ELSEWHERE IN ROMANCE:

COUNTER-LEVELLING, SYNCRETISM, AND CLITIC CLUSTERS

Diego Pescarini

Abstract: in this article I explore the correlation between irregular phenomena displayed by the clitic systems of some Romance dialects. These phenomena can be accounted for by a markedness constraint disallowing the co-occurrence of identical exponents in the clitic inventory or in the clitic clusters of each dialect. When the constraint is violated, the insertion of a clitic is blocked and an unmarked *elsewhere* item is inserted on the basis of the Subset Principle (Halle & Marantz 1993) .

Keywords: Distributed Morphology, syncretism, clitic, paradigm levelling, Romance

1. Introduction

This article deals with independent and apparently irregular phenomena displayed by the clitic pronouns of several Romance dialects, namely, *syncretism* and *synthetic clusters*.

A syncretic clitic is an exponent that, in a given dialect, marks syntactic functions that in other dialects are marked by different items. For instance, in Italian, the clitic *ci* is an object pronoun (1.a) and resumes locative PPs (1.b), while in Veneto dialects, for

example, these functions are marked by different clitics: *ne* in (2.a = 1.a) vs *ghe* in (2.b = 1.b).

(1) a. *A Roma* ***ci*** *porta Micol* (Italian)
To Rome **1.PL.ACC** brings Micol
'Micol brings us to Rome'

b. *A Roma* ***ci*** *vado in macchina*.
To Rome$_i$ **LOC$_i$** go-1.SG by car
'I go to Rome by car'

(2) a. *A Roma* *^{l}a* ***ne*** *porta* *^{l}a* *Micol* (Veneto)
To Rome CL-SUBJ$_i$ **1.PL.ACC** brings det Micol$_i$
'Micol brings us to Rome'

b. *A Roma* ***ghe*** *vao in macchina*.
To Rome$_i$ **LOC$_i$** go-1.SG by car
'I go to Rome by car'

Synthetic (or opaque) clitic clusters are sequences of clitics displaying an exponent that does not correspond to its syntactic function. For instance, in Italian, the reflexive morpheme displays an opaque exponent (*ci* instead of *si*) when it co-occurs with an impersonal clitic, as shown in (3.d) vs (3.c).

(3) a. *I piatti* ***si*** *lavano spesso.*

The dishes **IMP** wash often

'Dishes are often washed'

b. *Carlo* ***si*** *lava spesso.*

Carlo **REFL** washes often

'Carlo often washes'

c. **In estate* ***si*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*

In summer **REFL IMP** wash often

'In summer you often wash'

d. *In estate* ***ci*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*

In summer **REFL IMP** wash often

'In summer you often wash'

These irregular patterns will be accounted for on the basis of two principles: 1) a markedness constraint preventing *paradigm-levelling* (cf. Kenstowicz 1995, Kiparsky 1997, Steriade 2000, a.o.) and morpho-phonological *OCP effects* (Grimshaw 1997, Yip 1998, Ortman & Popescu 2001, a.o.) that I will call *Counter-Levelling constraint*; 2) a universal principle like the *Subset Principle*, ruling the syntax/phonology interface (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994; Halle 1997).

The Counter-Levelling constraint will be suggested to trigger both syncretisms and synthetic clusters, preventing 1) the co-occurrence of identical personal clitics in the

same inventory (where identity can be due to paradigm levelling processes); 2) the co-occurrence of identical clitics in the same cluster.

The Subset Principle will be suggested to be responsible for the insertion of an innovative or opaque exponent instead of the etymological/transparent one. It states that

(4) the phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme <i.e. a terminal node of a syntactic tree> if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen. (Halle 1997: 428)

According to (4), a syncretic item can be represented as an exponent matching a subset of the features that characterize different morphemes, i.e. distinct syntactic functions. In section 3 I will suggest that syncretism can be historically due to paradigm levelling and counter-levelling processes. The former generate syncretism via homophony, while the latter are counter-reactions preventing the co-occurrence of homophonic personal pronouns in the same inventory. Moreover, the Subset Principle can account also for the syntax/phonology mismatches displayed by *synthetic* (or *opaque*) *clitic clusters*. They can indeed be due to the insertion of a potential candidate (i.e. an item matching a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme)

instead of the best candidate, i.e. the item matching the greatest number of features. Following Grimshaw (1997) a.o., in section 4 I will suggest that the insertion of the best candidate can be blocked when two identical exponents are clustered.

On the basis of the analyses sketched above, synthetic clusters would be accounted for by the same principles dealing also with syncretism. It entails that there would be a deep relation between the phenomena exemplified in (1)-(2) and (3) and, in conclusion, that *the opaque clitics inserted in synthetic clusters are also syncretic exponents*. Italian is consistent with this prediction because the clitic *ci* that is inserted in the opaque cluster in (3.d) is also a syncretic marker, as shown in (1). In this article I will test this prediction on the basis of the data shown by several Italian dialects. If the impressive variation displayed by the Italian dialects does not falsify this prediction, it will be a strong piece of evidence supporting the hypotheses sketched here.

The article is organized as following: in section 2 I will outline the theory of Distributed Morphology that is based on the Subset Principle; in section 3 I will sketch an analysis of the patterns of syncretism displayed by Italian dialects, in section 4 I will account for synthetic clusters suggesting that they undergo the same processes responsible for syncretism, causing the insertion of a *default* (or *elsewhere*) item; in section 5 I will discuss deeply the role of this sort of items. In section 7 I will evaluate the prediction that the default marker appearing in synthetic clusters is also a syncretic exponent on the basis of the analysis of several Italian dialects.

2. Distributed Morphology

The theory of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994) is based on three main assumptions:

1. Late Insertion: syntax operates on features, while phonological exponents are inserted in the terminal nodes of the syntactic structure between SS and PF;

2. Syntactic Structure all the way Down: features can be manipulated after syntax, but these post-syntactic operations must respect syntactic locality conditions. Post-syntactic operations are: fusion (i.e. features of different syntactic nodes are grouped into a single bundle (5.a)), fission (i.e. features of the same syntactic node are divided into distinct bundles (5.b)) and impoverishment (i.e. a feature is deleted (5.c)).

(5) a. [A][B] → [A,B] b. [A,B] → [A][B] c. [A,B] → [A]

3. Subset Principle: before PF, syntactic nodes – containing only syntactic features, cf. *Late Insertion* – are filled by Vocabulary Items that are *functions* like (6) relating a bundle of syntactic features (called *morpheme*, cf. (4)) with a phonological string (called *exponent*, cf. (4)). For instance, the item (6) is inserted in the D node forming the syntactic representation of a first person singular clitic in Italian according to the Subset Principle in (4). Indeed, on the basis of the Subset Principle, the item (6) can be inserted in a D node that is characterized at least by the features [+speaker, +participant] as show in the sentences (7.a) and (7.b).

(6) [+speaker, +participant] ↔ /mi/ (Italian)

(7) a. *Giorgio* ***mi*** *presenta Mario*.
Giorgio **1.SG.DAT** introduces Mario
'Giorgio introduces Mario to me'

b. *Giorgio* ***mi*** *presenta a Mario*.
Giorgio **1.SG.ACC** introduces to Mario
'Giorgio introduces me to Mario'

Since the inventory of Italian clitics does not display a 1st person clitic characterized also by case features, the Subset Principle allows the same item (6) to be inserted in both a dative (7.a) and an accusative morpheme (7.b), giving rise to a case of syncretism.

Finally, morphological inventories display evidence of items without specifications, that, on the basis of the Subset Principle, can be inserted everywhere more specific items cannot. These items are called *elsewhere* or *default items* and they are usually assumed in order to account for complex distributions of syncretic exponents. Elsewhere items will play a crucial role in the following discussion where their properties will be discussed more deeply.

3. Syncretism: Paradigm Levelling and Counter Levelling

Following Harris (1994) and Kayne (2000), I will suggest that clitics can be decomposed into a bi-morphemic structure of the CV type where C is an exponent marking features like [± speaker] and [±participant] and V is a thematic vowel. For instance, the paradigm of the Italian clitics – in table 1 – can be captured by a list of consonantal items like (8).

