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# Romance object clitics. Microvariation and linguistic change (first draft)

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# Romance object clitics

*Diego Pescarini*

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## Preface

This book focuses on the evolution of Romance object clitics from the embryonic stages of cliticisation observed in Classical Latin to the kaleidoscopic microvariation found in present-day dialects. The following chapters aim to provide a systematic overview of the main phenomena and discuss selected theoretical issues. The material is organised in historical order (overviewed in chapter 3), although I will refer primarily to the logical concatenation of phenomena, rather than to their actual chronology.

The book deals mainly with syntactic problems, while phonological and morphological issues are touched upon cursorily. The latter aspects of cliticisation are far from trivial, but I believe that the core properties of Romance clitics as well as their most striking features revolve around their having a *special syntax*.

This work departs from a certain received view on the topic that is assumed – more or less implicitly – in the current literature. My understanding of the phenomenon can be summarised in three main claims. First, cliticisation is a discourse-driven phenomenon: the diachronic evolution of clitic systems, their emergence in the Latin/Romance transition, and their special syntax in both early and modern Romance result from the lexical and syntactic endowment of discourse features.

Second, clitics are not necessarily deficient. We inherited from 19<sup>th</sup> century linguist the idea that the peculiar nature of clitic results from their *deficient status* as they are not autonomous prosodic entities. Eventually, the idea made its way to syntactic theories and it is now a widely held view that clitics cannot have the same distribution as phrases because they lack layers of phrasal structure. I show that this hypothesis, although appealing, is not grounded in fact.

Third, the debate on the nature of clitics (and verb movement) has revolved too much around a rigid distinction between head and phrases, whereas the history of cliticisation provides a formidable argument for theories in which phrase structure is a by-product of syntactic computation, not a primitive thereof.

The latter aspect will be kept in the background as it exceeds the self-imposed theoretical limits of this work, which adopts a simplified formal apparatus based on a cartographic model of sentence structure (for an overview, see Rizzi & Cinque 2016). The main intent of the cartographic approach is that of representing syntactic dependencies by means of topological relations. In a nutshell, sentences are represented as sequences of specialised syntactic positions encoding linguistic features such as tense, aspect, definiteness, force, etc. This *spine*

of *functional projections* is supposed to be invariable, whereas cross-linguistic variation results from how features are *externalised* by language-specific lexical items, which are merged to (and moved through) the functional spine.

The clause structure of Romance languages will be represented as a (simplified) functional spine formed by three major domains (see Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016 for a more detailed overview): the C domain (or Left Periphery) contains complementisers, left-dislocated, and fronted phrases (including *wh* words); the I domain contains the portion of structure ranging from preverbal subjects to non-finite verbs of periphrastic constructions/tenses; the I domain can be further segmented into two main layers of functional projections, containing different classes of adverbs: the *High* and *Lower Adverb Space* (HAS and LAS, respectively, see Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005). The Lower Adverbial Space is intertwined with discourse-related positions forming the so-called clause internal periphery (Belletti 2004). The V domain hosts complements and adjuncts.

(1) {<sub>C</sub> Left Periphery {<sub>I</sub> ...HAS... ...LAS / Clause-internal Periphery {<sub>V</sub> ... }}}

This preliminary subdivision will allow us to better understand the many facets of clitic placement that will be discussed in the following chapters. The book is organised in three parts: the first part introduces some basic empirical facts regarding Romance clitics (chapter 1), discusses some theoretical tenets and terminology (chapter 2), and overviews the history of clitic systems from Latin to present-day dialects (chapter 3). The second part deals with the emergence of clitic systems and their behaviour in early Romance. It is a bit more theoretical than the first part as it must engage with previous formal analyses of the evolution from strong to clitic pronouns (chapter 4), the emergence of clitics in the Latin/Romance transition (chapter 5), and the syntax of clitics in medieval Romance (chapters 6 and 7). The third part explores two major sources of variation across early and modern Romance: clitic climbing (chapter 8) and clitic combinations (chapter 9). What follows is a brief summary of each chapter.

Chapter 1 overviews phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties of Romance clitics. Phonologically, the main property of clitics is that they lack lexical stress. They are therefore subject to phonological processes that normally affect unstressed syllables and, prosodically, they are parasitic to a host (witness patterns of stress shift). The extent to what clitics are subject to regular phonological rules vary across languages and across diachronic stages: although rules of lexical phonology are generally extended to the post-lexical domain

formed by the clitic(s) and the host, clitics do not always conform to regular phonological patterns, thus yielding morpho-phonological irregularities that have no plausible synchronic explanation. Besides phonologically-conditioned irregularities, clitics often exhibit further morphological irregularities that blur their etymology: clitic elements often exhibit suppletive and/or syncretic exponents, or are marked by compound forms resulting from the combination of multiple clitic formatives. Irregularities are a window into the inner composition of clitic elements, which in the end looks more complex than usually thought. Syntactically, clitics differ from free pronouns in many respects and, in general, clitics diverge radically from the syntax of other function words. Clitic pronouns occur in a fixed position that is set on a language-specific basis and may vary depending on syntactic factors such as clause typing, polarity, modality, embedding, etc. In most Romance languages clitics must be close or perhaps attached to a verbal form (whether clitics are attached or structurally close to their host is one of the recurrent theoretical questions about cliticisation, see below). The displacement of clitics in the clause interacts in a puzzling way with the behaviour of other syntactic elements, noticeably the verb. The position of the clitic(s) with respect to finite and non-finite verbs in both simple tenses and periphrastic constructions is one of the main issues in the study of Romance clitics, which will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapters. Chapter 1 concludes with some brief remarks on how pronominal object clitics interact with other clitic function words such as subject clitics and negation.

Having introduced some basic facts about Romance cliticisation, chapter 2 elaborates on some theoretical assumptions, introduces a conventional terminology, and proposes a simplified model of clause structure in order to better understand the data that will be progressively introduced in the following chapters. The material in chapter 2 is organised around four keywords: *dependencies*, *nesting*, *domains*, and *criteria*. With the term *dependency*, we refer to the relationship holding between the clitic and the syntactic position where the corresponding argument is (allegedly) licensed. The second important factor regarding clitic placement has to do with the position of clitics in the clause: on the basis of data from systems in which clitics are not obligatorily attached/close to the verb, we can individuate three main *domains* of cliticisation, corresponding to the canonical major clausal domains: the left periphery, the high inflectional domain, and the low inflectional domain. Another relevant factor in the definition of clitic placement is *nesting*, i.e. the mechanism whereby clitics are *attached* to syntactic structures. The possible nesting configurations can be ultimately reduced to two options: clitics are either attached (*incorporated*) to a *host* or they are adjoined to a phonetically void position in the clause (Kayne 1991, 1994). In the latter



configuration, the clitic-host relation that we observe is epiphenomenal as, even if the two elements are string-adjacent and form a phonological unit, they do not form a syntactic constituent. Interpolation phenomena support the latter hypothesis, but the former hypothesis cannot be discarded *a priori* in case of systems in which clitics and verbs are always adjacent. The last section of the chapter elaborates on the syntax/discourse interface, which, as previously mentioned, is a key-factor to understand the diachronic evolution of clitic systems and their synchronic behaviour.

Chapter 3 overviews the evolution from Latin pronouns to clitics in present-day Romance languages. The chapter opens with the analysis of the displacement of pronouns in Classical and Late Latin, and in the earliest Romance records, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. A major distinction is then introduced between so-called *Archaic Early Romance languages* such as old Spanish and old Portuguese, which allow productive *interpolation*, and so-called *Innovative Early Romance languages*, which exhibit *adverbal* clitics. In the former, clitics can be separated from the verb by intervening material, whereas in the latter they must be always adjacent/attached to the verb. In both Archaic and Innovative Early Romance, clitics were subject to syntactically-conditioned enclisis/proclisis alternations, subsumed under the Tobler-Mussafia law. Tobler-Mussafia effects were gradually lost at the end of the Middle Ages, thus resulting in the disappearance of enclisis in finite declarative clauses. Enclisis in finite contexts is currently found in dialects that have lost clitic climbing in verbal periphrases (including compound tenses) and, to a lesser extent, in clauses featuring simple tenses. The last part of the chapter deals with the make-up of sequences formed by two or more clitic pronouns and addresses languages such as Brazilian Portuguese or Sursilvan (Raetho-Romance), in which clitics have been lost and antecedents can be resumed by either null objects or strong pronouns.

Chapter 4 reviews two hypotheses concerning the nature of clitic elements, their emergence, and their diachronic evolution. The first hypothesis is that clitics and strong elements instantiate two classes of a three-way taxonomy, featuring an intermediate class of *weak* elements. The second hypothesis is that clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak elements have a deficient structure, whereas strong forms have a richer internal structure. The first part of the chapter deals with the empirical criteria defining classes of pronouns (clitic/weak/strong). I show that no solid and uniform classification can be set *a priori*. In the second part of the chapter I show that the hypothesis of structural deficiency is not sufficiently grounded: strong and clitic elements differ from each other, but no conclusive evidence corroborates the intuition that clitics are deficient.

Chapter 5 elaborates on the emergence of clitics in the Latin/Romance transition and their successive evolution into adverbial clitics, i.e. clitic forms that are systematically incorporated to the verb. The chapter endorses Salvi's 1996 reconstruction, who argues that Latin exhibited an embryonic mechanism of cliticisation whereby pronouns with a non-contrastive reading were systematically placed in the low left periphery of the clause. I argue for a principled reformulation of Salvi's hypothesis by elaborating on the discourse-driven mechanism attracting and *freezing* certain pronouns in the low left periphery. Secondly, I focus on the loss of *interpolation*, i.e. the displacement of material between the clitics and the verb, in order to examine the evolution towards systems of adverbial clitics and, in the last part of the chapter, I discuss the possible role of morpho-phonological conditions in the rise of incorporation.

Chapter 6 deals with the syntax of clitics in early Romance. First of all, it revises the alleged *verb second* (V2) nature of early Romance, which has been matter of debate in the last decades. I argue that subject inversion of perfective auxiliaries in main clauses provides unequivocal evidence of movement of the verb to the left periphery of the clause (so-called V-to-C movement). The chapter wonders whether V-to-C movement can account for the distribution of enclisis. I endorse Benincà's 1995 idea that verb moves in two steps: one producing inversion, the other yielding enclisis.

Chapter 7 is the continuation of chapter 6. It deals mainly with the analysis of enclisis in clauses beginning with the inflected verb. I depart from Benincà's explanation in claiming that the inflected verb moves above the position of the clitics to satisfy a *Criterion*, i.e. a constraint requiring the Focus position to be filled. Under normal circumstances, the Focus Criterion is satisfied by fronting an XP, which yields the peculiar V2-like order of most early Romance main clauses. Alternatively the Focus Criterion can be satisfied by merging a head in the Focus position (*à la* Vicente 2007), i.e. by merging the inflected verb (which therefore end up bypassing the position hosting clitics), by merging a predicate heads (yielding so-called *Stylistic Fronting*), or, as a last resort, by merging a dummy adverb such as *sì*. The last part of the chapter elaborates on fragment answers in order to model the interplay between the Focus Criterion and polarity and eventually explain why enclisis is barred in negative clauses.

Chapter 8 focuses on clitic climbing, i.e. the mechanism whereby a clitic selected by a lexical non-finite verb ends up attaching to a superordinate finite functional verb. Climbing contexts include periphrastic constructions, where the Romance languages exhibit a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation with respect to climbing, and compound tenses, where climbing is almost always obligatory. The chapter builds on Cinque's 2004, 2006 monoclausal account of restructuring predicates. The main claim of the chapter is that in

certain languages auxiliaries are merged in V, while in others they are first merged in a functional projection in the I domain. Since the incorporation of adverbial clitics takes place in the low I domain (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 a.o.), climbing does not take place when auxiliaries are first merged above the locus of incorporation. The same analysis is then extended to perfective auxiliaries in order to account for the dialects in which clitics do not climb in compound tenses and, lastly, for the dialects in which clitics never climb. The second part of the chapter provides a detailed account of clitic placement in the dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore. In Sanvalentinese, which, to my knowledge, is the most liberal Romance variety with respect to clitic placement, the choice among the various nesting configurations is constrained by syntax/discourse requirements that percolates from the Left to the clause-internal periphery.

Chapter 9 deals with the evolution of clitic combinations. It shows that certain Romance languages have undergone a change reversing the order of some clitic combinations (in particular, those containing a third person accusative element or the clitic *en/ne*). I entertain the hypothesis that the above change caused the emergence of a sub-class of clitic combinations, which differ from the remaining clitic sequences under certain respects such as the separability of the elements forming the sequence in restructuring contexts and the degree of transparency of the combination. Clitic sequences are in fact characterised by patterns of allomorphy, haplology, and suppletion; these phenomena are frequently attested when two third person clitics combine. The latter part of the chapter wonders whether these morphological irregularities are symptomatic of the syntactic make-up of the combination. In fact, some irregularities can be derived straightforwardly from morpho-phonological constraints, while others may shed further light on the structure of clitics and on how they are nested in syntactic structures.

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This book is dedicated to my wife Micol.

On a train between Nice and Verona, November 2019



## Properties of Romance object clitics

## 1.1 Definitions

Clitics are function words that lack independent stress. Additionally, certain clitics, which Zwicky 1977 dubs *special clitics*, do not occur in the same contexts and positions as the corresponding non-clitic forms (if any). In Romance, clitic pronouns occur in a fixed position, which in most present-day languages immediately precedes the finite verb of declarative clauses, as shown in (1).

- (1) a *lo* voglio (It.)  
 him/it= I.want
- b *je le* veux (Fr.)  
 I= him/it= want
- c *lo* quiero (Sp.)  
 him/it= I.want
- d *ho vull* (Cat.)  
 it=I.want
- e *îl* vreau (Rom.)  
 him/it= I.want  
 ‘I want him/it’

*Strong* (or *free*) object pronouns, conversely, have the same distribution as nominal phrases: for instance, a free pronoun such as It. *lui* ‘him’ is normally placed postverbally, it may occur far from the inflected verb as in (2)a, it can be focus-fronted as in (2)b, it may be left/right dislocated as in (2)c/d<sup>1</sup>, or be the complement of a preposition:

- (2) a voglio solo lui/Mario (It.)  
 I.want only him/M.

---

<sup>1</sup> When dislocated, direct objects are usually resumed by a clitic pronoun. In general, direct objects are obligatorily resumed, whereas resumption with other complements is subject to cross-linguistic variation.

- b LUI/MARIO voglio, non lei  
 him/M. I.want not her
- c lui/Mario, lo voglio a tutti i costi  
 him/M. him= I.want at all costs
- d lo voglio a tutti i costi, lui/Mario  
 him= I.want at all costs him/M.

Moreover, clitics differ from free pronouns with respect to further restrictions. As Kayne 1975 first pointed out, clitics cannot be focalised, modified, coordinated, and cannot occur in isolation:

- (3) a Il parle à qui? \*te (Fr.)  
 he= speaks to whom to.you=  
 ‘To whom does he speak? To you’
- b \*Je seul te parle.  
 I= only to.you= speak  
 ‘I speak only with you.’
- c \*Je te et nous parle.  
 I= to.you= and to.us= speak  
 ‘I speak to you and us’.

Besides the above properties, Romance clitics exhibit further peculiarities. This chapter aims to illustrate some of these phonological (§1.2), morphological (§1.3), and syntactic properties (§1.4). This overview is not exhaustive, but provides an eye-bird view for the ease of readers that are not familiar with the topic. Some of the aspects mentioned in the next pages will not be discussed further in the remainder of the book, which concentrates mainly on syntactic and, to a lesser extent, morphological phenomena.

## 1.2 Phonology

The less controversial aspect of clitics regards their phonological status. Clitic elements are not inherently (i.e. lexically) stressed, although they might dislodge and eventually bear the primary stress of a nearby element, the *host*. Patterns of *stress shift* – summarised in (4) –

have attracted interest as they can shed light on the phonological status of clitics and the interaction between clitics and lexical phonology. The below table (from Ordóñez & Repetti 2006: 168 with minor modifications) illustrates five possible patterns of stress-shift (I-V) attested in (Italo-)Romance varieties. The table shows how the position of stress is affected when an oxytone imperative (e.g. *nárra* ‘tell’) is combined with a dative clitic, with an accusative enclitic, and with a combination of two enclitics:

(4)		imper.	dat. enclitic	acc. enclitic	two enclitics
	I. <i>Stress Stability</i> (It., Sp., Cat.)	nárra	nárra-mi	nárra-la	nárra-mi-la
	II. <i>Generalized Penultimate Stress Shift</i> (some Lucanian dialects)	nárra	narrá-mi	narrá-la	narra-mí-la
	III. <i>Two-Clitic Penultimate Stress Shift</i> (some southern It. varieties, such as the one spoken in Naples <sup>2</sup> )	nárra	nárra-mi	nárra-la	narra-mí-la
	IV. <i>Mixed Penultimate Stress Shift</i> (some southern It. varieties, such as the one of Calvello)	nárra	nárra-mi narrá-mi	nárra-la narrá-la	narra-mí-la
	V: <i>Final Stress Shift</i> (some varieties of Sardinian, Gascon)	nárra	narra-mí	narra-lá	narra-mi-lá

Patterns of stress shift are not widespread across ‘major’ Romance languages. Only French exhibit stressed enclitics when first or second person clitics occur after imperatives, cf. (5). Besides stress shift, French displays a morphological alteration of the clitic item, which, when stressed, takes the shape of the corresponding strong pronoun (more on this in chapter 4):

- (5) a Il *me* le donne (Fr.)  
 He to.me= it=gives  
 ‘He gives it to me’
- b Donne-le-*moi*! [dõlõ'mwa]  
 Give=it=to.me  
 ‘Give it to me!’

<sup>2</sup> In Neapolitan, stress shift with a single enclitic is mandatory when the host is proparoxytone, e.g. *fràveca* + *la* → *fravècàllà* ‘make it.F’, optional with paroxytones, e.g. *àssà* + *mà* → *àssàmà* / *assàmmà* ‘let me’ (Ledgeway 2009:34-35).



Patterns of stress shift are attested in several varieties throughout the Romance area and are subject to a high degree of cross linguistic variation, depending on factors such as the number of the enclitics occurring after the verb or the accentual pattern of the host (Kenstowicz 1991; Bafile 1992, 1994; Peperkamp 1996, 1997; Monachesi 1996; Loporcaro 2000; Ordóñez and Repetti 2006, 2014; Bonet & Torres-Tamarit 2011; Lai 2020).

Stress shift phenomena show that clitics are *prosodically deficient*: they are not inherently stressed and, when they combine with a host bearing stress, they may trigger stress-shift phenomena, which are often regarded as postlexical (Selkirk 1995; Peperkamp 1996, 1997; see also Anderson 2005: ch. 3). Loporcaro 2000 argued convincingly that Romance clitic pronouns, either proclitic or enclitic, can be regarded as syllables sister to a (lexical) Prosodic Word and dominated by a recursive (post-lexical) Prosodic Word, cf. (6). Stress shift results from post-lexical reassignment of stress to the outer Prosodic Word:

(6) ((host)<sub>PW</sub> clitic)<sub>PW</sub>

A phonological account like (6) accounts straightforwardly for cases in which stress is dislodged, but never falls on the clitic. Second, it explains why stress shift is often conditioned by the stress pattern of the inner word. Third, the above phonological analysis correctly predicts that clitic sequences are stressed more readily than single enclitics – cf. (4) – as the former correspond to a foot, see (7), which is more prone to stress assignment than a single clitic/syllable:

(7) ((host)<sub>PW</sub> (clitic clitic)<sub>Ft</sub>)<sub>PW</sub>

In conclusion, the behaviour of clitics with respect to stress can be reduced to ‘canonical’ stress-assignment rules/patterns that are extended from the lexical domain to the post-lexical one, i.e. the recursive Prosodic Word that includes the clitic(s). Other phonological peculiarities of clitics follow from their having a prosodically deficient status and, besides that, clitics exhibit no further peculiar properties. As Anderson 2005: **XX** puts it,

[t]here is very little to the phonology of clitics, then, that is unique to these elements. [...] Neither the prosodic organization nor the phonological adjustments involved are uniquely identified with

clitics, although clitics may well provide essential clues in the determination of how the phonology (including prosody) of a language works.

The above conclusion might appear a bit too simplistic as the phonology of clitics does not always result from an extension of the rules of lexical phonology. For instance, in the Ligurian dialect spoken in Viozene (Rohlf 1966: 442), enclitics are always stressed, although the lexical stress pattern of this variety is similar to that of standard Italian (stress falls on one of the last three syllables, mostly on the penultimate).

(8) Finir-**lù** (Viozene)

To.end=it

‘to end it’

It is fair to conclude that certain (apparent) stress shift phenomena such as (8) are amenable to alternative, extra-phonological explanations (see Ordóñez and Repetti 2006, 2014 a.o.). This holds particularly true for cases in which stress shift is accompanied by other irregularities as in the French example in (5). The nature of morphological alternations and the status of stressed enclitics will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 4.

Similar considerations hold for other phonological rules that may target clitics. In particular, enclitics are often subject to phenomena affecting word-final syllables, which again provides evidence for the prosodic representations in (6) and (7). To illustrate this point, the remainder of the section discusses the interaction between clitics and apocope in some medieval Italo-Romance languages. I focus on Tuscan and Venetan vernaculars, where apocope targeted only *-o* and *-e* (when the latter is not a feminine plural ending<sup>3</sup>), while in other northern varieties apocope extended to all final vowels (but *-a*) after any consonant.

In the former group of dialects, which includes old Florentine (the ‘ancestor’ of modern Italian), word-final *-o/-e* were systematically dropped after a single sonorant. In general, apocope was blocked if the preceding sonorant followed another consonant (e.g. *incontr\*(o)*

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<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that apocope cannot be considered a merely phonological process since in many cases it is sensitive to the morpho-syntactic nature of the final vowel: for instance, if *-e* is a feminine plural ending (< Lat. -AE/AS), e.g. *candele* → *\*candel* ‘candles’, it never undergoes apocope, while apocope can take place if *-e* derives from the thematic vowel of the Latin 3<sup>rd</sup> declension (< Lat. -EM), as in *core* → *cor* ‘heart’. As the rule can discriminate between different kinds of inflectional endings, it means that the rule of apocope, even in Early Italo-Romance, has a morpho-phonological nature (Pescarini 2013).

‘meeting’) or, in some of these languages, if the sonorant derived from a geminate<sup>4</sup> (Zamboni 1976). In origin, apocope was therefore blocked to prevent the formation of complex codas, i.e. CC\*(V).

Post-lexically, the same restriction targeted the object clitic *lo* (‘him/it’), which was systematically apocopated after words ending with a vowel<sup>5</sup>:

- (9) a *credendo-l tener*<sup>6</sup> (old Aretino)  
       believing=it to.keep  
       ‘believing to keep it’
- b *batando-l molto forto*<sup>7</sup> (o.Ver.)  
       beating=him very hard  
       ‘beating him very hard’
- c *farò-l se*<sup>8</sup> (o.Flo.)  
       I.will.do=it if...  
       ‘I will do it if...’

When the enclitic *lo* followed an infinitive, the clitic and the preceding verb were both potential targets for apocope. A sequence formed by an infinitive, e.g. *fare* ‘to make’ and *lo* ‘it/him,’ could therefore display three logically possible patterns of apocope:

- (10) a *far(e) lo* apocope of the infinitive  
       b *fare l(o)* apocope of the clitic  
       c *far(e) l(o)* apocope of both  
       do.INF it/him.ACC  
       ‘to do it/him’

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<sup>4</sup> In certain northern dialects, which underwent degemination, final vowels are normally maintained after etymologically geminate sonorants. Zamboni 1976 pointed out that in modern Venetian, word-final consonants are all etymologically single (e.g. *mor* < MORIT ‘dies’), while vowels are always found after (de)geminated sonorants (e.g. *core* < CURRIT ‘runs’).

<sup>5</sup> All examples from early Italo-Romance vernaculars are drawn from the OVI database, unless otherwise stated; I refer to the OVI corpus for detailed informations on the digitised critical editions: <http://www.ovi.cnr.it/index.php/it/il-corpus-testuale>

<sup>6</sup> Guittone, *Rime*.

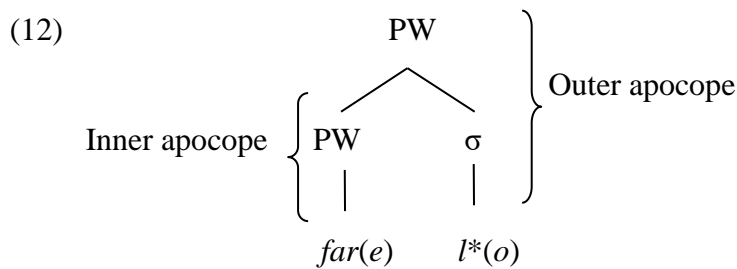
<sup>7</sup> Giacomino, *Babilonia*.

<sup>8</sup> Dante, *Inferno*.

In fact, only the pattern in (10)a is attested, as illustrated in the following table, which reports the incidence of the above three sequences in the florentine texts contained in the OVI corpus:

(11)		<i>occurrences</i>
	a. <i>farlo</i>	apocope of the infinitive 413
	b. <i>farel</i>	apocope of the clitic 0
	c. <i>farl</i>	apocope of both 0

The pattern in (11) is accounted for by the prosodic hierarchy in (6). As shown in (12), apocope takes place in the inner PW, yielding the form *far*; after the verb has lost its final vowel, apocope cannot take place in the outer PW because the resulting output would be syllabically illicit as an illicit complex coda would result, e.g. *\*farl*.



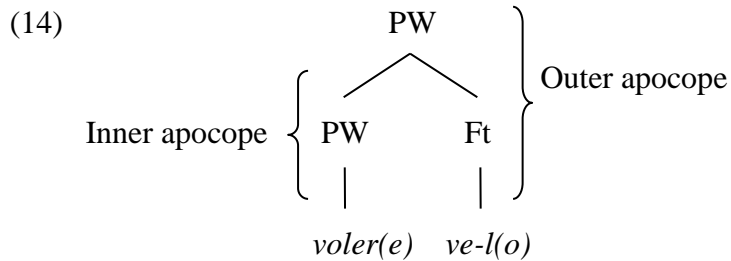
Further evidence for the above cyclic analysis comes from cases in which the infinitive is followed by two enclitics, as exemplified in (13). Here the elements subject to apocope are always the infinitive and the outmost clitic:

- (13) a. *Voler-ve=l dir tuto.*<sup>9</sup> (o.Ver.)  
to.want=to.you=it say all  
‘to want to say it all to you’
- b. *sanza aprir-te-l*<sup>10</sup> (o.Flo.)  
without to.open=to.you=it  
‘without opening it (for you)’

<sup>9</sup> Giacomino, *Babilonia*.

<sup>10</sup> Boccaccio, *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia*.

As illustrated below, apocope of the outer PW can take place as the presence of the dative clitic allows the following clitic *lo* to undergo apocope without yielding any illicit coda.



To sum up, the case history on apocope confirmed the hypothesis that clitics are prosodically deficient and are eventually integrated into a recursive prosodic constituent that may be subject – on a language-specific basis – to the postlexical reapplication of phonological rules such as stress assignment or apocope. In other languages, such as modern Italian, apocope is no longer productive as it targets only sequences formed by infinitives and enclitics, as (15), or sequences of infinitives in restructuring constructions such as (16) (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004; more on this in chapter 8):

- (15) a. portare (It.)  
       to.bring  
       b portar(\*e)-lo  
       to.bring=it/him  
       c portar(\*e)-me-lo  
       to.bring=to.me=it/him

- (16) vorrei poter(\*e) parlare Francese. (It.)  
       I.would to.be.able to.speak French  
       ‘I would to be able to speak French.’

As in the case of stress-shift phenomena, the case study on apocope confirms that the original conditions yielding the morphophonology of clitics are not always transparent, but it seems fair to conclude that opacity results mainly from the reanalysis of previous phonologically-conditioned alternations (more on this in chapter 4).

### 1.3 Morphology

Object clitics and strong pronouns often derive from the same Latin forms, with some predictable differences due to the diverging evolution of tonic and atonic syllables. The table below is a ‘proto-inventory’ of clitic forms with their Latin etyma.

(17)

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	ME	NOS	TE	VOS	(I)LLU (I)LLA HOC/ILLOC	(I)LLUS/ILLI (I)LLAS/ILLAE?
Indir obj.					(I)LLI/ILLUI	(I)LLIS/ILLORUM
Reflexive					SE/SIBI	
Ablative/Partitive	(I)NDE					
Locative	HIC / (EC)CE+HIC / (I)NC+[I] / (I)BI					

Besides personal pronouns, the Romance languages exhibit partitive and locative clitics deriving from Latin locative particles such as INDE ‘thence’, \*ince ‘hence’, IBI, ‘there’. The genitive/partitive clitic (Fr. *en*, It. *ne*) and the so-called locative clitic (It. *ci*, Fr. *y*, Cat. *hi*) are sometimes referred to as pro-PPs as, unlike pro-nouns, they stand for various types of prepositional phrases (see Kayne 1975). The clitics *ci/y/hi* usually pronominalise locative complements, but they may stand for comitative or instrumental PPs as in (18)a and for inanimate datives (Rigau 1982). The clitic *en/ne* usually pronominalises the NP complement of quantifier expressions, genitive PPs as in (18)b, and other PPs headed by reflexes of the preposition DE.

- (18) a  $ci_i$  pranzo spesso (con Linda)<sub>i</sub> (It.) *comitative ci*  
*ci*= I.have.lunch often with L.  
 ‘I often have lunch with Linda’
- b  $ne_i$  adoro i colori (di Tintoretto)<sub>i</sub> *genitive ne*  
*ne*= I.like the colours (of T.)

‘I love Tintoretto’s colours’

Several languages lack genitive or partitive clitics, whereas the other clitic forms are attested in almost all the Romance varieties. The distribution of object clitics across the Romance languages is summarised by the following descriptive generalizations taken from Benincà & Poletto (2005a: 227):

- (19) a If a Romance language (RI) has clitics, it has direct object clitics;  
b If a RI has dative clitics, it has direct object clitics;  
c If a RI has partitive or locative clitics, it has dative clitics;  
d If a RI has subject clitics, it also has direct and indirect object clitics;  
e There is no implication between locative/partitive and subject clitics;  
f Adverbial clitic forms for elements that are never selected by a verb are much rarer and imply the presence of argument clitics.

The generalizations in (19)a and (19)b are based on data from Rhaeto-Romance varieties (Haiman & Benincà 1992:126 Paoli 2014) and Brazilian Portuguese (Duarte 1989; Cyrino 1994, 1997; more on this in §3.12). Some Rhaeto-Romance dialects such as Sursilvan do not display clitic forms at all, while others exhibit defective paradigms: the dialects of Ardez and Remüs, for instance, have direct object clitics, but no dative, locative or partitive clitic. In some dialects of Comelico (an Alpine area in the Veneto region, northern Italy), object clitics show further gaps in their paradigms (Tagliavini 1926; Paoli 2014): these dialects have no reflex of the first person plural NOS and the third person dative ILLI. Furthermore, several varieties, including Brazilian Portuguese, do not display third person clitics at all.

Several languages (modern Spanish, Romanian, Portuguese) do not display locative or partitive forms (even if in Spanish a trace of a locative *y* ‘there’ is argued to still be found in existential *hay* (< *ha* ‘has’ + *y* ‘there’) ‘there is/are’, e.g. *hay pan* ‘there is bread’). Dialects of the extreme south of Italy (such as some dialects in province of Reggio Calabria), often lack the locative clitic, but not the partitive one. Lastly, Friulian exhibits traces of a partitive clitic, but no locative form is attested.

Object clitics exhibit gender, number, and, especially in the third persons, case morphology. In general, they are formed by a person morpheme followed by a vowel. It is worth distinguishing between two types of vocalic endings: (i) agreement markers carrying morphosyntactic information as in the case of third person clitics; (ii) oblique endings without

morphosyntactic value<sup>11</sup>, as in the case of first/second person pronouns, e.g., Sp. *me* ‘me’, *te* ‘you’. Morphologically, third person reflexive clitics (Lat. *SE/SIBI* ‘himself/herself/themselves’) have the same shape of first and second person clitics. Romanian differs from the other Romance languages in displaying case morphology with first and second person singular clitics.

When number is expressed by a dedicated suffix (-s), plural pronouns still exhibit conservative thematic vowels like Sp. *nos* < NOS ‘us’, *os* < UOS ‘you.pl’, *los* < ILLOS ‘they.m’, *las* < ILLAS ‘they.f’. Conversely, where number and gender features have been fused into a single exponent, plural forms have undergone processes of analogical levelling and hybridization. First and second person plural clitics have taken the default vowel of singular pronouns (NOS > *no* > *ne*, in analogy with *me*, *te*, *se*, etc.) or, alternatively, they were replaced by adverbial clitics deriving from Latin particles like \**inke* > (*n*)*ce*, INDE > *nde*, *ne*, *de*, IBI > *vi*, HIC, etc. In several cases the reconstruction remains opaque or controversial (Sornicola 1991; Loporcaro 1995; 2002).

Dative clitics are seldom inflected for gender. A few languages have developed a non-etymological dative feminine pronoun, e.g. It. *gli* ‘to him’ vs *le* ‘to her’, the latter probably derived by analogy with the reflexes of *ILLI* and *ILLAE/ILLAS* in the accusative series. In Ibero-Romance, southern Italian, and Occitan dialects the masculine or feminine accusative clitic is often used with dative function, yielding patterns of *loísmo* or *laísmo*, respectively. For instance, Spanish varieties such as Madrileño exhibit the *laísta*, pattern, in which the dative form *le(s)* references masculine individuals, while feminine referents are pronominalized by the accusative clitic *la(s)*, as shown in (20)a.

- (20) A ella, *la=* dolía la cabeza (Mad.)  
to her, her= hurts the head  
‘She had a headache’

---

<sup>11</sup> According to Kayne 2003, third person clitics are formed by a root followed by an agreement ending, while oblique clitics are *monomorphemic*. Kayne 2003 and Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008 argue for a more radical analysis by assuming that oblique endings are *epenthetic*, i.e. segments which are not part of the morpho-lexical representation of clitic elements. However, the epenthetic status of these final Vs remains rather obscure to me, in particular in the case of the Italo-Romance varieties which have never undergone a generalized and systematic loss of final unstressed vowels. In fact, in these varieties, the default vowel normally coincides with the expected evolution of Lat. -E in final, unstressed position and, as a consequence, monomorphemic clitics can be viewed as regular reflexes of the Latin forms *ME*, *TE*, *SE*, *INCE*, *INDE* without postulating epenthesis.



Various languages exhibit compound forms, i.e., clitic pronouns which are formed by the combination of two clitic items. In Occitan (Ronjat 1937:§505-6; Ahlborn 1946:59-61; Rohlfs 1970:182), the dative clitic is often constructed by combining the accusative clitic with *i*. The same holds for the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona, where the third person dative clitic /əlz*i*/ ‘to them’ has been argued by Bonet 1991 to be a combination of the clitic əlz – which corresponds to the accusative plural clitic – with an oblique marker -*i*, identical to the so-called locative clitic (written *hi*<sup>12</sup> ‘there’). The hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that in the same dialect the genitive/partitive clitic (ə)n occurs between the formatives əlz and *i* giving rise to the sequence əlz-ə*n*-*i* ‘to them of it’ (Bonet 1991).

Diachronically, the explanation of the above compound forms may reside in a previous stage of *loísmo/laísmo*, namely, a stage in which the dative clitic is expressed by an exponent that is etymologically accusative (i.e. a reflex of Lat. ILLU(M)/ILLA(M)). Later, *loísta/laísta* varieties – which are attested in the same areas – developed a dative form combining the accusative-pro-dative clitic, e.g., Gsc. *lous* (< ILLUS) ‘(to) them’ with *i*, giving rise to the modern compound elements, e.g. *lous y* ‘to them’.

In several northern Italian dialects, locative and partitive clitics are compounds as well. In many Veneto dialects, for instance, the genitive/partitive clitic is formed by a combination of the locative clitic *ghe* /ge/ and the partitive element *ne*, see (21)a. The composite structure of the partitive is synchronically evident as in several Veneto varieties the former item (*ghe*) disappears in combination with a dative or locative clitic (Benincà 1994), see (21)b. Penello 2004 reports analogous cases of composite partitive forms (e.g., *nin* ‘of it/them’ in Romagnol dialects) which may be analysed as reduplicated forms of the usual partitive *ne/en*.

- (21) a *ghene*= magno do (Pad.)  
of.it/them= I.eat two  
‘I eat two of them’
- b *te*= (\**ghe*)*ne*= porto do (Pad.)  
to.you of.it/them I.bring two  
‘I bring you two of them’

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<sup>12</sup> The plural dative clitic *əlzi* is often written *els hi*.

Clitic formatives are sometimes expressed by syncretic exponents. As previously mentioned, reflexes of HI(N)C, INDE and SE have replaced reflexes of NOS and ILLI, respectively, in various Romance dialects (on Italo-Romance, see Rohlfs 1969; Calabrese 1994; Loporcaro 1995, 2002a; Manzini & Savoia 2005). The syncretism due to the substitution of the third person dative clitic with a locative form is particularly frequent in French, Italian and Catalan varieties (i.e. in all the areas in which the locative clitic is attested).

- (22) *díse y. (Gsc.)*  
 he/she.say =to.him/her/them  
 ‘he/she talks to him/her’

The syncretism between the locative and the third person dative clitic is widespread in northern Italian dialects, where the syncretic exponent is seldom extended to the first person clural clitic as in the Lombard dialect of Vailate:

The following table illustrates a pattern of syncretism that is common in Campidanese Sardinian, where a syncretic element corresponding to the third person reflexive clitic (Lat. SE/SIBI) pronominalizes first and second person pronouns:

- (23) Vailate (Lombardy)

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	<i>ma</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>al/la</i>	<i>i /le</i>
Indir. obj.					<i>ga</i>	
Refl./Imp.		<i>sa</i>			<i>sa</i>	
Partitive	<i>na</i>					
Locative	<i>ga</i>					

## (24) Sarroch (Sardinian)

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	<i>mi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ḡu/ḡa</i>	<i>ḡus/ḡas</i>
Indir. obj.					<i>ḡi</i>	
Reflexive					<i>si</i>	
Partitive	<i>nḡi</i>					
Locative	<i>ci</i>					

It is worth noting that most of the above patterns of syncretism are not the expected outcomes of regular phonological change. Furthermore, dialects from different areas often exhibit similar patterns of syncretism (Poletto's 2013 *leopard spots variation*), whereas nearby dialects often exhibit divergent patterns.

A peculiar case of syncretism concerns reflexive forms. First and second person clitics are normally used with a reflexive interpretation, but in some varieties the third person reflexive is extended to other persons with an anaphoric function. Benincà & Poletto's 2005b data show that the extension tends to follow an implicational scale having the first person plural reflexive as its starting point:

## (25)

	<b>Florence</b>	<b>Verona</b>	<b>Comun Nuovo<sup>13</sup> (Bergamo)</b>	<b>Rodoretto<sup>14</sup> (Occitan)</b>
1.sg	<i>mi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>me</i>
2.sg	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>t'</i>
3.sg	<i>si</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>s'</i>
1.pl	<i>ci</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>s'</i>
2.pl	<i>vi</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>s'</i>
3.pl	<i>si</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>s'</i>

<sup>13</sup> Giulia Donzelli, p.c.

<sup>14</sup> Source: ASI database.

The phenomenon is attested in various Italo-Romance areas. In several Valencian varieties, for instance, the third person exponent *es* replaces first and second person plural clitics but not first and second person singular clitics, see (26) (Bonet 1991:138). This also happens in Vegliote (Maiden 2016).

- (26) a *Es= posarem darrere* (Vlc.)  
 self= we.will.put behind  
 ‘We will move behind’  
 b *Es= poseu darrere* (Vlc.)  
 self= you.put behind  
 ‘you(pl) move behind’

In some dialects, first and second person reflexives (either plural or singular) are expressed by combining the first and second person clitic with the third person reflexive one:

- (27) *va= sa= lavii* (Bel.)  
 you.PL= self= you.wash  
 ‘You wash yourselves’

All the above data show that clitics tend to be more opaque than their strong counterparts and the former often display a richer morphology either. The common view that the morphological structure of clitics is poorer than that of strong pronouns appears far from straightforward as witnessed by cases of compound formatives (more on this in chapter 4). Lastly, further context-dependent patterns of syncretism, suppletivism, allomorphy are found when clitics co-occur (chapter 9).

#### 1.4 Syntax

As mentioned in §1.1, clitics cannot occur in the same contexts as their strong counterparts. In the clausal environments where either can occur, the alternation between strong and clitic forms is triggered by discourse factors: strong pronouns have a contrastive/corrective flavour,

while clitics have a topiclike interpretation. In the few varieties lacking clitic forms (or having a defective paradigm), strong pronouns have a ‘neutral’ interpretation: they can be used with either a contrastive or non-contrastive reading. In Sursilvan, for instance, the free pronoun *el* ‘he/him’ can (and indeed must) be used in contexts like (28).

- (28) Ord quel motiv giavischa *el* in’invista en ils documents.  
 For that reason wish.3sghe an insight into the documents  
 ... Èsi en urden per Vus, sche jau tramet ils documents ad *el*? (Srs.)<sup>15</sup>  
 is.it in order for you, if I forward.1sg the documents to him  
 ‘On such grounds, he wishes to have insight into the documents. Is it alright for you, if I forward the documents to him?’

By contrast in contexts like (28) the other Romance languages would resume the subject of the previous clause by means of a dative clitic.

Strong and clitic forms sometimes co-occur, yielding patterns of *doubling* or *resumption*, i.e. syntactic configurations in which the doubled free pronoun is displaced in the canonical complement position or in a clause-peripheral position, respectively. In several languages such as Spanish, strong pronouns in direct and indirect object position have to be doubled. The conditions on the doubling of pronominal elements are subject to cross-linguistic variation and may differ from the conditions ruling the doubling of nominal phrases (more on doubling in chapter 4).

Normally, only clitics can double phrasal elements or resume left-dislocated elements. Strong pronouns can resume hanging topics, i.e. *nominativus pendens*. Differently from left-dislocations, hanging topics consist in the displacement of a prepositionless nominal phrase: if the topicalised constituent is an oblique complement, the preposition can be dropped. For instance, the left-dislocated indirect object in (29)a can be resumed by a clitic, whereas resumption with a strong pronoun results in ungrammaticality; conversely, the hanging topic in (29)b can be resumed by either a clitic or a free pronoun.

- (29) a A Mario, (*gli*) regalerò un libro (\**a lui*). (It.)  
 to M. him.dat= give.fut.1sga book to him  
 ‘I will give a book to Mario’

---

<sup>15</sup> Michele Loporcaro, p.c.

- b Mario, (*gli*) regalerò un libro (*a lui*).  
 M. him.dat= give.fut.1sga book to him  
 ‘As for Mario, I will give a book to Mario’

Notice that strong pronouns can resume nominal arguments, but not *vice versa* (see 5; examples from Belletti, 2005)<sup>16</sup>. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only distributional asymmetry between strong pronouns and nominal phrases, which are otherwise interchangeable.

- (30) a (Quanto a) Gianni, vedo sempre lui al cinema. (It.)  
 (as for) G. see.1sg always him at.the cinema  
 b \*(Quanto a) lui, vedo sempre Gianni al cinema.  
 (as for) him see.1sg always G. at.the cinema  
 ‘I always see him/Gianni at the cinema’

Resumption (by either clitic or strong pronouns) normally occurs with left-dislocated topics. Focalised constituent are not resumed, save for pronominal subjects in languages with obligatory subject clitics: French, for instance, requires the resumption of a fronted pronoun bearing focus, as shown in (31)a. Notice however that doubling/resumption is not allowed if the preverbal subject is a bare negative indefinite, which, arguably, occupy the same focus position<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> The resumptive strong pronoun adds a corrective flavor to the interpretation of the topicalised argument. I am wondering whether cases in which a nominative NP is doubled by a postverbal strong pronoun (Belletti, 2005) can be analysed as instances of hanging topics involving the subject. Since the hallmark of hanging topics is the absence of the oblique preposition, in the case of subjects hanging topics are indistinguishable from other types of topics.

- (i) Maria parlerà lei al dottore. (It.)  
 Maria talk.FUT she.to.the doctor  
 ‘Maria herself will talk to the doctor.’

<sup>17</sup> In contexts of *Complex Inversion*, the pattern is rather different, as quantified subjects are doubled, whereas a restriction bars first and second person subject (Morin 1979:§2.4; for discussion, see Kayne 2018).

- (i) a À qui personne ne veut-il parler? (Fr.; Salvi 2003: 208)

- (31) a MOI je n' ai rien dit. (Fr.)  
 me I= neg aux.1sg nothing say.pst.ptcp  
 'I said nothing'
- b \*Personne il n' a rien dit.  
 Nobody he= neg aux.1sg nothing say.pst.ptcp  
 'Nobody said anything'

Besides the basic syntactic properties illustrated so far (see also §1.1), the Romance languages show further peculiarities, which are subject to various degrees of cross-linguistic variation. What follows is an overview of the main issues, which for the ease of exposition are organised into three subsections: §1.4.1 deals with the position of clitics in the clause; §1.4.2 deals with the position of clitics with respect to the verb; §1.4.3 deals with the position of clitics with respect to other clitics.

#### 1.4.1 The position of clitics in the clause

In all the Romance languages clitics occupy a fixed position, but the location of that position is language-specific and clause-dependant. In most Romance languages, clitics are adjacent to a verbal form (more on this in §1.4.2). It is a matter of debate whether clitics are to be considered free elements with a very limited syntactic distribution or bound elements *incorporated* to the inflected verb (cf. §2.4).

In some varieties clitics are not always adjacent to the inflected verb. The phenomenon – dubbed *interpolation* – was particularly productive in medieval Ibero-Romance and old Romanian, where any kind of constituent could be interpolated between the proclitic(s) and the inflected verb in subordinate clauses:

- (32) a logo *lhe* el-rrei taxava que ... (o.Port.)<sup>18</sup>

- 
- To whom nobody NEG want.3SG=he speak.INF  
 b Pourquoi lui seul a-t-il été prévenu?  
 why him alone has-t=he been told  
 c \*Pourquoi toi seul as-tu été prévenu?  
 why you alone have=you been told

<sup>18</sup> Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de Dom Pedro*; in Salvi 1991/1993: (28)

soon 3.DAT= the king ordain.IPFV that  
 ‘immediately the king imposed on him as punishment that...’

b Sy el físico la bien connoçe (o.Sp.)<sup>19</sup>  
 if the physician 3.F.ACC= well know.3SG  
 ‘if the physician knows it well’

c așa ne tare pedepseș<ti> (o.Rom.)  
 like.this 1PL.ACC= hard punish.PRES.2PL  
 ‘you punish us hard’

Interpolation arguably results when the clitic is merged in a dedicated site of the clausal spine, without being ‘attached’ to the verb. The nature of that position and the reason why the clitics are attracted there will be discussed in due course.

The data from old Portuguese and old Spanish show that in early Romance clitics tend to occur in the low left periphery of the clause after focalised constituents and operators. Following Salvi 1996, chapter 5 will show that this displacement is probably inherited from Latin and recalls – at large – patterns of *second position clitics* that characterise other Indo-European languages. Second position clitics occur after the first constituent of the clause/phrase, as illustrated in (33) (from Bošković 2016).

- (33) a Mi smo mu je predstavili juče. (Serbo-Croatian)  
 we are= to.him= her= introduced yesterday  
 ‘We introduced her to him yesterday.’
- b Zašto smo mu je predstavili juče?  
 why are= to.him= her= introduced yesterday  
 ‘Why did we introduce her to him yesterday?’
- c Ona tvrdi da smo mu je mi predstavili juče.  
 she claims that are= to.him= her= we introduced yesterday  
 ‘She claims that we introduced her to him yesterday.’
- d. Predstavili smo mu je juče.  
 introduced are= to.him= her= yesterday  
 ‘We introduced her to him yesterday.’

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<sup>19</sup> Rivero 1997: (24d)



Evidence from other Romance languages suggests that, besides the low left periphery of the clause, other areas of the clause can host clitics (see Benincà & Poletto 2009, 2010), but, in order to pin down the possible position of clitic elements across the Romance languages, we need a principled model of the structure of the clause, which will be introduced in §2.3.

In turn, the hypothesis of multiple clitic *domains* may shed light on the behaviour of clitics across clause types, e.g. finite *vs* non-finite clauses; declarative *vs* jussive/imperative clauses; etc. For instance, let us compare the position of object clitics in French, where proclitics precede finite and non-finite verbs. However, whereas in (34)a the clitic and the verb precede the negative element *pas*, in (34)b both follow *pas*. Comparative evidence (see Cinque 1999) suggests that non-finite verbs occupy a ‘lower position’ (i.e. more to the right) than the one of finite verbs; for this reason, the former do not cross adverbs such as *pas*. Following this analysis, one might therefore argue that, the clitic *les* in (34)a and (34)b do not occur in the same position as, although they are always proclitic, the clitic+V complex in (34)a and (34)b is placed in different domains of the clause.

- (34) a Je ne *les* *mange pas*  
 I= not= them= eat NEG  
 b Nous avons essayé de ne *pas les manger*  
 We= have tried to not NEG them= to.eat  
 ‘We tried not to eat them’

#### 1.4.2 The position of clitics with respect to the verb

As previously mentioned, in most Romance languages clitics exhibit an affix-like behaviour: clitics are closed/attached to a verbal form, save for systems allowing interpolation and rare instances of clitics attached to prepositions and adverbs, e.g. It. *ecco-lo* ‘here it is’.

Although most Romance languages exhibit *adverbial* clitics (i.e. clitics that are always adjacent to the verb, Renzi 1989), the position of clitics with respect to the verbal root is not always fixed as in several Romance languages clitics can occur either before or after the verb (proclitically or enclitically, respectively). Anderson 2005 claims that similar alternations are seldom found with certain affixes. However, prefix/suffix alternations are normally conditioned by morpho-phonological factors (e.g. the presence of a given segment at the morphological boundary), whereas clitic placement depends on syntactic factors. The most

common factors triggering proclitic vs enclitic placement are the following: *finiteness* (in Italian, for instance, enclisis is mandatory with non-finite verbs and imperatives, see (35)), *fronting* and *polarity* (in Portuguese, enclisis is blocked if any element is focus-fronted or the clause is negative, see (36)), *embedding* (in Sanvalentinese<sup>20</sup>, for instance, enclisis is banned in *irrealis*/subjunctive clauses, see (37), whereas *realis*/indicative clauses are more liberal with respect to clitic placement, (38), see Fernández-Rubiera 2010 for similar asymmetries in Ibero-Romance varieties).

- (35) a Dice        che lo sa (It.)  
           he/she.says that it=knows  
           ‘He/she says that he/she know is’  
       b Dice        di saperlo  
           he/she.says to know=it  
           ‘He/she says that he/she know is’

- (36) a Quem me chamou / \*chamou-me? (Port.)  
       Who 1.acc= call.pst.3sg call.pst.3sg=1.acc  
       ‘Who called me?’  
       b Só ele a entende / \*entende-a  
       Only he 3sg.f= understand.3sg understand.3sg=3sg.f  
       ‘Only he understands her’  
       c O Paulo não me fala / \*fala-me  
       The P. neg 1.dat= speak.3sg speak.3sg=1.dat  
       ‘Paulo does not speak to me’

- (37) a 'wojə kə tə lu 'mɪŋŋə (Sanv.)  
       I.want that to.you= it=eat  
       b\* 'wojə kə 'mɪŋŋə te lu  
       I.want that you.eat =to.yourself =it  
       ‘I want you to eat it’

- (38) a 'do:ʃə ka sə lu 'mɔŋŋə 'sɛmprə (Sanv.)

<sup>20</sup> The Abruzzese dialect spoken in San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore will be thoroughly analysed in chapter 8.

says that to.him/her-self= it= eats always  
 b 'do:ʃə ka 'majnə sə lu 'semprə  
 says that eats =to.him/her-self =it always  
 'He/she says that he/she always eats it'

The position of clitics is particularly puzzling in periphrastic constructions, which feature two verbal forms: a finite functional verb and a non-finite lexical verb. In several Romance languages, complement clitics *climb*, i.e. clitics are usually attached to the inflected auxiliary of compound tenses and, to a lesser extent, of periphrastic constructions featuring progressive, modal, causative auxiliaries, perception and motion verbs.

Not all the languages that exhibit climbing in compound tenses allow climbing in the other periphrastic constructions: for instance, Italian and French trigger climbing in compound tenses and *faire*-causatives, but they differ with respect to climbing with modals, *let*-causatives and perception verbs. As shown in (39), these verbs are contexts of optional climbing in Italian, whereas in French climbing is barred:

- (39) a (*ne*) voglio/lascio/vedo dare-(*ne*) due. (It.)  
 of.them= I.want/let/see to.give=of.them two  
 b Je (\**en*) veux/laisse/vois *en* donner deux. (Fr.)  
 I= want/let/see of.them= give two

Catalan is more liberal than Italian as it allows climbing with aspectual and motion verbs (Solà 2002):

- (40) a *l'* he pujat/ baixat a veure. (Cat.)  
 him= I.have gone-up/ down to to.see  
 b sono salito/sceso a veder-lo (It.)  
 I.am gone-up/ down to to.see  
 'I have gone up/down to see him'

- (41) a *El* passaré a saludar. (Cat.)  
 him= I.will.go.by to greet  
 'I'll go by to greet him.'  
 b (*Lo*) passerò a saludar(-*lo*)

him= I.will.go.by to greet=him  
'I'll go by to greet him.'

Enclisis/proclisis alternations and climbing challenge morphological accounts claiming that clitics can be eventually reduced to affixes. The fact that these phenomena occur in languages without interpolation – where clitics are supposed to be merged with the verb – calls for a principled explanation that accounts on the one hand for the apparent quasi-affixal status of the clitic(s) and, on the other, for the multiple facets of clitic placement.

#### 1.4.3 The position of clitics with respect to other clitics

Object clitics tend to cluster together, either proclitically or enclitically, forming sequences with a rigid order. Such order is set on a language-specific basis and tend to be maintained when clitics occur in enclisis (see Perlmutter 1971 on Spanish; Wanner 1977 on Italian; Bonet 1991 on Catalan). In Italian, for instance, the third person dative clitic always precede the accusative one, as shown in (42)a, whereas French displays the inverted order, in (42)b. Analogously, Italian and Spanish differ with respect to the ordering of dative and impersonal clitics, as illustrated in (43).

- (42) a *glie lo danno* (It.)  
to.him/her/them= it/him= they.give  
'they give it/him to him/her/them'
- b *ils le lui donnent* (Fr.)  
they= it/him= to.him/her= give  
'they give it/him to him/her'

- (43) a *Le si parla* (It.)  
to.her= one= speaks  
'One speaks to her'
- b *Se le habla* (Sp.)  
one= to.him/her= speaks  
'One speaks to him/her'

The order of object clitics, however, is often blurred by context-determined *suppletivism*, yielding *opaque clusters* (Perlmutter 1971; Bonet 1991). For instance, in most Romance languages the dative clitic (< ILLI(S)) is systematically replaced by an impersonal or a locative clitic when combining with an accusative or partitive clitic (Perlmutter 1971): in many Ibero-Romance varieties – including Spanish – and in Campidanese Sardinian the etymological third person dative *le/li* is replaced by the reflexive clitic (with a non-reflexive interpretation), see (44). In Logudorese Sardinian and Catalan, conversely, the etymological dative *le/li* is replaced by the locative clitic *ci/bi/hi/y*, see (45).

(44) a *di* pottu unu libru. (Sarroch, Campidanese Sard.)

to.him= I.bring a book

‘I bring him a book’

b *si/\*di du* pottu.

to.him= it= I.bring

‘I bring it to him’

(45) *bi/\*li l’* appo datu. (Log. Sardinian, Jones 1993:220)

to.him/her/them=it=I.have given

‘I gave it to him/her/them’

In proclisis object clitics exhibit some interesting interaction with other clitic material such as the negation marker and, if present, subject clitics. In declarative clauses, subject clitics precede object ones. In interrogative clauses, object pronouns tend to remain proclitic, while subject clitics may undergo inversion.

(46) a Tu l’ as fait (Fr.)

you= it=have done

‘You did it’

b L’ as-tu fait?

it=have=you done?

‘Have you done it?’

Negation may either precede or follow subject clitics. In origin, all Romance varieties displayed the order subject clitic > negation > object clitics, but around the fifteenth century

several northern Italian vernaculars began to reverse the order of negation and subject clitics. In Friulian, for instance, the 2SG subject *tu/te* occurred before negation until the sixteenth century, as shown in (43a), while in modern varieties the only possible order is negation >*tu/te* (43b):

- (47) a *Tu no havarès la bielle fie* (o.Frl.)  
 you= not= have.FUT the nice girl  
 ‘you will not have the nice girl’
- b *No tu compre mai meil* (Barcis, m.Frl.)  
 Not= you= buy never apples  
 ‘You never buy apples’

In contexts of subject-clitic inversion, preverbal negation remains proclitic to the verb:

- (48) *N’= as =tu pas mangé?* (Fr.)  
 not= have =you not eaten  
 ‘Didn't you eat?’

Lastly, Parry (1997) reports some cases from Ligurian dialects in which the preverbal negative marker *n* is reduplicated after certain object clitics (see also Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 295):

- (49) *I n te (n) dan nent u libr* (Lig.)  
 They= NEG= you= (NEG=) give NEG the book  
 ‘They do not give you the book’

The interaction between object clitics, subject clitics, and other clitic material (e.g. preverbal negation, certain auxiliaries) is a fertile bed for syntactic theories and, with respect to the make up of clitic sequences, for models accounting for the division of labour between morphology and syntax. The brief overview provided so far has given a glimpse to the topics on which the next chapters will elaborate.

## 1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed some basic properties of Romance object clitics in the light of data from both ‘major’/well-known Romance languages and ‘minor’ vernaculars.

Phonologically, the main property of clitics is that they lack stress, although they can trigger stress shift. Patterns of stress shift (and their subsequent morphologisation) shed light on the prosodic status of clitic elements, while the deficient prosodic status of clitics provides an explanation for other phonological processes that affected the shape of clitics, such as apocope, aphaeresis, elision, etc. What we observe diachronically is the extension of lexical rules to the post-lexical domain formed by the clitic(s) and the host.

Morphologically, clitics differ from strong pronouns in having a more opaque shape. Besides regular phonological processes (see above), clitics exhibit systematic patterns of syncretism, which blur the original etymological conditions. Furthermore, object clitics, unlike the corresponding free pronouns, exhibit compound exponents resulting from the combination of various clitic formatives. The compound and layered structure of clitics challenges the customary idea that clitic elements lack a complex internal structure (more on this in chapter 4).

Syntactically, clitics differ from free pronouns in many respects. They occur in a fixed position (set on a language-specific basis) and in most languages they must be close (or attached) to a verbal form. The position of clitics will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapters. The displacement of clitics in the clause interacts in a puzzling way with the behaviour of other syntactic elements, noticeably the verb. The position of the clitic(s) with respect to finite and non-finite verbs in both simple tenses and periphrastic constructions is one of the main issues in the study of Romance clitics, which will be thoroughly discussed in due course. Lastly, the way in which clitics interact with other (clitic) function words (including negation) is a major source of cross-linguistic variation, which challenges diachronic and synchronic explanations.

## 2.1 Introduction

Romance clitics exhibit a complex interaction with word order (in particular, verb movement) and other syntactic phenomena. This chapter intends to introduce some terminological conventions and a clear representation of sentence structure for the analysis of clitic placement and (other) discourse-driven displacements.

The following discussion is mainly couched within the framework of Generative Grammar. Our understanding of clitic phenomena has grown in symbiosis with the Generative theory and it seems to me that the importance of most empirical findings cannot be fully appreciated without being familiar with the basic tenets of the theory.

The following sections focus on some basic syntactic aspects that have been debated in the rich and still growing literature on clitics. For ease of exposition, I focus on four main aspects: §2.2 deals with the nature of *clitic dependencies*, i.e. the relationship holding between the clitic and the corresponding argument position; §2.3 discusses the possible *domains* of cliticisation, i.e. the positions of the clause where Romance clitics tend to occur crosslinguistically; §2.4 focuses on the relationship holding between the clitics and their *hosts*; §2.5 elaborates on the interaction between clitic placement and the syntax/discourse interface. §2.6 concludes.

## 2.2 Dependencies

Previous accounts of clitics fall into two types (Sportiche 1996): lexical vs syntactic analyses. The former build on the hypothesis that clitics are not pronouns, but affixes that modify the argument structure of predicates or affect their semantic properties. Evidence for a lexical approach to cliticisation comes from *inherent clitics*, i.e. clitics that do function as pronouns, but are selected idiosyncratically by certain verbs (see Russi 2008: 119-171 for an in-depth study of lexical/idiomatic uses of the It. clitics *ci/ne*). For instance, the clitic *mi* in (1)a is an argument clitic in complementary distribution with the strong/free object pronoun *me*,



whereas the clitic *mi* in (1)b is an inherent clitic that does not seem to pronominalize any argument/adjunct.

- (1)a *mi* salutano (→ salutano *me*) (It.)  
 to.me= they.greet  
 ‘They are greeting me’
- b (*mi*) sbaglio (→ \*sbaglio *me*)  
 to.myself= I.make.a.mistake  
 ‘I make a mistake’

The difference between inherent and argument clitics, however, is not straightforward as implicit arguments that are not obligatorily expressed may affect the eventive semantics of predicates (cf. Pustejovsky’s 1995: 62-67 notions of *Shadow* or *Default Arguments*). Inherent clitics often reflect aspectual properties that in fact may be related to the presence of implicit arguments: for instance, Tortora 1997, 2015: ch. 2 examines the syntax of the locative clitics *ngh-* *-gghi* in the dialect of Borgomanero (Piedmont), which obligatorily occur with the unaccusative verbs in (2)a-c, denoting ‘inherently directed motion’ (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1994), while they never occur with other unaccusatives, such as those in (2)d-e, and unergatives. Although *ngh-* *-gghi* have expletive-like properties and their distribution is ultimately lexically-determined, Tortora argues very convincingly that most semantic and syntactic properties of this construction can be better understood if the clitics *ngh-* *-gghi* are analysed as the overt instantiation of a null locative argument.

- (2) a Ngh è rivà-gghi na fjola.  
 LOC= is arrived=LOC a girl  
 ‘A girl (has) arrived.’
- b Ngh è gnö-gghi la Maria.  
 LOC= is come=LOC the Maria  
 ‘Maria came / has come’
- c Ngh è gnö ndre-gghi l me omu.  
 LOC= is come back=LOC the my man  
 ‘My husband returned.’
- d \*Ngh è naci-ghi l Mario, nsômma loj.  
 LOC= is gone=LOC the Mario, with them

‘Mario went with them.’

e \*Ngh è naci-ghi la me amisa.

LOC= is gone=LOC the my friend

‘My friend left.’

Tortora’s analysis of Borgomanerese shows that expletive/pleonastic/inherent clitics can be eventually accommodated within a syntactic analysis in which clitics *license* null arguments, which are detected on the basis of independent semantic and syntactic diagnostics. Hence, a sensible syntactic analysis *à la* Tortora can deal with non-argumental clitics, whereas lexical explanations cannot account for cases in which the clitics have a *bona fide* pronominal nature. For instance, lexical analyses cannot account for clitics that pronominalize an argument that is not selected by the verb to which the clitic is attached, as illustrated in the following examples from Sportiche 1996:

- (3) a Jean est semblable à sa mère → *lui* est semblable (Fr.)  
‘Jean is similar to his mother’ to.her= is similar
- b Jean croit Pierre friand *de tout* → *en* croit Pierre friand  
‘Jean believes Pierre fond of everything’ of.it= believes Pierre fond
- b Jean veut manger *la pomme* → *la* veut manger  
‘Jean wants to eat the apple’ *it*=wants to.eat
- d Jean a peint la cheminée *de l’usine* → *en* a peint la cheminée  
‘Jean painted the chimney of the factory’ of.it= has painted the chimney

The data in **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.** lead us to wonder about the *syntactic dependency* holding between the clitic and the *thematic position* where arguments usually occur:

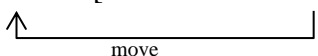
- (4) clitic ... [Lexical Item \_\_\_\_ ]  
└──────────────────┘  
dependency

Lexical analyses cannot explain why the dependencies in **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.** can be established at long distance and, moreover, why certain dependencies are possible (regardless of the lexical material they involve) whereas others are systematically ruled out. In (5), for instance, one wonders why the clitic *ne* can pronominalise a PP when it is

embedded in a direct object, but not in an adjunct. If cliticisation was the spell-out of lexical properties, the asymmetry in (5) would remain unaccounted for. Conversely, under a syntactic analysis one can elaborate on the parallelism between cliticisation and other long-distance dependencies such as wh movement in (5) vs (6):

- (5) a Ho letto un capitolo *del libro* → *ne* ho letto un capitolo (It.)  
 ‘I read a chapter of the book’ of.it= I.have ridden a chapter
- b Ho faticato con un capitolo *del libro* → \**ne* ho faticato con un capitolo  
 ‘I struggled with a chapter of the book of.it= I.have struggled with a chapter
- (6) a Ho letto un capitolo *del libro* → *Di cosa* hai letto un capitolo? (It.)  
 ‘I read a chapter of the book’ Of.what you.have ridden a chapter
- b Ho faticato con un capitolo *del libro* → \**Di cosa* hai faticato con un capitolo?  
 ‘I struggled with a chapter of the book Of.what you.have struggled with a chapter

Clitic dependencies have been the subject of intense debate within the generative framework. In the early 80s, the debate was polarised between a *movement* and a *base-generation* approach. Movement provided a promising account of clitic dependencies by supposing that clitic and non-clitic arguments are base-generated in the same position and clitics are eventually moved elsewhere (Kayne 1975, Kayne 1989, Sportiche 1990).

- (7) *clitic* ... [Lexical Item *clitic*]  


Movement analyses like (7) account straightforwardly for languages such as Italian, in which a clitic and the corresponding XP are in complementary distribution, as shown in (8)a, whereas they fail to account for cases of clitic doubling such as (8)b, in which the clitic co-occurs with the corresponding non-dislocated argument:

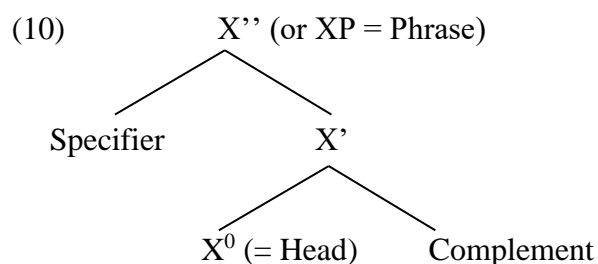
- (8) a \*Le diedi un regalo a mia madre. (It.)
- b Le di un regalo a mi madre. (Sp.)  
 to.her= I.gave a gift to my mother  
 ‘I gave my mother a present’

To account for doubling, other scholars explored an alternative analysis of cliticisation according to which object clitics are not moved from a lower position, but are base-generated in the same position where they are pronounced (Strozer 1976, Rivas 1977, Jaeggli 1982, Borer 1983). The dichotomy between movement *vs* base-generation was largely dependent on theory-internal issues and, with the progressive evolution of the generative theory, the differences between the two syntactic approaches faded away. New models of movement (e.g. Chomsky's 1995 *Copy Theory of Movement*), new models of syntactic dependencies (e.g. Chomsky's 2000 *Agree*), new models of phrase structure (Chomsky's 1994 *Bare Phrase Structure*) blurred the distinction between movement *vs* base-generation approaches, which nowadays looks much more nuanced than in the 80s.

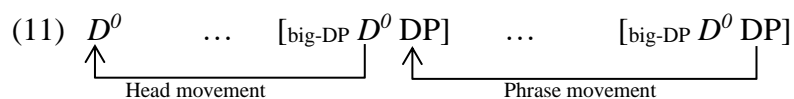
One of the first and most fruitful attempt to improve the movement analysis of clitics and make it compatible with doubling phenomena was the *big-DP hypothesis* (Uriagereka 1995a, Cecchetto 2000, a.o.). According to the big-DP hypothesis, clitics are generated in a 'big' Determiner Phrase containing a D head (the clitic) and another full DP. The big-DP has the same properties of other nominal phrases, but it allows the extraction of the clitic and, if the inner DP is phonologically expressed, then doubling results.



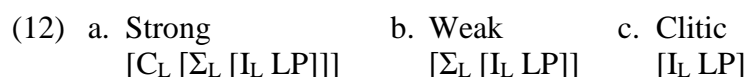
On the theoretical side, the big-DP analysis made the movement analysis of clitic dependencies fit with the theory of phrase structure, which in the earliest accounts of clitic dependencies was couched in the framework of *X-bar theory* (Chomsky 1970; Jackendoff 1977). X-bar theory assumes that phrases have a uniform structure formed by a module consisting in a two-levels and binary branching tree as shown in (10). Heads always project a phrase, whose specifier and complement positions may either host another phrase or remain empty.



Since clitics are supposed to be base-generated as fully-fledged phrasal arguments (namely, XPs), early movement analyses could not explain why clitics end up showing their peculiar head-like behaviour. One of the desiderata of the theory was to capture the intuition that ‘[c]litics appear to share XP and X<sup>0</sup> properties’ (Chomsky 1994). The big-DP hypothesis, by supposing that clitic dependencies result from a combination of phrasal and head movement, illustrated in (11), was the first attempt to account for the ‘ambiguous’ nature of clitics. By general consent, the hypothesis of a two-steps analysis is the gold standard for several generative accounts of cliticisation (Sportiche 1996; more on this in chapter 5), although accounts diverge with respect to the nature of the second step of the derivation (more on this below).



Besides providing a solution to the problem of clitic dependencies, the big-DP hypothesis first introduced the idea that (pro)nominal elements are multi-layered structures and that clitics are *deficient* elements resulting when the external layer of the original structure (the big DP) peels off. The most prominent *peeling* analysis of clitic phenomena has been proposed by Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, who, building on Holmberg 1986, 1991, argue that the difference between classes of function words (free, clitic, and the intermediate class of *weak* elements) can be modelled in terms of syntactic constituency: each class is derived from the same subtree via *peeling* and the relationship between classes is conceptualised as a subset/superset relation. According to Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, clitic and weak elements differ from strong elements in lacking the outer functional layer of the tree, C<sub>L</sub> in (12), where C stands for Complementiser (i.e. the layer that turn a phrase into a clausal complement), and L stands for any Lexical category, i.e. N, V, P, etc. C<sub>L</sub> allows pronouns to be coordinated, modified, contrasted, etc. Clitics lack a further layer (namely, Σ<sub>L</sub>), whose absence correlates with syntactic and morphophonological properties, e.g. doubling, prosodic deficiency, etc.:

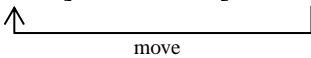


The idea of peeling has been particularly influential in the field of historical syntax. Roberts 1991 first acknowledged that grammatical elements tend to evolve along the cline

*strong* > *weak* > *clitic* (on Italo-Romance pronouns, see Egerland 2002a, 2005, 2010). This view in turn recalls typological and functional approaches to grammaticalisation (see Hopper & Traugott 2003 for an overview) and open the door to a principled account of the parallel evolution of syntactic and prosodic deficiency (cf. §1.2). The advantages and limits of peeling approaches will be thoroughly reviewed in chapter 4.

The peeling approach *à la* Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 led also to a simplification of clitic dependencies, as in (12) clitics and weak elements are maximal constituents (XPs), which adjoin to a position close to the verb without incorporating to it (Kayne 1989; more on this below). This approach is coherent with the goals of Chomsky’s 1995 *Minimalist Program*, which attempts to simplify the theoretical apparatus of syntactic theory by dispensing with several notions, including head movement. The empirical effects of head movement – the latter step of the dependency in (11) – must be reduced to phrase movement or derived from other primitives of the generative theory.

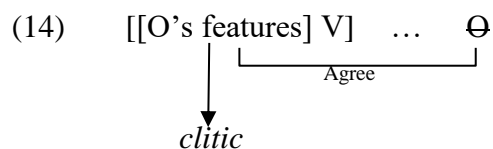
Matushansky 2006 for instance proposes that head movement in general (and the syntax of Romance clitics in particular) can be reduced to a combination of phrasal movement plus a morphological operation of *m-merger* (where *m-* stands for ‘morphological’; Marantz 1988; Halle & Marantz 1993), which merges two adjacent syntactic nodes yielding a single compound element (Matushansky 2006: 85; see also Kramer 2014; Gallego 2016; Baker and Kramer 2018). Clitic dependencies are then modelled as XP movement of a deficient element to a position close to the verb, as in (13)a, and, eventually, incorporation of the clitic to the verb under adjacency, as shown in (13)b (for the sake of clarity, incorporation will be represented by means of round brackets throughout the book):

- (13) a [XP clitic] V ... [~~XP-clitic~~]  
  
 b [XP (clitic) V] ... [~~XP-clitic~~]

Roberts 2010 argues for a syntactic reformulation of the problem without invoking an extra-syntactic machinery such as *m-merge*. Roberts proposes to reduce head movement (and incorporation) to another primitive of the theory: Chomsky’s 2000 *Agree*. Agree is a syntactic operation that matches the syntactic features (e.g. gender, number, person) of a *Probe* with those of a *Goal*<sup>21</sup>. Roberts proposes that object clitics spell out the bundle of agreement

<sup>21</sup> They are, respectively, the *Target* and *Controller* of agreement in Corbett’s 2006 terminology.

features resulting from the Agree relation between the verb V and the object O, see (14). Eventually, O is deleted when deficient (in Cardinaletti & Starke’s 1999 sense), yielding the complementarity distribution of clitics and free pronouns observed in many (Romance) languages.



Matushansky’s or Roberts’s proposals are mostly theory-oriented and, at this point, we are wondering beyond the self-imposed limits of the present discussion, which will be resumed in chapter 4. To conclude, one of the crucial aspects of cliticisation is the nature of clitic dependencies, i.e. the relationship holding between the clitic and the corresponding thematic position. From a theoretical point of view, clitic dependencies are problematic because, differently from other types of dependencies (e.g. wh movement), they exhibit a puzzling interaction with phrase structure and allow extensive doubling phenomena. In order to address this problem, various proposals have been put forth to reduce the special behaviour of clitics to more basic ‘ingredients’ of syntactic analysis such as movement, agree, and incorporation. Besides technicalities, this section highlighted the importance of a syntactic analysis whereby clitic dependencies are viewed as a particular kind of long-distance dependencies that are established across clausal *domains*.

