Optional Participial Agreement with Direct Object Clitics in Catalan*

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Abstract

This paper examines an optional phenomenon in a Catalan dialect, Barcelonian Catalan, that seems to be quite peculiar amongst the Romance languages. This phenomenon involves optional participial agreement with third person direct object clitics. In other Romance languages, this agreement is either compulsory (Italian, French...) or impossible (Spanish, Portuguese...). I show that the optionality observed in Barcelonian Catalan cannot be adequately explained by analyses proposed in the literature regarding clitic raising. The analysis here proposed provides evidence for clitic raising as an example of XP movement, at least as far as AgrOP. There seems to be a link between overt participial agreement, A-movement of the DP clitic and alternation of auxiliaries. This link accounts for compulsory versus impossible participial agreement observed in most Romance languages as well as the optionality present in Barcelonian Catalan.

Key words: participial agreement, clitics, optionality.

Resum. *Acord opcional del participi amb clítics d'objecte directe en català*

Aquest article examina un fenomen opcional en un dialecte català, el català barceloní, que sembla ser força peculiar entre les llengües romàniques. Es tracta de l'acord opcional del participi amb els clítics d'objecte directe de tercera persona. En altres llengües romàniques, aquest acord és o bé obligatori (italià, francès...), o bé impossible (castellà, portuguès...). Es demostrarà que algunes anàlisis proposades en la literatura sobre clítics no poden explicar l'opcionalitat del català barceloní. L'anàlisi que es proposarà aquí dóna suport a la proposta que els clítics són un exemple de moviment d'SX com a mínim fins a SConcO. Es veurà també que sembla haver-hi una estreta relació entre acord del participi, moviment-A del clític SD i alternança de verbs auxiliars. Aquesta relació pot explicar l'obligatorietat / impossibilitat d'acord del participi, present en la majoria de les llengües romàniques, així com l'opcionalitat observada en el català barceloní.

Paraules clau: acord del participi, clítics, opcionalitat.

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Optionality in current linguistic theory is often regarded as problematic since, within the minimalist programme, the principles of economy *tend to eliminate optionality in derivation* (Chomsky (1991:14)) and can only account for optionality if the different derivations are equal in cost. In the particular case of optionality we will examine below, we will see that optionality can actually be crucial to linguistic theory. In this instance, the two optional derivations of the Catalan data will help us decide between different analyses of clitic raising.

The paper is organised as follows. In section 1, I briefly present the hypotheses of the minimalist programme which are most relevant for the purposes of this paper. In section 2, I give a description of the phenomenon of participial agreement in relation to object clitics in Romance, providing data from different Romance languages to illustrate compulsory versus lack of participial agreement as well as the optionality observed in Barcelonian Catalan. In section 3, we will see that an analysis of participial agreement in terms of head movement (Roberts (1989)) or XP movement of the clitics to [Spec, Agr] (Kayne (1989)) cannot account for the data presented. Section 4 will present an analysis of the data using Lois (1990). In section 5, I will address the important question of why Barcelonian Catalan seems to fall outside the pattern observed in Romance. Finally, in section 6, I will deal with other questions raised by the data.
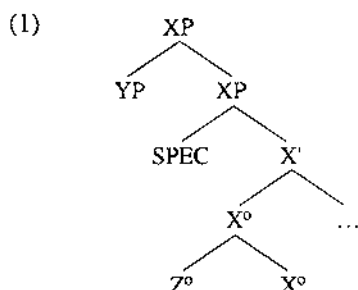
1. Theoretical background

I assume the minimalist framework of Chomsky (1992). Thus, morphological features project onto their own functional projections, whose main purpose is to allow for the checking of features. If the features of both the lexical element and the relevant functional category are the same, the derivation will be grammatical. Otherwise, it will crash.

For example, *goes* is already inserted from the lexicon with its present tense and third person singular features which need to be checked against these features represented under TP and AgrP. Thus, *goes* must raise to TP and AgrP (in English, at LF) to allow for feature checking.

In this paper, the checking theory of the minimalist programme will play an important role, especially in relation to the checking of accusative case. It is thus important to remember that features can be checked in any position within the relevant maximal projection of a head, i.e. within the 'checking domain' of a head (in (1), in either YP, SPEC or Z°):[1]

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1.   For a more detailed description of checking theory, the reader is referred to Chomsky (1992).

(1)

```
              XP
             /  \
           YP    XP
                /  \
             SPEC   X'
                   /  \
                  X°    ...
                 /  \
               Z°    X°
```

2. The data

Romance languages fall mainly into two groups in relation to the interaction between direct object clitics and past participles: they either show compulsory participial agreement, which Lois (1990) has named type A languages, or lack of such an agreement - type B languages.

