

A subject clitic in child Catalan

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In this paper¹ an analysis is proposed for a syntactic construction produced by a Catalan-speaking girl, Lena, and exemplified in (1a) -- in contrast with the adult (1b). This child construction is subject to two surprising restrictions which will be investigated: it is always 1st person singular, and the verb is always auxiliary *haver* 'have'.

- (1) a. M' he vist una pel.lícula. (Lena, 5;9)
IsCL have seen a film
'I have seen a film.'
b. He vist una pel.lícula.
I-have seen a film

Catalan presents *m/em/me* as object clitics (either accusative or dative); they are marked for person and number (in this case 1st person singular). Clitics are standardly characterised as unaccented elements adjacent to another word, in the case of pronominal clitics to I/V. The element *m* in (1a) appears to be a clitic agreeing in person and number with the subject (in this instance, an empty subject, Catalan being a null subject language).

Our line of argument will be the following: in section 1, we describe the data under analysis; in section 2 we consider the child construction and an adult construction and show their behaviour to be different. In section 3 we compare the child data with those of other Romance varieties with subject clitics, and in section 4 we adopt the analysis of auxiliary *have* as derived from *be* to account for the cooccurrence of *haver* and the clitic. In section 5 we present other Catalan child data corroborating the composite character of *haver*, as errors are found which involve *be* instead of *have*, but not vice-versa.

1. Child acquisition data

To treat the apparent clitic in (1a) as a true clitic we must first exclude an analysis of it as the result of a phonological or morphological misanalysis: there is no call to treat it as a phonological element, as Lena's phonology presented no epenthesis of this kind for that period. Similarly, a

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morphological misanalysis is unlikely: e.g. case marking was on target during that period too, and the possibility that *m'he* [me] should have been analysed by the child as an auxiliary is not consistent with the rest of the data available: first, this Catalan auxiliary paradigm is very regular (2); second, the child had analysed clitics as independent units by most if not all the period of production of sentences like (1a), witness (3), with *em* as object clitic.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| (2) | he [e] dormit | hem [ɛm]dormit | |
| | 'I-have slept' | 'we-have slept' | |
| | has [as] dormit | heu [ɛw] dormit | |
| | 'you-have slept' | 'you(pl)-have slept' | |
| | ha [a] dormit | han [an] dormit | |
| | 's/he-has slept' | 'they-have slept' | |
| (3) | Bebé, que em sents? | | (Lena, 2;6,22) |
| | <i>baby C me hear-2s</i> | | |
| | 'Baby, can you hear me?' | | |

The data under analysis were taken from the spontaneous productions of Lena recorded in a diary and are exemplified in (4).

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| (4) | a. M'he menjat. | (Lena, 2;6,29) |
| | <i>CL have eaten</i> | |
| | b. M'he pensat ... | (Lena, 2;8,19) |
| | <i>CL have thought</i> | |
| | c. Mira, papà, mira què m'he fet. | (2;11,27) |
| | <i>look daddy look what CL have done</i> | |
| | d. M'he dit. | (2;11,29) |
| | <i>CL have said</i> | |
| | 'I have said it.' | |
| | e. M'he caigut. | (2;11,29) |
| | <i>CL have fallen</i> | |
| | f. M'he fet jo. | (2;11,29) |
| | <i>CL have done I</i> | |
| | 'I have done it.' | |
| | g. Jo no m'he fet non-non. | (3;3,10) |
| | <i>I not CL have done sleep</i> | |
| | 'I haven't slept' | |
| | h. M'he ofegat. | (3;8,0) |
| | <i>CL have drowned</i> | |
| | 'I have drowned it.' | |

- i. Dues coses que m'he après sense que m'ensenyessin... (4;3,5)
two things that CL have learned without that me taught
 'two things which I have learned without having them taught to me'
- j. M'he dormit tota la nit. (4;3,12)
CL have slept all the night
 'I have slept all night.'

Note that these were produced over an extended period (from 2;6 to 5;9), while the counterpart sentences without the clitic (*He pensat*, etc.) were not attested. For most of the time they coexisted with clitic object drop (there is object drop in 4d, f, h, i), in clear contrast to the construction considered in this paper, in which the appearance of the clitic is systematic. We have indication then that *m* in (4) is not an object clitic. On the other hand, that no instance of the construction exemplified in (4) is found earlier in the Lena corpus is not surprising given the relatively late emergence of clitics in child Catalan.