### 2.3 Domains

In the preceding section, I wondered about the dependency holding between the clitics and their hypothetical base-generation position. This and the next section, conversely, focus on the *landing position* of clitics, i.e. their placement in the structure of the clause. Two aspects of Romance clitics will be discussed:

- The *domain* of cliticisation, i.e. the areas of the clause where clitics tend to occur more readily.
- The *nesting* of clitics (cf. §2.4), i.e. the structural configuration whereby the clitic is merged in the syntactic structure and the relationship between the clitic and its host (if any);

In the Romance languages clitics are likely to occur in three main *clausal domains* (Cardinaletti & Schlonsky 2004; Benincà & Tortora 2009, 2010 a.o.). With the term ‘clausal domains’ I refer to the three main parts that form the clausal spine, termed CP, IP, and VP (for an overview and an analysis of the Romance clause structure, see Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016). The acronyms VP, IP, and CP stand for *Complementiser Phrase*, *Inflectional Phrase* and *Verb Phrase* respectively, but these labels can be misleading as I am following here a cartographic view of sentence structure in which CP, IP and VP are not single phrases, but rather clausal domains formed by sets of phrases (for an overview of the cartographic approach, see Rizzi & Cinque 2016). For the sake of clarity, I will use curly brackets to mark the boundary between domains and use square brackets to indicate phrases *stricto sensu*:

(15) {C ... {I ... {V ... }}}

The I-V domains form the *sentential core*, where basic syntactic relations are encoded, such as argument selection, subject/verb agreement, etc. The V domain is the locus of argument structure, where the lexical verb *projects* its arguments and is modified by adjuncts. As a first approximation, let us assume that the V domain of the Romance languages hosts the past participle of compound tenses, internal arguments, and adjuncts. The I domain is formed by a series of ordered projections that host functional elements expressing agreement, tense, aspect, mood, etc (Pollock 1989; Cinque 1999). This layer contains the inflected verb, which agrees with the subject. The canonical position of preverbal subjects is located at the left edge of the I domain.

(16) {I Luca ha già {V dato quei libri a Marco } }  
 Luca has already given those books to Marco  
 ‘Luca has already given Marco those books’

The C domain (or *left periphery*) normally hosts complementizers, interrogative pronouns, left-dislocated and focused constituents as illustrated in (17). As shown by Rizzi 1997, Benincà 2001; Benincà & Poletto 2004, these elements are rigidly ordered and, across languages, the ordering of such elements tends to be uniform (more on this in §2.5).



- (17) a {<sub>C</sub> **Quei libri**, **A MARCO** {<sub>I</sub> Luca li ha già {<sub>V</sub> dati }}}  
 Those books, to Marco Luca them= has already given  
 ‘As for those books, Luca has already given them to Marco’
- b {<sub>C</sub> **Quei libri**, **a chi** {<sub>I</sub> li ha già {<sub>V</sub> dati }}}  
 Those books, to whom them= has already given  
 ‘As for those books, to whom has he already given them?’
- c {<sub>C</sub> Carlo dice ... {<sub>C</sub> **che i libri** {<sub>I</sub> L. li ha già {<sub>V</sub> dati a M.}}}}  
 Carlo says that the books L. them= has already given to M.  
 ‘Carlo says that Luca has already given them (the books) to Marco’

Each layer of sentence structure is a possible domain of cliticisation (see Benincà and Tortora 2009, 2010 and references therein) and, in each Romance language, one or more of these domains can be active and capable of hosting clitics.

In most present-day Romance languages, clitics are nested in the I domain of finite clauses as they normally occur between the position of preverbal subjects and the inflected verb, see (18):

- (18) a *lo* voglio (It.)  
 him/it= I.want
- b *je le* veux (Fr.)  
 I= him/it= want
- c *lo* quiero (Sp.)  
 him/it= I.want
- d *ho vull* (Cat.)  
 it=I.want
- e *îl* vreau (Rom.)  
 him/it= I.want  
 ‘I want him/it’

To ascertain the position of clitics, however, it is worth focusing on those languages in which clitics are not necessarily bound to verbal forms. Furthermore, to pin down the position of clitics and verbal forms, we need to examine the position of these elements with respect to ‘fixed stars’, which, in our model of clausal syntax, are represented by adverbs. Adverbs tend to occur in a rigid (unmarked) order, which normally holds crosslinguistically. Cinque 1999,

(a.o.) shows that adverbs tend to occur in two sets of projections in the I domain, which Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 termed the *Lower Adverb Space* (LAS) and the *Higher Adverb Space* (HAS):

(19)  $\{I [HAS S Adv... [LAS Adv... \{V V_{lexical} O^{22}$

Adverbs in the HAS, in (20), encode evidential and modal features, while adverbs in the LAS, in (21), encode aspectual features. Temporal adverbs are found in both spaces (the schemes below are taken from Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016):

(20) Mood<sub>SpeechAct</sub> > Mood<sub>Evidential</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > Mood<sub>Irrealis</sub> > Mood<sub>Volitional</sub> > Asp<sub>Habitual</sub>  
 sincèremet      apparemment      alors      peut-être      exprès      d’habitude (Fr.)  
 sinceramente      aparentemente      então      talvez      de propósito      usualmente (Pt.)  
 sincerely      apparently      then      perhaps      generally      usually

(21) Neg > T<sub>Anterior</sub> > Asp<sub>Terminative</sub> > Asp<sub>Perfect</sub> > Asp<sub>Completive</sub> > Voice  
 pas      déjà      plus      toujours      complètement      bien (Fr.)  
 não      já      mais      sempre      completamente      bem (Pt.)  
 not      already      anymore      always      completely      well

Clear evidence of clitics in the I domain comes from Italo-Romance and western Ibero-Romance dialects that show interpolation of the aspectual adverbs placed in the LAS:

- (22) a O livro que **lhe** [ainda] não entreguei (Port. dialect)<sup>23</sup>  
 The book that to.him= yet not handle  
 ‘The book that I did not gave him yet’  
 b Un **mi** [cchù] parra (Cosentino)<sup>24</sup>  
 not me= anymore speaks  
 ‘he does not speak to me anymore’  
 c el **me** [sempre]dizi (Triestino)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> From Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016 with minor modifications.

<sup>23</sup> Barbosa 1996

<sup>24</sup> Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005

<sup>25</sup> Benincà 1997: 129

he= to.me= always says  
 ‘He always speaks to me’

According to Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, Paoli 2007 interpolation results when the clitic(s) and the finite verb target separate positions, one above and the other below the LAS:<sup>26</sup>

(23) {<sub>I</sub> *clitics* ... LAS ... V<sub>finite</sub> {<sub>V</sub> ... } }

Analogous cases of interpolation are permitted in formal French, but only with infinitives, see (24). In particular, the clitics *y* and *en* in literary/archaic French may occur before certain aspectual adverbs and scrambled quantifiers such as *rien* ‘nothing’ (Kayne 1991: 653–654; 1994: 42–43).

- (24) a **pour me** [bien] comprendre. (Fr.)  
 for me= well understand  
 ‘in order to understand me well.’
- b **en** [bien] parler.  
 of.it= well to.speak  
 ‘to talk about it.’
- c n’ **en** [presque rien] dire.  
 not of.it= almost nothing to.say  
 ‘to have nothing to say on this.’

The analysis of French interpolation is given in (25), where it is assumed that the infinitive remains in the V domain (a finer representation of non-finite verbs will be discussed in due course):

(25) {<sub>I</sub> *y/en* ... LAS ... {<sub>V</sub> V<sub>infinitive</sub> } }

The hypothesis in (25) that the clitics *y* and *en* can move to the I domain independently

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<sup>26</sup> In the Ibero-Romance area, one may object that the mechanism producing interpolation takes place in C (more on this in chapter 5):

from the placement of the finite verb is confirmed by data from clitic climbing, which is usually barred in French save for instances of climbing of the clitics *en* and *y*, which are attested in the same high/archaic register in which interpolation is marginally allowed (Kayne 1975 : ch. 2; Cinque 2006):

- (26) a J' **en** voudrais voir beaucoup. (Fr.)  
 I= of.them= would.like to.see a.lot  
 'I would like to see many of them.'
- b J' **y** voudrais aller.  
 I= there= would.like to.go  
 'I would like to go there'

If we assume, with (25), that the clitics *y* and *en* can occur in the I domain even if the selecting verb occurs in a lower domain, then we provide a unified account for the exceptional patterns of interpolation in (24) and climbing in (26).<sup>27</sup>

Evidence for C-oriented clitics (namely, clitics occurring in the C domain) comes from medieval Romance languages, which display a generalised pattern of *V-to-C movement*: the inflected verb moves to the C domain in main clauses, whereas in embedded clauses it remains in the I domain, as in present-day Romance (chapter 6):

- (27) a {<sub>C</sub> V {<sub>I</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub> ... }}} main clauses  
 b {<sub>C</sub> ... {<sub>I</sub> V {<sub>v</sub> ... }}} embedded clauses

As a consequence of (27), the inflected verb tends to occur to the left of the subject in (non pro-drop) main clauses, whereas embedded clauses display the canonical order SV(O). Object clitics often occurred proclitically also in contexts of V-to-C movement (save for contexts where V occurred in the first position of the clause; more on this in chapters 5-7). According

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<sup>27</sup> The conclusion that the clitics *y* and *en* of French enjoyed a higher degree of freedom than the other clitics recalls the behaviour of the same clitic forms in old Portuguese (more on this in chapter 4). As Martins 2003a notices, *i* and *ende* do not exhibit the canonical distribution of clitics: they often occur post-verbally in subordinate clauses (where enclisis is banned), they may occur in the first position of the clause, they never occur between the sentential negative marker and the verb, they are not always adjacent to the verb (cf. (4), but, unlike clitics, they never undergo mesocclisis.

to Benincà 2006, the presence of proclisis in main clauses, where the verb moves to C, is evidence for a higher domain of cliticisation located in the low C area.

Conclusive evidence for the placement of clitics in the C domain is provided by certain early Romance languages, which show instances of interpolation of elements that normally occur in the high I domain (Ledgeway & Lombardi's HAS), cf. (19). In embedded clauses, where V-to-C movement is barred (see (27)b), languages such as old Portuguese and old Spanish allow the clitics to occur above the clausal subject (among other types of constituents; more on this in chapter 5):

- (28) que *le* [dios] dio. (o.Sp.)<sup>28</sup>  
 that to.him= god gave  
 '... that god gave him.'

Interpolation results when clitics are nested in the lower C domain, while the verb occupies a position as high as the position of the verb in modern Romance:

- (29) {<sub>C</sub> que *le* {<sub>I</sub> dios dio {<sub>V</sub> ~~di~~ }}}

Lastly, evidence of clitics in the V domain comes from dialects in which clitics do not climb to the inflected verb, but remain attached to the lexical verb in particular in periphrastic tenses and constructions. Patterns of V-oriented clitics are attested in languages such as Franco-Provençal (Chenal 1986), Piedmontese (Parry 2005 a.o.), Dolomitic Ladin (Rasom 2006), and Abruzzese dialects (Benincà & Pescarini 2014). In most cases, only certain clitic forms are allowed to occur in V, e.g. the accusative feminine clitic *o* in Romanian, yielding mixed patterns in which certain pronouns climb while others remain attached to the lexical verb.

- (30) a L' an tot portà-lèi vià. (Fr.Prov.)<sup>29</sup>  
 They= have everything carried=to.him away  
 'They have taken everything away from him.'  
 b I an rangiò-la. (Cairese)<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Castigos e documentos de Sancho*; from Rivero 1997.

<sup>29</sup> Chenal 1986:340

They= have fixed=it.F

‘They fixed it.’

c Am/aş mâncat-o (Romanian)<sup>31</sup>

I.have/would eaten=it.F

‘I ate it’

Instances of clitics in the V domain are exhibited by the dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore (upper-southern Italian), where, additionally, the past participle can move optionally above the clitics, yielding a systematic enclisis/proclisis alternation that will be thoroughly analysed in chapter 8.

(31) a 'ajə ddʒa mən'jɛtə-mə-lu ji

I.have already eaten=to.me=it I

b 'ajə ddʒa mə lu mən'jɛtə

I.have already to.me= it=eaten

‘I have already eaten it’

It is worth noting that in (31) the clitics and the past participle follow the aspectual adverb *ddʒa* ‘already’, which means that the clitics are nested at the V/I border below the LAS. Then the alternation between the proclitic and enclitic placement in (31) can be derived by supposing that the past participle can move to the lower I domain as proposed in Kayne 1989 (more on this in §2.4 and chapter 8):

(32) {C ... {I ... LAS mən'jɛtə {V mə lu mən'jɛtə }}}

An analogous alternation can be observed in the I domain with respect to the finite verb (either in simple or compound tenses):

(33) a mə l 'ajə ddʒa mən'jɛtə

to.me= it= I.have already eaten

b. 'ajə mə lu ddʒa mən'jɛtə

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<sup>30</sup> Parry 2005

<sup>31</sup> Dragomirescu 2013: 193

I.have =to.me =it already eaten  
 ‘I have eaten

The alternation in (33)(34) can be derived from the same mechanism, i.e. movement of the finite verb past the the clitic, but in this case the clitic must be placed in the high I domain above the LAS:

(34) {<sub>C</sub> ... {<sub>I</sub> 'ajə mə lu 'ajə LAS {<sub>V</sub> məɲ'ɲetə }}}

Hence, the dialect of Sanvalentino, by far the most liberal Romance variety with respect to clitic placement, shows that clitics can occur in either the I or V domain, while the alternation between proclisis and enclisis results from an independent mechanism, that is the placement of the verbal head immediately before or after the nesting site of the clitic(s) (more on this in §2.4).

Further evidence of V-oriented clitics comes from dialects allowing interpolation of lower adverbs between the verb and enclitics (Tortora 2002, 2015):

- (35) a I porti mi-*lla*. (Borgomanerese)  
 I= bring not=it  
 ‘I’m not bringing it.’
- b I vangumma già-*nni* da dū agni.  
 We= see already=us of two years  
 ‘We’ve already been seeing each other for two years.’
- c I vônghi piö-*llu*.  
 I= see anymore=him  
 ‘I don’t see him anymore.’

The data in (35) show that in Borgomanerese clitics occupy a position in the V (or low I) domain, below the LAS:

(36) {<sub>I</sub> V<sub>finite</sub> LAS {<sub>V</sub> *clitics* ... } }

To conclude, Romance languages allow clitics to occur in all major clausal domains, i.e. V, I, and C. evidence for independent clitic sites in each domain comes from enclisis/proclisis

alternations and patterns of interpolation. Normally, the choice among the possible domains of cliticisation is set on a language-specific basis and is dependent on other clausal factors such as finiteness and may be restricted to certain clitic forms, as in the case of the clitics *y/en* in archaic French or the clitic *o* in Romanian.

## 2.4 Nesting

With the term *nesting* I refer to the mechanism whereby clitics are connected to their clausal domain by means of a *host*. The nature of the host and the link binding the clitic to the host are still subject to debate.

It is a widely held view that the specificity of clitics consists in having an intermediate status between free and bound morphemes. Interpolation phenomena support the view that clitics are free elements, but what about languages such as Italian, Spanish, Catalan, etc. where clitics are always adjacent to verbal elements? In the latter case, it is tempting to treat clitics as affixes (see the discussion in Bickel & Nichols 2007: 174-180). The distinction between clitics and affixes is difficult to draw, although various criteria have been proposed such as Zwicky & Pullum's 1983 in (37):

- (37) A. Head selectivity: clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
- B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixes than clitics.
- C. Morphological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixes than clitics.
- D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixes than clitics.
- E. Lexical integrity: Syntactic processes can affect affixed words, but not clitic groups.
- F. Clitic-Affix ordering: Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

The Romance clitic systems have already been examined in the light of Zwicky & Pullum's 1983 checklist (see for instance Russi 2008: 207-246 on Italian), but it seems to me that the conclusions are quite blurry as the criteria in (37) rely more on common sense than rigorous and explicit tests. The criteria in A-E are not categorical as their formulation is always relative (*more X than ...*), which means that the statements cannot be falsified even if



they are contradicted by counterexamples. For instance, B is challenged by data from Raetho-Romance and Brazilian Portuguese (cf. §1.3) and by countless Italo- and Gallo-Romance dialects, which exhibit defective paradigms of *bona fide* subject clitics. Subject clitics, unlike affixes, undergo inversion in main interrogatives (a hallmark of cliticisation), but exhibit extensive gaps and patterns of syncretism (Heap 2002, Manzini & Savoia 2005: 72ff; Benincà & Poletto 2005, Olivieri 2011, Calabrese 2011). As for C, recall the discussion on morphological idiosyncrasies in §1.3 (see also §3.4 and chapter 9). E is highly problematic, given languages showing extensive enclisis/proclisis alternations, interpolation, optional climbing, etc. F is contradicted by patterns of mesoclis. In conclusion, it seems to me that clitics cannot neither be clearly distinguished from affixes, nor can they be reduced to the status of affixes. In the end, the distinction between clitics and affixes appears to be derivative and lexical morphology does not seem to provide a viable solution for nesting.

Alternatively, we turn our attention to models of nesting based on clausal domains, such as the one proposed by Klavans 1985. Klavans claims that clitic placement within clausal domains hinges on three parameters:

- (38) A *Dominance*: whether clitic attaches to the INITIAL or FINAL host within a domain of cliticisation;  
 B *Precedence*: whether a clitic occurs BEFORE or AFTER the host;  
 C *Liaison*: whether a clitic attaches to a phonological host on its left (PROCLITIC) or its right (ENCLITIC)

A major problem with Klavans's approach is that on the one hand it overgenerates a number of unattested systems (Marantz 1988; Anderson 2005; see the discussion in Spencer & Luís 2012: 46-47) and, on the other, it fails to account for Romance. Klavans 1985: 103 argued that Romance clitics may be better analysed as affixal elements, but, given the above discussion, I think that this argument can be dismissed once for all.

Anderson 2005 put forth a principled reformulation of Klavans's approach, in which clitics are treated as *phrasal affixes*. Phrasal affixes – a contradiction in terms, in my view – are bound morphemes that are subject to the same kind of constraints ruling the distribution of *lexical affixes*, but in the case of clitics such constraints scope over phrasal/clausal domains. Klavans's *dominance*, *precedence*, and *liaison* in (38) are then reformulated in terms of ranked constraints within an Optimality Theory framework. However, as in Klavans's approach, the proposed model does not provide a sound representation/explanation of

Romance clitics dependencies. The crucial drawback of approaches *à la* Klavans/Anderson is that they try to account for syntactic dependencies in terms of linear coordinates (right/left, first/last, precede/follow), which are independent from syntactic structures. However, I have been arguing since §1.1 that the syntax of clitics is highly dependent on other syntactic phenomena and, for this reason, clitic placement should be accounted for without resorting to any extra mechanism.

Let us therefore assume that the nesting of clitics results from phrase structure. If so, then two possible nesting configurations are available for Romance clitics (Kayne 1991, 1994): one in which the clitic is attached to the verb, in (39)a, the other in which the clitic is nested in a nearby position, in (39)b (for the sake of clarity, I will use round brackets for head-adjunction and square brackets for phrase structure):

- (39) a (clitic V<sup>0</sup>)  
       b [clitic [ V<sup>0</sup> ... ]]

In (39)a the clitic and the verb form a constituent at both the phonological and syntactic level, whereas in (39)b they form a phonological, but not a syntactic constituent. Most accounts of clitics assume, either implicitly and explicitly, that Romance object clitics are incorporated to the verbal host as in (39)a. However, the choice between the analysis in (39)a and (39)b is a matter of descriptive adequacy and, whereas in some cases the nesting configuration is self-evident, in others the choice between the two options will remain open.

Languages with interpolation are the most straightforward examples of the nesting configuration in (39)b, which allows constituents to occur between the clitic and the verb, as shown in (40). However, one might wonder whether and to what extent the same analysis could be extended to contexts without interpolation.

- (40) [clitic [ ... *interpolated elements* ... [ V<sup>0</sup> ... ]]]

Similar considerations hold for languages that exhibit systematic enclisis/proclisis alternations such as Sanvalentinese in §2.3. If clitics were incorporated to the verb, no enclisis/proclisis alternation would occur. Conversely, if clitics are nested to independent (silent) heads, enclisis will result from movement of the verbal element above (or to) the position in which the clitic is nested (Kayne 1989):

(41) [ V<sup>0</sup> clitic [ Ψ<sup>0</sup>

According to Kayne 1994, further evidence for the structure in (39)b comes from the analysis of clitic clusters, i.e. sequences formed by two or more clitic pronouns. Clitic clusters normally exhibit the same order in enclisis and in proclisis, whereas, if clitics were incorporated to the verb, one would predict – in Kayne’s approach – differences between the ordering of enclitics and proclitics.<sup>32</sup> In fact, proclisis/enclisis asymmetries are attested (Heap 1998; Ordoñez 2002): in Ibero-Romance dialects, for instance, the order of the reflexive/impersonal clitic *se* and first/second person datives is free in proclisis, while it is rigid in enclisis, see (42). Conversely, the Occitan variety in (43) displays free ordering in enclisis, but not in proclisis.

(42) a *se me /me se* escapa. (Mur.)

itself= to.me= escapes

‘I’m losing it.’

b *Puede escapar se me / \*me se.*

can escape =self =to.me

‘I could lose it.’

(43) a *Lo me / \*le lo* dussèt pas veire. (Occ.)

it= to.me= let not see

‘You did not let me see it.’

b *Daussa m lo / lo me.*

let =to.me =it

‘Let me it.’

The above data suggest that the Romance languages do not exploit a single and uniform nesting configuration and that the conditions holding in enclisis are not necessarily replicated in proclisis. In this respect, Benincà & Cinque 1993 argue that, in general, proclitics are (always) nested in an independent position, whereas enclitics are (always) incorporated to the verb:

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<sup>32</sup> A possible alternative explanation is that one clitic is attached to the other, yielding the same rigid order in proclisis and in enclisis, see chapter 9.

- (44) a [clitic [ V<sup>0</sup> ... ]]  
 b (V<sup>0</sup> clitic)

According to Benincà & Cinque 1993, some systematic differences between proclitics and enclitics follow from the asymmetry in (44). In my opinion, however, Benincà and Cinque's conclusions are quite problematic. First, Benincà and Cinque claim that interpolation never occurs with enclitics because, unlike proclitics, they are incorporated to the verb, cf. (44)b. Exceptions to this generalisation, however, have been reported at the end of §2.3. Second, Benincà and Cinque notice that enclitics are more prone than proclitics to morphophonological readjustments such as stress shift, apocope, etc. However, as shown in §1.2, these phenomena are not necessarily symptomatic of the syntactic configuration of clitics: phonological phenomena such as stress shift or apocope normally take place at the right edge of prosodic constituents and, for this reason, they tend to affect enclitics more than proclitics.

The third argument brought by Benincà and Cinque is more complicated and occupies the remainder of the section. Benincà and Cinque observe that proclitics are (marginally) omitted under coordination, whereas enclitics cannot be omitted:

- (45) a Lo leggo e (lo) ri-leggo  
 it= I.read and it= I.read.again  
 'I read and read it again'  
 b \*per legger-lo e ri-legger-\*(lo)  
 to read=it and read.again=it  
 'to read and read it again'

Benincà and Cinque argue that the above data result from the coordination of two V heads, while the clitic is nested in a separate position. As shown below, the two inflected verbs form a complex head, which is located below the nesting point of the proclitic in the I domain:

- (46) {<sub>I</sub> [clitic [(V & V) {<sub>v</sub> (~~V & V~~)}]}

Building on Kayne 1984, Benincà and Cinque argue that coordinated Vs are not compatible with enclisis because enclisis results from the incorporation of the clitic to each

verbal head, as proposed in (44)b.

The above analysis, however, is not straightforward as the coordinated Vs may have different temporal specifications, as in (47).

- (47) lo leggo e ?(lo) leggerò sempre con piacere  
it=I.read and it= I.will.read always with pleasure  
'I read and will always read it with pleasure'

To explanation of (47), Benincà & Cinque 1993 hypothesise a structure featuring two coordinated I(nflection) heads, bearing different tense/aspect features, which take a single VP as their complement:

- (48) {I clitic I<sub>1</sub> & I<sub>2</sub> [v V]}

In my opinion, the analysis of in terms of head coordination is not viable under current theorising. Instead, I would account for clitic omission in terms of *gapping*. However, a gapping analysis provides a straightforward account of enclisis/proclisis asymmetries with respect to clitic omission: enclitics are never omitted not because they are incorporated to the verb (as proposed by Benincà & Cinque 1993), but because they are placed in a portion of sentence structure that cannot be gapped.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the above enclisis/proclisis asymmetries do not provide solid evidence in favour of the hypothesis that proclitics are never merged to the inflected verb, whereas enclitics are always incorporated. The idea that enclitics are always *closer* to the verbal head than proclitics seems to me an oversimplification.

To conclude, the problem of nesting can be conceptualised from either a morphological or a syntactic point of view. It seems to me that the former line of inquiry does not bring significant theoretical or empirical gains. Conversely, a syntactic approach to the problem, in which the nesting problem is formulated in the terms of phrase structure, yields a better definition of the problem, which allows us to study the interplay between clitic placement and other syntactic phenomena such as verb movement, sentence coordination, and other factors that will be discussed in the next chapters (e.g. polarity, fronting, scrambling, etc.).

The Romance languages provide evidence for two nesting configurations: one in which the clitic is incorporated to the verbal host, the other in which the clitic is nested in a separate position (more on this in §2.5). The choice between the two configurations is a matter of

descriptive adequacy and, in principle, proclitics and enclitics can adopt either strategy.

## 2.5 Criteria

§2.3 showed that object clitics are likely to occur in the three main domains of the clause:

- in V as in Piedmontese dialects
- in I as in Triestino, Calabrese
- in C as in early (Ibero)-Romance

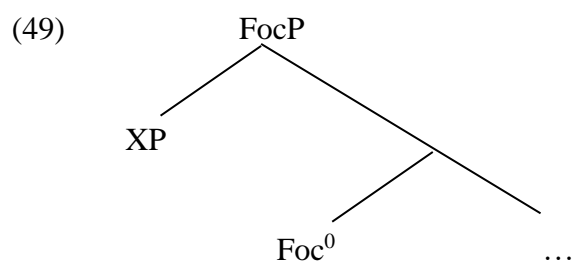
One wonders why all the above areas feature nesting points for object clitics. According to Roberts 2010, the explanation relates to *Phase Theory* (Chomsky 1999), i.e. the module of the current generative theory accounting for locality phenomena such as binding, movement, islands, etc. The basic tenet of Phase Theory is that locality conditions result from how sentences are computed. In a nutshell, Syntax operates on portions of structure (*phases*), which are smaller than clauses. By general consent, sentences are formed by at least two phases, corresponding to the V (Chomsky's  $v^*$ ) and C domain, respectively. The phasal status of the I domain (Chomsky's T) is more controversial. I/T is usually considered a derivative phasal domain: Chomsky 2007 claimed that T/I *inherits* the property of being a phase head from C. Alternatively, Gallego 2010 explores the idea that T/I is a hybrid phasal domain resulting from verb movement in null subject languages: the fully-fledged phases are two (V and C), but a further cycle occurs when the verb moves to I, yielding *phase sliding*.

Roberts 2010 elaborates on the connection between Romance clitic placement and phases *qua* domains of agree. As previously mentioned, for Roberts clitics are bundles of features resulting from an Agree relationship between the verb and a defective object (§2.2). Phase heads such as C or V, which are prototypical *probes* of agreement, are therefore expected to host clitics, as well as I (Roberts's T) under feature inheritance/phase sliding. For an alternative phase-based account of clitic placement in Ibero-Romance, see Gallego 2016.

Under a phase-based account, however, one would not expect the kaleidoscopic variation glimpsed in the preceding sections with respect to clitic placement. Phases are supposed to be a key and invariable component of core syntactic computation, whereas clitic syntax is sensitive to several non-core factors, in particular *information packaging*. Discourse effects play a major role in the grammar of clitics as the 'choice' between clitic and strong forms in Romance ultimately depends on the mapping of information structure: pronouns are mandatorily cliticised unless they reference corrective information.

Diachronically, the relationship between discourse and clitic placement played a major role in the evolution of Romance languages. Clitic systems emerged from the reanalysis of configurations in which pronouns were scrambled in the C domain under certain discourse conditions (Salvi 1996; chapter 5). The role of discourse factors is further confirmed by the analysis of enclisis/proclisis alternations in medieval Romance (chapters 6 and 7), where clitic placement was extensively affected by discourse-driven phenomena such as focus-fronting. Hence, to tackle the emergence and successive development of clitic systems I prefer to elaborate on an explicit *representational* model of the syntax/pragmatic interface, rather than trying to relate clitic phenomena to core concepts of derivational models such as phase theory. Whereas phase models, briefly introduced at the beginning of the section, aim to model how sentences are computed step-by-step, I adopt here a cartographic representation to provide a static blueprint of syntactic structures and information packaging (a state-of-the-art model of the syntax/discourse mapping is given in Rizzi & Bocci 2017, based on data from Italian; see also Salvi 2011 on the Latin/Romance transition; Benincà 1995, 2006 on early Romance).

I therefore assume that, while certain functional positions encode either grammatical features such as tense or aspect, other positions host discourse features, termed *Criteria*. A Criterion (Rizzi 2006, 2007/2010) is ‘a requirement demanding the creation of a local Spec-head configuration which is then passed on to the interface systems where the relevant interpretative instruction is triggered’. This means that e.g. focus-fronting results from moving a constituent (XP) to the specifier of the *Focus position*, i.e. the Criterial position that triggers the semantic interpretation and prosodic contour of the XP as a focalised element:



For instance, in the following sentence, the XPs *Quei libri* and *a Marco* are displaced in separate Criterial Positions in the C domains, where they receive topic and focus interpretation, respectively:

- (50) {<sub>C</sub> [<sub>Top</sub> Quei libri [<sub>Foc</sub> A MARCO {<sub>I</sub> Luca li ha già {<sub>v</sub> dati }]}  
 Those books, to Marco Luca them= has already given  
 ‘As for those books, Luca has already given them to Marco’

Languages such as Italian or Hungarian exhibit several types of discourse-driven displacement, each showing peculiar interpretative and syntactic properties. Furthermore, as shown in (50), multiple displacements can co-occur in the same sentence, which means that languages may display various Criterial heads and vary with respect to their position and interpretation. In order to account for Italian, Rizzi 1997 argued for a field of Criterial Heads, forming the so-called left periphery of the clause. The C domain can be eventually analysed as a series of functional projections in which complementisers and Criterial heads are interleaved. A clear exemplification of the hypothesis is provided by patterns of *recomplementation*, i.e. subordinated clauses in which left peripheral constituents occur between two C heads (for an overview, Ledgeway 2016: 1019-1020 and references therein):

- (51) a Dijeron *que* [a ninguno de ellos] *que* Juan no los invitó. (Sp.)  
 they.said that to not.one of them that Juan not them= invited  
 ‘They said that Juan did not invite any of them.’
- b A cherdo *che*, [le fior], *ch’* a l’ abia già cataje. (Torinese)<sup>33</sup>  
 They= believe that the flowers that he/she= has already bought  
 ‘They think that s/he has already bought the flowers.’
- c ego deiuili .ij.uaccas in .viiij. sollos, in fine *de*  
 I gave=him 2 cows in 8 coins in aim of  
 [si lu perdea custu], *de* torraremi saltu.  
 if it=he.lost this of to.return=me wood (Old Logudorese)  
 ‘I gave him two cows worth eight coins for this, so that if I were to lose this, he would give me the woody terrain in return.’

Although recomplementation is subject to a high degree of cross-linguistic variation (Vincent 2006, Paoli 2007b, Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009 a.o.), all the patterns in (51) corroborate the hypothesis that Criterial Positions are sandwiched between two C(omplementiser) heads. Recomplementation is thus one among many empirical facts

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<sup>33</sup> Paoli 2007b



supporting the idea that the C domain must be decomposed into separate projections, some of which encodes pragmatic information.

The same analysis has been extended by Belletti 2004 to the area at the boundary between the V/I domains (Belletti 2001, 2004; Poletto 2006; 2014; for an overview, Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016). Conclusive evidence for an iteration of criterial heads in the low I domain comes from Italian, which allows the occurrence of XPs bearing new information focus. If the focal constituent is the subject, focalisation yields so-called free inversion:

- (52) Chi ha parlato? Ha parlato GIANNI.  
 Who has spoken Has spoken Gianni  
 ‘Who spoke? Gianni did.’

In Belletti’s analysis, the focalised subject is placed in a Criterial Position located in the low I domain. One must therefore assume, contrary to what has been assumed so far, that past participles move to the I domain, although they do not reach a position as high as the one of inflected verbs (more on this in chapter 3).

- (53) Chi ha parlato? {C ... {I Ha parlato [<sub>Foc</sub> GIANNI] {<sub>V</sub> ~~parlato~~ }}}

It is worth noting that the word order in (52) cannot convey corrective focus, which is obtained via focus fronting to the left periphery:

- (54) GIANNI ha parlato.  
 Gianni has speaks  
 ‘Gianni spoke, not someone else.’

This means that Italian has at least two Focus positions, which differ with respect to their semantic features (corrective vs new information focus), their position (one is in C, the other in I), and their prosodic contour.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> In old Italian, i.e. medieval Florentine, the two focus heads had a different distribution as old Italian, unlike modern Italian, allows focus-fronting of information focus (Vanelli 1986; Cruschina 2006, 2012 on relics of information-focus fronting in Romance dialects; for further cross-Romance variation regarding the expression of Focus, see Leonetti and Escadell Vidall 2009; Mensching and Remberger 2010; Paoli 2009a; Poletto 2014 a.o.; more on this below). This supports Rizzi’s view that clauses may host multiple Criterial Heads, each with a

As previously mentioned, criterial heads tend to be organised into ‘peripheries’: the left periphery corresponds to the C domain (Rizzi 1997), whereas the low (or clause-internal periphery) is located at the I/V border (Belletti 2004) and overlaps with the LAS, the Lower Adverb Space individuated by Cinque 1999, Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 (see §2.3). In the remainder of the work I will therefore assume a bipartite structure of clauses in which the I and V domains are surmounted by Criterial Heads ( $H_{Crit}$ ). Moreover, in chapter 5 I will elaborate on the hypothesis that certain Criterial Heads were the original nesting site of (perspective) clitics, which were attracted to Criterial positions from the original argument positions in the V domain:

(55)  $\{C H_{Crit} \dots H_{Crit} \dots (H_{Crit} \text{ clitics}) \dots \{I \dots H_{Crit} \dots H_{Crit} \dots H_{Crit} \dots \{V \dots$

In conclusion, a cartographic model such as (55) provides a comprehensive representation of the phenomena at issue (e.g. clitic placement, word order, clausal domains, and discourse factors) as syntactic dependencies, including clitic dependencies and information packaging, can be easily plotted on a static syntactic model.

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter elaborated on some key-notions for the syntactic representation of clitics and, indirectly, for their analysis. The main objective of the chapter was to introduce some terminology and propose a model of clause structure in order to better understand the data that will be progressively introduced from the next chapter onwards.

The chapter focused on four main aspects: *dependencies*, *nesting*, *domains*, and *criteria*. With the term *dependency*, we refer to the relationship holding between the clitic and the syntactic position where the corresponding argument is (allegedly) licensed. Since Kayne’s 1975 seminal work, most of the (generative) literature on Romance clitics has focused on the nature of clitic dependencies, which seem to entail *peeling* (more on this in chapter 4).

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given interpretative flavour. Conversely, discourse effects can be hardly captured within a phrase-account because discourse-driven displacement would target an unordered series of positions (specifiers), forming the so-called phase’s edge, which are associated with no interpretative instruction.

The second important factor regarding clitic placement has to do with the position of clitics in the clause. On the basis of data from systems with interpolation, we can individuate three main *domains* of cliticisation, corresponding to the canonical major clausal domains, namely C, I, and V.

Another relevant factor in the definition of clitic placement is *nesting*, i.e. the mechanism whereby clitics are *attached* to morpho-syntactic structures. Under a syntactic analysis of clitics, the possible nesting configurations are two: clitics are either incorporated to their host, thus resulting in an affix-like configuration; alternatively, clitics are adjoined to a dedicated position (Kayne 1991, 1994). In the latter configuration, the clitic-host relation that we observe is epiphenomenal as the two elements are string-adjacent, but do not form a single constituent. Interpolation phenomena support the latter hypothesis, but the former hypothesis cannot be discarded *a priori* in case of systems in which clitics and verbs are always adjacent.

By crossing the information about the domain of cliticisation and about nesting, one can come up with a first classification of clitic placement in finite clauses, reported in the below table:

(56)

	in C	in I	in V
Incorporated to V	old Italian, old French, old Catalan	Most present-day Romance languages	Piedmontese dialects
Non-incorporated	old Spanish, old Portuguese, western Ibero Romance dialects?	Cosentino, Triestino,	Eastern Piedmontese dialects (e.g. Borgomanerese)

In the last section, I elaborated on the syntax/discourse interface, which is a key factor to understand the diachronic evolution of clitic systems and their synchronic behaviour. After some cursory remarks on the possible relationship between clitic domains and Phase Theory, I argued for a cartographic representation of the clause, in which grammatical dependencies are represented by means of topological relations. As previously mentioned, clauses can be divided into major domains (C, I, V), which can be further segmented into layers of functional projections, e.g. the *High* and *Lower Adverb Space* of Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 or the *High* and *Low Periphery* of Rizzi 1997, Belletti 2004. This preliminary subdivision will allow

us to better understand the many facets of clitic placement that will be discussed in the next chapters.

As for the interplay between discourse phenomena and cliticisation, I claimed that the diachronic evolution of clitic systems (chapter 3), their emergence in the Latin/Romance transition (chapter 5), and the syntax of clitics in early Romance (chapters 6 and 7) cannot be accounted for without a sound model of the syntax/discourse interface. I introduced the hypothesis that clitics originally occurred in areas that are targeted by discourse-driven displacements. This idea will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 5.



### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter overviews the evolution from Latin pronouns to present-day Romance object clitics. The material is organised in chronological order: §3.2 and §3.3 deal with Latin and Late Latin; §3.4 analyses the earliest Romance documents, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century; §3.5 focuses on Ibero-Romance medieval languages, which allowed productive interpolation, whereas §3.6 deals with clitic placement in the other medieval Romance languages; §3.7 describes the loss of enclisis in finite clauses in the evolution from medieval to modern Romance, while §3.8 examines the loss of climbing and proclisis in certain present-day northwestern Italian dialects; §3.9 elaborates on clitic placement in non-finite clauses; §3.10 deals with sequences of clitic pronouns; §3.11 addresses languages such as Brazilian Portuguese or Sursilvan (Raetho-Romance) in which clitics have been lost and antecedents are resumed by either null objects or strong pronouns. §3.12 concludes.

### 3.2 Latin

It is customary to assume that the Romance languages derived from *Vulgar Latin*, which differed to some extents from *Classical Latin*, i.e. the standard language, taught uniformly throughout the Roman domain, and best represented by Cicero's and Caesar's writings.

Unlike Classical Latin, Vulgar Latin was probably subject to a certain degree of sociolinguistic variation, due to the geographical breadth and social stratification of the Latin-speaking world. Variation in Vulgar Latin resulted in part from prolonged contact with the linguistic *stratum*, i.e. the languages spoken in the Roman territories before their Latinisation. The role of the substratum in the evolution towards Romance has been highly debated since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it turned out that some present-day isoglosses coincide with the linguistic boundaries of the ancient world. This might suggest that some features characterising the modern languages are a legacy of the Latin substratum. However, long-term effects have been rarely hypothesised for morphosyntactic phenomena such as the

emergence of pronominal clitics, which, by general consent, resulted from linguistic changes that took place in the Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, the emergence of syntactic innovations in the Middle Ages remains largely undocumented as *Late Latin* writers kept following standardised models after the collapse of the western empire (AD 476). Meanwhile, the gap between the spoken and written language increased progressively, not only among the underclass, as witnessed by the lists of common mistakes reported in prescriptive grammars (Adams 2013:858; Clackson 2016:6). From the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards Vulgar Latin was not the language of the *vulgus* anymore as linguistic innovations began to characterise the variety spoken by cultivated laypersons across Europe.

Clitic pronouns, which are attested in all the Romance languages, probably emerged in these prestigious *sociolects* from the evolution of linguistic traits attested in embryo in previous diachronic stages. To reconstruct the evolution, I therefore focus on certain properties of Classical Latin before dealing with later periods, in §3.3.

First of all, it is worth noting that Latin pronouns never behaved like clitics from a morphophonological point of view. Latin pronouns neither underwent morphophonological reduction, nor did they trigger those phonological readjustments such as stress shift, vowel shortening, etc. that *bona fide* clitic particle exhibited in the same chronological stage (Wanner 1987; Plank 2005; Questa 2007: 153). In fact, the *seeds* of cliticisation did not consist in some prosodic *weakening* of pronominal forms, but rather in a certain interdependency between syntactic placement and discourse interpretation: as Thurneysen 1892: 302 first pointed out, pronouns carrying no contrastive reading<sup>35</sup> tended to occur in the second position of the clause. The notion ‘second position’, however, needs clarification as Latin pronouns never complied with *Wackernagel’s Law*, i.e. the empirical generalisation stating that (en)clitics in several Indo-European languages follow the first word of the clause (Wackernagel 1892).

Many Latin examples contradict Wackernagel’s generalisation: on the one hand, pronouns with a contrastive value could occur in the second position and, on the other, non-contrastive pronouns could occur in positions other than the second. For this reason, figures like those in

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<sup>35</sup> A methodological remark is in order concerning how to ascertain the contrastive or noncontrastive reading of Latin pronouns. Although the pragmatics of Latin texts cannot be ascertained without doubt, nonetheless modern translators into Romance languages can choose promptly whether a Latin pronoun should be translated with a tonic or a clitic form. By comparing the Latin originals with translations in major Romance languages we may obtain clues, albeit indirect, on the information structure of the text.

(1), from Luraghi 2016, provides us with some preliminary indications, but they cannot be taken at face value without a case-by-case analysis.

(1) Position of pronouns EUM, EAM in classical Latin (Cicero, Caesar, Sallust; from Luraghi 2016 with minor modifications)

P1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- sentence initial position (40)</li> <li>- sentence initial, following an ablative absolute of a subordinate clause (14)</li> </ul>	54
P2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- second position, following a conjunction or a relative pronoun (79)</li> <li>- second position after a sentence initial verb (4)</li> <li>- second position after any word other than the previous ones (17)</li> <li>- second position after a complex constituent (3)</li> </ul>	103
others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- third position with the verb in P2 or P3 (5)</li> <li>- third position after a two words other than verbs or conjunctions (16)</li> <li>- fourth position or more (13)</li> <li>- final (1)</li> </ul>	35
TOT		192

To analyse the data in (1), two factors need examination: the pragmatic import of the pronominal forms and the nature of the element(s) preceding the pronoun. One might hypothesise that the higher incidence of pronouns in P2 is due to the incidence of *weak* pronouns. The term *weak pronoun* is used here as a descriptive label to indicate pronouns that are identical to free/strong pronouns, but are bound to a specific syntactic position and cannot have a contrastive/corrective interpretation (the notion *weak* will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 4). Let us suppose that weak pronouns can occur only in P2, then the higher incidence of pronouns in P2 result from summing the number of free pronouns (which are free to occur in any position of the clause) to the number of weak pronouns, which can occur only in P2. Without a thorough textual analysis, however, the hypothesis cannot be proven.

The second aspect to be examined is the nature of the preceding constituent(s). In its original formulation, Wackernagel's law stated that clitics must be placed after the first *word* of the clause. , but this definition is too restrictive for Latin. Alternatively, we can try to adapt



Wackernagel's generalisation to Latin by restating the law in terms of syntactic constituents. For instance, one may claim that Latin weak pronouns occurred after the first *phrase* of the clause, which can contain a single *bare* element. In particular, when pronouns are preceded by a function word, one must wonder about maximal (viz. phrasal) or minimal status of the function word. Syntactically, phrasal elements behave like phrases even if they are not modified, coordinated, etc., whereas heads such as complementisers do not have the same distribution as phrases. For instance, the two elements *che* in (2)a and (2)b, although identical, correspond to different types of constituents: the *wh*-phrase *che* 'what' in (2)a and the complementiser *che* 'that' in (2)b. The difference between the two can be easily shown by applying customary constituency tests. Then, if the Wackernagel law in Latin was sensitive to phrases, and not to single word/heads, one would expect complementisers to be inert with respect to the syntax of pronouns.

- (2) a Non sanno [XP *che*] vuole. (It.)  
 not they.know what he.wants  
 'They do not know what he wants.'
- b Non sanno [X *che*] vuole partire.  
 not they.know that he.wants to.leave  
 'They do not know that he wants to leave.'

With this in mind, let us consider the 103 issues of pronouns in P2 reported in (1): Luraghi notes that 79 out of 103 pronouns follow either a subordinator or a relative pronoun. However, as shown in (2), pronouns and complementisers are not equivalent in terms of syntactic constituency and, under a syntactic definition of the Wackernagel law, one would expect to find some differences in the syntax of pronouns depending on whether they are preceded by either *wh*- pronouns or complementisers. In fact, a qualitative analysis of the data such as Adams 1994 shows that pronouns with a non-contrastive interpretation – weak pronouns, in our terms – tend to occur systematically after *wh* elements such as relative/interrogative pronouns (more on this below), whereas pronouns placed immediately after the complementiser often convey contrastive/corrective information or trigger reference shift, cf. (3)a. Hence, the pronouns that immediately follow the complementiser tend to have the same contrastive/corrective reading as pronouns occurring at the beginning of main clauses such as (3)b:

- (3) a Serui mehercule mei si ME isto pacto metuerent  
 slaves by.Hercules my if me this way they.fear  
 ... ut TE metuunt omnes ciues tui<sup>36</sup>  
 as you they.fear all citizens your  
 ‘if my slaves feared me as all you fellow citizens fear you’
- b TIBI ego dem? MIHI hercle uero<sup>37</sup>  
 To.you I give? To.me indeed really  
 ‘Am I give it to you? Yes, to me’

As a provisional conclusion (to be refined), one can therefore assume that weak pronouns tend to occur after phrasal elements such as fronted XPs and wh elements, whereas strong pronouns may occur at the beginning of the clause or after sentence-initial heads such as complementisers:

- (4) a {<sub>C</sub> X<sup>0</sup> strong pronoun  
 b {<sub>C</sub> XP weak pronoun

The data introduced so far show that the syntax and semantics of Latin pronouns have to be modelled according to two parameters: i. syntactic constituency and ii. discourse factors.

With respect to the syntax/discourse mapping, Fraenkel 1932 (and following works) first claimed that the syntax of Latin pronouns is sensitive to *colon division*: the Latin clause was partitioned into subdomains termed *cola*, which, in Fraenkel’s view, were regarded as prosodic domains divided by (virtual) pauses. Prosodic contours however reflect information packaging (in fact, the subdivision in cola by modern scholars is normally made on the basis of information structure as the prosodic articulation of Latin is irremediably lost). By assuming the notion of colon, scholars implicitly acknowledged that Latin clauses were organised not only into syntactic constituents, but also into discourse units. As for unstressed pronouns, Fraenkel claimed that they occurred in the second position of each unit.

Adams 1994 pointed out that colon division alone does not always account for the actual distribution of weak pronouns. He then argued that a further factor is at play in the distribution of weak pronoun, which again pertains to the discourse/syntax interface. Adams

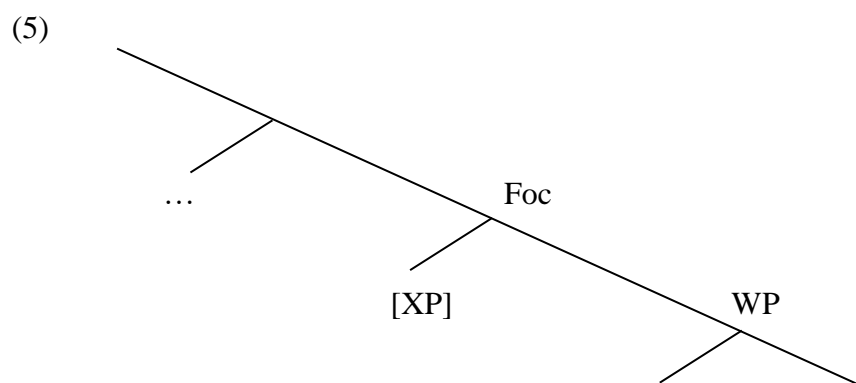
<sup>36</sup> Cicero, *Cat*; from Adams 1994: 105.

<sup>37</sup> Plautus, *Pseud*; from Adams 1994: 104.

pointed out that unstressed pronouns tended to occur after ‘focused hosts’, as suggested in the following quote from Adams 1994: 112 (emphasis mine):

Many pronouns are indeed placed second in their colon, either because a focused host is placed first, or because of the lingering operation of a law of the Wackernagel type. But often a focused term comes later than first word, with an enclitic pronoun attached to it. The pronoun accordingly may be in third or fourth position in the colon or even later. The function of the enclitic could be described as focusing the host, or alternatively, if one puts the matter the other way around, *the focus might be said to attract the clitic pronoun* regardless of the place of that focus in the colon. The clitic thus leans not necessarily in mechanical fashion on the first word (or constituent) of its colon, but it may gravitate instead to a particularly prominent constituent, which need not (but of course may) be the first word of the colon.

Salvi 1996 reached a similar conclusion, but he departed from Adams in assuming a syntactic definition of focus. In Adams’s work, focus means pragmatic prominence, which can be assigned to any word of the clause regardless of its syntactic position. Salvi, by contrast, argues for an account whereby i) focus is assigned to phrases and ii) discourse values are encoded in a dedicated set of criterial positions (§2.5), forming the left-peripheral side of the clausal spine. Salvi’s work, which follows and, to a certain extent, anticipates Rizzi’s 1997 conceptualisation, adopts a view of sentence structure in which syntactic positions are defined *in potentia*, regardless of the number/type of constituents that happen to fill the structure *in actualitate*. Focalisation is therefore obtained by displacing elements in the (abstract) criterial position encoding focus, which, depending on the presence and number of elements preceding it, may actually result in any possible *linear* position of the clause, although they tend to occur in the second position:



Under this definition, non-contrastive pronouns are normally placed immediately after the (abstract) focus position and they therefore tend to occur in the second position of the clause, but, depending on the presence/number of elements preceding the focus position, which usually receive a topiclike interpretation, they may end up occurring in the third, fourth, etc. (linear) position, see (6)a. By the same token, focalised/contrastive pronouns may occur in the second linear position when they are focalised and other topic material occurs before the focus position, as shown in (6)b (for the sake of clarity, focalised elements are in capital letters):

- (6) a [ ... [<sub>Foc</sub> FOCUS [*pronoun* [...  
 b [ ... [<sub>Foc</sub> PRONOUN [...

The above analysis proves particularly fruitful to account for the distribution of non-contrastive pronouns with respect to *wh* elements and bare quantifiers, which tend to have the same distribution as foci. In many languages, *wh* elements and bare quantifiers are in complementary distribution with foci and, as predicted, tend to immediately precede non-contrastive pronouns (Krisch 1990: 68; Devine & Stephens 2006: 277-312; Spevak 2010: 214).

- (7) a QUID *tibi* vis dicam nisi quod viderim?<sup>38</sup> (Lat.)  
 what to.you you.want I.say if.not that I.saw  
 ‘What would you have me say to you, but that I did see her?’  
 b ALIUM *illa* amat, non illum<sup>39</sup>  
 Another she loves, not him  
 ‘She loves another, not him.’  
 c NIHIL *te* omnino fefellit<sup>40</sup>  
 nothing you in.general escaped

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<sup>38</sup> Plaut. *Miles* 300

<sup>39</sup> Plaut. *Bacch.* 593

<sup>40</sup> Cic. *Fam.* IX.2.2

‘nothing whatever escaped your notice’

d ITA se cum multis conligavit<sup>41</sup>

so himself with many he.tied.up

‘so inextricably has he tied himself up with his multitude of counsellors’

As previously mentioned, if focus/operator-like elements are preceded by a non-focal element (cf. (6)b), then non-contrastive pronouns will end up occurring in the third, fourth, etc. *linear* position:

(8) a De triumpho autem NULLA *me* cupiditas umquam tenuit<sup>42</sup>

As.for triumph then no to.me desire ever I.held

‘But as far as the triumph is concerned, I have never held any desire’

b ex quibus NEMINEM *mihi* libet nominare<sup>43</sup>

of which nobody to.me please to.name

‘from which it is pleasing to me to name no one’

To summarise, the syntax of non-contrastive pronouns can be better understood under a model in which the second position of the clause is not intended in terms of linear positions, but in terms of criterial positions associated with specific discourse properties (see chapter 2). In the spirit of Salvi 1994, I will assume from now on that non-contrastive pronouns are nested in the low left periphery of the clause and, more precisely, that they occupy a postfocal position dubbed W(ackernagel) Position. The nature of such position will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 5.

(9) {C ... [Foc ... [W ... [ ...

### 3.3 Late Latin

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<sup>41</sup> Cic. Fam. IX.17.2

<sup>42</sup> Cic. Att. 7.2.6; from Adams 1994: 106

<sup>43</sup> Cicero, *pro Caelio* 43

The position of weak pronouns remained unchanged across centuries. According to Salvi 1990, 1991, 1996, the earliest Romance languages display evidence confirming that W was the original locus of cliticisation, while further orthogonal changes shaped the Romance clitic systems, yielding the situation we can observe in medieval texts. The remainder of the section focuses on two crucial aspects that triggered the development of clitic systems in the transition from Classical to Late Latin: the rise of verb movement and the loss of null objects.

Verb movement, like the syntax of pronouns, was affected by information structure. As Ledgeway 2017 puts it, see also Polo 2004: 402; Devine & Stephens 2006: 157-72:

When [...] the scope of focus did not range over a single constituent, but the entire event (thetic sentences), or over the illocutionary force of the clause (optatives, jussives, concessives, emphatic assertives, interrogatives, imperatives), the verb could raise [...] to license the relevant marked pragmatic effect. (Ledgeway 2017: 165)

To a different extent, the same holds true for Classical Latin (Vincent 1998: 418-23, 1997: 169 n.17; Ledgeway 2012a: 150-56). In Classical Latin, however, the occurrence of finite verbs in the left periphery was less systematic than in Late Latin, at least in declarative clauses. V-to-C movement, i.e. movement of the finite verb to the C domain, was probably attested with imperatives, which therefore instantiate a pattern that would be lately extended to other clause types (on Latin imperatives, see Marouzeau 1938:51f.). Imperatives are normally followed by weak pronouns “standing of course in the Wackernagel position, to their right” (Adams 1994: 130), regardless of the number and type of words/constituents preceding the verb:

- (10) a Dic            *mihi*,    quid hic    tibi    in Epheso    est    negoti?<sup>44</sup>  
       Tell.IMP.2SG    to.me    what here    to.you    in E.        is    of.business  
       ‘Tell me, what business have you here in Ephesus?’
- b pueros    attribue        ei<sup>45</sup>  
       slaves    give.IMP.2SG    to.him  
       ‘give him slaves’
- c calicem pertusum    sumito            *tibi*<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Plaut. *Miles* 440

<sup>45</sup> Cicero, *ad Atticum* 12.30.1; Adams 1994: 130.

<sup>46</sup> Cato, *de Agricultura* 133.3; Adams 1994: 130.

- pot perforated take.IMP.2SG to.yourself  
 ‘Take to yourself a pot which has been perforated’
- d postea capito tibi surculum<sup>47</sup>  
 afterwards take.IMP.2SG to.yourself shoot  
 ‘afterwards take to yourself a shoot’
- e indidem sume tibi sextarium unum<sup>48</sup>  
 from.this take.IMP.2SG to.yourself sextarius one  
 ‘Take to yourself one sextarius of this’
- f harundinem prende tibi uiridem<sup>49</sup>  
 reed take.IMP.2SG to.yourself green  
 ‘Take to yourself a green reed’

As for the position of the verb with respect to weak pronouns, Luraghi 2016 notices that, when weak pronouns follow the verb (either imperative or not), the two are always adjacent, whereas preverbal pronouns could be separated from the verb by several elements. This amounts to saying that, presumably, the verb originally moved just above the Wackernagel Position, a conclusion supported by the observation that, in origin, focus-fronting and verb movement occurred in complementary distribution (Ledgeway 2017: 165). The incompatibility between verb movement and narrow focus will be discussed in depth in chapter 7. For the sake of simplicity, let us assume that in Latin verb movement was a special case of fronting, i.e. movement of a bare phrasal constituent containing only the inflected verb. As Watkins 1963: 5 pointed out (emphasis mine),

[f]or in such other Indo-European languages, where the normal position of the verb is sentence final [...], any element, subject, object, prepositional phrase, etc. may be placed in initial position for stylistic emphasis; *the placing of the finite verb itself in this initial position is simply another case of the same emphasis.*

Later on the ban against the co-occurrence of verb movement and focus fronting was progressively relaxed. The idea that the verb was originally moved as a maximal constituent (i.e. a phrase, cf. (11)a) explains the complementarity, whereas the loss of the incompatibility

<sup>47</sup> Cato, *de Agricultura* 40.3; Adams 1994: 130.

<sup>48</sup> Cato, *de Agricultura* 158.2; Adams 1994: 130.

<sup>49</sup> Cato, *de Agricultura* 160; Adams 1994: 130.

resulted from the emergence of an alternative mechanism of verb movement – the same still active in modern Romance – allowing the verb to move as a minimal element (i.e. a head), cf. (11)b.

- (11) a [ ... [<sub>Foc</sub> [XP]/[*verb*] [<sub>w</sub> ... [ ...                    Classical Latin  
       b [ ... [<sub>Foc</sub> [XP] *verb*] [<sub>w</sub> ... [ ...                    Late Latin → Romance

The higher incidence of verb movement due to the change from (11)a to (11)b resulted in an increased number of postverbal weak pronouns adjacent to the inflected verb. As Wanner 1987: 392 puts it, ‘it is uncontroversial that the pronoun did not normally move rightward to meet the verb, but rather that the verb joined the pronoun in its inert second position.’ This state of affairs is well represented in New Testament Latin<sup>50</sup> (Luraghi 2016), where third person pronouns are placed postverbally in 90% of the cases, whereas the number of postverbal pronouns in Luraghi’s sample of Classical Latin – see the table in (1) – amounts to 4% of the total occurrences of pronouns. This increased amount of postverbal pronouns is a side-effect of the generalisation of verb movement in all clausal environments and, arguably, is the starting point for the reanalysis leading to the emergence of *adverbial* clitics in early Romance (with the term *adverbial* we refer to clitic pronouns that are always attached to the inflected verb; Renzi 1989, see chapter 5).

The second change that occurred in the transition from Classical to Late Latin consists in the loss of null objects. In present-day Romance languages object clitics are mandatory whenever the object pronoun is not focalised, whereas in (Classical) Latin weak pronouns could either occur in the Wackernagel position (see above) or be dropped under certain syntactic conditions. Early Romance allowed object ellipsis as well, but exclusively under coordination and in question/answer pairs (Luraghi 1997, 1998), while in Latin null objects had a wider distribution, in particular when objects were indefinite or occurred in non-finite clauses:

- (12) a *Milites imperat; Ø mittunt*<sup>51</sup>  
       Soldiers he.asks        they.send

<sup>50</sup> Wanner 1987: 221-22 discusses the role of Greek influence on Latin texts with respect to the postverbal placement of pronouns. It is worth noting that the same displacement can be observed in other Late Latin documents that were not influenced by Greek models (Ramsden 1963).

<sup>51</sup> Caes. *BC* 1.15; from Luraghi 1997.



‘he asks for soldiers; they send some’

- b tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones  
you not only to ignore.GER laws and sentences  
sed etiam ad evertendas Ø perfigendasque Ø valuisti<sup>52</sup>  
but also to overthrow destroy=and undertook  
‘you took trouble not only to ignore the laws and the sentences of tribunals but to  
overthrow and destroy *them* as well’

The contexts licensing object ellipsis diminished progressively. Late Latin, in this respect, is similar to Romance: as illustrated in (13), object ellipsis is normally licensed in coordinated structures. The absence of object drop resulted in a relatively higher incidence of Wackernagel pronouns in Late than in Classical Latin, where non-contrastive pronouns were usually dropped. Luraghi 2016 points out that in the Classical Latin corpus the frequency of null objects amounts to 0.78‰ (number of object ellipsis every thousand words), whereas in Mark’s gospel the ratio increases to 17.73‰.

- (13) a et adprehendens *eum* Petrus coepit increpare *eum*. (Mark 8:32)  
and taking him P. began to.rebuke him  
‘Peter took him, and began to rebuke him.’ (Mark 8.32);  
b Conspuent *eum* et flagellabunt *eum* et interficient *eum*. (Mark 10.34)  
they.will.spit him and scourge him and kill him  
‘They will mock him, spit on him, scourge him, and kill him’  
c et interrogavit *eum* unus ex eis legis doctor tentans *eum* (Matt 22)  
and asked him one of them doctor tempting him  
‘and one of them, a doctor of law asked him, tempting him’

Since ellipsis was not permitted anymore, Late Latin speakers had no alternative option, but using weak pronouns in the Wackernagel position. I contend that the above evolution explains why all Romance languages developed a series of object pronouns, whereas subject pronouns emerged only in a subset of the Romance languages and in a later period (see §4.10): for subjects, most Romance languages could resort to a null/deleted pronoun (*pro*), whereas the same option for objects was lost in the transition to Romance. As a consequence,

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<sup>52</sup> Cic. *Cat.* 1.18; from Luraghi 1997.

weak pronouns were the only possible strategy to resume objects without conveying a contrastive/corrective reading.

To summarise, in this section I argued that Latin weak pronouns were anchored to a specific position (W) in the low C domain (Salvi 1996). The peculiar syntactic displacement of weak pronouns resulted from the interplay between the displacement of weak pronouns in W and focus fronting in the position preceding W. Two factors triggered the evolution towards clitic systems: the generalisation of V-to-C movement in declarative clauses and the loss of object ellipsis. Both acted in concert, yielding an increased number of sentences in which the inflected verb occurred adjacent to the weak pronoun(s) in the low C domain of the clause.

### 3.4 Clitics in the earliest texts (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century)

Romance vernaculars have been reportedly spoken since the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century, when medieval writers began to acknowledge the existence of a Romance variety distinct from Latin. This variety is dubbed *RUSTICAM ROMANAM LINGUAM* in the Council of Tours (813), *NATIUA UOCE* in the *Gesta Berengarii* (915), and *FRANCISCA UULGARI* in the epitaph of pope Gregory V (999). The first written attestations date more or less at the same age, with the number and length of texts increasing progressively from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

This section examines the syntax of clitic pronouns in the few Romance fragments that illustrate the situation before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This narrow corpus raises a series of issues that may lead us to a better analysis of the evolution of clitics in the Latin/Romance transition.

The earliest Romance text is the *Indovinello Veronese*, a riddle written in a northern Italian vernacular in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, the first syllable of the text, *se*, represents a conundrum that – needless to say – regards the syntax of clitic pronouns (for the sake of clarity, only the first sentence of (14) is glossed).

- (14) **Se** pareba boves...  
to.himself= he.lead.IMP oxen  
'In front of him (he) led oxen'  
... alba pratalia araba  
'white fields (he) plowed'  
... albo versorio teneba

‘a white plow (he) held’  
... negro semen seminaba  
‘a black seed (he) sowed.’<sup>53</sup>

Since the earliest analyses, *se* has been analysed as a reflexive pronoun with an ethical reading (De Bartholomaeis 1927: 198). However, the position of the clitic at the beginning of the clause ‘violates’ the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law/generalisation, which states that clitics cannot occur at the beginning of the clause. In sentences beginning with the finite verb, medieval Romance languages are expected to exhibit enclisis (the Tobler-Mussafia law will be discussed extensively in chapters 6 and 7).

In order to avoid a reading of the *Indovinello* against the Tobler-Mussafia law, several alternative analyses have been put forth in the last century. Among others, Baggio 1992 argues that *se* is an adverb (< SIC), which in most early Romance languages occurred in the left periphery under certain syntactic/discourse conditions (Poletto 2005; Ledgeway 2008; Egerland 2012; see chapter 7). De Angelis 2003 analyses *se* as a prefix of the verbal form *separeba* ‘separated’, then the line reads ‘he separated the oxen [=the fingers] (with the pen)’.

It seems to me, however, that (14) is still the most straightforward reading: save for the alleged ‘violation’ of the Tobler-Mussafia law, the interpretation of *se* as a pronoun selected by a verb meaning ‘push/lead’ is very close to the various versions of the riddle attested in (Latin) documents of the same age or survived in present-day dialects. For this reason, I would like to revise the pronominal reading in the light of recent findings on the syntax of pronouns in medieval Italo-Romance (Cardinaletti & Egerland 2010, a.o.). Italian texts of the 13th/14th century show instances prepositionless tonic pronouns (weak pronouns, according to Cardinaletti & Egerland’s 2010 terminology) that, given their preverbal displacement, can be easily mistaken for proclitics (Egerland 2002, 2005, 2010; Cardinaletti & Egerland 2010; on similar displacements in old Portuguese, see Martins 2003; the nature of so-called weak pronouns will be examined in detail in chapter 4). Unlike proclitics, *weak* pronouns were not subject to the various constraints ruling the distribution of clitics, including the Tobler-Mussafia law. As shown in the following examples, the weak forms *me/te* (unlike the clitics *mi/ti*) normally precede negation as in (15) and can occur in the positions barred by the Tobler-Mussafia law, for instance after vocatives as shown in (16):

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<sup>53</sup> The riddle has a metaphoric reading whereby the farmer/writer drives oxen (his fingers) and a white plow (the feather) across white fields (the page), leaving black seed (ink marks).

(15) che me non parea che fosse lo mio cuore.<sup>54</sup>  
that to.me not seemed was my hearth  
'that it did not seem to me to be my heart'

(16) Domine, te lodo<sup>55</sup>  
God you I.praise  
'God, I praise you.'

Sentence-initial weak pronouns are attested in other medieval documents such as the *Formula di confessione umbra* (1065). The *Formula* contains nine sentences beginning with expression *me accuso* (lit. 'I accuse myself' = 'I confess'), in which the reflexive pronoun cannot have a contrastive reading. Analogously, the *Indovinello* may show a stage in which *se* was not a fully-fledged clitic of the kind we observe in later texts, but a weak form occurring in the first position of the clause.

As for morphological aspects, one might object that in present-day Venetan dialects, including Veronese, strong pronouns differ from clitics with respect to their ending vowel: differently from Tuscan/Italian, Venetan strong pronouns end in *-i* (e.g. *si*) and clitics end in *-e* (e.g. *se* 'him/herself'). Hence, in the light of the present-day morphology, the *se* of the *Indovinello* seems a clitic. However, Bertoletti 2005: n 563 reports several examples from northern Italian vernaculars (including Veronese) featuring a non-clitic *se*. This supports the conclusion that the *Indovinello* begins with a weak pronominal form, not yet clitic.

The *se* form of the *Indovinello*, and the analogous forms listed in Bertoletti's note are likely to be relics of an original case distinction between accusative pronouns *me/te/se* and dative forms *mi/ti/si*.<sup>56</sup> An analogous morphological alternation between the forms *me* and *mi* is attested in the *Oaths of Strasbourg* (842), cf. (17)b vs (17)f. Both pronouns are oblique, but the latter is probably a strong form, deriving from the Latin dative MIHI, as it is separated from the verb by the adverb *altresi*. The dative clitic *me* (vs the strong *mi*) witnesses the

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<sup>54</sup> Dante, *Vita nuova*, cap. 24, par. 2

<sup>55</sup> *Novellino*, 74, r. 17

<sup>56</sup> For this reason, the *se* of the *Indovinello* cannot be a dative pronoun, as originally proposed by De Bartholomaeis 1927. Pescarini *in press* argues that *se* is a medio-passive *se*, which yields an impersonal construction meaning 'one leads oxen'. According to this analysis, the other three sentences of the *Indovinello* would have the same structure, but the pronoun *se* is missing because of ellipsis (cf. §3.3).

neutralisation of case morphology in the clitic series, yielding a single syncretic series (*me, te, etc.*) for both direct objects and obliques.

- (17) a Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro comun salvament,  
 ‘For the love of God and for the Christian people, and our common salvation’  
 b d’ist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir *me* dunat,  
 ‘from this day forward, as God will give me the knowledge and the power’  
 c si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo,  
 ‘I will defend my brother Charles’  
 d et in aiudha et in cadhuna cosa  
 ‘with my help in everything’  
 e si cum om per dreit son fradra saluar dift,  
 ‘as one ought to protect one's brother’  
 f in o quid il *mi* altresì fazet.  
 ‘so that he may do the same for me’  
 g Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai  
 ‘and I shall never knowingly make any covenant with Lothair’  
 h qui meon uol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.  
 ‘that would harm this brother of mine Charles’

Besides *me/mi*, the Oaths contain two instances of the locative adverb *int* < INDE (mod. Fr. *en*) and one of *iu* < IBI (mod. Fr. *y*; line (18)d). Evidence for the clitic status of *int* in (18)c comes from the fact that, although selected by the infinitive *returner*, *int* climbs to the modal auxiliary *pois* (‘I can’), where it clusters with the third person pronoun *l’*. Furthermore, both pronouns are sandwiched between negation and the modal (*non l’int pois*).

- (18) a Si Lodhuuigs sagrament quæ son fradre Karlo iurat conseruat,  
 ‘If Louis keeps the oath that he has sworn to his brother Charles’  
 b et Carlus meos sendra, de suo part, non *los*-tanit,  
 ‘and Charles, my lord, on the other hand breaks it’  
 c si io returnar non *l’int* pois, ne io, ne neuls cui eo returnar *int* pois,  
 ‘if I cannot dissuade him from it, neither I nor anyone that I can dissuade from it’  
 d in nulla aiudha contra Lodhuuuig nun *li iu* er [‘will be’].  
 ‘then I shall not help him in any way against Louis’

Other instances of third person clitics are in (18)b and (18)d, although the analysis of the former is rather controversial as the interpretation of the following verbal form is unclear. The few attestations of the Oaths provide evidence of a full inventory of clitics, featuring first (and arguably second) person clitics with syncretic morphology, third person forms deriving from the series of ILLE demonstrative/determiners and adverbial clitics deriving from Latin particles IBI, INDE.

Other instances of third person weak/clitic pronouns are attested in the *Laudes Regiae de Soissons* (end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century). Each laud is formed by two sentences sung responsorially; the latter, which contain a resumptive third person pronoun, read ‘Come to his/her/their aid’, lit. ‘you him/her/them help’:

- (19) a Adriano su(m)mo pon/tifice [...], tu *lo* iuua.  
 b S(anct)e p&re, tu *lo* iuua.  
 c Saluator mundi, tu *lo* iuua.  
 d S(anct)e Iohannis, tu *lo* / iuua.  
 e S(anct)i illius qual(is) uolueris, tu *los* iuua.  
 f S(anct)i mauricii, tu *lo* iuua.

The presence of third person clitics in the *Oaths* and the *Laudes* contrast with the remarkable absence of definite articles, witnessing a possible misalignment between the evolution of ILLE-type clitics in the verbal and nominal domain. A similar asymmetry is found in a relatively later such as the *Placiti Cassinesi* (960), which still exhibits no definite article, but a clear instance of the third person clitic (*le* ‘them’) resuming a left-dislocated object:

- (20) Sao ko kelle terre, per kelle fini que ki contene,  
 I.know that those lands for those confines that here contains  
 ... trenta anni *le* possette parte sancti Benedicti  
 thirty years them= possessed party saint Benedict.  
 ‘I know that, those lands, within those borders which are contained here have belonged  
 forthirty years to the part of St. Benedict’

The absence of articles in the above documents contrasts with ‘independent and convergent developments’ in the verbal and nominal domain (Vincent 1997; 1998), yielding the emergence of object clitics and definite articles from the same elements, i.e. the series of demonstrative of the type ILLE.

For example, the co-existence of disyllabic demonstratives and clitic pronouns and articles deriving from ILLE is shown in the following passage from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. parody of the Lex Salica (Wanner 1987: 68) and is confirmed by examples from 9<sup>th</sup> c. texts, the *Graffitto di Commodilla* and the *Sequence of St. Eulalia*:

(21) ipsa        cuppa    frangant    la    tota,  
 the.same    cup        they.break   =it    all  
 ... ad illo    botiliario    frangant    lo    cabo,  
           to that    wine.steward    they.break    the    head  
 ... at illo    scanciono    tollant        lis    potionis  
           to that    cup.bearer    they.take    the    drinks  
 ‘let them break the whole drinking-cup, let them break the head of the wine steward,  
 and let them take drinks from the cup-bearer’

(22) Non dicere    *ille*    secreta    a    bboce  
 not    tell        the    secret    at    voice  
 ‘do not say the secret<sup>57</sup> with a loud voice’

(23) a    A[ ]czo nos    uoldret    concreidre    *li*    rex    pagiens.  
           To.this    not    wants    give.in    the    king    pagan  
       b    Ad    une    spede    *li*<sup>58</sup>    roueret    tolir        *lo*    chief.  
           To    a        sword    to.her    he.ordered    to.remove    the    head

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<sup>57</sup> The Secret (Latin: Oratio secreta, lit. 'Secret prayer') is a prayer said in a low voice by the priest or bishop during religious services

<sup>58</sup> Observe that the dative clitic could resume the left dislocated PP *Ad une spade* ‘to a sword(sman)’. Otherwise, *li* is customarily interpreted as a dative of inalienable possession referring to Eulalie. In the latter interpretation, the clitic must have climbed to the verb *roueret*.

‘The pagan king did not want to give in to this; He ordered her head to be cut off with a sword.’

The parallelism between the raise of clitic pronouns in the verbal domain and definite articles in the nominal domain is less straightforward than previously thought. This might depend on some stylistic/sociolinguistic factors as articles did not occur in formulaic texts such as oaths and sworn declarations (including the *Placiti cassinesi*), while texts of the same age such as the graffito of the Commodilla catacomb, the Sequence of St. Eulalie or the parody of the Lex Salica testify a rather different situation.

