

More Remarks on French Clitic Order*

YVES-CHARLES MORIN

Université de Montréal

Received September 12, 1978; revised January 29, 1979

Fiengo and Gitterman [4] propose a new account for the syntax of clitic pronouns in French. As with Perlmutter [12], Kayne [6], and Emonds [3], they propose a transformational analysis in which pronouns are moved by transformations from an underlying NP position to a clitic position. In contrast with previous proposals, Fiengo and Gitterman (hereafter F&G) defend an approach without extrinsic ordering for these transformations. This leads them to posit a number of theoretical devices and/or universal principles for syntax. Among those we find the following ones:

1. an *A-before-A* condition (similar to, but distinct from, the *A-over-A* condition);
2. an abstract concept called *position*, to which some transformations—viz. cliticization rules—may have access;
3. an extension of a phonological convention to allow parentheses as a notation for conjunctively ordered rules;
4. the existence of a new kind of transformation called *rebracketing rules*, which do not change word order, are ordered before all other transformations, and subject to specific universal constraints;
5. the existence of (universal?) mechanisms which weaken categories subject to rebracketing.

It is possible that such theoretical devices and/or universal principles are valid; what I will claim here, however, is that F&G have failed to show that they are. I will show that F&G's description of the syntax of clitic pronouns in French is inadequate, and that therefore, none of these theoretical proposals may be considered to have received any empirical support. I will organize my remarks along the three following axes: (1) F&G's description is descriptively inadequate; (2) it gives an incorrect analysis of clitic constituents; and (3) it expresses a spurious generalization about possible cliticization in French.

* The research reported in this article has been supported in part by the government of the province of Québec under provision of the F.C.A.C.

1. F&G'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC PRONOUNS IS DESCRIPTIVELY INADEQUATE

1.1. THE CASE OF *en voilà deux*

As in the previous transformational analyses, F&G propose that clitic pronouns appear underlyingly in NP position and are moved to their clitic position. Thus, (1) would be derived from an underlying form (2). A rule of Cliticization moves the underlying *lui* to preverbal position, and further adjustments, which we will discuss later, reduce *lui* to *le*.

(1) Il le frappe 'He strikes him'

(2) Il frappe lui

They propose that the principle underlying this change should have the following form: 'front a +PRO element to second position in a sentence.' This, they claim, gives a principled account for the otherwise mysterious fact that clitic pronouns appear postverbally in positive imperatives, and preverbally elsewhere, particularly in negative imperatives, as shown by (1), (3), and (4).

(3) Frappe-le 'Strike him'

(4) Ne le frappe pas 'Don't strike him'

This principle, as stated, is false, and I shall provide two kinds of counterexamples below.

The first type of counterexample involves the predicates *voilà* and *voici*. These two predicates are somehow exceptional in French in that their logical subject always appears as a grammatical object, as in (5).

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (5) a. | Voilà Pierre | 'Here is Pierre' |
| b. | Voilà Pierre bien ennuyé | 'Pierre is now really annoyed' |
| c. | Voilà Pierre débarrassé de ses problèmes | 'Pierre is now ridden of his problems' |
| d. | Voici Pierre arrivé à bon port | 'Pierre has now reached safety' |

This logical subject/grammatical object can be cliticized as any regular object, as appears in (6).

- (6) a. Me voilà 'Here I am'
 b. Me voilà bien ennuyé 'I am really annoyed'
 c. M'en voilà débarassé 'I am now ridden of those'
 d. Vous y voici arrivé 'You reached it'

In these examples the clitics appear in first position, a fact which is in contradiction with the second position hypothesis for clitics in French. (Note that in some dialects of French, these predicates are regular with respect to the second position hypothesis, thus *voilà-me-là* 'here I am'; cf. Remacle [14:64].)

1.2. THE CASE OF INVERTED CLITIC SUBJECTS

The second type of counterexample involves the position of clitic pronouns in constructions with inverted clitic subject. Consider a sentence such as (7):

- (7) Le veux-tu? 'Do you want it'

This sentence can be derived simply from an underlying (8), in a theory which allows rule ordering and the second position hypothesis, by simply ordering Cliticization before Clitic Subject Inversion.

- (8) Tu veux lui

In F&G's proposal however, rules apply whenever their structural description is met. This means that Cliticization may apply again to (7) to give ungrammatical sentences such as **veux-le-tu?* or **veux-tu-le?* (depending on the structure assigned to *veux-tu?*). Once again, in sentences such as (7), object clitic pronouns appear in first position, a fact which falsifies the second position hypothesis.

1.3. THE CASE OF *Je m' imagine toi*

As is well known, a dative clitic cannot cooccur with one of the accusative clitics *me*, *te*, *se*, *nous*, or *vous*. Thus, while cliticization of *me* and *te* are possible in sentences (9a) and (9b), cliticization of both *me* and *te* is impossible in sentences such as (9c). The normal resolution of this incompatibility of cooccurrence is to allow the accusative clitic while the dative is expressed as a regular stressed full pronoun as appears in (9d).