From (1) and (4) the observation can be made that what we have established to be a clitic occurs with all verb classes: intransitive (4j), transitive (4c, g, ...), unaccusative (4e), stative or eventive. However, it is only found with a 1st person singular subject: with other person-number combinations it is not attested (**T'has vist una pel.lícula* '2sCL have seen a film'), nor in the present (**Em veig una pel.lícula* '1sCL see-PRES a film').

2. Inherent clitic verbs in adult Catalan

At this point one may ask if there is any construction in adult Catalan which may trigger the appearance of (1) and (4). Indeed, Catalan presents the so-called inherent clitic verbs exemplified in (5).

- (5) El nen es menja la sopa.
 the child 3sCL eats the soup
 'The child is eating the soup.'

According to the work of Rigau (1990), the verbs allowing for this construction have an internal argument, which can only be interpreted as specific; thus the intransitive in (6a) has no parallel inherent clitic construction (6b).

- (6) a. En Pere llegeix. b. *En Pere es llegeix.
det Pere reads *det Pere CL reads*

The specificity of the internal argument implies that no bare NP object can be found with the inherent clitic (7).

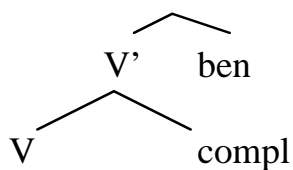
- (7) a. En Pere llegeix assaig. b. *En Pere es llegeix assaig.
 det Pere reads essay *det Pere CL reads essay*

The inherent clitic does not absorb any θ role of the verb, and is actually interpreted as benefactive. However, it absorbs Case: it absorbs partitive case, as in (5) above or an unaccusative verb (8), where the subject is nominative; the inherent clitic is thus incompatible with a bare NP argument which must get partitive (8b). With verbs that do not assign partitive case, it absorbs accusative, as in (9), so that the object is introduced by a Case-assigning preposition *de* ‘of’.

- (8) a. S’han florit els formatges.
 CL have molded the cheeses
 ‘The cheeses have gone moldy.’
 b. *S’han florit formatges.
 CL have molded cheeses
- (9) a. En Pere lamenta la seva sort.
 det Pere laments the his luck
 b. En Pere es lamenta de la seva sort.
 det Pere CL laments of the his luck

The configuration in which the benefactive occurs is, still following Rigau (1990), that in (10); hence no unergative inherent pronominal verbs are found.

(10)



Finally, inherent pronominal verbs get a culminative interpretation (meaning: denoting a process or event which is reaching its completion); an adverbial phrase of duration such as *durant dues hores* ‘for two hours’ as in (11) renders the sentence ungrammatical. According to Rigau (1990) this semantic restriction follows from the presence of the benefactive θ role.

- (11) a. En Pere llegeix el diari durant dues hores.
 det Pere reads the newspaper during two hours
 b. *En Pere es llegeix el diari durant dues hores.
 det Pere CL reads the newspaper during two hours

If we compare this set of facts with those of Lena's productions, a number of differences emerge: Lena's sentences are (i) not culminative, but possibly durative (see (4j)); (ii) the clitic does not always get a natural benefactive interpretation (4e, h); (iii) we have no evidence of the clitic absorbing case; (iv) the clitic is restricted to 1st person singular in the present perfect, while inherent clitics occur with no such restrictions in adult Catalan. We conclude that our child clitic does not belong to an inherent clitic construction.

3. Subject clitics in adult Central Romance varieties

One of the features of the clitic under consideration, namely (iv) above, is reminiscent of the subject clitics found in several Romance varieties, although not in adult Catalan. The subject clitics in (12), recorded by Brandi and Cordin (1989) show how subject clitics present gaps in their paradigms (they are absent in e.g. 1st person singular and plural and 2nd person plural in Trentino):

(12)	<i>Fiorentino</i>	<i>Trentino</i> (Brandi & Cordin 1989)
	(E) parlo	Parlo 'I speak.'
	Tu parli	Te parli 'You speak.'
	E parla	El parla 'He speaks.'
	La parla	La parla 'She speaks.'
	Si parla	Parlem 'We speak.'
	Vu parlate	Parlé 'You speak.'
	E parlano	I parla 'They(masc.) speak.'
	Le parlano	Le parla 'They(fem.) speak.'