In general, the above examples confirm that among the many types of determiners attested in Latin, only reflexes of ILLE were systematically turned into clitic pronouns, whereas few Romance languages exhibit a ‘neuter’ pronoun deriving from HOC/ILLOC (in Catalan and Occitan dialects) and definite articles deriving from IPSE (in Sardinia). Crucially, no Romance language exhibit traces of clitic elements deriving from the IS series, which were readily displaced in the Wackernagel position in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when ILLE determiners still preserved a demonstrative/deictic flavour (Luraghi 2016; see §3.3; see also Spevak 2010: 73ff). This amounts to saying that the IS series was lost in the Latin/Romance transition – arguably around the 6<sup>th</sup> century – and in both the clausal and nominal domain ILLE forms underwent cliticisation, yielding the present-day forms of third person clitic pronouns and definite articles (Grandgent 1907: 46; Salvi 1996).

This change was complete by the 9<sup>th</sup> century as the above documents – but the *Indovinello* – show a complete inventory of clitic forms comparable to the one of present-day languages: all third person pronouns derive from ILLE; no trace of the IS series is attested; the inventory includes locative particles such as old Fr. *int/iv* (from Lat. INDE/IBI, mod. Fr. *en/y*). No asymmetry can be observed regarding the evolution of third person forms, which derive from determiners, when compared to first/second person pronouns (and the reflexive SE/SIBI), which are regular reflexes of Latin pronouns. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, third person clitics had the same behaviour as the other pronominal forms (including the adverbial clitics), *pace* Wanner 1987: 76. Rather, a certain asymmetry can be observed with respect to the emergence of third person clitics and definite articles.

The texts of the 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century may show an alternation between fully-fledged clitics and weak pronouns, although in many cases one cannot ascertain the difference as weak pronouns in the Wackernagel position can be easily mistaken for proclitic pronouns attached to the inflected verb.



### 3.5 Archaic Early Romance

The above data show that the embryonic mechanism of cliticisation was originally located in the left periphery of the clause and that (weak) pronouns in the Wackernagel position played a pivotal role in the evolution towards clitic systems. The crucial role of the Wackernagel position is further confirmed by the syntax of certain medieval Romance languages: old Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, old Spanish. I dub these languages ‘Archaic Early Romance’ because they exhibit a pattern of clitic placement that is quite similar to the Wackernagel-style mechanism illustrated for Late Latin (Wanner 1987: 301; Salvi 1990).

In particular, Archaic Early Romance exhibits patterns of *productive interpolation*, i.e. the insertion of material between the verb and the proclitic(s) as in (24) (Ramsden 1963; Barbosa 1986; Salvi 1990, 1991; Wanner 1992; Rivero 1992, 1997, Fontana 1993, Batllori et al. 1995; Martins 2002; Fiéis 2003; Poole 2007, 2013). The phenomenon is mostly attested in old Spanish and old Portuguese, whereas Catalan has never allowed interpolation (Fisher 2003a).

(24) a *lhe* [el rrei] taxava que... (o.Port)<sup>59</sup>

to.him= the king ordained that

‘The king ordained to him that...’

b Syel físico *la* [bien] connoçe (o.Sp.)<sup>60</sup>

if the physician it.F= well knows

‘If the physician knows it well’

Interpolation was rather common in the earliest documents (13<sup>th</sup> c.) and gradually disappeared until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when it was completely replaced by proclisis. Nowadays residual patterns of interpolation survive in present-day western Ibero-Romance varieties and are scattered across the whole Romance area (chapter 5). However, it is worth distinguishing – following Barbosa 1996 – the productive interpolation of the kind exemplified in (24), which is a hallmark of Wackernagel syntax, from patterns of residual interpolation, which do not necessarily lend themselves to an analysis involving cliticisation and verb movement in C.

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<sup>59</sup> D. Pedro IV.64; from Salvi 1996.

<sup>60</sup> Rivero 1997.

Interpolation usually occurred in subordinate clauses and, to a far lesser extent, in main clauses. In main clauses, interpolation is confined to the contexts where proclisis is expected, i.e. sentences containing so-called *proclisis-triggers* such as foci, negation, or wh elements (more on this below). The occurrence of interpolation in main clauses means that clitics were not necessarily incorporated to the verb and, in the absence of interpolation, they were probably harboured in a position adjacent to the landing site of the verb.

The fact that productive interpolation occurs only in embedded clauses can be explained straightforwardly by assuming that the verb moved higher in main clauses than in subordinates. Hence, in main clauses the finite verb moved close to the Wackernagel position, while in embedded clauses the verb targeted a lower position, resulting in the interpolation of several kinds of constituents placed between W and the landing site of the finite verb, see (25)a.

Additionally, these languages were characterised by systematic enclisis/proclisis alternations in main clauses, which will be addressed in §4.6. In a nutshell, proclisis was found in negative or embedded clauses and in sentences featuring focus-fronted material; enclisis occurred elsewhere. To explain the alternation between proclisis and enclisis, we need to hypothesise that in main clauses the verb targeted two positions (both higher than the target position in embedded clauses): one immediately above W and the other below W. As proposed in §4.4 for (Late) Latin, the verb is blocked below W if the focus position is filled or the clause has negative polarity, see (25)b; conversely, in positive clauses lacking focus material the verb could move to a higher position, crossing W, see (25)c:

- (25) a [Foc        [W *clitic(s)*    [ interpolated material    [ verb            (embedded clauses)  
       b [Foc X    [W *clitic(s)*    [ verb ...                    [ ~~verb~~        (“V2” clauses)  
       c [Foc verb [W *clitic(s)*    [ ~~verb~~ ...                    [ verb            (“V1” clauses)

Every type of element could be interpolated in Archaic Early Romance, but subjects and negation were interpolated more readily than other elements (negation is the only interpolated element in present-day Portuguese). Internal arguments, adjuncts, and adverbs were seldom interpolated, in old Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, in old Spanish. Furthermore, Martins 2002 noticed that, when multiple XPs are interpolated, the subject tends to precede other complements. One can therefore argue that, when interpolated, subjects and negation occupy their canonical positions, whereas other elements are *scrambled* under certain discourse conditions (Martins 2002, 2011; more on this in chapter 6).

In (25) proclitics and enclitics are both adjacent to the inflected verb, but neither was necessarily incorporated to the verbal head. In fact, the model in (25) is reminiscent of the one proposed for (Late) Latin in §3.3 (see also the discussion on nesting in §2.4). Recall that in Latin postverbal pronouns immediately followed the verb when the latter was in the left periphery, whereas preverbal pronouns could be separated from the verb by several elements. Analogously, old Portuguese and old Spanish did not exhibit interpolation with enclitics because the Wackernagel position is very close to the landing site of the verb in main clauses (where enclisis is allowed), but quite far from the landing site of the verb in embedded clauses (where enclisis is not allowed).

To conclude, interpolation shows that in Archaic Early Romance clitics (both proclitics and, arguably, enclitics) enjoyed a higher degree of freedom than in the other medieval varieties. Clitic placement in Archaic Early Romance can be accounted for by supposing that clitic elements were scrambled to W, like weak pronouns in Latin. Proclitic/enclitic placement and interpolation resulted from the verb's moving below/above W or remaining far from W in embedded clauses, as illustrated in (25). A principled explanation for the evolution from the Wackernagel syntax of Latin weak pronouns to the syntax of clitics in early Romance will be discussed in chapter 5.

### 3.6 *Innovative* Early Romance

As previously mentioned, the alternation between proclisis and enclisis in main clauses was caused by the verb moving to the left periphery of the clause. Further evidence for verb movement in early Romance comes from instances of auxiliary-subject inversion such as those in (26). Patterns like (26), in which the subject occurs between the finite and non-finite verb of periphrastic tenses/constructions, are attested across the whole Romance area, but are no longer allowed in modern Romance. In fact, present-day Romance languages display other patterns of verb/subject inversion (e.g. 'free' or 'stylistic' inversion, cf. chapter 6), but, crucially, do not allow the one in (26).<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> The only context where the order auxiliary subject verb is allowed are so-called *aux-to-comp* constructions in non-finite clauses (Rizzi 1981), e.g. It. *avendo Mario detto che...* 'having Mario said that...'. The construction is very marginal as nowadays it is confined to a very formal/written register, cf. §3.9.

- (26) a Un pou après eure de prime fu Mador venuz a cort<sup>62</sup> (o.Fr.)  
 Slightly after first hour was M. arrived at the court  
 ‘Mador arrived at the court slightly after the first hour’
- b così avea ella conceputo d’uccidere me e le mie sorelle<sup>63</sup> (o.It.)  
 So had she planned to kill me and my sisters  
 ‘So she had planned to kill me and my sisters in that way’
- c Estava aquel mançebo asentado en los poyos<sup>64</sup> (o.Sp.)  
 was that youth sat on the boundary-stones  
 ‘That young man was sitting on the boundary stone’
- d ha Deus creada prudencia e fe<sup>65</sup> (o.Cat.)  
 has God created prudence and faith  
 ‘God has created prudence and faith’

The inversion pattern in (26) was confined to main clauses, which confirms the hypothesis that in early Romance the verb moved to a higher position in main clauses than in embedded clauses. There is however no consensus regarding the nature of the position hosting the verb in main clauses and whether the verb moved alike in all medieval vernaculars (for a recent review of the problem and a convincing analysis, see Wolfe 2015, 2016a, 2016b; the complex interplay of verb movement, subject inversion, and clitic placement will be thoroughly discussed in chapters 6 and 7).

Although the incidence of inversion, V1, and V2 orders vary across languages, the mechanism of clitic placement is rather uniform across languages; the conditions triggering verb movement (and, consequently, enclisis) are usually subsumed under the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law (Tobler 1875, 1889; Mussafia 1886/1983), which has been subject to several empirical refinements and theoretical reformulations (see chapters 6 and 7). I illustrate here the prototypical Tobler-Mussafia displacement with data from modern Portuguese, which still retains some of the phenomena that characterised all the Romance languages until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In a nutshell, proclisis is mandatory in subordinate clauses as (27)a, in negative clauses as (27)b, and sentences featuring focus/operator fronting such as (27)c-d.

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<sup>62</sup> *La Mort Artu*

<sup>63</sup> Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*.

<sup>64</sup> *Libro de Calila e Dimna*; Batllori 1993.

<sup>65</sup> Llull, R., *Llibre de virtuts e de pecats*; Batllori 1993.

- (27) a. Todo mundo sabe que a viste / \*viste-a (Port.)  
 All world knows that her=you.saw you.saw=her  
 ‘Everybody knows that (you) saw her’
- b. O Paulo não me fala / \*fala-me  
 The P. not to.me=speak speak=to.me  
 ‘Paulo does not speak to me’
- c. Quem me chamou / \*chamou-me?  
 Who me=called called=me  
 ‘Who called me’
- d. Só ele a entende / \*entende-a  
 Only he her=understands understands=her  
 ‘Only he understands her’

As previously mentioned, all the early Romance languages, including old Portuguese and old Spanish, exhibit the Tobler-Mussafia mechanism. Innovative Romance languages, however, differ from Archaic languages lacking (productive) interpolation, which is not attested in languages such as old Catalan, Occitan, French, Italian, etc. The latter have exhibited a robust system of *ad-verbal* clitics since their earliest attestations (the term *adverbal*, first introduced by Renzi 1989, refers to the fact that clitics always attach to the inflected verb, either enclitically or proclitically, regardless of the position of the verb in the structure of the clause).

Whether adverbial clitics resulted from the raising of a mechanism of *incorporation* or from the loss of scrambling phenomena in the I domain is an open question, which will be addressed in chapter 5. Under both analyses, however, the only relic of the archaic Wackernagel syntax is the survival of enclisis under the conditions subsumed under the Tobler-Mussafia law.

### 3.7 The loss of enclisis

In the majority of the Romance languages Tobler-Mussafia effects disappeared around the 16<sup>th</sup> century along with other phenomena that, to various extents, characterised the syntax of Early Romance, e.g. scrambling, VP ellipsis, Stylistic Fronting (Martins 2005, 2011; Poletto 2006, 2014; more on this in chapter 6). Traces of enclisis are still found in present-day

varieties, although they are normally excluded in declarative clauses.

The loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects was gradual and it was affected by various factors, all directly or indirectly related to verb movement (Martins 2003 for Portuguese; Hirschbühler & Labelle 2003, 2006 on French).

The main factor is illocutionary force: enclisis of object clitics is rare in questions, it was systematic in declaratives (in early Romance, nowadays only in western Ibero-Romance), and still survives in jussive and imperative clauses.

(28)	incidence of enclisis
a jussives/imperatives	o o o
b declaratives	o o
c questions	o

Besides force and clause types, the incidence of enclisis interacts with other factors such as polarity, fronting, embedding, coordination, etc. Declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives are all affected, to different degrees, by the additional factors in (29), which give rise to a nuanced typology of syntactically-conditioned enclisis/proclisis alternations.

By examining declarative in early Romance, we noticed that enclisis is usually attested when the verb occupies the first position of the clause or is preceded only by topics. Enclisis is disfavoured in (non assertive) embedded contexts (see §6.5) or in main clauses featuring proclisis-triggers such as foci, *wh* elements, and negation (chapter 7). In coordinated structures, enclisis is favoured when the second conjoint is introduced by the conjunction *and*, whereas enclisis tend to be excluded in sentences introduced by the conjunction *or*.

(29)	incidence of enclisis
a in sentence-initial position	o o o o o
b immediately after topics	o o o o
c after coordination <i>and</i>	o o o
d after coordination <i>or</i>	o o
e proclisis-triggers: (foci/ <i>wh</i> ; negation)	o

In declaratives, for instance, the old Italian systems ‘cuts’ the continuum in (29) in two: enclisis usually occurred in the contexts (29)a-c, proclisis in the contexts (29)d-f, including

disjunctive coordination. Compare for instance the following pair of sentences, which illustrate the alternation between *and* and *or* coordination, exhibiting enclisis and proclisis, respectively:

- (30) a Levossi questa femmina *e* aiuto-*llo*<sup>66</sup> (o.It.)  
 rose this woman and helped=him  
 ‘this woman rose and helped him’
- b ...o la persona mia ancora ingaggiaste / o la vendeste<sup>67</sup>  
 or the person my again pledged or it=sold  
 ‘you could either pledge or sell me’

According to Lombardi & Middleton 2004 the above system was typical of the Italian vernaculars, except for northwestern languages (Lombard, Piedmontese, and Ligurian varieties), where enclisis and proclisis alternated freely after *and*:

- (31) a tute cose *se* reposit et *s*’ adorment<sup>68</sup> (Pied.)  
 all things themselves= rest and themselves= fall.asleep  
 ‘everything rests and falls asleep’
- b lo reis l’ en emmarcié e fei lo prendre<sup>69</sup>  
 the king him= for.that=thanked and made it=to.take  
 ‘The king thanked him and made somebody take it’

The comparison between central and northeastern Italo-Romance on the one hand and northwestern Italo-Romance on the other shows how contiguous linguistic systems vary minimally with respect to the distribution of enclisis in conjoined declarative clauses:

(32)	Central and NE vernaculars	NW vernaculars
a in sentence-initial position	✓	✓
b immediately after topics	✓	✓
c after coordination <i>and</i>	✓	✗/✓

<sup>66</sup> *Novellino*; from Benincà & Poletto 2010: 57

<sup>67</sup> *Fiore*, 202; from Benincà & Poletto 2010: 57.

<sup>68</sup> *Sermoni Subalpini*; from Lombardi & Middleton 2004.

<sup>69</sup> *Sermoni Subalpini*; from Lombardi & Middleton 2004.

d after coordination <i>or</i>	×	×
e proclisis-triggers: (foci/wh; negation)	×	×

As previously mentioned, the hierarchies in (28) and (29) act in concert: if enclisis is allowed in a given clause type, it might be further conditioned by the factors in (29). As for interrogatives, enclisis never occurs in wh interrogatives because wh fronting is a proclisis trigger, cf (29)e. By contrast, enclisis seldom occurs in polar questions, as in certain conservative varieties of old French (Foulet 1919:§162; de Kok 1985:82) and Old Italian, see (33) and (34). Other early Romance varieties, in (35), display proclisis in all types of interrogatives.

(33) a e savereiez le me vus mustrer? (o.Fr.)  
and would =it =to.me =you.PL show  
'and would you show it to me?'

b Conois la tu?  
Know =her =you?  
'Do you know her?'

(34) a Confessasti-ti tu anno?<sup>70</sup> (o.It.)  
confessed=yourself you year?  
'Did you go to confession last year?'

b Ha-lo tu fatto per provar-mi?<sup>71</sup>  
have=it you done to try=me?  
'Did you do it to try me?'

(35) a me fetes vos droit de doner a la reine si lonc respit?<sup>72</sup> (o.Fr.)  
to.me= give =you the right of giving to the queen such a long wait?  
'Do you allow me to make the queen wait so long?'

b Se vastarave lo pes a farlo a bona pevrada?<sup>73</sup> (o.Ven.)

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<sup>70</sup> *Novellino*.

<sup>71</sup> *Fiori di filosofa*.

<sup>72</sup> *Mort Artu*.

<sup>73</sup> *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazon*.



self= would.spoil the fish to make it at good peverada?  
 ‘Would you spoil the fish by cooking it with pepper sauce?’

The distribution of enclisis in interrogatives is summarised as follows:

(36)		o.Flo.	o.Fr.	o.Ven.	
	a	yes/no questions	✓	✓/✗	✗
	b	wh questions	✗	✗	✗

Imperatives and jussive contexts are the context where enclisis occurs more readily in present-day languages. In early Romance, by contrast, imperatives show enclisis/proclisis alternations that are conditioned by proclisis triggers as shown in (37), where the pronoun occurs proclitically because of the fronted adverb *or*:

(37) Or *ci di*’, Guglielmo (o.It.)<sup>74</sup>  
 Now us= tell, G.  
 ‘Guglielmo, now tell us...’

In 17<sup>th</sup> c. French, clitic placement in imperative clauses was still dependent on the factors characterising the Tobler-Mussafia system, i.e. negation, coordination, fronting of certain adverbs, etc. In the following examples from, for instance, imperatives trigger enclisis by default, see (38)a, unless the imperative is negated, occurs in the second conjoint of a coordination, or is preceded by certain fronted adverbs, cf. (38)b-d (Hirschbühler & Labelle 2003):

(38) a Dis-le. (Fr. 17<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 ‘Say it’  
 b Ne le dis pas.  
 ‘Don’t say it’  
 c Prépare-toi et le dis.  
 ‘Get ready and say it’  
 d Or le dis.

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<sup>74</sup> Novellino; from Benincà & Poletto 2010: 58.

‘Now, say it’

In conclusion, the domains of proclisis progressively expanded and, at a different pace, the Romance languages began to reduce the contexts of enclisis following the hierarchies in (28) and (29). Although the loss was conditioned by sociolinguistic factors, the process became irreversible in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (most counterexamples to the Tobler-Mussafia law come in fact from texts of that age). In the renaissance period, enclisis disappeared completely from declarative clauses (save for western Ibero-Romance), although it survived in jussive and imperative clauses. Similar considerations hold true for non-finite clauses, which will be addressed in §3.9.

### 3.8 The rebirth of enclisis

In most Romance languages clitics tend to *climb* to the finite verb, i.e. in periphrastic constructions formed by a functional or semifunctional auxiliary verb and a lexical verb the clitics are usually attached to the former, even if they are selected by the latter. Let us assume for the sake of clarity that modal and aspectual periphrases and compound tenses correspond all to a single clause in which the finite functional verb is in the I domain, whereas the lexical verb remains in V or move to the low I domain (alternative analyses will be discussed in chapter 8):

(39) {<sub>C</sub> ... {<sub>I</sub> *clitic* AUX ... {<sub>V</sub> infinitive ... } }

Climbing occurs more readily in compound tenses, whereas other periphrastic constructions featuring modal, causative, and perception verbs exhibit a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation as in some languages and contexts climbing is optional or impossible. In Italian, for instance, clitics can climb if the periphrasis contains a modal, *let-*causative or perception verb, whereas in the same contexts French does not allow climbing, see (40)a vs (40)c. Furthermore, Italian differs from French because, when clitics do not climb, they remain enclitic to the infinitive, see (40)b vs (40)c.

(40) a *Te ne voglio/lascio/vedo dare due.* (It.)  
to.you= of.them= I.want/let/see give two

- b voglio/lascio/vedo dar te ne due. (It.)  
 I.want/let/see give =to.you =of.them two
- c Je veux/laisse/vois t' en donner deux. (Fr.)  
 I= want/let/see to.you= of.them= give two

However, in early Romance climbing was more frequent than in modern Romance, as several languages such as Catalan and French, in which nowadays climbing is optional or barred, exhibited obligatory climbing in the medieval stage (more on this in chapter 8).

The lack of clitic climbing, which originated in constructions featuring semifunctional verbs such as modal and perception verbs, was lately extended to compound tenses in languages such as Franco-Provençal (Chenal 1986), Piedmontese (Parry 2005; Tortora 2014a, 2014b), Dolomitic Ladin (Rasom 2006).

- (41) a L' an tot portà-lèi vià.(Fr.Prov.)<sup>75</sup>  
 They= have everything carried=to.him away  
 'They have taken everything away from him.'
- b I an rangiò-la. (Cairese)<sup>76</sup>  
 They= have fixed=it.F  
 'They fixed it.'
- c Am/aș mâncat-o (Romanian)<sup>77</sup>  
 I.have/would eaten=it.F  
 'I ate it'

In most cases, the loss of climbing affected only certain clitic forms, e.g. the accusative feminine clitic *o* in Romanian, yielding mixed patterns: certain pronouns climb while others remain attached to the lexical verb, yielding split clusters (see chapter 9).

In Piedmontese, the loss of climbing yielded constructions with *clitic reduplication*. I use this term to refer to cases in which two instances of the same object clitic co-occur, one proclitic to the functional verb, the other attached to the lexical verb (see Parry 1993, 2005). I illustrate here a case of clitic reduplication in the dialect of Fex Platta, in (22b). The pattern of

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<sup>75</sup> Chenal 1986:340

<sup>76</sup> Parry 2005

<sup>77</sup> Dragomirescu 2013: 193

clitic reduplication in (22b) witnesses the transition from systems with generalized climbing such as (22a) to systems without climbing, in (22c).

(42) a *ie lɐ 'vɔj ta'kɛ:r* (Stampa)<sup>78</sup>

I= her= want.1SG to.bind

b *ɛ lɐ 'vø: lɐ ta'ce:r* (Fex Platta)

I= her= want her= to.bind

c *'vø:j lɐ ta'ka* (Poschiavo)

want her= bind

'I want to bind it'

From modal periphrasis, patterns of clitic reduplication were lately extended to compound tenses. Reduplication is attested in Piedmontese dialects such as Cairese, see (23) (Parry 2005: 179), where the same clitic form occurs in proclisis to the auxiliary and in enclisis to the past participle.

(43) A *m sun fò-me in fazing* (Cairese)<sup>79</sup>

I= to.myself= am done=to.myself a cake

'I baked me a cake'

In other Piedmontese dialects, the proclitic copy does not occur anymore, giving rise to a pattern of generalised enclisis with compound tenses. Furthermore, in certain dialects of the same area such as Borgomanerese (Tortora 2010, 2015; Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 518-37), enclisis has been extended to simple tenses, yielding a system of clitic placement without proclisis. In dialects with generalized enclisis clitics are not always adjacent to the inflected verb as in (44)c, where an aspectual adverbs is interpolated. Interpolation means that the clitics in (44) are arguably nested in a functional projection in the V domain, close to the landing site of the past participle (Tortora 2015):

(44) a *I porta-la*

I= bring=it

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<sup>78</sup> Source: AIS (Jaberg & Jud 1928-1940).

<sup>79</sup> Parry 2005: 178

‘I’m bringing it.’

b I vônghi-ti.

I= see=you

‘I see you.’

c I voenghi [piö]-lla.

I= see anymore=her

‘I don’t see her anymore.’

The evolution of climbing overviewed in the present section is summarised in the following table ( $\pm C$  for the presence or absence of climbing, +C,-C signals patterns of clitic reduplication):

(45)		compound tenses	periphrastic constructions
a	old French, old Catalan	+C	+C
b	Spanish, Italian, modern Catalan	+C	$\pm C$
c	Clitic reduplication in periphrastic constructions, e.g. Rhaeto-Romance	+C	+C,-C
d	doubling in compound tenses, e.g. Cairese	+C,-C	(+C),-C
e	loss of climbing, e.g. standard Piedmontese	-C	-C

Eventually, the loss of climbing triggers the complete loss of proclisis in simple tenses, yielding patterns of generalised enclisis. As previously mentioned, the enclitic pattern of dialects such as Borgomanerese is not to be confused with the enclitic pattern of the Portuguese type, discussed in §3.5. The former results from the finite verb moving above the Wackernagel position, which is located in the (lower) C domain, see (46). Conversely, enclisis of the Piedmontese type originated from a pattern of reduplication whereby a lower copy of the clitic occurs in the V domain after the non-finite verb.

- (46) a.  $\{C \text{ verb clitic } \{I \text{ verb } \dots \}\}$  (enclisis due to verb movement)  
 b.  $\dots \{I \text{ clitic verb } \{V \text{ clitic}\}\}$  (enclisis due to clitic placement in V)

In conclusion, this section overviewed some trends in the evolution of climbing systems, which will be examined more extensively in chapter 8. The diachronic evolution shows that at least two patterns of enclisis may occur in the Romance languages: one due to verb movement and the other due to a lower placement of the clitics. With this in mind, the next section addresses the syntax of clitics in non-finite clauses.

### 3.9 Non-finite clauses

The position of clitics is subject to a higher degree of cross-linguistic variation in non-finite than in finite environments. French and Italian, for instance, exhibit respectively enclisis<sup>80</sup> and proclisis in non-finite clauses:

- (47) a *Lui* parler (\*-lui) serait une erreur.  
to.him= to.speak (=to.him) would.be an error
- b (\*Gli) parlar -gli sarebbe un errore.  
(to.him=) to.speak =to.him would.be an error  
‘To talk to him would be a mistake.’

The enclitic or proclitic placement in non-finite clauses is set on a language-specific basis, but, within each language, it is categorical: in Italian, for instance, clitics are always enclitics in all type of participial, gerundive or infinitive clauses, both in absolute and complement clauses. If the non-finite clause contains a compound tense, clitics are always anchored to the auxiliary, see (49):

- (48) a (\*lo) visto -lo, sono scappato  
(it=) seen =it am run.away  
‘After I saw it, I run away’

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<sup>80</sup> the only context in which Italian allows proclisis with a non-finite form of the verb is when the infinitive is used to form negative imperatives:

- (i) non far-lo!  
not to.do=it  
‘do not do it’

- b (\*lo) vedendo -lo, sono scappato  
 (it=) seeing =it am run.away  
 ‘When I saw it, I run away’
- c per (\*lo) veder -lo, sono scappato  
 for (it=) to.see=it am run.away  
 ‘To see it, I run away’
- d come (\*lo) veder -lo?  
 how (it=) to.see=it

- (49) a (\*lo) avendo -lo visto (\*-lo), sono scappato  
 (it=) having =lo seen (=it) am run.away  
 ‘When I saw it, I run away’
- b per (\*lo) aver -lo visto (\*-lo), sono scappato  
 for (it=) to.have =it seen (=it) am run.away  
 ‘To see it, I run away’

In early Romance, conversely, the alternation between enclisis and proclisis was sensitive to the Tobler-Mussafia law. In these languages clitic placement in non-finite clauses is therefore conditioned by the usual proclisis-triggers such as negation and, to a lesser extent, wh elements. In old Italian, for instance, embedded wh clauses exhibit either proclisis or enclisis in non-finite embedded interrogatives:

- (50) a non sapea *che farsi*<sup>81</sup> (o.It.)  
 not he.knew what to.do=IMP
- b non sapea *che si fare*.<sup>82</sup>  
 not he.knew what IMP= to.do  
 ‘he did not know what to do.’

The alternation in (50) results from the *tension* between two factors: a generalized tendency for enclisis in nonfinite contexts (as in modern Romance), the presence of a proclisis-trigger such as the wh element *che*. In completive clauses, where the latter effect is

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<sup>81</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>82</sup> Novellino, 79, r. 41

absent, enclisis is the only possible option. The asymmetry is illustrated in the table (51), which shows the distribution of enclisis and proclisis in embedded interrogatives *vs* completive clauses with respect to sequences formed by the *wh* *che* or the complementiser *di*, the verb *fare* ‘to do’ and the clitic *si* (source: OVI database): whereas interrogatives show a relatively high incidence of proclisis, completives systematically require enclisis as in modern Italian.

(51)

	Proclisis	Enclisis
Wh	48 <i>...che si fare</i>	21 <i>...che farsi</i>
C	0 <i>...di si fare</i>	53 <i>...di farsi</i>

Analogously, (52) illustrates the effect of negation – another prototypical proclisis-trigger – on the distribution of enclisis and proclisis in Portuguese infinitives (Raposo and Uriagereka 2005: 685, see also Roberts 2016: 792 on Italo-Romance): enclisis, which is usually found in nonfinite clauses, is barred in negative contexts.

- (52) a Ela pensa terem-na os rapazes visto. (Port.)<sup>83</sup>  
 she thinks to.have.3PL=her the boys seen  
 ‘She thinks that the boys saw her’
- b Ela pensa não a terem os rapazes visto.  
 she think.3sg NEG her= have.3PL the boys seen  
 ‘She thinks that the boys didn't see her’

Kayne 1991 argues that enclisis with Italian infinitives/gerunds/participles results from the verb’s having moved above the clitic, which amounts to saying that the clitic is not incorporated to the verb, but nested in a separate position. Crosslinguistic differences with respect to the position of clitics result from how high nonfinite verbs move in the I domain. To support his analysis, Kayne shows that French infinitives, which always exhibit proclisis, move less than Italian infinitives (Pollock 1989; Cinque 1999: 144ff). The argument is illustrated in (53), where the position of lexical infinitives is compared with respect to the

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<sup>83</sup> From Fiéis and Madeira (2017).



negative adverbs *mica/pas*: whereas in Italian the infinitive cannot cross *mica*, in French the infinitive must remain to the right of *pas*. Analogously, the Italian infinitive in (54) must precede the adverb ‘completely’, whereas the French infinitive follows it.

- (53) a Abbiamo cercato di non (\**mica*) *mangiar-li* ?*mica* (It.)  
 we.have tried to not NEG eat=them NEG  
 b Nous avons essayé de ne *pas les* *manger* (Fr.)  
 We= have tried to not NEG them= to.eat  
 ‘We tried not to eat them’

- (54) a Il mio amico rischia di *perdere completamente* la testa (It.)  
 the my friend risks to lose completely the head  
 b Mon ami va *complètement perdre* la tête. (Fr.)  
 my friend goes completely lose the head  
 ‘My friend is going to completely lose his head.’

In essence, Kayne’s account of enclisis in non-finite clauses is akin to the analysis of enclisis in finite clauses in Tobler-Mussafia systems (§§3.5-6): enclisis results from the verb moving across the position where clitics are nested. Tobler-Mussafia effects result when the finite verb crosses a cliticisation site at the I/C border, whereas enclisis to non-finite forms results from a similar kind of movement, but across a lower clitic site located at the boundary between the V/I domains. This conclusion is supported by data from French finite and non-finite clauses, in (55): (55)a shows that the infinitive crosses neither the object clitic nor the negative adverb *pas*, whereas in finite clauses, in (55)b, both the clitic and the verb precede *pas*.

- (55) a Nous avons essayé de *ne pas les* *manger*.  
 We= have tried to not NEG them= to.eat  
 ‘We tried not to eat them.’  
 b Nous *ne les* *mangeons pas*.  
 We= not them= to.eat NEG  
 ‘We tried not to eat them.’

These data show that French finite and non-finite clauses differ with respect to the domains of clitic placement: in infinitives, clitics are arguably placed in the V domain, whereas in finite clauses clitics are anchored in the I domain:

- (56) a {<sub>I</sub> ... *pas* {<sub>V</sub> les manger }}<sup>84</sup>  
 b {<sub>I</sub> les mangeons *pas* {<sub>V</sub> ... ~~mangeons~~ }}

The idea that in non-finite clause the verb and the clitics are located in V can be extended to other languages and assume that in all modern Romance languages enclitic placement in non-finite clauses results from the verb moving across a lower clitic position (in V), and not because the verb moves very high across the same I-position hosting clitics in finite clauses. The latter hypothesis, sketched in (57)b, predicts that non-finite verbs move higher than finite verbs, but the hypothesis is falsified by data showing that lexical non-finite verbs do not move to C and, in complement clauses, they do not necessarily move as high as finite verbs (Cinque 1999: 144-145).

- (57) a {<sub>I</sub> V<sub>non-finite</sub> {<sub>V</sub> clitic V<sub>non-finite</sub>  
 b {<sub>C</sub> V<sub>non-finite</sub> {<sub>I</sub> clitic V<sub>non-finite</sub>

As a rule of thumb, I will therefore assume the representation in (56)/ (57)a for finite and non-finite clauses, although the same does not necessarily hold true for non-finite auxiliaries, which tend to target the same positions as finite verbs (Pollock 1989) as witnessed by *aux-to-comp* constructions (Rizzi 1982), in which the choice between the two options in (56) is still open. *Aux-to-comp* constructions, exemplified in (58), are the sole non-finite environment where Italian allows the presence of a nominative subject, which, crucially, follows the auxiliary. Given the position of the nominative subject, it is fair to conclude that the structure of (58) is akin to that of a medieval (finite) declarative clause with subject inversion, where the verb has moved to C crossing the position of the subject in the I domain:

- (58) non avendo-le egli rispettate ... (It.)  
 not having=them he respected

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<sup>84</sup> Only the clitics *y* and *en* can move to the I domain in a high/formal register, yielding patterns of interpolation with infinitives, see chapter 8.

‘Since he has not abided by them’

The word order in (58) recalls the displacement of clitics in “V1” declarative clauses in early Romance (cf. §3.6) and may be therefore considered as a relic of the original Tobler-Mussafia system.

To summarise, enclisis in finite and non-finite clauses result from the same mechanism, i.e. verb movement above the nesting site of the clitic(s). Languages exhibiting Tobler-Mussafia effects in finite clauses tend to display similar effects in non-finite clauses as well (although certain non-finite contexts are less permeable to Tobler-Mussafia effects). Conversely, in the other Romance languages clitic placement in non-finite clauses is categorical: each language allow either enclisis or proclisis throughout all non-finite environments.

Tendentially, non-finite verbs move less than finite verbs (and, among non-finite clauses, some are more prone to verb movement than others, see Cinque 1999: 144ff). Analogously, clitics in non-finite clauses are placed in a lower domain than in finite clauses. The interplay of verb movement and clitic placement may end up blurring the distinction between the two contexts and lead scholars to assume, erroneously, the same representation of clitic placement for both finite and non-finite clauses.

### 3.10 Clitic sequences

Besides clitic placement, the Romance languages vary with respect to the order of clitic combinations. In early Italian and French, clitics had the same order as the corresponding arguments, with direct objects preceding datives. Later on, the order of clitic elements was reversed and ended up *mirroring* (in Baker’s 1985 terms) the order of their nominal counterparts.

In Italian, the change is clear with 1/2p dative clitics: the earliest records exhibit the archaic order, in (59)a, while, in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, both orders were allowed, in (apparent) free variation. Later on the archaic order was progressively replaced by the innovative mirror order, in (59)b, which is the only possible order in present-day Italian<sup>85</sup>. French, in (60), shows the same evolution in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>85</sup> Besides the order, (59)b differs from (59)a with respect to the vowel of the dative clitic (*me* vs *mi*). On this alternation, see chapter 9.

- (59) a che [...] voi **la mi** concediate (o.It.)<sup>86</sup> Acc Dat  
 that [...] you.pl it.f= to.me= grant.subj  
 ‘that you grant it to me’
- b se Egli **me la** concede (o.It.)<sup>87</sup> Dat Acc  
 if He to.me=it.f= grants  
 ‘if He grants it to me’
- (60) a Je **le te** comande (o.Fr.) Acc Dat  
 I it=to.you= order  
 ‘I order it to you’
- b Je **te le** comande (m.Fr.) Dat Acc  
 I to.you= it=order  
 ‘I order it to you’

A similar change affected combinations containing the clitic *en/ne*. With 1/2p datives, the order is always dative > *ne* since the earliest attestations, whereas differences between medieval and modern varieties are found in combinations including a 3p dative element (Italian) or a locative clitic (French). In modern Italian, *ne* must follow the dative clitic, while in Old Italian *ne* can either follow or precede the dative clitic:

- (61) a e assai **ne gli** piacquero (o.It.)<sup>88</sup>  
 and many.of.them=to.him= pleased.3pl  
 ‘and he liked many of them’
- b io **gli ne** rendei quatro (o.It.)<sup>89</sup>  
 I to.him= of.them= gave.back four  
 ‘I gave him four (florins) back’

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<sup>86</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>87</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>88</sup> Boccaccio, *Decameron*.

<sup>89</sup> **LibroDare**.

In Old French, the clitic *en* precedes the locative clitic *i* (Foulet 1919, §436). The same order is still allowed in modern French (Rezac 2010), although the opposite one (*y en*) is found as well. Nowadays, the latter is normally considered the normative variant.

- (62) a J' *en* y ai vu trois  
 I= of.them= there= have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there'
- b J' y *en* ai vu trois  
 I= there= of.them have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there'

In Italian and French the change reversing the order of object clitics dates at the Middle Ages, while in other Romance areas (like part of the Iberian Peninsula) the only possible order is dative > accusative since the earliest attestations. One may wonder if the latter varieties had undergone a similar change in an undocumented stage, as proposed for northern Italian dialects by Melander 1929.

The changes illustrated above take place suddenly (see Melander 1929 for Italian, Meklenborg Salvesen 2013 for French) and consistently, i.e. within the same variety, several types of clitic combinations – though not all – were inverted. We are therefore dealing with a single change affecting various clitic combinations at the same time. Crucially, this change seems orthogonal to the evolution of clitic placement described in the previous sections and seems independent from other changes affecting word order phenomena and the discourse/syntax interface. The make-up of clitic sequences will be thoroughly investigated in chapter 9.

### 3.11 The loss of clitics?

Some Romance languages allow null objects or free pronouns to resume given, non-contrastive information. In Brazilian Portuguese, for instance, a referential human antecedent can be resumed by either a full or null pronoun, as shown in (63).

- (63) a. Eu comprei o casaco<sub>i</sub> sem experimentar **(ele)**<sub>i</sub>. (BP)  
 I bought the coat without trying it

‘I bought the coat without trying (it) on’

- b. O Presidente indicou o ministro<sub>i</sub> sem consultar (**ele**)<sub>i</sub>.  
 The President appointed the minister without asking him  
 ‘The President appointed the minister without asking (him)’

Cyrino 1994, 1997 notices that null objects resulted from the omission of (third person) direct object clitics, which were progressively lost between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The change began with the loss of object clitics having a propositional antecedents and, later on, was extended to context in which the antecedent was a non-human individual, as in (64):

- (64) tem *uma quinta*<sub>i</sub> tão grande que é necessário 24 horas  
 there.is a farm so big that is necessary 24 hours  
 ... para se correr   <sub>i</sub> toda. (BP, 18th c.)<sup>90</sup>  
 for one= to.cover all  
 ‘there is a farm so big that (it) is necessary 24 hours for one to cover it all.’

Subsequently, null objects began to resume human antecedents. With human antecedents, however, also free pronouns such as *ele* (‘he’) and *ela* (‘she’) began to be used with a non-contrastive interpretation, yielding the alternation illustrated in (63). The three stages of the evolution are illustrated in the following table: stage I shows the usual alternation between free and clitic pronouns, similar to the one attested in the other Romance languages; stage two exhibits the competition between clitic and null objects, with the latter progressively gaining terrain; eventually, the role of clitic pronouns is taken by either null or strong pronoun, which, with human referents, alternate in free variation.

(65)

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>
–contrastive –human	clitic	null	null
–contrastive +human		clitic	
+contrastive ±human	strong	strong	strong

<sup>90</sup> Antonio José, *Guerras do Alecrim e da Manjerona*

Paoli 2014 deals with a similar phenomenon in Raetho-Romance languages, which nowadays exhibit defective paradigms of object clitics. The phenomenon is exemplified here with a sample of data from the AIS (Jaberg & Jud 1928-1940), reporting the translation of a sentence ‘(the tailor bastes the jacket) and then he makes you try it on’. In all Italo-Romance varieties both the direct and indirect objects in the second conjoint must be clitic, whereas in several Rhaeto-Romance varieties, which lack clitic pronouns, strong pronouns are used to resume given information as in (66)a. In (66)b we can observe the behaviour of a dialect with a defective clitic paradigm (the second person is attested, whereas for the third person speakers have to resort to a strong pronoun). Lastly, (66)c shows a dialect with a full inventory of clitics, which therefore behaves like the Italo-Romance dialects.

- (66) a ... amprǒva -l ěn ɛl a tí. (Brigels-Breil)  
 makes.try =he on it to you
- b ... t prǒva -l ěnt ɛl. (Zuoz)  
 to.you= makes.try =he on it
- c ... t al ĩmpróva áynt. (Remüs - Ramosch)  
 to.you= it=makes.try on  
 ‘he makes you try it on’

In particular, Paoli focuses on Sursilvan, the Rhaeto-Romance variety that in the last five centuries has completely lost all clitic forms. Like Brazilian Portuguese, Sursilvan has passed through a stage (stage II (65)) in which human referents – in particular first or second person pronouns – could be resumed by a clitic form (e.g. *mi* ‘me’), a null object, or a strong form (*mei* ‘me’), as shown in the following example:

- (67) Ti **mi** has giù ed \_\_\_ has cha saviu tener;  
 You me= have had and have not managed to.Keep  
 ... ed ussa enqueres ti da pigiar **mei**; ... (Sursilvan)<sup>91</sup>  
 and now try you to detain me  
 ‘You had me and did not manage to keep me; and now you are trying to detain me’

<sup>91</sup> Decurtins 1880–1883: 274, lines 5–6.

The data from Brazilian Portuguese and Sursilvan show a cline that, at first glance, is the mirror image of the linguistic change that led from Latin to Romance, described in §3.3. Schematically, in Latin and BP/Sursilvan an antecedent can be resumed by either a null object or a weak pronoun, i.e. a pronominal form that is morphologically identical to free pronouns, but cannot convey a contrastive/corrective reading and, syntactically, is more constrained than strong pronouns. The choice between the two strategies (null objects *vs* weak pronouns) is conditioned by syntactic and semantic factors – e.g. coordination, animacy, referentiality, etc. – which vary cross-linguistically. The vast majority of the Romance languages, conversely, exhibits a double series of pronouns (strong *vs* clitics) and do not permit null objects:

(68)

<i>Latin, BP, Sursilvan</i>	<i>Romance</i>
null	clitics
weak	
strong	

Some remarks are in order concerning (68). First, although we have cases of mixed systems in which strong, weak, clitic and null elements co-occur, pronominal inventories tend to be dichotomic: since weak and strong forms are often identical, languages exhibit an alternation either between strong and clitic pronouns or between zeroes and pronouns, as shown in (69). In the latter case, pronouns may ‘act as’ weak elements to resume antecedents without triggering a contrastive reading, thus covering a ‘function’ that, in other languages, is typical of clitics.

(69)

<i>Latin, BP, Sursilvan</i>	<i>Romance</i>
null	clitic
pronoun	pronoun

If so, then the overall typology would result from two ‘prototypical’ systems:

- Type 1 systems, in which pronominal forms, when displaced in a dedicated clausal position, may refer to an antecedent without conveying a contrastive interpretation. Pronouns without a contrastive interpretation (‘weak pronouns’) are either in free or in complementary distribution with null objects.



- Type 2 systems, exhibiting a double series of pronouns (clitic vs free), which do not allow null objects.

A major difference between Latin and BP regards the conditions under which null objects are licensed: while in Latin the conditions are essentially syntactic (e.g. null objects are licensed in coordinated structures, answers, non-finite clauses), in BP and Sursilvan the conditions are more semantic as the distribution of null objects depends on some inherent properties of the antecedent, e.g. animacy. Abstracting away from language-specific conditions, however, it is fair to conclude that the emergence of clitics (§3.3) and their loss are both linked to the licensing of null objects.

#### 4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has overviewed some steps of the evolution that turned some Latin pronouns into clitics.

Latin weak pronouns – i.e. non-contrastive pronouns – usually occurred in a postfocal position, conventionally labelled Wackernagel position, yielding a kind of displacement reminiscent of second position clitics. Building on Adams 1994; Salvi 1996, I showed that the placement of Latin weak pronouns is tightly linked to information packaging, verb movement, and the conditions licensing null subjects.

In Late Latin, pronouns in the Wackernagel position were frequently preceded by the inflected verb, which tended to occur in the low left periphery of main clauses, in complementary distribution with focus-fronted material. This, coupled with the progressive loss of null objects, gave rise to a displacement in which the verb (of main clauses) systematically preceded weak pronouns in W:

(70) {<sub>C</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> weak pronoun {<sub>I</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub>  $\nabla$  ... } ] }

The same word order, which was characterised by a remarkable asymmetry between main and embedded clauses, is attested in medieval Ibero-Romance. In particular, early Ibero-Romance languages exhibited extensive patterns of interpolation in embedded clauses, where the verb targets a lower position far from the (Wackernagel) position, hosting clitics. At this stage, clitic pronouns were not incorporated into the verb; it is fair to conclude that pronouns and the verb moved independently to separate positions in the C domain, although in main clauses they (almost) always occurred in adjacent positions.

The other early Romance languages, conversely, exhibited an innovative pattern in which interpolation was not allowed anymore, neither in main nor in embedded clauses. The loss of interpolation triggered the reanalysis of clitics, which ceased to occupy a separate position and began to be incorporated to the verb (more on this in chapter 5).

Incorporation, however, was subject to syntactic conditions (above all, verb movement), which yielded the systematic enclisis/proclisis alternations attested in all the old Romance languages and captured by the Tobler-Mussafia law. In a nutshell, the Tobler-Mussafia law states that enclisis occurs when the focus position of main positive clauses is empty: enclitics normally occur in sentences beginning with the verb or in sentences in which the verb is preceded by topic material. A more precise definition of the conditions ruling enclisis/proclisis alternations in early Romance will be given in chapters 6 and 7.

Tobler-Mussafia effects disappeared at the end of the Middle Ages, when enclisis was eventually confined to imperatives and non-finite clauses. I elaborated on the many factors that, across languages, favoured or hindered enclitic placement. It is a matter of debate, however, whether these residual patterns of enclisis (in particular with non-finite verbs) are due to the same mechanism yielding Tobler-Mussafia effects or to a lower placement of the clitic (or a combination of both).

Solid evidence for a lower clitic site (in the V domain) comes from present-day dialects that lost clitic climbing (see chapter 8) and turned from proclitic to enclitic placement in finite clauses (see Tortora 2015 a.o.). The change began in restructuring contexts and spread later to compound tenses and, eventually, simple tenses. The emergence of enclisis in these dialects cannot be accounted for by supposing that the verb began to move to a higher position, which leaves us to the only possible conclusion that enclisis resulted from a lower placement of the clitics. The conclusion is supported by patterns of clitic reduplication, in which, during the transition from the proclisis to the enclisis system, the same clitic form occurred twice, before and after the verb.

The evolution of clitic placement is eventually summarised as follows:

(71)	Weak pronouns, identical to free pronouns, located in the Wackernagel position	Latin
	Loss of null objects, generalised V-to-C movement	(Late) Latin
	Double series of pronouns. Clitics are placed in the Wackernagel position regardless of the position of the	Archaic Early Romance (old Spanish, old Portuguese)

verb, which may cross the position of clitics, yielding enclisis. Interpolation is allowed.	
Interpolation is not allowed anymore. Enclisis due to V-to-C movement is still attested.	Innovative Early Romance; present-day western Ibero-Romance
Loss of enclisis in finite clauses. The enclitic or proclitic ordering in non-finite clauses is set on a language-specific basis and depends on the landing site of the non-finite verb in the I domain.	Most modern Romance languages
Loss of (obligatory) climbing in restructuring contexts (“destructuring”).	e.g. Old > modern French, Catalan (Authier & Reed 2008; Fisher 2000; see chapter 8)
Reduplication patterns and loss of climbing in compound tenses	Piedmontese
Generalised enclisis in finite clauses	Eastern Piedmontese, e.g. Borgomanerese

Moreover, I noticed that several systematic changes affected the order of sequences formed by two or more object clitics, e.g. dative accusative > accusative dative. These changes follow some robust trends, but, at present, no relationship has been established between changes affecting the form of clitic clusters and the other aspects of clitic placement.

Lastly, the mechanism of cliticisation is lost, at various degrees, in languages such as Brazilian Portuguese and Raetho-Romance, in which certain types of antecedent are usually resumed by a null object or a free pronoun. The fact that these languages are in contact with linguistic systems that lack object clitics of the Romance type may have triggered – or, at least, favoured – this change.

## 4.1 Introduction

Building on Holmberg 1986, 1991, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 argue for a typology of function words that, besides strong and clitic elements, features a third class formed by *weak elements*. The hypothesis of an intermediate class of pronouns, sharing properties of clitic and strong pronouns, is particularly attractive for the diachronic analysis as the properties of weak elements are expected to shed light on the evolution from strong pronouns to clitics. As for Romance, Salvi 1996 argues that Latin exhibited a double series of homophonous pronouns, strong and weak, and that Romance clitics derived from the latter:

(1)a Latin	b Romance (e.g. Italian)
ME (strong)	<i>me</i> (strong)
ME (weak)	<i>mi</i> (clitic)

The hypothesis illustrated in (1) will be thoroughly reviewed in chapter 5, which will be entirely dedicated to the diachronic analysis and reconstruction of the Latin/Romance transition.

The goal of this chapter is twofold: first, it shows that weak pronouns do not form a consistent class across languages, but exhibit clusters of properties that vary on a language-specific basis (on this, see also Manzini 2014; Pescarini 2018, 2020; Rossi & Garzonio 2019); second, this chapter challenges the peeling accounts of the clitic/weak *vs* strong divide. In Cardinaletti & Starke's 1999 view, clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak pronouns are considered deficient elements, obtained when the outer structural layer of strong pronouns is *peeled off*. The conceptual structure of the (theoretical) argument is as follows:

- i. Clitic pronouns derive from free pronouns. The evolution from one type to the other is gradual and many languages exhibit evidence of at least one intermediate class of elements (weak pronouns).
- ii. Pronominal forms have a complex internal structure, which can be modelled as a layered tree. Patterns of allomorphy, suppletion, syncretism, etc. provide useful clues about the inner structure of pronouns.

- iii. There is a cause-effect relation between the syntactic properties of clitic/weak/strong pronouns (i) and their inner structure (ii). Clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak pronouns have a *deficient* structure; their syntactic behaviour results from the degree of their deficiency. As a corollary of (iii), it is often assumed that clitic pronouns derive from weak pronouns, which in turn derive from strong pronouns via successive *peeling*.

I claim that, although the premises in (i) and (ii) are largely confirmed by the data, the hypothesis in (iii) has not been sufficiently grounded. I therefore contend that, while one can safely assume that clitic and strong pronouns bear *different* sets of features, it is time to abandon the elegant, but ultimately unfalsifiable claim that the features of clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak elements are a subset of the features of strong pronouns.

The chapter is organised as follows: §4.2 introduces the notion of weak pronouns; §4.3 focuses on doubling and resumption; §4.4 deals with climbing; §4.5 discusses other syntactic restrictions characterising clitics; §4.6 elaborates on the expected correlation between syntactic properties and morphological layering. §4.7 concludes.

## 4.2 Weak pronouns

Besides the strong/clitic dichotomy, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 argued for an intermediate class of pronominal forms, which exhibit some properties of clitic elements (they cannot be focalised, coordinated, etc.), but differ from clitics under several respects: syntactically, they do not have the same distribution as clitics; morphologically, they resemble strong pronouns.

In the last decades, the term weak has been used to account for the behavior of several Romance pronominal forms:

- the It. dative pronoun *loro* ‘to them’ (Cardinaletti 1991);
- dative pronouns in old Italo-Romance varieties (Egerland 2002a, 2005; Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010: 418-424, 427-429);
- the adverbial forms *i* and *ende* of old Portuguese (Martins 2003a);
- the It. nominative pronouns *egli*, *essa*, etc. (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999);
- French and Rhaeto-Romance subject clitics (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999);
- subject pronouns in 16<sup>th</sup> century northern Italian dialects (Vanelli 1998)
- object pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese (Cyrino, Duarte & Kato 2000; cf. §3.12).

The first in-depth analysis of a weak Romance pronoun is Cardinaletti’s 1991 seminal work on the Italian dative pronoun *loro* ‘to them’, which in descriptive grammars is usually referred to as a

‘semi-clitic’ element (Maiden & Robustelli 2000: 102). The weak *loro* with a dative interpretation is never introduced by the preposition *a*, which usually introduces phrasal arguments and strong pronouns (including the strong pronoun *loro*). For this reason we can postulate two homophonous lexical entities: the strong form *a loro* and the weak *loro*. Cardinaletti 1991 noticed that the latter cannot be modified, coordinated, focalised<sup>92</sup>, etc. (for counterexamples, see Manzini 2014; Garzonio & Rossi 2019), but, unlike clitics, it always occurs postverbally. Moreover, *loro* can be separated from the verb by aspectual adverbs and – marginally – by inverted pronominal subjects carrying new-information focus:

(2) Carlo (\**loro*) telefona sempre (*loro*). (It.)  
 Carlo to.them calls always to.them  
 ‘Carlo called them’

(3) Q: Chi parlerà ai dipendenti? (It.)  
 Who will.speak to.the employees  
 ‘Who will speak to the employees?’  
 A: Parlerò io *loro*.  
 will.speak I to.them  
 ‘I will speak to them.’

Old Italian, unlike modern Italian, exhibited a full series of weak dative pronouns, which, like *loro*, had the same morphology as free oblique pronouns, but could occur without the dative preposition *a*. Unlike the weak *loro* of modern Italian, the weak pronouns of old Italian could

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<sup>92</sup> It seems to me that the weak dative pronoun *loro* in Italian can carry new-information (i.e. non-contrastive) focus. Unlike clitics, in (i)A’, strong and weak pronouns can be used to answer wh questions:

(i) Q: A chi hai dato il libro?  
 To whom.you.have given the book  
 ‘Who did you give the book?’  
 A: l’ ho dato ‘loro/’a loro  
 It= I.have given to.them/to them  
 ‘I gave it to them’  
 A’: \*glie-l’ ho dato  
 to.them=it= I.have given  
 ‘I gave it to them’

precede the inflected verb and, in that position, they can be easily mistaken for clitic elements. In fact, unlike clitics, weak pronouns are not subject to the Tobler-Mussafia law, i.e. the ban that prevents clitics from occurring in the first position of the clause (Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010: 418-424, 427-429; the Tobler-Mussafia law will be discussed at length in the following pages).

Similar considerations hold for the particles *i* and *ende* of old Portuguese (corresponding to the clitic *ci/y/hi*, *ne/en* of Italian/French/Catalan). Martins 2003 notices that *i* and *ende*, like clitics, cannot introduce new referents and cannot be coordinated, modified, etc. However, *i* and *ende* do not exhibit the canonical distribution of clitics: they often occur post-verbally in subordinate clauses (where enclisis is banned); they never occur between the sentential negative marker and the verb; when postverbal, they are not always adjacent to the verb (cf. (4)); they are not subject to mesoclisism; they can occur in the first position of the clause; they do not necessarily cluster with clitics.

- (4) E o santo homen [...] ficou logo *ende* mui triste (o.Port.)<sup>93</sup>  
 and the holy man was immediately of.it very sad  
 ‘And as soon as he heard that, the holy man was very sad’

The properties distinguishing weak elements from the other two pronominal classes are summarised in (5), from Paoli 2014 (footnotes added). The grey area highlights the main differences between clitic and weak pronouns, which regard three phenomena: doubling, resumption, and climbing (doubling and resumption will be treated in §4.3, climbing in §4.4).

Later accounts of clitic phenomena have eventually stretched the notion of weak to account for the behaviour of (*bona fide*) clitics with respect to further syntactic phenomena – such as ellipsis under coordination, interpolation, the Person Case Constraint, etc. – and morpho-phonological properties, which will be discussed in sections 4.5 and 4.6, respectively.

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<sup>93</sup> From Martins 2003a.

(5) Properties of strong, weak, and clitic pronouns (Paoli 2014)

	Strong	Weak	Clitic
Can be in complement position of verbs and prepositions	✓	✗	✗
Can occupy left-dislocated and focalised positions	✓	✗	✗
Can be used in isolation	✓	✗	✗
Can ‘double’ a strong or a weak pronoun	✗	✗	✓
Can resume a left-dislocated tonic pronoun	✗	✗ <sup>94</sup>	✓
Can occur in ‘climbing’ constructions	✗	✗	✓
Can precede preverbal negation	✓	✗ <sup>95</sup>	✗
Can introduce a shift of topic or an ‘inactive’ referent	✓	✗	✗

### 4.3 Doubling and resumption

Some Romance languages require clitic doubling, in particular of specific and/or human objects. The conditions triggering (or permitting) doubling are subject to cross-linguistic variation and they largely overlap with the conditions triggering differential object marking<sup>96</sup>, e.g. specificity, animacy, affectedness, etc. A detailed description of the patterns of doubling is beyond the limits of the present work, which focuses on doubling as a diagnostic to distinguish clitics from weak and strong pronouns.

<sup>94</sup> Rossi & Garzonio 2019: 123 report an example in old Pisan in which a *bona fide* weak pronoun *loro* is used to resume a left-dislocated phrase:

(i) A tutte le creature hae Idio data loro virtu e sufficienzia  
to all the cratures has God given to.them virtue and autonomy  
di potere venire... (old Pisan, 1306; Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, 60, 297)  
of can.INF come.INF  
‘God has given all his creatures the virtue and the independence for them to come...’

<sup>95</sup> Egerland 2005, Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010, Rossi & Garzonio 2019 reports cases of weak pronouns preceding negation (more on this below).

<sup>96</sup> The correlation between DOM and clitic doubling (which in the generative tradition is usually referred to as ‘Kayne’s generalisation’) is a robust trend, not an exceptionless generalisation.



Clitic elements – and only clitic elements, according to Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999: 169 – are often involved in doubling configurations, but several languages, such as Italian in (6)b, never allow doubling.<sup>97</sup>

- (6) a. Le di un regalo a mi madre. (Sp.)  
 b.\*Le diedi un regalo a mia madre. (It.)  
 To.her=I.gave a gift to my mother  
 ‘I gave my mother a gift’

In languages that do not allow doubling, clitics and DPs/free pronouns can co-occur if the latter is left or right-dislocated as in 0. For the sake of clarity, in 0 and the following examples a comma always separates dislocated phrases from the rest of the clause; it is worth recalling that the resumption of elements other than direct objects may be optional.

- (7) a Il libro, \*(l) ho dato a Gianni. (It.)  
 the book it= I.have given to G.  
 ‘I gave it (the book) to Gianni’  
 b A Gianni, (gli) ho dato un libro.  
 To G. to.him= I.have given a book  
 ‘I gave him a book (to Gianni)’

By contrast, the weak pronoun *loro* (Cardinaletti 1991) can neither double nor resume any oblique complement, as shown in (8).

- (8) a \*Ai miei amici, diedi loro un bacio. (dislocation with resumption)

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<sup>97</sup> In a lower/colloquial register doubling is tolerated, in particular when the dative clitic is clustered with an accusative one as in (i)b (Benincà 1988; for a possible explanation, see Pescarini 2014: 174).

- (i) a ??gli ho dato un libro a Gianni. (It.)  
 to.him= I.have given a book to G.  
 ‘I gave him a book’  
 b ?glie-l’ ho dato a Gianni.  
 to.him-it= I.have given a book to G.  
 ‘I gave it to him, Gianni’

To.the my friends I.gave to.them a kiss  
 ‘I gave them a kiss (to my friends)’  
 b \*diedi loro un bacio ai miei amici (doubling)  
 I.gave to.them a kiss to.the my friends  
 ‘I gave them a kiss (to my friends)’

The pattern illustrated so far is summarised in the following table:

(9) Differences between weak and clitic forms with respect to doubling and resumption

	Clitic <i>gli</i> ('to him')	Weak <i>loro</i> ('to them')
doubling	✗	✗
resumption	✓	✗

By using doubling as a diagnostic, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 argued that French (and Raetho-Romance) subject clitics are in fact weak pronouns that differ systematically from the subject clitics of northern Italian dialects. The latter can double non-dislocated subjects<sup>98</sup> (bare quantifiers as those in (10) cannot be dislocated), whereas in (standard) French subject clitics cannot co-occur with bare quantifiers, which amounts to saying that French subject clitics can be used only for resumption:

(10) a Nessuno gli ha detto nulla. (Flo.)  
 nobody he= has said nothing  
 b\*Personne il n' a rien dit. (Fr.)  
 nobody he= not has nothing said  
 ‘Nobody has said anything.’

Besides doubling, French and northern Italian dialects differ under other respects. In most Italo-Romance dialects subject clitics follow negation (in the dialects that still have a preverbal negator) and cannot be dropped under coordination:

(11) a Un tu compri mai mele. (Flo.)  
 not you= buy never apples  
 b Tu n' achètes jamais de pommes. (Fr.)

<sup>98</sup> Counterexamples will be discussed in due course.

you= not buy never of apples  
 ‘You never buy apples.’

- (12) a La canta e la balla (Flo.)  
 she= sings and she= dances  
 b Elle chante et \_ danse. (Fr.)  
 she= sings and dances  
 ‘She sings and dances.’

On the basis of the above dataset, one concludes that Fr. *il* and Flo. *gli* ‘he’ (not to be confused with the It. dative *gli* ‘to him’) exhibit the following differences:

(13) Differences between French and Florentine nominative pronouns

	Flo. <i>gli</i> (‘he’)	Fr. <i>il</i> (‘he’)
doubling	✓	✗
resumption	✓	✓
it follows negation	✓	✗
it is never dropped	✓	✗

The data in (13) led Cardinaletti & Starke to conclude that the subject pronouns of Florentine are *bona fide* clitics, whereas the nominative pronouns of French are weak, although this contradicts the conclusion reached for the weak dative *loro* in table (9), where we noted that weak pronouns cannot resume dislocated elements, cf. (8)b. The data introduced so far regarding doubling and resumption are summarised as follows:

(14)

		doubling	
		yes	no
resumption	yes	Subj. in Northern Italian dialects Obj. in Ibero-Romance	Subj. and Obj. in French Obj. in Italian
	no	-	It. <i>loro</i>

Things however become more complicated if we examine further data from northern Italo-Romance. In fact, the differences between northern Italian dialects and French with respect to the syntax of subjects and subject clitics does not derive entirely from the status of subject pronouns.

northern Italian dialects exhibit the canonical properties of null subject languages, i.e., they are not subject to the so-called *that*-trace effect and allow free inversion (in (15)-(17) Italian and French are compared with Veronese, a northern Italian dialect).

(15) a parla italiano. (It.)  
speaks Italian

b \*(Il) parle italien. (Fr.)  
he= speaks Italian

c \*(El) parla italian. (Ver.)  
he= speaks Italian  
'He speaks Italian.'

(16) a Chi hai detto che \_ ha scritto questo libro? (It.)  
who have.you said that has written this book

b \*Qui as-tu dit qu' a écrit ce livre? (Fr.)  
who have=you said that has written this book

c Ci ghe-to dito che l' a scritto sto libro? (Ver.)  
who have=you said that he= has hewritten this book  
'Who did you say wrote this book?'

(17) a È arrivato Gianni. (It.)  
is arrives John

b \*Il est arrivé Jean. (Fr.)  
he= is arrived John

c L' è rivà Gianni. (Ver.)  
he= be.3SG arrive.PST.PTCP John.  
'John has arrived.'

For these reasons, clitics in northern Italian dialects have been often analysed as agreement markers, rather than fully-fledged pronouns (Rizzi 1986; Brandi and Cordin 1989). As for subject pronouns, we would eventually obtain a four-ways classification featuring strong pronouns (which allows neither doubling nor resumption), weak pronouns, clitic pronouns, and agreement markers:

(18)

		doubling	
		yes	no
resumption	yes	agreement	clitics
	no	-	weak

However, the analysis of northern Italo-Romance as agreement markers is challenged by several pieces of evidence. A first problem for the analysis comes from the presence of expletive subject clitics in impersonal clauses. Expletives are normally regarded as placeholders, i.e., dummy elements having the same status of phrasal subjects. However, Italo-Romances subject clitics are normally considered heads since they can double phrasal subjects. Then, if subject subject clitics were agreement markers, how can they satisfy any syntactic requirement related to the subject position? Second, if subject clitics were agreement markers, they would occur in all impersonal constructions as well as in prototypical subject-less contexts such as imperatives, *contra* evidence. As for impersonal contexts, Renzi and Vanelli (1983) observed that expletive clitics do not always occur in all impersonal environments: they are more readily found with weather verbs and, to a lesser extent, with existentials and impersonal *si* constructions. Some dialects require an expletive clitic to occur with the modal verb expressing impersonal necessity ('it is necessary to'), but – to the best of our knowledge – this happens if and only if the expletive clitic occurs in the remaining impersonal contexts. Hence, the distribution of expletive clitics in impersonal environments follows an implicational scale (from Pescarini 2014 with modifications). The distribution of subject clitics in (19) cannot be accounted for if subject clitics were considered agreement markers.

(19) Expletive clitics in impersonal environments

Variety	Weather verb	Existential construction	Raising construction	Arbitrary construction	Impersonal necessity
Carcare	U ciov	U j-è	U smija...	U s diz	U bsogna
Cesena	E piov	U j-è	E per...	U s dis	Ø bsogna
Monno	El plof	El g'e	El par	Ø s dis	Ø gna
Rocca P.	El piof	L'è	Ø omea	Ø se dis	Ø moza
Aldeno	El piove	Ø gh'e	Ø par	Ø se dis	Ø bisogna

'it rains'	'there is...'	'it seems that...'	'one says'	'it is needed...'
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Moreover, an agreement analysis of subject clitics in northern Italo-Romance cannot account for the systematic crosslinguistic variation with respect to doubling structures. Poletto 2000 in fact shows that northern Italian dialects, although behaving like null-subject languages, do not always allow doubling (in particular with operator-like subjects), do not always display the order negation > clitics, and, under certain circumstances, allow the omission of certain clitic forms in coordinated structures. In most Venetan dialects, for instance, subject clitics behave like those of Florentine, but they never co-occur with non-dislocated subjects such as negative quantifiers:

- (20) a. Nissuni (\*el) sé rivà in tempo (Pad.)  
 Nobody he= is arrived in time  
 'Nobody arrived in time'
- b no la saveva tuto  
 not she= knew everything  
 'she did not know everything'
- c El canta e el baea tute e sere.  
 he= sings and he= dances all the nights  
 'he sings and dances every night'

Additionally, Benincà & Poletto 2004 show very convincingly that in Paduan subject clitics only resume dislocated subjects (like in French), which amounts to saying that Paduan, like French, does not allow doubling, but only resumption. To support their analysis, Benincà and Poletto (2004) show that in contexts where the subject is clearly dislocated (for instance, when it precedes another left-dislocated element as in (21)b), the clitic cannot be omitted. They conclude that clitics in Paduan resume, but do not double the subject. The (apparent) optionality of the clitic in (21)a depends on the status of the subject, which may be topicalised.

- (21) a Mario (l) compra na casa. (Padovano)  
 Mario (he=) buys a house  
 'Mario is going to buy a house'
- b Mario, na casa, no \*(l) la compra.  
 Mario, a house, not (he=) it= will.buy  
 'Mario is not going to buy a house'

The comparison between Florentine, Paduan, and French is summarised below:

(22) Differences between Florentine, Paduan, and French nominative pronouns

	Flo. <i>gli</i> ('he')	Pad. <i>el</i> ('he')	Fr. <i>il</i> ('he')
doubling	✓	✗	✗
resumption	✓	✓	✓
it follows negation	✓	✓	✗
it is never dropped	✓	✓	✗

The above data confirm the intuition that subject clitics in Paduan, Florentine, and French have different properties, which do not correlate with the dichotomy between null *vs* non-null subject languages.

Further problems for the clitic/weak distinction arise if we compare the above subject forms with the Italian weak pronoun *egli*. The Italian nominative pronouns *egli* 'he', *essa* 'she' etc. cannot be focalised, coordinated, isolated, see (23)a, etc. and occur only preverbally, see (23)b. Given the constraints on the distribution of the *egli* class, strong (originally oblique) pronouns such as *lui/lei* 'he/him'/'she/her' often pronominalize third person subjects, in particular – but not exclusively – in the spoken language:

- (23) a Chi viene? \*Egli/lui (It.)  
 Who comes he  
 'Who's coming? He is coming.'
- b (egli/lui/Gianni) viene (\*egli/lui/Gianni)  
 he/G. come.3sg he/G.  
 'He comes.'

In the light of the above distribution, one might argue that the weak nominative pronouns of Italian are in fact clitics, but, unlike subject clitics of the French or northern Italo-Romance kind, they are not always adjacent to the inflected verb and cannot resume a left-dislocated subject pronoun:

- (24) Egli semplicemente non vuol venire. (It.)  
 he simply neg want.3sg come.inf

‘He simply does not want to come’

- (25) a Lui, il ne vient pas. (Fr.)  
 He he= not comes NEG
- b Lu, no ‘l vien mia. (Ver.)  
 G. not he= comes NEG
- c \*Lui, egli non viene. (It.)  
 He he not comes  
 ‘He (Jean) comes’

Hence, It. *egli* instantiates a fourth type of element in our classification:

- (26) Differences between Florentine, Paduan, and French nominative pronouns

	Flo. <i>gli</i> (‘he’)	Pad. <i>el</i> (‘he’)	Fr. <i>il</i> (‘he’)	It. <i>egli</i> (‘he’)
doubling	✓	✗	✗	✗
resumption	✓	✓	✓	✗
it follows negation	✓	✓	✗	✗
it is never elided	✓	✓	✗	✗
it can be separated from V	✗	✗	✗	✓

Given the above situation, it is hard to draw the boundary between clitic and weak pronouns as the above diagnostics are not convergent. Moreover, some of the above properties do not necessarily derive from the nature of the pronominal forms, but rather from more general clause-level factors.

In conclusion, doubling and, to a lesser extent, resumption are diagnostics of cliticness, although doubling phenomena are conditioned by many factors that are largely independent from the clitic/weak status of pronominal forms. As shown with the case study on subject pronouns, the hypothesis of a categorical subdivision between weak and clitic elements is not borne out. The classification is more nuanced than previously thought and the proposed diagnostics do not converge crosslinguistically towards a consistent classification.

#### 4.4 Climbing



The second hallmark of clitics is climbing. Cardinaletti 2015a claims that “sentences with auxiliaries (e.g., active sentences with compound tenses and passive sentences) are contexts of obligatory clitic climbing: clitic pronouns do not attach to the past participle but occur in the high clitic position attached to the auxiliary”. For example, the Italian weak pronoun *loro* never occurs before the finite verb, while clitics normally stand proclitic to the inflected verb. In compound tenses, *loro* normally occurs after the past participle, but it can marginally occur before the participle as in (27)a (although some speakers say that the latter order is restricted to a very bureaucratic register). In restructuring contexts such as (27)c, *loro* can climb above the infinitive (see chapter 8).

- (27) a (\*loro) diedi (loro) un bacio. (It.)  
to.them I.gave to.them a kiss  
‘I gave them a kiss’
- b Ho (<sup>?</sup>loro) regalato (loro) il mio libro  
I.have to.them given to.them the my book  
‘I gave them my book’
- c Posso (loro) dire (loro) che...  
I.can to.them say to.them that  
‘I can tell them that...’

In old Italian weak dative pronouns to occur between the auxiliary and the participle as in (28) and, unlike modern Italian, before the inflected verb, where weak pronouns can be easily mistaken for clitic elements (Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010: 418-424, 427-429; Garzonio & Rossi 2019: 118):

- (28) a i quali denari avea loro lasciati Baldovino<sup>99</sup>  
which money had to.them lent B.  
‘money that Baldovino had lent to them’
- b Vertute [...] lui obedisce e lui acquista onore<sup>100</sup>  
virtue to.him obeys and to.him acquires honor  
‘virtue obeys him, and so honors him,’
- c quello che lloro piacie<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Libro d'amministrazione dell'eredità di Baldovino Iacopi Riccomanni.*

<sup>100</sup> Dante, *Rime.*

that that to.them pleases

‘what pleases them’

d e *loro* ha donato potere delli altri giudicare<sup>102</sup>

and to.them= has given power of.the others to.judge

‘and he has given them the power to judge others.’

The data in (27) and (28) show that both clitic and weak pronouns can undergo climbing, although it is fair to conclude that clitic and weak pronouns do not target the same position. In fact preverbally clitics differ from weak pronouns with respect to the position of negation: clitics are sandwiched between the negation marker and the verb, whereas weak pronouns are expected to precede negation (Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010: 441). In fact, Garzonio & Rossi 2019: 121 report numerous cases in which the weak *loro* precedes negation:

(29) c che alcuno male non *lor* possa avvenire<sup>103</sup> (o.It.)

that any harm not to.them might happen

‘so that no harm might happen to them...’

b se voi non *loro* lo date.<sup>104</sup>

if you not to.them it=give.2pl

‘if you do not give it to them’

c però no lloro avnerà punto dispetto né orgoglio<sup>105</sup>

for.this.reason not to.them will.happen no contempt nor pride

‘for this reason no contempt or disdain will be directed towards them...’

In conclusion, the above data show that, although weak pronouns are bound to a dedicated position, such position is not necessarily located in the low I domain. Weak pronouns can occur in every clausal domain, namely in V, I, or C. Having shown that weak pronouns can climb to the high I domain, the remainder of the section aims to show that *bona fide* clitics, like weak elements, do not necessarily climb.

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<sup>101</sup> *Libricciolo di Bene Bencivenni*.

<sup>102</sup> Zuccherò Benivenni, *Esposizione del Paternostro*.