French (type A language)

(2)   Je **les**   ai   écrites/*écrit.
        I them-Fem.Pl have   written-Fem.Pl/written
        'I have written them.'

(3)   Il t'a   prise   par la main.
        he you.Fem.Sg-has taken-Fem.Sg by the hand
        'He has taken you by the hand.'

Spanish (type B language)

(4)   **Las**   he   visto/*vistas.
        them-Fem.Pl have-1Sg seen/seen-Fem.Pl
        'I have seen them.'

(5)   **Te**   ha cogido/*cogida   por la mano.
        you.Fem.Sg has taken/taken-Fem.Sg by the hand
        'He has taken you by the hand.'

In Catalan, participial agreement with 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics is impossible (6), just as in Spanish. However, with 3rd person direct object clitics, participial agreement *is*, in fact, optional (7),[2] both forms being in free variation:

2.   This optionality is more common in the feminine form than in the masculine form. Whereas my informants accept all examples of feminine participial agreement, they only accept certain examples of masculine participial agreement. For instance, most of them accept *als nens, encara no els he vistos* 'the boys, I haven't seen-Masc.Pl them yet', but none of them accepted *els deures, ja els he fets* 'the exercices-Masc.Pl, I have already done-Masc.Pl them'. I will return to this in section 6.

Catalan

(6)   T'ha   agafat/*agafada   per la mà.
        you.Fem.Sg-has taken/taken-Fem.Sg by the hand
        'He has taken you by the hand.'

(7) a. **Les**   he   vist/vistes.
        them-Fem.Pl have-1Sg seen/seen-Fem.Pl
        'I have seen them.'

    b. Ja   l'he   escrit/escrita
        already it.Fem.Sg-have-1Sg written/written-Fem.Sg
        'I have already written it.'

In Italian (a type-A language in Lois' classification), we apparently have a similar situation to the one already described for Barcelonian Catalan. Thus, Italian 1st and 2nd person direct object clitics present a similar kind of optionality to the one observed for Catalan 3rd person clitics (9). However, participial agreement is compulsory with Italian third person direct object clitics (8). This is an important difference between Catalan and Italian. In Italian, participial agreement is either compulsory, with 3rd person clitics, or optional, with 1st and 2nd person clitics, whereas in Catalan participial agreement is either optional, with 3rd person clitics, or impossible, with 1st and 2nd person clitics. I will argue below that although both kinds of optionality have a similar analysis, their causes are different. I will return to this in section 6.

Italian

(8) a. L'ho   vista/*visto.
        her-have-1Sg seen-Fem.Sg/seen
        'I have seen her.'

    b. Gli   ho   visti/*visto.
        them-Masc.Pl have-1Sg seen-Masc.Pl/seen
        'I have seen them.'

(9)   Ti   ha visto/vista.
        you.Fem.Sg has seen/seen-Fem.Sg
        'He/she has seen you.'

One important question arises at this point, namely, if it is the case that in all of the sentences above (2-9), the direct object clitic has raised to AgrOP and checked its features before SpellOut, why should such raising result in lack of participial agreement in Spanish, compulsory agreement in French (and Italian) and even optional agreement in Barcelonian Catalan (and Italian)?

Furthermore, in French there is also compulsory participial agreement with null operators in object relative clauses (10). This is not so for type B languages (11), where such participial agreement is impossible. Catalan (12) also disallows participial agreement in this context, which could be taken to show that Catalan patterns with type B languages. However, the fact that other type A languages, like Italian,

do not allow for participial agreement in null operator relative clauses (13) either seems to indicate that the factor involved, whatever it may be, falls outside the classification of type A and B languages. Even so, the analysis outlined in section 4 will also account for the participial agreement shown in (10) versus lack of agreement in (11,12,13).

French

(10)   Les lettres   que j'ai   écrites/*écrit.
        the letters-Fem.Pl that I-have written-Fem.Pl/written

Spanish

(11)   Las niñas que he   visto/*vistas.
        the girls   that have-1Sg seen/seen-Fem.Pl
        'The girls that I have seen.'