Table 1

Italian: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*ci*	*ti*	*vi*	*lo/la*	*li/le*
Indir. obj.					*gli(/λi/)/le*	
Reflexive					*si*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ci*					

(8)

	m-	↔	[+participant +speaker]
	t-	↔	[+participant –speaker]
	v-	↔	[+participant –speaker +pl]
	λ-	↔	[–participant] / [–f dative]
	ne	↔	[–participant] / [partitive]
	l-	↔	[–participant] / [±f; ±pl]
	s-	↔	[–participant]
	c-	↔	[elsewhere]

The distinctions among [-participant] clitics are accounted for through contextual restrictions: the *λ-* exponent (written *gl*) is inserted when the clitic is masculine and dative, *ne* when the clitic is partitive (namely, extracted from a quantified accusative DP), *l-* is inserted only before an agreement feature bundle ([±f]; [±pl]) while *s-* (used as reflexive/impersonal clitic) is a sort of bare third person exponent (cf. Reinhart & Reuland 1993 and Kayne 2000, a.o.). Agreement features are marked by thematic vowels via a system of redundancy rules, described in Harris (1991, 1994), that will not be discussed here. It is worth noting that the thematic vowels marking gender and number features of the 3rd person accusative clitics correspond to the endings of the Italian first and second nominal classes: *bell-o* [nice-M, SG] ~ *bell-i* [M, PL]; *bell-a* [F, SG] vs *bell-e* [F, PL]. When a clitic is not followed by any agreement features, a default thematic vowel *-i*[1] is automatically inserted. The default thematic vowel derives from the one labelling the Latin unmarked class (3rd class) and it is subject to linguistic variation: Italian dialects display indeed *i, e, ə, a* (see examples below). The analysis of Italian is finally represented in (9).

(9)

-o	↔	[–f –pl]	*-i*	↔	[–f +pl]
-a	↔	[+f –pl]	*-e*	↔	[+f]
-i	↔	[elsewhere]			

[1] This thematic vowel is lowered to /e/ before a clitic of the form *l*+V or *ne*.

In the languages displaying a *sigmatic* plural (e.g. Spanish and Sardinian), the thematic vowel can be followed by the *-s* plural exponent creating a more complex structure formed by the person marker, the thematic vowel and the plural exponent, e.g. *l-a-s* = 3.ACC.F.PL. Moreover, in the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona, Bonet (1991) notices an instance of case marker (*-i* = dative) following the plural marker *-s-*. Therefore, the complete potential structure of clitics is formed by a CVCV template representing person, gender, number and case exponents whose order can be derived – in my opinion – via head to head movement from a split-DP architecture.

A general point has to be made on the distribution of the Italian *c-* exponent that cannot be accounted for by any syntactic/semantic piece of evidence. It seems indeed impossible to pin down a subset of features capturing evenly its distinct syntactic functions, because the so called *locative* clitic is syncretic with the 1st personal plural pronoun and, moreover, resumes other non-locative adjuncts as comitative and instrumental PPs. Such a distribution – that is paradigmatic in the Romance domain – can be theoretically accounted for by a corollary of the Subset Principle - in (4) - suggesting that each morphological inventory bears a default (or elsewhere) item that can be inserted everywhere more specific items cannot. But, even if the distribution of *ci* can be accounted for by this formal device, provided by the theory of Distributed Morphology, the morphological status of *ci* remains unexplained, since the notion of *elsewhere* cannot shed light on the causes that have determined this kind of syncretism.

The development of syncretic patterns is usually accounted for through paradigm levelling processes (Kenstowicz 1995, Kiparsky 1997, Steriade 2000)[2]. For instance, the Latin 1st person plural pronoun *nos* has been levelled in accordance with the morphological structure discussed previously: while in the dialects that nowadays display a sigmatic plural it maintains the structure of the original Latin exponent (CV-*s*), while in the other dialects it has developed a bimorphemic CV structure, formed by a *n*- stem followed by a default thematic vowel[3]: the output of this process of analogy is the form *ni*/*ne* that is widely attested among the Romance paradigms. Veneto dialects, among others, show the *ne* form, that, in some cases, can undergo a further paradigm levelling change due to the co-occurrence of the 1st person singular pronoun *me* (< Lat. *me*) and the 1st person plural *ne* (< **no* < Lat. *nos*). Since these pronouns are morphologically consistent (i.e. they are both 1st person pronouns) and the distinction between the nasal stems /n/ and /m/ is perceptively low, a process of paradigm levelling can arise, causing the syncretism between these two forms. For instance, the variety spoken by the old speakers of the Carmignano di Brenta dialect marks the distinction between these pronouns (10), while the young speakers (Nicoletta Penello, p.c.) use an innovative syncretic exponent *me*, as shown in (11).

[2] Calabrese suggests a different approach based on a system of markedness restrictions constraining configurations of phi features. If a restriction is active in a language, the relevant morphological distinction is not present in the language, while if it is inactive, the distinction is present. Since these restrictions are organized hierarchically, the lower a restriction in the hierarchy, the more probable is that it is active across languages. Such a general approach is in principle compatible with the analysis discussed here.

[3] Rohlfs (1963) records also an (intermediate?) *no* form in some texts of the XIII century.

(10) a. *I* ***me*** *ga portà un libro* (Carmignano, conservative)

They **1.SG** AUX bring a book

'They brought me a book.'

b. *I* ***ne*** *ga portà un libro*

They **1.PL** AUX bring a book

'They brought us a book.'

(11) *I* ***me*** *ga portà un libro* (Carmignano, innovative)

They **1.SG/PL** AUX bring a book

'They brought me/us a book.'

Thus, the Carmignano pattern of syncretism in (11) resembles the one that is widely attested in the dialects of Lombardia, cf. Table 2.

Table 2

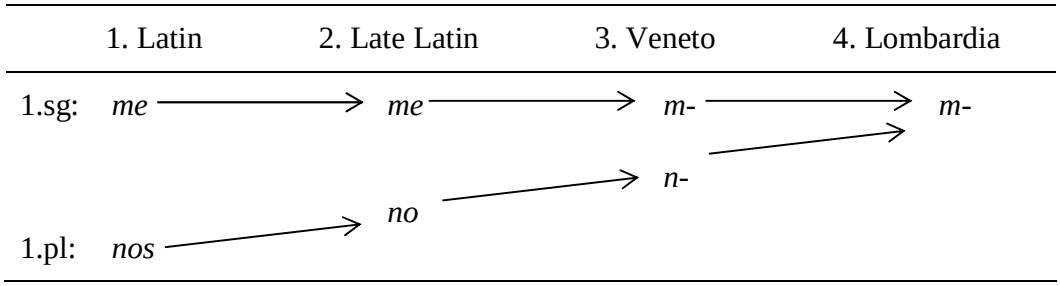
Bergamo dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. Obj.	*me*		*te*	*ve*	*lo/la*	*i*
Indir. Obj					*ghe*	
Reflexive	*se*					
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ghe*					

In conclusion, the 1st person syncretism can be accounted for through two cycles of paradigm levelling. The whole process is represented in Figure 1: stage 1 represents the classical Latin system; stage 2 is a hypothetical Late Latin stage (Rohlfs 1963 and footnote 3); then the clitic vocalism underwent a paradigm levelling process extending the default thematic vowel to all the clitics of the paradigm; finally, stage 4 is due to the same levelling process that can be seen in synchrony in the Carmignano dialect.

Figure 1

Development of the 1st person syncretism



Moreover, some dialects of the Lombardia type show a further change. For instance, Spiess (1975) analyzes the clitic system of the dialect of Collina d'Oro

(Switzerland: Ticino) that is originally characterized by the 1st singular~plural syncretism. But, the Collina d'Oro dialect shows in synchrony another change modifying the form of the 1st person plural clitic. Indeed the *ma* syncretic exponent, Table 3, has been partially replaced in the 70s with an innovative exponent *ga* deriving from the locative Latin particle *hic*, Table 4.

Table 3

Collina d'Oro (old speakers): paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*ma*		*ta*	*va*	*ra/la*	*i(a)*
Indir. obj.					*ga*	
Reflexive		*sa*			*sa*	
Partitive	*na*					
Locative	*ga*					

Table 4

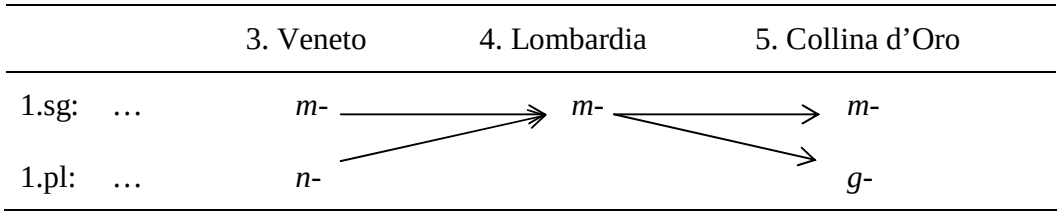
Collina d'Oro (young speakers): paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	Sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*ma*		*ta*	*va*	*ra/la*	*i(a)*
Indir. obj.		*ga*			*ga*	
Reflexive		*sa*			*sa*	
Partitive	*na*					
Locative	*ga*					

The paradigm in table 4 represents a new (and surprising) stage of the process in figure 1, that is partially re-written here in figure 2.