<sup>103</sup> *Libro de le virtudi de le pietre preziose*.

<sup>104</sup> *Deca prima di Tito Livio Volgarizzata*.

<sup>105</sup> *Libro del difenditore della pace*.

In fact, in several Romance languages clitics are not necessarily anchored in the high I domain: enclisis in compound tenses is attested in Franco-Provençal (Chenal 1986), Piedmontese (Parry 2005 a.o.), Dolomitic Ladin (Rasom 2006), Abruzzese (Benincà & Pescarini 2014), Romanian (limited to the accusative feminine clitic *o*):

(30) L' an tot portà-lèi vià. (Fr.Prov.)  
 They= have everything carried=to.him away  
 'They have taken everything away from him.'

(31) I an rangiò-la. (Cairese)  
 They= have fixed=it.F  
 'They fixed it.'

(32) a. 'ajə ddʒa məŋ'ɲətə-**mə** -**lu** (San Valentino in Abruzzo cit.)  
 I.have already eaten =to.me =it  
 b. 'ajə ddʒa **mə** **lu** məŋ'ɲətə  
 I.have already to.me= it=eaten  
 'I have already eaten it'

(33) a. Am mâncat-o (Romanian)  
 I.have eaten-it.F  
 'I ate it'  
 b. aş mâncat-o  
 I.would eat- it.F  
 'I would eat it'

By assuming that clitics always climb (as Cardinaletti 2015a suggests), than we must conclude that the pronouns in (30)-0 are not clitic. This conclusion is not supported by independent evidence and raises further paradoxes. For instance, in Romanian and Italian dialects the clitics that do not climb are involved in doubling patterns, see (34). Then, if doubling is a defining property of clitics (§3.3), then the pronouns in (34) cannot be weak even if they do not climb.

(34) Am vazut-o pe ea. (Romanian)  
 I.have seen-her DOM her

‘I have seen her.’

A second argument against the idea that non-climbing clitics are weak pronouns comes from the diachronic evolution of Piedmontese dialects, which nowadays exhibit generalised enclisis, see §3.8. In most Piedmontese dialects clitics must attach enclitically to the past participle of compound tenses (see (31)) and, in a subset of (western) Piedmontese dialects, clitics follow the finite verb in simple tenses as in (44) (Tortora 2015).

(35) a I porta-la (Borgomanerese)

I= bring=it

‘I’m bringing it.’

b I vônghi-ti.

I= see=you

‘I see you.’

c I voenghi [piö]-lla.

I= see anymore=her

‘I don’t see her anymore.’

Parry 1997, 2005 showed that enclisis in northwestern Italian dialects results from a change affecting the climbing mechanism, which turned languages with generalised proclisis (like standard Italian, French, or Italian) into languages with extensive or generalised enclisis (see §4.8). Then, if Piedmontese enclitics were analysed as weak pronouns, one would conclude that in these languages proclitic elements have been turned into weak forms, which is at odds with the hypothesis, accepted by general consent, that weak pronouns evolve into clitics (Egerland 2002a, 2005, 2010), but not *vice versa*.

Another argument against the hypothesis that climbing is related to a change in the status of the pronoun comes from dialects allowing *selective climbing*, i.e. varieties in which, in the same environment, some clitics climb while others remain in the V domain (Rasom 2008; Tortora 2014a/b). For instance, in some Franco-Provençal dialects dative and accusative clitics are not adjacent as the dative clitic climbs, while the accusative one remains enclitic to the past participle:

(36) a T’ an- të prèdzà-nen?

to.you= have=they spoken=of.it?

‘Did they speak of it to you?’

- b T' an-të deut-lo?  
 to.you= have=they said=it?  
 'Did they say it to you?'

Similar phenomena occur in restructuring environments, where clitic sequences can be split even in languages in which clitics normally form tight clusters. Old Italian displays a bunch of examples, in (37), but a similar pattern is allowed in modern Italian as well, see (38), in particular with clusters featuring the impersonal clitic *si* (Cardinaletti 2008; Pescarini 2014, 2015):

- (37) a. Ma la cosa incredibile mi fece<sup>106</sup>  
 But the incredible thing me= made  
 indur-lo ad ovra ch'a me stesso pesa  
 induce=him to work that to my self weighs  
 'But your plight, being incredible, made me goad him to this deed that weighs on me'
- b se 'n tal maniera mi dovete dar-lo.<sup>107</sup>  
 if in such way to.me= you.have.to give=it  
 'if you have to give it to me in this way'
- (38) a si può portar-lo domain. (It.)<sup>108</sup>  
 one= can take=it tomorrow  
 'we can take it tomorrow'
- b %mi ha dovuto portar-ci un'amica<sup>109</sup>  
 me= has had to.take=there a friend.F  
 'A friend of mine had to take me there'
- c %c' ha dovuto portar-mi un'amica  
 there= has had to.take=me a friend.F  
 'A friend of mine had to take me there'

<sup>106</sup> Dante, *Inferno*.

<sup>107</sup> Amico di Dante, *Rime*.

<sup>108</sup> Notice that the impersonal *si* follows the accusative clitic, e.g. *lo si*, while the reflexive *si* exhibits the mirror order. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the impersonal clitic must climb in restructuring construction, this is why the counterpart of (38)a with the opposite order of clitics, e.g. *\*lo può portarsi domani*, is ungrammatical.

<sup>109</sup> Retrieved via Google on 30.10.12.

In conclusion, the data above show that clitics do not always climb and do not always ‘form a tight cluster’ (another alleged property of *bona fide* clitics that is not confirmed at a closer examination). In languages with selective climbing one should conclude, following Cardinaletti 2015a, that the forms that climb are clitics, whereas the others are weak pronouns (cf. Romanian *o* ‘her’), but no independent evidence supports this claim.

#### 4.5 Other syntactic properties of clitic (vs weak) elements

Besides climbing and doubling, other properties have been used to draw the distinction between clitics and weak elements. Some of these additional syntactic properties/diagnostics will be reviewed in the following subsections with the intent of showing that no additional property can set apart clitics from weak elements across a rich sample of genealogically-related languages.

##### 4.5.1 Adjacency to V

In most Romance languages clitics are always adjacent to a verbal host. However, several languages display patterns of interpolation that contradict the above generalisation. Evidence of interpolation involving fully-fledged clitic pronouns is so robust that we can dismiss without further discussion the idea that clitics must be adjacent to the verb (see Uriagereka 1995a/b on Galician; Rivero 1997 on old Spanish; Martins 2005 on old Portuguese; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 and Paoli 2007 on Italo-Romance; the discussion on interpolation will be resumed in several parts of the book: chapters 5 and 6).

##### 4.5.2 Complement of P

Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 notice that one of the properties distinguishing Romance clitics from Germanic weak pronouns is the possibility of occurring in the complement position of prepositional phrases:

(39) a Je pars avec \*le/lui (Fr.)

I= leave with him

‘I leave with him’

- b Ich kann ohne es nicht leben. (Ger.)  
 I can without it not live  
 'I cannot live without it'

Clitics pronouns can in fact be the complement of prepositions, but then they must climb to the inflected verb. Again, the ungrammaticality of clitics under prepositions can be seen as a side effect of a syntactic requirement on climbing (cf. §4.4), which, in principle, is independent from the internal structure of pronouns.

- (40) a Va-lle dietro (\*le)! (it.)  
 Go=to.her beside  
 'Follow her'
- b Ci sei seduto sopra (\*ci).  
 There= you.are sit on  
 'you are sitting on it'
- c. Mi era seduto accanto (\*mi).  
 To.me= he/she.was sit near  
 'He/she was sitting near me'

Moreover, if weak elements exhibited the same properties across languages (e.g. in Romance as well as in German(ic)), one would expect the Italian weak pronoun *loro* 'to them' to remain under prepositions as in (39)b. Contrary to our expectations, this prediction is not born out: *loro* must occur in the usual postparticipial position and, in this respect, *loro* does not pattern like the German weak pronoun *es*, but like a clitic (*modulo* its landing site).

- (41) a. Si era seduto *loro* accanto  
 Him/herself= he/she.was sit to.them near  
 'He/she was sitting near them'
- b Si era seduto accanto \**loro* / a loro  
 Him/herself= he/she.was sit near to.them / to them  
 'He/she was sitting near them'

Furthermore, certain Italian vernaculars show cases of fully-fledged clitics following prepositions. This is attested in a few examples from old Italian in which the dative clitic *gli* 'to

him’ follows a lexical preposition, see (42). Cardinaletti (2015b: §7.1) proposes that *gli* in (42) is a weak element. However, it is worth recalling that old Italian weak pronouns are identical to strong pronouns (e.g. *lui*), Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010), while *gli* is a fully-fledged clitic.

- (42) a *essa incontro-gli da tre gradi discese*<sup>110</sup>  
 She towards=him from three steps took.down  
 ‘She took three steps down towards him’
- b *e l’ altro dietro-gli*<sup>111</sup>  
 and the other behind=him  
 ‘and the other after him’
- c *e ‘l maestro Dino allato-gli*<sup>112</sup>  
 and the master D. along=him

Instances of enclitics to prepositions are found in present-day dialects such as the one spoken in Cairo Montenotte, see (43) (Parry 2005: 179) and in several other varieties such as Fossaltino in (44) that, unlike the Piedmontese ones, do not display enclisis in finite clauses (Salvioni 1903; Vedovato and Berizzi 2011; Cuzzolin 2015):

- (43) a *S’ u n’ ièra chila dedré-me, mi i perdiva* (Cairese)  
 If she= not= was she behind=me, I them= lose  
 ‘If she had not been behind me, I would have lost them’
- b *u iè ina sc-trò própi lì dedré-te*  
 SCL= is a street just there behind=you  
 ‘there is a street just behind you’
- (44) *no sten ndar drio-ghe* (Fossaltino)  
 not we.stay to.go behind-to.him/her  
 ‘Let us not follow him/her’

In conclusion, the data discussed so far corroborate the idea that ‘being the complement of prepositions’ is not a solid diagnostic distinguishing clitics from weak elements. In fact, alleged

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<sup>110</sup> Boccaccio, *Decameron*.

<sup>111</sup> Sacchetti, Franco, *Il trecentonovelle*.

<sup>112</sup> Sacchetti, Franco, *Il trecentonovelle*.



weak pronouns such as Italian *loro* are obligatorily moved out of prepositional phrases, while enclisis to prepositions is allowed in a few Romance dialects.

#### 4.5.3 First position of V2 clauses

Another property distinguishing Germanic weak pronouns from Romance clitics regards the placement in the first position of Verb Second (hereafter, V2) environments. Weak pronouns can occupy the first position of the clause in languages with a strict V2 syntax such as German and Dolomitic Ladin (Poletto 2002). As shown in (45) and (46), the weak pronouns *es* and *t* may occur in the first position, but, if another constituent is fronted as in (46)b, then the subject – weak or not – must be displaced after the inflected verb.

(45) **Es** ist zu teuer  
It is too expensive  
'It is too expensive'

(46) a **T** vas gonoot a ciasa sua. (S. Leonardo<sup>113</sup>)  
You go.2.SG often at home his  
'You often visit him.'

b Gonoot vas-**t** a ciasa sua.  
Often go.2.SG=SCL at home his  
'You often visit him.'

c \*Gonoot **t** vas a ciasa sua.  
Often you go.2.SG at home his

Clitics, by contrast, do not occur in the first position of V2 clauses. This claim rests on the analysis of enclisis/proclisis alternations in medieval Romance (cf. §§4.5-7; chapters 5 and 6). In medieval Romance, which exhibited a kind of V2 syntax (see §6.3), clitics pronouns never occurred in the first position of the clause: clitics were forced to follow the verb in verb-first environments (which were allowed under certain pragmatic conditions) or whenever the verb was immediately preceded by left-dislocated elements, as in (47)a and (47)b, respectively.

(47) a Mando-**lli** per li detti ambasciadori tre pietre (old Florentine)<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> From Poletto 2002.

he.sent=to.him through the said ambassadors three stones  
 b A voi le mie poche parole ch' avete intese  
 to you the my few words that you.have heard  
 ho *-lle* dette con grande fede (old Florentine)<sup>115</sup>  
 I.have =them said with great faith  
 'The few words that you heard from me I pronounced with great faith.'

Besides clitic and strong pronouns, old Italian exhibited weak pronouns, which, as previously mentioned, could occur immediately before the inflected verb. Unlike clitics, weak pronouns could occur in the first position of the clause (cf. §3.4; Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010: 416):

- (48) a \*{C clitic V  
 b ✓{C V clitic  
 c ✓{C weak V

The idea that early Romance languages had a (kind of) V2 syntax is not straightforward (for a recent overview of the topic, see Wolfe 2016: 288 and chapter 6), but let us assume, for the sake of the argument, that all early Romance languages was subject to a V2 constraint requiring all declarative clauses to have the structure in (49):

- (49) {C XP V ... }

Under (49), the pattern in (48) can receive two explanations. The former analysis, which is often tacitly assumed in the literature, is that clitics cannot fill the first position of V2 structures because of their deficient nature. Then strong and weak pronouns are compatible with (49) and are therefore allowed to occur at the beginning of the clause, whereas clitics cannot because they are not XPs. Scholars such as Lema & Rivero 1991, Roberts & Roussou 2003 not only assume that clitics cannot occur in the first position of the clause, but claim that the verb moves past the clitics *in order to* prevent the latter from occurring in the first position, yielding enclisis. This kind of explanation is problematic for two reasons: first, it raises a look-ahead problem; second, we have independent evidence for V-to-C movement in absence of clitic elements. These issues will be thoroughly discussed in chapter 6.

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<sup>114</sup> Novellino.

<sup>115</sup> Matteo dei Libri, *Dicerie*.

The displacement in (48), however, is amenable to an alternative explanation that does not hinge (only) on the more or less deficient nature of pronouns. The second possible analysis is that clitics never occur in the first position of V2 systems because they are bound to a position that is not crossed by the verb in verb-first environment. As suggested in §2.3 and §§3.2-4, clitics in early Romance are better analysed as elements nested in the Wackernagel position, which is located below the landing site of the verb in V1 environments. Then, if clitics are placed in W, the impossibility of having clitics in the first position of the clause does not result directly from the V2 requirement:

(50) {<sub>C</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* ... ]

Under (50), the distribution of proclisis and enclisis in early Romance does not depend on the deficient status of the clitic, which amounts to saying that the Tobler-Mussafia law cannot provide any clue about the internal make-up of clitic (*vs* weak) pronominal forms. The fact that weak pronouns could occur in the first position of the clause means that weak pronouns and clitics did not occupy the same position (like in modern Italian), but no conclusion can be drawn regarding the internal make-up of weak and clitic pronouns.

#### 4.5.4 Person Case Constraint

In most Romance languages clitic combinations are subject to the so-called *Person Case Constraint* (Bonet 1991 a.o.), i.e. a syntactic restriction preventing dative clitics (in particular, third person datives) from co-occurring with first or second person (accusative) clitics. As shown below, while the dative clitic *gli* ‘to him’ is subject to the PCC, the weak dative *loro* ‘to them’ is not:

- (51) a \*Gianni **gli**                      **mi** ha presentato. (It.)  
       Gianni to.him/her/them=me= has introduced  
       ‘Gianni introduced me to him/her/them.’  
       a Gianni **mi** ha presentato **loro**.  
       Gianni me= has introduced to.them  
       ‘Gianni introduced me to them.’

On the basis of (51) one expects clitic pronouns to differ systematically from weak pronouns with respect to PCC restrictions. However, the prediction is not supported by data from other Romance and Germanic languages.

Egerland 2002a, 2005, 2010 deals with the syntax of the dative weak pronoun *loro* in central Italo-Romance varieties spoken in the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century. He notices that Senese exhibited both the weak *loro* and a reduced form *lo'* with a clitic-like behaviour. Contrary to expectations, it is the clitic *lo'* that is not subject to the Person Case Constraint: in (52) *lo'* co-occurs with the accusative clitic *me* (notice that both pronouns are sandwiched between negation and the verb, which confirms the idea that *lo'* is a clitic):

- (52) Cristo mai non *me lo'* parta dall'anima.<sup>116</sup> (o.Sien.)  
 Christ never not me to.them divide from.the soul  
 'May Jesus never take me away from their soul' (1367:, 28)

Analogously, in a few Italo-Romance dialects *bona fide* clitics are not subject to the PCC, as shown in the following example from the Abruzzese dialect of Arielli (Roberta D'Alessandro, p.c.):

- (53) a Giorgə **ji t'** a prisindatə (Ariellese)  
 Giorgio to.him= you= has introduced  
 'Giorgio introduced you to him'
- b. Ni **mmi ji** pozzə assəttà m'baccə  
 Not me= to.him= can-1sg to.sit near  
 'I cannot sit near him'
- c. Giorgə **ti z'** a 'ccattatə pi sserve  
 Giorgio you= for.himself= has bought for slave  
 'Giorgio bought you as his slave'

Romanian exhibits a partial PCC pattern, thoroughly described in Savescu 2007. In proclisis, combinations are accepted if the accusative clitic is second person, whereas clusters containing a first person accusative clitic are systematically barred, see (54) and (55). In enclisis, combinations of singular enclitics are always permitted (Nevins and Savescu 2010).

- (54) a Mi te- a prezentat Ion la petrecere.

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<sup>116</sup> Giovanni Colombini, *Lettere*.

To.me= you= has introduced John at party.

‘John has introduced you to me at the party’

b I te- au recomandat ieri.

To.him/her= you= has recommended yesterday

‘They have recommended you to him yesterday.’

(55) a \*Ți m- a prezentat Ion la petrecere.

To.you= me= has introduced John at party

‘John has introduced me to you at the party.’

b %I m- au recomandat ieri.

To.him/her me has recommended yesterday.

‘They have recommended me to him yesterday.’

The data from Romanian and the other Romance varieties show that the PCC is orthogonal to the clitic/weak divide and the PCC cannot be used as a test to single out weak elements.

Additionally, PCC effects have been reported for languages with weak pronouns such as English (Bonet 1991; Haspelmath 2004), Swiss German (Bonet 1991), and standard German, when pronouns occupy the so-called Wackernagel position and the subject follows weak pronouns (Anagnostopoulou 2008)

(56) a They showed me it English

b \*They showed her me

(57) a D’ Maria zeigt mir en (Swiss German)

The Maria shows to me him

‘Mary shows him to me’

b. \*D’ Maria zeigt em mich

The Maria shows to him me

‘Mary shows me to him’

(58) a \*weil dich ihm irgendwer vorgestellt hat

because you to.him someone introduced has

‘because someone has introduced you to him’

b ??weil mich ihr irgendwer vorgestellt hat

because me to.her someone introduced has  
'because someone has introduced me to her'

In conclusion, PCC effects do not provide any solid diagnostics to identify weak pronouns across linguistic groups.

#### 4.5.5 Clitics cannot be omitted under coordination

Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 argue that German weak pronouns, Italian *egli* 'he', French and Rhaeto-Romance subject clitics are weak pronouns because they can be omitted in the second conjoint of a coordinated structure. Northern Italian dialects, by contrast, exhibit fully-fledged subject clitics, which cannot be dropped under coordination:

- (59) a Il travaille à son article et (il) pense à ses problèmes (French)  
He= works on his article and he= thinks of his problems  
'He works on his article and think about his problems'
- b El scrive na lettera e \*(l) pensa ai so problemi (Veronese)  
He= writes a letter and he= think of.the his problems  
'He writes a letter and thinks about his problems'

As discussed in §3.3, the above dichotomy is far from straightforward. With respect to subject clitics, for instance, Poletto 2000 shows very convincingly that ellipsis, which is allowed in some northern Italian dialects as well, depends on several orthogonal factors such as the type and position of the clitic formative, the type of coordination, the pro-drop nature of the observed languages, and the proclitic *vs* enclitic position of the pronoun. Hence, ellipsis is a multifaceted phenomenon, which does not provide clear evidence for the existence of a weak/clitic split in the paradigms of subject clitics.

The same holds true for object clitics (see §2.4). In this respect, the most enlightening evidence comes from old Italian, which, as previously mentioned, exhibited a full paradigm of object clitics (morphologically very similar to those of modern Italian) and a series of dative/oblique weak pronouns, identical to strong forms (Egerland & Cardinaletti 2010). By focusing on the behaviour of clitics *stricto sensu*, we may observe that old Italian clitics differ radically from present-day clitics as the former are frequently elided under coordination (Luraghi 1998; Egerland 2002b):

- (60) a Poi vi presento e \_\_ mando / questo ricco Tesoro<sup>117</sup> (o.It.)  
 then to.you= I.give and I.send this rich Tesoro  
 ‘I dedicate and send you this rich work’
- b e se per questa cagione vi chorresse et \_\_ abisognasse moneta<sup>118</sup>  
 and if for this reason to.you= was.required and was.needed money  
 ‘and if for this reason you needed and required money’
- c e ti guarderanno e \_\_ salveranno da’ detti nimici<sup>119</sup>  
 and you= they.will.defend and they.will.save from aforementioned enemies  
 ‘and they will defend and save you from the aforementioned enemies’

Those in (60) are not weak pronouns because, as previously mentioned, weak pronouns had the same shape as strong pronouns. However, the pronouns in (60) exhibit extensive patterns of ellipsis, which amounts to saying that the omission of pronouns in coordinated structures is not a solid test to distinguish weak from clitic forms.

In conclusion, coordination is a very complicated diagnostics as many factors play in concert to license null arguments and in this respect the clitic or weak nature of the pronoun does not seem to be a major factor. In this respect, the comparison between clitics in modern and old Italian – but the same holds true for many other European languages – shows that the possibility of omitting subject or object clitics is orthogonal to the nature of clitic pronouns and, arguably, independent from the inner structure of function words.

#### 4.5.6 Interim conclusion

In the previous sections, I examined the various syntactic diagnostics that have been used in the recent literature to draw the distinction between clitic and weak pronouns. I found that doubling is the only solid test that singles out *bona fide* clitics from other types of pronouns. However, doubling phenomena are subject to several orthogonal factors, yielding a high degree of cross-linguistic variation regardless of the intrinsic properties of pronominal elements.

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<sup>117</sup> Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*

<sup>118</sup> *Compagnia di San Gilio*

<sup>119</sup> Bono Giamboni, *Libro*

As for the other properties discussed in §§3.4-5, none of them converged across languages, which amounts to saying that, although theoretically appealing, the hypothesis of a uniform weak/clitic divide is not born out and classes of deficient elements are epiphenomenal at best.

#### 4.6 The correlation with the inner structure

In the first part of the chapter we observed that, although several pronominal forms differ from strong pronouns in having a more constrained syntax, one cannot individuate two classes of deficient elements that behave similarly across languages. This section reviews the second pillar of class-based accounts: the idea that functional classes are modelled in terms of *inner* syntax: strong elements are conceived as extended phrases, while *clitics* correspond – at least in the latter stage of their derivation – to a deprived structure, possibly to a single head exhibiting an affix-like behaviour.

The correlation between the behaviour of function words and their syntactic make-up was first advanced by Kayne 1975, who argued that French clitics cannot be coordinated, focused, modified, used in isolation, etc. because they are heads. The hypothesis was further refined by Kayne 1983, who argued that certain clitics – noticeably, French subject clitics – are in fact *phonological clitics* as they show cues of phrasal behaviour, whereas Italo-Romance subject clitics are clitics on both the syntactic and the phonological side. Phonological clitics resemble Germanic pronouns, e.g. German *es*, which cannot be coordinated, modified, etc., although they are not bound to a specific host or to a dedicated syntactic position (see Holmberg 1986, 1991 a.o.). The comparison between Germanic and Romance data led Cardinaletti 1991, 1994, 1998; Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 to a more articulated typology that includes a third class of weak elements, which correspond more or less to Kayne's 1983 phonological clitics.

Inter- and intra- linguistic variation follows from the distribution of pronominal forms across the three classes, provided that pronominal paradigms are often defective (i.e. languages usually do not have three forms, clitic/weak/strong, for each pronoun) and morphological exponents may be syncretic, i.e. the same morphological exponent expresses elements belonging to different classes (typically, weak and strong forms are syncretic).

As previously mentioned, classes are modelled in terms of syntactic constituency. Functional elements are stored in the lexicon as triplets formed by *a syntactic subtree*, containing *a bundle of  $\phi$ -features*, associated with *a phonological exponent* (see also Starke 2009). Elements with the same syntactic subtree form a class, although they may differ from one another in terms of the features



they express. In Cardinaletti & Starke's 1999 formulation, clitic and weak pronouns differ from strong pronouns in lacking the outer functional layer of the tree  $C_L$  (where L stands for any Lexical category), which allows pronouns to be coordinated, modified, contrasted, etc. Furthermore, clitics lack a further layer (namely,  $\Sigma_L$ ), whose absence correlates with syntactic and morphophonological properties which will be addressed in the remainder of the section:

- (61) a Strong                      b Weak                      c. Clitic  
            $[C_L [\Sigma_L [I_L LP]]]$          $[\Sigma_L [I_L LP]]$          $[I_L LP]$

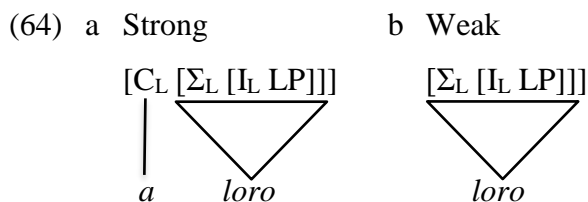
Dèchaine & Wiltschko 2002 argued for a similar tripartition, see (62), but on the basis of a different set of languages and phenomena (predicate/argument asymmetries, binding, obviation, reference switch, etc.). Dèchaine & Wiltschko's classification cuts across Cardinaletti & Starke's, meaning that the typology of pronominal forms is, at best, far more complicated than previously thought.

- (62) a  $[D [\Phi [N]]]$         b  $[\Phi [N]]$         c  $[N]$

Besides classificatory issues (How many classes? Are our tests reliable?), a class-based approach poses several theoretical problems. First, the idea that classes are modelled in terms of *inner* syntax is promising but, in the end, difficult to test. Second, the intuition that the structure of clitic/weak elements correspond to the lower structure of strong elements is rather counterintuitive: as Poletto 2006 puts it, the fact that clitic pronouns have case morphology seems to indicate that clitic/weak pronouns spell out outer layers of the DP structure. By the same token, it is not clear to me how the distinction between strong and weak pronouns is derived from peeling off the outer layer of (12)a. Consider for instance the contrast between the weak *loro* and the strong *a loro* analysed by Cardinaletti 1991:

- (63) a Parlerò    *loro*.  
           will.speak to.them  
           'I will speak to them.'  
       b Parlerò    *a loro*.  
           will.speak to them  
           'I will speak to them.'

According to Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, the *a* in (63) allows the strong pronoun to become an (oblique) complement, thus instantiating the outer layer ( $C_L$ ) of a (pro)nominal structure: ‘the strong element *a loro* is literally constructed out of the weak pronoun *loro* plus the morpheme *a*’.



The fact that the weak structure lacks the outer layer  $C_L$  and, hence, cannot combine with the marker *a* prevents the weak form *loro* from having the same distribution as other XPs. However, the *a* that introduce the strong pronoun *loro* is, by general consent, the same *a* that introduces all oblique DPs, as shown below:

- (65) Parlerò    *a loro* / *a te* / *a Gianni*  
 will.speak to them to you to G.  
 ‘I will speak to them/you/Gianni.’

For Cardinaletti and Starke this amounts to saying that all complements of *a* are weak elements, witness the ungrammaticality of coordination, focalisation and modification of the complement of *a*:

- (66) a \*Ho parlato **a** [tuo fratello] e [quel sindaco]. (It.)  
 I.have spoken to your brother and that mayor  
 b \*Ho parlato **a** solo [tuo fratello]  
 I.have spoken to only your brother  
 c \*Ho parlato **a** [TUO FRATELLO], non [quel sindaco]  
 I.have spoken to your brother not that mayor

‘The complement of dummy markers – claim Cardinaletti and Starke – mirrors weak elements: it cannot occur by itself in  $\theta$ - and A’ positions, coordination, c-modification, and introduce new references (by contrastive stress).’ In my opinion, this conclusion is paradoxical: first, I cannot see why fully-fledged definite DPs such as *tuo fratello* and *quel sindaco* are deficient, but only when

they occur under *a*; second, we should extend the same conclusion to *bona fide* PPs, which exhibit analogous restrictions:

- (67) a \*L'ho sentito **da** [tuo fratello] e [quel sindaco]. (It.)  
       it=I.have heard from your brother and that mayor  
       b \*L'ho sentito **da** solo [tuo fratello]  
       it=I.have heard from only your brother  
       c \*L'ho sentito **da** [TUO FRATELLO], non [quel sindaco]  
       it=I.have heard from your brother not that mayor

In the end, the hypothesis in (64)a that *a* lexicalises the outer layer of the strong pronoun is at odds with the fact that *a* introduces oblique fully-fledged DPs. For the same reason, I do not see why one should reach the conclusion that *a* is part of the inner structure of strong *loro* and, by the same token, I do not understand why a *loro* should be ‘constructed out of the weak pronoun *loro* plus the morpheme *a*.’ Instead, since *a* is not compatible with weak *loro*, I would rather conclude that the weak pronoun has enough structure to occur as an (oblique) argument without the need of an external case licenser such as *a* (see Manzini 1994; for a diachronic account, see Loporcaro 2002b). In other words, the conclusion about the inner structure of *loro* (vs *a loro*) can be easily turned upside down and the same data can be used to argue that the structure of weak elements is in fact richer than the one of strong pronouns.

Above all, the claim that the constrained syntax of weak and clitic elements results from their deficient inner structure is further challenged because the connection between the supposed deficient inner structure and (outer) syntactic properties is elusive. In what follows, I will show that the hypothesis that clitics are deficient is not supported by morpho-phonological evidence. In the following subsections I will focus on cases in which clitics have a complex inner structure, are stressed as in (8), or have the same form as strong pronouns as in (5),

- (68) Finir-lù (Viozene)<sup>120</sup>

To.end=it  
 ‘to end it’

- (69) a. Il me le donne. (French)

He to.me= it=gives

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<sup>120</sup> From Rohlfs 1966: 442.

‘He gives it to me.’

b. Donne-le-moi!

Give=it=to.me

‘Give it to me!’

Laenzlinger 1993, 1994; Ordóñez & Repetti 2006, 2014; Repetti 2016; Cardinaletti 2015a/b argue that the clitics in (8) and (5) are in fact weak elements because morphophonological properties such as bearing stress or having an articulated morphological structure should reflect the degree of complexity of the inner syntactic structure of function words (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

Conversely, I will show that, despite their non-canonical shape, the pronominal forms in (8) and (5) behave like *bona fide* clitics and, in general, clitic items may be more complex than their strong counterparts (or as complex as).

#### 4.6.1 Morphological layering

This subsection aims to show that clitic elements often exhibit a complex morphological structure and that there is no correlation between the complexity of the inner structure and the syntactic behaviour of pronominal forms. To illustrate the point, I focus on the morphology of third person dative clitics in Gallo-Romance, which are expressed by various types of formatives: in (70)a the clitic is an etymological form deriving from Latin *ILLI*; in (70)b the clitic is identical to its non-clitic counterpart; in (70)c the dative clitic has an invariable form *i/y*, corresponding to the locative clitic.

(70) a Et il li dit... (o.Fr.)

and he= to.him/her=says

‘And he says to him/her...’

b Et il lui= dit... (Fr.)

and he= to.him/her says

‘And he says to him/her...’

c j’ y donne (‘popular’ Fr.)

I= to.him/her/them= give

‘I give it to him/her/them’

The latter variant is found in the so-called *français populaire* ‘popular French’ and is attested in many French, Italian and Catalan varieties, see (71) (i.e. in all the areas in which the locative clitic is attested). Foulet (1919: §436) notes that the use of *i* for *lui* has been attested since old French, see (72):

(71) a *díse y* (Gsc.)  
 he/she.say =to.him/her/them  
 ‘he/she says to him/her’

b *di -ghe!* (Ver.)  
 say =to.him/her/them  
 ‘say (it) to him/her/them’

(72) *Mes ge la vi e s’ i parlai* (o.Fr.)  
 but I= her= saw and so to.her= spoke  
 ‘but I saw her and spoke to her’

One might wonder whether the syncretism between locative and dative forms is a consequence of palatalization, which, in a previous chronological stage, made the regular reflex of *ILLI* become opaque and, in various dialects, homophonous with the ‘locative’ clitic. In various Romance vernaculars palatalized determiners originated in prevocalic contexts where *li#V > lj#V > (ʎ)j#V* and were successively extended to the other phonological contexts. In several dialects, however, the dative/locative syncretism cannot result from regular phonological changes. Manzini & Savoia 2002, Rezac 2010 argue that in many languages the cause of the syncretism is syntactic in nature as dative and locative clitics share some common features. In this respect, it is worth noting that in Italian, French and Catalan, dative clitics are often replaced by locatives (Fr. *y*, It. *ci*, Cat. *hi*) when the oblique complement denotes a non-human entity (Rigau 1982):

(73) a *A la meva filla, li dedico molt de temps* (Cat.)  
 To the my daughter, to.her= I.devote lot of time  
 ‘As for my daughter, I devote lots of time to her’

b *A això, hi dedico molt de temps.* (Cat.)  
 To this, there= I.devote lot of time  
 ‘As for this, I devote lots of time to it’

- (74) a A mia figlia, *le* dedico molto tempo (It.)  
 To my daughter, to.her= I.devote lot.of time  
 ‘As for my daughter, I devote lots of time to her’
- b A questo, *ci* dedico molto tempo (It.)  
 To this, there= I.devote lot.of time  
 ‘As for this, I devote lots of time to it’

- (75) a Luc *lui* est fidèle (à sa femme)  
 Luc to.her= is faithful  
 ‘Luc is faithful to her (his wife)’
- b Luc *y* est fidèle (à ceci)  
 Luc to.them= is faithful  
 ‘Luc is faithful to them (his principles)’

Furthermore, in colloquial registers speakers marginally allow the locative clitic *ci/hi/y* to reference a human entity in those contexts in which the presence of a third person dative form would cause a violation of the so-called Person Case Constraint, namely the restriction preventing third person dative clitic from co-occurring with a first/second person accusative clitic (cf. §3.5.4). The following examples (from Bonet 1991, Rezac 2010, Pescarini 2010, respectively) show that the substitution of the dative clitic with the locative one may avoid a PCC violation:

- (76) a A en Pere m’ \**li*→<sup>√</sup>*hi* va recomanar en Josep. (Cat.)  
 To the Pere me= to.him= goes recommend the Josep  
 ‘Josep recommended me to him (Pere)’
- b ti \**gli*→<sup>√</sup>*ci* presento io. (It.)  
 you= to.him= introduce I  
 ‘I’ll introduce you to him’
- c Pierre me \**lui*→<sup>√</sup>*y* présentera, à son oncle. (Fr.; Rezac 2010)  
 Pierre me to.him will.introduce to his uncle  
 ‘Pierre will introduce me to him, his uncle’

Building on the idea that the PCC is a restriction on pronouns encoding animate entities capable of mental experience (Bianchi 2006; Adger & Harbour 2007 a.o.), one may suggest that the above

fact confirm that locative clitics such as *hi/y/ci* are in fact dative clitics deprived of features encoding animacy or related concepts.

Animacy is arguably related to another peculiar phenomenon that characterises dative clitics in several Ibero-Romance, Occitan, and southern Italian dialects. These dialects exhibit patterns of *loísmo*<sup>121</sup> or *laísmo* whereby the accusative clitics may (or must) pronominalize a dative complement if the referent is human. In Neapolitan, for instance, human datives may be expressed by either the dative/locative clitic *ncə* or by an accusative form such as *'o/'a/'e* ('him/her/them', see Ledgeway 2000 a.o.). Non-human datives, conversely, do not admit any alternation; they are necessarily pronominalized by the locative exponent, see (77)b.

- (77) a *ncə/'a rispunnetano, a Maria* (Neap.)  
 to.her= they.replied to Maria  
 'They replied to her (Maria)'  
 b *ncə/\*'a rispunnetano â lettera*  
 to.it= they.replied to.the letter  
 'They replied to it (the letter)'

Occitan dialects (Ronjat 1937; Rohlfs 1970 on Gascon) exhibit analogous cases of *loísmo*, see (78)a. Furthermore, plural dative clitics may be expressed by compound forms in which a reflex of Latin *ILLIS/ILLOS* 'to them/them' is followed by the clitic *y/i* as in (78)b and (78)c, respectively; lastly, it is worth noticing that in some dialects *i* becomes *is* when plural, see (78)d, thus indicating that the locative formative may combine with a plural formative.

- (78) a *et pay lou ditz* (Occ.)  
 the dad to.him/her= says  
 'Dad says to him/her'  
 b *que lez y dic*  
*que* to.them= he/she.says  
 'He/she says to them'

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<sup>121</sup> The term *loísmo* normally refers to a pattern of syncretism found in Ibero-Romance dialects in which the reflex of *ILLU(M)* references (animate) datives. This pattern is rather common in other Romance areas such as southern Gallo- and Italo-Romance. To the best of my knowledge, in the terminological tradition of French and Italian descriptive grammars there is no specific term to refer to the phenomenon. I therefore follow Ledgeway 2000 in extending the terms *loísmo/laísmo* to non-Iberian vernaculars.

c *lous y* cousinabo de bounos càusos  
to.them= I.cookedof good things  
‘I cooked them good things’

d *que is* parlo  
que to.them= speak  
‘I speak to them’

The various kinds of clitic formatives introduced so far are summarised as follows:

(79) Lat. ILLI	}	Sp. <i>le(s)</i>	etymological forms
		It. <i>le</i> ‘to her’	analogical forms, cf. §1.3
		Fr. dial. <i>y</i>	suppletive forms with locative etymology
		Campidanese Sard. <i>si</i>	suppletive forms with reflexive etymology, cf. §1.3
		Madr. <i>la</i> , Gasc. <i>lou</i>	<i>laísmo</i> and <i>loísmo</i>
		Occ. <i>loui</i> ; Cat. <i>elsi</i>	compound forms (accusative + locative)
		Fr. <i>lui/leur</i>	weak forms

The data above lend themselves to an analysis whereby clitic forms are decomposed into minimal formatives. The overall ‘meaning’ of the pronominal element is built compositionally by combining different formatives according to a uniform tree-like skeleton. Following a peeling approach *à la* Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, one may hypothesize that the above forms correspond to different chunks of the same functional hierarchy and that the paradigmatic relations between dative, accusative, and locative pronouns can be modelled in terms of subset/superset relations (Bonet 1991; Martin 2012; Pescarini 2016). Cross-linguistic differences in the morphological realization of clitics depend on which portion of the functional hierarchy is expressed.

From a morphological perspective, the above analysis looks particularly promising as the data introduced so far shows that clitic pronouns have an internal structure which is as complex as the one of free pronouns. This conclusion is however problematic for a peeling analysis of clitics. Under a peeling analysis, one would expect that 1) clitics are ‘simpler’/‘poorer’ than free pronouns; 2) differences in the internal make-up of pronouns such as those summarised in (79) should be reflected by the syntactic behaviour of the same pronouns. For instance, one would expect the composite dative pronoun *loui* to behave differently from the simple *y/i*. The former should behave more like a weak element, whereas the latter should exhibit a more prototypical clitic behaviour with respect to e.g. doubling or climbing. As a matter of fact, however, the syntactic behaviour of



all the above form is quite uniform and, in general, no correlation is found between the internal make-up of clitic pronouns and their syntax, *contra* the peeling hypothesis.

#### 4.6.2 Stress and proclisis/enclisis asymmetries

According to Cardinaletti & Starke 1999: §3.2.8, Cardinaletti 2015a, weak elements, unlike clitics, can bear stress and be disyllabic. These properties result from the inner structure of pronouns; in Cardinaletti & Starke’s model in (80) such properties are encoded in the intermediate layer ( $\Sigma_L$ ), distinguishing weak from clitic pronouns:

- (80) a Strong                      b Weak                      c. Clitic  
        $[C_L [\Sigma_L [I_L LP]]]$        $([\Sigma_L] [I_L LP])$        $[I_L LP]$

As mentioned in §1.2, stress can fall on bona fide clitics as in (81), in particular when they form combinations of two or more elements, although it is worth recalling that in certain varieties such as (81) clitics are systematically stressed. Furthermore, stress often correlates with a morphological asymmetry between proclitics and enclitics, which in some languages such as modern French end up resembling strong pronouns, cf. (82).

- (81) a Finir-**lù** ‘to end it’ (Viozene)<sup>122</sup>  
       b saver-**lù** ‘to know it’  
       c portama-**lù** ‘let us take it’  
       d vindi-**rù** ‘sell it’  
       e server-**sì** ‘to help oneself’

- (82) a Il **me**    **le** donne (Fr.)  
       He to.me= it=gives  
       ‘He gives it to me’  
       b Donne-**le-moi!**  
       Give=it=to.me  
       ‘Give it to me!’

---

<sup>122</sup> Rohlfs 1966: 442

The hypothesis that stressed enclitics are weak pronouns opens the door to an alternative non-phonological account of the above phenomena. As mentioned in §1.2, stress patterns such as the one in (81) cannot be easily derived from the canonical stress assignment rules at play in the same dialect. For this reason, Ordóñez & Repetti 2006, 2014 claim that stressed enclitics are in fact *weak pronouns* (see also Laenzlinger 1993, 1994 on the French pattern in (82)).

In my opinion, the idea that stressed clitics are weak pronouns is problematic under two main respects. First, Cardinaletti and Starke 1999: §3.2.8, Cardinaletti 2015a claim that weak elements can bear stress. However, if they had their own stress, weak elements would not interfere with the stress pattern of the preceding word. In fact, as proposed in §1.2, stress shift phenomena such as those in (81) and (82) – either productive or not – are expected if the following pronoun has a deficient prosodic status. In conclusion, it seems to me that stress shift phenomena are a hallmark of (phonological) cliticisation.

Second, if the pronouns in (81) and (82) were weak pronouns, they would differ from their proclitic counterparts under syntactic respects, otherwise the explanation would be circular. In the remainder of the section I will show that this prediction is not born out.

In Neapolitan, for instance, proclitics are subject to processes of aphaeresis and elision, which reduce clitic clusters to a single syllable, see (83), while enclitic clusters exhibit richer forms triggering stress shift. In particular, Bafile 1992, 1994 suggests that enclitic clusters contain dysyllabic reflexes of ILLE and INDE, which are subject to metaphony<sup>123</sup>: as shown in (84), the underlying ending vowel triggers metaphony of the stressed vowel, which becomes *-i-* if the accusative clitic is masculine, and *-e-* if it is feminine, even if final vowels are synchronically reduced to *-ə*.<sup>124</sup>

(83) t o 'portə. (Neapolitan)

you= it= I.bring

‘I’ll bring it to you’

(84) a pòrta-t-illə. (Neapolitan)

bring=to.yourself=him/them.m/it.m

‘bring him/it.m/them for you’

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<sup>123</sup> This metaphonetic distinction between the masculine and feminine is no longer very robust amongst most speakers and the originally non-metaphonetic form is generalized in most instances. See Ledgeway (2009) for extensive discussion.

<sup>124</sup> The data in (83) and (84) are not exhaustive, see the extensive discussion in Ledgeway 2009:34-35.

b porta-t-ellə  
 bring=to.yourself=her/them.f /it.f  
 ‘bring her/it.f/them.f for you’

Bafile (1994: 16) argues that disyllabic exponents such as [‘illə] are retained in the functional lexicon to fulfil prosodic constraints. Hence, Neapolitan exhibits three allomorphs of the third person accusative clitic, in (85), which are selected on the basis of the morpho-phonological context:

$$(85) \quad [\text{Pers: 3; Num: sg; Gen: m}] \leftrightarrow \begin{cases} ['illə] & / \text{clitic } \_ )_{PrW} \\ [lə] & / \_ )_{PrW} \\ [o] & \end{cases}$$

Ordóñez and Repetti 2014 argue for an alternative analysis in which Neapolitan clitics fall into three classes: besides ‘morphologically complex’ (*lə*) and ‘morphologically simple’ clitics (*o*), Neapolitan exhibits stressed, disyllabic weak pronouns (*illə*):

(86) weak: *illə*  
 complex clitic: *lə*  
 simple clitic: *o*

In Cardinaletti & Starke’s 1999, Cardinaletti’s 2008 formulation, complex/simple clitics and weak pronouns differ with respect to their syntactic make up and, consequently, in terms of their featural content. Ordóñez & Repetti 2014: 176 extend the same approach to the distinction between complex and simple clitics in Neapolitan, by arguing that the simple clitic *o* (‘him/it’) lacks the *l* formative “marking definiteness”. A tentative representation of Neapolitan ‘clitics’ is therefore as follows:

(87)  $[\Sigma [D [\Phi]]] \leftrightarrow illə$  (weak)  
 $[D [\Phi]] \leftrightarrow lə$  (complex clitic)  
 $[\Phi] \leftrightarrow o$  (simple clitic)

Ordóñez & Repetti 2014 claim that the elements in (87), by virtue of their feature bundles, are eventually attracted by different *probes*. Weak elements are attracted to functional projections that

are located below the probes attracting clitics. In Ordóñez and Repetti’s 2014 analysis, clitics are attracted to the I and C domains, while weak pronouns remain in the V. For imperatives, they assume V-to-C movement and cliticisation in C. A sequence such as Neapolitan *pòrta-t-illə* (‘bring it to you’) in (84) is then analysed in (88): notice that the clitic *t* climbs to the C domain, while the weak pronoun remains in V.

(88) {<sub>C</sub> *porta -t-* {<sub>I</sub> ... {<sub>V</sub> *illə* ... }}}

Furthermore, Ordóñez & Repetti 2014: 190 assume a language-specific restriction constraining the number of clitics occurring in C: if a clitic is incorporated to a moved-to-C verb, then the other pronoun must be expressed by a weak pronoun in V (‘‘When C is not a possible probe for clitics in a given language, then *v* becomes a possible probe and triggers attraction of weak pronouns.’’). Without this restriction, Ordóñez & Repetti’s model would predict the following ungrammatical configuration:

(89) {<sub>C</sub> *porta -tə- -lə* {<sub>V</sub> ... }}}

The constraint against the co-occurrence of two clitics, however, is completely *ad hoc*. Moreover one may wonder about the position of other clausal elements, e.g. adverbs, that, given the explanation in (88), are expected to occur between the clitic and the weak pronoun, *contra* evidence.

Lastly, if the forms *illə*, *le*, ‘*o*’ lexicalised different feature bundles, one would expect these pronouns to differ with respect to their interpretation or with respect to other syntactic aspects, e.g. doubling, which are related to the encoding of animacy and definiteness.

To conclude, the synchronic distribution of Neapolitan forms follows from phonological rules that are not productive anymore, although the shape of allomorphs yields the original stress pattern (Bafle 1992, 1994). This does not necessarily mean that nowadays proclitics and enclitics are different syntactic ‘objects’, belonging to different classes. In particular, there is no syntactic evidence in favour of the claim that Neapolitan stressed enclitics are weak pronouns. In all syntactic respects, all the pronouns in (81) behave like fully-fledged clitics and, save for their morphological shape, Neapolitan proclitics and enclitics are all created equal.

To bring further support to a class-based analysis of allomorphs, Ordóñez and Repetti 2014 focus on Catalan masculine accusative clitics: *el* and *lo*. The former contains an epenthetic vowel and occurs in proclisis, while the latter features a masculine singular ending and occurs in enclisis.

- (90) a **El/\*lo** vol comprar. (Cat.)  
 it= wants to.buy  
 b Vol comprar **-lo/\*el**.  
 wants to.buy =cl  
 ‘he/she wants to buy it.’

Again, Ordóñez & Repetti 2014 claim that “this restriction is not due to a phonological restriction [...] in fact, this form [*el*] is required with infinitives ending in *-re*.” In other words, Ordóñez & Repetti argue that, since the form *el* is allowed after certain infinitives, the above restriction cannot result from a phonological restriction, but depends on the probing features occurring in finite and non-finite clauses, respectively.

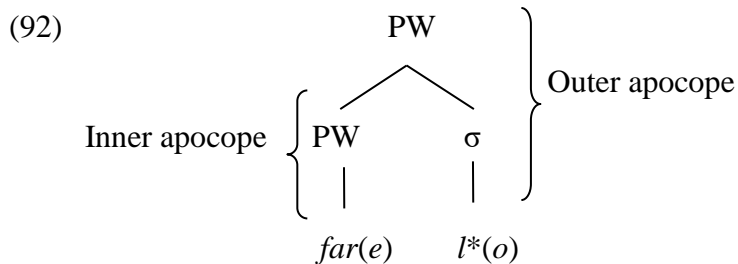
- (91) Podries veure **-l/\*lo**. (Cat.)  
 you.could to.see=it  
 ‘You could see it.’

In finite clauses, clitics are attracted by a probe endowed with a definite feature, but with no gender/number specification (this is the reason why only the simple clitic *el* is attracted). Conversely, with infinitives the probe has a richer set of feature attracting the complex form *lo*. However, why do infinitives ending in *-re* differ from the others?

In fact the distribution of the above outcomes was in fact phonologically regular as it ultimately follows from the so-called Gröber Law (after Gröber 1877). Similar alternation occurs in Alguerese Catalan (Loporaro 1997) or occurred in several northern Italo-Romance vernaculars (Gröber 1877; Vanelli 1998: 169-214; Pescarini 2011), which exhibited the rule of apocope discussed in §1.3. Apocope targeted the *-o* of the clitic element *lo* (< ILLUM), yielding the form *l*, which was eventually resyllabified by means of a prosthetic vowel *e* – yielding *el* – in proclisis and before consonants. Hence, the diachronic evolution is as follows: *\*(il)lo* > *l(o)* > *el* / \_C.

The *l(o)/el* alternation was eventually morphologised when apocope and prosthesis ceased to exist. However, the conditions on the distribution of the various allomorphs in present-day languages still reflect the original conditions under which apocope was triggered or blocked, in particular after an infinitive. As discussed in §1.3, the enclitic pronoun can be apocopated if and only if the preceding verb ends with a vowel, otherwise the resulting output would be syllabically

illicit. The explanation, repeated in (12), is that apocope cannot take place in the outer PW (the one containing the clitic) because the inner PW (the infinitive) has already been apocopated:



This simple phonological explanation accounts for the distribution of the enclitics *lo* and *el* in central Catalan: the enclitic *lo* resists apocope after an apocopated infinitive, as in (93)a, and undergoes apocope after non-apocopated infinitives.

- (93) a *-r(e) lo*  
 b *-re l(o)*

In proclisis (and the same holds for the definite article), apocope is mandatory and the *l* formative is eventually syllabified by means of a prosthetic vowel, e.g. *el*. This state of affairs resulted in stage in which apocope was productive. Nowadays, the distribution of *lo*, *el*, *l* allomorphs follows the same conditions, although apocope is not active anymore. Then, in the light of the phonological explanation, I cannot see how the synchronic analysis would be improved by postulating the co-occurrence of different classes of elements, corresponding to different layers of structures and probed by different syntactic heads. In fact, as in the case of Neapolitan, the clitics *lo* and *el* of Catalan exhibit no difference save for their shape.

A similar conclusion can be reached in my opinion for the aforementioned asymmetry observed with French clitics. In modern French first and second person enclitics are expressed by an exponent identical to that of strong forms; moreover, the order of enclitics (accusative > dative) is the mirror image of that of proclitics (dative > accusative):

- (94) a Il    *me*    *le* donne  
          He= to.me= it=gives  
          ‘He gives it to me’  
 b Donne *-le* *-moi!*  
          Give =it =to.me

‘Give it to me!’

Laenzlinger 1993 put forth the hypothesis that enclitics like *moi* are in fact weak pronouns, while Kayne 2003, Cardinaletti 2008, Ordóñez & Repetti 2014 argue that forms like *moi/toi* are clitics, but with a bimorphemic structure (e.g. *m-oi*). The idea that French strong pronouns are bimorphemic is not confirmed by diachronic evidence as both forms (e.g. *moi* and *me*) are regular outcomes of the same monomorphemic Latin pronoun (ME) in stressed and unstressed position, respectively.

Laenzlinger 1993 shows that the *me/moi* alternation cannot depend on the assignment of stress for two reasons (see also Foulet 1924): first, the same alternation is observed in non-standard varieties displaying the opposite order of enclitics (e.g., *donne-moi-le*) and, second, the third person clitic *le* (unlike *me* and *te*) is free to follow imperatives, see (95), which means that no phonological constraint requires enclitics to bear stress.

(95) *Invite-le/\*me*

‘invite him/\*me’

Ordóñez & Repetti’s 2014 claim that the alternation between *me* and *moi* in (94) results from a syntactic restriction preventing simple clitics from occurring in imperative clauses: hence, first and second person clitics are systematically turned into more complex forms (*moi/toi*), whereas the bimorphemic *le/la* ‘him/her’ in (95) is free to occur in imperative clauses. As notice above for Neapolitan and Catalan, the analysis is not supported by independent evidence and it seems to me that one cannot claim that a pronoun is weak/clitic or simple/complex because it is morphologically odd. Rather, I would claim that the above alternations result from the co-occurrence of allomorphs having the same syntactic status, which derive from the reanalysis of previous phonological processes. In many languages, enclitic pronouns tend to be ‘heavier’ than proclitics even in absence of stress shift phenomena (see also Renzi and Vanelli 1983 on subject clitics), but this does not necessarily amount to saying that proclitics and enclitics belong to different classes of pronouns, instantiate different bundles of features, or correspond to a more or less extended structure. In absence of syntactic evidence, I think that is safe to conclude that function words, including clitics, may exhibit allomorphs with an idiosyncratic synchronic distribution, which results from the morphologisation of previous phonological rules. Requirement of theoretical parsimony should prevent us from postulating invisible differences to account for visible ones, which have a more than plausible historical/morphophonological explanation.

## 4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has critically reviewed two hypotheses concerning the nature of clitic elements. The first hypothesis is that clitics and strong elements instantiate two classes of a three-way taxonomy: several languages show an intermediate class of weak elements, differing under syntactic and semantic respects from both clitic and strong forms. The second hypothesis is that classes of functional elements (two, three, or more) are defined on the basis of the inner structure of the elements that belong to each class: clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak elements have a deficient structure, whereas strong forms have a richer internal structure.

The first part of the chapter dealt with the empirical criteria defining classes of pronouns (clitic/weak/strong) across Romance languages. I focused in particular on doubling and climbing phenomena (§§4.3-4, respectively). Doubling is a solid test of cliticness, although in several languages doubling is not permitted and, when allowed, doubling is affected by various orthogonal factors. Evidence from climbing is even more elusive as in several languages *bona fide* clitics do not climb, whereas weak pronouns may occur in any sentential domain (V, I, or C). Other tests (e.g. resumption, order with respect to negation, adjacency to the verb or other clitics, elision under coordination, etc.) do not converge cross-linguistically towards an unambiguous identification of the three types. In fact, some languages seem to exhibit clues of a third class of weak pronominal elements that are neither strong nor clitic, but the cross-linguistic comparison of this third kind of pronouns does not yield a solid and uniform classification. In conclusion, the classification criteria, when confronted with an ample dataset, are not always consistent, the taxonomy is very complicated and, at least, more nuanced than usually thought.

Since the first hypothesis is not completely grounded (i.e. pronouns do not form uniform classes across languages) then the second hypothesis is weakened as well. In particular, I argued that against the idea that classes (strong/weak/clitic) can be modelled in terms of superset/subset relations starting from a single tree-like structure. I contended that in the last decades we have not gathered sufficient evidence in favour of this (appealing) view. Of course strong, weak, and clitic elements differ from each other, but no conclusive evidence corroborates the intuition that clitics and, to a lesser extent, weak pronouns are syntactically deficient. The overall theory that classes of pronouns result from the inner syntax of function words seems far from falsifiable and, in fact, in the current literature, terms like ‘weak’ or ‘strong’ are often used in a naïve sense to indicate clitics with a ‘weird’ behaviour, and not in accordance to the restrictive, but idealised, definition given in



Cardinaletti & Starke 1999. The second part of the chapter (corresponding to §4.6) focused on the relationship between the syntactic behaviour of (alleged) clitics and their morpho-phonological shape. By focusing on the inner structure of clitic formatives, I argued that in many languages the structure of clitics is at least as complex as that of strong pronouns. Lastly, the chapter elaborated on the nature of certain asymmetries regarding the morphological shape of proclitics and enclitics as the latter, which seldom trigger stress-shift phenomena, are apparently ‘heavier’ than proclitics. I concluded that none of the above phenomena correlates with syntactic aspects and there is no converging evidence in support of class-based accounts. I eventually discarded a type of analysis in which functional items belong to different classes and I argued instead for an analysis in which the same clitic item may have various allomorphs, each expressing the same featural content. Allomorphs are distributed in accordance with phonological rules, some of which are not active anymore.

The alternation between different clitic forms never gives rise to any peculiar semantic/pragmatic reading and the link between the inner structure of clitic elements and syntactic differences cannot be ascertained by means of independent evidence. In conclusion, the syntactic analyses put forth within a peeling approach does not seem to be more elegant or solve more puzzles than previous morpho-phonological accounts as the number of variables at play is very high and few of them can be controlled in order to verify or falsify the hypothesis.

On the contrary, a more traditional model can cope with the data once we abandon the (simplistic) idea that synchronically active phonological rules can account for all the puzzles. In fact, many processes have been eventually morphologised, yielding alternations between lexical formatives, e.g. *le/il*, *me/moi*, *el/lo* etc. that are synchronically opaque. This, however, is not *per se* an argument in favour of syntactic, class-based accounts, which must be advanced in compliance with Occam’s razor. At present, we have no systematic evidence in favour of a uniform class of weak pronouns and we have no proof supporting the claim that differences between functional classes are somehow linked to the inner structure of pronominal forms.

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a principled account of the emergence of clitic pronouns in the transition from Latin to early Romance. The chapter intends to review the historical reconstruction proposed in works such as Wanner 1987, Adams 1994, Salvi 1996 in light of current generative approaches to clitic placement.

Several generative analyses of clitic dependencies argue that cliticisation results from complex syntactic dependencies consisting of two steps (see §2.2): a first step in which the clitic (or the portion of structure containing the clitic) moves as a *phrase* and a second step in which the clitic is turned into a minimal constituent (a head or a deprived element), which is eventually incorporated to a host (see, among others, Uriagereka 1995a, Sportiche 1996; Cecchetto 2000, Belletti 2005; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005: 94; Gallego 2016; Kramer 2014, Baker & Kramer 2018).

Diachronically, the two-step derivation captures two distinct moments in the emergence of Romance clitic systems:

- the emergence of ‘position clitics’ from Latin to Archaic Early Romance, i.e. the emergence of a series of pronouns that are not incorporated to the verb, but *scrambled* to a peripheral position (cf. §3.2-4);
- the evolution towards *adverbial* clitics, i.e. the emergence of clitic elements that are necessarily attached to the verbal form (cf. §3.5).

The hypothesis that clitics move first as phrases is inspired by the family resemblance between clitic placement and other syntactic processes that dislodge internal arguments from their usual position in the V domain, e.g. *wh* movement, object shift (Gallego 2013, 2016), and scrambling (Rivero 1991; on scrambling in old and modern Romance, see Martins 2005, 2011; Poletto 2006, 2014). Interestingly, Martins 2005 shows that enclitic placement and scrambling co-occur in the same languages and are lost at the same time in most Romance varieties. From a diachronic point of view, the fact that in medieval Romance and, to a lesser extent, in present-day western Ibero-Romance the displacement of both object clitics and phrasal objects enjoy a higher degree of freedom than in most present-day languages

corroborates the thesis that discourse-driven phrasal movement is (was?) a component of clitic placement.

Historical evidence for the hypothesis that special cliticisation encompasses phrasal movement comes from the emergence of clitics in the Latin/Romance transition. Latin did not exhibit a double series of pronouns, but a single series of pronominal forms: so-called weak pronouns are in fact derived by displacing pronominal forms in a dedicated syntactic position in the Left Periphery (Salvi 1996). In the first part of the chapter I argue that the position attracting pronouns is a *Criterial Position* in the sense of Rizzi 2006, 2007 (cf. §2.5).

The Romance double series of pronouns (strong vs clitic) emerged later, when certain pronouns were reanalysed as elements incorporated to the verbal head. To account for the emergence of adverbial clitics, I argue that the archaic Wackernagel-style system in which pronouns are attracted to the Left Periphery (possibly moving through the Clause-Internal periphery, see (1)a) was eventually replaced by an alternative mechanism whereby pronouns target a position in the Clause Internal periphery – dubbed Z (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005) – and are eventually incorporated to the verb as shown in (1)b):

- (1)a {c ... [w *pronoun*] {i ... [~~z *pronoun*~~] ... {v ... ~~*pronoun*~~}}}
- b {c ... {i ... [z (*pronoun* V)] ... {v ... ~~*pronoun*~~}}}
- ↑

The evolution from the Archaic to the Innovative system is triggered by the loss of IP scrambling (Martins 2005, 2011), which allowed interpolation phenomena in the Archaic Early Romance languages (§3.5) and by orthogonal morpho-phonological factors.

Incorporation will be modelled as a morphological operation (Marantz 1988; Matushansky 2006; Kramer 2014; Baker and Kramer 2016 a.o.) that copies the features of the pronoun to the verbal head when the two stand in a spec-head configuration, i.e. when they co-occur within the same syntactic position. In this respect, cliticisation recalls agreement as both rely on a feature-sharing operation (*à la* Roberts 2010), but cliticisation cannot be reduced entirely to agreement as the former triggers a peculiar topiclike interpretation at the syntax/discourse interface, which, I will contend, is triggered when the pronoun is scrambled to Z:

- (2) {c ... {i ... [z ~~*pronoun*~~ (*pronoun's features* V)] ... {v ~~*pronoun*~~}}}
- ↑

In conclusion, special cliticisation results from the combination of two mechanisms: i. phrasal movement of the clitics to a criterial position (either W or Z) and ii. incorporation of

the clitic to the verbal head. The distinction between cliticisation in W or Z in early Romance is often blurred as the resulting word orders are often identical, thus allowing reanalysis across diachronic stages.

The chapter is organised as follows: §5.2 examines the role of the Wackernagel position in the Latin/Romance transition and argues for a criterial approach to the syntax of pronouns; §5.3 deals with the (loss of) interpolation and the transition from the Archaic to the Innovative Romance languages; §5.4 elaborates on the nature of incorporation and the emergence of systems of adverbial clitics. §5.5 concludes.

## 5.2 The Wackernagel Criterion

This section aims to shed light on the emergence of special clitics in the Latin/Romance transition. In Latin, pronouns that resume background information (*G-Topics*, Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010 or *Familiar Topic*, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) exhibit a kind of second position syntax (cf §3.2-3). This intuition, which goes back to 19<sup>th</sup> century linguists and philologists (e.g. Thurneysen 1892:302; fn. 299), has been refined in the last decades by scholars such as Adams 1994a; Salvi 1990, 1991, 1996, 2011; Krisch 1990: 68; Devine & Stephens 2006, who noticed that pronouns referencing G-topics occur systematically after operators (wh elements or bare quantifiers<sup>125</sup>) or after fronted constituents conveying either corrective or information focus:

- (3) a QUID **tibi** vis dicam nisi quod viderim?<sup>126</sup> (Lat.)  
 what to.you you.want I.say if.not that I.saw  
 ‘What would you have me say to you, but that I did see her?’
- b. ex quibus NEMINEM **mihi** libet nominare<sup>127</sup>  
 of which nobody to.me please to.name  
 ‘from which it is pleasing to me to name no one’
- c. ALIUM **illa** amat, non illum<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Quantified subjects are in fact in complementary distribution with foci (Benincà 1988: 141-142; Raposo and Uriagereka 1996; Zubizarreta 1998: 102-103 a.o.),

<sup>126</sup> Plaut. *Miles* 300

<sup>127</sup> Cicero, *pro Caelio*.

<sup>128</sup> Plautus *Bacchides*.

Another she loves, not him  
'She loves another, not him.'

Besides operator/focus constituents, G-pronouns precede imperatives, which arguably target a position close to that of operators/foci (Spevak 2010: 214), and various adverbs/discourse particles populating the left periphery of the Latin clause. Notice that the above generalisations hold for documents of different ages and genres, meaning that what was illustrated in §§3.2-3 is not a marginal pattern or an innovation of late documents, but a well-established feature of classical Latin.

The above data are amenable to a cartographic analysis *à la* Rizzi 1997 (and later works), in which the position of wh elements, foci, discourse particles, etc. is mapped in great detail (for various proposals, see Devine & Stephens 2006; Salvi 2011; Danckaert 2012, 2017). In particular, Salvi 1996 focuses on the position of pronouns, arguing that G-pronouns occupy a dedicated position that demarcates the boundary between the C and I domain. Since Rivero 1994, the position hosting pronouns has been dubbed Wackernagel Phrase (W)<sup>129</sup>, after Wackernagel 1892. W follows the Focus position and, differently from present-day Romance, it precedes a series of positions hosting scrambled elements; the conventional label *Scr(ambling) Phrase* in (4) is taken from Devine & Stephens 2006: 98-112. The nature of W and scrambling will be discussed in due course.

(4) {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> ALIUM [<sub>W</sub> *illa* {I [<sub>Scr</sub> ... amat ...

Romance clitic systems emerged from the embryonic displacement illustrated so far, after syntactic changes (i.e. the rise of V-to-C movement<sup>130</sup>, the loss of null objects, cf. §3.3) affected the structure of Latin clauses. In Wanner's 1987 and Salvi's 2004 words:

It is uncontroversial that the pronoun did not normally move rightward to meet the verb, but rather that the verb joined the pronoun in its inert second position. (Wanner 1987: 392)

Romance clitics are the descendants of Latin weak pronouns [...] their position is essentially the position weak pronouns occupied in the Latin sentence: the differences in this domain are only

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<sup>129</sup> Rivero's W corresponds to Uriagereka's 1995b F.

<sup>130</sup> see Ledgeway 2017; Wolfe 2016a-b.

apparent and are due to the changes that had independently occurred in the evolution of sentence structure. (Salvi 1996)

Most of ‘the changes that had independently occurred in the evolution of sentence structure’ cannot be documented directly, but only reconstructed in the light of evidence from early Romance. Traces of Wackernagel/second position effects in the syntax of pronouns are attested in Archaic Early Romance (old Spanish and Portuguese, §3.5), where clitics could be placed in W without incorporating to the verb. In embedded clauses the clitics occupy W, the verb remains in the I domain (as in modern Romance), while interpolation of elements between the clitics and the verb results from IP-scrambling (Salvi 1997; Martins 2003 and following works; more on this in §§5.3-4):

- (5) tanto vos [eu] [mui máis] precei (o.Port.)<sup>131</sup>  
so.much you= I much more prized  
‘I prized you so much’

The structure of (5), given in (6), is identical to the one proposed for the Latin clause, see Devine & Stephens’s 2006 analysis in (4). Hence, the data from early Romance (cf. §3.5, see below §§5.3-4) confirm that the position of Romance clitics ‘is essentially the position weak pronouns occupied in the Latin sentence’ (Salvi 1996), i.e. W. Besides word order, it is worth noting that both in Latin and in early Romance, pronouns occurring in the Wackernagel position have the same G-topic interpretation, which means that not only their position, but also the interpretative correlates of that position have not changed over time.

- (6) [<sub>Foc</sub> tanto [<sub>W</sub> vos [<sub>Scr</sub> eu mui máis [<sub>T</sub> precei

Then, if nothing changed in the ordering of functional heads, what triggered the change leading to Romance cliticisation? In my opinion, there are two possible explanation, which I dub the *internal* and the *external* explanation, respectively. The internal explanation rests on the hypothesis that the trigger of cliticisation was a change in the internal make-up of pronouns (see Egerland 2002, 2005, 2010 a.o.), whereas the external explanation builds on the hypothesis that clitics emerged from a cluster of syntactic changes that eventually yielded the

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<sup>131</sup> Joan Airas, *Cancionero*.

emergence of a double series of pronouns. The two explanations are intertwined, but it seems to me that a change in the inner structure of pronouns results – logically and chronologically – from external causations and not *vice versa*.

The internal explanation is germane to peeling approaches to cliticisation, which have been thoroughly discussed in chapter 4. With respect to Latin/Romance pronouns, it is in line with the reconstruction proposed by Salvi 1996, who argues that Romance clitics emerged from a previous dichotomy between two classes of Latin pronouns: *strong* and *weak*. The two were homophonous and, as shown in (7), the latter were eventually turned into clitics. The contrast is blurred in written texts as Latin weak pronouns never exhibit cues of phonological reduction.

(7)	Latin		Romance (e.g It.)
	ME <sub>strong</sub>	→	<i>me</i> <sub>strong</sub>
	ME <sub>weak</sub>	→	<i>mi</i> <sub>clitic</sub>

Salvi’s historical reconstruction is very convincing, but the strong/weak alternation in (7) has some conceptual issues that need to be addressed. Besides the general concerns expressed in chapter 4, it seems to me that the idea of a weak/strong divide for Latin pronouns violates principles of scientific parsimony. First, the strong/weak divide is encoded twice: in the Lexicon, where strong and weak items are listed as separate items, and in Syntax, as only weak pronouns are attracted to W. This leaves us with a classic egg-chicken problem: does the syntactic displacement result from the alternation between weak and strong elements or, conversely, is the alternation an optical illusion due to the peculiar displacement of Latin pronominal forms?

Second, the peeling approach does not provide any principled explanation of the emergence of weak elements: by assuming that two classes of pronouns had already existed in Latin, Salvi does not account for the nature and origin of the alternation. In fact, one would argue that Latin had inherited the alternation from its ancestor, which in turn had already exhibited a double series of pronouns, etc. This infinite regress means that peeling approaches usually shift the problem back in time, but we are still missing the theoretical point: why, when, and how did weak pronouns emerged?

Third, under a peeling approach no sensible hypothesis has been advanced to explain why weak pronouns are attracted to W: it is assumed that weak pronouns must be displaced in a dedicated position, but no hypothesis has been discussed in the past literature regarding the

nature of the dependency holding between the thematic position where pronouns are first merged and their landing site in *W*.

In conclusion, Latin weak pronouns and the Wackernagel Position are still mysterious objects, as we do not have any hypothesis concerning their nature and origin. Moreover, the idea that Latin weak pronouns are structurally deficient seems rather circular and inelegant. To provide a better account of weak (then clitic) pronouns, it is better to turn our attention to clause-level and discourse-level factors and assume, as a working hypothesis, that there is no need of postulating a lexical alternation between two series of pronouns until a clear morpho-phonological alternation emerged.

To build an alternative approach to the problem (an external explanation), I start focusing on the type of elements occurring in *W*. In fact, many types of Latin pronouns exhibited the displacement in (4), but only few of them were successively turned into clitics. This amounts to saying that the displacement of pronouns in *W* is a necessary, but not sufficient historical condition for their cliticisation. In §3.4, for instance, I noticed that the Latin pronouns of the *IS* series often occurred in *W*, but these pronominal forms were never turned into clitics as they were irremediably lost in the Latin/Romance transition, when pronouns of the *ILLE* series became clitics. Analogously, nominative pronouns frequently occurred in *W*, but this does not lead to the emergence of nominative clitics throughout the Romance domain. Hence, the occurrence in *W* is one among many other conditions that triggered the reanalysis of certain pronominal forms into clitics.

Moreover, besides bare pronouns, *W* could host other types of elements such as certain forms of the verb *esse* ‘to be’ (Wanner 1987; Adams 1994b) and *light* PPs containing a pronominal element (Salvi 1996; more on this in §5.4). In addition, since many Romance languages exhibit adverbial clitics, e.g. Fr. *y*, it is fair to conclude that also locative particles such as *IBI* ‘there’, *HIC* ‘here’ were, at a certain point, allowed to occur in *W*.<sup>132</sup> Hence, various types of function words could occur in *W*, see (8), which therefore behaved as a category-neutral attractor.

- (8) a [w pronoun]  
b [w P + pronoun]  
c [w copula/auxiliary *be*]

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<sup>132</sup> In fact Martins 2003a notices that in old Portuguese the locative and partitive/genitive particles did not behave like clitics.



d [w locative particles]

Moreover, according to the analysis in (4) W immediately precedes scrambled material, but we cannot exclude that in origin W could host scrambled XPs of any type, as illustrated in (9). The displacement of other types of constituents cannot be detected – and, therefore, excluded – given the discourse-configurational (or non-configurational) nature of the Latin I domain (Ledgeway 2012 a.o.).

(9) [w (XP?)]<sub>[Scr]</sub> (YP)

In conclusion, W may host various kinds of function words (pronouns, adverbial particles, copular elements, light PPs, etc.), and, in principle, we cannot exclude that in origin contentive XPs were displaced in W as well. In fact, the W position in (9) is nothing but the highest scrambling position. Later, W became more and more selective until, at a certain point, it began to attract only certain pronouns and, arguably, locative particles that were eventually turned into clitic forms such as Fr. *y/en*. The remainder of this section focuses on the linguistic change that turned the category-neutral attractor W into a selective one, which ended up targeting only a closed set of function words.

I contend that the evolution resulted from a process of reanalysis affecting the head W and the elements that occurred most readily in W. As previously mentioned, in origin W was a category-neutral attractor bearing a *criterion*, i.e. an interpretable feature which yields the G-topic interpretation of the syntactic constituent displaced in W's specifier. In this respect, W was not dissimilar from other criterial heads forming the left periphery of the clause such as Top(ic) or Foc(us); topologically, W is the highest position in the complement of Focus or, pragmatically, in the background of Focus. In the light of (8) and (9) one can safely assume that in origin any constituent could move to any criterial position, including W, and be interpreted accordingly. At this point, the displacement to W was free, as the movement to the Criterial position was not *triggered* by the Criterial head, but was an instance of free movement.<sup>133</sup> Following Chomsky, Ott, Gallego 2017, I assume that movement can “apply freely, generating expressions that receive whatever interpretation they are assigned by interfacing conditions”. Any sentence belongs to a pool of alternatives that are generated by displacing one or more elements to criterial positions in C. Crucially, it is not the Criterial

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<sup>133</sup> On the distinction between free and triggered merge, see Collins & Stabler 2016.

head that attracts the constituent, but it is the latter that moves freely to the criterial position, where it is interpreted accordingly:

(10) [XP H<sub>Crit</sub> ... ~~XP~~

Conversely, other criterial dependencies involve a *Criterial Probe* (Rizzi 2007: 149), which “looks for a Criterial Goal, an element carrying the same feature and which will ultimately be attracted to the Spec of the Criterial Probe.” The movement of constituents in this case is not free, but it is triggered by the Criterial Probe. Hence, not all criterial heads are Criterial Probes: the former are optionally filled by free merge, whereas the latter triggers movement. For instance, let us compare two cases of fronting, one involving a *wh* element, the other involving a contentive XP, e.g. a focus-fronted DP. A probe-goal relation is likely to occur in the case of *wh* elements, but not in the case of contentive DPs that undergo Focus fronting, see (11)b: the former, but not the latter, are likely to carry an interpretable feature – e.g. Q – probed by the criterial head.