Catalan

(12)   Les noies que he   vist/*vistes.
        the girls that have-1Sg seen/*seen-Fem.Pl

Italian

(13)   Le raggazze che ho   visto/*viste.
        the girls   that have-1Sg seen/seen-Fem.Pl

Lois (1990) found a correlation between participial agreement and alternation of auxiliaries. Thus, only those Romance languages that have auxiliary alternation in compound tenses (*be, have*) show overt, compulsory participial agreement (type A languages). This is illustrated in the table below (Lois (1990:245)):

(14)

	Alternance of aux	Participial agreement with 'have'
French	+	+
Italian	+	+
Occitan	+	+
Spanish	–	–
Portuguese	–	–
Romanian	–	–
Walloon	–	–
Piedmontese[3]	+	–

Lois argues that auxiliary *be* in type A languages is used only in those constructions which are specified for a non-thematic subject position, as, for example, in ergative and middle constructions:

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3. That Piedmontese exhibits alternance of auxiliaries but not participial agreement is not a problem, according to Lois, since such alternance *constitutes a necessary, though not a sufficient condition, for participial agreement* (Lois (1990:244)).

French

(15) a.   La porte   s'est/*s'a   ouverte/*ouvert.
          the door.Fem.Sg itself-is/itself-has opened-Fem.Sg/opened
          'The door opened.'

    b.   Marie est/*a venue/*venu.
          Mary is/has come-Fem.Sg/come
          'Mary came.'

Italian

(16) a.   La porta   si   è/*a   aperta/*aperto.
          the door.Fem.Sg itself is/has opened-Fem.Sg/opened

    b.   Maria è/*a   venuta/*venuto.
          Mary is/has come-Fem.Sg/come

    Compare the sentences in (15), (16) with their counterparts in Spanish in (17),
which illustrate the fact that type B languages do not have either auxiliary alternation
or participial agreement:

Spanish

(17) a.   La puerta   se   ha/*es abierto/*abierta.
          the door.Fem.Sg itself has/is opened/opened-Fem.Sg

    b.   María ha/*es venido/*venida.
          Mary has/is come/come-Fem.Sg

Catalan, once again, behaves like a type B language:

(18) a.   La   porta   s'ha/*s'és   obert/*oberta.
          the door.Fem.Sg itself has/is opened/opened-Fem.Sg

    b.   La   Maria ha/*és vingut/*vinguda.
          the Mary has/is come/come-Fem.Sg

    To summarize this section, the data show that Barcelonian Catalan challenges
Lois' neat classification of Romance languages:[4] although it does not have auxiliary
alternation in compound tenses or participial agreement with null operators in
object relative clauses, like type B languages, it does allow for participial agreement
with 3rd person direct object clitics, a typical property of type A languages. Catalan
seems to be in between type A and type B languages. We will return to this point
in section 5.

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4.   And to a certain extent Italian, too, since it shows optional participial agreement with 1st and 2nd
     person direct object clitics when we would expect such agreement to be always compulsory.

3. Some analyses of clitic raising

An important debate in the literature has concerned the issue of whether clitic raising involves X or XP movement. Assuming that clitics are phrases (DPs)[5], the question is: do they raise as heads or phrases?

Roberts (1991) suggests that clitics raise as heads from the complement position. In his analysis, he distinguishes between two types of head incorporation: adjunction and substitution. Only adjunction incorporation allows for excorporation, i.e. successive cyclic head-to-head movement where one head incorporates into another head and then excorporates to incorporate again into the next head up.[6] Given that clitics can excorporate, they can only adjoin to AgrO° on their way up:

(19)

```
        IP
          \
         AGROP
         /    \
      SPEC    AGRO'
            /      \
        AGRO°       VP
        /   \        |
      CL   AGRO°     V'
       |           /   \
      cl_i        V     DP
                        |
                        t_i
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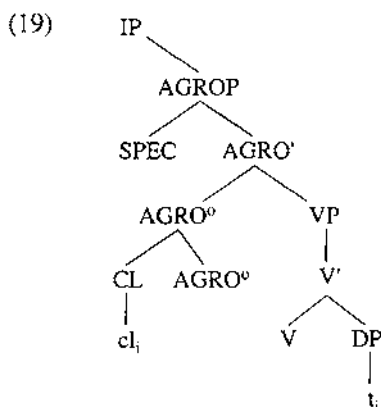
However, notice that this analysis cannot account for the Catalan data in (7), repeated below.

(7) a. **Les**   he   vist/vistes.
         them-Fem.Pl have-1Sg seen/seen-Fem.Pl
         'I have seen them.'

If only one slot is possible for the clitic in AgrOP to check its features, then the fact that sometimes it triggers participial agreement but does not always do so cannot be explained. The optionality observed in Catalan indicates that an analysis that relies on head movement only is not adequate.

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5. For arguments, the reader is referred to Jaeggli (1986).
6. This is clearly the case in Catalan clitic-climbing constructions:
    (i)   Vull   tornar   a veure-la.
   want-1sg to-go-back to see-her

    The object clitic *la* can also appear after *tornar* and after *vull*, which can only be accounted for if the clitic is allowed to excorporate on its way up:

    (ii) a. Vull tornar-la_i a veure t_i
         b. La_i vull tornar t_i a veure t_i

Kayne (1989), on the other hand, suggests that participial agreement is parallel to subject-verb agreement: it is mediated via an Agr phrase. He proposes that languages like French, which show participial agreement, realise an AgrP (AgrOP in our terms) to which clitics raise as phrases (to its Specifier position), whereas languages like Spanish do not realise such a phrase. He proposes a similar analysis for object wh-phrases in French (20), which trigger optional participial agreement, just like Catalan clitics.

(20)   Combien de tables   a-t-il repeintes/repeint?
        how many tables-Fem-Pl has-he repainted-Fem-Pl/repainted

However, whereas clitics raise to [Spec, AgrOP], Kayne suggests that wh-phrases adjoin to AgrOP, since, according to him, these two processes are dissociated. The tree below illustrates Kayne's analysis of both wh-phrases (21a) and clitics (21b) in French in relation to AgrOP (other details have been omitted):

(21)

a.   combien   a-t-il[7]   t   repeintes t$_i$
      de tables$_i$

b.   Je   les$_i$ ai   t$_i$ écrites t$_i$
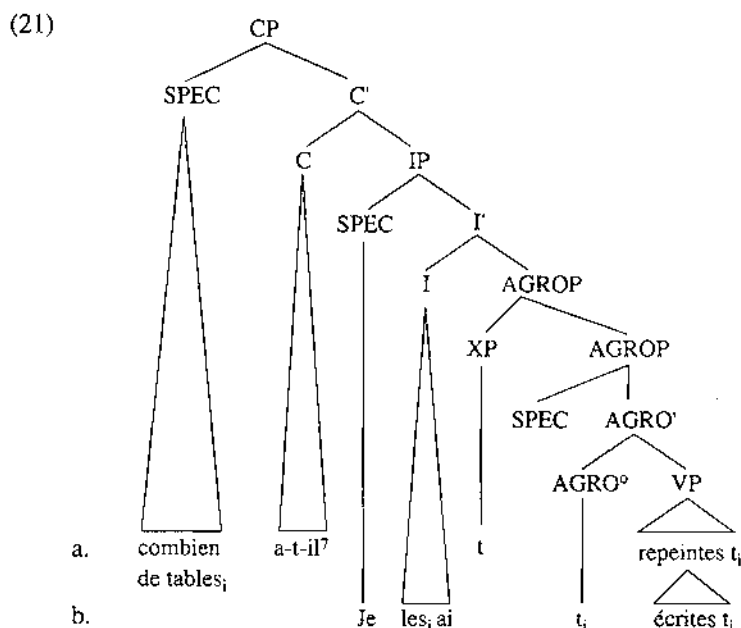
Kayne argues that when no participial agreement is triggered, as in Spanish clitics (4), (5) or French wh-phrases (optionally), AgrOP is not realised and the wh-phrase raises directly to [Spec, CP], whilst the clitic adjoins directly to the verb, presumably in I°.

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7. According to Rizzi and Roberts (1989), the subject clitic *il* adjoins to C°. Its exact position is not important for the purposes of this paper.

However, this analysis runs into problems within the minimalist framework, since direct object clitics and wh-phrases always need to check accusative case in AgrOP. Therefore, AgrOP needs to be present in Spanish clitic constructions as well as in French object wh-questions because, otherwise, these elements would not be able to check their features and the derivation would crash.

So far, we have examined two different analyses regarding clitics suggested in the literature, the former proposing that clitics raise as heads whereas the latter as XPs, at least initially, to AgrOP. However, neither of them can satisfactorily account for all of the data presented in section 2. We need an analysis that can account for:

A) Compulsory versus lack of participial agreement, i.e. type A versus type B languages.
B) Optional participial agreement in Catalan third person clitics, Italian first and second person clitics and French object wh-phrases.
C) Why Catalan doesn't fall within Lois' classification, i.e. why Catalan has characteristics of both type A and type B languages.

4. The analysis

In Lois' analysis, overt participial agreement with object clitics is related to auxiliary alternation and, more specifically, to the fact that in type A languages only, the auxiliary *have* can also function as a main verb and assign accusative case.

French

(22)   Jean a   une maison.
         John has a   house

Spanish[8]

(23)   Juan tiene/*ha   una casa.
         John has (main verb)/has (aux) a   house

Lois proposes that the participial agreement affix is an argument and, as such, requires case, too.[9] Thus, in a French sentence like 'Je les ai écrites' («I have written them»), two elements require accusative case: the clitic *les* and the affix *es*.

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8. An anonymous reviewer points out that there are examples of *haber* as a main verb, such as

    (i) Los hijos habidos en su primer matrimonio son Pepe y   Carmen.
         the sons had   in his first marriage   are Pepe and Carmen