These subject clitics cooccur with full subjects (subjects which have been shown not to be dislocated elements by syntactic tests and intonation), and were argued by Brandi and Cordin (1989) to correspond to the spell-out of an Agreement node.

Furthermore, the presence of subject clitics is sensitive to tense variation, as exemplified in (13) for Rumagnul, a Romance variety spoken in San Marino (data kindly provided by Simona Montanari). Sensitivity of subject clitics to tense is found in Paduan, the Cori dialect, the dialects of

the Swiss Jura (see Kayne 1993), Neapolitan (see Ledgeway 1998), and Valdôtain (see Roberts 1993).

- (13) *Rumagnul*
- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| a. A magn 'I eat.' | a'. Ho magned 'I have eaten.' |
| <i>1sSC eat</i> | <i>have-1s eaten</i> |
| b. T'magn | b'. T'é magned |
| <i>2sSC eat</i> | <i>2sSC have eaten</i> |
| c. E magna | c'. L'ha magned |
| <i>3smSC eats</i> | <i>3smSC has eaten</i> |
| d. La magna | d'. La ha magned |
| <i>3sfSC eats</i> | <i>3sfSC has eaten</i> |
| e. A magnem | e'. Avem magned |
| <i>1pSC eat</i> | <i>have-1p eaten</i> |
| f. A magned | f'. Avid magned |
| <i>2pSC eat</i> | <i>have-2p eaten</i> |
| g. I magna | g'. I a magned |
| <i>3pSC eat</i> | <i>3pSC have eaten</i> |
| h. L'andeva/L'andrá/L'andria 'He went/will go/would go.' | |
| <i>3sSC imperfect/future/conditional go</i> | |
| | i. An ho magnet |
| | <i>1sSC-neg have eaten</i> |
| | 'I haven't eaten.' |

The restriction of the child clitic of Catalan to (i) 1st person singular and (ii) present perfect is suggestive of its subject clitic status; this is the theoretical analysis we will pursue. The standard tests to identify subject clitics in Romance (see Rizzi 1986) to distinguish them from weak pronominal subjects – having established the weak nature of the pronoun – are basically two. First, coordination is possible for verbs with only one pronominal clitic, but a subject clitic must occur with every verb; compare the following:²

- (14) a. Ils chantent avec *nous* et dansent avec *lui*. (French)
they sing with us and dance with him
- b. *La canta e *(la) balla.* (Trentino)
CL sings and CL dances

² Poletto (2000) argues, against Rizzi, that this test tells apart higher clitics from lower ones, where the highest can coordinate, but these distinctions are not relevant here.

Second, subject clitics are compatible with a quantified DP subject; this test rests on the assumption that quantified subjects cannot be dislocated; if quantified subjects must be in subject position, the subject clitic cannot occupy that same position. Hence the conclusion that subject clitics are not argumental clitics. Unfortunately, due to the nature of our data, these tests cannot be performed.

With respect to the position of the subject clitic in child Catalan, we can place it below CP and also below NegP, assuming a sentential structure like (15); that the negation *no* precedes the subject clitic is shown by sentences like (4f) above.

(15) $_{CP}[Spec [C \text{ NegP}[Neg \text{ TP}[Spec [T VP]]]]]$

(The NegP in (15) is higher than TP as is Zanuttini's (1997) strong NegP, and as is also assumed in Holmberg (this volume).)

Having described the behaviour of the subject clitic found in child Catalan, a puzzle remains, as with subject clitics in general: how can we explain the gaps in the paradigms of subject clitics? To start addressing the question on the restrictions on the occurrence of our subject clitic, we draw on Kayne's (1993) analysis of auxiliary selection.

4. An analysis along the lines of Kayne 1993

In this section we will look at the mechanisms postulated by Kayne (1993) to account for participle constructions, bearing in mind variation in (i) participle agreement and (ii) auxiliary selection; while these two forms of variation are not found in all Romance varieties, when variation occurs it gives insight into the relation between *have* and *be*. Having established why *have* as auxiliary and the child subject clitic cooccur in Catalan, we will consider the position of the clitic in the structure, and its grammatical function.