(11) a {C [Q Crit<sub>Q</sub> WH<sub>Q</sub>] ... {I ... {v ... ~~WH<sub>Q</sub>~~}}}  
 b {C [<sub>Foc</sub> Crit DP ] ... {I ... {v ... ~~DP~~}}}

For example, both *what* and the noun *Gianni* can satisfy a criterion. However, *what* is a Criterial Goal because it bears an interpretable feature [iQ], which is probed by a matching uninterpretable feature [uQ] in the Criterial head Q, see (12)a. Conversely, *Gianni* is a ‘plain’ DP, bearing no Focus feature, which is free to move to the Focus position, where it is interpreted as focused, see (12)b.

(12) a {C [Q *what*<sub>iQ</sub> uQ ... {I ... {v ... ~~*what*<sub>iQ</sub>~~}}}  
 b {C [<sub>Foc</sub> *Gianni* iFoc ... {I ... {v ... ~~*Gianni*~~}}}

In conclusion, not all criterial configurations involve a probe-goal relation and, by the same token, not all the elements that satisfy a criterion are Criterial Goals in the sense of Rizzi 2007.

As for Latin pronouns, I propose that the emergence of a double series of pronouns took place when the criterial head W was turned into a Criterial Probe, i.e. a head endowed with an uninterpretable feature that probes certain Criterial Goals. In origin, W was an unselective



were attracted to a criterial position at the I/C border (the so-called Wackernagel position). Historically, Romance clitics emerged from this discourse-driven alternation, once certain pronominal elements began to act as the sole Criterial Goals probed by W.

When displaced in a Criterial position, the Criterial Goal is ‘frozen in place’, i.e. it cannot move further. To the best of my knowledge, there is no alternative mechanism other than freezing to derive the syntactic behaviour of position clitics. I contend that the same mechanism is at the basis of other systems of clitic placement – not only the Romance one – although the semantic import of the criterion triggering cliticisation might have changed over time, thus making the original discourse-driven displacement synchronically unmotivated. In Romance, however, the pragmatic effect of cliticisation has remained unchanged as clitic elements cannot reference new information nor trigger reference switch. To the best of my knowledge, the sole theoretical apparatus linking freezing and discourse effect is Rizzi’s criterial approach, which proves to be a sound mechanism to establish a principled link between the syntactic displacement of clitics (*in statu nascendi*) and pragmatic effects.

### 5.3 Interpolation

This section elaborates on the nature of interpolation in early Romance and wonders about the relationship between the loss of interpolation and the emergence of *adverbal* clitics.

After Barbosa 1996, it is customary to distinguish *productive* from *residual* interpolation: productive interpolation consists in the interpolation of any kind of XP (subjects, objects, adjuncts, etc.), whereas residual interpolation, which will be addressed in the following section, results from the interpolation of bare function words such as negation, deictic elements, and aspectual adverbs.

The section has the following structure: §5.3.1 focuses on productive interpolation in old Portuguese and old Spanish, §5.3.2 elaborates on the loss of interpolation and the consequences for the syntax of clitics; data from present-day Portuguese and Italo-Romance dialects are discussed separately in §§5.3.3-4.

#### 5.3.1 Productive interpolation

In old Spanish and old Portuguese syntactic constituents could occur between the clitic(s) in W and the finite verb in contexts where the verb, instead of moving to the C domain, targets a

lower position in the I domain:

(15) {C ... [w *pronoun*] {I [scrambled elements] V {v ...}}}

The phenomenon, dubbed *interpolation*<sup>134</sup>, is attested in early Ibero-Romance languages such as old Spanish and old Portuguese, where interpolation usually occurred in subordinate clauses and, to a lesser extent, in main clauses (Salvi 1990, 1991; Wanner 1992; Barbosa 1993, 1996; Fontana 1993; Halpern & Fontana 1994; Halpern 1995; Batllori *et al.* 1995; Uriagereka 1995a/b; Rivero 1997; Martins 2002; Raposo & Uriagereka 2005; Poole 2006, 2013).

Following Salvi 1990, 1991, I contend that productive interpolation is an archaism witnessing the transition from the Latin displacement illustrated in §5.2 to adverbial clitics. This view is confirmed by quantitative data, which show that productive interpolation decreases progressively along the Middle Ages (Fiéis 2003 on old Portuguese and Poole 2013 on old Spanish, *pace* Fontana 1993: 325). In light of statistical evidence, we can safely conclude that productive interpolation was a direct descendant of the Latin displacement illustrated above, thus supporting the hypothesis that interpolation must have been a characteristic shared by most (proto)-Romance systems, although no traces of productive interpolation are attested in the other Romance languages such as early French, Catalan, or Italian.

Medieval Ibero-Romance allows various kind of constituents – subject and object DPs, PPs, adverbs, negation, etc. – to occur between the proclitics and the verb, see (16). Among present-day languages, only Istro-Romanian dialects (Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2018) exhibit patterns of productive interpolation, but one may wonder whether interpolation in Istro-Romanian emerged after prolonged contact with Slavic languages (which feature second-position clitics). For this reason, I prefer to focus here only on Ibero-Romance data.

(16) a logo *lhe* [el rrei] taxava que (o.Port)<sup>135</sup>  
at once to.him= the king ordained that  
ouvesse por dia quatro soldos, e mais nom  
he.had daily four shillings and more not

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<sup>134</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the term *interpolation* is due to Chenery (1905).

<sup>135</sup> Fernão Lopes, *Crónica del-rei D. Pedro*.

- b tanto vos [eu] [mui máis] precei (o.Port.)<sup>136</sup>  
 so.much you= I much more prized  
 ‘I prized you so much’
- c se se [essa Stevaya Periz, nossa fila,] cassar (o.Port.)<sup>137</sup>  
 if herself= that S. P. our daughter will.marry  
 ‘if S.P., our daughter, will marry’
- d Syel físico la [bien] connoçe (o.Sp.)<sup>138</sup>  
 if the physician it=well knows  
 ‘if the physician knows it well’
- e e dixе que lo [yo] avía muerto (o.Sp.)<sup>139</sup>  
 and I.said that him= I had killed  
 ‘and I said that I had killed him’
- f Si lo saber queredes... (o.Sp.)<sup>140</sup>  
 if it to.know want-2PL  
 ‘If you want to know it...’

Medieval Portuguese is the language in which interpolation is less constrained. In fact, up to three or four constituents can be interpolated, although cases of interpolation involving more than two constituents are quite rare (Fiéis 2003):

- (17) a Se me [Deus] [enton] [a morte] [non] deu (o.Port.)<sup>141</sup>  
 If to.me= God then the death not gave  
 ‘If God did not then put me to death’
- b Como se [Paulo] [con todos os outros treedores] ...  
 How himself= Paul with all the other betrayers  
 ... [descubertamente] alçaron contra el rey Bamba Paulo  
 openly rose against the king Bamba Paul (o.Port.)<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Joan Airas 120

<sup>137</sup> Doc. 138.12

<sup>138</sup> Rivero 1997: (24d)

<sup>139</sup> Zifar 75.9

<sup>140</sup> Apol 372a

<sup>141</sup> Martins 1994

<sup>142</sup> CGE, from Fiéis 2003

‘How Paul rose openly with all the other betrayers against king Bamba Paul’  
 c de quem quer que *lhe* [sobre elle] [algũ embargo ou empedimento]...  
 from who.ever that him= over it some obstruction or constraint  
 ... puser (o.Port.)<sup>143</sup>  
 puts  
 ‘[keeping him free] from whoever tries to block it [the land] from him’

Old Spanish is more restrictive than old Portuguese as it normally allows interpolation of bare elements or light PPs (Poole 2007: fn. 30), although cases of interpolation of two elements are sporadically attested (Poole 2013):

- (18) a si lo [asi] [no] riesen (o.Sp.)<sup>144</sup>  
 if it=thus not they.do  
 ‘If they don’t do it like this’  
 b el mal que *se* [oy] [aquj] faze (o.Sp.)<sup>145</sup>  
 the evil that himself= today here does  
 ‘the evil that is done here today’

The usual analysis of productive interpolation revolves around the idea that in old Spanish and Portuguese clitic pronouns were not incorporated to the verb, but occupied an independent position such as W, whereas the verb in main clauses moved to a nearby position in the lower C domain, say Rizzi’s 1997 FinP:

- (19) {C [w *clitics* [Fin V {I ... V}]}  
 ...

In subordinate clauses and, to a lesser extent, in main clauses featuring proclisis triggeres (see chapters 6 and 7), the finite verb remains in the I domain, thus allowing the interpolation of material located between W and the landing site of the verb such as negation and preverbal subjects. Other XPs, i.e. internal arguments, adjuncts, and adverbs are seldom interpolated when they are scrambled to the high I domain, as illustrated in (20) (Martins 2002):

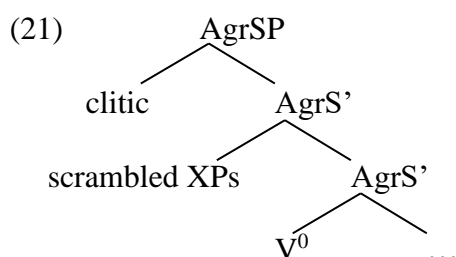
<sup>143</sup> ; from Martins (2003b).

<sup>144</sup> Siete Partidas, 13th c.

<sup>145</sup> General Estoria V

(20) {<sub>C</sub> [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* [<sub>Fin</sub> ... {<sub>I</sub> [<sub>Scr</sub> interpolated elements] V ... }]} }

Martins 1994, 2002, 2011 argues for a model in which scrambled material and object clitics are merged in multiple specifiers of the same position (AgrS in Martins 2002, 2003a/b, 2005). Object clitics always occur on top of scrambled material under Raposo's 2000 *Edge Principle*, which triggers post-syntactic movement of the clitic to the highest spec (a similar mechanism is assumed by Poole 2013, although he argues that the landing site of the verb, clitics, and scrambled material is in C).



An analysis assuming multiple specifiers is, in my opinion, less adequate than an account like (20), which assumes multiple positions. First, in Martins's model, negation is inserted in a position ( $\Sigma$ ) that is higher than AgrS: if negation is merged on top of AgrS, it is unclear why negation is interpolated so often in old Portuguese (negation is the only interpolated element in modern Portuguese). Second, the order of scrambled elements is not completely random: as Martins 2011: 145-147 points out, negation and subjects are interpolated more readily than other constituents. Furthermore, when two internal arguments/adjuncts are interpolated, their order is free, whereas subjects tend to precede the other scrambled elements and never precede the clitics (Martins 2002: 240).

Given this state of affairs, I prefer a cartographic representation in which subject and negation, when interpolated, occupy dedicated positions, otherwise the order of scrambled constituents should be completely random. I therefore assume that preverbal subjects occupy a dedicated position (SubjP; Cardinaletti 2004; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007), which follows W and precedes the positions hosting scrambled elements:

(22) [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> ... [<sub>Subj</sub> DP [<sub>Scr</sub> XPs [<sub>T</sub> T



The hypothesis that the machinery yielding interpolation involves an ordered set of projections at the I/C border is further confirmed by a systematic asymmetry between embedded *wh* interrogatives and relative clauses. In the former, interpolation never occurs (save for indirect questions introduced by *por qué* ‘why’), whereas relative clauses often display interpolation (Rivero 1993: 245; Poole 2013: fn. 29). If interpolation resulted from a reordering of specifiers triggered by Raposo’s 2000 Edge Principle (*à la* Martins), the above asymmetry would be left unaccounted for. Conversely, the above displacement receives a better explanation if we assume that *wh* elements introducing relative clauses, interrogative clauses and reason adverbials (corresponding to Eng. ‘why’) are located in different positions in the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2001; Benincà & Poletto 2010; Rizzi & Bocci 2017). Relative operators are located in the highest position of the left periphery, ForceP (Rizzi 1997: 289): as shown in (23), in Italian the relative pronoun *a cui* precedes left-dislocated constituents, whereas the *wh* element *a chi* must follow topicalised constituents, as shown in (24). Moreover, in embedded clauses *wh* elements can marginally co-occur with foci, as shown in (25), yielding the order focus > *wh*. This means that embedded *wh* elements remain in the lower C domain, in a position that Rizzi dubs *Qemb*, i.e. Question embedded Phrase (see also Haegeman 2012). The *wh* element corresponding to ‘why’ differs from the other *wh* items as it is allowed to move above the focus and the topic position, as shown in (26); arguably, ‘why’ may reach Rizzi’s IntP, see (27).

(23) Un uomo *a cui*, il premio Nobel, (*\*a cui*) lo daranno ...  
 A men to whom the prize Nobel it=they.will.give  
 ... senz’altro. (It.)  
 undoubtedly  
 ‘A man to whom, the Nobel prize, they will give it undoubtedly.’

(24) Mi domando (*\*a chi*), il premio Nobel, *a chi* lo daranno ...  
 To.me= I.wonder the prizeNobel to whom it=they.will.give  
 ... senz’altro. (It.)  
 undoubtedly  
 ‘A man to whom, the Nobel prize, they will give it undoubtedly.’

(25) Mi domando (\**che cosa*) A GIANNI *che cosa* abbiamo detto. (It.)  
 To.me= I.wonder to G. Nobel what they.have said  
 ‘I wonder what they said to Gianni.’

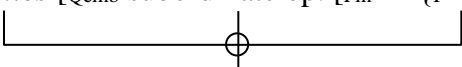
(26) Mi domando (*perché*), il Nobel, (*perché*) lo abbiamo dato a lui. (It.)  
 To.me= I.wonder the Nobel it=they.have given to him  
 ‘A man to whom, the Nobel prize, they will give it undoubtedly.’

The map of embedded wh items is therefore as follows (notice that the element corresponding to ‘why’ can occur in either Int or Quemb):

(27) [<sub>Force</sub> relative op. [<sub>Int</sub> (‘why’) [<sub>Top</sub> ... [<sub>Foc</sub> ... [<sub>Qemb</sub> subordinate op./ (‘why’) [<sub>Fin</sub>

In the light of (27), one can provide a sensible explanation of the asymmetry between relative and embedded interrogatives with respect to interpolation, which is forbidden when wh elements occur in the lower C domain: when clitics are located in W, the clitic dependency is disrupted if an operator is moved to Qemb, whereas relative operators in Force never interfere with clitic placement in C:

(28) {C [<sub>Force</sub> relative op. [<sub>Int</sub> ... [<sub>Top</sub> ... [<sub>Foc</sub> ... [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* [<sub>Qemb</sub> subordinate op. [<sub>Fin</sub> ... {I ...



The wh element *por qué* ‘why’ differs from the others because, as previously mentioned, it may occur in a higher position, from where it does not interfere with any clitic dependency:

(29) {C [<sub>Force</sub> ... [<sub>Int</sub> *por qué* [<sub>Top</sub> ... [<sub>Foc</sub> ... [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* [<sub>Qemb</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> ... {I ...

A cartographic analysis like the one sketched above may account for the observed asymmetry between relatives and embedded questions with respect to interpolation phenomena. Conversely, a minimalist analysis *à la* Martins does not predict any systematic difference between embedded clauses.

Moreover, a fine-grained cartographic approach may lead us to a better understanding of the syntactic and pragmatic properties of interpolated material. For instance, Poole 2013 (*contra* Batllori et al. 1995, Poole 2006) argues that interpolated material are postfocal topics,

i.e. *G-Topic* (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010), *Familiar Topic* (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007), i.e. given elements that, unlike higher topics located in the left periphery, do not convey an aboutness readings. In particular, Poole 2013: fn 11 argues that several examples of interpolation resembles a pattern that Benincà 1988; Cinque 1990, Benincà & Poletto 2004 term *resumptive preposing* (*Anteposizione Anaforica*; see also Leonetti 2009; Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009; Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 522-523). Resumptive preposing, which is nowadays attested in formal registers of Italian, normally involves a definite phrase, which is identical or ‘inferentially linked’ to the antecedent (Cinque 1990: 87). The linkage between the resumptive phrase and the antecedent is often reinforced by a discourse deictic expression such as a demonstrative or an item meaning ‘same’, see (30). Unlike topicalisation, Resumptive Preposing does not require clitic resumption and is incompatible with preverbal subjects and foci. Unlike foci, Resumptive Preposing necessarily resumes given information and does not yield any focus/background partition.

- (30) a Le stesse cose ha detto ieri il fratello (It.)  
       the same things has said yesterday the brother  
       i. ‘His/her brother said the same thing yesterday’  
       b E questo farà anche lui  
       and this will.do also he  
       ‘He will do the same’

Pragmatic evidence is therefore consistent with syntactic evidence: both confirm that interpolated elements target the lowest criterial positions of the Left Periphery.

To summarise, this section focused on productive interpolation, i.e. the occurrence of phrasal constituent between the proclitics and the verb. I supported Salvi’s analysis that productive interpolation is a relic of Wackernagel syntax and, departing from Martins 1994, 2002 and following works, I provided a cartographic analysis of the phenomenon, which may account for certain asymmetries in the distribution of interpolation in embedded clauses.

### 5.3.2 The loss of interpolation

In dialects with residual interpolation, only function words can occur between the clitics and the verb. In the following example, for instance, a pronominal subject can be interpolated,

whereas a noun phrase cannot (Magro 2010):

- (31) O rapaz disse que *lhe* [ela/\*a Maria] telefonou. (Port. dial.)  
the boy said that to.him= she/\*the Mary phoned  
The boy said that she called him.

Traces of residual interpolation are scattered across several romance vernaculars. In early Romance, residual interpolation is attested in languages such as old Italian and French, whereas languages such as old Catalan (Fischer 2003a) or old Occitan exhibit no trace of the phenomenon. Nowadays, residual interpolation is allowed in French with infinitives and the clitics *y/en*, but only in very formal registers, see (32)b (Kayne 1991: 653–654; 1994: 42–43):

- (32) a io *li* [pur] farei piangere (o.It.)<sup>146</sup>  
I them= surely make cry  
'I'd surely make them cry  
b pour *me* [bien] comprendre (Fr.)  
for me= well understand  
'in order to understand me well'

As for present-day dialects, residual interpolation is allowed in certain northern dialects of Portuguese (Salvi 1990; Barbosa 1996; Fiéis 2003; Magro 2010), Galician (Uriagereka 1995b), Asturian, Istro-Romanian (Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2018) and certain dialects of Italy such as Triestino (Benincà 1997: 129; Paoli 2007), Cosentino and other (upper) southern Italian varieties (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005; Scorretti 2012 and references therein).

- (33) a O livro que *lhe* [ainda] não entreguei (Port. dialect)<sup>147</sup>  
The book that to.him= yet not handle  
'The book that I did not gave him yet'  
b Também *os* [aqui] meto (Monsanto)<sup>148</sup>  
also them= here I.put

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<sup>146</sup> Dante, VN 37, §2

<sup>147</sup> Barbosa 1996

<sup>148</sup> Magro 2010

I also put them in here.

c rei te [tu] marita dupa míre? (Istro-Romanian)<sup>149</sup>

will yourself= you marry after me

‘Will you marry me?’

d Un mi [cchù] parra (Cosentino)<sup>150</sup>

not me= anymore speaks

‘he does not speak to me anymore’

e el me [sempre]dizi (Triestino)<sup>151</sup>

he= to.me= always says

‘He always speaks to me’

From a logical standpoint, one might wonder about the cause-effect relationship between the emergence of adverbial clitics and the loss of interpolation. One may argue that the reanalysis that led to adverbial clitics was triggered by the loss of interpolation phenomena or, *vice versa*, that interpolation phenomena were barred when the incorporation of clitics became mandatory. In my opinion, the latter hypothesis is less probable because the data, summarised in (34), shows a gradual loss of interpolation, but no significant change with respect to the behaviour of clitics:

(34)	<i>Language</i>	<i>Interpolated material</i>	<i>References</i>
	Old Portuguese	all types of XPs, two elements or more	Martins 2011
	Old Spanish	bare elements or light PPs, no more than two elements	Poole 2013
	Portuguese dialects	Pronouns, locative/temporal adverbs, light PPs, negation, aspectual adverbs	Magro 2010
	Italo-Romance (Cosentino)	Aspectual adverbs, more than one	Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005
	Italo-Romance (Triestino)	Single aspectual adverbs	Paoli 2007

<sup>149</sup> Dragomirescu & Nicolae 2018

<sup>150</sup> Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005

<sup>151</sup> Benincà 1997: 129

The above languages differ with respect to the number and kind of elements that can undergo interpolation, although no visible change affected the morphology or the phonology of the pronouns. In other words, the evolution from productive to residual and, ultimately, to the loss of interpolation cannot be described as a grammaticalisation cline turning certain pronominal forms into affixal elements as, in fact, nothing changed in the make-up of clitic elements. Rather, what we observe by comparing languages with productive and residual interpolation is the interaction of two historical changes: i. the loss of Wackernagel clitics and ii. the loss of V-to-C movement. To address these points, data from western Ibero-Romance and southern Italo-Romance will be discussed separately in §§5.3.3-4.

### 5.3.3 Portuguese dialects

Portuguese dialects exhibit extensive patterns of interpolation involving subject pronouns, negation (which is the only element that can interpolate in modern Portuguese), deictic particles and, to a lesser extent, aspectual adverbs (more on this below). The usual analysis of residual interpolation (see Uriagereka 1995a/b; Rivero 1997) recalls the analysis of productive interpolation given in the preceding section, i.e. clitics are not incorporated to the verb, but merged in the C domain. The difference between productive and residual interpolation results from a restriction in IP scrambling, which in present-day dialects can target only function words.

Magro 2010 argues instead for a non-syntactic analysis of interpolation within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993); in particular, Magro elaborates on Harris & Halle's 2005 theory of reduplication and metathesis, which allow the permutation of adjacent morphological items (on Italo-Romance clitics, see Calabrese & Pescarini 2014). In a nutshell, Magro claims that residual interpolation does not result from the productive syntactic machinery illustrated in section §5.3.1, but from a set of language-specific morphological rules, which yield a displacement that recalls – at large – the archaic word order. Magro points out that syntactic analyses cannot account for patterns of clitic reduplication of the kind illustrated below, in which interpolation alternates with enclisis or with structures in which two copies of the same clitic co-occur, one immediately adjacent to

the verb and the other separated from the verb by an interpolated element, as in (35)a-b:<sup>152</sup>

(35) a Como é que **me** [eu] **me** safava?! (Melides)<sup>153</sup>

how is that me= I me= made

how would I have made it?

b Ainda hoje **se** [lá] **se** conserva aquele bocadinho (Lavre)<sup>154</sup>

even today itself= there itself= stay that piece

‘Even today that piece stays there’

I agree in part with Magro’s conclusion: it is true that patterns of reduplication such as those in (35)a-b call for an *ad hoc* explanation, but in my opinion this extra explanation cannot replace the syntactic analysis, otherwise the displacement of interpolated material would remain unaccounted for. I contend that the position of interpolated material in Portuguese dialects is essentially the same scrambling position as in old Portuguese: the only difference is that in present-day languages only function words can undergo scrambling, but, when these elements are scrambled in the high I domain, they are eventually sandwiched between the clitics (in W) and the finite verb.

Patterns of reduplication occur on top of scrambling and, in my opinion, they shed light on evolving systems that are losing V-to-C movement and the original system of Wackernagel/position clitics illustrated in §5.2 and §5.3.1. In the dialects exemplified in (35) a mechanism of incorporation is emerging, which incorporates the clitics to the inflected verb, which is no longer moved to a syntactic position close to W. In the spirit Marantz 1988; Matushansky 2006; Kramer 2014; Baker and Kramer 2016 among others, incorporation results from a morpho-syntactic operation that copies the pronoun (or its features) onto the adjacent verbal head, while the original copy of the clitic is deleted. In the case of languages that are subject to a change with respect to clitic placement, alternative mechanisms of cliticisation may co-occur, yielding the pronunciation of the original copy of the pronoun. As illustrated in (36)b, the reduplication phenomena in (35) result when the pronoun scrambled to W is accompanied by a copy of the same element incorporated to the inflected verb. Eventually, the original copy in W remains unpronounced, as shown in (36)c, yielding the

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<sup>152</sup> The fact that many peculiar examples occur in cleft structures might be part of the general puzzle, along with recomplementation phenomena, see (35)c.

<sup>153</sup> Magro 2010: 129

<sup>154</sup> Magro 2010: 131-132

system of adverbial clitics attested in most modern varieties.

- (36) a Stage 1 (Wackernagel clitics): [w pronoun ... [ V  
 b Stage 2 (reduplicated clitics): [w pronoun ... [(pronoun V)  
 c Stage 3 (adverbial clitics): [w ~~pronoun~~ ... [(pronoun V)

It is worth recalling that patterns of reduplication are seldom attested in languages undergoing a change in clitic placement, as shown in §3.8.<sup>155</sup> For instance, Romance varieties that are losing clitic climbing often exhibit two instances of the same clitic in restructuring contexts: one copy of the clitic is attached to the inflected verb and the other is attached to the lexical one. I illustrated the phenomenon in §3.8 with data from Piedmontese and Rhaeto-Romance dialects, repeated in (37).

- (37) a A **m** sun fò-**me** in fazing (Cairese)<sup>156</sup>  
 I= to.myself= am done=to.myself a cake  
 ‘I baked me a cake’  
 b ε **lɛ** 'vø: **lɛ** ta'ce:r (Fex Platta, Rhaeto-Romance)  
 I= her= want her= to.bind  
 ‘I want to bind it’

Whereas the Portuguese data in (35) witness the transition from Wackernagel/position clitics to adverbial clitics (which always climb along with the inflected verb), the patterns of reduplication in (37) witness the transition towards systems without clitic climbing (more on this in chapter 8). From a theoretical standpoint, data from reduplication call for a morphological analysis of incorporation, which does not replace the syntactic machinery. Rather, syntactic ingredients of clitic placement (i.e. scrambling and verb movement) provides the right context where morphological incorporation can take place.

#### 5.3.4 Italian dialects

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<sup>155</sup> Reduplication ‘mistakes’ are seldom attested in restructuring environments (chapter 8) in non-surveilled speech, e.g. It. *lo può veder-lo* ‘he can see it’. Examples like this can be easily retrieved on Google.

<sup>156</sup> Parry 2005: 178



In the previous section I argued that the interpolation pattern of western Ibero-Romance can be seen as a relic of the pattern observed in the Archaic Early Romance languages. The same conclusion, however, does not hold true for many Italo-romance dialects, which do not exhibit any cue of Wackernagel syntax and V-to-C movement. In fact, interpolation in most Italo-Romance dialects is restricted to elements that usually occur in the Lower Adverb Space (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, cf. §2.3):

- (38) a Un mi [cchiù] parra (Cosentino)<sup>157</sup>  
 not me= anymore speaks  
 ‘he does not speak to me anymore’  
 b el me [sempre] dizi (Triestino)<sup>158</sup>  
 he= to.me= always says  
 ‘He always speaks to me’

As discussed in §2.3, Cinque 1999 notices that aspectual adverbs corresponding to English *already, just, yet*, etc. occur after the inflected verb (either the auxiliary of a lexical verb), follow all speech act adverbs (e.g. *honestly, perhaps, usually*, etc), and precede VP-internal arguments. Furthermore, when coupled, these adverbs are rigidly ordered. This led Cinque to the hypothesis that these adverbs encoding aspectual features occupy a set of dedicated positions in what Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 term Lower Adverb Space. Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, Paoli 2007 claim that interpolation in Italo-Romance dialects occurs because in these dialects the clitics are merged in the high I domain, whereas the verb (can) target a position in the Lower Adverbial Space. As a consequence, some lower adverbs (lower adverbs<sub>α</sub> in (39)) end up being interpolated between the landing site of the verb and the nesting site of the clitic(s), which is located above the LAS, in a position that Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 conventionally label Z:

- (39) {<sub>I</sub> ... [Z clitics] lower adverbs<sub>α</sub> V lower adverbs<sub>β</sub> {<sub>v</sub> V... }}  
 ----- Lower Adverb Space -----

According to Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005: 96, incorporation obtains when the verb passes through Z. Evidence for (optional) incorporation in Cosentino is provided by sentences in

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<sup>157</sup> Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005

<sup>158</sup> Benincà 1997: 129

which the verb moves to the Higher Adverb Space (an option that is quite marginal for Cosentino, which normally allows only auxiliaries to climb to the HAS). Crucially, if the finite verb – either auxiliary or lexical – moves to the HAS, the clitic and the verb must form a single complex head:

- (40) ?Gianni **mi** canuscia forse (**\*mi**)  
 Gianni me= knows perhaps  
 ‘Perhaps Gianni already knows me’

In the light of (39), Ledgeway & Lombardi argue that clitics moves are phrasal constituents to Z, where they are eventually incorporated to the inflected verb if and only if the verb moves through Z. As for incorporation, I assume here, departing slightly from Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, the incorporation mechanism introduced in §5.3.3 (which will be discussed further in §5.5): the verb moves to Z, the pronoun (or its features) are copied onto the verbal head, and the original copy of the pronoun is eventually deleted:

- (41) a {<sub>I</sub> ... [Z clitic] ... LAS ... {<sub>v</sub> V ... }}  
 b {<sub>I</sub> ... [Z clitic V] ... LAS ... {<sub>v</sub> ~~V~~ ... }}  
 c {<sub>I</sub> ... [Z ~~clitic~~ (clitic V)] ... LAS ... {<sub>v</sub> ~~V~~ ... }}

In most Romance languages the mechanism in (41) cannot be observed *in vivo* because the verb always moves above Z. Conversely, in Cosentino the verb can target a position below Z, yielding interpolation.

To summarise, interpolation in Cosentino is not amenable to the same explanation provided in §5.3.3 for Portuguese dialects. In Western Ibero Romance the locus of incorporation is the high I domain, where scrambled material can still occur between the position W hosting clitics and the landing site of the verb. Conversely, Cosentino does not display evidence of V-to-C movement and of cliticisation in W. For this reason, Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 argues that in languages such as Cosentino clitics are first moved to a position (Z) in the lower I domain, where clitics are incorporated to the verb moving through Z. I contend that both W and Z are criterial positions attracting clitic material under the conditions discussed in §5.2.

If this analysis is on the right track, western Ibero-Romance and Italo-Romance dialects show that the mechanism of incorporation originates when pronouns still occur W, but as a

consequence of the loss of IP scrambling and V-to-C movement, the mechanism of incorporation is lately *transferred* to Z in most Romance languages. From a more technical standpoint, I hypothesise that in origin the clitics that were scrambled to W moved cyclically through the clause-internal periphery, cf. (42)a (see Chomsky 2000 on extraction). The reanalysis that prompted the emergence of adverbial clitics resulted in the replacement of the latter cycle of movement (from Z to W) with a mechanism of incorporation whereby the pronoun moves along with the verbal head, cf. (42)b. As previously mentioned, the evolution from (42)a to (42)b results from a series of causes: loss of IP scrambling, loss of V-to-C movement, and further morphological factors (see §5.4).

- (42) a {C ... [W *pronoun*] {I ... [Z ~~*pronoun*~~] ... {V ... ~~*pronoun*~~}}}
- b {C ... {I ... [Z (*pronoun* V)] ... {V ... ~~*pronoun*~~}}}
- ↑

In the remainder of the section I argue that also the displacement of aspectual adverb played a pivotal role in the transition from W-oriented to the Z-oriented system.

The bulk of Cinque's (and Ledgeway & Lombardi's) argument about adverbs is that they are 'fixed stars' in the IP firmament. However, in both early and modern varieties, adverbs may move to criterial positions. For instance, in contexts of productive interpolation, certain adverbs are often found in C, above the Wackernagel position hosting the clitics, cf. (43) and (44) for old Portuguese and modern Portuguese dialects, respectively.

- (43) a que sempre a [os Moesteyros de Anssedj e de Arnoya] usarõ...  
 that always it= the monasteries of Ansede and of Arnoia used  
 ... e possoyrõ. (o.Port.)<sup>159</sup>  
 and possessed  
 'that the monasteries of Ansede and Arnoia have always owned and cultivated it.'
- b E ja m' [El] [tanto mal] fez (o.Port.)<sup>160</sup>  
 and already to.me= he so-much harm did  
 'He has done me a lot of harm already'
- c E sempre m' [eu] [mal] acharei (o.Port.)<sup>161</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Legal document, year 1285. Cf. Martins (2001: 144)

<sup>160</sup> Martins 2003b.

<sup>161</sup> Lapa 1965: 155 (text 93)

and always myself= I bad will.feel

‘And I will always feel myself bad’

- (44) a Parece que já se [não] damos com as mezinhas, não é? (Melides)  
it.seems that already ourselves= not we.go with the medicines isn’t it?

‘It seems that we can’t cure ourselves with the traditional medicines anymore, isn’t it?’

- b até já me [não] lembra como ela foi. (Carrapatelo)

even already to.me= not remember how it was

‘I can’t remember my exact words anymore.’

Moreover, it is worth noting that in standard Portuguese aspectual adverbs block enclisis. Since enclisis is normally excluded under focus-fronting (more on this in chapters 6 and 7), the pattern below indicates that in certain languages aspectual adverbs have an operator-like behaviour and move to C.

- (45) a Eu sempre / ainda / já a encontrei no mercado (Port.)

I always / still / already her= met at.the market

- b \*Eu sempre / ainda / já encontrei-a no mercado

I always / still / already met=her at.the market

‘I always/still/already met her at the market’

Similarly, in southern Italian dialects aspectual adverbs are frequently fronted to a position in C. Some adverbs, e.g. *già* ‘already’ occur almost always in preverbal position (Ledgeway 2009 on Neapolitan, Poletto & Garzonio 2013 for Marchigiano).

- (46) a Già se tene contento (Neapolitan)<sup>162</sup>

already refl= keeps content

‘He is already content’

- b Già so magnetò (Liscia)

already am eaten

‘I have already eaten.’

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<sup>162</sup> Basile; from Ledgeway 2009, 780

- c Sta figurinə ggià li tinetə (Arielli)  
 this card already it=have.2pl  
 ‘You already have this card.’

Evidence for adverbs moving to criterial positions may eventually account for the optionality of interpolation and it may explain why in dialects such as Triestino (Paoli 2007) interpolated structures are ‘pragmatically salient’ as interpolated adverbs are focalised, see (47). The claim is corroborated by the fact that Triestino allows also the interpolation of focalising adverbs (Cinque 1999:30ff, 180 n. 79), e.g. *propio* ‘really’ in (48), and, unlike Southern Italo-Romance, permits the interpolation of a single element at a time (in the same way in which only a single constituent at a time can bear Focus).<sup>163</sup> These facts lead Paoli to the conclusion that interpolation results not only from (reduced) verb movement, but also from movement of the adverb to a criterial position.

- (47) a Ghe zà / NCORA / SEMPRE / SUBITO / SQUASI rompi sta storia! (Triestino)<sup>164</sup>  
 to.him= already / still / always / soon / almost it.annoys this story  
 ‘This matter doesn’t/already/still/always/soon/almost annoy(s) him’  
 b Ghe rompi zà / ncora / sempre / subito / squasi sta storia!  
 to.him= it.breaks already / still / always / soon / almost this story  
 ‘This matter already/still/always/soon/almost annoys him’

- (48) a I ne propio rompi (Triestino)<sup>165</sup>  
 they to.us= really they.break  
 ‘They really annoy us’  
 b La propio detesto sta mata  
 her= really I.detest this woman  
 ‘I really detest this woman’

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<sup>163</sup> Interpolated adverbs cannot occur in the same clause-internal focus position that, according to Belletti 2004, hosts postverbal subjects. As Paoli 2007 points out, if adverbs occurred in Belletti’s clause-internal focus position, postverbal subjects or other arguments would undergo interpolation as well, *contra* evidence. Moreover, postverbal subjects occur in a much lower position (after the past participle), whereas interpolation always takes place with finite verbs.

<sup>164</sup> Paoli 2007

<sup>165</sup> Paoli 2007

In light of the above data one may conclude that aspectual adverbs are the last elements subject to scrambling and, as such, they might have been the cornerstone of the change that led from the original W-oriented system to the innovative Z-oriented system, where, under the appropriate conditions, only adverbs hosted in the Lower Adverb Space can be interpolated.

#### 5.4 Incorporation and the rise of adverbial clitics

In §5.2 I argued that criterial freezing provides a sound explanation of the emergence of *position* clitics. Most romance languages, however, developed systems of *ad-verbal* clitics, in which pronouns are not frozen in a criterial position, but are incorporated to the verbal head. In the preceding section, I argued that the emergence of adverbial clitics followed from the loss of interpolation and V-to-C movement: since the pronouns in W and the inflected verb were always adjacent, the freezing configuration was eventually reanalysed as a structure in which the pronoun is incorporated to the verb (see also Wanner 1987: 450).

As a consequence of incorporation, pronouns are always attached to the verbal head. In French, for instance, object clitics are always proclitic to the inflected verb and, if the verb moves to C (crossing the position of subject clitics), the object clitic moves along with the verb, yielding the order object clitic > verb > subject clitic in interrogative clauses such as (49)b:

- (49) a Tu (*le as*) fait.  
 You=it=have done  
 ‘You did it’  
 b (*le as*) tu (~~*le as*~~) fait?  
 it=have =you done  
 ‘Did you do it?’

It is worth recalling that in some varieties of medieval French the object clitic was always adjacent to the verb, but the order of subject and object clitics in interrogative clauses ended up mirroring the order of the same elements in main clauses: from subject > object clitic > verb (which is the order in declaratives with no inversion) to verb > object clitic > subject (§4.7; Foulet 1919:§162; de Kok 1985:82):

(50) a e    savereíez    le    me    vos    mustrer? (o.Fr.)

and would    =it    =to.me    =you.PL show

‘and would you show it to me?’

b Conois    la    tu?

Know    =her    =you?

‘Do you know her?’

In my opinion, the contrast between (49) and (50) illustrates the difference between *morphological incorporation*, which preserves the linear order of the object pronoun and the clitic even if the latter moves above the nesting site of the pronoun, and syntactic incorporation, which results in left-adjunction of the verb to the pronoun.

Further evidence of (morphological) incorporation comes from languages in which the verb does not necessarily move to the higher I domain. When the verb targets a position in the low I domain, certain aspectual adverbs merged in the Lower Adverb Space may undergo interpolation, as shown in §5.3.4 (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005). However, not all languages with limited verb movement show interpolation phenomena. Romanian and Spanish, for instance, never exhibit interpolation although, as mentioned in §2.4, in these languages the finite verb is harboured in the LAS (Cinque 1999:31, 110f., 180 fn. 80; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005:87f.; the following scheme is from Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016):

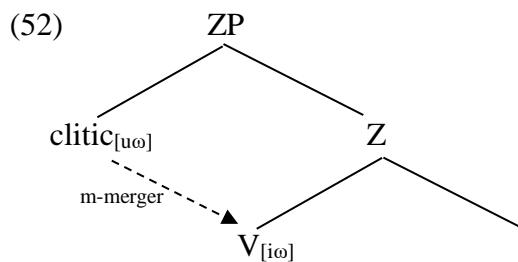
(51)		[HAS...		[LAS...		
a	Elle	connaît	<i>peut-être</i>	(*connaît)	<i>déjà</i>	(*connaît) la recette (Fr.)
b	Lei	(*conosce)	<i>forse</i>	conosce	<i>già</i>	?conosce la ricetta (It.)
c	Ea	(*știe)	<i>poate</i>	?știe	<i>deja</i>	știe rețeta (Ro.)
d	Ella	(*conoce)	<i>tal vez</i>	?conoce	<i>ya</i>	conoce la receta (Sp.)
	she	knows	perhaps	knows	already	knows the recipe(=the)
						‘Perhaps she already knows the recipe’

If proclitics were never incorporated to the inflected verb (as suggested by Benincà & Cinque 1993, see §2.4), one would expect Romanian and Spanish to behave like Cosentino: adverbs such as Ro. *deja* or Sp. *Ya* should occur between the inflected verb and the clitic. By the same token, one would expect interpolation to occur more readily with lexical verbs than with auxiliaries, which crosslinguistically tend to target higher positions (see Pollock 1989

a.o.). Since it is not the case, then we can safely conclude that in languages like Spanish and Romanian – and, by extension, in French and Italian – adverbial clitics result from the incorporation of the clitics to the finite verb, although the locus of interpolation may change across languages.

Matushansky 2006; Kramer 2014; Baker and Kramer 2016; Gallego 2016 a.o. propose that the incorporation of clitics results from a morphological operation (*m-merger*, Marantz 1988), which makes two adjacent elements conflate into a single morpho-phonological unit. From a diachronic point of view, one wonders about the trigger of m-merger as morphological operations *per se* tend to overgenerate.

To constrain morphological operations, let us assume that m-merger, which ultimately reduces a Lexical Item into an affix, is triggered when a function word is prosodically deficient (§1.2). Let us assume that prosodically deficient elements are uninterpretable morpho-phonological words ( $u\omega$ ), which, to become legible at the interface, must be merged with a legible morphological word, thus forming an interpretable prosodic element.



As proposed in §5.3, I contend that the mechanism in (52) can be decomposed further into a process whereby the clitic element is copied onto the verbal head and eventually the original copy is deleted. This can account for cases of clitic reduplication that are seldom attested in varieties scattered in the Romance domain (see Calabrese & Pescarini 2014).

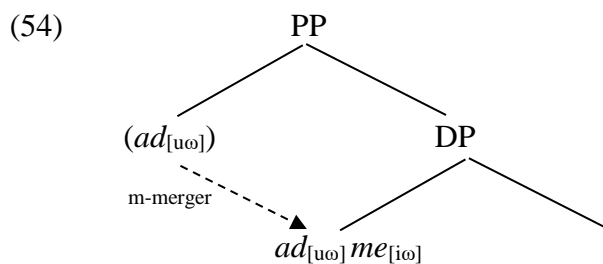
The hypothesis of m-merger can provide a principled explanation of cases in which Latin pronouns occurred in W along with monosyllabic prepositions such as *ad* ‘to’, *ab* ‘from’, etc. (Salvi 1996):

- (53) a si nihil (ad te) scripserim [...]  
 If nothing to you I.wrote  
 ‘if I would have written nothing to you’



- b Tu si quid (ad me) forte scripseris<sup>166</sup>  
 You if anything to me by.chance you.wrote  
 ‘If you, on your part, would have written to me...’

On the one hand, these examples support the hypothesis that W was in origin an unselective attractor (see §5.2), but, on the other, they are problematic for Salvi’s historical explanation, which assumes that weak pronouns in W cannot be modified. Salvi 1996 argues that the prepositions in (53) are *phonological clitics* incorporated to the nearby pronoun. Following the hypothesis of m-merger, one may argue that certain monosyllabic prepositions and the following pronoun form a morpho-phonological unit via m-merger: for instance, the monosyllabic preposition *ad*, bearing the feature  $u\omega$ , is m-merged with an adjacent  $i\omega$  element, e.g. the pronoun ME, yielding the configuration in (54):



Evidence in favour of the above analysis comes from the syntax of the enclitic coordination QUE (Carlson 1983: 73- a.o.). Crucially, QUE ‘and’ cannot attach to clitic prepositions such as IN/AD/AB, see (55)a, whereas it is allowed to occur after other prepositions such as CIRCUM ‘around’ in (55)b.

- (55) a. in (\*que) rēbus =que  
 in= (=and) things =and  
 ‘and in things’  
 b. circum que ea loca  
 around =and those places  
 ‘and around those places’

<sup>166</sup> Cic. *Fam.* V.17

The ungrammaticality of sequences such as \*IN-QUE follows from the impossibility of combining two phonological clitics bearing uninterpretable prosodic features, whereas m-merger takes place when one element is prosodically interpretable, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (56) a  $*(in_{[u\omega]} que_{[u\omega]})$   
 b  $(circum_{[i\omega]} que_{[u\omega]})$   
 c  $(in_{[u\omega]} illo_{[i\omega]})$   
 d  $(illo_{[i\omega]} que_{[u\omega]})$   
 e  $((in_{[u\omega]} illo_{[i\omega]})_{[i\omega]} que_{[u\omega]})$

Further evidence in favour of the above analysis comes from patterns of left branch extraction. Clitic prepositions such as *ad/ab/in* undergo left-branch extraction if and only if they are m-merged with another nominal modifier, see (57)a. Conversely, other prepositions such as *per* in (57)b can undergo extraction without m-merging to a nearby nominal element. This confirms the intuition that certain prepositions enjoy a higher degree of autonomy than others, which, in the present notation, is represented by means of an interpretable prosodic feature allowing legibility at the phonetic interface:

- (57) a  $(in_{[u\omega]} duas) divisam esse [_{PP} (\cancel{in duas}) partes]^{167}$   
 in two split be parts  
 ‘to be divided into two parts’  
 b  $per_{[i\omega]} ego uobis [_{PP} \cancel{per} deos atque homines] dico,^{168}$   
 for I to.you.PL gods and men I.say  
 ‘I swear by gods and men...’

In the remainder of the section, I try to extend the above analysis to pronominal forms. In origin, Latin pronouns were not prosodically deficient. As mentioned in §4.2 and §5.2, Latin pronouns in the Wackernagel position did not behave as phonological clitics and were not subject to processes affecting unstressed vowels (Wanner 1987; Plank 2005).

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<sup>167</sup> Cic. Cluent 1

<sup>168</sup> Plautus, Menaechmi 990

Probably, the pronouns in W were spelled-out with a peculiar prosodic contour as they immediately followed focus elements. This might have led to the subsequent reanalysis of W pronouns as prosodically deficient elements, as shown in (58)b, but, as previously mentioned, this change is not documented in the (Late) Latin documents.

After the reanalysis in (58)b, pronominal forms in the Wackernagel position began to evolve as unstressed syllables, which led to the divergence between the series of strong and clitic forms. The former had to m-merge to a nearby host, but they were not required to attach to a verbal host: recall that in so-called Archaic Early Romance languages such as old Spanish and old Portuguese clitics in the Wackernagel position were not incorporated to the verb (thus allowing interpolation) until a further change occurred, which yielded the incorporation of the pronoun to the verb, see (58)c:

(58) a Pronouns in W (Latin, §4.2-3)

[w pronoun]<sub>[i $\omega$ ]</sub> [ ...

*prosodic deficiency*

b Phonological clitics in W (Archaic Early Romance, §4.5)

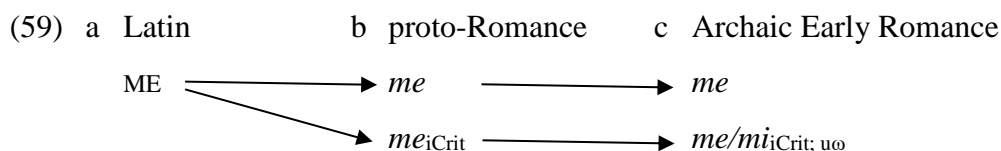
[w pronoun]<sub>[u $\omega$ ]</sub> [ ...

*incorporation*

c Adverbial clitics (Innovative early Romance, §4.6)

[w ...                      [z (pronoun V)]<sub>[i $\omega$ ]</sub>

The evolution in (58) targeted those pronouns that, following the change discussed in §5.2, had already been reanalysed as Criterial Goals. To recapitulate, I proposed, in the spirit of Salvi 1996, that in the Latin/Romance transition a double series of homophonous pronominal elements emerged when certain pronominal forms began to behave as Goals probed by the criterial head W. Hence, (perspective) clitics began to differ from strong elements in having an extra Criterial feature, cf. (59)b. Incorporation resulted from a further change – in (58) – which resulted in *phonological deficiency* and consequent morpho-phonological differentiation of clitic and strong pronouns, cf. (59)c.



In the Archaic Early Romance Languages, prosodically deficient pronouns could *lean* on any nearby constituent, whereas in the Innovative Early Romance languages an innovative mechanism emerged when clitics began to target a nesting site in the low I domain (Ledgeway & Lombardi's Z) instead of W. When pronouns are merged in Z, they must always incorporate to the verb moving through Z. I will resume this argument in the next chapters, which deals with clitic placement in early Romance and clitic climbing, respectively.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The present chapter elaborated on the emergence of Wackernagel clitics and their successive evolution into ad-verbal clitics. Following Salvi 1996, I argued that Latin exhibited an embryonic mechanism of cliticisation as pronouns, along with other function words, were systematically placed in a post-focal position whenever they referenced G-topics, i.e. given, non-contrastive information that does not trigger reference shift. I contended that the position hosting G-pronouns (dubbed Wackernagel Position, W) is a criterial position in the sense of Rizzi 2006, 2007.

In principle, various kinds of XPs could move to W. Later, the criterial head was reanalysed as a Criterial Probe, which attracts only a closed set of pronominal elements endowed with a matching interpretable feature. Criterial Goals were eventually frozen in W, yielding C-oriented (or Wackernagel) clitics, which, in origin, were not subject to any form of incorporation.

Incorporation came later on as a consequence of the loss of IP scrambling and V-to-C movement. These changes determined two conditions that led to the emergence of systems of adverbial clitics:

- 1) clitics began to occur systematically adjacent to the inflect verb; this configuration was later reanalysed as a cue of incorporation;
- 2) clitics ceased to be attracted by the criterial position W in the Left Periphery and instead began to target a lower position in the clause-internal periphery, which Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 sub Z.

I therefore discarded the hypothesis that incorporation is a by-product of Agree (Roberts 2010). It seems to me that an Agree-based explanation cannot capture the evolution of Romance clitics from the Wackernagel system displayed in Latin. An Agree-based analysis cannot account for the peculiar semantic and pragmatic interpretation of Romance clitic pronouns. Furthermore, the Agree-based analysis cannot account straightforwardly for the cliticisation of locative adverbs such as Fr. *y/en*, It. *ci/ne*, etc., which nowadays can pronominalize various classes of PPs. For further objections to Roberts's analysis, see Gallego 2016.

Instead, I elaborated on the hypothesis that incorporation results from a morphological mechanism – *à la* Marantz 1988; Matushansky 2006 a.o. – which is triggered when a Lexical Item carries an uninterpretable prosodic feature. These elements are not legible at the phonetic interface unless they are m-merged with a nearby interpretable word (the so called *host*).

In the Archaic Early Romance Languages, where clitics were still displaced in W, prosodically deficient pronouns attached to any nearby constituent, whereas in the Innovative Early Romance languages, where clitics target the nesting site Z in the low I domain, they are obligatorily merged with the verb if the latter moves through Z.

## Clitic placement in early Romance: on “V2”

b.

c. 6.1 Introduction

In medieval Romance, as well as in present-day western Ibero-Romance, enclisis and proclisis alternate depending on the syntactic context: enclisis is banned in subordinate clauses such as (1)a, in negative clauses such as (1)b, and in focus/operator constructions such as (1)c-d.

(1)a Todo mundo sabe que **a** viste / \*viste-**a** (Port.)<sup>169</sup>

Everybody knows that her= you.saw you.saw=her

‘Everybody knows that (you) saw her.’

b O Paulo não **me** fala / \*fala-**me**

The P not to.me= speaks speaks=to.me

‘Paulo does not speak to me.’

c Quem **me** chamou / \*chamou-**me**?

Who me= called me called=me

‘Who called me.’

d Só ele **a** entende / \*entende-**a**

Only he her= understands understands=her

‘Only he understands her.’

Furthermore, enclisis does not occur in sentences containing quantified subjects and aspectual adverbs, as shown in (2)a and (2)b, respectively. The cases in (2) are germane to focus/operator constructions in (1)c-d: quantified subjects<sup>170</sup> have the same distribution of foci

<sup>169</sup> Data from Galves & Paixão De Sousa 2013

<sup>170</sup> A finer distinction could be drawn between strong and weak quantifiers. The latter trigger proclisis on a quantificational reading, but disallow it on a cardinal reading (Martins 1994; Uriagereka 1995)

(i) a Todo o mundo **o** veu / \*veun-o. (Galician, Uriagereka 1995a)

everyone it= saw / saw=**it**

b. Moita xente **o** veu / veun-**o**.

many people it= saw / saw=it

(Benincà 1988: 141-142; Raposo and Uriagereka 1996; Zubizarreta 1998: 102-103 a.o.), while aspectual adverbs in (2)b are arguably fronted to a focus-like position as the same class of adverbs in the other Romance languages normally occur after the finite verb (cf. §5.3.4; Cinque 1999; see Poletto & Garzonio 2013).

- (2) a Alguém **me** chamou / \*chamou **-me**. (Port.)<sup>171</sup>  
 Somebody me= called called =me  
 ‘Somebody called me.’
- b Eu sempre/ainda/já **a** encontrei / \*encontrei **-a** no mercado.  
 I always/still/already her= met met =her at.the market  
 ‘I always/still/already met her at the market.’

The pattern in (1)-(2) is usually subsumed under the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law, named after philologists Adolf Tobler and Alfredo Mussafia (Tobler 1875, 1889; Mussafia 1886/1983). The Tobler-Mussafia law has been subject to several reformulations in order to relate the facts in (1)-(2) to other syntactic properties. In particular, it has been proposed that enclisis/proclisis alternations are a by-product of verb movement.

In medieval Romance, the finite verb in main clauses targets a higher position than in (almost) all present-day languages, see, among others, Benincà 1983/4, 1995, 2006; Benincà & Poletto 2004, 2010; Rivero 1986, 1991, 1997; Salvi 1990, 1991, 1993, 2000, 2011; Barbosa 1993, 1996, 2000; Fontana 1993, 1997; Roberts 1993; Martins 1994, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Manzini 1994; Uriagereka 1995a, 1995b; Poletto 2005, 2006, 2014; Vance 1997; Raposo 2000; Cardinaletti & Roberts 2002; Wolfe 2015a/b, 2016a/b). Languages exhibiting Tobler-Mussafia effects usually show cues of V-to-C movement (namely, movement of the finite verb in the C domain). Early Romance allows auxiliary inversion in declarative clauses, yielding the order auxiliary > subject > participle, as shown in (3). It is worth noting that the type of inversion in (3) is ungrammatical in all present-day Romance languages,<sup>172</sup> which allow other patterns of inversion such as ‘stylistic’ and ‘free’ inversion, cf. §6.2:

<sup>171</sup> Data from Galves & Paixão De Sousa 2013.

<sup>172</sup> Save for certain Rhaeto-Romance varieties (Poletto 2002).

- (3) a Un pou après eure de prime **fu Mado** venuz a cort<sup>173</sup> (o.Fr.)  
 Slightly after first hour was M. arrived at the court  
 ‘Mador arrived at the court slightly after the first hour.’
- b così **avea ella** conceputo d’uccidere me e le mie sorelle<sup>174</sup> (o.It.)  
 So had she planned to kill me and my sisters  
 ‘So she had planned to kill me and my sisters in that way.’
- c **Estava aquel mançebo** asentado en los poyos<sup>175</sup> (o.Sp.)  
 was that youth sat on the boundary-stones  
 ‘That young man was sitting on the boundary stone.’
- d **ha Deus** creada prudencia e fe<sup>176</sup> (o.Cat.)  
 has God created prudence and faith  
 ‘God has created prudence and faith.’

In what follows, I show that the hypothesis linking enclisis and verb movement is ultimately correct (see also Wolfe 2015a-c, 2016a/b), although the examples supporting the hypothesis are relatively rare, the correlation between enclisis and verb movement is a bit more complicated than assumed in part of the literature, and – in my opinion – no formal machinery proposed so far accounts straightforwardly for the data on clitic placement.

I will show that verb movement yields both inversion and enclisis, but not under the same conditions as subject inversion does not necessarily entail enclisis (Benincà 1995, 2006). Enclisis provides evidence for a clitic site in C, thus supporting Salvi’s 1990 intuition that Tobler-Mussafia effects are an evolution of the Wackernagel system illustrated in chapter 5.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §6.2 deals with the patterns of verb-subject inversions attested in early and modern Romance; 6.3 wonders about the nature of the Romance V2; §6.4 aims to disentangle inversion from VP-scrambling; §6.5 focuses on embedding; after an interim conclusion (§6.6), §6.7 models the interaction between verb movement and clitic placement. §6.8 concludes.

d.

i. 6.2 Types of inversion

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<sup>173</sup> *La Mort Artu*.

<sup>174</sup> Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*.

<sup>175</sup> *Libro de Calila e Dimna*; from Batllori 1993.

<sup>176</sup> Lull, R., *Llibre de virtuts e de pecats*; from Batllori 1993.



Modern Romance exhibits several patterns of verb/subject inversion (for Italian, see Belletti 2001, 2004):

- *free inversion with focalised subjects*: if the subject carries new information, it occurs in a clause-internal position immediately after the past participle and before adjuncts, see (4);
- *wide focus inversion*: postverbal (indefinite) subjects are usually allowed with (certain) unaccusative verbs under wide focus, see (5) (cf. Tortora 1997, 1998 on Italian and Italian dialects; Corr 2016 for Ibero-Romance);
- *stylistic inversion*: if the subject co-occurs with focus material (including *wh* elements), the former readily occurs in sentence-final position, see (6).

(4) Q: Chi ha vinto?

‘Who won?’

A: Ha vinto *Linda*

Has won L.

‘Linda won’

(5) Q: Cos’è successo?

‘What happened?’

A: è morto *un gatto*

is died a cat

‘A cat has died’

(6) Quando ha mangiato la minestra *Carlo*?

When has eaten the soup C.

‘When did Carlo eat the soup?’

Although modern Romance languages permit to various extent (4)-(6), they do not allow the subject to occur between the auxiliary and the past participle, yielding the so-called *G(ermanic)-inversion*. Nowadays, only non-finite auxiliaries can move past the subject in the *aux-to-comp* constructions of Italian, exemplified in (8) (Rizzi 1092; see §4.9). *Aux-to-comp*, which is found only in very formal, written registers, can be therefore regarded as a residual V2-like pattern.

- (7) a \***è** **ungatto** appena morto  
 is a cat just dead  
 ‘A cat has just dead’
- b \***ha** **Mario** dormito da Giorgio  
 has M. slept at Giorgio  
 ‘Mario slept at Giorgio’s’
- c \*Quando **ha** **Carlo** mangiato la minestra?  
 When has C. eaten the soup  
 ‘When did C eat the soup?’

- (8) Non **avendo-lo egli** restituito a nessuno, ...  
 Not having=it he given.back to anybody’  
 ‘Since he could not give it back to anybody’

Old Romance differs from modern Romance in exhibiting G-inversion *besides* all the possibilities in (4)-(6) (I repeat in (9) all the relevant examples of G-inversion): hence old Romance differs from modern Romance in allowing also auxiliary inversion, while it differs from Germanic-type V2 systems in allowing also free and stylistic inversions.

- (9) a Un pou après eure de prime **fu** **Mado** venuz a cort<sup>177</sup> (o.Fr.)  
 Slightly after first hour was M. arrived at the court  
 ‘Mador arrived at the court slightly after the first hour’
- b così **avea ella** conceputo d’uccidere me e le mie sorelle<sup>178</sup> (o.It.)  
 So had she planned to kill me and my sisters  
 ‘So she had planned to kill me and my sisters in that way’
- c **Estava aquel mançebo** asentado en los poyos<sup>179</sup> (o.Sp.)  
 was that youth sat on the boundary-stones  
 ‘That young man was sitting on the boundary stone’
- d **ha Deus** creada prudencia e fe<sup>180</sup> (o.Cat.)  
 has God created prudence and faith

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<sup>177</sup> *La Mort Artu*.

<sup>178</sup> Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*.

<sup>179</sup> *Libro de Calila e Dimna*; Batllori 1993.

<sup>180</sup> Lull, R., *Llibre de virtuts e de pecats*; from Batllori 1993.

‘God has created prudence and faith’

e Acostumat **avia li sancta** de pagar a Dieu las horas<sup>181</sup> (o.Occ.)

accustomed had the saint to pay to God the hours

‘The Saint had become used to reciting her hours to God.’

Cases of G-inversion such as (9) are arguably derived by means of an *ad hoc* mechanism, which in modern Romance is not productive anymore. Under usual requirements of epistemological parsimony, it is fair to conclude that the extra mechanism yielding G-inversion consists in movement of the finite verb to a position at the I/C border, above the canonical subject position. Following Cardinaletti & Roberts 2002, Ledgeway 2008; Salvesen 2011, 2013, I will assume from now on that inversion results when the verb moves to the lower position of the C layer, which Rizzi 1997 dubs *Fin* (from Finiteness), crossing the position of the subject:

(10) {<sub>C</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> V] {<sub>I</sub> Subj  $\nabla$  ... }}

Consider that the distinction between auxiliary inversion and other types of inversion (free, stylistic, etc.) is blurred in simple tenses. In declarative clauses with simple tenses only pragmatic factors can help us to distinguish genuine cases of V-to-C movement from the other patterns of inversion in (4)-(6). However, the pragmatic conditions behind a medieval clause cannot always be ascertained as the interpretation of certain word orders differ in old and modern Romance. As a consequence, cases of verb-subject inversion with simple tenses cannot be taken as solid evidence of V-to-C movement.

This leads us to a further objection to the hypothesis that G-inversion in Romance results from V-to-C movement. In fact, the examples featuring clear cases of G-inversion such as (9) are quite scarce. One might object that, since they are not representative of the syntax of old Romance from a quantitative point of view, then we can discard the hypothesis that a generalised phenomenon such as the Tobler-Mussafia law results from a pattern of inversion that is so marginal. This conclusion, in my opinion, is flawed because we are not considering the elephant in the room: pro-drop. It has been argued that in old Romance languages null subjects are licensed in main clauses, where the verb is supposed to move above the subject position, whereas subordinate clauses often exhibit overt subjects even in contexts where

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<sup>181</sup> *Sainte Douceline*; from Wolfe 2015a: 154.

present-day varieties require pro-drop (Vanelli, Benincà, Renzi 1985). In other words, the number of examples exhibiting the order Aux > Subj is relatively small not because verb movement is marginal, but because of a conspiracy: subjects are dropped in the contexts where the verb moves higher and, in absence of overt subjects, we cannot detect V-to-C movement. If subjectless main clauses were ‘counted’ as cases of (vacuous) V-to-C movement, one would come up with the conclusion that V-to-C movement is not marginal in early Romance.

To conclude, the syntax of postverbal subjects in old Romance results from a ‘mixed’ behaviour: besides *free*, and *stylistic* inversion (which are attested in present-day Romance as well), old Romance exhibited G-inversion, which is evidence in favour of V-to-C movement. G-inversion cannot be reduced or derived from other patterns of inversion (e.g. stylistic or free inversion) that are permitted in both medieval and present-day Romance: this is the crucial piece of evidence we must focus on in order to characterise the syntax of early Romance.

### 6.3 The Romance V2: truth or hoax?

Early Romance exhibits word order phenomena that are reminiscent of Germanic verb-second (V2) systems. This section aims to reconsider this kind of evidence to show that the V-to-C analysis introduced in §6.2 is ultimately on the right track, while the comparison with the German(ic) V2 might be misleading as the V2 status of early Romance can be established only at a very abstract level (for similar considerations, see Wolfe 2015a/b, 2016a/b, 2019; for objections to the V2 analysis of early Romance, see Rivero 1993, 1997; Kaiser 1999; 2002, 2009; Kaiser & Zimmermann 2011; Fischer 2003b; Martins 2003a; Rinke 2009; Rinke & Meisel 2009 ; Rinke & Elsig 2010; Sitaridou 2011).

At first sight, old Romance does not conform to the syntax of a prototypical V2 language such as standard German. However, in these terms, the question is badly stated. In fact, V2 is a multifaceted phenomenon subject to a certain degree of variation even among Germanic languages. V2 can be either symmetric or asymmetric, depending on whether V2 phenomena are confined to main clauses or not. Furthermore, embedded V2 orders are tolerated, usually with a peculiar semantic reading, in most asymmetric V2 languages as well (see Holmberg 2015: 358-362 for an overview and references). Certain V2 systems (e.g. Icelandic and several old Germanic languages) are more liberal than others with respect to V1 orders, which are allowed under certain conditions: above all, conditionals, protases without *if* and contexts

of so called *Narrative Inversion* (the latter might be analysed as disguised V2 clauses with a null topic/expletive/operator, Sigurðsson 1990). Many V2 languages allow, to a certain extent, topics and frame elements (e.g. temporal/locative adverbials) to occur in sentence-initial position, thus yielding V3, V4 orders. Lastly, it is worth recalling that in certain languages V2 syntax is fully productive, while other varieties have an emerging or residual V2 syntax, e.g. old West Germanic (Hinterholz & Petrova 2010 a.o.) or English.

The same consideration hold for medieval Romance, which exhibits a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation with respect to the distribution and diffusion of V1, V2, and V3 orders (Wolfe 2015a/c, 2016a/b and references therein). Then, the statistical incidence of V1, V3, or V4 orders is not *per se* a valid argument against a V2 analysis and, by the same token, a direct comparison between a number of early Romance languages (spoken across various centuries) and a single prototypical V2 system such as standard German is far from illuminating.

In this respect, quantitative surveys are not conclusive either. As previously said, the incidence of V3, V4 depends on whether and to what extent a language allows sentence-initial scene setters or topics before the position subject to the V2 requirement. As for V1, it has been noticed that V1 is less frequent in certain early Romance languages than in others (Benincà 1986; Wolfe 2016a), but the same holds true across Germanic varieties as well.

Furthermore, a certain amount of ‘background noise’ cannot be easily removed from statistical counting. Philological issues aside, it is worth recalling that, on the basis of linguistic evidence, we can barely distinguish dislocated from focalised direct objects<sup>182</sup>, but nothing can be said about PPs or adverbs in absence of clitic resumption: this means that the distinction between V1, V2, V3 clauses is eventually blurred in most cases. Any consideration based on pragmatic judgments by modern speakers cannot be taken at face value as our perception is biased by the information structure of modern Romance. In fact, we know that the pragmatic import of fronting varies from old to modern Romance and, in the same chronological stage, across different varieties (more on this below). On top of that, recall that with the term ‘early Romance’ we refer to a linguistic continuum spanning from present-day Portugal to present-day Romania, spoken across more or less four centuries. The same *caveat* holds for labels such as ‘old Spanish’ or ‘old French’, which probably correspond to sets of dialects with their own grammatical subsystems of verb movement and clitic placement

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<sup>182</sup> Only the presence of resumptive clitics is a cue of topicalisation. However, clitic resumption is mandatory only in the case of dislocated direct objects.

(Wolfe 2015a-c; 2016a-b). Given all the above factors, nobody can answer the question ‘was Romance V2?’ by counting the number of sentences showing V1, V2, etc. in a relatively narrow sample of texts. More generally, it seems to me that the V2 nature of early Romance cannot be diagnosed in purely descriptive, comparative, or statistical terms.

To approach the problem in a more constructive way, the V2 issue must be tackled from an abstract point of view, in which V2 is defined on the basis of its essential components: (i) V-to-C movement and (ii) fronting of an XP before the verb in C (Holmberg 2015 a.o.). In this respect, various definitions of the old Romance V2 have been advanced in the past literature:

- a strict definition of V2, in which the verb and the preceding XP move to the same position in the C domain;
- a relaxed definition of V2, requiring the presence of an XP in the C domain, but not necessarily in the specifier of the position where the verb is harboured;
- a weak definition of V2, whereby V2 is epiphenomenal as V-to-C movement is not necessarily accompanied by fronting of another constituent.

Benincà 1983-4, which – to the best of my knowledge – proposed the first V2 analysis of early Romance, used the term V2 in its weak interpretation as a synonym of V-to-C movement. In fact, Benincà 1983-4 and following works (Benincà 1995, 2006) never elaborates too much on the relationship between the verb and fronted elements: she claims that the verb in main clauses is placed immediately after the Focus position and, for this reason, fronted objects that are not resumed by clitics end up being adjacent to the moved-to-C verb. Notice that the presence of an XP in the Focus position is not mandatory: in fact, Benincà claims that, if the Focus position is empty, the verb moves to a higher position in the C domain yielding V1 (more on this in §6.7).

V1 challenges analyses based on strict or relaxed definitions of V2. To account for V1 within a V2 analysis, one might postulate that in V1 environments the V2 requirement is satisfied by a null topic. The hypothesis that V1 features a null topic has been advanced by several scholars (Roberts 1993: 151; Benincà 2004: 290; Ledgeway 2008: 448; Poletto 2014: 20; Wolfe 2016a), but only some of them claim explicitly that the presence of the null topic can satisfy the V2 criterion. In fact, verb movement is not affected by the presence of topics and evidence from clitic placement lead us to the conclusion that sentences in which the verb is preceded by topic material are instances of *disguised* V1 clauses (see Benincà 1995; but see Martins 2005, to whom I owe the term ‘disguised V1’).

‘Detractors’ of the V2 hypothesis, conversely, tend to adopt – and then falsify – a stronger definition of V2, by assuming that in V2 languages an overt XP is obligatorily merged in C

and the fronted XP can co-occur with other material in C if and only if the latter is topical. As shown by Martins 2019, however, a strong definition of V2 – or a relaxed variant thereof – encounters many counterexamples. Evidence against the strong or relaxed V2 nature of early Romance comes from the co-occurrence of multiple *Non-Topic Items*, i.e. elements with an operator-like behaviour that, in most early Romance languages, blocks enclisis. Non-Topic Items (or proclisis-triggers), which have been briefly introduced at the beginning of the chapter, are repeated in (11) for the sake of clarity: enclisis is barred in subordinate clauses as (11)a, in negative clauses as (11)b, and in the presence of fronted constituents such as foci, wh elements, bare quantifiers, and aspectual adverbs, as shown in (11)c-f.

- (11) a Todo mundo sabe que a viste / \*viste-a (Port.)<sup>183</sup>  
 Everybody knows that her= you.saw you.saw=her  
 ‘Everybody knows that (you) saw her.’
- b O Paulo não me fala / \*fala-me  
 The P not to.me= speaks speaks=to.me  
 ‘Paulo does not speak to me.’
- c Quem me chamou / \*chamou-me?  
 Who me= called me called=me  
 ‘Who called me.’
- d Só ele a entende / \*entende-a  
 Only he her= understands understands=her  
 ‘Only he understands her.’
- e Alguém me chamou / \*chamou-me. (Port.)<sup>184</sup>  
 Somebody me= called called me  
 ‘Somebody called me.’
- f Eu sempre/ainda/já a encontrei / \*encontrei-a no mercado.  
 I always/still/already her= met met=her at.the market  
 ‘I always/still/already met her at the market.’

Martins 2019 assumes that the Non-Topic Items in (11)c-f (i.e. foci, wh elements, bare quantifiers, and aspectual adverbs) demarcates the area of the C domain subject to the alleged

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<sup>183</sup> Data from Galves & Paixão De Sousa 2013

<sup>184</sup> Data from Galves & Paixão De Sousa 2013.

V2 requirements. Provided that Portuguese does not allow topics to occur below the focus position (Benincà & Poletto 2001, 2004, 2010 *pace* Rizzi 1997), Martins argues that, if a Non-Topic Item is present in C, then the V2 requirement would rule out any other preverbal XP. This prediction is falsified by data from old Portuguese, which allows sequences of two Non-Topic Items, as illustrated in (12):

- (12) a [Ia] [uos] [bê] sabêdes que amo meu irmão.<sup>185</sup> (o.Port.)  
 already you.NOM well know that I.love my brother  
 ‘You do know that I love my brother.’
- b [Bem] [asi] aueo a mj.<sup>186</sup>  
 also so happened to me  
 ‘It so happened to me as well.’
- c [nũca] [nenhũ omẽ] o oriaj a fallar...<sup>187</sup>  
 never no man him= would-hear to speak  
 ‘No one would ever hear him speak’

In particular, Martins shows that old Portuguese allows Non-Topic Items to occur between a focus-fronted object and the finite verb, a word order excluded under Benincà’s analysis:

- (13) c E [todo esto] [ella] fazia por ordyr morte de Galuã<sup>188</sup> (o.Port.)  
 and all this she did to plot death of Galvan  
 ‘And she did all this to arrange the death of Galvan.’
- b [Tudo isso], disse el-rei, [eu] [sem falta] quero escutar...<sup>189</sup>  
 all that, said the-king, I without fail I.want to.listen  
 ‘All that, said the king, I am absolutely prepared to listen’.
- c [esta carta] [cõ mha mão] escreuy e [meu sinal] [ẽ ela] pugi...<sup>190</sup>  
 this letter with my hand I.wrote and my sign in it I.put  
 ‘wrote this document with my own hand and made this my sign here’

<sup>185</sup> *Demanda do Santo Graal*; from Martins 2019.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> *Livro de José de Arimateia*; from Martins 2019.

<sup>190</sup> *Legal text*; from Martins 2001:399



It is worth noting that the co-occurrence of multiple Non-Topic Items is confined to declarative clauses, whereas *wh* elements in interrogatives are always adjacent to the verb. Martins's objection is that in fully-fledged V2 systems (i) multiple Non-Topic Items cannot co-occur and (ii) V2 declaratives have the same word order as *wh* questions. Since neither prediction is borne out, Martins's conclusion is that early Romance is not V2. This conclusion challenges not only the idea that early Romance languages were V2, but also the hypothesis that early Romance exhibited V-to-C movement. As Martins points out, the presence of multiple Non Topic Elements, including focalised objects, means that the verb in declarative clauses does not land in a position adjacent to Focus, but remains in the I domain:

(14) {C... [Foc XP {I YP ZP V ... }]}

In my opinion, the above data confirm the clear division between medieval Ibero-Romance languages on the one hand and the rest of the Romance varieties on the other. It is worth recalling that the former – the Archaic Early Romance languages discussed in §3.5 and §5.3.1 – allow IP scrambling, which yields interpolation in embedded clauses and, to a lesser extent, in main declarative clauses. In my opinion, the data in (12) and (13) show patterns of IP scrambling, which, in absence of clitics, can be easily mistaken for fronting of non-topic elements. In fact, the displacement in (14) is ruled out in the Innovative Early Romance varieties (§3.6), where scrambling to the higher I domain is barred. In these languages the verb obligatorily moves to C in main clauses, where it lands in a position close to the single constituent that is moved to Focus:

(15) {C... [Foc XP [Fin (clitic V) {I Subj  $\Psi$  ... }]}

In the light of the distinction between Archaic and Innovative Early Romance, I think that the hypothesis of V-to-C movement can be maintained with the caveat that in contexts of IP scrambling (hence, in old Ibero-Romance) V-to-C was blocked. However, once we factor out IP scrambling, it seems to me that a V2 analysis of early Romance is still viable, in particular for the Innovative Early Romance languages. Under a V2 analysis, V2 results when the verb is preceded by one non-Topic element, whereas V3, V4 orders may result only from the co-occurrence of multiple topics. A principled analysis of V1 sentences is postponed to chapter 7.

ii. 6.4 Inversion and VP-scrambling

Another possible objection against the V-to-C movement analysis comes from patterns of VP scrambling. Besides IP scrambling (attested only in Archaic Early Romance, see above), early Romance languages exhibit VP scrambling, i.e. displacement of VP-internal elements, e.g. objects, PPs, etc., before the non-finite verb of periphrastic tenses and constructions. VP scrambling is still attested in modern Portuguese (I repeat below the relevant examples, taken from Poletto 2014 for old Italian, see (16), and Costa 1998, 2004; Martins 2011, see (17) and (18) for modern Portuguese).