    However, there are only one or two such examples so I think it is safe to argue that these are residual possessive uses of what once functioned as a main verb.

9. This could be seen to be analogous to cases of clitic doubling, also possible in Catalan (i), where both the clitic and the DP need to check case features, the preposition *a* ('to') being arguably involved in the checking of features of the DP.

    (i) Ja   li   he   donat els llibres al   **Pere.**
         already him have-1Sg given the books to-the Peter
         'I have already given the books to Peter.'

Therefore, the affix will only appear in those languages where there are two case assigners, the participle and the auxiliary, i.e. in type A languages.[10] Adapting her hypothesis to the minimalist programme, we could say that both the clitic and the affix need to check accusative case; therefore, this will only be possible in those languages where two AgrOPs are available.

However, although Lois' analysis can account for (A) above, it does not deal with the position of clitics and cannot account for either (B) or (C), namely the optionality observed in the Catalan data and its behaviour in relation to her classification.

Modifying Kayne (1989) on the one hand and Lois (1990) on the other, I propose that there is in fact a parallelism between subject-verb agreement and object-past participle agreement, and that the latter is partly subject to auxiliary alternation in compound tenses. However, this cannot be the full story. The fact that Catalan clitics optionally trigger past participle agreement suggests that clitics must raise as DPs, at least as far as AgrOP. Here is where checking theory becomes relevant. If the clitic raises as a DP, there are two positions within AgrOP where the clitic can check accusative case, namely [Spec, AgrOP] or adjoined to AgrOP. If we also follow Koopman and Sportiche's (1991) proposal that agreement is always a result of a Spec-Head relation, it follows that participial agreement will always be a result of A-movement of the clitic to [Spec, AgrOP], whereas lack of agreement will follow from A'-movement of the clitic. After feature checking, and following Kayne (1989), the clitic presumably undergoes head movement to attach to the finite auxiliary host.

The question that arises at this point is why is adjunction the only option for type B languages and substitution the only one in type A languages. Regarding type B languages, adjunction is the only theory internal possibility: if clitics, say in Spanish, raised to [Spec, AgrOP], then they would trigger participial agreement and we would have two accusative arguments, i.e. the participial affix and the clitic, needing to check their features. Yet, only one AgrOP, that of the past participle, is available, since the auxiliary *haber* is not a case assigner. Therefore, one of the two accusative arguments would fail to check its features and the derivation would crash.

As far as type A languages is concerned, we would have to postulate that the clitic must go through [Spec, AgrOP] . This could be due to a principle according to which if the theory allows for an overt realization of a functional head then, such a head must be overt. In the case of type A languages we have two AgrOPs available, that of the participle and that of the auxiliary verb, which is a case assigner. Therefore, since both the participial affix and the clitic can check their features both must be overt.[11] If this analysis is on the right track, then there is a link between participial agreement, A/A'-movement of the clitic to AgrOP and auxiliary alternation. In type A languages, therefore, clitics raise to [Spec, AgrOP], triggering participial agreement. They must further raise to the AgrOP of the auxi-

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10. For arguments and a deeper view of Lois' analysis, the reader is referred to Lois (1990).
11. Of course, this raises the question why null operators should behave differently (remember that object relative clauses trigger compulsory agreement in French but lack of agreement in Italian, another type A language). I will leave this matter here.

liary *have* to check accusative case, since the lower AgrOP is needed by the participial affix, which also needs to check its features. In type B languages, on the other hand, clitics adjoin to AgrOP, from which position they can check accusative case without triggering participial agreement. This is so because the auxiliary *have* in these languages does not project AgrOP (it is not a case assigner) and the lower AgrOP is needed for the clitics. This analysis is illustrated below for French (24a) and Spanish (24b) (where details not relevant to this analysis have been omitted):

(24)

a.   Je les$_i$ ai   t$_i$ t$_i$ écrites t$_i$

b.   Las$_i$ he   t$_i$ visto t$_i$

Notice that this analysis not only accounts for compulsory vs. lack of participial agreement (A above) but also for the optionality observed in Catalan and Italian clitics (B above): Catalan clitics can either raise to [Spec, AgrOP] or adjoin to AgrOP. The question that remains, namely why this should be so (C above), will be dealt with in the next section.