- (9) a. Il me présente à Paul 'He introduces me to Paul'
 b. Il te présente Pierre 'He introduces Pierre to you'
 c. *Il me te présente 'He introduces me to you'
 d. Il me présente à toi 'He introduces me to you'

For F&G, a sentence such as (9d) has (10) as its underlying form.

- (10) Il présente moi à toi

To account for the fact that the accusative "wins out" over the dative in such constructions, F&G propose a universal condition on rule application, the A-before-A condition which states that "in a case in which a structural description of a transformation may refer ambiguously to nodes A_j or A_k in a phrase marker, where A_j precedes A_k , (. . .) A_j is selected." Given this principle, from underlying (10), only (9d) can be derived, as desired.

It has been noted (e.g. in Morin [10]) however that with so-called inherently pronominal verbs, the dative may win out, the accusative being expressed as a regular stressed pronoun. Thus, while we can have (11a) and (11b), sentence (11c) is impossible because of the incompatibility in question. In this case the resolution is (11d), not (11e):

- (11) a. Je m' imagine mal Paul à cet âge-là 'I cannot figure how Paul was at that age'
 b. Je me l' imagine mal à cet âge-là 'I cannot figure how he was at that age'
 c. *Je me t' imagine mal à cet âge-là 'I cannot figure how you were at that age'
 d. Je m' imagine mal toi à cet âge-là 'I cannot figure how you were at that age'
 e. *Je t' imagine mal à moi à cet âge-là

In F&G's analysis, (12) is the underlying form for (11d) (cf. their analysis of *se rappeler* [4:124]). The A-before-A principle wrongly predicts that (11e) and not (11d) is derived from (12).

- (12) J' imagine mal toi à moi à cet âge-là

1.4 THE CASE OF *Je te lui en donnerais*

This case will also show the inadequacy of the A-before-A principle for cliticization in French. This case involves the analysis of ethical datives (which, incidentally, are commonly used in the idiolects of French that I have had the pleasure to hear, provided of course that the conditions for their use are met) as observed in sentences such as (13):

(13) *Je te lui ai foutu une de ces raclées* 'I socked it to him'

F&G propose an underlying form (14a) for sentences such as (13) and, ignoring some details which are not pertinent here, they allow two steps: (14b) after Cliticization, and (14c) after Hopping.

- (14) a. *Je ai foutu une de ces raclées à lui pour toi*
 b. *Je lui ai foutu une de ces raclées pour toi*
 c. *Je te lui ai foutu une de ces raclées*

We observe that Cliticization may apply to either *lui* or *toi* in (14a). The A-before-A principle allows only the first pronoun *lui* to be cliticized. F&G need an extra rule to move the second pronoun *toi*. They invoke the existence of an extra rule, which they call Hopping, to move this ethical pronoun.

If we now examine a sentence such as (15), F&G's analysis requires that (16a) be the underlying form for (15). According to the logic of A-before-A, only *en* may be moved by Cliticization to give (16b).¹ At this stage, and according to the same logic, only *lui* can be fronted by Hopping to give (16c) with a stranded pronoun *toi*.

- (15) *Je te lui en donnerais (moi, des claques à ç't animal)*
 'I for one would certainly give him smacks, the dirty pig'
- (16) a. *Je donnerais en à lui pour toi*
 b. *Je en donnerais à lui pour toi*
 c. *Je lui en donnerais pour toi*

As it stands now, F&G's account of cliticization in French is inade-

¹ As we shall see later, F&G propose that there are two different rules of cliticization, one for +STRONG pronouns, and one for -STRONG pronouns. This distinction is not pertinent here, since *en*, *lui*, and *toi* here are all strong.

quate² since, contrary to what they claim, their analysis cannot derive sentences with ethical datives such as (15), which are, however, in every respect similar to sentences such as (13).

1.5. THE CASE OF CLITIC SUBJECTS

It is well known that French pronouns have different phonological shapes depending upon their function and position. Thus to the full pronoun *eux* 'they/them' correspond the clitics *ils* (nominative), *les* (accusative), and *leur* (dative). F&G analyze all pronouns as underlying full pronouns, marked with the feature +STRONG. When these pronouns are rebracketed (as we shall see later), they are reduced, marked -STRONG, and assume their clitic form according to their case marking (nominative, accusative, or dative). This means that the pronouns that are not rebracketed will retain their strong form, and this is the case in F&G's analysis of the enclitics *moi*, *toi* (and possibly also *nous* and *vous*) in affirmative imperatives when they are not followed by another clitic. F&G propose that this reduction is the result of a Weakening rule, and that "it would be best to state this rule as an operation weakening *all* and *only* those pronouns which are lexically dependent [viz. those which have been rebracketed]" [4: 134, emphasis mine]. This means in particular that nominative *moi* and *toi*

