*. WALKOW 2010: *NELS 40*.