- (16) a i    nimici    avessero già    [il passo]    pigliato<sup>191</sup> (o.It.)  
       the    enemies had    already the pace    taken  
       b E    quand’    ebbi [cosí chiaramente] [a ogni cosa]    risposto<sup>192</sup>  
       and    when    I.had so    clearly    to everything answered  
       c Poi    lo    fece    [fuori]    trarre<sup>193</sup>  
       that    him= he.made outside    take

- (17) Q: Como    é    que    o    Paulo fala    francês? (mod. Port.)<sup>194</sup>  
       how    is that the    Paulo speaks French  
       ‘How does Paulo speak French?’  
       A: a O    Paulo    fala    francês BEM.  
       the    Paulo    speaks French well  
       b #O    Paulo    fala    bem FRANCÊS.  
       the    Paulo    speaks well French  
       ‘Paulo speaks French well.’

- (18) Q: O    que    é    que    o    Paulo fala    bem? (mod. Port.; Costa 1998:178)  
       the    what is that the    Paulo speaks well  
       ‘What does Paulo speak well?’

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<sup>191</sup> Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*; from Poletto 2014

<sup>192</sup> Bono Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*; from Poletto 2014

<sup>193</sup> *Novellino*; from Poletto 2014

<sup>194</sup> Costa 1998:178

- A: a #O Paulo fala francês BEM  
the Paulo speaks French well
- b. O Paulo fala bem FRANCÊS  
the Paulo speaks well French  
‘Paulo speaks French well.’

Poletto 2014: 44 argues that VP scrambling results from XP movement to a criterial positions in the clause-internal periphery (Belletti 2004). Since the low periphery features both focus and topiclike positions, I remain agnostic regarding the pragmatic import of scrambling in old Italian, although the data from Portuguese in (17) and (18) suggest that scrambling yields defocusing. For the ease of exposition, I adopt the conventional label *Scr* to indicate the landing position of scrambled material. I also assume, following Cinque 1999, Poletto 2014 *inter alia*, that the past participle moves to an aspectual position in the lower I domain:

(19) {I ... [Scr XP [Asp Part {v ... }]}

Alternatively, scrambling may be seen as a strategy to move an element out of the scope of focus (*à la* Martins 2011), provided that the rightmost element of the low phase (the participle itself, an adverb, a PP, an object, etc) is always focused. In this view, discourse phenomena are not triggered by criterial heads (as in cartographic models), but results from independent discourse requirements that are not directly encoded in Syntax.<sup>195</sup> In both views, however, scrambling phenomena are linked to discourse effects and consist of upwards movement at the V/I border.

In principle, the mechanism of VP scrambling illustrated in (19) provides a viable account of subject inversion if we assume that the subject can occur in the clause-internal periphery (as in modern Italian, cf. §6.2). In modern Italian, however, inverted subjects must follow the past participle and always bear information focus, whereas, in order to account for G-inversion, one should argue that the subject could exploit an extra position above the past participle, cf. (19), where the subject is not focalised.

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<sup>195</sup> In my opinion, the idea that syntactic movement takes place in order to obtain a discourse effect posits a look-ahead problem.

In fact, the above hypothesis can account for the few cases of auxiliary inversion in embedded clauses, where V-to-C movement is normally excluded:<sup>196</sup>

- (20) ... quali denari avea Baldovino lasciati loro (o.It.)<sup>197</sup>  
which coins had B. left to.them  
'...which money had B. left them'

We cannot reject the hypothesis that certain cases of auxiliary inversion such as (20) are in fact instantiations of VP scrambling, in particular in the case of subjects of passives (more on this below). At the same time, however, we still have at least two good reasons to account for G-inversion in terms of V-to-C movement.

First, Poletto 2014 points out that only subjects of passives normally undergo VP scrambling, whereas the subjects of active clauses normally move to the higher I region. In fact, subjects of active clauses never follow adverbs forming the Lower Adverb Space or internal arguments, meaning that external arguments cannot be scrambled in the clause-internal periphery along with internal arguments and adjuncts.

Second, an analysis in terms of V-to-C movement is still preferable because, unlike a scrambling accounts, it provides a sound explanation for the observed asymmetry between main and embedded clauses (Wolfe 2015b on old Spanish; Salvesen & Walkden 2013 on old French and references therein): since G-inversion is usually attested in main clauses (or embedded clauses characterised by main clause phenomena), we can safely conclude that auxiliary inversion results from V-to-C movement. Conversely, was auxiliary inversion due to VP scrambling, no asymmetry between main and embedded clauses would be expected. Further details on the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses are discussed in the following subsection.

## 6.5 Embedding

As previously mentioned, G-inversion is scarcely attested in embedded contexts, although V-to-C movement is sometimes allowed in subordinate clauses exhibiting main clause

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<sup>196</sup> The asymmetry between main and embedded clauses is not always categorical as certain types of subordinate clauses in V2 systems may exhibit main clause phenomena (see below).

<sup>197</sup> Poletto 2014

phenomena, typically the complement of bridge verbs. Among bridge verbs, Meklenborg Salvesen & Walkden 2017 provide some data on the distribution of inversion in complement clauses in old French<sup>198</sup>. The table in (21) illustrates the distribution of V2 orders of the type XP-V-S across several types of complement clauses, classified on the basis of the main verb (Hooper & Thompson 1973): strong assertive verbs (A), weak assertive verbs (B), verbs that are neither assertive nor factive (C), factive verbs (Class D), and semifactive verbs (E). Complement clauses are then compared with the complement of volitional predicates (V), which exhibit subjunctive mood.

(21)

	Total	V2	%
A - strong assertive verbs <i>e.g. say, report, exclaim, assert, claim, vow, etc.</i>	286	60	21.0%
B - weak assertive verbs <i>e.g. suppose, believe, think, expect, guess, it seems, etc.</i>	196	6	3.1%
C - verbs that are neither assertive nor factive <i>e.g. be (un)likely, be (im)possible, be (im)probable, doubt, etc.</i>	0	0	0.0%
D - factive verbs <i>e.g. resent, regret, be sorry, be surprised, bother, be odd, etc.</i>	35	0	0.0%
E - semifactive verbs <i>realize, learn, find out, discover, know, see, and recognize</i>	235	12	5.1%
V - complement of volitional predicates (subjunctive clauses)	127	0	0.0%
Total	879	78	8.9%

Given the above data, Meklenborg Salvesen & Walkden 2017 conclude that old French exhibits a genuine asymmetric system in which inversion occurs only under specific types of

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<sup>198</sup> The data are gathered from the *Base du Français Médiévale*. From the original sample<sup>198</sup>, all sentences containing unaccusative and impersonal verbs, passive, presentative, and modal constructions, and clauses with copulas have been removed since they can trigger patterns of verb-subject inversion that are not necessarily related to the “V2” mechanism (see §6.2). All the observed sentences have overt subjects.

predicates and argue that the difference between the various classes of predicates depends on the position of complementisers (which in turn depends on Force and Mood features encoded in the C domain).

It is worth noting that, under predicates of type A, several old and modern languages allow also cases of enclisis (Fischer 2002, 2003 on old Catalan):

- (22) E diu que lo primer respòs-**li** hòrreament ...  
 and he.said that the first answered=to.him horrified  
 ... e ab males paraules ...<sup>199</sup> (o.Cat.)  
 and with bad words  
 ‘And he said that the first answered him horrified and with swear words...’

The same pattern is found in present-day Galician and Asturian, which differs from Portuguese in allowing enclisis in subordinate clauses selected by bridge verbs (Viejo 2008; Fernández-Rubiera 2013):

- (23) a O Pedro disse que o livro foi-**te** entreguéonte. (Galician)  
 the Peter said that the book was=to.you sent yesterday  
 ‘Peter said that the book was sent you yesterday.’  
 b O João disse que a Maria deu-**lhe** um beijo.  
 the John said that the Mary gave=to.him a kiss  
 ‘John said that Mary kissed him.’

- (24) a Digo qu’ ayúda-**me**. (Asturian)  
 I.say that helps=me  
 b Digo que **me** ayúda.  
 I.say that me=helps  
 ‘I say that he/she helps me out.’

A seemingly asymmetry is found in the upper-southern Italian dialect spoken in San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore (Abruzzo; more on Sanvalentinense in §8.5). Sanvalentinense, like other southern dialects, exhibits two complementizers: *ka* vs *kə* (see below). Ledgeway

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<sup>199</sup> Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*; from Fischer 2003a.

2003, 2005, 2007, Damonte 2010, and, specifically for Abruzzese, D’Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010 have shown that these complementizers differ with respect to their position in the CP field and to the kind of subordinate clause they introduce. As shown in the following examples, *ka* – the higher complementizer – allows enclisis, while *kə* – the lower one – prevents any clitic from occurring after the inflected verb:

- (25) a 'do:ʃə *ka* **sə** **lu** 'mappə 'sɛmprə  
 says that to.him/her-self= it= eats always  
 b 'do:ʃə *ka* 'mappə **sə** **lu** 'sɛmprə  
 says that eats =to.him/her-self =it always  
 ‘He/she says that he/she always eats it’

- (26) a 'wojə *kə* **tə** **lu** 'mɪŋnə  
 I.want that to.you= it=eat  
 b \*'wojə *kə* 'mɪŋnə **te** **lu**  
 I.want that you.eat =to.yourself =it  
 ‘I want you to eat it’

The above data show that the complement of assertive verbs is the embedded environment in which V-to-C movement occurs more readily, which means that examples featuring inversion or enclisis in these types of embedded clauses are not insurmountable counterevidence against the V-to-C analysis of inversion and against the hypothesis that enclisis is a by-product of verb movement.

As for other subordinate contexts, Zaring 2018 provides another quantitative survey of old French<sup>200</sup>, including also adverbial and *wh* embedded clauses. Although unaccusative and other constructions that might have triggered other patterns of inversion have not been eliminated from Zaring’s corpus, 5.2% of the 4,644 subject DPs show inversion, whereas pronouns are rarely inverted (1.3% sentences of approximately 10,000 examples; almost all cases of inversion are found in complement clauses). Inversion of DP subjects is least

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<sup>200</sup> The data examined by Zaring 2018 are drawn from two corpora:

- the corpus *Modéliser le changement/Voies du français* (MCVF; Martineau *et al.* 2010)
- the corpus in the Penn Supplement to the MCVF (Kroch and Santorini 2012).

The dataset analysed by Zaring consists of 14,617 examples of V2 embedded clauses ranging from the earliest attestations of French to the 13th century.

frequent in *wh*-clauses (1.6%), more frequent in adverbial clauses (4.6%), and most frequent in complement clauses (8.1%). Diachronically, embedded inversion dropped between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century, witnessing the transition towards a strongly asymmetric system.

All in all, statistical evidence confirms the impressionistic claim that (certain) complement clauses in early Romance exhibit main clause phenomena such as subject inversion and, to a lesser extent, enclisis. As for *wh* clauses, it is worth distinguishing relatives from indirect interrogatives since, across the Romance languages, the two differ radically with respect to the accessibility of the embedded C area. As discussed in §5.3, relative operators are located in the highest position of the left periphery, ForceP (Rizzi 1997: 289) as they normally precede left-dislocated constituents. Conversely, the *wh* element of embedded questions – save for *why* – follow topicalised constituents and, marginally, foci. Notice that old Romance – but, again, the conditions were probably subject to cross-linguistic variation – was more liberal than modern Romance with respect to the accessibility of the left periphery of relatives, as witnessed by frequent cases of topicalisation and fronting that in modern Romance would be degraded or ungrammatical (Benincà & Poletto 2010).

Given this state of affairs, patterns of inversion are expected to be higher in relative clauses than in embedded interrogatives. Unfortunately, however, Zaring 2018 did not distinguish relatives from interrogatives, although she pointed out that the vast majority of *wh* examples are relative clauses. Since relative clauses are more liberal than other *wh* subordinates with respect to the accessibility of the left periphery, we can eventually justify the few attestations of enclisis in relative clauses such as (27), which therefore do not constitute conclusive counterexamples against the V2 analysis endorsed here:<sup>201</sup>

- (27) lo    dit    bon    hom    hac    totes    les    vestedures    pobres ...  
       the    said    good    man    had    all    the    clothing    poor  
       ... e    mesquines    que    la    dita    infanta    portà-li. (o.Cat.)<sup>202</sup>  
       and    shabby    that    the    said    infant    carried=him  
       ‘that good man had all the poor and shabby clothing that the Infant had given to him.’

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<sup>201</sup> Furthermore, it is worth recalling that relative clauses in old Spanish and Portuguese exhibit interpolation. Then, since both enclisis and interpolation involve cliticisation in W, the attestation of enclisis in relative clauses is far from surprising.

<sup>202</sup> Fischer 2003a.



In conclusion, the data introduced so far confirm the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses with respect to inversion and enclisis. Cases of inversion and enclisis in assertive completive and relatives do not constitute insurmountable evidence against the general hypothesis that early Romance was characterised by a kind of V2 syntax. Rather, the above data support recent accounts of early Romance that build on the split-C hypothesis (Rizzi 1997). By assuming that different kinds of complementisers occur in dedicated position within a complex C region (Ledgeway 2003, 2005, 2007, 2015, 2016 and references therein), the above differences among subordinate clauses can be accommodated in a rather elegant way without jeopardising the proposed analysis of inversion (and enclisis) in terms of V-to-C movement.

Notice that, while the split-C hypothesis offers a promising solution for the above counterexamples, it poses a serious theoretical challenge to a strict V2 analysis of main/embedded asymmetries *à la* den Besten 1983. In the past literature, the observed asymmetry with respect to verb and clitic placement in main and embedded clauses was solved by supposing that the finite verb cannot land in a C position if the same C position is filled by a complementiser. However, within a layered C system the landing site of the verb is not likely to coincide with the position occupied by the complementiser. This amounts to saying that we must discard once for all the hypothesis that asymmetries between main and embedded clauses results from the competition of two heads for the same position. Under current syntactic theorizing, this view is by now too simplistic.

In alternative (but I will not elaborate too much on this), I would suggest that verb movement (or absence thereof) is somehow linked to the mechanism by which grammatical features encoded in the I domain are matched with features in the C domain that encode illocutionary force and logophoricity. Bianchi 2003 argues that Rizzi's FinP – which, I assumed, hosts the finite verb in early Romance – is the position encoding the Logophoric Centre: according to Bianchi, temporal and person features encoded in the I domain are then licensed “in a local selectional relation with the speech event” encoded in FinP. Analogously, Giorgi 2010: 7 contends that verb inflection in the I domain is licensed by logophoric operators in the C domain, possibly through the mediation of the Fin head. Following the same approach, it is fair to conclude that the finite verb moves to C (or not) depending on how the tense/aspect/mood features of the embedded clause are anchored to those of the matrix clause. In this respect, it is not the kind and position of the complementiser *per se* that blocks/hinders verb movement, by occupying the position where the verb should otherwise land.

To summarise, traces of G-inversion with overt subjects are attested in certain embedded clauses, but quantitative data show that the asymmetry between main and embedded clauses is very solid, thus supporting the usual V-to-C analysis of early Romance. VP and, to a lesser extent, IP scrambling affect the word order of early Romance varieties, but they cannot account for the asymmetric distribution of G-inversion. The distribution of inversion and, to a lesser extent, of enclisis in embedded clauses supports an analysis in which the C domain is split in several sub-layers, as proposed since Rizzi 1997. The possibility of displacing the verb, wh elements, and dislocated/focalised material in the Left Periphery depends on clause typing, although we must bear in mind that completives and, to a lesser extent, relatives sometimes behave like main clauses.

## 6.6 Interim conclusion

This section focused on the analysis of inversion and wondered about the descriptive and explanatory adequacy of analyses featuring V-to-C movement. I argued that only V-to-C movement can account for patterns of G-inversion.

The picture is blurred by many orthogonal factors: pro-drop, other patterns of inversion (free, wide focus, and stylistic inversion), VP and IP scrambling. However, the higher incidence of G-inversion in main and assertive embedded clauses supports the hypothesis that in all medieval languages the inflected verb reached a position at the I/C border.

Given a V-to-C analysis of early Romance, some differences with Germanic V2 systems stand out: early Romance allow both V3, V4, etc. orders and, to various extents, V1 orders.

As for V3, V4, etc. orders, they are amenable of two types of explanations:

- in all early Romance languages, V3, V4, etc. may result from (multiple) topicalisation;
- in the Archaic Early Romance languages, V3, V4, etc. may result also from IP scrambling, yielding the occurrence of multiple non-topic elements before the inflected verb.

Once IP scrambling is left aside, V3, V4 orders seem therefore quite compatible with a V2 system, provided that topics are merged in syntactic positions higher than the Focus position, which, in my opinion, is the one endowed with a V2-like requirement.

The nature of V1 order, by contrast, is more problematic, although it is worth recalling that also Germanic V2 systems allow, with various degrees of variation, V1 orders under certain pragmatic effects. I provide a thorough analysis of V1 in chapter 7.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that early Romance exhibited V-to-C movement seems very solid, whereas the V2 analysis needs further elaboration in order to account for V1.

e. 6.7 Verb movement and clitic placement

After having ascertained that early Romance languages feature V-to-C movement, let us focus on the interplay between verb movement and clitic placement in order to model the so-called Tobler-Mussafia law. The Tobler Mussafia Law, in its original formulation, states that complement clitics cannot appear at the beginning of the clause. When the verb is first, clitics are expected to be enclitic; elsewhere, proclisis occurs.

Enclisis is therefore found in V1 clauses such as (28), which normally denote discourse cohesion (Hirschbühler 1990; Fontana 1993: 147151; Wolfe 2015a). As previously mentioned, the incidence of V1 in early Romance is subject to a certain degree of crosslinguistic variation (Benincà 1983-4; for an extensive survey, see Wolfe 2015a and references therein).

- (28) Mando-**lli** per li detti ambasciatori tre pietre nobilissime<sup>203</sup> (o.It.)  
 sent=to.him through the mentioned ambassadors three stones precious  
 ‘Then he sent him three gems through the ambassadors’

Besides fully-fledged V1 clauses, old Romance had enclisis in ‘disguised’ V1 clauses, i.e. main clauses in which the verb is preceded by one or more topic phrase(s). Since clitic placement is inert with respect to topics, sentences like (28) are eventually regarded as a particular kind of V1 clauses. To single out cases of *bona fide* topics, one must focus on dislocated direct objects, which are obligatorily resumed by a clitic: the presence of the resumptive clitic allows us to distinguish topics from foci, which in old Romance did not always have the peculiar contrastive interpretation they receive in modern Romance.

- (29) a. A voi [le mie poche parole ch’ avete intese];  
 to you the my few words that you.have heard  
 ho =*lle*<sub>i</sub> dette con grande fede<sup>204</sup> (o.It.)

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<sup>203</sup> Novellino.

I.have=them said with great faith

‘The few words that you heard from me I pronounced with great faith.’

b e [a los otros]<sub>i</sub> acomendo -los<sub>i</sub> a dios<sup>205</sup> (o.Sp.)

and to the others commended =them to god

‘and he commended the others to god’

The strict correlation between V1 and enclisis has been challenged in several works (Martins 1994, 2003a, 2005; Fisher 2003a, 2003b) that report two types of counterexamples: cases of proclisis in (disguised) V1 clauses and cases of enclisis in subordinate clauses (the latter will be addressed in the next section).

First of all, some apparent exceptions to the Tobler-Mussafia law are better analysed under the hypothesis that certain clitic forms are in fact weak pronouns. As discussed in chapter 3 and §3.4, several early Romance languages exhibit traces of pronouns with a peculiar syntactic distribution that, however, cannot be reduced entirely to the status of clitics (see also Egerland 2002, 2005, 2010; Cardinaletti & Egerland 2010, Cardinaletti 2015). For instance, in §3.4 I discussed at length the status of the pronoun *se* that occurs at the beginning of the Veronese riddle (or the *me accuse*, lit. ‘I accuse myself’ of the Formula di confessione umbra) and I established that this apparent violation of the Tobler-Mussafia law can be accommodated by supposing that the old Veronese *se* was not a clitic.

Furthermore, it is worth recalling that the Tobler-Mussafia law is in fact an empirical generalisation that covers satisfactorily the behaviour of languages spoken in the 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century. If we examine texts written centuries before or after this period (as in the case of the Indovinello), the number of counterexamples raises exponentially. For this reason, I think that cases of enclisis in declarative V1 clauses in late texts such as the *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* (1507-1515), in (30), do not constitute real counterexamples to the proposed analysis of the ‘law’ as they are better regarded as further development of the ‘core’ Tobler-Mussafia system (cf. §3.7).

(30) a [aos que imda lá sam]<sub>i</sub>, *lhe*<sub>i</sub> tenho dado seguros e...  
to.those that still there are, to.them= I.have given safe-conducts and  
... *lhe*<sub>i</sub> mando agora noteficar ho voso perdam<sup>206</sup> (o.Port.; Martins 2003a)

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<sup>204</sup> Matteo de’ Libri, *Dicerie volgari*.

<sup>205</sup> *Estoria de España*, II.2v

to.them= I.send now notify.of the your pardon  
 ‘I have been giving protection to the people that are still there and now I will notify them of your pardon’

- b [Algũas cousas mevdas de quaa da Imdia, que será necessareas ...  
 some things small from here from-the India, that will-be necessary  
 ... sabe-las vossalteza]<sub>i</sub>, as<sub>i</sub> esprevo aquy nesta carta gramde<sup>207</sup>  
 to.know=them Your-Highness, them= I.write here in.this letter long  
 ‘In this long letter I inform Your Majesty about some facts arising in India which Your Majesty should be aware of’

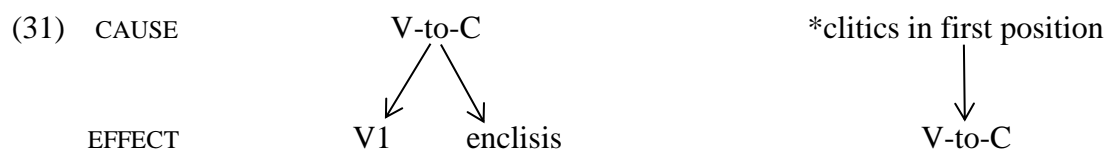
To conclude, the examples in (30) do not necessarily militate against the correlation between V1 and enclisis, which in earlier documents was solid. Rather, the diachronic evolution points towards a finer typology of V1 contexts (see also Hirschbühler & Labelle 2000 on old French; Wolfe 2015a-c, 2016a/b, 2019) as V1 – like V2 – is in fact a descriptive approximation.

### 6.7.1 Modelling verb movement, inversion, and enclisis

Once we have confirmed that the correlation between V1 and enclisis is solid, we can now try to account for the occurrence of enclisis in true and disguised V1 clauses. Two kinds of explanation have been advanced:

- enclisis and V1 result from verb movement, but no direct cause-effect relation holds between enclisis and V1;
- V1 occurs to avoid clitics in sentence-initial position.

The two hypotheses are summarised as follows:



<sup>206</sup> *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque.*

<sup>207</sup> *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque.*

The latter is the traditional explanation assumed by 19<sup>th</sup> century philologists such as Tobler 1875, Mussafia 1886/1983, Meyer-Lübke 1897, and has been successively echoed in formal works by Rivero 1986; Lema & Rivero 1991; Cardinaletti & Roberts 2002; Fontana 1993, 1997; Batllori *et al.* 2005. The earliest formulation of the hypothesis is in Wackernagel 1892: 337-338, who noticed that in Ancient Greek clitic elements always occurred in the second position of the clause because, as enclitics, they could not find a (phonological) host if placed in sentence-initial position. This kind of explanation, however cannot be extended to other Indo-European languages, where clitics tended to occur after the first phrase of the clause or in a dedicated position regardless of the number of words/phrases preceding the clitics (see §5.2). In the Latin/Romance transition clitics usually followed phrases, i.e. syntactic constituents, rather than potential phonological hosts. Moreover, in early Romance enclisis is often attested in clauses with V2, V3, V4, etc. orders, where other sentence-initial elements would in principle ‘protect’ the clitic. Furthermore, no principled (morpho)phonological motivation prevents clitics from occurring in the first position and, in fact, proclitics are often attested in the first position of yes/no questions in certain vernaculars such as old Venetian and (certain varieties of) old French:

- (32) a me fetes vos droit de doner a la reine si lonc respit?<sup>208</sup> (o.Fr.)  
to.me= give =you the right of giving to the queen ...?  
b Se vastarave lo pes a farlo a bona pevrada?<sup>209</sup> (o.Ven.)  
self= would.spoil the fish to make it at good pevrada?

Hence, not only (Romance) clitics have never needed a phonological host before them, but also we have independent evidence for verb movement in contexts where clitics do not occur. This amounts to saying that verb movement (and enclisis) could not be triggered by a phonological restriction to ‘protect’ the clitic. This hypothesis is also problematic from a theoretical point of view as general phenomena such as verb movement are expected to provide an explanation for more particular cases (e.g. Tobler-Mussafia effects) and not *vice versa*. In conclusion, we can discard explanations supposing an *ad hoc* constraint against clitic-first and try to elaborate on the most solid and convincing hypothesis that Tobler Mussafia effects are a by-product of verb movement.

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<sup>208</sup> *Artu.*

<sup>209</sup> *Atti del podestà di Lio Mazor.*

As a first approximation, let us assume that V-to-C movement yields both G-inversion and enclisis: the verb moves across the position of the preverbal subject (SubjP, Cardinaletti 2004) and above the position where object clitics are nested (say, W). This apparently simple (and very popular) hypothesis is falsified by the fact that G-inversion does not always co-occur with enclisis (see Benincà 2006 a.o.). In questions, for instance, subjects – normally, pronominal subjects – may undergo G-inversion, but enclisis is banned, see (33).<sup>210</sup>

(33) a Dove ne vuo' tu ire?<sup>211</sup> (o.It.)

Where *ne*= want you to.go

'Where do you want to go?'

b Con che ti dare' io bere?<sup>212</sup>

With what to.you= would.give I drink

'How would I give you water?'

The dissociation between enclisis and G-inversion means that inversion and enclisis result from two different steps of verb movement. To clarify this point, it is worth addressing Archaic and Innovative Early Romance in separate subsections.

Before addressing the data, I briefly comment on the alternative explanation proposed by Martins 1994, 2002, 2005, which has already been discussed extensively in §5.3. Martins argues for a minimalist analysis in which the above two-steps derivation is obtained by postulating only two projections ( $\Sigma$  and AgrS), but allowing multiple specifiers. However, the reduction of projections comes at a price. First, the historical link between verb movement/clitic placement and information structure is ultimately lost. Second, the reduction of projections is compensated by the introduction of other technicalities such as an *ad hoc* Edge Principle (Raposo 2000), which rearranges the order of clitics and scrambled elements post-syntactically. The Edge Principle states that clitics always occur at the edge of the category. This means that, whenever the clitics and the verb target the same position, the clitics

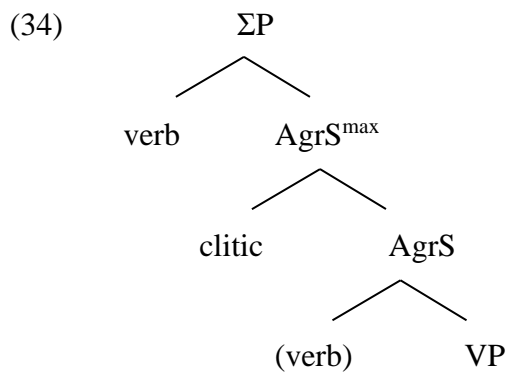
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<sup>210</sup> The same word order is attested in modern Romance with subject clitic pronouns, but there is no evidence that the pronouns in (34) are subject clitics. Even if they were subject clitics or even if one assumed that pronouns and Dp subjects do not occur in the same position (Rinke & Meisel 2009 a.o.), still inversion would signal that the auxiliary has moved above (one) subject position without yielding enclisis.

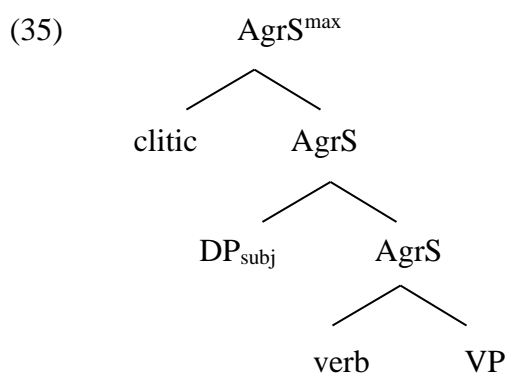
<sup>211</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>212</sup> *Novellino*.

must be linearised at the left edge of the complex head. Enclisis, by contrast, is obtained when the verb moves to the higher projection,  $\Sigma$ , leaving the clitics behind.



If a complementiser or a negative operator are merged (hence, in embedded and negative clauses),  $\Sigma$  does not attract the verb, barring enclisis. I have already discussed some limits of the model in (34), see §5.3.1. Another drawback of (34) regards the position of preverbal subjects, which, under the Edge Principle, are expected to be always interpolated, see (35). However, as previously mentioned, this word order results in severe ungrammaticality in all the Innovative Early Romance languages.



Moreover, it seems to me that a cartographic approach in which clitics, complements, and the subject occupy different positions (*à la* Benincà) is to be preferred given principles of theoretical parsimony: a system of multiple projections (Foc, W, Fin, etc.) is more economical than a combination of three *entia*, namely two projections ( $\Sigma$ , AgrS), two types of clitics (i.e. X vs XP clitics)<sup>213</sup>, and a clitic-specific principle such as the *Edge Principle*.

<sup>213</sup> For ease of exposition, I did not deal with this ingredient of Martins's analysis.



## 6.7.2 Archaic Early Romance

As discussed in chapter 5, the Archaic Early Romance languages do not exhibit clues of incorporation. Given the historical reconstruction provided in chapters 4 and 5, we assume that the landing site of non-incorporated clitics is the Wackernagel Position, which is located immediately above FinP. In embedded clauses (or main clauses with scrambling), the verb remains in I, yielding interpolation – noticeably, negation and the subject – between the clitic and the inflected verb, see (36). The analysis of interpolation is given in (37):

- (36) a logo *lhe* [el rrei] taxava que (o.Port.)<sup>214</sup>  
 at once =to.him= the king ordained that  
 ouvesse por dia quatro soldos, e mais nom  
 he-had daily four shillings and more not  
 b que *le* [dios] dio. (o.Sp.)<sup>215</sup>  
 that to.him= god gave  
 ‘... that god gave him.’

- (37) {C ... [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> --- {I XP YP V ... }]}

In main clauses without IP scrambling, the verb can eventually move to Fin, yielding inversion (and licensing pro-drop). This happens in so-called V2 environments, where the verb is preceded by a non-topic element. Let us assume, with Benincà 2004, 2006 that the condition blocking the verb in Fin is the presence of an element in spec FocP. Notice that the clitics in W and the verb in Fin are adjacent: this favoured phonological cliticisation as discussed in §5.5.

- (38) {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> XP [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> verb {I XP<sub>Subj</sub> (verb) ... }]}

If the Focus position is empty, the verb must perform a further movement, which yields V1 and enclisis:

<sup>214</sup> Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Pedro*; Salvi 1997

<sup>215</sup> *Castigos e documentos de Sancho IV*; from Rivero 1997

(39) {<sub>C</sub> ... [<sub>Foc</sub> verb [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> (verb) {<sub>I</sub> XP<sub>Subj</sub> (verb) ... }]} }

In chapter 7 I will elaborate on the kind of movement that causes the displacement in (39) and deal with the other conditions that, besides focus-fronting, block verb movement and impede enclisis.

### 6.7.3 Innovative Early Romance

The model in (37)-(39) predicts the correct word order in languages such as old Spanish and old Portuguese, but it does not predict the expected word order in languages such as old French and old Italian, where interpolation is not allowed. I argued in §5.4-5 that interpolation is not permitted because in Innovative Early Romance object clitics are obligatorily incorporated to the verb. However, the hypothesis of incorporation is at odds with enclisis/proclisis alternations: the hypothesis that enclisis results when the verb moves to a higher position in C (leaving the clitic behind) is incompatible with the claim that in Innovative Early Romance clitics are merged with the verb.

To reconcile incorporation with enclisis, one may resort to *excorporation*, by supposing that clitics remain stranded in an intermediate position (W?) while the verb moves further in the C domain (Roberts 1991; Cardinaletti & Roberts 2002). Excorporation, however, is highly problematic for both theoretical and empirical reasons: on the theoretical side, general principles such as Chomsky's 2005 No-Tampering Condition assume that complex heads cannot be dismembered (see also Rizzi 2016, who argues that the ban against excorporation results from criterial freezing); empirically, nothing triggers excorporation.

If we exclude excorporation, the only possible explanation left is that the mechanism yielding enclisis *prevents* incorporation. In the remainder of the chapter I will argue that enclisis results from the archaic 'Wackernagel-like' machinery whereby the clitic performs long-distance movement to W because the mechanism producing incorporation (discussed in §5.4) is disrupted. The analysis of enclisis will be discussed in the next section, which elaborates on the conditions triggering V1 and enclisis.

## 6.8 Conclusion

This chapter revised some current views on the syntax of clitics in early Romance. First of all, it showed that G-inversion in main clauses provides evidence for V-to-C movement. The number of examples showing G-inversion is limited because the very same environment triggers pro-drop, which blurs inversion. Alternative mechanisms such as other patterns of inversion attested in present-day Romance cannot account for G-inversion. Scrambling phenomena, which are not attested in most present-day Romance languages, could in principle account for G-inversion, but they cannot explain the main *vs* embedded clauses asymmetry that characterises early Romance with respect to inversion.

After inversion, I examined enclisis. The correlation between the two phenomena (G-inversion and enclisis) is quite clear as the two co-variate and are lost in most Romance languages at the same time. However, the idea that enclisis and G-inversion result from the very same mechanism is inadequate. Following Benincà 1995 I adopted a model in which i) the verb moves in two steps ii) clitics are not always incorporated. G-inversion results when the verb moves to the lower position of Rizzi's C domain, crossing the position of the subject:

(40) {<sub>C</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> V {<sub>I</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> V̄ ... }]}

Enclisis is obtained when the verb moves to a higher position (Foc?) and clitics are merged in the W(ackernagel) position, located between Foc and Fin:

(41) {<sub>C</sub> ... [<sub>Foc</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* [<sub>Fin</sub> V̄ {<sub>I</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> V̄ ... }]}]}

Enclisis therefore occurs in contexts of V1 or 'disguised' V1, i.e. in contexts in which the finite verb is preceded by topic elements and Foc does not contain any fronted XP:

(42) {<sub>C</sub> [<sub>Top</sub> XP [<sub>Foc</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* [<sub>Fin</sub> V̄ {<sub>I</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> V̄ ... }]}]}

The W position is where clitics are merged in Archaic Early Romance, which exhibit interpolation phenomena when the verb remains in the I domain – above all in embedded clauses – and other constituents are scrambled to the higher I domain:

(43) {<sub>C</sub> ... [<sub>W</sub> *clitics* ... {<sub>I</sub> XP YP V ... }]}

In Innovative early Romance interpolation is barred, which means that proclitics are incorporated with the inflected verb and eventually move to Fin along with the verb:

(44) {c ... [Fin (cl V) {I DP<sub>subj</sub> (~~eI~~V) ... }]}



## 7.1 Introduction

Current analyses assume that in V1 clauses the V2 requirement is satisfied by a null topic (cf. Wolfe 2016: §4.3 a.o.). Topics, however, never satisfy V2: clauses in which the finite verb is immediately preceded by topic material are in fact V1 clauses *in disguise* (witness enclisis). In alternative, I contend that i) V2 results from a *Criterion* that triggers fronting to the Operator/Focus position; ii) V1 results when the Focus Criterion is satisfied by merging the inflected verb in the Operator/Focus position.

The hypothesis rests upon a reformulation of Lema & Rivero’s 1991 *Long Head Movement* (LHM) in the spirit of Vicente 2007. Vicente argues that movement is not sensitive to the structural distinction between heads and phrases (see also Rizzi 2016). Then, ‘*given the appropriate conditions*, it ought to be possible to move a bare head [...] to a specifier position across indefinitely long distances as long as no island boundaries are crossed.’ (Vicente 2007: 46, emphasis mine). I argue that the Focus Criterion provides an *appropriate condition* allowing LHM of certain heads to the Op/Foc position. LHM avoids the narrow focus interpretation that results when the Focus Criterion is satisfied by an XP.

After a brief presentation of the hypothesis, in §7.2, I argue that my analysis may provide a principled account of enclisis, which is mandatory in V1 environments (see §7.3). In the following section I show that, besides V1, the hypothesis accounts for cases in which the Focus Criterion is satisfied by other bare elements such as dummy adverbs (§7.4) and non-finite predicate heads (§7.5). §7.6 elaborates on the relationship between the Focus Criterion and polarity, and provides an analysis of fragment answers as V1 structures with IP ellipsis.

## 7.2 The Focus Criterion

The previous sections confirmed that Tobler-Mussafia effects result from verb movement. To account for the observed word orders, I followed Benincà’s hypothesis that the verb moves in two steps: the former step (V-to-Fin) yields G-inversion, the latter (V-to-Foc) yields enclisis. The latter step is allowed when Foc is empty and the clause has positive polarity (more on

polarity in §7.6). When Foc is empty, the verb moves in the first position of the clause, yielding *bona fide* or disguised V1 (when preceded by topics).

This analysis provides a straightforward explanation for the Archaic Early Romance languages (§6.7.2), where clitics are always placed in W and the verb moves to three possible positions, yielding interpolation, proclisis, or enclisis, respectively:

- (1)a {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> ... [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> {I ... XP\* verb ... }]} (interpolation)  
 b {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> XP [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> verb {I ... (verb) ... }]} (“V2” clauses)  
 c {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> verb [<sub>W</sub> *clitic* [<sub>Fin</sub> (verb) {I ... (verb) ... }]} (“V1” clauses)

In the Innovative Early Romance languages, conversely, clitics are always adjacent to the verb (§6.7.3). In §5.4 I argued that clitics are likely to be incorporated to the verb, but an incorporation analysis is at odds with enclisis in V1 clauses: if clitics are always attached to the verb, then one expect that the order clitic-verb must be invariable regardless of verb movement.

To account for enclisis in languages with incorporation, I argue in this section that the kind of verb movement yielding “V1” is incompatible with incorporation. In a nutshell, I propose that the Focus position was endowed with a Criterial feature, which I dub *Focus Criterion*, requiring the presence of an overt element in the Focus projection.

The Focus Criterion is often satisfied by fronting an XP, which yields “V2” structures in which the verb occupies Fin and the XP is in Foc:

- (2) [<sub>Foc</sub> XP [<sub>Fin</sub> (verb)]

(2) is the canonical way to satisfy the Focus Criterion. However, when no element is focus-fronted, early Romance languages exhibit alternative strategies to satisfy the Focus Criterion without triggering a narrow focus interpretation. For instance, dummy elements such as certain adverbs may be merged in Focus (§7.4 Benincà 1995, 2006; Vance 1995; Poletto 2005; Ledgeway 2008). Moreover, I contend that the Focus Criterion can be satisfied by fronting predicate heads: predicate heads can be either non-finite forms of the verb (in this case, the resulting configuration is usually dubbed Stylistic Fronting, §7.5), but I contend that also the inflected verb can, under certain circumstances, move to Focus in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion. It is the latter type of movement that yields V1 and triggers enclisis:

(3) [<sub>Foc</sub> verb [<sub>Fin</sub> ~~verb~~

(3) represents the main difference between V2 systems *stricto sensu* and Early Romance. In other words, I contend that in Early Romance, differently from Germanic V2 systems, the Criterion yielding V2 orders can be satisfied by moving the inflected verb to the very same Criterial position.<sup>216</sup>

The hypothesis rests upon a reformulation of Lema & Rivero's 1991 *Long Head Movement* (LHM) in the spirit of Vicente 2007. Vicente argues that movement is not sensitive to the structural distinction between heads and phrases (see also Rizzi 2016). Then, '*given the appropriate conditions*, it ought to be possible to move a bare head [...] to a specifier position across indefinitely long distances as long as no island boundaries are crossed.' (Vicente 2007: 46, emphasis mine). I argue that the Focus Criterion provides an *appropriate condition* allowing LHM of certain heads to the Op/Foc position. LHM avoids the narrow focus interpretation that results when the Focus Criterion is satisfied by an XP.

In the following subsections I will argue that the claim that V1 satisfies the Focus Criterion has a series of welcome consequences. First, and most importantly, the idea that the verb moves in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion explains why the mechanism yielding incorporation (hence, proclisis of adverbial clitics) is overridden in contexts of V1. Second, the analysis explains why in V1 contexts no dummy element such as *sì* is required (more on this in §7.4): if *sì* was regarded as a focus expletive, V1 should always be ruled out. Third, the hypothesis that heads may satisfy the Focus Criterion provides a straightforward analysis of Stylistic Fronting, cf. §7.5, which involves elements that have an ambiguous status between heads and phrases (the same holds for the dummy *sì*, which, as Ledgeway 2008 notices, have an head-like behaviour).

### 7.3 The disruption of incorporation

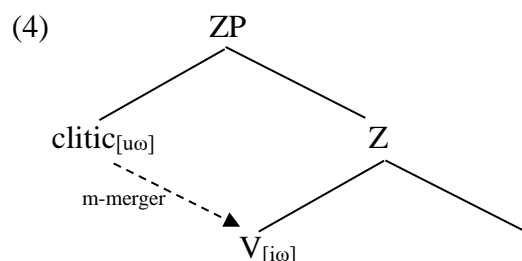
In §5.4 I argued that the incorporation of clitics results from a morphological operation (*m-merger*, Marantz 1988), which makes two adjacent elements conflate into a single morpho-phonological unit (Matushansky 2006; Kramer 2014; Baker and Kramer 2016 a.o.). M-merger

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<sup>216</sup> This hypothesis was inspired by Müller's 2002 analysis of the German V2 as vP-first. Müller's analysis and mine rest upon the claim that the German V2 and the Romance V1 involve the fronting of a phrasal constituent, but they differ under many other respects.



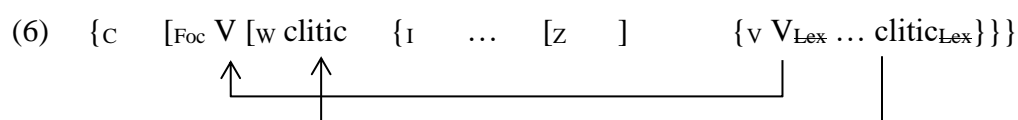
is triggered when the former is prosodically deficient (§1.2). Let us assume that prosodically deficient elements are uninterpretable morpho-phonological words ( $u\omega$ ), which, to become legible at the interface, must be merged with a legible morphological word, thus forming an interpretable prosodic element.



Following Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 I assumed that in the Innovative Early Romance languages – as well as in most modern Romance languages – incorporation takes place in a dedicated position in the I domain, dubbed Z. Clitics move as phrasal constituents to Z, where they are eventually incorporated to the inflected verb *if and only if the verb moves through Z*. When the verb moves to Z, the pronouns' features are copied onto the verbal head, whereas the pronoun frozen in Z is eventually deleted:

- (5)
- a {I ... [z clitic] ... LAS ... {v V ...}}
  - b {I ... [z clitic V] ... LAS ... {v  $\nabla$  ...}}
  - c {I ... [~~clitic~~ (clitic V)] ... LAS ... {v  $\nabla$  ...}}

However, I claim that in early Romance the verb can perform Long Head Movement in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion (Lema & Rivero 1991; Rivero 1993). In doing so, the conditions for the incorporation of the clitics are not met anymore: the verb bypasses the position Z in the I domain, where incorporation normally takes place. Given this state of affairs, the only possible solution for the linearization of the clitics is to resort to the old Wackernagel system, in which the clitic and the verb move independently to adjacent positions in the C domain, yielding the order verb (in Foc) > clitic (in W):



To conclude, I argue that proclitics are incorporated to the verb, while enclitics are not (*pace* Benincà & Cinque 1993, see the refutation of Benincà & Cinque’s arguments in §2.3). Enclisis results from the archaic Wackernagel system in which the clitics and the verb perform long movement to C. Long movement of V is triggered by the Focus Criterion.

In the following subsections I will extend the above analysis to other phenomena regarding the syntax of Focus in early Romance.

#### 7.4 Dummies

The Focus Criterion can be satisfied by dummy adverbs with no apparent semantic import such as *sì* ‘thus’, *an* ‘on the contrary’, *or* ‘now’, etc., cf. (7) (Benincà 1995, 2006; Vance 1995; Poletto 2005; Ledgeway 2008). Syntactically, dummies behave like focus-fronted elements: they are (almost always) in complementary distribution with focus fronted XPs, they are incompatible with enclisis and are always adjacent to the inflected verb. Unlike focus-fronted XPs, dummies normally occur only in main clauses (where the Focus Criterion is active) and are incompatible with negation (see §7.6).

(7) [<sub>Foc</sub> XP/*sì*] [<sub>Fin</sub> V ...

Pragmatically, dummies imply ‘some form of topic continuity with the preceding discourse’ (Ledgeway 2008: 448 a.o.). Notice that a similar pragmatic effect has often been attributed to V1 structures. This in my opinion confirms the hypothesis that V1 and dummy constructions instantiate the same discourse strategy by satisfying the Focus criterion without triggering narrow scope.

However, Ledgeway 2008 argues that dummies have a head-like behaviour: they do not allow modification, do not take complements, cannot occur in other positions within the clause, do not occur in embedded clauses (save for embedded clauses characterised by main clause phenomena). Furthermore, in certain languages, dummies marginally co-occur with other focus-fronted constituents:

(8) a e [terrimoti orribile] *sì* faceva a sua voluntate<sup>217</sup> (o.Neap.)

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<sup>217</sup> *Il libro de la destructione de Troya*; Ledgeway 2008.

and earthquakes horrible *sì* she.made to her will

‘and she could bring about horrendous earthquakes at her will’

b e [multe altre parole iniuriose e sospecose] *sì* disse

and many other words offensive and suspicious *sì* said

Amphimaco contra Anthenore<sup>218</sup>

Amphimachus against Antenor

‘And Amphimachus said many other offensive and accusing words against Antenor’

Given the data in (8), Ledgeway 2008: 437 suggests that dummies such as *sì* may be merged in Fin, which according to Ledgeway, is endowed with a requirement that is satisfied by either V-to-Fin movement or by merging the dummy, as shown in (9).

(9) [<sub>Foc</sub> (XP)] [<sub>Fin</sub> *sì*/V]

The requirement in Fin yields the (apparent) V2 syntax of early Romance and accounts for cases of subject inversion in main clauses. In turn, the hypothesis that *sì* satisfies the V2 requirement in Fin explains why *sì*-like elements do not occur in non-finite and embedded clauses. Moreover, the idea that *sì* and V compete for the same position provides a straightforward explanation for V1, which, on the contrary, would be excluded under previous accounts: if the specifier of Focus needed to be filled, V1 would be always excluded (cf. Poletto 2006: 196 for similar considerations).

The latter point seems to me crucial and, in my opinion, it fully supports Ledgeway’s hypothesis that *sì* and the inflected verb compete for the same position. At the same time, however, we want to capture the generalisation that *sì* is often incompatible with focus fronting. I therefore follow Ledgeway’s analysis in claiming that *sì* and other dummies elements may be heads (more on this below), which explains why main clauses allow either *sì* or V1 and why *sì* can marginally co-occur with a focus-fronted XP. However, I depart from Ledgeway 2008 in claiming that the merging site of *sì* is not Fin, but Focus. Ledgeway’s analysis, in fact, predicts that *sì* blocks V-to-C movement, but, under Ledgeway’s analysis, G-inversion should be excluded in sentences introduced by *sì*. In §6.2 I argued, following Cardinaletti & Roberts 2002, Ledgeway 2008; Benincà & Poletto 2010, Salvesen 2011, 2013, that inversion results when the verb moves to Fin, crossing the SubjP:

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<sup>218</sup> *Il libro de la destructione de Troya*; Ledgeway 2008.

(10) {C ... [<sub>Fin</sub> V {<sub>I</sub> Subj  $\Psi$  ... }]}

If Fin was occupied by a dummy element, then the mechanism in (10) should be blocked and G-inversion should be ruled out. In fact, sentences introduced by *sì* feature not only cases of inversion with lexical verbs (see Benincà & Poletto 2010: 50-51, see (11)), but also patterns of G-inversion in which the subject ends up occurring between the auxiliary and the past participle, see (12):

(11) a Di questti danari *sì* ebe madona Decha moglie Baldovino lb. trecento<sup>219</sup> (o.It.)  
 Of these coins *sì* had lady D. wife.of B. lb. three.hundred  
 ‘Lady D., wife of B., had three hundred pounds of these coins.’

b Dacche 'l detto bando fu messo, *sì* comincio tutto 'l campo a bollire<sup>220</sup>  
 After the call was made, *sì* began all the field to seethe  
 ‘After the call had been made, the field began to seethe.’

(12) a *sì* avea Castruccio afforzato il campo<sup>221</sup>  
*sì* had C. reinforced the field  
 ‘Castruccio had reinforced the (battle)field’

b E *sì* ha il lavoratore trovati poi molt' ingegni<sup>222</sup>  
 And *sì* has the worker found then many solutions  
 ‘And workers found many ingenious solutions’

Since G-inversion results from V-to-Fin movement (as argued in §6.2), cases such as (12) show that *sì* targets a position that is higher than Fin, namely Focus.

To conclude, in this section I examined the syntax of dummy elements, i.e. adverbs without semantic value such as *sì*, *or*, *an*, etc. that in many early Romance languages occurred preverbally in main clauses. These adverbs are often, but not always, in complementary distribution with focus-fronted XPs, and, as Ledgeway 2008 pointed out, they do not rule out V1. I therefore conclude that focus-fronting, V1, and Focus-dummies (whose phrasal status

<sup>219</sup> *Libro di tutela Riccomanni*.

<sup>220</sup> Bono Giamboni, *Il Libro de' Vizî e delle Virtudi*.

<sup>221</sup> Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*

<sup>222</sup> *Volgarizzamento delle Pistole di Seneca*

remains ambiguous) are all different ways to satisfy the Focus Criterion.

The fact that *sì* is marginally compatible with focus-fronted XPs confirms Ledgeway's 2008 claim that *sì* is a head and, indirectly, it supports my claim that the Focus Criterion can be satisfied by a head, be it the inflected verb in V1 environments or another predicate head (more on this in the following section).

## 7.5 Stylistic Fronting and mesoclitisis

Stylistic Fronting consists in fronting of bare constituents such as adjectives, participles and infinitives before the inflected verb.

- (13) a Col            guadagno che **far** se ne dovea (o.It.)<sup>223</sup>  
With.the gain that to.do one= of.it= must  
'With the gain that one should make of it.'
- b é **salved** nus ád des Philistiens. (o.Fr.)<sup>224</sup>  
and saved us= has from-the Philistians  
'and (he) saved us from the Philistians'
- c que **forzado** ha de ser mejor que todos los padres del mundo<sup>225</sup> (o.Sp.)  
that forced has to be better than all the fathers of.the world  
'who forced him to be better than all the fathers in the world,'

The term Stylistic Fronting originally referred to a comparable syntactic pattern attested in Icelandic and old Scandinavian languages (Maling 1990; Holmberg 2000, 2005 a.o.). Differently from (Germanic) topicalization, SF often involve verbal heads, triggers pro-drop, and is seldom attested in embedded clauses. On the semantic side, the interpretative correlates of SF are subject to debate (Hrafnbjargarson 2004).

The extension of the term and analysis of SF to the Romance languages can be misleading as in Icelandic SF is probably linked to a formal requirement regarding the subject position: Icelandic is a non-null subject language and SF is in complementary distribution with overt subjects. Early Romance languages, conversely, are null subject languages (with asymmetric pro-drop) and, as illustrated in §6.2, subjects that occupy the canonical subject position are

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<sup>223</sup> *Il novellino*; from Franco 2009.

<sup>224</sup> *Li quatre livre des reis*; Labelle 2016

<sup>225</sup> *Camino de la perfección*; from Fisher 2014.

often crossed by the inflected verb: hence, the fronting of a preverbal element has nothing or little to do with the subject position, which in main clauses is either empty or is crossed by the verb moving to C (§6.2).

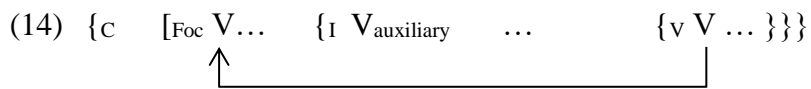
The idea that in Romance null subjects and SF are independent phenomena is confirmed by diachronic and comparative evidence. Mathieu 2006 claims that SF in French disappeared when French became a non-null subject language, but Fischer 2004, 2010, 2014 objects – correctly, from my point of view – that null subject languages such as Spanish, Catalan, Italian, etc. lost SF as well. This means – according to Fischer – that the loss of SF does not correlate with the loss of pro-drop, thus confirming the idea that the analysis of the Icelandic SF cannot be automatically transposed to Romance.

First and foremost, Romance SF should be compared with other patterns of (focus) fronting (see Franco 2009 for an overview). In fact, Stylistic Fronting exhibit the usual properties of focus-fronting: only clitics (and negation), can occur between the focus constituent and the verb, Stylistic Fronting is incompatible with enclisis (§7.3), it is in complementary distribution with focus-expletives (§7.4), it is allowed, with various degrees of acceptability, in embedded clauses. On the semantic side, Fischer 2004, 2010, 2014 argues that Stylistic Fronting triggers narrow focus, which can receive a contrastive reading or a *verum* focus interpretation (Höhle 1992; more on this in §7.6). Hence, both syntactic and semantic evidence converge towards an analysis in which SF is reduced to a generalised mechanism of focus-fronting in the C domain, and not to a mechanism of subject licensing in the I domain.

The hypothesis that the Romance SF is a particular case of focus fronting leads us to the next question, which regards the phrasal nature of SF-elements: as in the case of dummies (§7.4), we are dealing with head-like elements that occur in the focus position: once again, the syntax of early Romance exhibits a pattern in which a bare head ends up occupying a position that, in principle, should host a phrase.

To solve the problem within the X-bar framework (§2.2), scholars such as Batllori 1993; Franco 2009; Egerland 2011; Salvesen 2011, 2013; Labelle 2016, argued that Stylistic Fronting results from remnant VP movement: the VP is first vacated by VP-internal material via VP-scrambling (§6.4) and eventually moved to spec, Foc. In alternative, I adopt here a different approach, reminiscent of previous analyses such as Lema & Rivero 1991; Fischer 2004, 2010: in the spirit of Vicente 2007, I assume that nothing prevents a bare head from performing long movement under certain circumstances (see also Rizzi 2016). As argued

above, I hypothesise that predicate heads – as well as inflected verbs (§7.2) – could perform long movement in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion:



The analysis sketched in (14) is reminiscent of Holmberg’s 2000 account of Stylistic Fronting, which is taken to be movement of a category to position that must be filled. As Holmberg 2000: 444 puts it, ‘the element moved by SF functions as a pure expletive in its derived position.’ In Scandinavian, a non-null subject language, the position that must be filled is the subject position, whereas in early Romance it is the Focus position that must be filled by either attracting a predicate head or triggering the insertion of dummy adverbs such as *sì*.

The hypothesis that bare non-finite heads could move to the Focus position in order to satisfy a Criterion provides an elegant explanation for the emergence of synthetic forms for the future and conditional tense. In origin, future and conditional tenses were formed by preposing the infinitive to an auxiliary *have* form, e.g. Lat. DIRE + HABEMUS > It. *diremo* ‘we will say’. The infinitive + HABERE construction was still transparent in early Ibero-Romance languages, e.g. *dar+hé* ‘I will give’, *hyr+hémos* ‘we will go’ as clitics seldom occurred between the fronted lexical verb and the auxiliary:

- (15) a *Desir vos he cosa que... vos ser-à pro*<sup>226</sup> (o.Sp)  
 Tell =you= I.will that ... to.you= it.will.be beneficial  
 ‘I will tell you something which ... will be good for you’
- b *Poder lo as fazer*<sup>227</sup>  
 Can =it= =you.will do  
 ‘You will be able to do it’
- c *Hyr las hémos ver at ierras de Carrión*<sup>228</sup>  
 go =them= we.will see to.lands of Carrion  
 ‘We shall go to see them in the lands of Carrion.’

<sup>226</sup> *Calila e Dimna*; from Rivero 1993.

<sup>227</sup> *Libro del Saber de Astronomia*; from Rivero 1993.

<sup>228</sup> *Canar de Mio Cid*; from Lema & Rivero 1991: 143.

The pattern of clitic placement in (15) is normally dubbed ‘mesocclisis’ because the clitics occurs between two verbal forms that, later, were reanalysed as the root and the ending of a single complex word. It is worth noting that, in origin, mesocclisis resulted from no special placement: clitics occur between the verb and a focus-fronted element, as usual. After the reanalysis of the previous analytic sequence into a single synthetic form, Spanish lost mesocclisis, whereas Portuguese still exhibits conditional and future forms with mesocclisis, in particular in formal/written registers.

To corroborate the hypothesis that mesocclisis results from (stylistic) fronting, notice that in early Ibero-Romance mesocclisis is usually allowed in the contexts of V1 that normally require enclisis: namely main positive clauses without foci or, to a lesser extent, embedded clauses allowing root phenomena. Topicalised constituents (including subjects) and frame elements located in the C domain precede the infinitive:

- (16) a Et yo *ir* **te** he ver<sup>229</sup> (o.Sp.)  
 And I go =you= I.will see  
 ‘And I will go to see you’
- b Despues *tornar* **lo** as assu logar<sup>230</sup>  
 Afterwards return =it= you.will to.its place  
 ‘Afterwards you will return it to its place’

Conversely, if the focus position is occupied by any type of XP, as shown in (17), clitics precede the infinitive, which is incorporated to the auxiliary:

- (17) a OTRA RAZÓN **te** dir-é<sup>231</sup> (o.Sp.)  
 Another reason you= to.say-I.will  
 ‘I will tell you another reason’
- b ENXEMPLOS **te** dar-ía mill<sup>232</sup>  
 Examples to.you= to.give-I.would thousands  
 ‘Examples, I would give you a thousand’
- c YO **te** dexar-é e dar -te hé de mano<sup>233</sup>

<sup>229</sup> *Calila e Dimna*; Rivero 1993.

<sup>230</sup> *Picatrix*; Rivero 1993: 231.

<sup>231</sup> Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*; Lema & Rivero 1991.

<sup>232</sup> Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*; Lema & Rivero 1991.



I you= to.leave-I.will and to.give =you= I.will of hand  
 ‘I will leave you and set you free’

Analogously, mesocclisis is banned in wh- interrogatives, while it is attested in yes/no questions:

- (18) a. Señor, a quien **nos dar édes** por cabdiello?<sup>234</sup> (o.Sp)  
 Sir, to who us= give you.will as leader  
 ‘Sir, who will you give us as leader?’  
 b. Señora – dixo el – dezir **lo** hédes al rey?<sup>235</sup>  
 Lady said he tell =it= you.will to.the king  
 ‘Lady, he said, will you tell it to the king?’

Lema & Rivero 1991 argue that mesocclisis cannot result from phrasal movement, but from *Long Head Movement*, i.e. movement of the infinitive above the Wackernagel position without moving through the position hosting the finite auxiliary (see also Roberts 1994):

- (19) {<sub>C</sub> infinitive [w clitic {<sub>I</sub> auxiliary ... }]} Long Head Movement

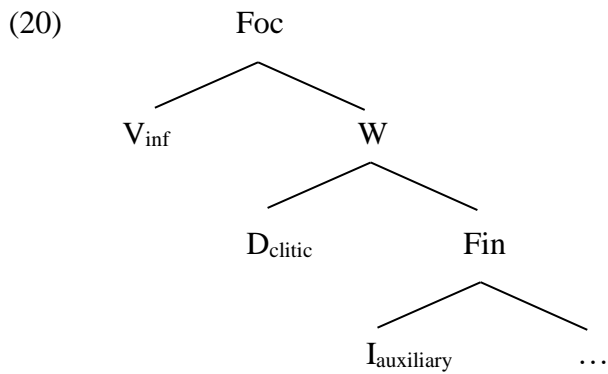
I endorse Lema and Rivero’s analysis in the light of Vicente’s reframing of the head vs phrase movement debate. If we accept the idea that a head can perform long movement under certain circumstances – i.e. to satisfy a Criterion – then we obtain a principled reformulation of the Long Head Movement hypothesis in compliance with general theoretical principles. In particular, I extend to mesocclisis and Stylistic Fronting the analysis of V1 proposed in §7.2, where I proposed that a verbal head is moved to C in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion. If it is an infinitive that performs Long Head Movement, it eventually lands above the auxiliary and the pronoun in W:

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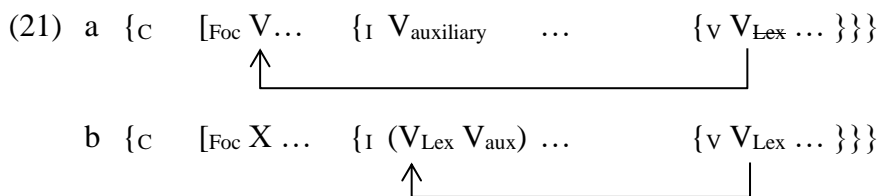
<sup>233</sup> *Libro del Caballero Zifar*; Rivero 1993.

<sup>234</sup> *Libro del Caballero Zifar*; Rivero 1993.

<sup>235</sup> *Libro del Caballero Zifar*; Rivero 1993.



When the Focus position is occupied by other elements (fronted XPs, *wh* elements, dummies, etc.), non-finite verbal forms do not move to C: they perform (short) head movement, which, in the case of future and conditional tenses in Archaic Early Romance, ends with the incorporation of the infinitive to the auxiliary head, see (21)b.



To conclude, Stylistic Fronting and mesoclysis instantiate the same pattern of verb movement, in which a bare non-finite form is displaced in C in order to satisfy a Syntax/Discourse requirement, i.e. a Criterion. I contended that this pattern of fronting is one among several alternative ways to fill the Focus position of main clauses, which in early Romance languages could not remain empty. The possible strategies to satisfy the Focus Criterion are eventually summarised below:

- XP fronting;
- Stylistic Fronting of a non-finite form of the verb or a predicative adjective;
- Movement of the inflected verb to Foc;
- dummies, e.g. *sì*.

Whereas the latter is a last resort strategy, the former are triggered by orthogonal discourse conditions and interact with other clause-level factors, e.g. polarity (see below).

The above analysis builds on previous proposals by Lema & Rivero 1991, Vicente 2007. I contend that, in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion, heads can perform long movement. If the verbal head performs long movement, the machinery of incorporation is disrupted (§7.3) and clitics are eventually forced to (long) move to W.

f. 7.6 Polarity

This section deals with the interaction between verb movement, clitic placement, and polarity. In early Romance, the negator always precedes the finite verb, even if the verb is in sentence-initial position (see also Fischer 2003a: 264). Moreover, negation always precedes proclitics (save for cases of interpolation) and is incompatible with enclisis:

- (22) neg V / \*V neg  
 neg cl V / \*neg V cl

To account for the incompatibility between negation and enclisis, one might argue that polarity and enclisis are in a feeding/bleeding relationship: positive polarity creates the context where V1 and enclisis can occur, whereas negative polarity blocks verb movement and, consequently, impedes enclisis. Evidence supporting this view comes from cases of residual V-to-C movement in present-day Romance, which is confined to hortative/imperative<sup>236</sup> clauses:

- (23) a Dis-**le** (Fr.)

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<sup>236</sup> Negated imperatives often take the form of infinitive, which allow either proclisis or enclisis:

- (i) a mangia-lo! (It.)  
 eat =it  
 'Eat it!'
- b \*non mangia-lo!  
 not eat=it  
 'Do not eat it!'
- c non mangiar-lo / non lo mangiare  
 not eat=it not it= eat  
 'Do not eat it!'

Enclisis in negative imperatives is allowed more readily in languages with postverbal negation, where the choice between enclisis and proclisis is affected by further factors such as the type of clitics and negative polarity item (Hirschbühler & Labelle 2003).

say=it

‘say it’

b **Ne le** dis pas.

Not it=say not

‘do not say it’

Analogously, preverbal negation has been reported to block verb movement in interrogative and exclamative clauses, thus impeding subject clitic inversion in certain, but not all, northern Italian dialects (Benincà and Vanelli 1982; Parry 1997: 182; Zanuttini 1997: 42; Portner and Zanuttini 1996: 258-259). Inversion is permitted when a postverbal negator is present as in (24)b and (24)c respectively. With discontinuous negations such as (24)b, Zanuttini 1997: 68 argues that the preverbal negative marker is a clitic formative (see also Belletti 1990) that does not interfere with verb movement.

(24) a \***No vien-lo?** (Paduan)<sup>237</sup>

not comes=he?

‘Isn’t he coming?’

b **No vien-lo miga?** (Paduan)

not comes=he not?

‘Isn’t he coming?’

c **Vien-lo miga?** (S. Anna di Chioggia)

comes=he not?

‘Isn’t he coming?’

The data above show that negative polarity affects verb movement. However, since early Romance exhibit two steps of movement (one yielding subject inversion, in §6.2, the other yielding enclisis, in §6.7), one wonders which one is blocked by negation. The data from early Romance show that negation is incompatible with the latter (i.e. the movement of the verb to Foc), whereas negation is compatible with G-inversion: in (25), for instance, negation occurs between the focus expletive *sì*<sup>238</sup> (§7.6) and a DP subject, which means that negation *per se* does not impede verb movement to Fin.

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<sup>237</sup> Benincà and Poletto 2004: 37.

<sup>238</sup> The co-occurrence of *sì* and negation is very rare, see below.

- (25) *sì non* dee l'uomo comperare la vita con ogni prezzo (o.It.)<sup>239</sup>  
*sì not has.to the man buy the life with any price*  
 'Man shall not buy life at any price'

The fact that negation moves to Fin along with the verb suggests that the negative marker is incorporated to the inflected verb (Belletti 1990). In this respect, I contend that in Romance the position of preverbal negation cannot be ascertained since the negator is always proclitic to the inflected verb:

- (26) {<sub>C</sub> *sì (non dee)* {<sub>I</sub> *l'uomo (~~non dee~~)* ... }}

Given (26), let us examine cases such as (27) in which negation occurs in contexts of V1:

- (27) *Non ha la divina volontà bisogno d'alcuno ufficiale*<sup>240</sup> (o.It.)  
*Not has the divine will need of any official*  
 'The divine will does not need any official.'

Two analyses of (27) can be advanced: one in which the inflected verb vacuously moves to Focus in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion (§7.2), another in which negative polarity impedes (long) verb movement to the Focus position, which remains empty.

- (28) a [<sub>Foc</sub> (*non ha*) [<sub>W</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> (~~*non ha*~~) {<sub>I</sub> *la divina volontà (~~non ha~~)* ... }]]  
 b [<sub>Foc</sub> --- [<sub>W</sub> ... [<sub>Fin</sub> (*non ha*) {<sub>I</sub> *la divina volontà (~~non ha~~)* ... }]]

The former analysis does not explain why negative polarity impedes enclisis: in principle, nothing prevents the clitics from occurring in W, as they usually do in contexts of V1 (see §6.7). The latter analysis, conversely, allows us to account for the absence of enclisis: enclisis is barred because the verb does not perform long movement to satisfy the Focus Criterion, which cannot (or needs not) be satisfied in negative clauses. In the remainder of the section I will argue in favour of the latter hypothesis. The argument is as follows: enclisis results when

<sup>239</sup> *Pistole di Seneca.*

<sup>240</sup> *Boccaccio, Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante.*

the inflected verb move to Foc (*à la* Vicente 2007) in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion; in doing so, the verb does not incorporate the clitics, which are eventually displaced in W (§7.3); the Focus Criterion needs not be satisfied under negative polarity; consequently, the mechanism yielding enclisis does not take place.

To support my analysis, cf. (27)b, I elaborate on the relationship between Focus and polarity (see Laka 1990) in Romance languages (Battlori & Hernanz 2013; Poletto & Zanuttini 2013, Martins 2013 a.o.). First of all, it is worth noting that focus fronting often yields so-called *verum* or polarity focus (Höhle 1992), which differs from other types of focalisation as it yields no informational partition within the clause, but it emphasises the polarity of a proposition (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009: 179). The link between focus fronting and polarity is particularly evident in the processes of grammaticalisation of *polarity markers*, which derive from function words that are not intrinsically polar. Battlori & Hernandez 2013 convincingly reconstruct the history of polar marker such as It./Sp. *sì* < Lat. SIC ‘so, thus’, the demonstrative *hoc* ‘this’ in old Catalan (see (29)) and Occitan or the adverbs *bien* and *bé* in modern Spanish and Catalan, respectively. They argued very convincingly that fronting of these elements to the Focus position is an essential component of the process of grammaticalisation that led to the emergence of polarity markers.

- (29) Has           riquea? Respos que *hoc*,       amor.  
 Have.you wealth? Said     that yes/this, love.  
 Has           pobrea? *Hoc*,       amor<sup>241</sup> (o.Cat.)  
 Have.you poverty? Yes/this, love’

‘Do you have any wealth? Yes, he said, (I have) love. Do you have poverty? Yes, (I have) love.’

The relationship between fronting and polarity is further confirmed by Sardinian and Romanian, where predicate fronting is often involved in the formation of yes/no questions (Jones 1993: 355ff; Giurgea & Remberger 2014):

- (30) a Comporatu l’ as? (Sard.)  
           bought     it=have.you

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<sup>241</sup> Lull, *Amic e amat*; Battlori & Hernanz 2013.

‘Did you buy it?’

- b Telefonatu as a su duttore?  
telephoned have.you to the doctor  
‘Did you telephone the doctor?’

As Jones 1993: 256 puts it, “the possibility of interpreting narrow focus on the predicate as focus on the truth value of the sentence may help to explain the tendency for fronting of the predicate to occur predominantly in yes/no questions” (see also Giurgea & Remberger 2014). In other words, the data from Sardinian (and Romanian) show that fronting is not always triggered by discourse factors, but it interacts with polarity and this interaction is further confirmed by the fact that predicate fronting is incompatible with negation (Floricio 2009):

- (31) a \*Compresu no m’ as? vs No m’as compresu? (Sard.)  
Understood not me= you.have  
‘Did(n’t) you understand me?’  
b \*Bona no est? vs no est bona?  
Good not is  
‘Is(n’t) it good?’  
c \*Innoghe no istas? vs No istas innoghe?  
There not you.stay  
‘Do(n’t) you live here?’

To sum up, the above data confirm a correlation between predicate fronting and (positive) polarity. The Sardinian data in particular suggest that polarity fronting is blocked under negative polarity. With this in mind, let us resume the analysis of V1/enclisis. First of all, V1 is not directly related to polarity effect (Hirschbühler 1990; Fontana 1993: 147–151; Benincà 2006: fn 18). Wolfe 2015a: 155f individuates three main discourse effects associated with V1:

- Topic continuity V1: sentences entailing a Null Topic co-referent with a preceding nominal expression;
- Rhematic V1: sentences denoting all new information, which introduce ‘not-yet activated referents into a discourse’ (Lambrecht 1994: 143).
- Narrative V1: sentences beginning with an verb, *recounting a proposition that is true*.

Only the latter interpretation is somehow linked to the truth value of the proposition, which amounts to saying that in early Romance the relationship between predicate fronting and

polarity, if any, is indirect. Let us assume as a working hypothesis that the Focus Criterion is relaxed in negative contexts: I argued in §7.2 that in positive environments the Focus Criterion was satisfied by fronting an XP, by moving a predicate head, or by merging a dummy element such as *sì*. Since in negative contexts the Focus Criterion is relaxed, then I expect that focus fronting in negative clauses is not mandatory and that only discourse-driven fronting is allowed (i.e. to convey contrastive or new information focus). In particular, I expect that in negative environments dummy elements and Long Head Movement are not triggered as the Focus position can eventually remain empty as hypothesised in (27)b.

In fact, negation and focus expletives co-occur very rarely. In my analysis, dummies are not required because the Focus Criterion is relaxed in negative clauses. Alternatively, Ledgeway 2008 suggests that the two are incompatible because the negator has to incorporate to the verb in Fin<sup>0</sup>. Since – according to Ledgeway – the V2 requirement in Fin is satisfied by merger of *sì*, then the negator cannot left-adjoin to the verb. This analysis, however, cannot explain why negation is regularly merged with the verb in embedded clauses, where the verb does not reach Fin.

Indirect evidence for my analysis comes from *fragment answers*. In Latin, see (32), as well as in modern western Ibero-Romance and in most early Romance languages, see (33), positive polarity is conveyed by elliptical clauses containing only the inflected verb (Rouveret 1989; Martins 1994, 2005).<sup>242</sup>

- (32) Clodius insidias    *fecit* Miloni? *Fecit*<sup>243</sup>  
 C.        intrigues    did    to.M    did

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<sup>242</sup> In several (Innovative) Early Romance varieties the inflected verb could in fact co-occur with polarity markers in fragments, see (i). I hypothesise that the pattern in (i) resulted when the dummy *sì* was reanalysed as a polar marker (along the lines of Battlori & Hernandez 2013), which is not merged in Focus (Poletto & Zanuttini 2013: 129-132).