(24) above can also be extended to account for the optionality we observed in French object wh-questions. Wh-phrases, like Catalan clitics, can check accusative case in two positions. Note that this analysis contradicts Kayne's proposal that these two processes are dissociated. Under my proposal, both wh-phrases and clitics raise as DPs to AgrOP and, in both cases, optional participial agreement receives the same analysis.

The analysis in (24) also makes an interesting prediction, namely that all constructions that involve compulsory A-movement through AgrOP to structural subject

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12. This analysis is against Kayne (1994) where adjunction operations of this kind are disallowed.

position should trigger compulsory participial agreement. This is so for passive constructions in Catalan (25) as well as in Spanish (26) and French (27):

Catalan

(25)   Els meus germans han estat arrestats/*arrestat.
        the my   brothers have been arrested-Masc.Pl/arrested
        'My brothers have been arrested.'

Spanish

(26)   Mis hermanos han sido arrestados/arrestado.
        my brothers   have been arrested-Masc.Pl/arrested

French

(27)   Mes frères   ont été   arrêtés/*arrêté.
        my brothers have been arrested-Masc.Pl/arrested

However, a problem arises with middle and ergative constructions: whereas type A languages confirm the prediction above, Catalan and type B languages do not. Compare the French sentences in (28) with their counterparts in Catalan in (29) and Spanish in (30).

French

(28) a.   Les garçons **sont** arrivés/*arrivé.
           the children are   arrived-Masc.Pl/arrived
           'The children have arrived.'

     b.   La porte   s'**est**   ouverte/*ouvert.
           the door.Fem.Sg itself-is opened-Fem.Sg/opened
           'The door opened.'

Catalan

(29) a.   Els nois **han** arribat/*arribats.
           the boys have arrived/arrived-Masc.Pl

     b.   La porta s'**ha**   obert/oberta.
           the door itself-has opened/opened-Fem.Sg

Spanish

(30) a.   Los chicos **han** llegado/*llegados.

     b.   La puerta se **ha** abierto/*abierta.

In these cases, presence or lack of agreement is not the only difference between the sentences in (28) and (29), (30). Whereas in French these constructions require the auxiliary *be*, Catalan and type B languages do not have auxiliary alternation and must therefore use *have*. Notice furthermore, that the passive sentences in Catalan (25) and Spanish (26), where participial agreement is realised, are the only examples in these languages where the auxiliary *be* is used. Given this, I would like to suggest that participial agreement in middle and ergative constructions is blocked by the lack of auxiliary alternation in type B languages. The auxiliary *be* in (28) has

some characteristic that *have* in (29), (30) lacks which prevents the affix on the participle from appearing.

The answer may lie in the nature of *be*, which, besides being an auxiliary, can also function as a copula verb in all of these languages:

French

(31)   Marie est grosse.
        Mary is fat-Fem.Sg

Spanish

(32)   María es gorda.

Catalan

(33)   La Maria és grassa.

Such copula constructions above trigger agreement between the subject and the adjective. Similarly, middle and ergative constructions may involve some copula construction, which, as an initial approximation, could have the structure in (34), the subject subsequently raising to its structural subject position.

(34)
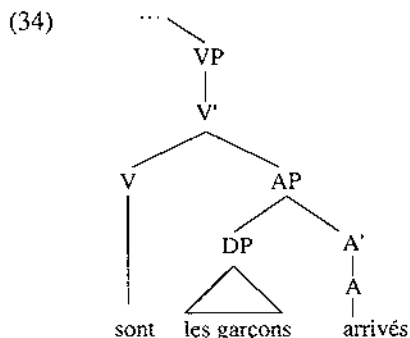
In type B languages, *be* not being available, (34) is not a possible construction for middle and ergative constructions in type B languages and Catalan and participial agreement cannot be triggered. In type B languages, ergative verbs like *arrive* do not project AgrOP and verbs in middle constructions like *open* may project their internal θ-role externally, as suggested by Haegeman (1991), in which case the subject would skip AgrOP altogether.

5. Catalan - between type A and type B languages

One important question remains to be answered, namely why Catalan seems to be between type A and type B languages in Lois' classification. Remember that Catalan shares one property with type A languages, the possibility of participial agreement with object clitics, although it is much closer to type B languages since it lacks auxiliary alternation and participial agreement in middle and ergative constructions.

Possibly the biggest puzzle is that, whilst the Catalan auxiliary *have* cannot function as a main verb (35), it still allows for participial agreement and has therefore two elements needing to check case but just one case-assigning verbal element, i.e. the past participle:

(35)   El Joan té/*ha   una casa.
       the John has.main vb/has.aux vb a   house