Figure 2

Evolution of the 1st person syncretism in the Collina d'Oro dialect

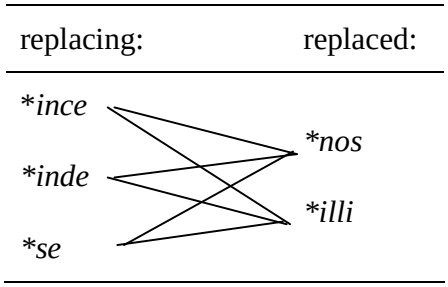


In the analysis above, the evolution from the Latin to the Lombardia-type stage (number 4) has been accounted for through a paradigm levelling evolution. But the Collina d'Oro change (stage 4 to 5) shows a pattern that is not consistent with paradigm levelling since there is no phonological, morphological or syntactic analogy accounting for the evolution from a personal pronoun to a locative particle like *ga*. This pattern of syncretism, that cannot be accounted for by Paradigm Levelling, is frequently attested in the Romance domain: for instance, in Standard Italian, see (1), the *ci* exponent derives from the Latin locative particle *ince* and nowadays it is both a locative and a 1st plural clitic like the *ga* exponent of the Collina d'Oro dialect. These cases of morphological substitutions, attested in standard Italian and in the Collina d'Oro dialect, are not isolated. Indeed, clitics deriving from Lat. *ince* have also replaced the third person dative clitic (< Lat. *illi*) in several Southern dialects (in Puglia, Calabria, Campania and Sicilia), while the Northern dialects have replaced **illi* with clitics deriving from the locative particle

hic. Moreover, *illi* has been replaced by forms like *nde* (< Lat. *inde*) in other Southern dialects and by the reflexive marker *se* in the dialects of Ardore and Bianco (Calabria, Rohlfs 1963: 156, footnote 1). *Se* is also used as the (reflexive) form of the first person plural pronoun (< Lat. *nos*) in many dialects of Central and Northern Italy (Roma, Northern Toscana, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto, Lombardia, see Benincà & Poletto 2003). Moreover, **nos* has been replaced by the locative *inde* in some dialects of Salento (Calabrese 1994, Loporcaro 1995, 2004) and Sicilia, while this substitution is not surely attested in Veneto, Emilia, Piemonte, Lombardia, Liguria, Umbria and Marche showing a syncretic form *ne* that can be derived either from the substitution with *inde* (*inde* > **nde* > **nne* > *ne*) or directly from the etymological form *nos* (*nos* > **no* > *ne*) as in Figure 1. These apparently chaotic patterns of substitution can be captured according to a simple scheme like the one below: **nos* and **illi* (on the right in the scheme) are the target of the syncretism, i.e. the exponents that are usually replaced, while the exponents on the left are the replacing items.

Figure 3

Patterns of substitution



In other words, the heterogeneous patterns of substitution displayed by Italian dialects can be accounted for assuming that **ince*, **inde* and **se* have replaced one or two targets (**nos* and **illi*), for instance, in the Bari paradigm *nğə* (< Lat. *ince*) has replaced *nos* (1.pl) and *illi* (third person dative):

Table 5

Bari dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*nğə*	*tə*	*və*	*u/la*	*lə*
Indir. obj.					*nğə*	
Reflexive					*sə*	
Partitive	*nnə*					
Locative	*nğə*					

In another dialect of Puglia, Gallipoli, the replacing item is *inde*, because the clitic *nde* is used in three different contexts: partitive (12.a), first person (12.b), instead of the Lat. *nos*, and third person dative (12.c), instead of the Lat. *illi*.

(12) a. ***Nd'*** *aggiu viste picca te case.* (Gallipoli)

PART have-1.SG seen few of houses

'I have seen few houses'

b. *Dite-**nde**-lu!*

Tell-**1.PL.DAT**-3.ACC.SG

'Tell it to us'

c. *Ti-**nde*** *cu* *telefona*.

Tell-**3.DAT** COMP phone-3.SG

'Tell him/her to phone'

In Catanzaro, two items (*nci* and *ndi*) have replaced two targets (both *nos* and *illi*):

Table 6

Catanzaro dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

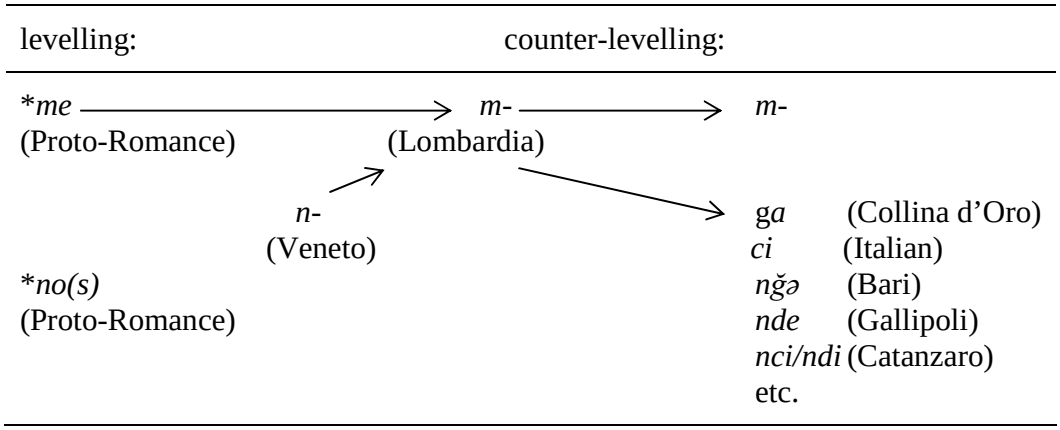
	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	Pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*(n)ci*	*ti*	*vi*	*(l)u/(l)a*	*i/li*
Indir. obj.		*ndi*			*(n)ci*	
Reflexive					*si*	
Partitive	*ndi/nda*					
Locative	*ci*					

In this article I will suggest that these substitutions are due to a *counter-levelling* change aiming at *preventing the co-occurrence of identical personal clitics in the same inventory*. These counter-levelling strategies operate therefore in the context where paradigm levelling processes usually create syncretic personal pronouns. The counter-levelling process determines indeed the substitution of a syncretic personal pronoun (that is the 1st plural or the 3rd dative exponent) with a non personal clitic like a clitic deriving

from a locative particle (Lat. *ince* or *inde*) or with a bare third person clitic like the reflexive exponent. This machinery can account for the frequent substitutions replacing the etymological form **nos* with another clitic that in the Collina d'Oro is *ga*, standard Italian is *ci*, cf. (1), *nğə* in Bari, (table 5), *nde* in Gallipoli, cf. (12.c), *nci/ndi* in Catanzaro (table 6), etc:

Figure 4

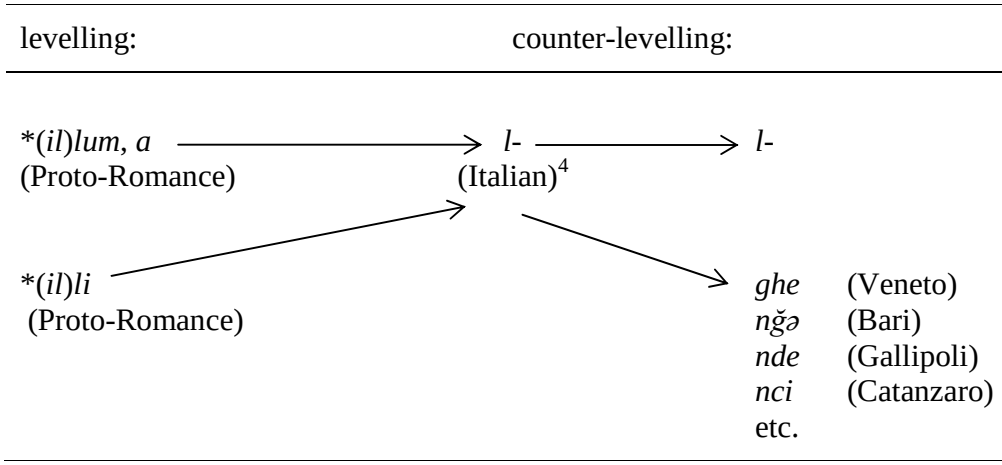
1st person clitics: levelling and counter-levelling processes



A similar counter-levelling change has probably been triggered by the levelling of third person dative (Lat. **illi*) and accusative pronouns (Lat **illum, am,*ecc.). According to my hypothesis, in a proto-Romance stage, both the accusative and the dative pronouns have been marked by a syncretic *l-* stem. In a following stage, the ambiguity due to this levelling has been repaired through the substitution of the etymological dative clitic (*l-*) with another item that is *nğə* in the Bari dialect, (table 5), *nde* in Gallipoli, cf. (12.c), *nci* in Catanzaro (table 6), *ghe* in the dialects of Veneto, etc.:

Figure 5

3rd person clitics: levelling and counter-levelling processes



In conclusion, the counter-levelling hypothesis can account for the patterns of substitution shown in figure 3 since it predicts that the replaced items (*nos* and *illi*) are the same personal pronouns that are subject to levelling processes like those represented in figures 4 and 5. Moreover, the counter-levelling hypothesis accounts for the form of the replacing items: they are indeed non personal pronouns (< Lat. *ince*, *inde*) or the bare 3rd person clitic. The substitution is consistent with the general framework discussed in section 2, and in particular with the Subset Principle allowing substitutions when an optimal candidate (e.g. *nos* and *illi*) is blocked by an independent reason, i.e. counter-levelling. Finally, the pattern of substitutions entails that *se*, *inde* and *ince* – figure 3 – are the less specific items in the inventories of Romance clitics, namely *elsewhere clitics*, cf. section 2. In the following sections I will refine this hypothesis on the basis of the

[4] Only the feminine dative clitic.

analysis of other phenomena displayed by the Romance clitic systems and I will return on the analysis of syncretism in section 7.