- (i) a    non    saps?    Sì    fas . (o.Occ.)  
       not    know?    Yes    do  
       ‘Don’t you know it? Yes, I do.’  
 b    O    figliuolo mio, perchè    ti                    rammarichi    tue? [...] Sì    ramarico (o.It.)  
       Oh son    my,    why    yourself= regret                    you                    Yes    I.regret  
       ‘Do you regret, my son? Yes, I do.’

<sup>243</sup> Cicero, *Pro Milone*; Pinkster 1990: 191.



‘Did Clodius plot against Milo?’ ‘He did.’

(33) a Viste o João? Vi (Port.; Martins 1994)

Saw the J. I.saw

‘Have you seen J? Yes, I have.’

b ¿Quiéres-lo saber? Quiero.<sup>244</sup> (o.Sp.;

want=it to know? want

‘Do you want to know it? Yes, I do.’

Interestingly, bare verbs in (32) and (33) cannot act as negative answers. Moreover, the verb forming a fragment cannot carry any clitic form, even in languages in which clitics are incorporated to the inflected verb. This amounts to saying that the mechanism producing fragments is incompatible with negative polarity and disrupts the mechanism of incorporation.

In what follows, I argue that fragments results from V1 structures in which the inflected verb has moved via Long Head Movement to satisfy the Focus Criterion. Hence I depart from Martins’s analysis, which analyse fragments as cases of VP ellipsis, and claim instead that fragments results from Long Head Movement to focus and IP ellipsis. Since the verb performs Long Head Movement, the conditions for the incorporation of the clitics are not met anymore as the verb bypasses the Z position where incorporation normally takes place. Thus the clitics and the inflected verb move independently to adjacent positions in the C domain, yielding the order V1 (in Foc) > clitic (in W). The clitic, however, is contained in the complement of Focus, which underdoes ellipsis:

(34) {<sub>C</sub> [<sub>Foc</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> clitic {<sub>t</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub> V<sub>Lex</sub> ... clitic<sub>Lex</sub> } } ] ] }

The intuition that fragments are a particular case of V1 is confirmed by Martins’s 1994: 174 observation that fragments are nowadays allowed in the same set of languages which have enclisis (Portuguese and Galician), and not in the languages which do not allow enclisis in tensed clauses (Spanish, Catalan, French and Italian). Martins’s generalisation is supported by further diachronic evidence as fragments and enclisis were allowed in all medieval

<sup>244</sup> *La Celestina*; Martins 2005

languages and both disappeared at the same time. Hence, the mechanism producing enclisis must be involved in the syntax of fragments.

Given (34), we can follow Merchant's 2004 analysis, which shows that fragments involve movement of a phrase to a peripheral position followed by ellipsis of the host clause. Merchant's 2004 analysis of fragments builds on previous accounts of *sluicing*<sup>245</sup>, which Merchant 2001 analysed as movement of a *wh*-phrase out of I domain, followed by deletion of the I domain itself. Merchant 2004 extends the same analysis to fragment answers, by analysing the fragment as having moved to a clause-peripheral position 'to be identified with Rizzi's 1997 FocusP' (Merchant 2004 : 675).

The idea that fragments originates from focus-fronting is further confirmed by the observation that fragments corresponds to phrasal constituents. In English, for instance, direct objects cannot be omitted in short answers (Merchant 2004: 698ff):

- (35) a What did he do to the car? Toted \*(it).  
b What did she do with the spinach? Washed \*(it).  
c What did he do for his sister? Funded \*(her).

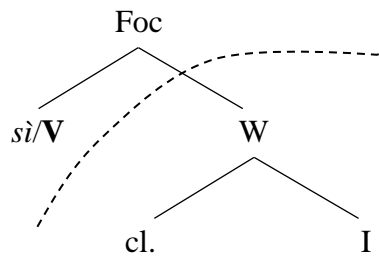
Differently from English, in early Romance bare inflected verb could be used to form short answers because the bare inflected verb, including auxiliaries, could perform long movement to Foc, as argued in §7.2. I contend that the inflected verb is moved to Foc, while the complement of Foc (including the W position containing the clitics) is elided as illustrated in (36)a. Alternatively, short answers are obtained by merging the dummy *sì* 'thus' in Focus: *sì* is eventually interpreted as a marker of positive polarity, while the verb remains in the I domain, where it is merged with the clitics.

What is crucial for my analysis is that the mechanism in (36)a does not take place in negative environments. In negative clauses, the Focus position need not be filled: it can be filled by focalised XPs or, in answers, by the negative polarity marker *no*, as shown in (36)b. The inflected verb, however, is not required to move to Focus (as in Sardinian predicative fronting in (31)) in order to satisfy the Focus Criterion. For this reason, predicate fragments cannot have a negative meaning.

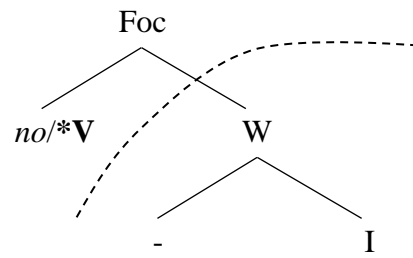
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<sup>245</sup> Sluicing consists in the ellipsis of a question, save for the *wh*-phrase: e.g. *Jack bought something, but I don't know what.*

(36) a positive



b negative



To conclude, the incompatibility between fragments and negative polarity supports the claim that in negative clauses the Focus Criterion is relaxed and long head movement is not triggered. Focus (XP) is allowed under certain discourse condition, but the alternative strategies to satisfy the Criterion (dummies and V1) are excluded. This explains why the mechanism producing enclisis (which in my opinion results from Long Head Movement) is blocked in negative clauses.

### 7.7 Conclusion

In chapter 6 I argued that in Innovative early Romance interpolation is barred, which means that proclitics are incorporated with the inflected verb and eventually move to Fin along with the verb:

(37) {C ... [Fin (cl V) {I DP<sub>subj</sub> (~~eI~~V) ... }]}

To account for enclisis in Innovative Early Romance I proposed that, under certain circumstances, the mechanism in (44) is overridden by an alternative syntactic machinery, which yields V1 and enclisis. I claimed that the latter machinery is triggered by the Focus Criterion, i.e. a constraint requiring the Focus position to be filled.

Under normal circumstances, the Focus Criterion is satisfied by fronting an XP, which yields the peculiar V2-like order of most early Romance main clauses. Only clitics and negation (which I assume to be merged with the verbal head) can occur between the fronted XP and the verb:

(38) {C ... [Foc XP [Fin V {I DP<sub>subj</sub> V ... }]}

Occasionally, the Focus Criterion is satisfied by internal merge of categories that have an ambiguous  $X^0/XP$  status. When non-finite verbs or predicative adjectives are fronted, the resulting configuration recalls patterns of Icelandic Stylistic Fronting.

(39) {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> V<sub>non-fin</sub> [<sub>Fin</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> {<sub>I</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> V<sub>non-fin</sub> }]}]}

Alternatively, the Focus Criterion can be satisfied by merging a dummy adverb such as *sì*.

(40) {C ... [<sub>Foc</sub> *sì*] [<sub>Fin</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> {<sub>I</sub> DP<sub>subj</sub> V<sub>fin</sub> ... }]} }

Building on Vicente 2007, I argued that another way to satisfy the Focus Criterion is by moving to Focus the inflected verb itself. In order to satisfy the Criterion, finite verbs are allowed to perform long movement *à la* Lema & Rivero 1991. I argued that, by undergoing Long Head Movement, the inflected verb bypasses the locus where clitics are incorporated, thus disrupting the mechanism producing proclisis. Clitics must then resort to an alternative linearisation mechanism, which results in clitic placement in W.

(41) {C [<sub>Foc</sub> V [<sub>W</sub> clitic {<sub>I</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub> V<sub>Lex</sub> ... clitic<sub>Lex</sub> }]}]}

Lastly, I argued that enclisis in negative clauses is ruled out because the Focus Criterion needs not be satisfied under negative polarity. Consequently, Long Head Movement is not licensed in negative environment. The argument in favour of this conclusion comes from predicate fragments, which convey positive polarity.

I argued, following Merchant 2004, that fragments are obtained by extracting the fragment to the Focus position and then deleting the complement of Focus. Since fragments cannot convey negative polarity, this is evidence that V1 – and, consequently, enclisis – are licensed only under positive polarity.



## 8.1 Introduction

In chapters 5 and 6 I outlined a diachronic analysis of the emergence of clitic systems. I showed, following Salvi 1996, that present-day adverbial clitics derive from the reanalysis of a scrambling configuration in which pronouns were displaced in a position (W) in the low C domain. The Wackernagel system was still active in the Archaic Early Romance languages (i.e. old Ibero-Romance), whereas in the Innovative Early Romance languages the Wackernagel mechanism was confined to contexts of V1, where, according to the analysis proposed in chapters 6 and 7, both the inflected verb and the clitics land after having performed long movement to C.

The archaic Wackernagel machinery was gradually lost in the Innovative Romance languages, which began to exhibit a robust system of *adverbial* clitics in which the clitics are incorporated to the inflected verb. As for incorporation, I follow Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 in assuming that clitics are incorporated to the verb in the I domain. Evidence for this kind of derivation comes from the comparison between languages such as Italian in (1) and dialects such as Cosentino in (2), which exhibit residual interpolation of aspectual adverbs in (2)b (see §5.4.2):

(1)a ?Gianni **già** mi conosce. (It.)

Gianni already me= knows

b \*Gianni mi **già** conosce.

Gianni me= already knows

c Gianni mi conosce **già**.

Gianni me= knows already

‘Gianni already knows me’

(2) a Gianni **ggià** mi canuscia. (Cosentino)

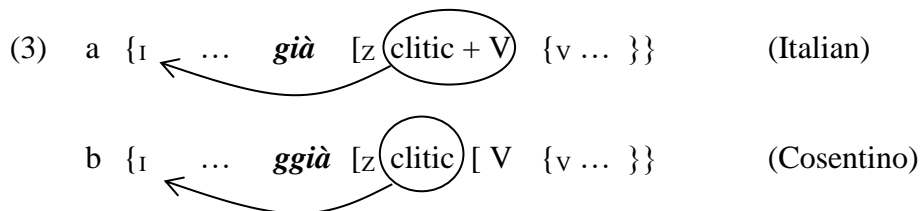
Gianni already me= knows

b Gianni mi **ggià** canuscia.

Gianni me= already knows

- c Gianni mi canuscia **già**.  
 Gianni me= knows already  
 ‘Gianni already knows me’

According to Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, incorporation takes place in a position in the low I domain, which they conventionally dub Z: in languages such as Italian the verb moves through Z, incorporating the clitic as shown in (3)a, whereas in languages such as Cosentino incorporation in Z does not take place and the clitic is free to move further in the I domain, see (3)b. Incorporation does not take place because the verb targets a position lower than Z, from where it cannot incorporate the clitic.



The hypothesis of a lower nesting site for clitics at the V/I border has been advanced since Kayne 1989.<sup>246</sup> Evidence supporting the hypothesis of a lower nesting site – which I assume to be Ledgeway & Lombardi’s Z – comes from the monoclausal analysis of restructuring predicates (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004) and from the syntax of languages exhibiting partial or total lack of clitic climbing (Tortora 2015 a.o.).

In this chapter I will elaborate on the properties of the nesting site Z in order to account for crosslinguistic variation with respect to clitic climbing in compound tenses and restructuring environments. In the second part of the chapter I will focus on a southern Italian dialect showing enclisis/proclisis asymmetries with respect to past participles that recall the Tobler-Mussafia system analysed in the previous chapter and argue that the role played by Z in the I domain is reminiscent of that of W in the C domain. The hypothesis that the W position at the I/C border and the Z position at the V/I border play similar roles supports the view that sentence structure has a bipartite structure formed by two isomorphic phases each surmounted by a periphery of criterial positions (Belletti 2004; Poletto 2006, 2014 a.o.).

<sup>246</sup> Kayne 1989: 240, who claims that ‘Romance clitics have two options: attachment to V or attachment to I’. Following Benincà & Tortora 2009, 2010 I claimed in §2.3 and chapters 5-6 that early Romance languages exploit a third cliticisation site (W) in the C domain.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §8.2 argues, on the basis of the existing literature, for a monoclausal analysis of restructuring; §8.3 elaborates on the hypothesis that the presence vs absence (or optionality) of clitic climbing results from where auxiliaries are merged, either in V or I; in the light of this proposal, §8.4 aims to account for *destructuring*<sup>247</sup>, i.e. the loss of transparency effects in periphrastic constructions and, to a lesser extent, compound tenses; §8.5 accounts for the behaviour of clitics in compound tenses and reviews Tortora's analysis of languages with generalised enclisis; §8.6 elaborates on the southern Italian dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore, which shows complex patterns of climbing combined with enclisis/proclisis asymmetries. §8.7 concludes.

## 8.2 Restructuring

Sequences formed by one or more finite functional verb(s) and a non-finite lexical verb may exhibit *transparency effects*, i.e. phenomena that are normally clause-bound may span over the entire sequence. According to Rizzi 1976, 1978, 1982 transparency effects occur when the sequence formed by a finite matrix clause and a subordinate non-finite clause such as (4)a is *restructured*, yielding a monoclausal structure containing a single complex verb as shown in (4)b:

- (4) a Carlo [vuole [incontrare Linda]] (It.)  
       C.     wants   to.meet   L.  
       b Carlo [[vuole incontrare] Linda]  
       C.     wants   to.meet   L.  
       ‘Carlo wants to meet Linda’

The main transparency effects triggered by restructuring are clitic climbing in (5), long object preposing (which normally co-occur with clitic climbing, see (6)), and *loro*<sup>248</sup> climbing in (7). Moreover, if the embedded lexical verb is unaccusative, the perfective auxiliary of the functional verb can switch to *be*, as shown in (8).

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<sup>247</sup> If I am correct, the term *destructuring* was introduced by Benucci 1990.

<sup>248</sup> On *loro* climbing, see also chapter 4.



- (5) a voglio veder **-lo**. (It.)  
 I.want to.see =it/him  
 b **Lo** voglio vedere  
 it/him= I.want to.see  
 ‘I want to see it/him’
- (6) a Si vorrebbe vender-**gli** *queste case* a caro prezzo (It.)<sup>249</sup>  
 one= would.like to.sell =him these houses at high price  
 b \**Queste case* si vorrebbero vender **-gli** a caro prezzo  
 These houses one= would.like to.sell =him at high price  
 c *Queste case* **gli** si vorrebbero vendere a caro prezzo  
 These houses him= one= would.like to.sell at high price  
 ‘One would like to sell him these houses at a high price’
- (7) Ho <sup>2</sup>*loro* cominciato ad insegnar **-lo** (*loro*) immediatamente. (It.)  
 I.have to.them began to teach =it (to them) immediately  
 ‘I immediately began to teach it to them.’
- (8) a *Ho/\*sono* dovuto dormire. (It.)  
 I.have/I.am had to.sleep  
 b *Ho/sono* dovuto partire  
 I.have/I.am had to.leave

The theoretical debate on restructuring revolves around two main issues:

- the mono vs biclausal nature of restructured predicates;
- the lexical vs functional nature of restructuring verbs.

The above aspects are intertwined in the sense that lexical verbs are expected to yield a biclausal structure blocking transparency effects, whereas functional verbs are supposed to yield a monoclausal structure triggering transparency effects. Things however are a bit more complicated as restructuring verbs often exhibit properties of functional elements also in the absence of transparency effects: above all, restructuring predicates normally spell out

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<sup>249</sup> Cinque 2006: 29

grammatical information such as modality or aspect, they never project an external argument, and cannot take complements.

Moreover, adverbial modification provides solid evidence for a monoclausal analysis as adverbs in restructuring environments cannot occur twice and, when various adverbs co-occur, they must follow a rigid order (see Wurmbrand 2001; Cinque 2004, 2006: 17ff). For instance, the examples in (9)c show that the aspectual adverb *sempre* ‘always’ cannot occur twice in restructuring contexts, even if one can build plausible contexts in which one adverb takes scope over the modal verb and the other over the lexical verb (see the English translations in (9)).

- |     |   |            |         |                                      |               |               |        |                               |               |            |               |               |
|-----|---|------------|---------|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|-------------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| (9) | a | <b>Lo</b>  | voglio  | <i>sempre</i>                        | vedere        |               | a'     | voglio                        | <i>sempre</i> | veder      | <b>-lo</b>    | (It.)         |
|     |   |            | it/him= | I.want                               | always        | to.see        |        | I.want                        | always        | to.see     | =it/him       |               |
|     |   |            |         | ‘I always want to see it/him’        |               |               |        | ‘I always want to see it/him’ |               |            |               |               |
|     | b | <b>Lo</b>  | voglio  | vedere                               | <i>sempre</i> |               | b'     | voglio                        | veder         | <b>-lo</b> | <i>sempre</i> |               |
|     |   |            | it/him= | I.want                               | always        | to.see        |        | I.want                        | to.see        | =it/him    | always        |               |
|     |   |            |         | ‘I want to always see it/him’        |               |               |        | ‘I want to always see it/him’ |               |            |               |               |
|     | c | <b>*Lo</b> | voglio  | <i>sempre</i>                        | vedere        | <i>sempre</i> | c'??   | voglio                        | <i>sempre</i> | veder      | <b>-lo</b>    | <i>sempre</i> |
|     |   |            | it/him= | I.want                               | always        | to.see        | always | I.want                        | always        | to.see     | =it/him       | alw.          |
|     |   |            |         | ‘I always want to always see it/him’ |               |               |        | ‘I want to always see it/him’ |               |            |               |               |

In my opinion, the example (9)c, which displays climbing, is as ungrammatical as (9)c', which does not display climbing<sup>250</sup>: this means that the impossibility for the adverb to occur twice holds also in the absence of transparency effects, which corroborates the hypothesis that, climbing or not, these structures are always monoclausal.

The monoclausal analysis is supported by other facts concerning the distribution of adverbs. Jones 1988 and Salvi 1991:520–21 pointed out that only a very limited class of adverbs – those occurring in the low I domain – may intervene between the infinitive and the restructuring verb. Furthermore, if we take adverbs that usually occur in the high, mid and low I domain, respectively, we can observe that the order of functional and lexical verbs with respect to these adverbs is rigid:

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<sup>250</sup> Cinque 2006: 17-18 reports examples similar to (9)c' as grammatical, but it seems to me that they are all quite marginal.

- (10) a. sinceramente **devo** (suonare) sempre suonare bene (It.)  
 honestly I.have.to to.play always to.play well  
 ‘Honestly, I always have to play well.’  
 b. \*sinceramente **devo** sempre bene suonare  
 c. \***devo** sinceramente sempre suonare bene

Crucially, the position of modal verbs and infinitives in restructuring environments is almost identical to the one of perfective auxiliaries and past participles in *bona fide* monoclausal constructions:

- (11) a. sinceramente **ho** (suonato) sempre (suonato) bene (It.)  
 honestly I.have played always played well  
 ‘Honestly, I always have to play well.’  
 b. \*sinceramente **ho** sempre bene suonato  
 c. \***ho** sinceramente sempre suonato bene

By the same token, when two aspectual adverbs co-occur, they normally exhibit a rigid order in monoclausal contexts as well as in restructuring environments (again, regardless of the presence or absence of transparency effects such as climbing in (12) vs (13), respectively):

- (12) a. Non **lo** può *più* mangiare *sempre*. (It.)  
 not it=he.can anymore to.eat always  
 b. \*non **lo** può *sempre* mangiare *più*.  
 not it=he.can always to.eat anymore  
 ‘He cannot eat it anymore.’
- (13) a. non può *più* mangier **-lo** *sempre*. (It.)  
 not he.can anymore to.eat =it always  
 b. \*non può *sempre* mangier **-lo** *più*.  
 not he.can always to.eat =it anymore  
 ‘He cannot eat it anymore.’

Further evidence from adverbs comes from restructuring environments featuring adverbial NPIs such as It. *più* ‘anymore’. NPIs are licensed by a negator occurring before the inflected

verb. Again, in this respect the presence or absence of transparency effects does not affect the licensing of NPIs, cf. (14) and (15):

- (14) a Carlo *non mi* riesce *più* a parlare di Linda. (It.)  
 C. not to.me= can any.longer to speak about L.  
 b <sup>?</sup>Carlo *non mi* riesce a parlare *più* di Linda.  
 C. not to.me= can to speak any.longer about L  
 ‘Carlo can no longer speak with me about Linda.’

- (15) a Carlo *non* riesce *più* a parlar-**mi** di Linda. (It.)  
 C. not can any.longer to speak=to.me about L.  
 b Carlo *non* riesce a parlar-**mi** *più* di Linda  
 C. not can to speak=to.me any.longer about L.  
 ‘Carlo can no longer speak with me about Linda.’

By contrast, *bona fide* biclausal structures always require clause-bound licensing of NPIs:

- (16) a Carlo *non* esita *più* a parlar-mi di Linda  
 C not hesitates any.longer to speak=to.me about L.  
 b \*Carlo *non* esita a parlar -mi *più* di Linda  
 C not hesitates to speak=to.me any.longer about L.

Lastly, restructuring verbs, like adverbs, tend to occur with a rigid order, as illustrated in the following examples from Ledgeway & Cruschina 2016:

- (17) a *Solia començar* a (\**començava* a soler) treballar a les sis. (Cat.)  
 was.wont to.begin to he.began to be.wont to.work at the six  
 ‘He would begin working at six.’  
 b Il *tend à vouloir* (\**veut tendre* à) toujours parler. (Fr.)  
 he tends to to.want wants to.tend to always to.speak  
 ‘He tends to want to always speak.’  
 c *Torna començar* (\**comença* a tornar) a s’ interessar a sa cultura. (Lgd.)  
 returns to.begin begins to to.return to self= to.interest to its culture  
 ‘(the people) are beginning again to get interested in their own culture.’

- d *Tendem a querer continuar* (\*querem continuar a tender) a ...  
 they.tend to to.want to.continue they.want to.continue to to.tend to ...  
 ... frequentar aquele lugar. (Pt.)  
 ... to.frequent that place  
 ‘They tend to want to continue going to that place’
- e **Cesó de continuar** (\*continuó cesando de) maldiciendo. (Sp.)  
 he.stopped of to.continue continued stopping of cursing  
 ‘He stopped continually swearing.’

In the light of the above data, it is fair to conclude, following Cinque 2004, 2006, that restructuring verbs are almost always functional (save for certain verbs which have a lexical counterpart such as motion verbs and *sembrare* ‘to seem’, cf. Cinque 2006: 36f) and that they normally yield monoclausal structures that *can* exhibit transparency effects. However, if no alternation between mono- and biclausal structures results from restructuring, how can we account for the optionality of clitic climbing?

### 8.3 Modelling the interaction between restructuring and climbing

The supposed alternation between mono- and biclausal structures, which we have discarded in favour of a unified monoclausal analysis, has never provided a solid account of climbing as restructuring is a necessary, but not sufficient conditions for the clitics to climb (Rizzi 1976:48n18, 1982:44n26; Longobardi 1978: 200n5; Cinque 2004, 2006; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004: 522). For this reason, climbing cannot reduced or linked directly to restructuring. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004 argued that optional clitic climbing in restructuring environments results from the presence of two clitic sites: clitics can be placed either in the canonical position in the I domain, as in all monoclausal environments, but also in a position at the I/V border, which corresponds to Ledgeway & Lombardi’s 2005 Z (cf. §1):

$$(18) \{I \ V_{finite} \ \dots \ V_{infinitive} [Z \ clitic] \ \{v \ \dots \ \}\}$$

In Cardinaletti & Shlonsky’s 2004 words, ‘when the clitic pronoun appears in the lexical clitic position [namely, Z], the result is a restructuring context without clitic climbing.’ In

what follows I adopt an approach germane to Cardinaletti & Shlonsky's, but I depart significantly from Cardinaletti & Shlonsky's analysis in assuming that in modern Romance optional climbing does not result from the merging position(s) of the clitics, but rather from the merging position(s) of auxiliary verbs. I contend that my analysis can explain why, even if the Romance languages have a lower nesting site at the I/V border, clitics cannot be harboured in Z in non-restructuring environments such as compound tenses (more on this in §8.5).

To build my argument, I start observing that the Romance languages exhibit a certain degree of lexical variation with respect to the verbs that allow climbing. Catalan for instance is more liberal than Italian as it allows climbing with motion verbs denoting a specific path, which in other languages such as Italian do not trigger climbing (Solà 2002):

- (19) a **L'** he pujat/ baixat a veure. (Cat.)  
 him= I.have gone-up/ down to to.see  
 b (\***Lo**) sono salito/sceso a veder-**lo** (It.)  
 him= I.am gone-up/ down to to.see  
 'I have gone up/down to see him'

- (20) a **Hi** entraré a parlar. (Cat.)  
 to.him= I.will.go.in to talk  
 b (\***gli**) andrò a parlar-**gli** (It.)  
 to.him= I.will.go.in to talk =to.him  
 'I will go in to talk to him.'

- (21) a **El** va sortir a veure. (Cat.)  
 him= goes to.go.out to see  
 b (\***Lo**) è uscito a veder-**lo** (It.)  
 him= is gone.out to see =him  
 'S/he went out to see him.'

The above data show that, although the set of verbs triggering climbing fall into a consistent class, nonetheless variation results from *nanoparametric* choices in the sense of Biberauer & Roberts 2012, i.e. a choice affecting one or more individual lexical items. Hence, it must be a property of the restructuring verb that establishes whether clitics can climb or not.

To model this intuition, I elaborate on the hypothesis that, although all restructuring verbs are functional and yield a monoclausal configuration, they may differ with respect to their merging site. Let us suppose that functional verbs may be merged in either V or I: in the former case, periphrastic constructions result from a concatenation of Vs (as proposed by Roberts 2010: 76ff), while in the latter case functional verbs behave like English *do*-support. The choice between merging the auxiliary in V or I is a nanoparameter set for each functional verb (or for micro-classes of functional verbs). In particular, I contend that some verbs are obligatorily merged in I (see (22)a), while others are underspecified, as shown in (22)b, and can be merged V (this reminds of Roberts & Roussou’s 2003: Ch. 5 hypothesis that parameters may be conceptualised as ‘points of underspecification’):

- (22) a V / [I ... ]  
 b V / [ ... ]

When functional verbs are merged in V, periphrastic constructions consist of an iteration of Vs (Roberts 2010: 76). Each functional V is eventually attracted by a specific position in the I domain, yielding a rigidly-ordered sequence, whereas the lexical verb is eventually moved to a dedicated position in the low I area:

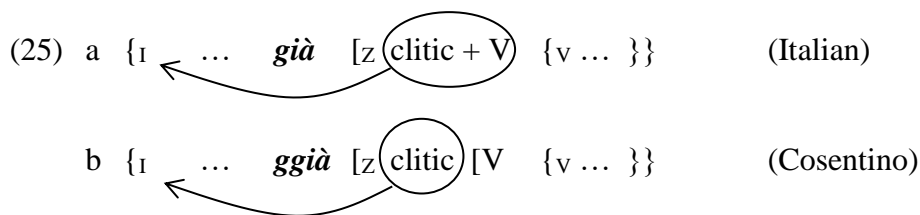
- (23) {I V<sub>functional</sub> ... V<sub>lexical</sub> {v V<sub>functional</sub> V<sub>lexical</sub> } }
- 

Conversely, when the restructuring verb is first-merged in I, no dependency holds between the inflected verb and the V area:

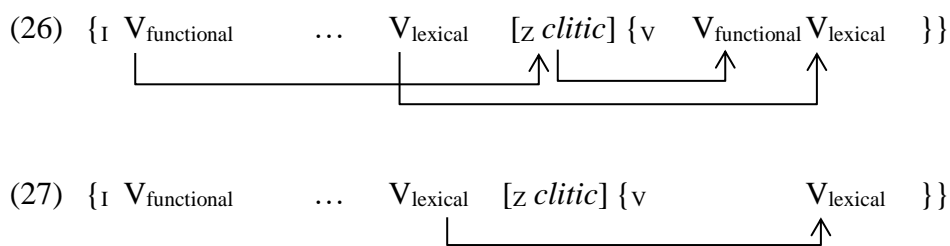
- (24) {I V<sub>functional</sub> ... V<sub>lexical</sub> {v V<sub>lexical</sub> } }
- 

In my opinion, the alternation between (23) and (24), combined with the hypothesis of an intermediate clitic site in the low I region provides us with a model of climbing that can explain why perfective auxiliaries – unlike modal and aspectual auxiliaries – do not normally trigger climbing (for exceptions, see §8.5). Recall that Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 postulate a clitic position Z where clitics are incorporated to the inflected verb in languages such as

Italian, see (25)a, whereas in languages such as Cosentino the verb does not reach Z and the clitic is free to move further in the I domain, see (25)b.



Let us combine the mechanism in (25)a with the alternation between (23) and (24): the prediction is that verbs that are first-merged in V can incorporate the clitic in Z as shown in (26), whereas functional verbs that are first-merged in I (above Z) cannot incorporate the clitics. In the latter case, the clitics are eventually incorporated by the lexical verb, which targets a nearby position immediately below Z, cf. (27):



If the functional verb can be merged in either V or I, as suggested in (22)b, then we have ‘a point of underspecification’ in our grammatical system (*à la* Roberts & Roussou 2003), which allows the configurations in (26) and (27) to alternate freely (optional climbing).

According to Roberts 2010, the hypothesis that modal verbs may be first-merged in V is supported by evidence from auxiliary selection under restructuring. As shown in (8), the temporal auxiliary is *be* if the embedded lexical verb is unaccusative, *have* otherwise. Since auxiliary selection is arguably computed locally, i.e. within the V domain, this proves that temporal and modal auxiliaries are in fact first-merged in a concatenated structure of the kind illustrated so far.

Further evidence for an iteration of verbs in the V domain comes from sequences formed by more than one restructuring verb. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004 claim that, in absence of other transparency effects (e.g. auxiliary switch), clitics can appear on any verb: the infinitival, the intermediate or the highest restructuring verb:

(28) a Vorrei poter andar-**ci** con Maria. (It.)



I.would to.be.able.to to.go =there with M.

b. Vorrei poter **-ci** andare con Maria.

I.would to.be.able.to =there to.go with M.

c. **Ci** vorrei poter andare con Maria.

There= I.would to.be.able.to to.go with M.

‘I would be able to go there with Maria.’

If a finite temporal auxiliary is added, the configuration without climbing results slightly degraded, whereas the others are fine:

(29) a ?Avrei voluto poter andar **-ci** con Maria. (It.)

I.would.have wanted to.be.able to.go =there with M.

b Avrei voluto poter **-ci** andare con Maria.

I.would.have wanted to.be.able =there to.go with M.

c **C'** avrei voluto poter andare con Maria.

There= I.would.have wanted to.be.able to.go with M.

‘I would have wanted to be able to go there with Maria.’

If the perfective auxiliary switches to *be* (when the lexical verb is unaccusative), the intermediate position of the clitic is barred according to Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004:

(30) a ?Sarei voluto poter andar **-ci** con Maria. (It.)

I.would.be wanted to.be.able to.go =there with M.

b \*Sarei voluto poter **-ci** andare con Maria.

I.would.be wanted to.be.able =there to.go with M.

c **Ci** sarei voluto poter andare con Maria.

There= I.would.be wanted to.be.able to.go with M.

‘I would have wanted to be able to go there with Maria.’

In the light of (30)b, Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004: 523 claim that, when restructuring occurs ‘all the way up’ (yielding auxiliary switch), clitic pronouns can appear attached either to the lexical verb (with the clitic in Z) or to the tensed functional verb because only two nesting sites are available in each clause and no intermediate clitic position is available in between, cf. (31)a. Conversely, (29)b is grammatical because it instantiates a biclausal

structure: Cardinaletti and Shlonsky argue that clitics are attached to the intermediate verb when restructuring does not occur “all the way up”, i.e. when the highest verb forms a separate clause as shown in (31)b:

- (31) a \*{<sub>C</sub> Sarei voluto poter-**ci** andare con Maria}  
 b {<sub>C</sub> Avrei voluto {<sub>C</sub> poter-**ci** andare con Maria}}

However, in my opinion (31)a is as marginal as (31)b (for Cinque 2006: 46, (31)a is even better than (31)b). I would therefore say that clitics tend always to climb (regardless of auxiliary shift), although other patterns of clitic placement never result in severe ungrammaticality.

Furthermore, the above structures in which the clitic is attached to the intermediate modal may exhibit transparency effects such as *loro* climbing and NPI-licensing, contra the biclausal analysis in (31)b:<sup>251</sup>

- (32) avrei            loro        voluto    poter vendere un mio    dipinto. (It.)  
 I.would.have to.them wanted can to.sell a my painting  
 ‘I wished I had sold them a painting of mine.’

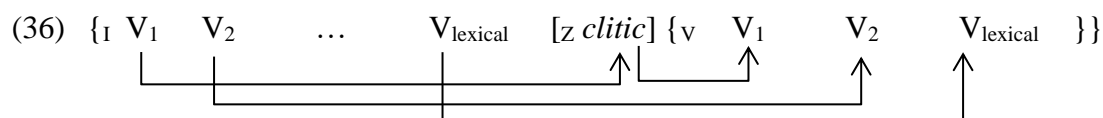
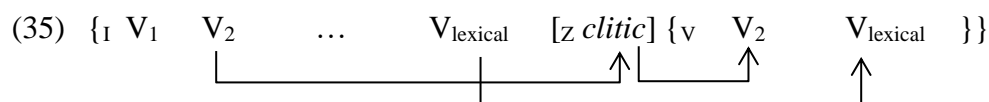
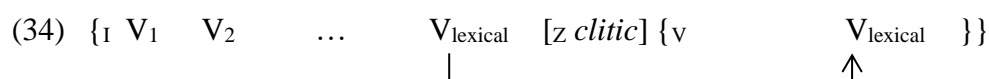
- (33) Non avrei            voluto    poter -**ci**        andare *più*.  
 Not I.would.have wanted can =there to.go anymore  
 ‘I wished I could not go there anymore.’

These data do not confirm the hypothesis that clitics can be attached to the intermediate verb if the above verbs belong to another clause. Alternatively, I suggest that the above variation depends on where restructuring verbs are first merged: if both restructuring verbs ( $V_1$  and  $V_2$ ) are first merged in I, no climbing occurs, as shown in (34); if one restructuring verb is first merged in I, the clitic will be incorporated by the restructuring verb that is first

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<sup>251</sup> Notice that all examples brought by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004 to demonstrate the biclausality of (31) contain the modal *volere* ‘to want’, which in fact is one of the restructuring verbs that, along with motion verbs and *sembrare* ‘to seem’, exhibit some properties of lexical verbs (see Cinque 2006: 37).

merged in V as in (35); if both restructuring verbs are merged in V, the clitic will incorporate to the highest under superiority, as shown in (36):<sup>252</sup>



In conclusion, this section aimed to reconcile Cinque’s 2004, 2006 claim that all restructuring verbs are always functional (and, as a corollary, that all restructuring environments are monoclausal) with the theory of clitic climbing put forth by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004, according to which the absence of climbing – which is orthogonal to restructuring – is obtained when clitics are stranded in a dedicated position – Ledgeway & Lombardi’s 2005 Z – in the low I domain.

I argued for a revised version of Cardinaletti & Shlonsky’s 2004 approach in which restructuring verbs always occur in a monoclausal structure (*à la* Cinque), but differ with respect to the point where they are first merged. Following Roberts 2010, I assumed that restructuring verbs might be inserted in V, yielding a monoclausal structure featuring an iteration of V heads. In this configuration, V-to-I movement of restructuring verbs results in the incorporation of the clitics (when the verb moves through Z) and their climbing to the higher I domain. Conversely, when restructuring verbs are first merged in I – as originally proposed by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky’s 2004 – the inflected verb cannot incorporate the clitics in Z. Clitics that occur in the low I domain are eventually m-merged (§5.5) with the nearby infinitive.

#### 8.4 Destructuring: periphrastic constructions

<sup>252</sup> Notice that, even if one verb is merged in V, the resulting linear order in the I domain will be always rigid because the order of the landing positions is fixed.

In the light of the analysis discussed in §8.3, this section deals with the diachronic evolution of clitic climbing, which is summarised in (37). Diachronically, Romance languages show an evolution that Benucci 1990 terms *destructuring*, i.e. the evolution from systems showing systematic transparency effects such as clitic climbing and auxiliary switch to systems in which periphrastic constructions (seem to) behave like bi-clausal structures.

The loss of climbing across the Romance languages – summarised in table (37) – is a major source of crosslinguistic variation in present-day languages, as illustrated by the following comparison between Italian in (40)a and French in (40)b:

(37)	Clitic climbing in...	medieval	modern
	Italian, Spanish	<i>optional</i>	<i>optional</i>
	Portuguese	<i>(almost) obligatory</i> <sup>253</sup>	<i>optional</i>
	Catalan	<i>obligatory</i>	<i>optional</i>
	French	<i>obligatory</i>	<i>barred</i>

- (38) a (Te ne) voglio/lascio/vedo (\*te ne) dare (te ne) due. (It.)  
to.you= of.them= I.want/let/see give two
- b (\*t'en) je veux/laisse/vois t' en donner (\*t'en) deux. (Fr.)  
I= want/let/see to.you= of.them= give two  
'I want/let/see give you two of them.'

In general, climbing was more widespread in medieval Romance than in present-day languages. Old Italian, for instance, had a tendency towards clitic climbing (like modern Tuscan varieties), although climbing was not obligatory (Cardinaletti & Egerland 2010: 437ff). Notice that, because of V-to-C movement (ch. 6), clitic could climb to inverted modal auxiliaries, yielding the order clitic > modal > subject > lexical verb, which is ungrammatical in present-day varieties. The same holds true for old Spanish (Rivero 1991).

- (39) a. ...ma così ti manda [lo Nostro Signore] a dire...<sup>254</sup> (o.It.)

<sup>253</sup> According to Andrade & Namiuti-Temponi's 2016 corpus study, 'nonclimbing is virtually inexistent in the Old Portuguese texts studied'.

<sup>254</sup> *Novellino*.

- but so to.you= send the our lord to say  
 ‘Our lord lets you know’  
 b ...vegno a veder -vi...<sup>255</sup>  
 I.come to see =you.PL  
 ‘I come to see you.’

Old French showed obligatory clitic climbing and other transparency effects (such as auxiliary switch) until the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Pearce 1990). In modern French, conversely, only the clitics *y* and *en* in (26) may marginally climb. This word order is usually restricted to formal sociolinguistic registers.<sup>256</sup>

- (40) a dont les biens **leur** sont peu venir<sup>257</sup> (mid.Fr.)  
 of.which the goods to.them= are could to.come  
 ‘of which the goods could come to them’  
 b Au parauant onques ennemi n’ y estoit osé entrer en  
 armes.<sup>258</sup>  
 to.the before no enemy neg =there was dared to.enter in arms  
 ‘Never before had an enemy dared to enter there armed.’

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<sup>255</sup> Dante, *La vita nuova*.

<sup>256</sup> In the same sociolect, the clitics *y* and *en* may marginally undergo interpolation (cf. §2.3; Kayne 1975: ch. 2; Cinque 2002/2006):

- (i) a pour *me* [bien] comprendre. (Fr.)  
 for me= well understand  
 ‘in order to understand me well.’  
 b *en* [bien] parler.  
 of.it= well to.speak  
 ‘to talk about it.’  
 c n’ *en* [presque rien] dire.  
 not of.it= almost nothing to.say  
 ‘to have nothing to say on this.’

<sup>257</sup> *Le Chevalier qui donna sa femme au dyable*.

<sup>258</sup> Amyot, *Les Vies des hommes illustres Grecs et Romains*.

(41) a J' *en* voudrais voir beaucoup. (Fr.)

I= of.them= would.like to.see a.lot

'I would like to see many of them.'

b J' *y* voudrais aller.

I= there= would.like to.go

'I would like to go there'

In Catalan (Fischer 2000), clitic climbing was mandatory until the 15th century, while in modern Catalan it is optional. Portuguese underwent the same evolution, see Andrade & Namiuti-Temponi 2016 for a corpus study.

(42) a *e* null home no *y* *poch abitar*<sup>259</sup> (o.Cat.)

and no man not there= can to.live

'and no man could live there.'

b Fort **ho** *volria saber*.<sup>260</sup>

strong it= wants to.know

'Urgently he wants to know it.'

The fact that old Romance exhibited generalised climbing follows straightforwardly from the hypothesis that in origin cliticisation consisted in long movement of the pronoun to the Wackernagel position (ch. 5, see also Wanner 1987). Hence, from a diachronic point of view it is not climbing that calls for an explanation, but rather the loss of climbing, i.e. destructuring. In this respect it is therefore worth distinguishing two mechanisms of climbing that in early Romance probably co-occurred, yielding the same displacement:

- long movement to W;
- incorporation of the clitic to the auxiliary.

Rivero 1991 claims that clitic climbing in old Spanish, differently from modern Spanish, never resulted from head-movement/incorporation. However, it seems to me that Rivero's conclusion is too strong and, although one can safely argue that in early Romance the clitics

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<sup>259</sup> XXXX

<sup>260</sup> XXXX

*could* undergo long movement (as I argued in chapters 5-6), one cannot necessarily conclude that they could not move along with the inflected verb (see also Martins 2003a).

Rivero argues that in early Romance climbing was a form of scrambling and, differently from modern Romance, it was not licensed under restructuring. According to her analysis, this is witnessed by the fact that functional and lexical verbs were not always adjacent as they are in modern Spanish. However, as I argued in §8.2, restructuring does not involve the rebracketing of a biclausal structure – as it was customarily assumed in the early 90s, cf. (4) – and the fact that the verbal complex in early Romance could be split is due to an orthogonal factor, namely V-to-C movement and Stylistic Fronting, cf. (43) (see also the discussion on Italian above (39)).

- (43) E    pues yo    [*gradescer*]**no**    **vos**    **lo** puedo  
 and since I    to.thank    not    you= it=I.can  
 ‘And since I cannot thank you for it.’

Hence, although it is safe to conclude that Archaic Early Romance languages exhibited an extra mechanism of climbing (i.e. long movement of the clitic to W), we cannot automatically exclude that in old Spanish clitics also moved along with the inflected verb. If clitics were always attracted to W (as Rivero seems to suggest), climbing should be obligatorily, *contra* evidence. In particular, one would expect climbing to be obligatory in the Archaic Early Romance languages that exhibit the hallmark of Wackernagel syntax, namely: interpolation. The correlation between interpolation and climbing, however, is not one-to-one. Only old Portuguese exhibit both obligatory climbing and interpolation (Andrade & Namiuti-Temponi 2016), whereas in old Spanish climbing is optional like in old Italian, which never exhibited productive interpolation. Furthermore, as previously shown, in languages such as old Catalan and French clitics were always required to climb, although neither displayed productive interpolation.

(44)

	Productive interpolation	Obligatory climbing
Old Portuguese	✓	✓
Old Spanish	✓	✗
Old Italian	✗	✗
Old French/Catalan	✗	✓

The facts summarised in table (44) show that climbing in early Romance cannot be reduced entirely to a mechanism of long movement. In fact, no bidirectional entailment holds between climbing and the hallmark of long-distance movement of the clitic, namely interpolation. As shown in (44): productive interpolation entails some form of climbing, but not *vice versa*.

On the basis of the above data one can therefore conclude that in early Romance languages clitic could climb in two ways: via long movement (especially in the Archaic Early Romance languages; this mechanism is unavailable in modern Romance) and via incorporation of the clitics to the auxiliary. These two alternative possibilities probably coexisted for centuries, but were superficially indistinguishable as long-distance cliticisation was progressively being reanalysed as an instance of incorporation (see chapter 5).<sup>261</sup> The generalised preference for

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<sup>261</sup> Old Italian and old Portuguese, respectively, differ from the modern languages as in the former clitics in contexts of obligatory climbing are not gapped along with the auxiliary, but remain attached to the non-finite lexical verb (the case of Portuguese in (i)b is in fact a pattern of reduplication), see Poletto 2014; Martins 2000:

- (i) a   avea       una   sola   pecora,   la       quale   avea       comperata, ...  
       he.had   one    only   sheep, the    which he.had   bought,  
       ... nutricata   e       cresciuta, e       datole       a mangiare...  
       fed           and   raised   and   given=to.her to eat  
       ... del   suo   pane. (o.It.; *Ottimo*)  
       of.the his   bread
- b   mandou   -**o**    filhar    e       atar   as mãos e       os   pees e ...  
       he.made =him to.catch and   to.tie the hands and   the   feet and  
       ... deita    -**llo**    em   hũũ   carçer. (o.Port; **Demanda**)  
       to.throw =him   in   a       cell  
       ‘And he made the, catch him and tie his hands and feet and throw him in a cell.’

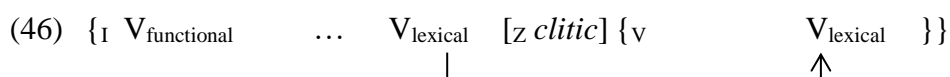
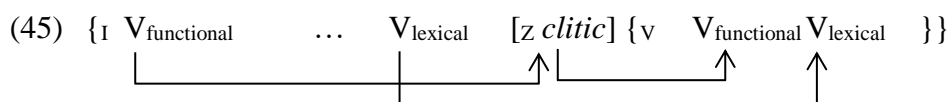
Notice that the difference between modern and old Romance with respect to gapping does not hinge only on cliticisation: the type of ellipsis in (i)a would be ungrammatical in present-day Italian (and Portuguese) regardless of the presence of the clitic. Moreover, notice that Archaic and Innovative Early Romance languages pattern alike with respect to gapping. This amounts to saying that the difference between modern Romance and early Romance in (i) probably results from a structural difference in the make-up of verbal periphrases



climbing in (Archaic) Early Romance may be seen as a consequence of the co-existence of the above mechanisms. The loss of climbing, however, cannot be easily explained only as a consequence of the progressive loss of long-movement of the clitics, otherwise climbing should be ungrammatical in almost all modern Romance languages, which lost scrambling and long movement of clitics to W at the end of the Middle Ages.

In my opinion, the analysis of periphrastic constructions proposed in §8.3 provides us with a better analysis of destructuring without assuming changes with respect to clause structure (from monoclausal to biclausal). By applying the tests reported in §8.2, Fischer shows very convincingly that restructuring verbs in old Catalan – a language exhibiting obligatory climbing – were functional auxiliaries occurring in a monoclausal structure. However, all the Romance languages in which climbing is optional or barred exhibit similar behaviour: by adopting the diagnostics in §8.2 one can easily conclude that French, Spanish or Italian modals are auxiliaries occurring in a monoclausal structure, but still these languages permit or bar climbing.

I contend that restructuring/climbing occurs when auxiliaries (including modals, perception and motion verbs, etc.) are first merged in V and incorporate the clitics, see (45); conversely, destructuring results when auxiliaries are first-merged in I (*à la Cinque* 2004), thus disrupting the mechanism yielding the incorporation of object clitics, see (46).



The hypothesis that the loss of obligatory climbing results from the disruption of incorporation is supported by patterns of clitic reduplication in dialects that undergoing a change in clitic placement. Languages shifting from climbing to non-climbing systems seldom exhibit patterns of *clitic reduplication* whereby two instances of the same object clitic co-occur, one proclitic to the functional verb, the other attached to the lexical verb (see Parry

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(including compound tenses), which in early Romance featured a non-finite small clause (see Salvi 1982), hosting clitics when the matrix clause undergoes gapping.

1995). I illustrate here a case of clitic reduplication in the dialect of Fex Platta, in (22b). The pattern of clitic reduplication in (22b) witnesses the transition from systems with generalized climbing such as (22a) to systems without climbing, in (22c).

- (47) a *iə lɛ* 'vøj ta'kɛ:r (Stampa)<sup>262</sup>  
 I= her= want.1SG to.bind
- b *ɛ lɛ* 'vø: **lɛ** ta'ce:r (Fex Platta)  
 I= her= want her= to.bind
- c 'vø:j **lɛ** ta'ka (Poschiavo)  
 want her= bind  
 'I want to bind it'

Few instances of clitic reduplication are attested in early Italo-Romance (Cardinaletti & Egerland 2010: 440):

- (48) a ... *cominciar -lo* a metter *-lo* in grido ...<sup>263</sup> (o.It)  
 to.begin =it to put =it in shout  
 'they began to spread the voice about it'
- b ... *ssi* cominciaro ad aloggiar *-si*<sup>264</sup>  
 themselves= they.began to place =themselves  
 'they began to camp.'

In §5.4.1 I argued that patterns of clitic reduplication occur in languages and contexts in which two alternative mechanisms of clitic placement co-exist. As illustrated in (36)a, I contend that incorporation results when the pronoun in Ledgeway & Lombardi's Z is copied onto V, which is passing through Z before moving further to the higher I domain. After incorporation, the original copy in Z is deleted; conversely, if auxiliaries do not pass through Z anymore (because they are merged directly in I as suggested in (46)), the original copy of the clitic is pronounced. Reduplication exceptionally obtains in languages in which the former option is becoming marginal and the original copy in Z is not deleted even if the auxiliary

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<sup>262</sup> Data from AIS.

<sup>263</sup> *Novellino*

<sup>264</sup> *Il libro de la destructione de Troya.*

verb passes through Z, as shown in (36)b:

- (49) a [~~z~~ ~~pronoun~~ (pronoun V)]  
 b [z pronoun (pronoun V)]

This section showed that the variation and evolution of clitic climbing do not hinge on the nature of clitic and restructuring verbs, respectively. Restructuring verbs generally behave like auxiliaries throughout all the Romance languages. The status of clitics may have changed over time, but this could not have determined the amount of variation we observe with respect to climbing phenomena.

In alternative, I proposed that climbing or the absence thereof depends on where restructuring auxiliaries are first merged. It seems to me that this solution allows us to account for the subtle degrees of variation observed in verbal peripheries and – I will argue in the next section – in compound tenses.

Before concluding, I summarise in (50) my hypothesis concerning the evolution of verbal periphrases (including compound tenses) and clitic placement from proto to modern Romance: in origin, periphrases had a (light) biclausal structure featuring a small non-finite clause and pronouns performed long movement to the criterial position W, perhaps moving (cyclically) through the intermediate position Z in the clause-internal periphery (see fn. 16), cf. (50)a; in early Romance periphrases are reanalysed as iterated VPs (Salvi 1982 a.o.), while clitics kept performing long movement to W in the Archaic Early Romance languages (in the rest of Romance long movement was confined to contexts of “V1”, see chapter 7), cf. (50)b; the mechanism in (50)b was gradually replaced by a system in which clitics are incorporated to the verb that moves through Z, cf. (50)c: in languages such as old Spanish and old Portuguese, (50)b and (50)c coexist, while in languages such as old Catalan and old French clitic climbing results only from (50)c as long-moved has already been lost; lastly, the mechanism of climbing is lost because auxiliaries are gradually reanalysed as inflectional elements that are merged directly in I, as shown in (50)d: languages characterised by optional climbing such as old Italian and old Spanish show a free alternation between (50)c and (50)d.

- (50) a [w pronoun ] ... [~~z~~ ~~pronoun~~] {v AUX {sc V ~~pronoun~~ } }  
 b [w pronoun ] ... [~~z~~ ~~pronoun~~] {v AUX {v V ~~pronoun~~ } }  
 c [w ] ... [z (pronoun AUX)] {v ~~AUX~~ {v V ~~pronoun~~ } }  
 d [w ] AUX [z pronoun] {v V ~~pronoun~~ }

(51)		Productive interpolation	Obligatory climbing	
	Old Portuguese	✓	✓	(50)b/c?
	Old Spanish	✓	✗	(50)b/c/d
	Old Italian	✗	✗	(50)c/d
	Old French/Catalan	✗	✓	(50)c

### 8.5 Destructuring of compound tenses

The lack of clitic climbing affects compound tenses in languages such as Piedmontese varieties (Parry 2005 a.o.). In Franco-Provençal (Chenal 1986), certain varieties of Dolomitic Ladin (Rasom 2006), and Romanian. In these languages some clitics do not climb, whereas others regularly attach to the perfective auxiliary.

(52) a L' an tot porta **-lèi** vià. (Fr.Prov.)<sup>265</sup>

They= have everything carried =to.him away

'They have taken everything away from him.'

b I an rangiò **-la**. (Cairese)<sup>266</sup>

They= have fixed =it.F

'They fixed it.'

c Am/aş mâncat **-o** (Romanian)<sup>267</sup>

I.have/would eaten =it.F

'I ate it'

As already observed for modal periphrasis, the loss of clitic climbing in compound tenses is accompanied by patterns of clitic reduplication of the kind discussed in (48) and (49). Clitic reduplication in compound tenses is attested in Piedmontese dialects such as Cairese, see (23) (Parry 2005: 179).

<sup>265</sup> Chenal 1986:340

<sup>266</sup> Parry 2005

<sup>267</sup> Dragomirescu 2013: 193.

- (53) A m sun fò **-me** in fazing. (Cairese)<sup>268</sup>  
 I= to.myself= am done =to.myself a cake  
 ‘I baked me a cake.’

In other Piedmontese dialects, the proclitic copy does not occur anymore, giving rise to a pattern of generalised enclisis with compound tenses (data from Tortora 2015: 108ff).

- (54) a Al é riva **-ye** dui regai. (Torinese)<sup>269</sup>  
 it=is arrived =there two gifts  
 ‘There arrived two gifts.’  
 b L’ hai vist **-lo** jer. (Moncalieri)<sup>270</sup>  
 SCL you.have seen -it/him yesterday  
 ‘You saw him yesterday.’  
 c Antè ca l’ à büta **-lu?** (Biella)<sup>271</sup>  
 where that he= has put =it  
 ‘Where did he put it?’

Furthermore, in certain dialects of the same area such as Borgomanerese (Tortora 2015; Manzini and Savoia 2005, III: 518-37), enclisis has been extended to simple tenses, yielding a system of clitic placement without proclisis.

- (55) a I porta **-la**. (Borgomanerese)  
 I= bring =it  
 ‘I’m bringing it.’  
 b I vônghi **-ti**.  
 I= see =you  
 ‘I see you.’

In dialects with generalized enclisis clitics are not always adjacent to the inflected verb as shown in (56), where aspectual adverbs are interpolated. Interpolation means that the clitics in

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<sup>268</sup> Parry 2005: 178.

<sup>269</sup> Burzio 1986

<sup>270</sup> Source: ASIt database.

<sup>271</sup> Source: ASIt database.

(44)-(56) are arguably nested in a functional projection in the V domain, close to the landing site of the inflected verb and the past participle (Tortora 2015):

(56) a I voenghi [piö] -**lla**. (Borgomanerese)

I= see anymore=her

‘I don’t see her anymore.’

b I o vüst [piö] -**lla**.

I= have seen no.more -**her**

‘I haven’t seen her anymore.’

Tortora notices that – like in Cosentino, cf. Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 – not all aspectual adverbs can be interpolated in simple tenses: only the highest adverbs in the LAS may occur between the verb and the clitic, which is arguably stranded in the nesting site – dubbed Z – in the low I domain:

(57) V *mija ... già ... piö* [Z **clitic**] *sempri ... bej*

NEG already never ‘always’ ‘well’

Similar conditions hold for the syntax of past participles. Tortora 2000, 2015 notices that not all lower adverbs can undergo interpolation. For instance, the sequence<sup>272</sup> [participle + clitic] can occur either before or below the adverbs *sempri* ‘always’ and below *piö* ‘already’; only the latter, however, can be interpolated (cf. (58)c vs (59)c)

(58) a Gianni l à *sempri* mangià -**llu**. (Borgomanerese)

G. he= has always eaten =it

b Gianni l a mangià -**llu** *sempri*.

G. he= has eaten =it always

C \*Gianni l a mangià *sempri* -**lu**.

G. he= has eaten always =it

‘Gianni has always eaten **it**.’

<sup>272</sup> At this point I remain agnostic about the nature of the structural relationship holding between the clitic and the past participle. Tortora 2015 argues convincingly that the [clitic(s) + participle] constituent is a phrase.

- (59) a I o *piö* vüsta **-la**.  
 I= have no.more seen =her
- b \*I o vüsta **-la** *piö*.  
 I= have seen =her no.more
- c I o vüst *piö* **-lla**.  
 I= have seen no.more =her  
 ‘I haven’t seen her anymore.’

If (58) and (59) are analysed in the light of (57), one reaches the conclusion in (60) that the [participle + clitic] sequence is formed below Z (i.e. after *sempri*) and that the past participle can move above Z, but the clitic must remain stranded below *piö*:

(60) *mija già* [<sub>Y</sub> **vüst-\*a \*la**] *piö* [<sub>Z</sub> **vüsta la**] *sempri* [<sub>U</sub> **vüsta la**]

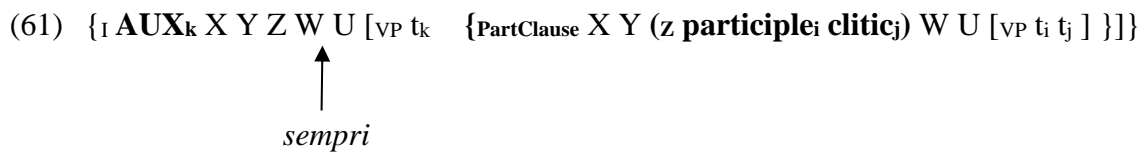
The displacement in (60) seems at odds with hypothesis that there is a dedicated projection (Z) where clitics are incorporated to the verb. In (60) this hypothesis is contradicted twice:

- i. by the participle, which moves alone above Z: following the hypothesis, the participle and the clitics should move as a single constituent above Z;
- ii. by the grammaticality of the order *sempri* > participle > clitic: if the clitic moved as a phrase to Z, then the clitic should occur always above *sempri*.

As for (i), Tortora’s explanation is that the participle can move in two ways: either as a head or as phrase; in the latter case, clitics move as part of the participial (remnant) VP. According to Tortora 2015: §2.2.2.1.1, when the participle moves above the adverb *piö*, it moves as a head. Evidence for this analysis is brought by the absence of the final vowel on the (irregular) past participle: irregular past participles in that position exhibit no inflectional ending and *univerbate* with the following adverb, e.g. *vüst- piö*. Alternatively, in line with the analysis of enclisis put forth in chapter 7, I would rather propose that it is the past participle moving above *piö* that behaves as a phrase: as a phrase, it performs long movement above Z and, in doing so, it incorporates neither the clitic nor the inflectional ending.

As for (ii), Tortora 2015 elaborates on the hypotheses that compound tenses are bi-clausal structures containing a reduced participial clause (see also Belletti 1990, Kayne 1991; 1993, and Rizzi 2000). The structure of compound tenses is therefore as follows (from Tortora with minor modifications): the adverb *sempri* is located in the matrix clause, whereas the clitic and the past participle may occur either in the Z position of the embedded reduced participial

clause or in the analogous position of the matrix CP, yielding either the order *sempri* > participle or the order participle > *sempri*, respectively:



Tortora’s analysis of compound tenses differs from the one proposed in §8.3 for restructuring predicates under two main respects:

- i. I proposed, following Roberts 2010, D’Alessandro & Roberts 2010, that periphrastic constructions, including compound tenses, may consist of iterated VPs, whereas Tortora’s additional hypothesis is that the lower V domain projects a reduced aspectual field that cannot host adverbs, but to which the clitic and the participle can move.
- ii. I proposed that auxiliaries can be merged either in the I or in the V domain. Clitics do not climb when the auxiliary is merged above the position Z, where incorporation takes place. Alternatively, Tortora claims that climbing results from a parametrised mechanism of feature spreading (more on this below)

In the remainder of the section I try to rephrase Tortora’s account of languages according to my analysis of verbal periphrases in §8.3. As for (i), it is worth noticing that, according to Tortora the participial clause is so reduced that it cannot contain adverbs: in this respect, Tortora’s hypothesis that compound tenses are biclausal does not differ so much from the claim that that compound tenses can be represented as an iteration of VPs, as proposed here in the spirit of Roberts 2010, D’Alessandro & Roberts 2010. In particular, Tortora’s hypothesis is meant to account for the syntax of the adverb *sempri* in Borgomanerese, but I suggest that the position of the participle with respect to *sempri* does not justify the assumption that the lower VP has a reduced functional spine. In fact a seemingly alternation between two possible positions of the adverb *sempri* is found in Italian as well, cf. (62); the two variants tend to give rise to slightly different interpretations, cf. ‘continuously’ vs ‘habitually’:

- (62) a ho sciato sempre. (It.)  
 I.have skied always  
 ‘I skied continuously.’
- b ho sempre sciato.  
 I.have always skied



‘I habitually skied.’

I contend that the subtle contrast in (62) results from the adverb’s taking scope over the aspectual position that hosts the participle. For this reason, the variable order with respect to the adverb *sempri* in Borgomanerese can be observed only when that position is filled by a past participle, i.e. in compound tenses.

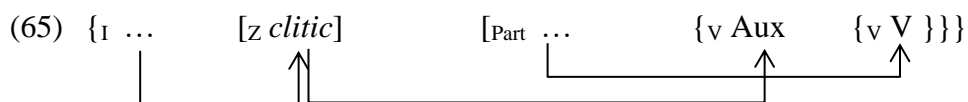
As for (ii), i.e. the mechanism blocking climbing in compound tenses, Tortora puts forth the Feature Spreading Hypothesis: ‘functional heads within a clause can “harmonize” with [...] the functional heads that it c-commands’ (Tortora 2015). Climbing is licensed by Feature Spreading; as a consequence, when spreading is blocked (on the basis of parametric options set on a language-specific basis), climbing is lost. For instance, in languages such as Italian Feature Spreading always takes place, in Piedmontese it is blocked in compound tenses, in Borgomanerese it never occurs:

(63)	Simple tenses	Compound tenses	
a	$\frac{\{I \quad \{v \dots \}\}}{\text{Feature Spreading}}$	$\frac{\{I \quad \{I \{v \dots \}\}\}}{\text{Feature Spreading}}$	(Italian)
b	$\frac{\{I \quad \{v \dots \}\}}{\text{Feature Spreading}}$	$\{I \quad \{I \{v \dots \}\}\}$	(Piedmontese)
c	$\{I \quad \{v \dots \}\}$	$\{I \quad \{I \{v \dots \}\}\}$	(Borgomanerese)

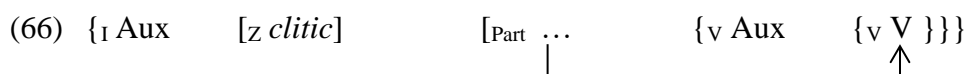
Instead, I argued in §§8.3-4 that crosslinguistic variation with respect to climbing results because in certain languages auxiliaries are merged in V, while in others they are first merged in a functional projection in the I domain (*à la* Cinque 2004). In the former case, periphrastic constructions featuring a temporal or modal auxiliary consist of an iteration of Vs (Roberts 2010: 76), which recalls – *mutatis mutandis* – Tortora’s biclausal approach:

(64) ... [v Aux [v Participle]]

Compound tenses are then derived by moving the higher V to the I domain, whereas the lexical verb is incorporated into Part, “where the features that define the root as a verbal participle are merged” (Roberts 2010: 76), see (23).



In its way to I, the auxiliary passes through Z where the clitics are incorporated via the copy-mechanism illustrated in §5.4. In languages such as Piedmontese dialects, which exhibit enclisis in compound tenses, I assume that aspectual auxiliaries are first merged above Z, from where they cannot incorporate the clitic anymore. The transition from one system to the other is witnessed by patterns of clitic reduplication exemplified in (53).



Lastly, in languages such as Borgomanerese the mechanism of incorporation is eventually lost, even if a lexical verb moves through Z. The resulting system recalls the proto-Romance mechanism reconstructed in chapter 5 (and partly visible in western Ibero-Romance medieval texts) with the main difference that in the Middle Ages the nesting site of cliticisation was a criterial position W at the I/C border, whereas in present-day eastern Piedmontese dialects the nesting site Z is located at the I/V border.

## 8.6 Parallel climbing

In light of the above analysis of climbing systems, this section examines the dialect spoken in San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore<sup>273</sup>. Sanvalentinense displays a surprising variety of possible collocations of clitics, some of which remind of the distribution observed in fully-fledged Tobler-Mussafia systems (chapters 6 and 7).

The mechanism of clitic placement in simple and compound tenses in Sanvalentinense is as follows:

- in simple tenses, which will be analysed in §8.6.1, clitics may attach either proclitically to the inflected verb, as is generally the case in modern Romance languages, or enclitically to the same verb, as shown in (67);

<sup>273</sup> San Valentino is a town with approximately 2000 inhabitants located 40km far from the Adriatic Sea on a hill overlooking the Pescara river valley. For an overview of the main linguistic features of Sanvalentinense, see Pescarini & Pascetta 2014; Benincà & Pescarini 2014; Passino & Pescarini 2019.

- in compound tenses, which will be analysed in §8.6.2, clitics attach either to the auxiliary, as in (68), or to the past participle, as in (69). In either case, clitics can occur in proclisis or in enclisis.

(67) a **mə**                    **lu** 'mənʝə ɲgə lə 'me'ne.  
 To.myself= it=I.eat with the hands  
 b 'mənʝə=**me=lu** ɲgə lə 'me'ne.  
 I.eat=to.myself=it with the hands  
 'I eat it with my hands'

(68) a **mə**    **l**    'ajə    mən'ɲətə  
 to.me= it= I.have eaten  
 b 'ajə    **mə**    **lu**    mən'ɲətə  
 I.have =to.me =it eaten  
 'I have eaten it'

(69) a 'ajə    ddʒa    mən'ɲətə**məlu**    ji  
 I.have already eaten=to.me=it I  
 b 'ajə    ddʒa    **mə**    **lu** mən'ɲətə  
 I.have already to.me= it=eaten  
 'I have already eaten it'

The various orders shown above seem not to produce perceptible semantic or pragmatic effects, save for patterns of enclisis to the past participle, which are preferred in the presence of a postverbal subject (cf. §8.6.2).

### 8.6.1 Simple tenses

In main assertive clauses clitics are either proclitic or enclitic to the inflected verb. This holds true not only for finite lexical verbs and perfective auxiliaries, but for all restructuring predicates including causative and modal verbs:

(70) a (a) **lu** 'fattʃə 'vattə / 'fattʃə **-lu** 'vattə. (Sanv.)

PRT it= I.make to.beat I.make =it to.beat  
 ‘I make him beaten.’

b (a) I 'ajə da kum'brə / 'ajə -lu da kum'brə  
 PRT it= I.have of to.buy I.have =it of to.buy  
 ‘I have to buy it.’

c (a) lu stʲɪŋgə pə kum'brə / stʲɪŋgə -lu pə kum'brə  
 PRT it= I.stay for to.buy I.stay =it for to.buy  
 ‘I have to buy it.’

While proclisis is always allowed, enclisis is not permitted under certain circumstances. First of all, enclisis is ungrammatical with left dislocated elements (which must be resumed by a clitic when they are direct objects):

(71) a lu 'pənə, I 'ajə 'dətə a m'marəjə  
 the bread, it=I.have given to Mario

b \*lu 'pənə 'ajə lu dətə a m'marəjə  
 the bread, I.have =it givent to Mario  
 ‘I have given M. the bread’

(72) a la mə'nɛftrə, mə la 'majnə kkju t'tardə  
 the soup, to.me= it= I.eat more late  
 ‘I'll eat the soup later’

b\*<sup>3</sup>la mə'nɛftrə, 'majnə mə la kkju t'tardə  
 The soup, I.eat =to.me =it more late  
 ‘I'll eat the soup later’

With focus and focus-like constituents, the data are more complicated: enclisis is never permitted in combination with an interrogative wh- element, as shown in (73); with a focalized adverb, as in (74), enclisis is prohibited; with a focalised noun phrase or indefinites, as in (75) and (76), enclisis is allowed; lastly, enclisis is allowed in yes/no questions, as shown in (77):

(73) a a ki I 'ajə 'dətə?  
 Towhom it= I.have given

b \*a ki 'ajə lu 'dətə?  
 Towhom I.have =it given  
 Who have I given it to?

(74) a ddʒa mə l ɪ 'dattə  
 already to.me= it=you.have said  
 b \*ddʒa ɪ mə lu 'dattə  
 already you.have =to.me =it said

(75) a 'sulə nu 'leʃbbrə m ɪ kum'prətə!  
 Only one book to.me= you.have bought  
 'You bought only one book for me'  
 b<sup>??</sup>'sulə nu 'leʃbbrə ɪ mə kum'prətə!  
 Only one book you.have =to.me bought  
 'You bought only one book for me'

(76) nə'ʃe<sup>w</sup>nə 'mɔɹnə sə li  
 nobody eats =to.him/herself =them  
 'Nobody eats them'

(77) vɛ<sup>w</sup> lu?  
 you.want =it  
 'Do you want it?'

Furthermore, it is worth noting that in a main clause the presence of a DP subject is compatible with both proclisis and enclisis, see (78). The apparent optionality may depend on the exact position of the DP subject, which can be in its 'canonical' position in the I domain or in the Left Periphery, as unmarked Topic.

(78) a l amə'ʃeʃtsəjə də li 'fijəmi sə 'kjəmə ma'rijə  
 The friend of the sons=my herself= calls M.  
 'My sons' friend is called Maria'  
 b l amə'ʃeʃtsəjə də li 'fijəmi 'kjəmə sə ma'rijə  
 The friend of the sons=my calls =herself M.

‘My sons’ friend is called Maria’

As for negation, in Sanvalentinese it does not impede enclisis:

- (79) a nən sə                    **lu** 'maŋŋə mi  
Not him/herself= it=eat        never  
b nən 'maŋŋə sə                    **lu** mi  
Not eat        =him/herself =it    never  
‘He/she never eats it’

In subordinate clauses, Sanvalentinese, like other southern dialects, exhibits two complementisers: *ka*, which normally introduces the complement of saying verbs and other *realis* clauses, and *ke*, which prototypically introduces the complement of volitional verbs and other *irrealis* clauses. Ledgeway 2003, 2005, Damonte 2010, and, specifically for Abruzzese, D’Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010 have shown that these complementisers differ with respect to their position in the C domain, to the kind of subordinate clause they introduce, and to the number, kind, and position of elements harboured in the left periphery along with the complementiser. As shown in the following examples, the declarative complementiser *ka* allows enclisis, while *kə* prevents any clitic from occurring after the inflected verb:

- (80) a. 'do:ʃə **ka** sə                    **lu** 'maŋŋə 'sɛmprə  
says    that to.him/her-self= it=    eats    always  
b. 'do:ʃə **ka** 'maŋŋə sə                    **lu** 'sɛmprə  
says    that eats    =to.him/her-self =it    always  
‘He/she says that he/she always eats it’

- (81) a. 'wojə **kə** tə                    **lu** 'miŋŋə  
I.want    that to.you= it=eat  
b.\*'wojə **kə** 'miŋŋə **te**                    **lu**  
I.want    that you.eat =to.yourself =it  
‘I want you to eat it’

The following table summarizes the data introduced so far and provides a comparison between the pattern of clitic placement of Sanvalentinese and a prototypical Tobler-Mussafia

system such as Old Italian (chapter 6): in Sanvalentinese proclisis is always an option, while enclisis is prohibited with certain Focus-like elements (wh pronouns, focalized adverbs), topics, and the lower complementizer *che*; in old Italian, by contrast, proclisis is mandatory with any kind of Focus, with all subordinate complementisers, and negation.

(82)

	Old Italian	Sanvalentinese
<b>[FOC]</b>	proclisis/*enclisis	Wh: proclisis/*enclisis DP: proclisis/?enclisis
<b>[LD]</b>	*proclisis/enclisis	proclisis/*enclisis
<b>Comp</b>	<i>che</i> : proclisis/*enclisis	<i>che</i> : proclisis/*enclisis <i>ca</i> : proclisis/enclisis
<b>Neg</b>	proclisis/*enclisis	proclisis/enclisis

The above table shows that the placement of clitics in Sanvalentinese is sensitive to the presence of specific constituents in the C domain, with no distinction, though, between Topic or Focus. This means that the verb is not moving along the left periphery – as in early Romance – and, in fact, Sanvalentinese does not display any cue of V-to-C movement such as verb/subject inversion (§6.2). Enclisis and proclisis are therefore ruled by phenomena possibly related to the left periphery, but happening in the higher I domain.

Benincà & Pescarini 2014 argues that the mechanism producing enclisis/proclisis alternations in Sanvalentinese is similar to the one exhibited by early Romance, with the difference that in Sanvalentinese the verb targets a lower position, which Benincà & Pescarini 2014 identify as the criterial position licensing the so-called subject of predication (Calabrese 1988; Cardinaletti 2004). The hypothesis is that clitics in Sanvalentinese are not (always) incorporated to the verb, but perform long movement along the lines discussed in chapter 7 (see also Lema & Rivero 1991; Vicente 2007), letting the inflected verb to cross the nesting position in its way to SubjP:

(83) { I [SubjP V (z clitic) [T (V) ... ] }

The hypothesis that the mechanism producing enclisis in Sanvalentinese is located in the high I domain, and not in the low C domain as in most early Romance languages is confirmed by the fact that enclisis is not barred in all types of embedded clauses, but only in non-

assertive contexts. In general, verb movement – hence, verb/subject inversion – occurs most readily under strong assertive verbs such as *say*, *report*, *exclaim*, etc. (Meklenborg Salvesen & Walkden 2017). In the same contexts, several old and modern languages and present-day western Ibero-Romance varieties allow enclisis even if they do not exhibit any change in the morphology of the complementiser (Fischer 2002, 2003 on old Catalan; Viejo 2008; Fernández-Rubiera 2013 on modern Galician and Asturian).

Also the remaining main difference between early Romance and Sanvalentinese is accounted for by assuming that in Sanvalentinese the mechanism producing enclisis does not take place in C. Recall that in old Romance negative polarity blocked enclisis: in §7.6 I argued that this is not due to the presence of the negator – which is a clitic-like element that does not interfere with verb movement – but results from the conditions satisfying the Focus Criterion. In negative clauses the Focus Criterion needs not being licensed via internal merge (e.g. fronting or long V movement) or external merge of Focus expletives. Fronting is variously associated with emphatic positive polarity, yielding *verum focus* or licensing positive answers under IP ellipsis. All these properties are absent in Sanvalentinese, thus indicating that the mechanism producing enclisis in Sanvalentinese is similar, but does not involve the same criterial head.