I would like to propose that Catalan is in a transitional period, from a type A to a type B language. Medieval Catalan provides evidence for this hypothesis. Texts from the 13th/14th century show that Catalan used to be a type A language and is progressively becoming a type B language. Compare the sentences from (36) to (42), from Medieval Catalan, with their counterparts in present day Catalan, from (43) to (49).

Medieval Catalan

(36)   **Erem**   anats   a caçar.
       were-1Pl gone-Masc.Pl to hunt
       'We went hunting.'

(37)   Jo **só** partit de la mia ciutat.
       I   am left of the my town
       'I left my town.'

(38)   **Són me**   mesa   en sa guarda.
       Am myself.Fem.Sg put-Fem.Sg in his guard
       'I have put myself under his protection.'

(39)   Tot hom qui **age** mesuras   **las**   **age tornades.**
       everyone who has 'measures' them-Fem.Pl has returned-Fem.Pl

(40)   pus   que Déus la'ns   **ha** donada   en ajuda.
       since that God her-to us has given-Fem.Sg in help
       'since God has given her to us to help us.'

(41)   ... perquè **us**   **han**   amenada   en
       because you.Fem.Sg.Formal have-3Pl brought-Fem.Sg in
                aquesta nau.
                this   ship
       '...because they have brought you to this ship.'

(42)   Tot clerge   qui **tingua** ni   ague.
       every clergyman who has   neither water

Present day Catalan

(43)   **Havíem** /*érem   anat/*anats   a caçar.
       had-1Pl/ were-1Pl gone/gone-Masc.Pl to hunt

(44)   Jo **he/***sóc marxat de la meva ciutat.
         I have/am gone of the my   town

(45)   M'**he/***em sóc   posat/*pos**ada** en la seva guarda.
         myself-have/myself am put/put-Fem.Sg in the his   guard

(46)   ja   que Déu ens l'ha   donat/don**ada**   en ajuda.
         since that God to us her-has given/given-Fem.Sg in help

(47)   ...perquè **us**   han   portat/*port**ada**
         ...because you.Fem.Sg.Formal have-3Pl brought/brought-Fem.Sg

             a aquesta nau.
             in this   ship

(48)   Tothom qui **tingui/***hagi mesures...   **les**   **hagi**
         everyone who has/has.aux verb measures...them-Fem.Pl has

             tornades/tornat.
             returned-Fem.Pl/returned

(49)   Tot clerge   que no **tingui** ni   aigua.
         every clergyman who not has   neither water

Sentences (36-38) show that Medieval Catalan used to have auxiliary alternation and, thus, compulsory participial agreement with the subject in ergative constructions with the auxiliary *be* (36) and with reflexive clitics (38). Moreover, (39) also shows that, in Medieval Catalan, the auxiliary *have* could also function as a main verb taking a direct object. Thus, two AgrOPs were available and both the participial affix and the clitic could check their features. Notice, too, that participial agreement with the auxiliary *have* was compulsory[13] with direct object clitics of all three persons, (39-41). Medieval Catalan had, therefore, all the properties characteristic of type A languages seen in section 2.

Sentence (42) shows that the main verb *tenir* was being used in a similar way to the main verb *haver*. *Tenir* is the form that would eventually start replacing and then taking over completely the function of main verb, relegating *haver* to the function of auxiliary verb only. This transition from type A to type B language must have started some time after the XIV century and is already in its final stages, the optionality in participial agreement being the last remnant of what used to be a type A language.

An anonymous reviewer has pointed out to me that in Balearic dialects auxiliary alternation has been being progressively lost over the last 100 years and participial agreement with direct object clitics is still robust. If this is the case, then we would expect optional agreement to creep in progressively, just as in the

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13. I suggest that participial agreement was compulsory in Medieval Catalan because I did not find one single example in the texts I consulted where it was not overt.

case of Catalan clitics. This is precisely what we find in Majorcan Catalan, one of the Balearic dialects, where participial agreement with direct object clitics is nowadays optional with all three persons.

(50) a.   Ells l'han   comprat/comprada.
          they it.Fem.Sg-have bought/bought-Fem.Sg
          'They have bought it.'

     b.   Ells no **mos**   han vists/vist.
          they not us-Masc.Pl have seen-Masc.Pl/seen
          'They haven't seen us.'   (Cortés (1993:222))

6. Other questions

In this section I try to address some remaining questions, although further research is required.

Regarding the Catalan data, one question is why is participial agreement with 3rd person clitics the last one to disappear, even after 1st and 2nd person clitics. Trying to account for this, Cortés (1993) pointed out that in a conversation both the speaker and the listener know who 1st and 2nd person clitics refer to, whereas with third person clitics, it is only the participial agreement affix that tells you whether the clitic refers to a *him* or a *her*, since the gender affix of the clitic is lost when attached to the auxiliary host.

(51) a.   L'he   vist.