4. Synthetic Clusters: Linear Counter Levelling

This section deals with a phenomenon characterizing some irregular sequences of clitics. In order to account for them, I will suggest a model isomorphic to the one discussed above. Indeed, my hypothesis is that the same principles operating in diachrony on the paradigmatic distribution of clitics, operate in synchrony on their linear distribution triggering counter-levelling effects.

The objects of this section are synthetic clusters that are sequences of clitics displaying a mismatch between their morphological form and their syntactic functions (Bonet 1991, 1995; Harris 1994, 1997) as the one in (3.d) and (24.d).

(3) a. *I piatti* ***si*** *lavano spesso.* (Italian)
The dishes **IMP** wash often
'Dishes are often washed'

b. *Carlo* ***si*** *lava spesso.*
Carlo **REFL** washes often
'Carlo often washes'

c. **In estate* ***si*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*
In summer **REFL IMP** wash often
'In summer you often wash'

d. *In estate* ***ci*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*

In summer **REFL IMP** wash often

'In summer you often wash'

(13) a. *Juan* ***le*** *comprò un libro.* (Spanish)

Juan **3.DAT** bought a book

'Juan bought a book for him/her'

b. *Juan* ***lo*** *comprò.*

Juan **3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it'

c. **Juan* ***le*** ***lo*** *comprò.*

Juan **3.DAT 3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it for him/her'

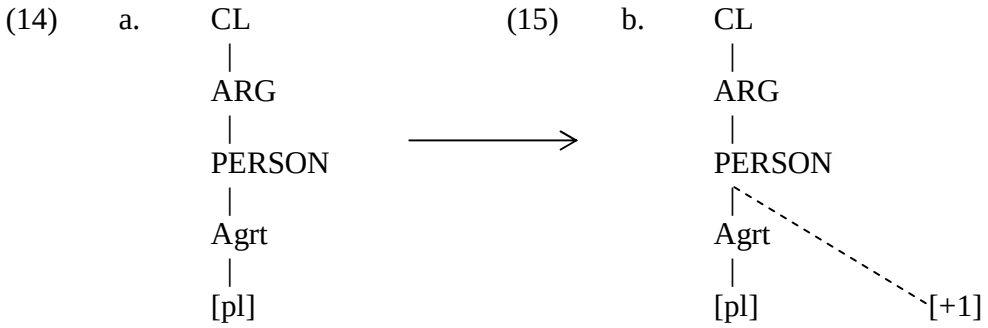
d. *Juan* ***se*** ***lo*** *comprò.*

Juan **3.DAT 3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it for him/her'

Bonet (1991, 1995) and Harris (1994, 1997) account for cases like (3.d) and (24.d) through post-syntactic operations modifying the output of syntax before PF. Bonet accounts for the cluster in (3.d) by a linking-type operation (15) transforming the feature

geometry of an impersonal[5] clitic (14) into the geometry corresponding to a first person plural item (*ci*) by the adjunction of the [+1] feature.



Harris (1994) analyzes the *spurious se* pattern in (13.d) postulating a post-syntactic operation like (16) deleting, namely *impoverishing*, cf. (5), the feature [dat]ive when co-occurs with the feature [acc]usative, like in the cluster (13.c).

(16) [dat]^[acc] (Harris 1994)
↓
ø

The impoverishment blocks the insertion of the *l-* marker – specified as a case exponent (Harris 1994: 333) – and allows the insertion of the *s-* clitic (13.d) that is a third person exponent that does not bear any case specification. In Pescarini (2005) I criticized

[5] Even though Bonet assumes that the *operated* clitic is the impersonal (that in Italian triggers plural agreement) the template describing the order of Italian clitics (i) suggests that the operated clitic should be the reflexive one, that precedes the impersonal.

(i) gli/le > mi > ti/vi > ci > **si (refl.)** > lo/la/li/le > **si (imp.)** > ne

this analysis because there is not evidence supporting the hypothesis that *l-* is a case marker: indeed *l-*, that derives from the Latin demonstrative *ille, illa, illud,* marks both the direct and indirect object pronouns and, in some Romance dialects, even the subject third person clitics[6]. Therefore, both the synchronic and the diachronic analysis do not support Harris' account based on impoverishment and case underspecification.

Secondly, and more generally, such an analysis cannot identify any general condition causing synthetic clusters, indeed they are due to independent and language specific operations like (15) or (16) applying directly to the output of Syntax. On the contrary, in the following discussion, I will suggest that the substitutions causing synthetic clusters are due to the same device responsible for syncretism, namely *counter-levelling*, that, in order to prevent the occurrence of identical items in the same cluster, causes the substitution of a clitic with an elsewhere pronoun. This device accounts both for the contexts where synthetic clusters can arise and for the replacing process. In my opinion, this two-steps account is superior to the one-step analysis suggested previously (Bonet 1991 and Harris 1994) based on post syntactic operations like (16) that are *ex post* assumptions unable to generate any prediction.

The hypothesis concerning a principle preventing the co-occurrence of identical exponents is partially consistent with Grimshaw (1997) and Yip (1998), among others, suggesting that synthetic clusters are mainly due to the *Obligatory Contour Principle* (OCP, Leben 1973, McCarthy 1986) disallowing the co-occurrence of identical

[6] In the Northern Italian dialects, Poletto (2000).

exponents[7]. But it is worth noting that the condition of phonological identity is not enough to replace a clitic: several Romance languages display indeed sentences where the reflexive clitic *si/se* – that cannot precede the homophonous impersonal marker – follows a homophonous complementizer *se*. Therefore, a principle operating on phonological strings like the OCP is not enough to trigger opaque clusters that, on the contrary, seem to be due to a morpho(phonological) restriction blocking the occurrence of two clitics (namely two Vocabulary Items) iff they are morpho-syntactically consistent, i.e. iff they share a meaningful set of syntactic features.

Secondly, Romance languages show two contexts triggering synthetic clusters where the clitics are not perfectly homophonous: these sequences represent a counter-example for both the OCP and the Counter Levelling hypotheses:

(17)	**le*	+	*lo*	→	*glielo*	(Italian)
	**le*	+	*lo*	→	*se lo*	(Spanish)
	**le*	+	*lo*	→	*nce lo*	(Napoli dialect, South Italy)
	**li*	+	*lo*	→	*ni lo*	(Grottaglie dialect, South Italy)
	3.DAT		3.ACC			

[7] The OCP is a markedness constraint, therefore it can be violated as shown by several Romance varieties displaying marked sequences of identical clitics. These clusters are not counter-examples, but just marked constructions that in other languages are blocked by the OCP. Indeed a markedness constraint does not predict which configurations *must* be ruled out, but which *can* be ruled out.

(18)	**le*	+	*ne*	→	*gliene*	(Italian)
	**ddi*	+	*ndi*	→	*si ndi*	(Sarroch dialect, Sardegna)
	**le*	+	*ne*	→	*nce ne*	(Napoli dialect, South Italy)
	**li*	+	*en*	→	*li*	(Barceloní, Catalan)
	3.DAT		PART.			

The clusters of the (17) type can be easily accounted for, on the basis of the decomposition suggested in section 3. Indeed, following Harris (1994) and Kayne (2000), the transparent (asterisked) clusters in (17) are characterized by the co-occurrence of two *l-* items because each clitic can be decomposed into a bi-morphemic structure formed by a 'stem' *l-* and a thematic vowel. Therefore, the co-occurrence of the *l-* exponent is enough to trigger a counter-levelling reaction causing the insertion of the allomorph *gl-* (Italian), the reflexive *s-* (Spanish), the locative *nc-* (Napoli) or the partitive *n-* (Grottaglie).

The cases in (18) are more complex than those in (17) because no morphological decomposition is enough to account for these opaque clusters. Indeed, even if these clitics share a meaningful set of syntactic and phonological features (a partitive clitic is a [-participant] pronoun – see the analysis in (8) – and they are both [+sonorant] segments), their exponents are not identical. At the moment, I can only suggest an extension of the

Counter Levelling constraint, in the form of the following empirical generalization[8], leaving open the problem of a sharp definition of the Counter Levelling constraint.