² Actually, it appears that the Hopping rule proposed by F&G is inadequate for ethical datives in imperatives. This rule has the following form:

$$\text{Cliticize} / X_2 \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Third} \\ -\text{REFLEX} \end{array} \right] Y \text{---} Z \text{ (their rule (108))}$$

This means that a pronoun is cliticized in second position before an element that is [+Third -REFLEX]. They show how it applies for ethical datives in the following derivation:

Underlying: casse la figure à lui pour moi
 Cliticiz.: casse lui la figure pour moi
 Rebracket.: [casse [lui]] 2 la figure pour moi
 Hopping: [casse [lui]] moi la figure

Hopping is possible here because the second position is followed by a [+Third -REFLEX] element, viz. *la figure*. If *la figure* is replaced by a pronoun, this last one will be cliticized by weak cliticization before *moi* and *lui* are allowed to cliticize; but this means that there will not be a [+Third -REFLEX] element after the second position for Hopping to apply, and the derivation of *casse-la-lui-moi* (which is the form that F&G's analysis would predict, but see Section 3.2 for a discussion of these ethical forms) is thus impossible in F&G's analysis.

can be weakened to *je* and *tu* only if they have become lexical dependents of the following verb. That is, the structure of a sentence such as (17) must be either (18a) or (18b) in their framework.

(17) Je le vois 'I see him'

- (18) a. [Je [Ie [vois]]]
 b. [[Je [Ie]] vois]

But observe in (18a) and (18b) that the second position as defined by F&G is now to the right of the verb *vois*. Cliticization may apply again and move the object clitic *le* to the right of the verb *vois*. It is clear that either the second position hypothesis must be rejected, or we must admit the possibility of a weakening of lexically independent pronouns.

2. F&G'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC PRONOUNS IN FRENCH GIVES THE WRONG STRUCTURE FOR CLITICS

While the evidence provided above indicates that the account given by F&G is descriptively inadequate, it is not impossible to mend it (by adding some more rules, or invoking some new convention or principles). In this section, I want to argue that F&G's approach is essentially wrong because it depends crucially on distinctions between clitics (distinctions as to their nature or their structure) whose only justification is that they allow the rules to work. Thus, in F&G's analysis some clitics will appear as +STRONG, whereas some others will be -STRONG, without there being any observable difference between them. I take it that the enclitic *moi* in *rends-moi ça* 'give it back to me' and the enclitic *lui* in *rends-lui ça* 'give it back to him' will be respectively +STRONG and -STRONG, because F&G postulate a weakening of *all* third person clitic pronouns (cf. their derivation (90)) which means that the enclitic *lui* is -STRONG, whereas the enclitic *moi*, *toi*, *nous*, *vous* are not weakened (cf. their derivation (85)) and remain +STRONG. There are no observable differences between the two enclitics, however, and no evidence to indicate that one is strong and not the other.

In the same manner, F&G are led to claim that the underlying

categories for *en* and *y* are different,³ which entails that the clitic *en* is strong in all positions, whereas *y* is usually weak; still there is not the least piece of evidence to show that there should be a difference of strength between the two clitics.

It is with respect to the constituent structure of clitics that F&G's analysis is most at variance with the facts, and this is why it is worthwhile spending some time on F&G's analysis of constituent structure for clitics. They propose that the structure in which they appear is determined by a series of three rebracketing rules represented below (their rules (100a), (100b), and (107))⁴:

- (19) a. +PRO → +PRO [+PRO]
 b. +V → +PRO [+V]
 +Third
 c. +V → [+V] +PRO
 -REFL

³ In their only pertinent example *il y en voit* 'he sees some of them there,' F&G analyze *en* as \bar{N} and *y* as ADV. Given the conditions on rebracketing and subsequent weakening of pronouns that we shall see in (19) which bar a pronoun from being rebracketed onto a category with an inferior bar specification, it follows that $[en]_{\bar{N}}$ can be weakened only if it is rebracketed onto a pronoun with a two bar specification, which apparently is never possible.

F&G give no argument why *en* in this example should be \bar{N} , rather than \bar{P} , as is usually assumed, or \bar{N} as is argued by Milner [8, 9]. F&G would probably analyze *en* and *y* as \bar{P} 's in constructions where they alternate with \bar{P} , e.g. in *il en parle* 'he speaks of it,' *il y pense* 'he thinks about it,' which alternate with *il parle de ça*, *il pense à ça*. This means that *y* will be rebracketed with the verb, and thus weakened, when it is an ADV as in *vas-y* 'go there,' but will remain independent, and thus +STRONG, when it is a \bar{P} as in *penses-y* 'think about it.' Still there is not the slightest indication that the two *y*'s have different strength in these constructions.