Building on the work of Benveniste (1966) and Szabolcsi (1981) amongst others, Kayne examines the relation between *be* and *have* (as abstract predicates) and argues that, as happens overtly in e.g. Hungarian, an English sentence such as *John has a book* derives from *Is a book with John*; *have* is thus the result of incorporating an empty D/P to *be*; the empty D/P is interpreted as 'with'.

Kayne proposes to extend this analysis of possessive *have* to auxiliary *have*; *have* appears, in that case, in a sequence with a participle; the participle may display agreement with the (clitic) object or not, depending on the Romance variety – compare e.g. Catalan and Spanish:

- (16) a. L'he vista. (Catalan) b. La he visto/*a. (Spanish)
 CL have-1s seen-fem *CL have-1s seen *fem*
 'I have seen it(fem).'

Following Kayne (1993), the derivation of a sentence with *have* followed by a past participle is as follows. The participle (V) is part of a sentential structure, embedded in the structure common to all *have* occurrences: abstract *be* and its sister DP/PP complement (17a).

- (17) a. ... BE [_{DP} Spec D/P⁰ ... [_{VP} DP_{subj} [V DP_{obj}]]
 a'. ... el Joan trencat el plat
 Joan broken the plate
 b. ... BE [_{DP} DP_{subj/i} D/P⁰ ... [_{VP} [e]_i V DP]
 b'. el Joan trencat el plat
 c. DP_{subj/i} D/P_e +BE [_{DP} [e]_i D/P⁰ ... [_{VP} [[e]_i V DP]
 c'. el Joan ha trencat el plat
 'Joan has broken the plate.'

From (17a) to (17b) the subject DP of the most embedded sentence raises to the specifier of D/P (and from there will continue raising to get case); from (17b) to (17c) the D/P incorporates to *be* (yielding *have*), and the subject raises to the specifier position of the new complex verb. Still following Kayne, and adopting the early minimalist structures including Agreement phrases, (17a) would be, in full, (18):

- (18) ... BE [_{DP} Spec D/P⁰ AGR_s T AGR_o VP]

In a structure such as this, participle agreement is attributed to raising of the object through Agr_o in the various Romance languages which display it (Catalan varieties amongst them – see (16a)). When there is no participle agreement, as in Spanish (16b), raising from VP occurs passing through Agr_o without effect on uninterpretable features.³

³ A related phenomenon deserving of attention is the path of acquisition of participle agreement in Romance, as participle agreement is not found in the same set of constructions in all languages; e.g. it does not occur with unaccusatives in Catalan, and yet it is found in child Catalan, as (i) illustrates:

- (i) (La gallina,) s'ha amagada. (Joan, 4;6)
 the hen refl has hidden-fem
 (target: La gallina, s'ha amagat.)

Participle agreement with this verb class is found elsewhere in Romance, as in Trentino, where it yields D/P incorporation, i.e. selection of *have*.

Not all Romance varieties display an alternation between *have* and *be* as auxiliaries; standard Catalan and Spanish, for instance, only present *have*. However, some dialects with alternations between *have/be* as auxiliaries give insight into the D/P incorporation to *be*: in these varieties the auxiliary selection is sensitive to person, which according to Kayne suggests involvement of the Agr_s node. Illustrating this, in the Novara dialect of Northern Italy *be* is the auxiliary with transitive and unergative verbs in 1st and 2nd person, while *have* is the auxiliary in 3rd person.

So Kayne accounts for the person sensitivity of auxiliary selection by reference to the Agr_s node, which may be active or inert. If Agr_s is inert, subjects may pass through Agr_s without effect and, when D/P incorporates, it yields *have* as auxiliary. If Agr_s is not inert, it gets activated by a subject (with person/number features) passing through its specifier; this allows raising of the subject to Spec,BE without movement violations; when that happens, the D/P need not incorporate to render possible the raising of the subject; incorporation does not occur, since it is not necessary and the resulting auxiliary is *be*.

Crucially, in the Novara dialect, if there is clitic climbing *have* is the auxiliary which emerges, even with person specifications that would otherwise require *be*:

- (19) a. Mi i son mài parlà.
me 1sSC are never spoken
 ‘I haven’t spoken.’
- b. Mi i t’ò mài parlà.
me 1sSC 2s have never spoken
 ‘I haven’t spoken to you.’