          him-have-1Sg seen

     b.   **L'he**   vista.
          her-have-1Sg seen-Fem.Sg

However, there are two problems with this account. Firstly, 3rd person clitics are usually used when the person they refer to has been previously mentioned in the context, so both the speaker and the listener know who it refers to when they use the clitic. It also does not explain why there should be participial agreement in the plural forms, where the clitic does inflect overtly for gender and number (52) or why the plural feminine form is usually accepted by informants but the masculine form only in few cases, with certain verbs ((52) versus (53)).

(52) a.   **Les**   he   vistes/vist.
          them-Fem.Pl have-1Sg seen-Fem.Pl/seen
          'I have seen them.'

(52) b.   **Els**   he   vistos/vist.
          them-Masc.Pl have-1Sg seen-Masc.Pl/seen

(53) a.   Les patates,   ja   **les**   he   fetes/fet.
          the potatoes-Fem.Pl already them-Fem.Pl have-1Sg done-Fem.Pl/done
          'The potatoes, I have already done them.'

(53) b. Els pollastres,   ja   **els**   he
         the chickens-Masc.Pl already them-Masc.Pl have-1Sg
                fet/*fets.
                done/done-Masc.Pl

Another suggestion, put forward by Roca (1992) is that, whereas 3rd person direct object clitics are definite Ds, and as such appear in both nominal and verbal contexts (49), (50), the other persons are mere accusative markers and appear in verbal contexts only (51).

(49) a. **El**   veig.
         him see-1Sg
         'I see him.'

     b. **La** veig.
         her see-1Sg
         'I see her.'

     c. **Els**   veig.
         them-Masc.Pl see-1Sg
         'I see them.'

     d. **Les**   veig.
         them-Fem.Pl see-1Sg
         'I see them.'

(50) a. **El**   gat
         the-Masc.Sg cat

     b. **La**   gata
         the-Fem.Sg cat

     c. **Els**   gats
         the-Masc.Pl cats

     d. **Les**   gates
         the-Fem.Pl cats

(51) a. **Et**   veig
         you.Masc.Sg/Fem.Sg see-1Sg

     b. *****Et**   gat
         you.Masc.Sg/Fem.Sg cat

     c. *****Et**   gata
         you.Masc.Sg/Fem.Sg cat

Given that 3rd person clitics are always inflected for gender and number and that their related Ds in nominal contexts always trigger agreement with the noun, it seems plausible to suggest that this may have an effect on verbal contexts and therefore explain the resistance of 3rd person participial agreement to disappear completely. If this is so, then it could be argued that 1st and 2nd

person clitics have become mere case markers and as such, do not trigger participial agreement.

This could also explain the optionality shown by 1st and 2nd person clitics in Italian if we argue that they are becoming mere case markers in that language, too. However, it still leaves unexplained the dichotomy seen above between feminine and masculine 3rd person plural clitics in Catalan. I will leave this matter open for future research.

The last question I will address refers to the optionality that French presents with respect to object wh-phrases (*combien de tables a-t-il-repaint/repaintes* 'how many tables-Fem.Pl has he repainted/repainted-Fem.Pl'). Why can French wh-phrases raise to [Spec, CP] either through [Spec, AgrOP] or through [XP, AgrOP], via adjunction? An anonymous reviewer has pointed out to me, following Obenauer, that agreement or lack of agreement could be due to specificity factors. We know that in languages like Dutch or German, scrambling is related to specificity, so that only [+specific] DPs scramble. It could well be that specificity in wh-words in French is related to participial agreement so that only [+specific] wh-phrases raise to [Spec, CP] via substitution, thus triggering participial agreement.[14]

7. Conclusions

This paper has looked at a peculiar phenomenon of optionality in Barcelonian Catalan, namely participial agreement with 3rd person direct object clitics. It has been suggested that Catalan provides evidence for treating clitic-raising as XP movement which can be of two types, at least as far as AgrOP: A or A' raising.

This distinction has allowed us to account for compulsory (type A languages) vs lack of participial agreement (type B languages), observed in most Romance languages as well as for the optionality observed in Barcelonian Catalan third person clitics, Italian first/second person clitics and French wh-phrases.

I have suggested that Catalan has properties of both type A and B languages because it is in the final stages of a transition from a type A to a type B language. Evidence from Medieval Catalan has been provided to support this hypothesis.

Some questions remain unanswered, such as why is clitic-past participle agreement mainly only possible with feminine 3rd person plural clitics in Catalan.

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14. Majorcan Catalan also presents optional participial agreement with object wh-phrases. However, the suggestion made here for French only accounts for some of the Majorcan data.

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