Actually, F&G's analysis faces a problem if *y* and *en* can be both \bar{P} 's in the same sentence as may be argued for a sentence such as *j'y en ai ajouté quelques gouttes* 'I have added a few drops of it to it' where *y* and *en* alternate with \bar{P} 's: *j'ai ajouté quelques gouttes de rhum à ton baba* 'I have added a few drops of rum to your baba.' The underlying form for this sentence would be *j'ai ajouté quelques gouttes [en] _{\bar{P}} [y] _{\bar{P}}* , which allows the derivation of the ungrammatical sentence **j'en y ai ajouté quelques gouttes* by following the same steps as those F&G propose for the derivation of *il l'y voit* 'he sees him there' (their derivation (120, 121)).

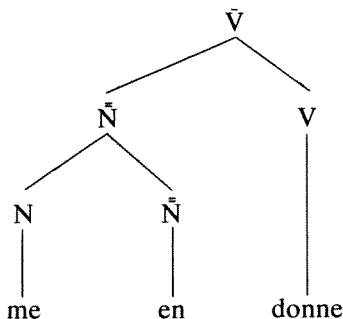
⁴ Actually, rule (19a) should be modified to the following to exclude nominative +PRO elements from being rebracketed as we have seen in 1.5, if one is to preserve the second position hypothesis:

$$+PRO \rightarrow \begin{matrix} +PRO \\ +Nominative \end{matrix} [+PRO]$$

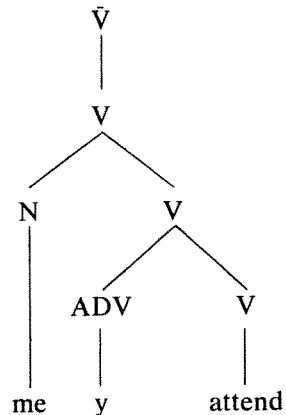
Rule (19a) says that a +PRO element is rebracketed to the left of another +PRO element, thus *moi en* is rebracketed as [*moi [en]*]. Rule (19b) says that a +PRO element is rebracketed to the left of a V, thus *Jean moi regarde* is rebracketed as *Jean [moi [regarde]]*. Finally, (19c) says that a nonreflexive third person +PRO element is rebracketed to the right of a V, thus *regarde lui* is rebracketed as [*regarde [lui]*]; on the other hand, *regarde moi* is not rebracketed, as *moi* is not third person. These rebracketing rules are constrained by universal conventions that block them if the element to be moved is a category with a bar specification superior to the bar specification of the category that does not move; thus in *Jean [en]_{N̄} [regarde]_V*, no rebracketing is possible as *en* has two bars, while *regarde* has none.

These conventions, together with the derivational history, will attribute the following constituent structures to *il m'en donne* and *il m'y attend*:

- (20) Il m'en donne
'He gives me some'



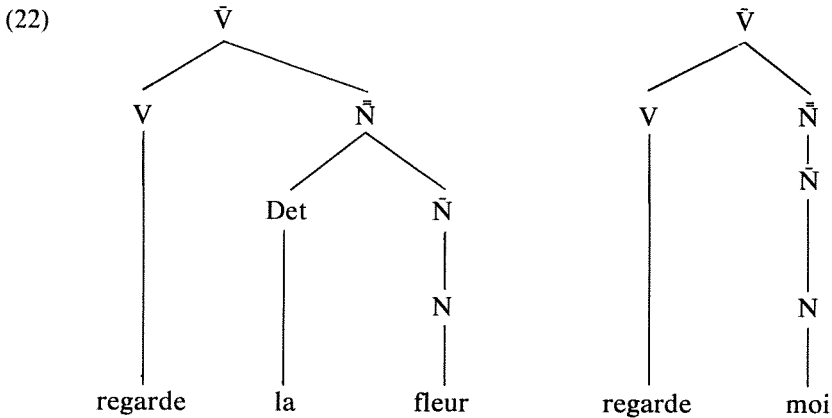
- Il m'y attend
'He waits for me there'



These two structures are strikingly different, but there is not the slightest piece of evidence to suggest that *en* and *y* occur in different structures; on the contrary, they always pattern identically.

Let us now turn to the constituent structure of object clitics. In F&G's analysis, sentences (21a) and (21b) must have the same structures, represented in (22).

- (21) a. Regarde la fleur 'Look at the flower'
 b. Regarde-moi 'Look at me'

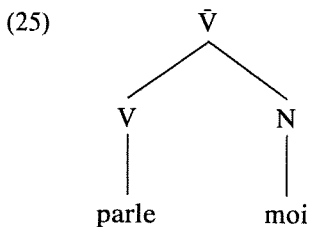


The underlying structure of sentence (21b) is not changed: rebracketing does not apply, Cliticization does not apply since the +PRO element *moi* is already in second position, and any change at this stage would be a rebracketing, leading to a weakening of *moi* to *me*. On the other hand, Cliticization will apply in the derivation of sentence (23). In F&G's analysis it would have (24a) as underlying form. Cliticization would move the +PRO element, which is here a category N, to second position, giving (24b), a rule of preposition deletion, which we have assumed throughout, giving the desired output.