(19) if a Romance dialect shows synthetic clusters in the context 3.DAT + 3.ACC, it will show the same pattern also in the 3.DAT + PART context.[9]

This generalization is consistent with (i.e. it is in opposition to) patterns of levelling shown by several dialects, both of the linear – see (40) – and the paradigmatic type. Cases of the latter type are in Rohlfs (1963) and Loporcaro (1995) describing dialects where the dative *l*- became *n*- without any substitution.

In conclusion, clitic clusters seem to be constrained by a markedness principle like the Counter Levelling constraint, even if an extension is needed in order to account for the generalization (19). In my opinion, violations of this (extended) constraint will trigger the substitution of a clitic with another exponent thus causing a synthetic cluster. The process responsible for the substitution will be discussed in the following section.

[8] I am exploring the hypothesis that clitic clusters can be constrained by the some suprasegmental principles. In particular, the generalization in (19) seems compatible with the principle suggested by Harris (1983) dealing with Spanish complex onsets. He claims that onset clusters must increase in sonority by a distance of two - according to the sonority hierarchy – and, therefore, that sequences of sonorants (liquid + nasal) are disallowed. Further investigations are is in progress.

[9] It is worth noting that there are not opaque clusters in the dialect displaying the order partitive + 3.dative.

5. Counter Levelling: the Role of 'Elsewhere' Clitics

In the last section I have discussed the hypothesis that clitic clusters are triggered by a counter-levelling constraint preventing the insertion of similar vocabulary items in the same cluster. This hypothesis allows us to predict the contexts where synthetic clusters *can* arise, as described in section 4. The second step of the analysis of clitic clusters accounts for the substitution, i.e. how the blocked clitic is replaced by another exponent, e.g. *ci* in Italian (3) or *se* in Spanish (13). In this section I will show that if we postulate a machinery like the one in section 3, we will account for all the substitutions without any post-syntactic operations like those suggested by Bonet (1991, 1995) and Harris (1994, 1997). Indeed, the patterns of substitution can be captured by a single, universal principle like the Subset Principle, in (4), due to Halle & Marantz (1993). This principle predicts that, when two clitics violate the Counter-levelling constraint, one of them can be replaced by a less specific candidate, as shown in (20).

(20) *~~clitic A~~ + clitic A
↓
clitic B (iff B features are a subset of A features)

In particular, my hypothesis is that in each Romance dialect, a clitic can be replaced by an *elsewhere* clitic, i.e. a clitic without any feature representation, see section 2. On the basis of this characteristic, an elsewhere clitic can be inserted in any context where more specific items are blocked.

(21) *~~clitic~~ + clitic
↓
elsewhere

Moreover, the hypothesis in (21) can be supported by an independent piece of evidence: indeed, if the Subset Principle repairs a cluster like (21) by the insertion of an elsewhere, how does it operate in order to repair the co-occurrence of two elsewhere clitics? If we replaced an elsewhere with another clitic, we would violate the Subset Principle since, by definition, all the clitics that are not elsewhere are more specific than the elsewhere. Therefore, since in (22) we would insert an over-specified clitic violating the Subset Principle, a context like (22) can be repaired only through the deletion of a clitic, in (23).

(22) *~~elsewhere~~ + elsewhere
↓
*clitic

(23) *~~elsewhere~~ + elsewhere
↓
*~~clitic~~

Summing up, the Subset Principle states that an elsewhere clitic a) replaces other clitics, (21); b) cannot be replaced by other clitics (22); c) is deleted, when it violates the counter-levelling constraint (23). This condition is an interesting entailment allowing us to set up a diagnostic test detecting the elsewhere clitic in each dialect. Italian is consistent with this test, indeed *si* is substituted by *ci* when it co-occurs with another *si* – as in (3) – but when two *ci* co-occur, one of them has to be deleted, as shown in (24.a) vs (24.b).

(3) a. *I piatti* ***si*** *lavano spesso.*

The dishes **IMP** wash often

'Dishes are often washed'

b. *Carlo* ***si*** *lava spesso.*

Carlo **REFL** washes often

'Carlo often washes'

c. **In estate* ***si*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*

In summer **REFL IMP** wash often

'In summer you often wash'

d. *In estate* ***ci*** ***si*** *lava spesso.*

In summer **REFL IMP** wash often

'In summer you often wash'

(24) a. **A Roma* ***ci*** ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

To Rome$_i$ **1.ACC.PL** **LOC$_i$** brings Micol

'Micol brings us to Rome'.

b. *A Roma* ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

To Rome$_i$ **1.ACC.PL** brings Micol

'Micol brings us to Rome'.

The examples in (25) show that the locative + accusative cluster is not ruled out in principle (for example by a filter constraining bundles of syntactic features), but it is

blocked only in the case (24.a) where the same item *ci* has to be repeated in the same cluster.

(25) a. *A Roma* ***mi*** ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

b. *A Roma* ***ti*** ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

c. **A Roma* ***ci*** ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

d. *A Roma* ***vi*** ***ci*** *porta Micol.*

To Rome$_i$ **1/2.ACC.SG/PL** **LOC$_i$** brings Micol

'Micol brings me/you/*us to Rome'.

Also Spanish is consistent with the elsewhere hypothesis. Indeed the dative *le*(*s*) is replaced by the reflexive clitic *se* before a third person object clitic – the spurious *se* pattern in (13) –, but when two *se* – a reflexive and an impersonal one – are clustered (26.a), one of them has to be deleted. Finally, the whole cluster results ungrammatical (26.b) because this repair would delete an argumental clitic[10].

(13) a. *Juan* ***le*** *compró un libro.* (Spanish)

Juan **3.DAT** bought a book

'Juan bought a book for him/her'

b. *Juan* ***lo*** *compró.*

[10] In many languages the deletion of an argumental clitic results ungrammatical, while the deletion of a locative or ablative clitic is always unproblematic, see the Catalan and Italian cases.

Juan **3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it'

c. *Juan ***le*** ***lo*** comprò.

Juan **3.DAT 3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it for him/her'

d. Juan ***se*** ***lo*** comprò.

Juan **3.DAT 3.ACC** bought

'Juan bought it for him/her'

(26) a. **Cuando se come, **se*** ***se*** *lava las manos antes.*

When IMP eat, **REFL IMP** wash the hands before

'You(imp.) have to wash your hands before eating'

b. **Cuando se come,* ***se*** ~~***se***~~ *lava las manos antes.*

When IMP eat, **REFL** ~~**IMP**~~ wash the hands before

'You(imp.) have to wash your hands before eating'

It is worth noting that Spanish cannot repair the cluster in (26) by substitution because it does not display any non-personal clitic less specific than *se*, while in Italian the same sequence can be repaired by the insertion of the elsewhere clitic *ci*.

Finally, many clusters of Barceloní – the Catalan dialect spoken in Barcelona (Bonet 1991, 1995) – can be accounted for suggesting that the locative /i/ (*hi*) is the default exponent, since it replaces the /n/ (*en*) item (partitive and/or ablative) when it

violates the Counter-levelling constraint– as shown in (27) and (28) respectively – and, at the same time, two occurrences of /i/ are ruled out. Indeed, according to Bonet (1991) the dative clitic *li* – in (29.a) – can be decomposed into a third person exponent *l-* plus an oblique marker *-i* that is syncretic with the locative clitic *hi* (pronounced /i/).

(27) a. *El jersei,* ***el*** *trauré de l'armari després.*
The sweater, **3.ACC** take-1.SG.FUT from the closet later

b. *De l'armari,* ***en*** */n/ trauré el jersei després.*
From the closet **ABL** take-1.SG.FUT the sweater later

c. **El jersei, de l'armari* ***l'*** ***en*** *trauré després.*
The sweater, from the closet, **3.ACC ABL** take-1.SG.FUT later

d. *El jersei, de l'armari* ***l*** ***i*** *trauré després.*
The sweater, from the closet, **3.ACC els.** take-1.SG.FUT later
'I will take the sweater from the closet later'

(28) a. *Del cine,* ***en*** *van sortir tres nens.*
From-the cinema, **ABL** came-out-3.PL three children

b. *De nens,* ***en*** *van sortir tres del cine.*
Of children, **PART** came-out-3.PL three from-the cinema

c. **Del cine, de nens* ***n'*** ***en*** *van sortir tres.*
From the cinema, of children **PART ABL** came-out-3.PL three

d. *Del cine, de nens* ***n*** ***i*** *van sortir tres.*

From the cinema, of children **PART els.** came-out-3.PL three

'three children came out from the cinema'

(29) a. *A Montserrat,* ***hi /i/*** *faré un regal a la Gemma*.

In Montserrat, **LOC** give-1.SG.FUT a present to the Gemma

b. *A la Gemma,* ***li*** *faré un regal a Montserrat*.

To the Gemma, **3.DAT** give-1.SG.FUT a present in Montserrat

c. **A la Gemma, A Montserrat,* ***li hi*** *faré un regal*.