This phenomenon is not restricted to the Novara dialect: in other Central Romance varieties there is a correlation between cliticisation and auxiliary selection: in the Martinsicuro dialect, *be* is the auxiliary with 1st, 2nd person, and *have* is with 3rd person, but clitic climbing triggers D/P incorporation, i.e. *have*. Compare the examples in (20), where a clitic in a higher position yields *have* and in a lower position yields *be*. So clitic presence goes hand in hand with *have* as auxiliary.

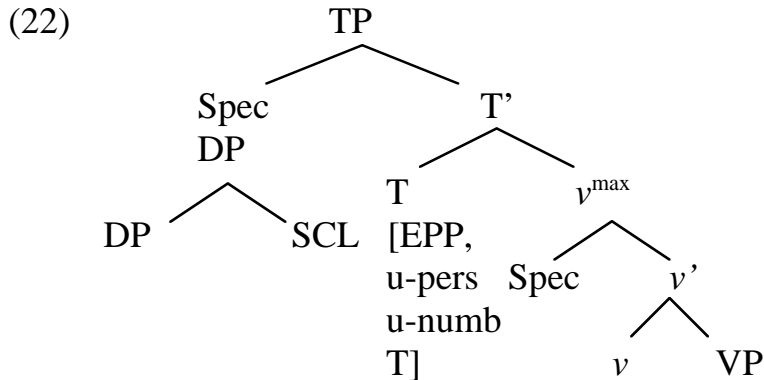
- (20) a. Sillu ditte.
be-2s-it said
 ‘You have said it.’
- b. (A) l’à ditte.
SC it-has said
 ‘He has said it.’

The dialects of the Veneto area and Paduan also show variation in auxiliary selection in the presence of a subject clitic. The example in (21), due to Kayne 1993, is from the Veneto area and it improves if the full DP subject *la Maria* (21a) is replaced by a clitic (21b):

- (21) a. *La Maria se ga vista. b. ??La se ga vista.
 det Maria refl has seen-fem *3sSC refl has seen-fem*
 ‘Maria has seen herself.’ ‘She has seen herself.’

What these Romance varieties show is that incorporation of D/P is facilitated by the presence of a clitic (a subject clitic or a reflexive). We want to argue that this is what happens in child Catalan: incorporation of D/P to *be* to yield *have* is facilitated by a subject clitic. *Have* is also used without the clitic in the child variety under scrutiny, as it is used in the Northern Italian dialects mentioned; that does not detract from the fact that the clitic’s presence facilitates D/P incorporation when the person specification is 1st singular; in that subset of cases, incorporation does not occur unless the subject clitic is present.

The Agr nodes on which Kayne’s (1993) analysis rests are eliminated in later versions of minimalism, on the ground that they are not substantive, but rather relational categories. So, to express this analysis in terms of Chomsky (2001), we need to resort to the T and *v* projections. In the present sentential structure, the derived position of the subject would be that of Spec,TP, where nominative case would be checked; accusative case, on the other hand, is checked against the features of *v*.



The appearance of a subject clitic in Spec,TP as in (22) makes it possible for it to act as a licenser of a *pro* subject (it occurs with *pro* subjects in child Catalan and in the Romance varieties already mentioned); whether the subject clitic is, as well as a licenser, an identifier of the subject may depend on the language: Roberts (1993) claims that the subject clitics of Valdôtain do not identify the subject since verb inflection suffices to that effect; in our child data the subject clitic shares all the person-number features of the subject, but need not be an identifier. In Catalan, in general, *pro* is identified by strong inflection, but in the child grammar studied we cannot exclude the subject clitic as an identifier of 1st person singular, as

argued for other Romance varieties with subject clitics (see e.g. De Crousaz and Shlonsky 2000).

