On the (un)availability of gerund-enclitic sequences in Catalan

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Like most Romance languages, Catalan allows for enclisis with non-finite infinitive and gerund verbal forms (*comprar-lo* 'to buy it', *comprant-lo* 'buying it'), as well as with finite imperative verbal forms (*compra'l* 'buy it'). Enclisis is not possible, though, with participles and other finite verbal forms; in these cases, proclisis is found (*l'ha comprat* 'he has bought it'; *el compra* 'he buys it') (e.g., Bonet 2002).

Interestingly enough, the constraints for enclisis with non-finite forms in Majorcan and Minorcan Catalan are more stringent: enclisis is not possible with gerund forms either. As shown in (1), enclisis is not allowed after gerunds in a predicative context, in which case these varieties resort to a paraphrasis with a pseudo-relative clause which requires proclisis (with a finite verbal form). Enclisis is not possible after a gerund in a periphrastic construction, where proclisis is mandatory (2). And finally enclisis is not possible in adjunct gerund clauses (3); since the gerund clause is an adjunct, it constitutes an island (but see Fábregas & Jiménez-Fernández 2016 for an account of certain transparency effects with gerund clauses): the clitic cannot climb and adjoin to the matrix verb, whereby the varieties have no choice but resorting to constructions that are not semantically equivalent, such as cliticizing the complement of the matrix verb (3b) or to a purpose construction (3b). Overall, these varieties show several gaps relative to enclisis with gerunds, which are filled by means of alternative operations and constructions.

(1) a. *He   vist   en   Pere   comprant=lo
         have.AUX.1.SG   seen.PTCP   PERS.ART.M   Pere   buy.GER=it.ACC.M.SG
         'I have seen Peter buying it'

    b. He   vist   en   Pere   qui   el=comprava
         have.AUX.1.SG   seen.PTCP   PERS.ART.M   Pere   that   it.ACC.M.SG=buy.IMP.I
         'I have seen Peter that was buying it'

(2) a. *Estic   arreglant=lo
         be.AUX.1.SG.PRS.I   fix.GER=it.ACC.M.SG
         'I am fixing it'

    b. L=estic   arreglant
         it.ACC.M.SG=be.AUX.1SG.PRS.I   fix.GER
         'I am fixing it'

(3) a. *Va   restaurar   sa   taula   fregant=la
          go.AUX.3.SG   restore.INF   the-DEF.ART.F.SG table   scrubbing=it.AC.F.SG
         'S/he restored the table by scrubbing it'

    b. La=va   restaurar   fregant
          it.ACC.F.SG=go.AUX.3.SG   fix.INF   Scrubbing
         'S/he restored it by scrubbing'

    c. Per restaurar=la,   la=va   fregar
          to restore.INF=it.ACC.F.SG   it.AC.F.SG=go.AUX.3.SG   SCRUB.INF
         'In order to restore it, he scrubbed it'

These gaps have just been mentioned in the literature (Dols 2000, Grimalt 2002, Torres-Tamarit & Pons-Moll 2018). It remains unclear, for instance, whether the source of this pattern is either phonological or morphosyntactic and also how it relates to other aspects of the grammar of clitics, such as stress shift, clitic movement, and structural defectivity.

As Majorcan and Minorcan are precisely the only varieties in Catalan that *systematically* show stress-shift to the last syllable in encliticization (Torres-Tamarit & Pons-Moll 2018), it could be

argued that the avoidance of gerund + enclitic clusters is related to this condition. However, infinitive + enclitic clusters, which also show stress-shift, are permitted (4a), and the generated prosodic structures are the same as the ones that would be generated with gerund + clitic (4b); note also that the potentially created prosodic structures are licit across words (4c, 5c). An argument based on the prosodic condition of these structures, then, is not feasible.