(23) parle-moi 'speak to me'

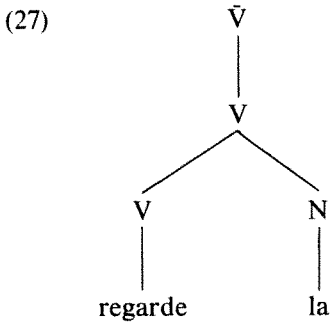
- (24) a. parle à moi
b. parle moi à

The constituent structure of (23) would then be (25) with the category N of *moi* attached directly to \bar{V} , in contrast with the structure of (21b).



Finally, the constituent structure of sentence (26) would be (27), where the +PRO element has been rebracketed to V by application of rule (19c). Its derived structure would then be different from both the structures of (21b) and (23).

(26) *Regarde-la* 'Look at her'



However, all evidence supports the assumption that all enclitics appear in the same structures, whether they are underlyingly a direct object as in (21b), an indirect object as in (23), a first person as in (21a) and (23), or a third person as in (26). Furthermore, the same evidence indicates that the structure in which all enclitics appear is different from the structure for constructions with NP direct object such as (21a). I shall note here only the intonation and stress patterns which group together (21b), (23), and (26) in contradistinction to (21a), or the position of nonmobile adverbs, such as *donc*, *bien*, etc., whose distribution follows the same distinction, as appears in the sentences (28).

- (28) a. *regarde donc la fleur* 'why don't you look at the flower!'
 b. *regarde-moi donc* 'why don't you look at me!'
 c. *parle-moi donc* 'why don't you speak to me!'
 d. *regarde-la donc* 'why don't you look at her!'

These adverbs must appear between the verb and the following NP object as in (28a), but must appear after the enclitics, whatever their nature (direct or indirect objects, first or third persons) as in (28b, c, d). It is clear that F&G's analysis expresses the wrong generalization with respect to these constituent structures.

3. F&G'S ACCOUNT OF THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC PRONOUNS IN FRENCH EXPRESSES THE WRONG GENERALIZATION CONCERNING POSSIBLE CLITICIZATION

We have seen that F&G's description of the syntax of clitic pronouns in French is descriptively inadequate, in that it does not account for the (observable) facts of French. A good theory of clitics in French should be descriptively adequate and should also capture the real principles that underlie the clitic pronoun system. With respect to clitic pronouns in French, we have the advantage of being able to observe a great number of more or less related dialects and languages that all share an historically related system of clitic pronouns, and of having knowledge of their historical evolution. By observing what these systems have in common, we will be in a better position to distinguish between what appear to be the general characteristics of the clitic system of French, and what appear to be only minor features. We find three important properties and/or tendencies in the Romance clitic system:

1. the clitics are always all enclitics (postverbal) or all proclitics (preverbal) to the same verb;
2. the order in the sequence of clitics tends to be identical for enclitics and proclitics;
3. there is a strong tendency to limit the allomorphy within the clitic system, but not between the clitics and the strong pronouns.

We shall examine each of these points and show that in each case, F&G's analysis makes the wrong predictions.

3.1. CLITICS ARE ALWAYS ON THE SAME SIDE OF THE SAME VERB

We observe, and this to my knowledge is true of all Romance languages, that the clitics are always all enclitics or all proclitics (or all internal in some Romance languages), unless they are reduplicated on both sides of the same verb⁵; we never observe clitics attached on

⁵ Actually, Ratel [13:32] mentions the existence of Franco-Provençal dialects where two copies of the *same* clitic pronoun may be affixed on *both* sides of an infinitive. In the area he describes, all infinitives ending with an unstressed vowel are preceded by their clitic pronouns, as in SF: *dəvø lofərə* (lit. *je veux le faire*) 'I want to do it.' The other infinitives, however, may also be preceded by the clitic pronouns in some, but

both sides of the same verb (unless they are copies of each other), i.e. constructions such as **il me donne-le*. This is rather a characteristic property of clitic pronouns in Romance. Still, most transformational analyses predict that constructions with clitics on both sides of the same verb are possible. In Emonds [3], for instance, there are different rules which move the clitics *le*, *la*, *les* on the one hand, and the other clitics on the other hand. In Emonds' framework it is possible to construct a grammar which moves the clitics *le*, *la*, and *les* into enclitic position while the other clitics are moved into proclitic position.

F&G's analysis, at first sight, may seem to make the right kind of predictions. Having a general constraint on cliticization rules so that they can only move clitics into second position ensures that all clitics will appear on the same side of the verb. Closer examination of F&G's rules however shows that this is not the case. The rebracketing rule (19a) (F&G's rule (100a)) is actually a cliticization rule which hides its name.⁶ To see that F&G's analysis allows potential constructions such as **il me donne-le*, we will have to examine again the derivation of sentence (9d), which we repeat below as (29), and for which F&G would have the underlying form (30).