To the Gemma, in M., **3.DAT LOC** give-1.SG.FUT a present

d. *A la Gemma, A Montserrat,* ***li*** *faré un regal*.

To the Gemma, in M., **3.DAT ~~LOC~~** give-1.SG.FUT a present

'In Montserrat I will give a present to Gemma'

In conclusion, the correlation between the patterns of substitution and the test illustrated above shows that *se*, *i* and *ci* are the (potential) elsewhere of Spanish, Barceloní and Italian respectively. Moreover, Italian shows another piece of evidence supporting the elsewhere hypothesis because *ci* is the only syncretic item in its paradigm.

5.1. A note on Italian

Italian shows a palatalized allomorph of the pan-Romance third person exponent (*gl-* /ʎ/ vs *l-*) that is usually inserted when the dative clitic is masculine. Therefore, when the indirect object is feminine (30.a) the clitic is formed by the unmarked [-participant]

marker *l-*, while, when it is masculine, the palatalized item is inserted (30.b).

(30) a. (*Alla mamma*) ***le*** *presto un libro.*
(To-the mum$_i$) **3.DAT.F$_i$** bring-1.SG a book
'I lend a book to mum'

b. (*Al papà*) ***gli*** *presto un libro.*
(To-the dad$_i$) **3.DAT.M$_i$** bring-1.SG a book
'I lend a book to dad'

Therefore, both the direct and indirect feminine clitics display a syncretic stem (*l-*) that will be blocked when they co-occur (31.a) or when the dative precedes the partitive clitic (31.b), in accordance with the generalization (19). In these cases, the feminine dative is obligatorily marked by the masculine item *gli,* even if the indirect object is feminine.

(31) a. (*A Maria, un libro*) (* ***le***) ***glie*** /λe/ ***lo*** *presto.*
(To Mary$_i$, a book) **3.DAT.F$_i$ 3.ACC.M** lend-1.SG
'I lend it to her'

b. (*A Maria, di libri*) (****le***) ***glie*** /λe/ ***ne*** *presto tre.*
(To Mary$_i$, of books) **3.DAT.F$_i$ PART** lend -1.SG three
'I lend it three of them to her'

The sentences in (32) are counter-examples contradicting the hypothesis discussed in the last section, according to which the syncretic clitic *ci* is the Italian elsewhere. Indeed, on the basis of the scheme (21), the clitic *le* in (31) should be replaced by the elsewhere *ci* – vs the allomorph *gli* – giving rise to the clusters in (32).

(32) a. *(*A Maria, un libro*) ***ce*** ***lo*** *presto*.
(To Mary$_i$, a book) **elsewhere$_i$ 3.ACC.M** lend -1.SG
'I lend it to her'

b. *(*A Maria, di libri*) ***ce*** ***ne*** *presto* *tre*.
(To Mary$_i$, of books) **elsewhere$_i$** **PART** lend -1.SG three
'I lend three of them to her'

Clusters like (32) are actually attested in a substandard register, but they are banned in Standard Italian whose pattern is problematic because the masculine item *gli* is over-specified, see the inventory in (8). In partial accordance with Calabrese (2003), this case can be accounted for suggesting that languages, in order to repair marked constructions[11], allow feature changes switching a feature from the marked value to the unmarked one, e.g. f > m vs *m>f. These exceptional processes – that are not part of the standard inventory of post-syntactic operations and represent a challenge for Distributed Morphology – are supposed to operate in order to reduce the syntax/phonology mismatch due to the insertion of an elsewhere exponent.

[11] See also Noyer (1998) and Calabrese (2003).

6. Intermediate Summary

In the previous sections I have discussed two independent phenomena, namely syncretisms and synthetic clusters, that can be accounted for by the same theoretical machinery:

1. a Counter-Levelling Constraint, preventing the co-occurrence of similar items in the same inventory (namely, *paradigm counter-levelling*, section 3) or in the same cluster (namely *linear counter-levelling*, section 4);
2. the Subset Principle (section 2) allowing a clitic to be replaced by an elsewhere item in order to avoid violations of the counter-levelling constraint (both of the paradigmatic and linear versions). Moreover, the Subset Principle entails that an elsewhere clitic is deleted when it violates the constraint in 1, as shown in section 5.

These isomorphic analyses would entail a high level of correlation between these distinct phenomena and, in conclusion, the results of the previous analyses could be grouped under a single prediction: in each Romance language there is a *default* (or *elsewhere*) clitic that

a. replaces the clitic of a cluster that violates the Counter-Levelling Constraint;

b. is deleted when it violates the Counter-Levelling Constraint;

c. is a syncretic exponent.

In the next section I will test this prediction on the basis of the data due to some Italian dialects. If the impressive variation displayed by Italian dialects does not falsify

this prediction, it will be a strong piece of evidence supporting the analyses based on principles 1 and 2.

7. Data

7.1. Dialects displaying an elsewhere deriving from Lat. *ince/hic*

The Vailate dialect (spoken in the province of Cremona, North Italy) shows a clear case of syncretism since the clitic *ga* – that derives from the Latin locative particle *hic* – is used as locative, 1st person plural and 3rd person dative:

Table 7

Vailate dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

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

In this dialect a reflexive + impersonal cluster is realized as *ga sa* (33.a) where the reflexive clitic is marked by an unexpected *ga* exponent as in the Italian example in (3). At the same time two *ga* cannot co-occur (33.b) as in the Italian example in (24), therefore I conclude that in the Vailate dialect *ga* is the elsewhere Vocabulary Item.

(33) a. *sa* + *sa* → *ga sa* (**sa sa*)
REFL IMP

b. *ga* + *ga* → *ga* (**ga ga*)
LOC 1.PL

In some dialects of Northern Puglia and Molise (especially in the Campobasso province, see Rohlfs 1968: 185-186) like Poggio Imperiale, S. Paolo di Civitate, Pàstena, Monteroduni (data from Manzini & Savoia 2005: 135-138) the elsewhere *ce* (< Lat. *ince*) is even more pervasive than in the dialect above. Indeed it is used as impersonal, locative, 4th person object, 3rd and 4th person reflexive, but not as third person dative[12].

Table 8

Poggio imperiale: paradigm of clitic pronouns (from Manzini & Savoia 2005)

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*cə*	*tə*		*u, a*	
Indir. obj.					*i*	
Reflexive				*cə*	*cə*	
Partitive	*nə*					
Locative	*cə*					

[12] The paradigm is not complete because it is based on sets of examples from Manzini & Savoia (2005: 135)

But, when the 3rd person dative *i* co-occurs with the 3rd person accusative clitic, it is replaced by the elsewhere clitic *cə*:

(34) **i u da → cə u da*

3.DAT 3.ACC give.3.SG

The Napoli paradigm shows the same pattern of syncretism of Italian, but the Neapolitan synthetic clusters in (35) differ from those displayed by Standard Italian and discussed in section 5.1:

Table 9

Napoli dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*me*	*ce*	*te*	*ve*	*^{l}o – ^{l}a*	*^{l}e*
Indir. obj.					*le – la*	*le - loro*
Reflexive					*se*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ce*					

(35) a. *le* + *^{l}o* → (*n*)*ce lo* (**le^{l}o*)

3.DAT 3.ACC

b. *le* + *ne* → (*n*)*ce ne* (**lene*)

3.DAT PART

c. *se* + *se* → (*n*)*ce se* (**sese*)
REFL IMP

Indeed, Napoli replaces the *le* exponent with the elsewhere (*ce*) following the repairing strategy in (21), while Standard Italian replaces it with the third person allomorph *gli*, as shown in (31). This asymmetry can be accounted for since the Napoli dialect does not present any third person allomorph and therefore it must exploit its elsewhere in order to avoid identity.

Finally, in the Napoli dialect a cluster formed by a locative and a personal *ce* is not allowed, as shown in (36): therefore, even in Napoli, pieces of evidence from the paradigm and the clusters converge on the same clitic *ce*.

(36) *ce* + *ce* → *ce* (**cece*)
LOC 1.PL

The next dialect shows two syncretic clitics in its paradigms (namely two potential elsewhere items). Therefore, even if a clear prediction about the elsewhere cannot be made, it allows us to exclude the non syncretic item among **inde*, **ince* and **se*. Indeed, in the Arce dialect the reflexive exponent is not syncretic and, therefore, the possibility that it will be inserted in synthetic clusters can be excluded. The contrary would be a strong counter-example falsifying my predictions.

Table 10

Arce dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	Pl
Dir. obj.		*ne*			*glie/la*	*glie/le*
Indir. obj.	*me*	*ci*	*te*	*ve*	*glie*	
Reflexive					*se*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ce*					

Consistently with my prediction, the Arce dialect does not show clitic clusters where an unexpected reflexive marker is inserted, therefore there is a correlation between the clitic appearing in the clusters and one of the two candidates indicated by the paradigm (*ci* and *ne*).