Alternatively to (22), we could adopt Poletto's (2000) proposal, according to which there is a SpeakerP higher than TP, but lowest amongst all subject clitic projections. A speaker oriented subject clitic is indeed found in Rhaetoromance (see Poletto 2000: 31ff.). The implications of this analysis in contrast to that in (22) will not be examined in this paper; still, let us point out that Poletto's analysis, as well as that of De Crousaz and Shlonsky (2000), are based on the idea that different person features correspond to different projections (and so functional features are all marked as having a + or – value). However, De Crousaz and Shlonsky's (2000) person hierarchy does not coincide with that of Poletto's – they argue for a hierarchy with 3rd person being the lowest and 1st the highest. The existence of two different hierarchies (corresponding to different languages) is of course undesirable, as they should be part of the functional hierarchy of the clause, a universal hierarchy.

Of the two hierarchies proposed, Lena's productions could be accounted for under Poletto's, but would be unexpected under De Crousaz and Shlonsky's hierarchy, as Lena cliticises only for their highest, least accessible projection; one would expect that cliticisation onto lower nodes would be possible if cliticisation onto the higher nodes is. So the person hierarchy of De Crousaz and Shlonsky wouldn't actually solve the problem of the contrast between different person specifications, at least for our child data.

Finally, Sportiche has considered the subject clitic as a specificity marker (see Sportiche 1998); this specificity appears to be inconsistent with some of the Northern Italian data, though consistent with our acquisition data. In any case, one can conclude that a person position for a subject clitic is available in Romance, in adult language in many Central varieties and sporadically in others, as in Lena's child variety.

5. *Have* and *be* in existential sentences

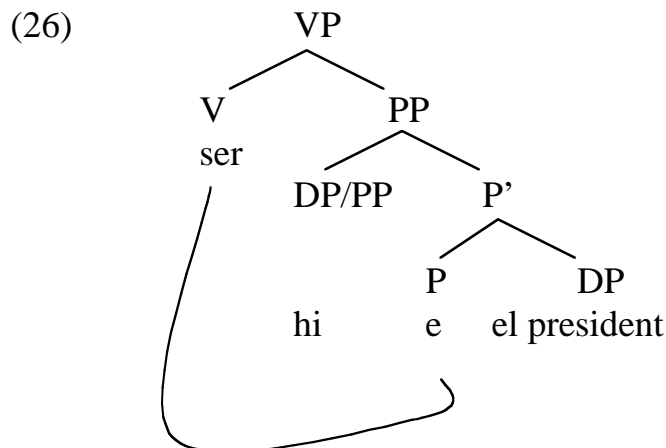
Our analysis so far has built up on the assumption that there is a link between a subject clitic and the Catalan auxiliary in the child variety spoken by Lena; moreover, I have argued that the phenomenon can be best understood if we adopt Kayne's analysis of auxiliary *have* as derived from *be*. In this section, independent evidence is given for the composite character of auxiliary *have* in child Catalan.

Rigau (1997) claims that existential sentences of Catalan display the complementary distribution of *have/be* of Kayne 1993; let us first look at adult Catalan. Existential sentences present the verbs *haver* 'have' and *ser*

‘be’ (while possessive *have* is spelled out as *tenir*). *Ser* necessitates a locative, either as PP (23a) or clitic (23b). *Haver* presents the clitic *hi* ‘there’ obligatorily, not alternating with a full PP (24). Moreover, if we observe word order phenomena, *ser* and *haver* are in complementary distribution (25).

- (23) a. El president era a la reunió/allà.
the president was in the meeting/there
 b. El president hi era. c. *El president era.
the president CL was *the president was*
- (24) a. Hi havia el president. b.*A la reunió havia el president.
CL had the president *in the meeting had the president*
 ‘The president was there.’
- (25) a. *Hi era el president. b. *El president hi havia.
CL was the president *the president CL had*

Following Rigau (1997) *haver* results from incorporation of an empty P of central coincidence ‘with’ to *be*, as sketched in (26)

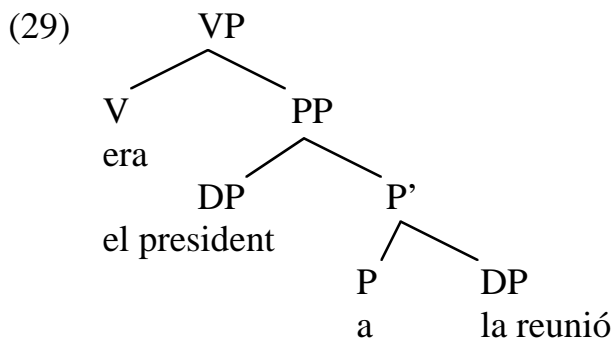


The DP *el president* remains in postverbal position and gets accusative case (the ungrammaticality of *L'hi havia* ‘CL-acc there have’ is due to independent causes, which would take us too far afield). *Haver* licences accusative or partitive (27); *hi* is in fact the dative subject of the sentence, which therefore is an impersonal sentence. Nominative case is never assigned by *haver* (28).