(4)   a. He vingut per *comprar-lo* (/kómpɾ+á+ɾ#ló/ [kum.pɾəl.ló]) 'I came to buy it'
       b. *He vist en Pere *comprant-lo* ([kum.pɾəl.ló]) 'I saw Peter buying it'
       c. Cf. *posant límits* (/pɔ́z+á+nt##límit+z/ [puzallímits]) 'putting limits'

(5)   a. He vingut per *comprar-ho* (/kómpɾ+á+ɾ#ó/ [kum.pɾə.ró]) 'I came to buy it'
       b. *He vist en Pere *comprant-ho* ([kum.pɾən.tó]) 'I saw Peter buying it'
       c. Cf. *posant hores* (/pɔ́z+á+nt##ɔ́ɾ+ə+z/ [pu.zan.tɔ́.ɾəs]) 'putting hours'

This is why we pursue a morphosyntactic account, which we develop next. The descriptive generalizations behind our analysis are the following. *a)* Enclisis to Finite Forms (FF) is not allowed in Catalan varieties (**compres=lo*). Thus proclisis is mandatory (*el=compres*). *b)* Proclisis to non-Finite Forms (NFF) is avoided in Catalan varieties (**vull el=comprar*); *c)* Enclisis to NFF, thus, is the alternative, but its availability across Catalan varieties is conditioned by the variety itelf and the type of NFF: in most Catalan varieties, it is allowed with infinitives and gerunds, but not with participles (*vull comprar=lo*, *estic comprant=lo*, **he comprat=lo*); in MMC, on the contrary, enclisis is only available with infinitives (*vull comprar=lo*, **estic comprant=lo*, **he comprat=lo*). Thus, gerunds cluster together with participles in not admitting enclitics in MMC, whereas they group with infinitives in this regard in the rest of dialects. When enclisis to NFF is not available, the solution is to resort to proclisis to the FF (*l=he comprat*, *l=estic comprant*). Note, however, that there is a general tendency in Catalan varieties to clitic climbing with NFF, and, more crucially, that proclisis to FF in MMC is not possible in cases such the ones **l=he vist en Pere comprant*, where the gerund clause constitutes a syntactic island. We argue for an optimality-theoretical account that places the origin of this point of variation at the syntax-morphology interface: constraint re-ranking of the same set of markedness and faithfulness constraints is the key point of variation between Catalan and MMC, and restructuration, for clitic climbing and the broad avoidance of enclisis with participles. In all varieties, the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF >> STAY explains proclisis to FF (*la=compra*); the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF >> STAY >> *ENCLISIS/INF explains enclisis to the infinitive (*vull comprar=la*); the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF >> STAY >> *ENCLISIS/GER explains the possibility of enclisis with gerunds in most Catalan varieties (*estic comprant=la*), whereas the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF >> *ENCLISIS/GER >> STAY blocks this possibility in MMC (**estic comprant=la*). The impossibility of enclisis with participles in all varieties is a consequence of a process of restructuration of the auxiliar form along with the participle (*i.e.* (he comprat)=la) and of the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF, *ENCLISIS/PART, *PROCLISIS/NFF >> STAY, which leads to the selection of proclisis to the FF: la=(he comprat). In fact, the possibility of restructuration or not in infinitive and gerundive structures explains the internal variation in most Catalan dialects: in case of restructuration, the ranking *ENCLISIS/FF >> STAY >> *ENCLISIS/INF, *ENCLISIS/GER leads to the selection of proclisis (*i.e.* la=(vull comprar); la=(estic comprant)); otherwise, the same ranking leads to the selection of enclisis (*i.e.* vull comprar=la; estic comprant=la). Restructuration, thus, is the key factor to explain the avoidance of enclisis with participles and the tendency to clitic climbing. The generation of alternative structures in MMC for the cases depicted in (1) is a consequence of the ranking *NULL OUPUT, STAY-ISLAND, *ENCLISIS/FF, *PROCLISIS/NFF, *ENCLISIS/GER >> STAY, *ENCLISIS/NFF, where the null output is more harmonic than any other solution: the generated gap is, then, filled with an alternative structure.