(37) a. *glie* + *glie* → *ce glie* (**glieglie*)
3.DAT 3.ACC

b. *glie* + *ne* → *ce ne* (**gliene*)
3.DAT PART

Since also in the Arce dialect two clitics *ce* cannot co-occur, I conclude that the data are consistent and that the elsewhere is again the locative *ce*.

A slightly different pattern of syncretism is displayed by some dialects of Abruzzi and Molise that show frequent cases of synthetic clusters of the type represented above,

even if their paradigms display two syncretic exponents: *cə* (< Lat *ince*) and *zə* (< Lat. *se*). In the Guardiaregia and Miranda dialects (Manzini & Savoia 2005: 141) *cə* is a 1st person plural and locative clitic (as in the standard Italian paradigm), while in the dialects of Vastogirardi and Roccasicura its distribution is more narrow – see the paradigm in table 12 – because it is a 1st person plural (non reflexive) and locative exponent. However, in both these dialects, *cə* replaces the 3rd person dative that in isolation is marked by the form *rə*.

Table 11

Roccasicura dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*cə*	*tə*	*və*	*rə*	
Indir. obj.					*rə*	
Reflexive		*zə*			*zə*	
Partitive	*nə*					
Locative	*cə*					

(38) *rə* + *rə* → *cə rə* (**re re*)

3.DAT 3.ACC

7.2. Dialects displaying an elsewhere deriving from Lat. *sibi*

The dialect I will analyse here is characterized by a single syncretic exponent: therefore, the analysis of the paradigm allows us to detect immediately the potential elsewhere.

Indeed, the paradigm of the dialect spoken in Sarroch (province of Cagliari, Sardinia) shows a syncretic clitic deriving from the Latin reflexive pronoun *se* which is used as third person reflexive and first and second person plural object.

Table 12

Sarroch dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*si*	*ti*	*si*	*ddu/dda*	*ddus/ddas*
Indir. obj.					*ddi*	
Reflexive					*si*	
Partitive	*Ndi*					
Locative	*(n)ci*					

This pattern of syncretism correlates with the synthetic clusters below:

(39) a. *ddi* + *ddu* → *si ddu* (**ddi ddu*)
3.DAT 3.ACC

b. *ddi* + *ndi* → *si ndi* (**ddi ndi*)
3.DAT PART

c. *si* + *si* → * (**si si*)
1/2.PL REFL

In the dialect of Sarroch the transparent form of these clusters would be *ddi ddu* and *ddi ndi*, but – as in Spanish – the dative clitic is replaced by the reflexive one. At the same time the co-occurrence of two *si* markers is ruled out as predicted by my hypothesis, in section 5. Indeed, the translation of an Italian sentence with a reflexive *si* and an indirect object *si* is impossible. Therefore, consistent pieces of evidence from the paradigm in table 12, the synthetic clusters (39.a/b) and the test (39.c) indicate that *si* is the elsewhere clitic of the Sarroch inventory.

7.3. Dialects displaying an elsewhere deriving from Lat. *inde*

The existence of dialects displaying an elsewhere item deriving from Lat. *inde* is really unexpected. Indeed, the substitution of a dative clitic of the form *l*+V with a *n*+V item can be due to paradigm levelling (see section 4). For example, in some Tuscan dialects, the dative *le* becomes *ne* before the partitive clitic *ne*.

(40)	*le*	+	*ne*	→	*nene*	(**lene*)
	3.DAT		PART.			

This pattern is not due to the contextual substitution of a clitic, but to the spreading of the nasal feature in a context of linear levelling. However, some Southern dialects display cases of synthetic clusters in the usual context 3.dative + 3.accusative where the dative clitic is replaced by the *ne* exponent that is a syncretic clitic realizing

both the partitive and the 1st plural pronoun, see, for example, the paradigm of Rocca Imperiale (from Manzini & Savoia 2005: 291).

Table 13

Rocca Imperiale dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns (Manzini & Savoia 2005)

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	mə	nə	tə	və	u/a	i
Indir. obj.					i	
Reflexive		sə			sə	
Partitive				nə		
Locative				tʃə		

Third person clitics are realized by a single vowel, but, when clustered, the dative exponent *i* is replaced by the partitive *n-* (< Lat. *inde*):

(41) *i* + *i* → *ni* (**ii*)
3.DAT 3.ACC.PL

Moreover, it is worth noting that a sequence formed by the 1.pl and the partitive clitic is not realized by a sequence of two *nə*, but with a single exponent:

(42) *mə nə* ; *tə nə* ; *və nə* ; (**nə*) *nə*
1.SG+PART 2.SG+PART 2.PL+PART 1.PL+PART

Also several dialects of Puglia, Calabria and Sicilia show pieces of evidence of a partitive elsewhere (< Lat. *inde*), for instance in Castrovillari - (43) - and in the Spinazzola and Grottaglie dialects (Melillo 1981)

(43) *li* + *lu* → *ni lu* (**li lu*) (Loporcaro 1995)
3.DAT 3.ACC

8. Conclusions

In this article I have explored the correlation between syncretism and synthetic clusters in the clitic systems of some Romance dialects. The data show that apparently irregular patterns can be accounted for by the hypothesis that a single elsewhere (or default) item replaces other clitics when their insertion is blocked by independent markedness constraints. In particular, synthetic clusters are suggested to be due to a principle that constraints the linearization of clitic items and, finally, disallows the co-occurrence of similar items in the same cluster. When the insertion of a specific item is blocked in order to avoid this constraint, the Subset Principle in (4) rules the insertion of a default item instead of the blocked clitic.

The same analysis can account for syncretisms too: indeed, a markedness principle seems to constrain clitic inventories displaying identical personal pronouns. When a process of paradigm levelling gives rise to an inventory bearing two homophonic

personal pronouns, one of them is replaced – via the Subset Principle – by a default marker.

In conclusion, the analysis of syncretism patterns goes along with that of clusters, leading to the same conclusion that both phenomena are due to the insertion of an elsewhere item. Therefore, the previous analyses (and the principles on which they are based on) can be verified if in each Romance dialect the clitic inserted in synthetic clusters is also a syncretic item. Italian dialects confirm this prediction and, finally, provide a strong piece of evidence supporting the Counter-levelling hypothesis and the Subset Principle (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994; Halle 1997).

It is worth noting that I have not provided here any suggestion accounting for the target of the substitution, i.e. why in a cluster formed by two clitics, the replaced clitic is systematically the one on the left. According to the theory of Distributed Morphology, only a deduction can be derived. Indeed, since a clitic is replaced when another identical item has already been inserted, it means that the right clitic is inserted before the left one. Therefore, since Vocabulary Insertion proceeds outward following the syntactic structure (Bobaljik 2000), it entails that the replaced clitic is higher than the transparent one. If this asymmetry will be confirmed by independent pieces of evidence, it will be a strong point in favour of the model of vocabulary insertion suggested by Bobaljik (2000).

Two issues are still open. Firstly, the Italian substitution *l*- → *λ*- / _ *l*-,*n*-, discussed in section 5.1, seems a violation of the Subset Principle because, on the basis of its distribution, the item *λ*- is likely more marked than the standard *l*- root. This violation can be accounted for neither by a post-syntactic rule of impoverishment nor by the

machinery suggested here. Analogous cases are discussed in Noyer (1998) and Calabrese (2003).

Secondly, I have not accounted for the generalization (19), extending the counter levelling constraint to the 3.dative + partitive clusters even if they are not formed by identical clitics. The empirical picture described at the end of section 4 is quite straightforward, but, on the basis of the data discussed here, a sharp definition of the constraint cannot be settled now.