- (27) a. No hi ha pa.
neg CL has bread
 ‘There isn’t bread.’
 b. No n’hi ha.
neg PART CL has
 ‘There isn’t any.’

- (28) a. *Hi ha/he jo. b. *Hi ha ella.
 CL has/have I(NOM) *CL has she(NOM)*

On the other hand, *ser* is found in configurations of the type in (29). The subject obligatorily raises and *ser* assigns nominative case to it (30).



- (30) Ell és a la reunió.
 he(NOM) is at the meeting

Our original data are drawn from the spontaneous productions of Joan as recorded in a diary up to the age of 4 (these data have not been reported for other children, and future research should reveal how general they are). In (31) *era* replaces *havia*; the example is even more striking because it corresponds to the formulaic equivalent of ‘once upon a time’, thus the child is consistently and repeatedly exposed to the target.⁴

- (31) Hi era un caçador. (Joan, 3;5)
 there was a hunter
 (target: Hi *havia* un caçador)

⁴ There is one contemporary Catalan dialect where the complementarity of distribution of *ser/haver* disappears, namely Alguerese – cf. (i) and (25). In this variety, spoken in L’Alguer, in Sardinia, *haver* can only check partitive case, so that definite DPs are excluded with *haver* (ii).

- (i) a. Hi era el president. b. El president hi era.
 CL was the president *the president CL was*
 (ii) *Hi havia/-en los hòmens.
 there was/were the men

Example (31) is only well-formed in Alguerese, a variety which the child is not exposed to; there is no evidence to argue that Joan’s *haver* differs in its case properties from those of Central Catalan, which he speaks.

We argue that this boy's constructions manifest the relation between *haver* and *ser* overtly: either P+BE is spelled out as *ser* (*be*), not *haver* (*have*), in contrast with adult Catalan, or else the sentences of the type in (33) involve no P incorporation. There are two arguments which favour this second possibility. First, that *haver* is not absent from Joan's lexicon implies that P incorporation occurs (visibly) at least in some derivations. Second, as no (adult) language displays an identical spell-out for BE and P+BE (either as an independent word or with an overt preposition), there seem to be arguments for the second solution – no P incorporation –, with Case-marking of the postverbal subject still possible. Nominative Case marking in postverbal position is available, even in adult Catalan, when the alternative *haver* construction is ill-formed (32), so that the child variety requires no special mechanisms for Case-marking to take place.

- (32) a. Hi era JO/ELLA.
Cl was 1s-NOM/3s-NOM
 'I/SHE was there.'
 b. *Hi havia JO/ELLA.
CL have 1s-NOM/3s-NOM

What is crucial is that the child construction in (31) is attested while the converse deviant construction (*haver* for *ser*) is not attested, as *ser* is not a composite of *haver* – and this is indeed what we would expect given our assumptions.

6. Conclusion

The main conclusion of this paper is that there is evidence of the relation between *be* and *have* (as conceived in Kayne 1993) in child language. Had it been otherwise, the claim for psychological reality of the relation would have been seriously weakened. The evidence brought forward stems from two kinds of data: existential sentences in which *ser* surfaces instead of *haver* in child Catalan, and constructions with a subject clitic. This subject clitic is postulated on the basis of the standard tests used for the Central Romance languages and, interestingly, is sensitive to the presence of *haver* and a 1st person singular subject. We have argued that although the verbal paradigm is relatively rich, the 1st person may not be sufficiently so to allow, in the child grammar, licensing and identification of *pro*. Although there seems to be no fully satisfactory, principled account of the gaps in the paradigms of subject clitics, pervasive in Romance, it is also the case that cliticisation together with P incorporation to *be* to yield *have* constitute a phenomenon present in the adult language as well.

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