Summing up, differently from old Italian and old Romance, in Sanvalentinese enclisis is never obligatory. Moreover, the position of clitics is insensitive to the kind of constituent present in the left periphery: be it a Topic or a Focus/*wh*-, enclisis is impossible or marginal. Finally, as previously said, enclisis is impossible with *wh*-questions but allowed with yes/no questions. This leads us to conclude that the kind of verb movement that produces enclisis does not happen in the same area of the structure where it is localised in old Romance. The landing site of the verb that produces enclisis must be lower than the Focus position. This conclusion is consistent with the fact that we have no independent evidence of V2 syntax such as subject inversion of the kind illustrated in chapter 6.

### 8.6.2 Periphrases

Sanvalentinese allows enclisis/proclisis alternations with infinitives and past participles. Alternations with infinitives are not surprising as the Romance languages vary considerably with respect to the placement of clitics in non-finite clauses. Languages normally allow either



proclisis or enclisis, but, given the nature of Sanvalentinese, it is not surprising that it allows both.

- (84) a α s'tətə nu z'baj a 'deʃfərə -jə -lə. (Sanv.)  
 has been a mistake to say =to.him =it  
 b α s'tətə nu z'baj a jə lə 'deʃfərə.  
 has been a mistake to to.him= it=say  
 'Telling him was a mistake.'

Conversely, the behaviour of clitics with respect to participles is very peculiar.<sup>274</sup> Sanvalentinese allows the clitics to remain attached to the past participle, like in Piedmontese varieties, but, unlike Piedmontese, it allows clitics to attach either proclitically<sup>275</sup> or enclitically.

Following Tortora's analysis of Borgomanerese (§8.5), I suppose that enclisis/proclisis alternations are due to movement of the past participle in the low I domain, where the displacement of the past participle interacts with other discourse-driven movements to the clause-internal periphery. Following Belletti 2004 and Poletto 2006, Benincà & Pescarini 2014, I assume that sentences contain a Low Periphery above the V domain (see §2.5) that is isomorphic to the High Periphery (namely, the C domain). The proposed structure is given in (39).

- (85) {c ... {I ... [ ... {v ... }]}  
 ↑                    ↑  
 High Periphery    Low Periphery

Sanvalentinese does not admit scrambling of objects and other complements in the clause-internal periphery. In this respect, it differs radically from early Romance, which on the contrary allowed VP-internal elements to precede participles and infinitives, yielding a

<sup>274</sup> I am not referring here to absolute participial clauses, which in the dialect are too marginal to be tested.

<sup>275</sup> Proclitic placement to participles is very rare, cf. Kayne 1991: fn 30 for references on Belgian, Brazilian and Rhaeto-Romance varieties.

peculiar word order that Poletto 2014 has interpreted as an instantiation of V2 in the lower phase of the clause (cf. also Ledgeway 2009a:761–65).<sup>276</sup>

The hypothesis of a structural isomorphism between the two phases of the clause provides an interesting insight for the analysis of clitic placement in Sanvalentinese. If the Low periphery was really parallel to the High periphery, and – as Poletto interestingly assumes – the same properties that govern movement of the inflected verb to the High Periphery forced the past participle to move to a criterial position in the Low Periphery, we would expect that the position of clitics would be derived in the same way in the two phases of the clausal structure.

With this in mind, recall that in chapter 7 I argued that enclisis to the finite verb in early Romance – but the same analysis can be extended to the Sanvalentinese facts – is derived by moving the verb as a phrase in order to satisfy a criterion. A similar kind of movement – namely phrasal movement – has been suggested by Tortora to account for the behaviour of the past participle in Borgomanerese (see §8.4). By adopting the same solution, I contend that enclisis to the past participle in Sanvalentinese is derived by movement of the participle as a phrasal constituent to a criterial position in the low left-periphery, which is higher than the nesting site of the clitics (namely, Z):

- (86) a. 'ajə      dɔʒa      məŋ'jɐtə      **mə**      **lu**  
           I.have    already eaten      =to.me    =it  
       b. 'ajə            dɔʒa      **mə**      **lu** məŋ'jɐtə  
           I.have    already to.me=    it=eaten  
           'I have already eaten it'

The idea that the (remnant) participial phrase moves to a criterial position analogous to the criterial head where the inflected verb moves in “V1” environments in early Romance (§7.2) explains why enclisis to the past participle is forbidden in the same contexts in which enclisis to the finite verb is ungrammatical. Clitics cannot follow the past participle when the high left periphery of the clause contains a *wh*-, a left dislocation or a low complementizer:

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<sup>276</sup> Evidence for a V2 requirement at the V/I border comes from various languages, see van Urk & Richards 2015 among others.

(87) a a ki I 'ajə 'dətə?

To whom it= I.have given

Who have I given it to?

b \*a ki 'ajə 'dətə lu?

To whom I.have given =it

Who have I given it to?

(88) a lu 'pənə, I ajə 'dətə a m'marəjə

The bread, it= I.have given to Mario

b \*lu 'pənə, 'ajə 'dətə lu a m'marəjə

The bread, I.have given =it to M.

'I gave the bread to Mario'

(89) a 'do:ʃə k a'nomə maŋ'natə sə =lu 'səmprə

They.say that have=they eaten =to.themselves =it always

'They say that they have always eaten it'

b ?\*wə'lejrə kə nn a'vessə 'wejftə lu k'kju

I.would that not have seen =it anymore

'I wish they had not seen it/him anymore'

Moreover, the movement of the past participle above the clitics usually occurs when the participle is followed by a focalised postverbal subject or by a marker of emphatic polarity (notice that the same holds true for cases of enclisis to the infinitive in restructuring environments such as (90)d):

(90) a a maŋ'natə -sə -lu 'ossə/'assə (Sanv.)

has eaten =to.him/her=it he/she

'He/she ate it.'

b 'marəjə mə prumət'tə ka mə'nejvə -ʃə 'ossə.

Mario to.me= promised that came =there he

'Mario promised me that he would have come himself.'

c nn 'ajə maŋ'natə -me -lu nə!

not I.have eaten =to.me =it no

'I did not eat it!'

d stʲɪŋgə pə kum'brərə -lu jɪ  
 I.stay for buy =it I  
 'I am going to buy it.'

To conclude, the data of Sanvalentinese reinforce the idea that there are two peripheries in sentence structure, and they have parallel, similar properties. In particular, Sanvalentinese provides evidence for at least two cliticisation site, one in the low I area (the Z position of Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004, Tortora 2015) and another in the high I area (not so high as the Wackernagel position of early Romance).

Sanvalentinese shows that enclisis to the inflected verb and enclisis to the past participle are subject to the same syntactic conditions and in both cases the trigger for enclisis/proclisis alternations resides in a discourse requirement. In this respect, Sanvalentinese can be analysed as a peculiar variant of V2 syntax; the finite verb moves, in this case not so high, with a limited – and optional – task: that of satisfying a Criterion, which, given its position and pragmatic flavour, is arguably related to the licensing a 'Subject of Predication' or another non-grammatical subject. Analogously, non-finite verbs move above the nesting site of the clitic (Z) when the clause-internal focus position is filled by a postverbal subject or by a marker of emphatic polarity. The cases in which enclisis is impossible are cases in which a subject of predication is overtly present in the sentence, so that finite and non-finite verbs have no reason to move higher.

## 8.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on clitic climbing, i.e. the mechanism whereby a clitic selected by a lexical non-finite verb ends up attaching to a superordinate finite functional verb. Climbing contexts include periphrastic constructions, where the Romance languages exhibit a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation with respect to climbing, and compound tenses, where climbing is almost always obligatory.

To account for the diachronic evolution and synchronic variation of climbing structures, previous accounts focused on the nature of the auxiliary verb (functional *vs* lexical), of the periphrasis (biclausal *vs* monoclausal), or of the pronoun (phrase *vs* head).

Following Cinque 2004, I argued that the above the nature of restructuring verbs and the structure of periphrasis do not offer viable analysis to account for the fine-grained diversity of

climbing structures across the Romance languages. Analogously, I argued that a dichotomy between phrasal vs head elements cannot explain why in certain languages/contexts clitic must or can climb, whereas in other languages/contexts clitics do not climb.

Instead, I argued for an alternative model in compliance with the so-called Borer-Chomsky conjecture, which assumes that syntactic properties can be reduced to atomic properties (features) of functional items. I contended that in certain languages auxiliaries are merged in V, while in others they are first merged in a functional projection in the I domain (*à la Cinque* 2004). In the former case, periphrastic constructions featuring a temporal or modal auxiliary consist of an iteration of Vs (Roberts 2010: 76; see also Tortora 2015):

(91) ... [v Aux [v Participle]]

Compound tenses are then derived by moving the higher V to the I domain, whereas the lexical verb is harboured in the low I domain.

(92) {<sub>I</sub> ... [<sub>Z</sub> *clitic*] ... {<sub>v</sub> Aux {<sub>v</sub> V }}}

In its way to I, the auxiliary passes through Z (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005 a.o.) where the clitics are incorporated via a copy-mechanism.

Climbing does not take place when auxiliaries are first merged above Z, from where they cannot incorporate the clitic anymore:

(93) {<sub>I</sub> Aux [<sub>Z</sub> *clitic*] [<sub>Part</sub> ... {<sub>v</sub> Aux {<sub>v</sub> V }}}

Following the above model, the typology of the climbing systems discussed so far can be derived from a system of four binary choices, which are summarised below in the format of an implicational chain. The first parameter establishes whether clitic elements can long-move to the left periphery, yielding systems with second-position/Wackernagel clitics. As discussed in chapter 5 and 6, this options was still available in the so-called Archaic Early Romance languages and, to a lesser extent, in the other medieval languages in which this mechanism was activated only in “V1” environments (see chapter 7). Innovative Early Romance began to develop a mechanism of incorporation, yielding adverbial clitics (parameter (94):N/(95):Y),

which always climb with the inflected verb and cannot be separated from the verb by interpolated material. This system is the most widespread across modern Romance, save for certain dialects that began to bar climbing in certain periphrastic constructions and/or with certain clitic forms. These systems result when auxiliaries are no longer merged in V – below the cliticisation site Z – but directly in I (parameter (95):N/(96):Y). Languages with no climbing may eventually extend enclisis to all types of lexical verbs, either finite or nonfinite, yielding systems such as Borgomanerese (Tortora 2015) in which clitics are attached neither to finite nor to non-finite lexical verbs (parameter (96):N/(97):Y). Lastly, certain languages exhibit an extra choice, allowing nonfinite lexical verbs such as infinitives and, to a lesser extent, gerunds to remain below the nesting site of the clitics in the low I domain (parameter (97):N).

(94) the clitic performs long-movement to W

Y: early Romance, mod.Port./Gal. dialects

N: the clitic are incorporated in Z; go to **Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.**

(95) all verbs are merged in V and move through Z

Y: Italian, Spanish

N: functional verbs are merged in I; go to (96)

(96) if no inflected verb moves through Z, clitics are incorporated to the lexical verb

Y: Piedmontese dialects

N: clitics are stranded in Z; go to

(97) the nonfinite lexical verb moves above Z:

Y: Borgomanerese

N: Sanvalentinense, French infinitives

In the second part of the article I provided a detailed account of clitic placement in the dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo citeriore. Sanvalentinense is to my knowledge the most liberal Romance variety with respect to clitic climbing. The Sanvalentinense system results when the parameters in (94)-(97) are underspecified. As a result, Sanvalentinense exhibit multiple possible clitic attachments, including enclisis or proclisis to either finite or nonfinite

verbs. The choice among the various possibilities is constrained by syntax/discourse requirements.

I compared the Sanvalentinese pattern with the conditions triggering enclisis/proclisis in medieval Romance and other Romance languages and concluded that Sanvalentinese departs from old vernaculars in not showing traces of V2 syntax, i.e. we do not have any evidence showing that the verb in Sanvalentinese moves to the C layer of the clause.

However, Sanvalentinese differs quite radically from the majority of modern Italo-Romance dialects in allowing enclisis in finite clauses under certain circumstances, namely when the sentence does not contain a left-dislocated Topic, or operators in Focus, or the low complementizer *che*. By contrast, enclisis is permitted in co-occurrence with a DP subject or negation. Given the above pattern of clitic placement – and in the absence of compelling evidence in favour of V2 syntax – Benincà & Pescarini 2014 proposed that enclisis of pronouns in Sanvalentinese results from movement of the verb to a position licensing an optional Subject of Predication. Since enclisis in this dialect is optional, it seems correct to connect it with a pragmatic property that is, by definition, largely optional and dependent on discourse-related factors.

I have also described patterns of enclisis to the past participle, which are permitted under conditions similar to those allowing enclisis to the inflected verb. I argued for an analysis in the spirit of Tortora (2010; 2015) to account for the fact that clitics appear in the VP field also in tensed clauses. Moreover, following Poletto 2006, 2014, in the light of Belletti's 2004 theory on the Low left periphery, I argued for a parallelism between the movement of the inflected verb at the I/C border and the movement of the participle at the V/I border. This visible parallelism means that a Topic or a Focus in the High periphery is visible from the Low periphery.

## 9.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evolution of Romance clitic sequences. The former part of the chapter elaborates on the syntactic change that reversed the order of clitic pronouns from accusative > dative in (1a) to dative > accusative in (1b)<sup>277</sup>.

- (1) a che [...] voi **la mi** concediate<sup>278</sup> (o.It.)  
 that [...] you.pl it.f= to.me=grant  
 ‘that you grant it to me’
- b se Egli **me la** concede.<sup>279</sup>  
 if he to.me= it.f= grants  
 ‘if he grants it to me’

As a consequence of this change, the order of clitic elements ended up mirroring – in Baker’s 1985 terms – the unmarked order of nominal complements. Building on Kayne 1994:19-21 (see also Cardinaletti 2008), I will argue that the change leading to the mirror order in (1b) is due to a change in the nesting configuration of clitics. According to Kayne’s terminology, clitic combinations instantiate two possible syntactic configurations: a *cluster* configuration in which clitics form a complex heads or a *split* configuration in which clitics occupy different, though adjacent, positions. I elaborate on the hypothesis that the languages that underwent the change in (1) exhibit clusters, which differ from split sequences under a series of syntactic and morpho-phonological aspects that will be address in the latter part of the chapter.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: §9.2 overviews previous analysis of clitic combinations; §9.3 introduces some data from old Italian, old French and other Italo-

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<sup>277</sup> Besides the order, (1b) differs from (1a) with respect to the vowel of the dative clitic (*me* vs *mi*). This alternation will be addressed later on, in §9.4.2.

<sup>278</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>279</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.



Romance vernaculars; §9.4 elaborates on syntactic and morphological cues of true clusters; §9.5 deals with suppletivism. Section §9.6 concludes.

## 9.2 Accounts of clitic clusters

The internal order of clitic sequences (namely, the order of clitics with respect to other clitics) is a challenge for any syntactic account, as clitic elements are rigidly ordered on a language-specific basis as exemplified in (7) and (8).

- (2) a **gli**-**lo**                                      danno. (It.)                                      Dative Accusative  
       to.him/her/them-it/him= give.they  
       ‘they give it/him to him/her/them’
- b. ils    **le**        **lui**                      donnent (Fr.)                                      Accusative Dative  
       they= it/him= to.him/her= give  
       ‘they give it/him to him/her’
- (3) a **le**        **si**        parla. (It.)                                      Dative Impersonal  
       to.her= one= speaks  
       ‘one speaks to her’
- b **se**    **le**                      habla. (Sp.)                                      Impersonal Dative  
       one= to.him/her= speaks  
       ‘one speaks to him/her’

To the best of my knowledge, there are few synchronic accounts attempting to establish a principled correlation between the order of clitics and other syntactic phenomena (see Somesfalean 2005; Meklenborg Salvesen 2011). However, it is generally assumed that no principled explanation can link the order of pronominal clitics within a cluster with the order of the corresponding nominal elements in the clause. Rather, clitics seem to occupy dedicated positions, whose order is set on a language-specific basis. The nature of these positions, however, is a matter of debate that can be addressed from at least two points of view: we can try to derive the surface order of clitics via syntactic principles or, alternatively, we can postulate an intermediate level of representation, mapping syntactic structures into linear sequences by means of *surface constraints* (Perlmutter 1971), *morphological templates*

(Bonet 1991; 1995), *precedence conditions* (Harris 1994), *Optimality Theory constraints* (Heap 1998), etc.

In light of both empirical and theoretical advances, it seems to me that the theoretical need for non-syntactic filters has progressively diminished. On the empirical side, several varieties allowing optional orders have been discovered: for instance, as we will see in the following section, many Romance languages have exhibited optional orders for centuries before establishing the rigid ordering attested in the modern age.

Similar considerations hold for present-day languages. Consider, for instance, a language like modern French, which allows both the combinations in (11) (even if the latter must be preferred according to prescriptive grammars).

- (4) a Je te jure, j' **en** **y** ai vu trois.  
 I= to.you= swear, I= of.them=there= have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there.'
- b Je te jure, j' **y** **en** ai vu trois.  
 I= to.you= swear, I= there= of.them=have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there.'

Analogously, northern Italo-Romance dialects such as Vicentino in (5), Mendrisiotto in (6), from (Lurà 1987: 162), and Bellinzonese in (7) (Cattaneo 2009) exhibit free ordering of combinations featuring the impersonal clitic.

- (5) a **Ghe** **se** porta un libro. (Vicentino)  
 to.him= one= bring a book  
 'One brings him a book'
- b **Se** **ghe** porta un libro.  
 one= to.him= bring a book  
 'One brings him a book'
- (6) a a la mam granda, **sa** **ga** / **ga** **sa** dava dal vö. (Mendrisiotto)  
 to the mum great one= to.her= / to.her= one= give the vö  
 'We were used to addressing the grandmother with the vö form'
- b a **sa** **l** / **al** **sa** tö migna  
 PART one= it=/ it=one= takes NEG

‘One does not take it’

- (7) a **Sa la** ved tüt i matin in piazza. (Bellinzonese)  
one= it/her= sees all the morning in square  
‘One sees her/it in the square every morning’
- b **La sa** ved tüt i matin in piazza  
it/her= one= sees all the morning in square  
‘One sees her/it in the square every morning’

This kind of evidence ends up challenging templatic accounts, which exclude the possibility of cyclical reordering (Radford 1977).

On the theoretical side, in the last decades our knowledge of syntactic structures has radically improved, leading to a detailed and rich *cartography* of functional elements (Cinque and Rizzi 2010). Fine-grained maps have been proposed also for Romance clitics (Poletto 2000; Manzini and Savoia 2000, 2002, 2004; Tortora 2002; Bianchi 2006; Săvescu Ciucivara 2007; Benincà and Tortora 2009; 2010). Given a much richer structure, we can capture cross-linguistic differences by supposing that not all the clitic positions are occupied simultaneously and, consequently, that variation results from language-specific parameters. This is the view I will endorse in the following pages.

To explain why clitics exploit only a subset of the possible nesting site Manzini and Savoia 2004 argue that the denotation of a specific lexical item can vary cross-linguistically and, as a consequence, its position within the universal hierarchy can be subject to variation. Take, for instance, the Italian dialects spoken in Vagli and Olivetta San Michele. The former exhibits the order *dat* > *acc*, while the latter shows the opposite pattern. According to Manzini and Savoia’s analysis, the distinction results from the denotational properties of the third person accusative clitics *l* and *u*, which lexicalize different features (respectively, N and R in Manzini and Savoia’s representation) and thus have different positions in the clitic string:

- (8) a **i ji** l ða (Vagli)  
he= to.him= it= gives  
‘he gives it/them to him’

- b ... R Q P Loc N I  
| |

- (9) a  $\begin{array}{c} \text{ji} \quad l \\ \text{a el} \quad \mathbf{u} \quad \mathbf{i} \quad \text{'duna.} \\ \text{he= it/him= to.him/her/them= gives} \\ \text{'he gives it/them to him'} \end{array}$
- b ... R Q P Loc N I  
 | |  
*u i*

This analysis is rather appealing in dialects such as those of Vagli and Olivetta, where the order of clitic elements is rigid and the clitic elements are morphologically different: the accusative clitic in the latter dialect has a vocalic exponent *u*, which spells out agreement feature (gender and number), whereas in the former dialect the accusative *l* has an invariable shape. A similar analysis, although in a slightly different framework, have been proposed by Poletto 2000 for subject clitics in northern Italo-Romance: Poletto argues for a typology of subject clitics depending on their denotational and morphological properties (deictic, invariable, etc.) and claims that the position of clitic formatives correlates with their denotations, which is often reflected by the morphology.

However, it seems to me that a lexicalist account, where differences in order result directly from differences in denotation, suffers from the same drawbacks as the templatic approach. Reconsider the free alternations in (1) and (5)-(8): under a lexicalist account, we should postulate two *y*'s (or two *en*'s, or two *si/sa*'s) with different featural contents. Most importantly, though, we would expect that differences in ordering had interpretive consequences, which is not the case.

Alternatively (and without excluding a priori that the Lexicon could play a role in ordering phenomena), we can argue that such alternations are due to a structural ambiguity between two possible configurations. As proposed by Kayne 1994, 19–21, two (or more) clitics can be either *split* or *clustered*, as in (12a) and (12b) respectively. In the former case, clitics occupy distinct syntactic projections; in the latter, they occupy the same position.

- (10) a [ cl ... [ cl ... ] ]  
 b. [(cl cl) ... ]

A corollary of the theory is that opposite orders, such as  $\langle\alpha\beta\rangle$  and  $\langle\beta\alpha\rangle$ , may result from different syntactic configurations (split vs. cluster) of the same clitic material:

- (11) a [  $\alpha$  ... [  $\beta$  ... ] ]  
 b [ ( $\beta$   $\alpha$ ) ... ]

The proposal in (11) will be discussed in detail from §9.3 onwards.

### 9.3 The emergence of the mirror order

When clitic elements co-occur, they are generally clustered together in a rigid order, which varies on a language-specific basis. In large part, this synchronic variation results from a diachronic change that, in some languages made clitic combinations evolve from the archaic order accusative > dative to the mirror one. As previously said, this change is documented in early Italian in combinations of third person accusative and first/second person dative clitics (I repeat below the relevant examples). In Italian, the evolution of first/second person datives is straightforward: the earliest records exhibit the archaic order, in (12)a, while, in the first half of the fourteenth century, both orders were allowed, in apparent free variation (but see Aski & Russi 2010). Later the archaic order was progressively replaced by the innovative mirror order, in (12)b, which is the only possible order in present-day Italian. French, in (13), shows the same evolution, which dates from the sixteenth century.

- (12) a *che* [...] *voi*     **la**   **mi**   *concediate*<sup>280</sup> (o.It.)  
 that [...] you.pl   it.f=   to.me=grant  
 ‘that you grant it to me’  
 b *se* *Egli* **me**     **la**   *concede*.<sup>281</sup>  
 if he   to.me=   it.f=   grants  
 ‘if he grants it to me’

- (13) a *Je* **le** **te**     *comande*. (o.Fr)

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<sup>280</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

<sup>281</sup> Boccaccio, *Filocolo*.

(1) I= it= to.you= order

(2) 'I order it to you.'

(3) b Je **te** **le** comande. (mod.Fr.)

(4) I= to.you= it= order

(5) 'I order it to you.'

(6) The same evolution can be observed with the third person reflexive clitic *si*<sup>282</sup>, which in old Italian could be displaced either before or after the accusative clitic:

(14) a lo 'mperadore **lo** **si** trasse di sotto.<sup>283</sup> (o.It.)

the emperor it= himself= took.out from under

'the emperor took it out from below himself.'

b **se** **lo** levò in su il petto.<sup>284</sup>

himself= him= lifted in on the chest

'He (Heracles) lifted him (Antaeus) up to his chest.'

Traces of the same evolution are found also in clusters formed by a locative clitic and a third person accusative one. In modern Italian, the locative clitic must occupy the leftmost

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<sup>282</sup> While in the case of first/second person datives the archaic order fell completely out of use, the archaic sequence *lo si* is still in use in modern Italian, but with a different interpretation. As shown in (i), when *si* follows the third person accusative clitic, it is interpreted as an impersonal clitic:

(i) a **se** **lo** mangia. (It.) *si*<sub>refl.</sub> > 3ACC

(1) himself/herself= it= eats

(2) 'he/she eats it.'

b **lo** **si** mangia. 3ACC > *si*<sub>impersonal</sub>

it= one= eats

'one eats it.'

Arguably, the orders *se lo* and *lo si*, which in the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century were synonymous, began to receive different interpretations when the mirror order became the only possible one for combinations of dative and accusative clitics.

<sup>283</sup> *Novellino*.

<sup>284</sup> Boccaccio, *Chiose al Teseida*.

position of the cluster; conversely, in old Italian there are a couple of attestations of the opposite order, with the locative clitic *vi*:

- (15) S' alcun **lo vi** volesse aprossimare<sup>285</sup>  
 If anybody it=there= would get.close  
 If anybody would get close to there'

A similar change has affected combinations containing the clitic *en/ne*.<sup>286</sup> With first/second person datives, the order has always been dative > *ne* since the earliest attestations. Differences between medieval and modern varieties are found in combinations including a third person dative element (Italian) or a locative clitic (French). In modern Italian, *ne* must follow the dative clitic, while in Old Italian *ne* can either follow or precede the dative clitic as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a e assai **ne gli** piacquero<sup>287</sup>  
 and many of.them to.him pleased.3PL  
 'and he liked many of them.'  
 b. rimasero cinque fior. d' oro, ed io **gli ne** rendei quatro<sup>288</sup>  
 remain five florin of gold, and I to.him= of.them= gave.back four  
 'there remained five florins and I gave him four (florins) back'

In Old French, the clitic *en* precedes the locative clitic *i* (Foulet 1919: §436). The same order is still allowed in modern French (Rezac 2010) in free variation with the order *y en*, see (11), repeated here as (17). The latter is normally considered the normative variant.

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<sup>285</sup> *Il Fiore*.

<sup>286</sup> Different types of *ne* occupy different syntactic positions as shown by data from (old) Italian and Italian dialects (Manzini and Savoia 2005, §4.5.2). This might give rise to different orders when one *ne* is combined with other clitic material. To the best of my knowledge, however, the position of the clitic *ne* with respect to other clitics does not depend on the type of *ne* involved.

<sup>287</sup> Boccaccio, *Decameron*.

<sup>288</sup> *Libro del dare e dell'avere di Noffo e Vese figli di Deigo Genovesi*.

- (17) a Je te jure, j' **en** **y** ai vu trois.  
 I= to.you= swear, I= of.them=there= have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there.'
- b Je te jure, j' **y** **en** ai vu trois.  
 I= to.you= swear, I= there= of.them=have seen three  
 'I swear, I saw three of them there.'

When both clitics are third person, in old Italian the internal order of the combination cannot be established as the morphology of the cluster is not transparent (more on this in §9.5). The accusative clitic shows no gender and number agreement and the cluster ends with an invariable *-e*, e.g. *lile*, *glile*, *glielle*, etc.:

- (18) che **gli** **le** demo p(er) una inpossta.<sup>289</sup>  
 that to.him them gave.1pl for a tax  
 'that we gave them to him for a tax'

In §9.5 I will argue that this opacity can be considered as a clue of an ongoing change from the order accusative > dative (undocumented) to the mirror one.<sup>290</sup>

In present-day varieties, traces of the non-mirror order are found in some varieties of North-Western Italy, like (19), which show the order accusative > dative (Parry 2005:268 fn.38, Borgogno 1972, Manzini & Savoia 2004).

- (19) a el **u** **i** duna. (Olivetta San Michele)<sup>291</sup>  
 he it/him= to.him= gives  
 'he gives it/him to him.'
- b el **u** **mə** duna.

<sup>289</sup> *Il libro di amministrazione dell'eredità di Baldovino*.

<sup>290</sup> In 14<sup>th</sup> century Florentine the distribution of the grapheme <gl> can be symptomatic of the position of the third person dative clitic as <gl> is supposed to represent a palatal lateral deriving from -LL- in front of /i/, cf. *begli* 'beautiful (pl)', *capegli* 'hair (pl)'. Crucially, <gl> is always in the initial position of the cluster (or, in certain authors, both clitics are expressed by <gl>). We can therefore advance the hypothesis that the order of 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian was already third person dative > third person accusative, although the inflectional ending of the latter is always neutralised.

<sup>291</sup> Manzini & Savoia 2004.



he him/it= to.me= gives  
'he gives him/it to me.'

A single case of the archaic order is found also in an old Genovese text, in (20), while northern vernaculars normally display the mirror pattern since their earliest attestations:

(20) E la Magdalena laor **lo gue** mostrà.<sup>292</sup> (o.Gen)  
And the Magdalena then him= to.her= showed  
'And then Magdalena showed him to her'

Similarly, the *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, a 14<sup>th</sup> century text written in a vernacular of the Ligurian/Piedmontese border, exhibits free alternations in the ordering of the partitive/genitive clitic *ne* and the third person dative clitic (the alternation between the dative forms *li/ge* will be addressed in §9.5):

(21) a **ne li** avea daito a lor.<sup>293</sup> (o.Lig/Piedm.)  
of.it= to.them= has given to them  
'he has given them some oil'  
b. una **ge ne** caite de man<sup>294</sup>  
one to.him= of.them= fells from hand  
'one of them fells from his hand'

In modern Romance, the archaic order with the partitive clitic is attested only in Sardinian dialects:

(22) **nde li** dana. (Sard.)<sup>295</sup>  
of.them= to him/her= gives  
'He/she gives some of them to him/her.'

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<sup>292</sup> *Passione Genovese*.

<sup>293</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>294</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>295</sup> Manzini & Savoia 2005, vol. II: 317-321

Lastly, old Italian allowed combinations including *ne* and a third person accusative clitic, which are barred in most present-day varieties, including modern Italian (*contra* Wanner 1977), cf. (24):

(23) a appresso gir **lo** **ne** vedea piangendo .<sup>296</sup> (o.It.)  
 further to.go him= there=saw crying  
 ‘I saw him depart in tears’

(7) b. Egli **ne** **lo** fa uscire fuori.<sup>297</sup>  
 He of.there= it=makes exit out  
 ‘He makes it get out of there’

(24) \***ne** **lo** prendo, il libro, dalla libreria. (It.)  
 from.there= it I.take the book from.the shelf  
 ‘I take it from there’

The observed changes in Italo-Romance are recapitulated in the following table:

(25)

Old Italian		Modern Italian
13 <sup>th</sup> century	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
3p acc > 1/2p dat -	3p acc > 1/2p dat 1/2p dat > 3 acc	- 1/2p dat > 3 acc
3p acc > 3p refl. dat -	3p acc > 3p refl. dat 3p refl. dat > 3p acc	- 3p refl. dat > 3p acc
3p acc > locative ( <i>vi</i> ) locative > 3p acc		- locative > 3p acc
<i>ne</i> > 3p dat 3p dat > <i>ne</i>		- 3p dat > <i>ne</i>
<i>ne</i> > 3p acc 3p acc > <i>ne</i>		- -

<sup>296</sup> Dante, *Vita Nuova*.

<sup>297</sup> *Tesoro volgarizzato*.

(25) illustrates a general trend towards establishing a rigid order in which the clitic elements mirror the order of arguments and adjuncts. At the best of my knowledge, the evolution is one-way: the mirror order replaces the archaic one in a relatively vast area, while the opposite change has never been attested<sup>298</sup>.

However, not all combinations were affected by a similar change and have kept the ‘medieval’ order. These combinations (e.g. It. *mi ti, gli si, mi ci*, etc.) are usually formed by case-syncretic clitics (like first/second person clitics or *si*), which can express either the direct or the indirect object. Combinations of case-syncretic clitics are in fact stable across chronological stages (although their order is subject to cross-linguistic variation).

The loss of the case system and a change in the make-up of clitic sequences might be related to the emergence of suppletive forms for the third person dative pronoun, examined in §4.6.1. As shown in (26), few Romance languages exhibit reflexes of the etymological dative form *ILLI* as in most languages the etymological form of the dative has been replaced by a suppletive form, which may correspond to a locative, partitive, reflexive, or accusative clitic:

(26) Lat. <i>ILLI</i>	}	>	Sp. <i>le(s)</i>	etymological forms
			It. <i>le</i> ‘to her’	analogical forms
			Fr. dial. <i>y</i>	suppletive forms with locative etymology
			Campidanese Sard. <i>si</i>	suppletive forms with reflexive etymology
			Madr. <i>la</i> , Gasc. <i>lou</i>	<i>laísmo</i> and <i>loísmo</i>
			Occ. <i>loui</i> ; Cat. <i>elsi</i>	compound forms (accusative + locative)
			Fr. <i>lui/leur</i>	weak forms

In §9.5 I will elaborate on the hypothesis that suppletivism occurs more frequently when clitics are clustered.

## 9.4 Properties of split combinations vs clusters in Italian

### 9.4.1 Separability

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<sup>298</sup> In principle, the evolution might have been more articulated and widespread than it is normally considered on the basis of the attested patterns. In particular, the same change could have affected other types of combinations or other languages (e.g. Ibero-Romance) in a previous, undocumented stage, as probably happened in northern Italian vernaculars.

Given a principled distinction between split and cluster sequences, we expect that the latter can be separated more readily than the former. For instance, in restructuring contexts (Rizzi 1976, 1978, 1982) and in languages with optional climbing such as Italian, our prediction is that one clitic can attach proclitically, while the other remains enclitic. By contrast, the same pattern is supposed to be ungrammatical with true clusters, which form a single constituent.

As shown below, this prediction is borne out: the separation of true clusters, in (27)c-d and (28)c-d gives rise to severe ungrammaticality, while split sequences, in (29) and (30), can be separated in a colloquial register.

- (27) a **Te lo** può portare  
 To.you it can bring  
 b Può portar=**te=lo**  
 can bring=to.you=it  
 c **\*ti** può portar=**lo**  
 to.you can bring=it  
 d **\*lo** può portar=**ti**  
 it can bring=to.you  
 ‘he/she can bring it to you’

- (28) a **Te ne** può portare  
 To.you of.it/them can bring  
 b Può portar=**te=ne**  
 can bring=to.you= of.it/them  
 c **\*ti** può portar=**ne**  
 to.you can bring= of.it/them  
 d **\*ne** può portar=**ti**  
 of.it/them can bring=to.you  
 ‘he/she can bring of.it/them to you’

- (29) a **Ti ci** può portare lui, all’aeroporto  
 You there can bring he, to.the airport  
 b può portar=**ti=ci** lui, all’aeroporto  
 can bring=you=there he, to.the airport  
 c <sup>?</sup> **ti** può portar=**ci** lui, all’aeroporto

You can bring=there he, to.the airport  
 d ? **ci** può portar=**ti** lui, all'aeroporto  
 There can bring=you he, to.the airport  
 'he can bring you there (to the airport)'

- (30) a **Ti** **si** può portare<sup>299</sup>  
 You one can bring  
 b **si** può portar=**ti**  
 one can bring=you  
 'one can bring you'

The contrast between (27)-(28) and (29)-(30) supports the hypothesis that the combinations that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century changed their order behave now as true clusters. By contrast, those combinations that have kept the original order – which I have argued to correspond to a split configuration – are nowadays separable.

This hypothesis entails that in a language like old Italian, where all combinations are – or can be – split, every sequence can be separated. We therefore expect to find combinations like (27)c-d and (28)c-d in the documents exhibiting the archaic order. Even if traces of split sequences are rather scarce, this prediction is borne out by the cases reported in (31), in which one clitic climbs to the finite verb and the other remains enclitic to the lexical one. It is worth recalling that, in modern Italian, these combinations are completely ungrammatical.

- (31) a Ma la cosa incredibile **mi** fece indur =**lo** ad ovra...  
 But the thing incredible to.me= made induce =him to work  
 ... ch' a me stesso pesa.<sup>300</sup> (o.It.)  
 that to my self weighs  
 'But your plight, being incredible, made me goad him to this deed that weighs on me.'  
 b se 'n tal maniera **mi** dovete dar =**lo**.<sup>301</sup>

<sup>299</sup> For orthogonal reasons, the impersonal *si* cannot occur enclitically, see Cardinaletti 2008. This is why I have reported only two combinations out of four.

<sup>300</sup> Dante, *Inferno*.

<sup>301</sup> Amico di Dante, *Rime*.

if in such way to.me= you.must give =it  
 ‘if you have to give it to me in this way’

The fact that Old Italian clitic sequences can be marginally separated is consistent with the hypothesis that clitic combinations were originally split and, only later on, began to form a single syntactic unit.

#### 9.4.2 Allomorphy

In Italian, some combinations of clitic formatives are characterized by a change of the vowel of the leftmost item, which ends with *-e* instead of the expected *-i* as shown in (32). Other sequences, like those in (33), do not show any alteration and the linking vowel is the expected *-i*.

(32) a [me] lo porti. (It.) [\*mi]

(8) to.me= it= bring.you

(9) ‘You bring it to me’

b [ʎe] ne porti due. [\*ʎi]

to.him= of.them= bring.you two

‘You bring him two of them’

(33) a [mi] ci porta Mario [\*me]

me= there= brings Mario

‘M. brings me there’

b [ʎi] si parla dopo [\*ʎe]

to.you= one= speak later

‘We’ll speak to you later’

The situation is summarized in the following table: the first column reports oblique forms in isolation (*mi*, *ti*, *gli*, etc.); in column (i) the same oblique forms are clustered with the third person accusative *lo* (‘him, it’) and the partitive *ne* (‘of.it/them’); in column (ii) oblique clitics are combined the reflexive/impersonal clitic *si* and with the locative clitic *ci*.

(34)		i) with the vowel <i>-e-</i> :	ii) with the vowel <i>-i-</i> :
	1.sg (mi)	<i>me lo me ne</i>	<i>mi si mi ci</i>
	2.sg (ti)	<i>te lo te ne</i>	<i>ti si ti ci</i>
	3.sg.dat (gli)	<i>glielo gliene</i>	<i>gli si gli ci</i>
	1.pl/loc (ci)	<i>ce lo ce ne</i>	<i>ci si *</i>
	etc.		

In this section I argue that the *-i/e-* alternation is sensitive to the syntactic make-up of the clitic combination. In fact, the sequences where the linking vowels turns into *-e-* are true clusters.

Before addressing this point, however, I will revise briefly the existing literature on the *-e/i-* alternation. D'Ovidio 1886:71 claims that *-e-* is a reflex of the etymological initial vowel of the rightmost clitic: Ī-LLUM, Ī-NDE, which has been preserved in cluster-internal position, as shown below:

(35)	a	ME ĪLLUM	>	M'ĪLLU	>	me lo	'it/him to me'
	b	ĪLLI ĪNDE	>	ILL'ĪNDE	>	gliene	'it/him to him/her'

Such proposal, however, has two major drawbacks. First, as Parodi (1887:189-190) pointed out, the 13<sup>th</sup> century reflexes of ILLE, INDE, occupy the leftmost position of the sequence (§9.3). The fact that the archaic order of these clusters is accusative > dative contradicts D'Ovidio's hypothesis that the linking vowel *-e-* is a reflex of Ī in cluster-internal position. As Melander 1929 pointed out, *-e* must be considered a side-effect of the change that led to the mirror order: in fact, as soon as datives began to occupy the leftmost position of the cluster, their vowel suddenly changed into *-e* with very few exceptions<sup>302</sup>.

Second, if *-e-* was the reflex of Ī, this would entail that the cluster originally included a disyllabic reflex of ĪLLE, ĪNDE. If so, the resulting cluster would show a geminate sonorant (cf. ĪLLE, ĪNDE > \*ello, \*enne) as in Florentine etymological geminates are normally maintained. The expected evolution would therefore be as follows:

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<sup>302</sup> Interestingly, these exceptions normally regard sequences containing a third person clitic (*li/gli*), which tend to maintain the vowel *-i-*. In these cases, we can suppose that that *-i-* is a reflex of the Lat. dative ending.

- (36) a ME ĬLLUM > M'ĬLLU > \*mello 'it/him to me'  
 b ĬLLI ĬLLUM > ILL'ĬLLUM > \*gliello 'it/him to him/her'

It is worth noting that in Italian this kind of gemination is shown in sequences of preposition + article (the so-called *preposizioni articolate*, lit. 'article-d prepositions')<sup>303</sup>, see (37), but not in pronominal sequences:

- (37) a DE ĬLLUM > D'ĬLLU > dello 'of the'  
 (10) b IN ĬLLUM > (I)N'ĬLLUM > nello 'in the'

In (37), the preservation of the disyllabic form of the determiner (ĬLLU > *ello*) provides a straightforward explanation for both the vowel *-e-* and the following gemination. On the contrary, the case of pronominal sequences calls for a different explanation, as the absence of gemination is not compatible with the same derivation. On the theoretical side, the conclusion that the *-e-* of pronominal clusters and the *-e-* of P+D sequences have a different nature is highly desirable because it prevents a possible paradox in the analysis. In fact, Cardinaletti's 2008 claim that true clusters "display the same vowel that is found in the combinations of preposition and determiner" ends up contradicting Cardinaletti's own analysis that sequences of pronominal clitics are true clusters in the sense of Kayne 1994. In fact, P+D sequences cannot be clusters *à la* Kayne 1994, as the linear order P > D cannot be due to incorporation of P to D. Hence, if we want to maintain the hypothesis that *-e-* is a clue of true clusters, we have to demonstrate that their *-e-*'s are different. Gemination is therefore the proof that P+D sequences differ from pronominal clusters like *me lo*, *gliela*: the former, but not the latter, derive from the *univerbation* of the preposition and the following disyllabic determiner: e.g. DE ĬLLUM > D'ĬLLU > *dello* 'of the'. The absence of gemination in pronominal clusters indicates that the rightmost element was not disyllabic and, consequently, that the linking vowel *-e-* cannot be a reflex of Ĭ(L)-.

An alternative hypothesis is that the *-e/i-* alternation originates from a raising process, which, in Old Florentine, turned final unstressed *-e* into *-i* (Rohlf's 1966:178).

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<sup>303</sup> Formentin 1994 pointed out that, at least in some cases, e.g. IN ĬLLU > *nello* 'in the', gemination results from the preservation of the disyllabic form of the determiner (IN ĬLLU > *(i)nello*). In fact, *ll* in P+D sequences is attested also in the dialects in which articles are not subject to regular consonantal doubling (the so-called *raddoppiamento (fono)sintattico*).



(38) /e/ → [i] / \_\_\_\_#  
 [-stress]

This rule targeted adverbs and semi-functional words (e.g. *avante* > *avanti* ‘before, in front of’, *diece* > *dieci* ‘ten’, *longe* > *lungi* ‘far’, etc.) and personal pronouns, giving rise to the alternation between strong pronouns, which maintained the etymological vowel (e.g. Lat. ME > strong *me* ‘me’), and clitic forms, which underwent raising (e.g. ME > clitic *mi*).

Let us turn to the *-e/i-* alternation in clusters. One might argue that, in cluster-initial position, the underlying vowel /e/ surfaces as a consequence of secondary stress, which blocks the rule in (38). This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by two pieces of evidence. First, take into consideration the third person dative clitic *gli* (‘to him’) < Lat. ILLI. Since the original ending of the dative clitic is *-i* (and not *-e*), it is expected to show no *-e/i-* alternation as its underlying form /ki/ cannot undergo further raising. In fact, Old Italian was consistent with this prediction since 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative clitics exhibited the etymological vowel *-i* even in cluster-initial position.

(39) a che **gli** **le** demo p(er) una inpossta.<sup>304</sup> (o.It.)  
 that to.him= them.F= gave.1PL for a tax  
 ‘that we gave them to him for a tax.’

b ché **gli** **ne** potrebbe troppo di mal seguire.<sup>305</sup>  
 because to.him= of.it= could too.much of bad(luck) follow  
 ‘because it could cause him too much misfortune.’

Later on, however, the linking vowel of these clusters became *-e-*, which is the only possible form in modern Italian (I repeat below the relevant example). Therefore, the phonological/historical explanation cannot account for the evolution from (39) to (40), as in (40), the linking vowel *-e-* cannot be considered the underlying vowel, surfacing as a consequence of foot formation.

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<sup>304</sup> LibrAmm

<sup>305</sup> Boccaccio, *Decameron*.

- (40) [**ʎe**]    **ne**    porti        due. (It.)        [**\*ʎi**]  
 to.him= of.it bring.2SG two  
 ‘You bring him two of it’

Second, a phonological/historical analysis cannot explain why the *-e/i-* alternation is not allowed in several clusters, where both clitics display the vowel *-i* (I repeat below the relevant examples):

- (41) a [**mi**]    **ci**    porta        Mario. (It.)        [**\*me**]  
 to.me= there bring.3SG Mario  
 ‘M. brings me there’  
 b [**ʎi**]    **si**    parla dopo.        [**\*ʎe**]  
 to.him= one= speak later  
 ‘We’ll speak to him later’

In order to account for (41) under the hypothesis that *-e-* results from secondary stress, we should postulate at least two classes of clitic clusters: one in which the cluster corresponds to a foot and the other in which the sequence is not a foot, *contra* evidence.

The alternative explanation is that the *-e/i-* alternation, although originated from a phonological process like (38), is syntax-driven, i.e. it is sensitive to the syntactic make-up of the cluster, rather than its prosodic structure. The original phonological rule has been reanalyzed as a morphological alternation marking a morpho-syntactic boundary: *-i* is found on a morphosyntactic edge, otherwise the vowel turns to *-e-*. This explains why the *-e/i-* alternation correlates with the distinction between cluster and split combinations proposed in the previous sections: split sequences are characterised by an internal morpho-syntactic boundary, which triggers the insertion of the default final unstressed *-i*. By contrast, true clusters count as a single morpho-syntactic unit and, consequently, the linking vowel is *-e-* because it is no longer analysed as a final vowel.

- (42) a combinations with the vowel *-i-*:  
 [clitic [clitic ... → e.g. *mi#si*, *mi#ci*, *gli#si*, etc.  
 b sequences with the vowel *-e-*:  
 [clitic + clitic [ ... → e.g. *me lo*, *me ne*, *gliene*, etc.

In conclusion, I have argued that the split/cluster is supported by syntactic and morphological evidence. Split configurations are marginally separable (§9.4.1) and the vowel occurring between the two clitic formatives has properties of final vowels (§9.4.2). Conversely, true clusters behave syntactically and morphologically as single, inseparable units.

## 9.5 Suppletion

(11)

(12) 9.5.1 Ibero-Romance

(13)

(14) Suppletivism in clitic sequences has been investigated in depth. In the generative tradition, the first account of opacity was proposed by Perlmutter 1971, who brought attention to Spanish ‘spurious *se*’ phenomena, i.e. suppletivism of the third person dative clitic when it is combined with an accusative clitic:

(15)

(43) Juan **se**/**\*le**      **lo** comprò. (Sp.)

(16) Juan to.him/her=it=bought

(17) ‘Juan bought it for him/her/them’

(18)

At a twenty years’ distance after Perlmutter’s influential analysis, Eulalia Bonet’s dissertation tackled the much more complicated clitic system of Barceloní, the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona (Bonet 1991, 1995; see also Harris 1994, 1997). Whereas Spanish displays a single pattern of suppletion, most clitic combinations of Barceloní are highly opaque. For instance, clusters formed by third person dative and accusative clitics are always marked by an opaque exponent that resembles a dative form, e.g. *li* in (44)d:

(44) a. Això, **ho** donaré      a en Miquel després. (Barc.)

(19) this      it=I.will.give to the M.      later

b A en Miquel, **li**      donaré      això després.

to the M.      to.him= I.will.give this later

c \*Això, a en Miquel, **li**      **ho** donaré      després.

this to the M.      to.him= it=I.will.give later

d Això, a en Miquel, **li**      donaré      després.

this to the M. to.him+it= I.will.give later  
 ‘I will give this to Miquel later.’

One may suggest that sequences are opaque because accusative clitics are systematically dropped, but in fact opaque clusters, listed (45), result from an *amalgamation* of the features of the two clitics: plural is *omnivoracious* (i.e. it is always expressed regardless of whether the plural argument is the direct or indirect object), repetitions of the same exponent are avoided (e.g. \*ll, \*nn, \*zz), and gender markers (including neuter) are always deleted.

(20)

(45)

	DAT PL ( <i>elzi</i> )	DAT SG ( <i>li</i> )	ACC PL (M <i>els</i> , F <i>les</i> )	ACC SG (M <i>el</i> , F <i>la</i> )	NEU ( <i>ho /u/</i> )	GEN/ABL ( <i>en /n/</i> )	LOC ( <i>hi /i/</i> )
DAT PL ( <i>elzi</i> )	*	*	<i>lzi</i>	<i>lzi</i>	<i>lzi</i>	<i>lzni</i>	<i>lzi</i>
DAT SG ( <i>li</i> )	*	*	<i>lzi</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>li</i>
ACC PL (M <i>els</i> , F <i>les</i> )	-	-	*	*	*	<i>lzi</i>	<i>lzi</i>
ACC SG (M <i>el</i> , F <i>la</i> )	-	-	*	*	*	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
NEU ( <i>ho /u/</i> )	-	-	-	-	*	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
GEN/ABL ( <i>en /n/</i> )	-	-	-	-	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>

The three ingredients of Barceloní suppletion (*omnivoracious* plural agreement, identity avoidance, and gender neutralization) are found in many other Romance varieties. In Ibero-Romance, omnivoracious plural agreement is seldom attested in American Spanish, a plural marker can occur in clusters featuring the spurious *se* when the indirect object is plural (so-called *parasitic plural*):

(46) Ese vino<sub>i</sub> yo se<sub>j</sub> lo<sub>i</sub>-s regalè a mis primos<sub>j</sub>. (Sp. dialects)  
 that wine I to.them= it-PL= I.gave to my cousins  
 ‘That wine, I gave it to them (my cousins).’

Identity avoidance is quite frequent (Menn & MacWhinney 1984; on Romance clitics, see Grimshaw 1997, 2000; Maiden 2000; Pescarini 2010). For instance, Spanish does not allow combinations of impersonal and reflexive *se*:

(47) \*Cuando se come, se lava las manos antes. (Sp.)

When one.CL eat, himself.CL one.CL wash the hands before

‘You(imp.) wash your hands before eating’

To avoid the co-occurrence of two identical exponents, one clitic is often replaced by a dummy formative (Pescarini 2010), which in Barceloní is /i/ (arguably, the same exponent marking locative/dative clitics). For instance, the formative *i* replaces the clitic *en* (partitive and/or ablative) when the latter co-occurs with an identical *en* exponent or when it is clustered with a third person clitic as in (48):

(48) a El jersei, **el** trauré de l’ armari després. (Barc.)

The sweater, it= I.will.take from the closet later

b De l’ armari, **en** trauré el jersei després.

From the closet from.there= I.will.take the sweater later

c El jersei, de l’ armari **l i (\*en)** trauré.

The sweater, from the closet, it= from.there= I.will.take

‘I will take the sweater from the closet’

As we will see in the following subsections, the patterns of suppletion of Spanish and Catalan have a strong family resemblance with seemingly patterns found in Italo-Romance and Gallo-Romance dialects. We will see that omnivorous/parasitic plural, identity avoidance, gender neutralisation, and default markers are frequently found across Romance, although the degree of opacity varies significantly across dialects.

### 9.5.2 Italo-Romance

Italian and Italo-Romance clitic combinations exhibit the usual phenomena: identity avoidance, gender neutralisation, and – in the dialects with sigmatic plural – omnivorous plural. In Italian, for instance, the locative clitic *ci* is free to combine with any other clitic, save for the identical first person plural clitic *ci*:

(49) a **mi** **ci** porta Micol. (It.)

b **ti** **ci** porta Micol.

c **(\*ci)** **ci** porta Micol.



Patterns of omnivorous plural are attested in the Italo-Romance dialects exhibiting sigmatic plural such as Friulian and Sardinian varieties. As shown in (53), from Jones 1993, the plural dative co-occurring with an accusative clitic is replaced by a dummy locative exponent (e.g. *bi*), but a plural morpheme *-s* can be attached to the accusative (singular) pronoun if the indirect object is plural:

- (53) *nara -bi -lo-s.* (Logudorese Sard.)  
 tell =there =it-PL  
 ‘Tell it to them.’

As in (53), the etymological form of the third person dative clitic (e.g. *li/le*) is expressed by a suppletive exponent that normally coincides with the locative or the third person reflexive clitic. In many dialects, such a suppletion is absolute, i.e. the etymological exponent of the dative clitic has been lost and third person obliques are always pronominalized by a syncretic element (see Calabrese 1994, 2008; Loporcaro 1995, 2002). Conversely, in other dialects suppletion is context-determined: the third person dative clitic is replaced by a suppletive exponent when it is clustered with another clitic element. Three main patterns of substitution are attested in Italo-Romance:

i. spurious *se* patterns of the Ibero-Romance type (§9.5.1), attested in Campidanese Sardinian: the etymological third person dative *le/li* < ILLI) is replaced by the reflexive element (with a non-reflexive interpretation).

- (54) a **qi** pottu unu libru. (Sarroch, Campid. Sard.)  
 to.him I.bring a book  
 ‘I bring him a book’  
 b **si/\*qi** qu pottu.  
 to.him= it= I.bring  
 ‘I bring it to him’

ii. spurious locative patterns, attested in many Italo-Romance dialects and Logudorese Sardinian: in true clusters the etymological third person dative *le/li* is replaced by the locative clitic *ci/bi/ y*.

(55) **bi/\*li**                    **l'** appo    datu. (Log. Sardinian<sup>307</sup>)  
to.him/her/them=it=I.have    given  
'I gave it to him/her/them'

iii. spurious *ne* patterns (attested in some southern Italian dialects), whereby the etymological third person dative *le/li* is replaced by the partitive element deriving from Lat. INDE.

(56) a **i**                                da    kkuistə. (Rocca Imperiale)<sup>308</sup>  
(23) to.him/her/them=gives this  
(24) 'He/she gives this to him/her/them'  
(25) b **n/\*i**                                **u** da.  
to him/her/them=it=gives  
'He/she gives it to him/her/them'

As Cardinaletti 2008 pointed out, suppletion normally takes place in true clusters. The hypothesis is supported by patterns like (57): in these Sardinian dialects, the etymological form *li* occurs in isolation (57)a or when it follows another clitic (57)b. However, when it occupies the leftmost position of the cluster, as in (57)c, it must be replaced by the 'spurious' exponent *bi*.

(57) a **li**                                dana kustu. (Sard.)<sup>309</sup>  
to him/her=gives this  
'He/she gives this to him/her'  
b **nde**                    **li**                                dana.  
of.them=    to.him/her    gives  
(26) 'He/she gives some of them to him/her'  
c **bi/\*li**                    **lu** dana.  
to.him/her=it=gives  
'He/she gives it to him/her'

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<sup>307</sup> Jones 1993:220.

<sup>308</sup> Manzini & Savoia 2005: 291

<sup>309</sup> This pattern is attested in several Sardinian varieties such as Ittiri, Padria, Luras, Siniscola, Galtelli, Bosa (Manzini & Savoia 2005 vol. II: 317-321).



The same correlation between suppletivism and the mirror order is found in medieval Italo-Romance as well, in the rare vernaculars in which etymological reflexes of Lat. *ILLI* are still attested, see §9.3.<sup>310</sup> Only Ligurian vernaculars show traces of the etymological dative pronoun *li*: for instance, the *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*, which was written in a vernacular of the Ligurian/Piedmontese border displays three allomorphs of the third person dative clitic: *li*, *gl'* and *ge*.

- (58) a **Li**        *dise*<sup>311</sup> (o.Lig.)  
           to.him= he.says  
           ‘he says to him:’
- b *segundo*        *che* *ello* **gl'**        *aveo inpromoso*.<sup>312</sup>  
           according.to that he to.him= has promised  
           ‘according to what he’s promised to him’
- c *elo* **ge**        *fu*        *mostrao*<sup>313</sup>  
           he to.him= was shown  
           ‘he was shown to him’

*Li* is the regular reflex of *ILLI*, *gl'* its prevocalic allomorph<sup>314</sup>, while the relationship between *li* and *ge* is phonologically opaque. With respect to the *l*-/*g*- alternation, the important distinction between the two is that *li* can be transparently analysed as a determiner formed by a root *l* and an inflectional ending *i* (where *i* < dat -i), while *ge* has the same shape of first/second person pronouns such as *me*, *te*, etc. As in modern Sardinian, the item *li* is used in isolation or in the second position of a sequences of two clitics, as in (59)a, while *li* is systematically replaced by *ge* when the cluster exhibits the mirror order, like in (59)b.

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<sup>310</sup> In general, northern Italo-Romance exhibits a sole syncretic element for both the third person dative and the locative clitic since the earliest attestations and, in many cases, such syncretic item cannot be derived easily from Lat. *ILLI* (for a proposal, see Benincà 2007).

<sup>311</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>312</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>313</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>314</sup> <gl> is always used to express the phoneme resulting from the palatalization of *l* in front of the glide *j*, e.g. *FILIU* > *figlo* ‘son’.

- (59) a **ne li** avea daito a lor.<sup>315</sup> (o.Lig.)  
 (27) of.it= to.them= had given to them  
 (28) ‘he has given them some oil’  
 b una **ge ne** caite de man<sup>316</sup>  
 one to.him= of.them fell from hand  
 ‘one of them fell from his hands’

A similar pattern is found also in a Genovese text, the *Passione* edited by Parodi 1986, where three allomorphs of the third person dative clitic occur in free variation: *li*, *ge* and *gue*.<sup>317</sup>

- (60) a **li** demandà<sup>318</sup> (o.Gen.)  
 to.him= asked  
 ‘he asked to him.’  
 b **ge** respoxe<sup>319</sup>  
 to.him= answered  
 ‘he answered to him.’  
 (29) c **gue** eram date<sup>320</sup>  
 (30) to.him were given  
 (31) ‘(they) were given to him.’

It is worth noting that the etymological third person dative clitic *li* never combines with other clitic pronouns. In clusters we found only *ge/gue*, which precedes the co-occurring clitic

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<sup>315</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>316</sup> *Dialogo de Sam Gregorio*.

<sup>317</sup> As in the case of the aforementioned *Dialogo*, it is almost impossible to establish the phonological value of the element <ge>. Nowadays, the locative/dative clitic is *ghe* /ge/, but the pronunciation of its medieval counterpart is still a puzzle: in medieval texts, the grapheme <h> was not used to indicate a velar pronunciation [g] in front of palatal vowels and, furthermore, <g> was also used to indicate the palatalized reflex of lj, e.g. *filium* > *figiu*, whose real phonetic value is still controversial ([j], [dʒ]?). Moreover, we still lack a plausible etymological solution for <gue>.

<sup>318</sup> *Passione Genovese*, ed. Parodi.

<sup>319</sup> *Passione Genovese*, ed. Parodi.

<sup>320</sup> *Passione Genovese*, ed. Parodi.

in accordance with the mirror order<sup>321</sup>. As in Sardinia, the monomorphemic clitic *ge/gue* replaces *li* whenever the dative clitic occupies the leftmost position of the cluster. Elsewhere, *li* can occur freely.

### 9.5.3 Gallo-Romance

This section focuses on the morphology of clitic combinations in a randomly chosen sample of Gallo-Romance dialects.<sup>322</sup> The following data are taken from the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF)<sup>323</sup> and do not provide an exhaustive representation of Gallo-Romance clitic clusters, but an overview of the possible typologies.

I will compare the morphology of the third person singular dative clitic (Fr. *lui*) as represented in map 785, the morphology of the third person accusative clitic (Fr. *le*) as represented in map 745, and the morphology of the cluster formed by the two clitics (Fr. *le lui*) in map 1650. If relevant, I will examine map 761, which regards clusters with the plural dative clitic (Fr. *le leur*). All clitics of the sample occur before consonants.

In many dialects (including Occitan vernaculars) sequence of two third person clitics end up resembling a single dative form. As shown in (61), in my sample this happens in two localities.

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<sup>321</sup> save for a single case, in which the dative clitic *gue* follows the third person accusative *lo*, cf. (8).

<sup>322</sup> The list of localities is the following: 271 Maurois; 525 Cabariot; 902 Souvigny; 610 Chazelles; 724 Rieupeyroux; 698 Tramesagues; 866 Orpierre; 855 Nyons.

The maps I have scrutinized are the following:

- n. 785 (et que nous **lui** rendions son argent);
- n. 745 (**le** laisser);
- n. 1650 (Je n'ai pas osé **le lui** dire)<sup>322</sup>;
- n. 761 (j'ai eu de la peine à **le leur** faire comprendre).

<sup>323</sup> I will limit myself to the account of very few ALF data regarding French vernaculars spoken more than a century ago: this means that what observed in the ALF may not correspond any longer to the usage of the corresponding present-day dialects; second, as atlases report data on a restricted number of contexts, we cannot exclude that the forms illustrated below were subject to further variation, depending on orthogonal conditions. What matters here is that the cited forms have been attested and therefore call for a principled analysis.

(61) Datapoint:		Maurois (271)	Cabariot (525)
a Fr. <i>le</i>	‘him/it’	l	le
b Fr. <i>lui</i>	‘to him/her’	i	li
c Fr. <i>le lui</i>	‘it/him to him/her’	i	li
d Fr. <i>le leur</i>	‘it/him to them’	jœ	lœ

One locality (902 Souvigny) exhibits a variant of the same pattern as the shape of the cluster (*li*, corresponding to Fr. *le lui* ‘it/him to him/her’) is not identical to the form of the dative clitic, which is *lʷi* (corresponding to Fr. *lui* ‘to him/her’). This suggests that in Souvigny – but arguably the same might hold true for the dialects in (61) – the clitic cluster is not obtained by simply dropping the accusative clitic. Rather, the pattern of suppletion in (62) is reminiscent of Barceloní Catalan (cf. §9.5.1), where the exponent *i*, which corresponds to the locative clitic replaces another clitic to avoid the co-occurrence of identical exponents, e.g. \**ll*. In this respect, Barceloní Catalan, Souvigny (902) and, possibly, the datapoints in (61) exhibit a pattern of spurious locative, which in turn recall the one attested in Italo-Romance vernaculars (§9.5.2).

(62) Datapoint:		Souvigny (902)
a Fr. <i>le</i>	‘him/it’	l
b Fr. <i>lui</i>	‘to him/her’	lʷi
c Fr. <i>le lui</i>	‘it/him to him/her’	li
d Fr. <i>le leur</i>	‘it/him to them’	jœzi

If we analyse the *-i* element in (62)b as a spurious locative (replacing the dative form *lʷi*), we reach the conclusion that in Souvigny the order of the cluster is accusative > dative and that suppletivism can target the rightmost element of the sequence.

The order accusative > dative, which is the only possible order in both medieval and modern French, is exemplified here with data from Rieupeyroux. Notice that, differently from modern French, the dative clitic is still a regular outcome of Lat. *ILLI*. The combination with the accusative clitic, however is not completely transparent as, when *lu* and *li* (or the plural *lur*) are clustered, the consonant of the accusative clitic is not pronounced:

(63) Datapoint:		724
a Fr. <i>le</i>	‘him/it’	lu
b Fr. <i>lui</i>	‘to him/her’	li
c Fr. <i>le lui</i>	‘it/him to him/her’	u li
d Fr. <i>le leur</i>	‘it/him to them’	u lur

The loss of the lateral consonant is attested in other varieties that exhibit the opposite order (namely, the mirror order dative > accusative):

(64) Point:		Tramesagues (698)	Orpierre (866)	Nyons (855)
a Fr. <i>le</i>	‘him/it’	u	lu	lu
b Fr. <i>lui</i>	‘to him/her’	u	li	li
c Fr. <i>le lui</i>	‘it/him to him/her’	l ok	li u	lu
d Fr. <i>le leur</i>	‘it/him to them’	euz u	lur u	li lu

The combination in Tramesagues (698) is the only transparent cluster of my sample. It differs from the other dialects in displaying *loísmo* (cf. §4.6.1): the dative clitic has a formative that is etymologically an accusative pronoun with two allomorphs: *l* before vowels, cf. map. 786, *u* before consonants, cf. map 745. In (64)b the prevocalic exponent of the clitic is selected because the following direct object is pronominalized by the neuter clitic *ok* (< HOC ‘this’), which is used in Occitan and Catalan dialects to refer to mass nouns or events.

The combination in Orpierre (866) is almost transparent as the accusative form *lu* ‘it/him’ is turned into *u* when the direct object clitic is combined with the dative clitic, yielding the form *li* \*(*l*)*u* in (64)b. An analogous phenomenon can be observed in Nyons (855), where the dative form *li* seems to disappear when co-occurring with an accusative clitic as we find *lu* instead of the expected *li lu*. Conversely, in the case of a plural dative the two formatives co-occur, but there is no trace of plural marking<sup>324</sup>.

Lastly, in some dialects sequences including the dative singular clitic differ from those featuring a dative plural clitic. In the dialect of Chazelles, for instance, the sequence including a plural dative clitic exhibit the order accusative > dative; conversely, the singular dative clitic gives rise to an opaque cluster marked by the form *l u* (as in (64)b: datapoint 855).

<sup>324</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot ascertain the form of the plural dative clitic as in the ALF corpus the dative plural form always occurs in clitic combinations.

(65) Datapoint:		Chazelles (610)
a Fr. <i>le</i>	‘him/it’	lu
b Fr. <i>lui</i>	‘to him/her’	lɥi
c Fr. <i>le lui</i>	‘it/him to him/her’	l u
d Fr. <i>le leur</i>	‘it/him to them’	lu lur

The following table summarises the comparison between the expected transparent shapes of the clusters (with either ordering) and the actual shape of clitic combinations, which is reported in the last column:

(66)		*DAT > ACC	*ACC > DAT	actual shape
	271	<i>i l</i>	<i>l i</i>	<i>i</i>
	525	<i>li le</i>	<i>le li</i>	<i>li</i>
	902	<i>lɥi l</i>	<i>l lɥi</i>	<i>li</i>
	610	<i>lɥi lu</i>	<i>lu lɥi</i>	<i>lu</i>
	724	<i>li lu</i>	<i>lu li</i>	<i>uli</i>
	698	<i>l ok</i>	<i>u/ok u</i>	<i>l ok</i>
	855	<i>li lu</i>	<i>lu li</i>	<i>lu</i>
	866	<i>li lu</i>	<i>lu li</i>	<i>liu</i>

As previously mentioned, the only dialect exhibiting a transparent combination is the one spoken in Tramesagues (698), which however is subject to *loísmo*. In all the other contexts, two *l*-formatives never co-occur, as in Ibero-Romance clusters discussed in §9.5.1. The loss of the lateral consonant, however, does not yield straightforward patterns of suppletion like in Ibero- and Italo-Romance, although certain combinations may feature a dummy locative. In general, clitic combinations have a certain degree of coalescence, which impedes to establishing in many cases the order of clitic formatives.

#### 9.5.4 Irregularities as cues

Many irregularities discussed in §§9.5.1-3 obtain when two identical or similar formatives co-occur. In particular, combinations of third person clitics are often opaque because they are subject to a ban against the co-occurrence of two identical formatives *l-* within the same clitic sequence. To avoid the co-occurrence of identical or similar clitic formatives, the Romance languages exhibit various possible strategies such as *haplology* (i.e. deletion of a syllable), suppletion, or a combination of the two.

Gallo-Romance varieties (in §9.5.3) often exhibit haplology and, as a result, clitic combinations are not completely opaque, although they are formed by a subset of the morphological formatives that would occur if the cluster had a transparent morphology, cf. (66). Hence, in Gallo-Romance and, to a certain extent, in Catalan (§9.5.1), combinations featuring third person clitics result in an opaque formative that looks like as a single clitic form, in which no clear morphological boundary between accusative and dative/locative formatives can be drawn. Conversely, Italo-Romance and Ibero-Romance exhibit pervasive patterns of suppletion in which a *spurious* item substitutes the expected transparent form.

One wonders about the nature of such irregularities. To what extent are morphological irregularities symptomatic of the make-up of clitic combinations? In fact, several irregularities can be trivially derived from an identity-avoiding constraint as the case of the *\*ci ci* combination of Italian, cf. §9.5.2. The same constraint might be the trigger for haplology in sequences of two third person clitics as shown by the Gallo-Romance data in (66). Other opaque clusters, however, call for a different explanation. For instance, sequences formed by a third person dative and partitive clitic often exhibit the same patterns of suppletion as clusters of third person clitics, although in the former no identity-avoiding principle can be responsible for the substitution. In Italian, the feminine dative *le* ‘to her’ can occur before neither accusative nor the partitive *ne*. In both contexts, the masculine formative *gli* occurs instead even if the dative refers to a feminine individual, cf. (67)a. Analogously, in Catalan the partitive clitic *en* cannot combine transparently with a third person clitic, as shown in (67)b.

(67) a Gianni **glie/\*le** **ne** comprò. (It.)

Gianni to.him/her=of.it/them= bought

‘Gianni bought it for him/her/them’

b El jersei, de l’ armari **l** **i/\*en** trauré. (Barc.)

The sweater, from the closet, it= from.there= I.will.take

‘I will take the sweater from the closet’

The morphology of the clusters in (67) cannot be derived straightforwardly from an identity-avoiding constraint. Diachronically, identity-avoidance could be the trigger of the irregularity, but it cannot account for the presence of irregularities in clusters that are not formed by identical exponents. In the latter case, suppletion may be a cue of the syntactic make-up of the cluster.

In §§9.3-4 I argued, following Kayne 1994, that clitic sequences occur in either a split or cluster configuration. In particular, I proposed that the sequences with the order dative > accusative that emerged from the change illustrated in §9.3 are complex heads and, for this reason, they are often characterized by suppletion. This conclusion is supported by data from Italo-Romance (in §9.5.2), but it is not borne out by data from Gallo-Romance, where the suppletive exponent tends to occur in the second position of the cluster as in Catalan, cf. (67)a vs (67)b. Building on Bonet 1991, I contend that in the latter group of languages the dummy *i* formative is not a lexemic element (like the clitics *se* and *ci* of Spanish and Italian), but a *sublexemic* element. In Barceloní, but the same holds for many Occitan varieties (Ronjat 1937:§505-6; Ahlborn 1946:59-61; Rohlf's 1970:182), the dative clitic is constructed by combining the accusative clitic with *i*. The analysis is straightforward in the case of plural pronouns such as the Barceloní dative dative clitic /əlzil/ 'to them', which is formed by the clitic əlz (the accusative plural clitic 'them') and the marker -i, identical to the so-called locative clitic. The hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that in the same dialect the genitive/partitive clitic (ə)n, when combined with the third person plural dative, occurs between the formatives əlz and *i* giving rise to the sequence əlz-ən-i 'to them of it' (Bonet 1991).

The fact that in Barceloní and, to a certain extent, in Gallo-Romance varieties the dummy exponent occurring in opaque clusters is a sublexemic element (as assumed in Bonet's 1991 formal account) may explain why the linearization of elements in these varieties does not correlate with the alleged evolution from split to cluster sequences.

(32)

(33)

## 9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the evolution of the internal order of Romance clitic combinations by hypothesizing the existence of two classes of clitic combinations in modern Italian and French. I have first reviewed some possible accounts of clitic combinations, which revolve



around the division of labour between syntax and morphology. I successively dealt with historical evidence showing that many Romance languages have undergone a change reversing the order of certain clitic combinations (those containing a third person accusative element or *ne*). Clear examples of this change are shown in Italo-Romance and French, although the change did not take place at the same time and targeted different clitic combinations.

This led us to address several collateral issues, including the separability of clitic sequences in restructuring contexts and patterns of allomorphy, haplology and suppletion that are attested in many Romance varieties, especially when two third person clitics combine.

Following Kayne 1994:19-21 and Cardinaletti 2008, I examined the hypothesis that the innovative mirror order in (59b) is due to the left-adjunction of the dative clitic to the accusative one. The resulting configuration is a single complex head (a true cluster, cf. §9.2), while the other combinations correspond to a split configuration where the clitics occupy different syntactic positions:

- (68) a [ c11 [ c12 ]] (split)  
 b. [ (c12 + c11) [t<sub>c12</sub>] ] (cluster)

This does not necessarily amount to saying that all sequences with the order dative > accusative are true clusters. In fact, no change from (68)a to (68)b has never occurred in Ibero-Romance varieties, which has displayed the order dative > accusative since their earliest attestations. However, given the nature of cliticisation in the Archaic Early Romance languages, it is unlikely that clitic combinations in these languages resulted from incorporation, which, according to the analysis proposed in chapter 5, took place in the Innovative Early Romance languages.

On the basis of (68), Italian clitic combinations can be therefore divided into two major classes<sup>325</sup>: true clusters are those that underwent a change like (59), while the others are supposed to be split.

- |      |                    |       |       |                |
|------|--------------------|-------|-------|----------------|
| (69) |                    | true: |       | split:         |
|      | 1.sg ( <i>mi</i> ) | me lo | me ne | mi si    mi ci |

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<sup>325</sup> Cardinaletti 2008 argues for a slightly different classification as she considers the combinations with the clitic *ci* as true clusters

2.sg ( <i>ti</i> )	te lo	te ne	ti si	ti ci
3.sg.dat ( <i>gli</i> )	glielo	gliene	gli si	gli ci
1.pl	ce lo	ce ne	ci si	-
2.pl	ve lo	ve ne	vi si	vi ci

I then showed that split sequences can be marginally separated in restructuring environments and that the linking vowel *-e-* can be considered as a clue of incorporation.

Besides the *i/e* alternation in (69), I noticed that true clusters formed by third person clitics (and the partitive *ne/en*) are often subject to suppletivism and/or haplology. The Romance languages exhibit a kaleidoscopic range of opacity, although some trends emerge from crosslinguistic comparison: in general, clitic combinations tend to avoid the repetition of the same exponent, gender is often neutralised, whereas (plural) number, when marked by a sigmatic exponent, often occur regardless of whether the plural complement is the direct or the indirect object.

Lastly, I noticed that not every irregularity is a symptom of the syntactic make-up of the combination. Some irregularities can be derived straightforwardly from morpho-phonological constraints, while others hinge on *deeper* mechanisms. The hypothesis that suppletion result from the formation of true clusters (*à la* Kayne) seems on the right track and it is particularly appealing for those languages – such as Italo-Romance varieties – in which suppletion does not yield coalescence of the two clitic forms, but obtains from replacing a given lexical item with another one without making the structure of the combination collapse.



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