

Clitic placement in European Portuguese: an anti-V2 requirement

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West Ibero-Romance languages (European Portuguese - EP, Galician and Asturian) have a much-studied complex pattern of clitic placement with finite verbs (see Barbosa 2000, Fernandez-Rubiera 2009). Proclisis is obligatorily triggered by: (i) overt complementisers (*que* ‘that’, *se* ‘if’); (ii) Negation; (iii) Fronted quantifier phrases (wh-phrases, negative phrases, contrastive foci); (iv) Certain aspectual/quantificational/focalising adverbs (*já*, ‘already’ *ainda* ‘still’, *só* ‘only’, *também* ‘also’ in EP). Enclisis is the default option, occurring in all other finite contexts.

Following Fernández-Rubiera (2009), I propose that Fin in EP has an anti-V2 property – a single edge feature requiring movement of either a head or an XP to/through Fin, but not both. I propose that the clitic always raises to spec TP, satisfying a [uT] feature. Proclisis results where an XP satisfies the edge feature and the verbal complex moves no higher than T; enclisis results where it is the verbal complex that raises to Fin to satisfy the edge feature.

In this talk, I focus on clitic placement with uninflected infinitives in EP and argue that these understudied patterns are particularly insightful. With uninflected infinitives, most proclisis triggers also permit enclisis. This is true for contexts (i)-(iii), but the exception is context (iv): the aspectual/quantificational/focalising adverbs are only ever compatible with proclisis (see Martins 2013: 2284):

- (1) Não sabemos se só {**lhe**= falar /*falar=**lhe**} amanhã
NEG know.1PL if only 3SG.DAT= speakspeak=3SG.DAT tomorrow
‘We don’t know whether only to speak to him tomorrow.’

Following Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), I propose there is a second way to derive enclisis in non-finite contexts via ‘low fusion’ whereby the clitic attaches to the verb and the two move together via head-movement to T. This is impossible in (1) because adverbs like *só* are heads located between T and voice, blocking verb+clitic movement to T.

The implication is that clitic placement is a syntactic rather than a prosodic matter, regulated by a morphosyntactic feature [uT] and an anti-V2 requirement (contra Barbosa 2000, and many others).

References: • Barbosa, P. (2000). Clitics: a window into the null subject property. In J. Costa (ed.), *Portuguese Syntax*. OUP, 31-93. • Fernandez-Rubiera, F. (2009) Clitics at the edge: clitic placement in Western Iberian Romance languages. PhD, Georgetown University. • Martins, A.-M. (2013). 4.2 posição dos pronomes pessoais clíticos. In *Gramática do Português II*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. • Raposo, E. and Uriagereka, J. (2005). Clitic Placement in Western Iberian: A Minimalist View. In G. Cinque and R. S. Kayne (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*. OUP, 639-697.