(29) Il me présente à toi 'He introduces me to you'

(30) Il présente moi à toi

The A-before-A convention ensures that only *moi* will be cliticized. To allow the derivation of sentence (31) from underlying (32), in which both pronouns are cliticized, F&G propose the following mechanism: the direct object pronoun *lui* is moved into enclitic position by the (cliticizing) rebracketing rule (19a), and at the same time weakened to *le* as a result of rebracketing to give (33).

(31) Il te le présente 'He introduces him to you'

not all villages; in some places the clitic pronouns are suffixed: *fo portálo* (lit. *faut porter-le*) 'it has to be carried,' and in others they are both prefixed and suffixed: *fo lopurtálo* (lit. *faut le porter-le*) 'it has to be carried.' It is clear in these last villages that there cannot be a clitic movement rule. I suspect that in these villages series of several clitic pronouns will *all* be prefixed and suffixed.

⁶ In particular it will move an accusative over intervening adverbs. For instance, it will allow the object to be encliticized to the verbs in sentences corresponding to *donne donc le livre à Jean* to give *donne-le donc à Jean*. To achieve this, F&G will allow free movement of adverbs and possibly filters which will rule out outputs such as **donne donc lui*, **donne le livre donc*.

(32) Il présente lui à toi

(33) Il [[présente] le] à toi

In order to allow the movement of both pronouns *le* and *toi* in (33) into proclitic position while still preventing the movement of *toi* in (30), F&G suggest that the general rule of Cliticization be written as (34), this being an abbreviation for the two conjunctively ordered rules (35a) and (35b).

(34) Cliticize (–STRONG)

(35) a. Cliticize –STRONG

b. Cliticize +STRONG

Rule (35a) and (35b), applying in this order to (33), will move *le* (which has been marked –STRONG by the (cliticizing) rebracketing rule) and *toi*, respectively, into proclitic position, thus giving the desired (31). Rule (35a), on the other hand, cannot apply to sentence (30), where both pronouns have remained +STRONG. This means that F&G's analysis would allow a grammar identical to the grammar they propose for French, except that rule (34) is replaced by rule (35b). This resulting grammar will derive sentences such as **il me donne-le*.

3.2. PROCLITIC ORDER TENDS TO BE IDENTICAL TO ENCLITIC ORDER

We observe in the Romance languages that have preserved clitic sequences (excluding those dialects where clitic sequences have been so morphologized after being phonologically reduced that clitic sequences can no longer be recognized), that the order of proclitics and the order of enclitics is identical. The only noticeable exception is Standard French (SF). Even SF has not always been exceptional. In Old French, the order was the same for enclitics and proclitics; thus we had the pattern (36):

(36) *Old French*
 il le me donne: donne-le-moi
 il le lui donne: donne-le-lui

In (36) we see that in Old French the accusative clitics always precede the dative clitics both in enclitic and proclitic positions. There occurred in the Middle French period a change in the *accusative-dative* order

in favor of the *dative-accusative* order. (This change occurred independently in such other Romance languages as Catalan, Provençal, Southern Italian and some Northern Italian dialects, where it was systematic and affected both enclitics and proclitics; cf. Wanner [16].) In French the change was incomplete; it affected only the proclitics, and only sequences containing first- and second-person datives, i.e. only the sequences *le me*, *le te*, *le nous*, *le vous*, etc., or reflexive datives, i.e. *le se*, etc.; sequences with third-person datives were not affected, e.g. *le lui*, *le leur*, etc. More accurately, it was in SF that the change was incomplete. In all the other Northern French dialects of which I have been able to find a description, the change has been complete, and the order of clitics is again identical in enclitic and proclitic positions, as appears in the examples below (for convenience, I use the standard orthography; this does not correspond to the actual pronunciation, except that *moi* means that the enclitic is phonetically distinct from the proclitic *me* and has the same pronunciation as the nonclitic full pronoun):

- (37) a. *Lorrain dialect of Ranrupt* (cf. Aub-Büscher [1])
 il me le donne: donne-me-le
 (there is no sequence *le lui* or *lui le* in this dialect)
- b. *Vendéen dialect of Vouvant* (cf. Rézeau [15])
 il me le donne: donne-me-le
 il lui le donne: donne-lui-le
- c. *Walloon dialect of La Gleize* (cf. Remacle [14])
 il me le donne: donne-me-le
- d. *Normand dialect of Saire* (cf. Lepelley [7])
 il me le donne: donne-moi-le
 il lui le donne: donne-lui-le
 (the opposition between *moi* and *me* is not altogether clear here, as they are both pronounced [me].)
- e. *Gallo dialects of Plouguenast* (cf. Hervé [5]) and *Pléchatel*
 (cf. Dottin et Langouet [2])
 il me le donne: donne-moi-le
 il lui le donne: donne-lui-le