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Diego Pescarini

Via G. della Casa, 1

37122 Verona – Italy

diego.pescarini@gmail.com

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Italian: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*ci*	*ti*	*vi*	*lo/la*	*li/le*
Indir. obj.					*gli(/λi/)/le*	
Reflexive					*si*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ci*					

Table 2: Bergamo dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. Obj.	*me*		*te*	*ve*	*lo/la*	*i*
Indir. Obj					*ghe*	
Reflexive	*se*					
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ghe*					

Table 3: Collina d'Oro (old speakers): paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*ma*		*ta*	*va*	*ra/la*	*i(a)*
Indir. obj.					*ga*	
Reflexive		*sa*			*sa*	
Partitive	*na*					
Locative	*ga*					

Table 4: Collina d'Oro (young speakers): paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	Sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*ma*		*ta*	*va*	*ra/la*	*i(a)*
Indir. obj.		*ga*			*ga*	
Reflexive		*sa*			*sa*	
Partitive	*na*					
Locative	*ga*					

Table 5: Bari dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*nğə*	*tə*	*və*	*u/la*	*lə*
Indir. obj.					*nğə*	
Reflexive					*sə*	
Partitive	*nnə*					
Locative	*nğə*					

Table 6: Catanzaro dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	Pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*(n)ci*	*ti*	*vi*	*(l)u/(l)a*	*i/li*
Indir. obj.		*ndi*			*(n)ci*	
Reflexive					*si*	
Partitive	*ndi/nda*					
Locative	*ci*					

Table 7: Vailate dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	Sg	pl
Dir. obj.	ma	ga	ta	va	al/la	i /le
Indir. obj.					ga	
Reflexive		sa			sa	
Partitive	na					
Locative	ga					

Table 8: Poggio imperiale: paradigm of clitic

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*cə*	*tə*		*u, a*	
Indir. obj.					*i*	
Reflexive				*cə*	*cə*	
Partitive	*nə*					
Locative	*cə*					

Table 9: Napoli dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*me*	*ce*	*te*	*ve*	*^{l}o – ^{l}a*	*^{l}e*
Indir. obj.					*le – la*	*le - loro*
Reflexive					*se*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ce*					

Table 10: Arce dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	Pl
Dir. obj.	*me*	*ne*	*te*	*ve*	*glie/la*	*glie/le*
Indir. obj.		*ci*			*glie*	
Reflexive					*se*	
Partitive	*ne*					
Locative	*ce*					

Table 11: Roccasicura dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mə*	*cə*	*tə*	*və*	*rə*	
Indir. obj.					*rə*	
Reflexive		*zə*			*zə*	
Partitive	*nə*					
Locative	*cə*					

Table 12: Sarroch dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	*mi*	*si*	*ti*	*si*	*ddu/dda*	*ddus/ddas*
Indir. obj.					*ddi*	
Reflexive					*Si*	
Partitive	*Ndi*					
Locative	*(n)ci*					

Table 13: Rocca Imperiale dialect: paradigm of clitic pronouns

	1		2		3	
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl
Dir. obj.	mə	nə	tə	və	u/a	i
Indir. obj.					i	
Reflexive		sə			sə	
Partitive	nə					
Locative	tʃə					

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Figure 1: Development of the 1st person syncretism

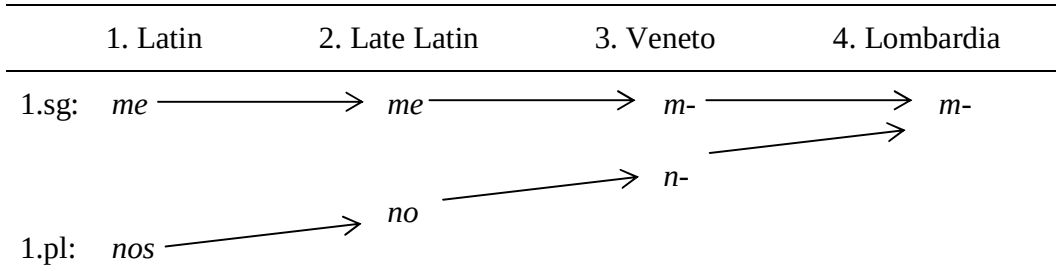


Figure 2: Evolution of the 1st person syncretism in the Collina d'Oro dialect

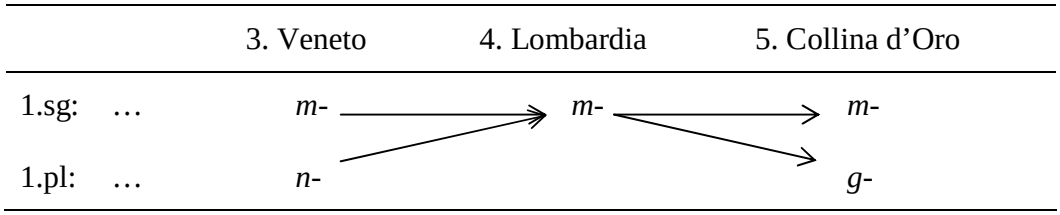


Figure 3: Patterns of substitution

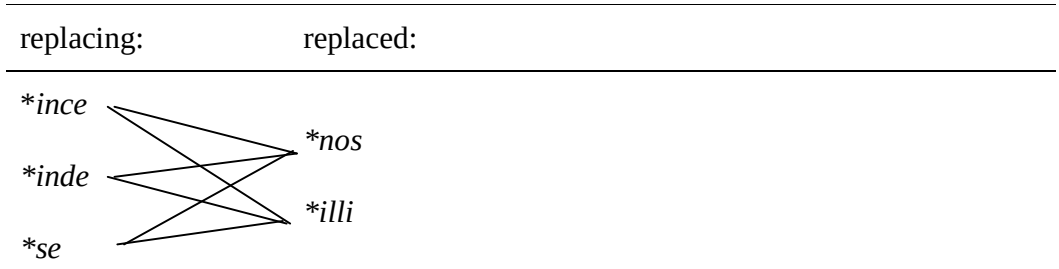


Figure 4: 1st person clitics: levelling and counter-levelling processes

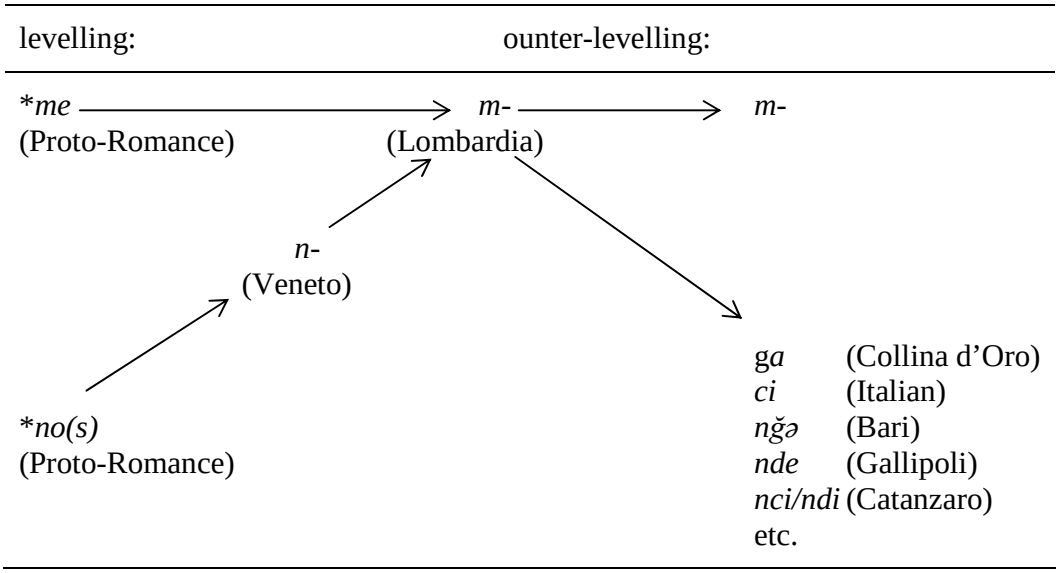
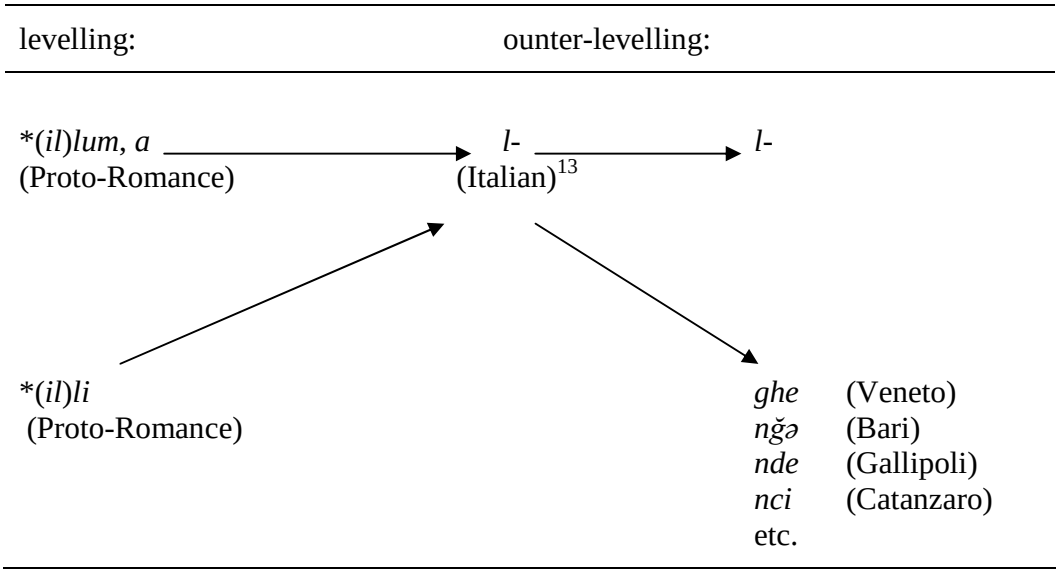


Figure 5: 3rd person clitics: levelling and counter-levelling processes



[13] Only the feminine dative clitic.