SF is truly exceptional in having different orders for enclitics and proclitics. Still the differences between the two orders is rather minimal. Actually, most sequences of clitics are identical in proclitic and enclitic positions, and it is only in a few cases that we need specify that the orders are different, thus the orders *le lui*, *m'en*, *l'en*, *lui en*, *m'y*, etc. are the same in enclitic and proclitic positions, and it is only

the sequences such as *me le* in proclitic position and *le-moi* in enclitic position which differ in their orders. It looks as if the situation in SF is a transitory one between the Old French order and a new order, and a look at the current regional varieties of Standard French shows exactly that. Thus the old order *le-moi*, *le-toi*, etc. found in the imperative is artificially maintained in SF, but has been replaced by the order *moi-le*, *toi-le*, etc. in all the varieties of modern spoken SF. (I shall use here the term Regional French (RF) for these varieties of French to distinguish them from the historical dialects that are not varieties of SF). Thus the actual pattern in Paris RF is as follows (without forgetting that most speakers of RF will occasionally speak SF):

(38) *Paris RF*

il me le donne:	donne-moi-le
il le lui donne:	donne-le-lui

In Paris RF the orders of enclitics and proclitics are identical; note that in this RF *le lui* retains the SF order in both enclitic and proclitic position. This is not true of all RF's: in my field investigations in France, I observed that in Gallo RF (spoken in the Romance part of Brittany, mostly by speakers who ignore the Gallo dialect) and in Saint-Etienne RF, the dative clitics always precede the accusative clitics, and again both in enclitic and proclitic positions, as illustrated below:

(39) *Gallo RF and Saint-Etienne RF*

il me le donne:	donne-moi-le
il lui le donne:	donne-lui-le

Finally, if we turn to ethical datives (which are not recorded in SF text-books), my observations do not coincide with those of F&G. I have observed that ethical datives tend to have the same order with respect to the other clitics, both in enclitic and proclitic positions, as in the examples below from Paris RF:

- (40) a. Casse-moi-lui la gueule, à ce p'tit con-là!
 'Won't you break that bastard's face!'
 b. Fais-moi-lui une grosse tête!
 'Won't you punch his face!'
 c. Allez, vas-y, casse-moi-la-lui, sa petite gueule de con!
 'Come on, won't you break that rat's dirty face!'

- (41) a. Il te lui a gentiment cassé la gueule, fallait voir
 'You should have seen how he nicely broke his face'
 b. Il te lui a fait une de ces grosses têtes
 'He punched his face like crazy'
 c. Il me la lui a cassée, ç't andouille
 'That dumb bell got me into trouble by breaking that stuff
 of hers'

It is clear that there exists a strong correlation between the order of enclitics and the order of proclitics. An adequate theory of clitic pronouns should value more highly a grammar in which both orders are identical (as in most Romance languages) or almost identical (as in SF) than a grammar in which both orders are completely different. In F&G's approach, however, the similarity between the two orders is only an accident.

3.3. CLITICS TEND TO BE PHONOLOGICALLY AUTONOMOUS WITH RESPECT TO FULL PRONOUNS

We observe that in most Romance languages there is a strong tendency for clitics to be phonologically invariant and have the same form in proclitic and enclitic positions. This is true of most Romance languages, with the exception of Northern French dialects, in which some (including SF), but not all dialects (see in (37) the case of Lorrain, Vendéen, Walloon dialects), have two morphological systems: one for proclitics, and one for enclitics. In contrast with this tendency, there is frequent allomorphy between the clitics and the corresponding full pronouns. This indicates that clitics tend to be phonologically autonomous with respect to full pronouns. Still, F&G's approach to clitics in SF posits a strong relationship between the two series, by postulating that the +STRONG clitics are in fact the full pronouns.

The historical evolution of SF shows that the proclitic system, the enclitic system, and the full pronoun system have developed into three autonomous systems in which the identity between corresponding elements is an accident due to historical factors (except possibly for the clitics *nous* and *vous*, which are completely invariant in SF). We can observe the autonomy of these three systems in (42), where I have listed the SF version of enclitics together with their current reflexes in Paris RF.

(42)	<i>SF enclitics</i>	<i>Paris RF enclitics</i>
	donne-le-moi	donne-moi-le
	donne-m'en	donne-moi-zen
	donne lui-en deux	donne-lui-zen deux
	donne-leur-en deux	donne-leur-zen deux
	empêche-l'en	* (= empêche-le)
	??amène-m'y	amène-moi-zy
	??amène-l'y	* (= amène-le là-bas)

We see in Paris RF the emergence of an enclitic system where the clitics tend to be invariable: *moi* and *toi* are generalized and used instead of the enclitics *m'* and *t'*, *y* and *en* are reanalyzed as *zy* and *zen* (and are therefore different from the proclitic *en* and *y*).⁷ We should also note that the proclitic *le* and the enclitic *le* are phonologically distinct, in spite of a common spelling: the proclitic *le* is phonologically /lə/ with a mute *e* which may be elided, the enclitic *le* is phonologically /lə/ or /lɸ/ with a vowel which is never elided in SF and in Paris RF. This gives the following contrast between proclitics and enclitics in Paris RF:

(43)	<i>Proclitics</i>	<i>Enclitics</i>	<i>Full pronouns</i>
	mə	mwa	mwa
	tə	twa	twa
	sə	*	swa, lwi, ɛl, ɸ
	lə	lə (lɸ)	lwi, sa
	ã	zã	* (de ça, de là)
	i	zi	la (là)

In F&G's analysis, object clitics can have only two forms: the form of the full pronoun, if they remain +STRONG, and a reduced form (which depends possibly on the case marking) if they are rebracketed in the derivation. This kind of analysis will be unable to explain why direct objects in SF have two reduced forms, an enclitic one /lə/ and a proclitic one /lə/, both of them distinct from the full pronoun /lwi/, nor the development that we observe in Paris RF where this is also true of *y* (proclitic: /i/; enclitic: /zi/; full pronoun: /la/) and *en* (proclitic: /ã/; enclitic: /zã/; no full pronoun). It is clear that one needs a morphological

⁷ We observe in the examples (42) that in Paris RF, the forms corresponding to SF *empêche-l'en*, *amène-l'y* are not normally used. When speakers of Paris RF are forced to use such forms, as I have tested, they will say *empêche-le-zen*, *amène-le-zy*, and not the literary subterfuges *empêches-en-le*, *amènes-y-le* recommended by grammarians of SF.

mechanism to account for the allomorphy /lwi ~ læ ~ lə/, /la ~ zi ~ i/, or /* ~ zā ~ ã/, which means that one must give up completely the rebracketing principles on which is based the alternation *moi ~ me* and *toi ~ te* in F&G's analysis.

4. CONCLUSION

It will be obvious to the reader that I have by no means exhausted the domain of interest to the student of French cliticization. In fact it is possible that there is no cliticization of pronouns in French at all, and that the so-called clitic pronouns are simply inflectional endings as we find in the Algonkian languages.⁸

It appears, however, that the principles elaborated in F&G's analysis of clitic pronouns in French cannot be adopted in view of the considerations brought to bear here. This evidence includes: (a) the existence of predicates *voilà* and *voici*, and of inverted clitic subject constructions which show that the second position hypothesis postulated by F&G is false; (b) the existence of constructions such as *je m' imagine toi, je te lui en donnerais*, which show that the A-before-A condition is not pertinent for cliticization; (c) the observation that the rebracketing rules postulated by F&G give the wrong constituent structure for clitic constructions; (d) the existence of several "weakened" clitics for a given pronoun complement, which shows that rebracketing is not pertinent in accounting for the "weakening" of clitic pronouns; (e) the observation that clitics are all proclitics or all enclitics, which shows that the extension of the phonological parentheses for conjunctive order in syntax allows spurious generalizations; and (f) the observation that clitic sequences have a strong tendency to have the same sequential order both in proclitic and enclitic positions, a fact which is not valued in most transformational analyses of clitic pronouns.

REFERENCES

1. Aub-Büscher, G. 1962. *Le parler rural de Ranrupt*. Paris: Klincksieck.
2. Dottin, G., and Langouet, J. 1901; reprinted 1970. *Glossaire du parler de Pléchâtel*. Geneva: Slatkine.
3. Emonds, J. 1975. A transformational analysis of French clitics without positive output constraints. *Linguistic Analysis* 1: 3-23.

⁸ As was suggested to me by Kenneth Hill in the late sixties.

4. Fiengo, R., and Gitterman, M. R. 1978. Remarks on French clitic order. *Linguistic Analysis* 4: 115-147.
5. Hervé, B. 1973. *Le parler de Plouguenast*. Master's thesis, Université de Haute Bretagne.
6. Kayne, R. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
7. Lepelley, R. 1974. *Le parler normand du Val de Saire*. Caen: Musée de Normandie.
8. Milner, J.-C. 1976. *Quelques opérations de détermination en français*. Université de Lille III: Service de reproduction des thèses.
9. ———. 1978. *De la syntaxe à l'interprétation*. Paris: Seuil.
10. Morin, Y.-C. 1975. Remarques sur le placement des clitiques. *Recherches linguistiques à Montréal* 4: 175-81.
11. ———. 1978. Interprétation des pronoms et des réfléchis en français. In *Syntaxe et sémantique du français*. Cahier de linguistique 8. Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
12. Perlmutter, D. 1971. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
13. Ratel, V. 1958. *Morphologie du patois de Saint-Martin-La-Porte (Savoie)*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres."
14. Remacle, L. 1937. *Le parler de la Gleize*. Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne.
15. Rézeau, P. 1976. *Un patois de Vendée: Le parler rural de Vouvant*. Paris: Klincksieck.
16. Wanner, D. 1974. The evolution of Romance clitic order. In *Linguistic Studies in Romance Languages*, R. J. Campbell, M. G. Goldin, and M. C. Wang, eds. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, pp. 158-177.