Enclisis/proclis alternations in Romance: allomorphies and (re)ordering

Abstract. Romance clitics appear to the left of the verb in I and to the right of the verb in C. This preverbal/postverbal alternation correlates with (a) allomorphy, specifically *l-* vs. zero (b) stress shifts and (c) internal reordering of the clitic string. In fact, to the extent that modal properties can be associated with negation, the alternations in (a)-(c) are observed between pre-Neg and post-Neg position. In a nutshell, clitic allomorphy and clitic reordering, far from being morphophonological quirks, are seen to externalize syntactico-semantic notions of modality. In dealing with clitic (re)ordering we will further avoid pre-encoding of clitic hierarchies, in favour of a model based on the dissociation between Merge and linear order. In this perspective, phrasal constituents are ordered to the right of the verb in Romance; clitics mirror them in that they are ordered to the left, while keeping the Merge relations constant.

Keywords: clitics, allomorphy, linearization, enclisis, modality, negation

1. Basic evidence and current accounts.

Kayne (1991) proposes that proclisis on the finite verb in Romance, e.g. in Italian (1a), depends on the I position of the verb; enclisis on the infinitive, as in (1b), depends on the verb moving to C, while the clitic maintains the same position as in (1a). Using enclisis-proclisis alternations as a diagnostics for verb movement, imperatives is also positioned in C in Romance (Rivero 1994), as in (1c).

(1) a. Lo mangio
it I.eat
'I eat it'

b. Voglio mangiarlo
I.want eat-it
'I want to eat it'

c. Mangialo
eat-it
'Eat it!'

In many Romance varieties, the preverbal and postverbal positions of clitics correlate with a number of morphophonological and order alternations. There are three main such alternations, namely (a) segmental allomorphies, (b) stress shifts, and (c) internal reordering of the clitic string. It is generally accepted that allomorphies can be conditioned by phonology; in this article, we will argue that allomorphy may be equally determined by syntactico-semantic conditions. Seen from a more general perspective, allomorphy is not a mere quirk of the Sensory-Motor (SM) interface, expressing only its vagaries, but concurs to the externalization of Conceptual-Interntional (CI) content. In other words, morphological mechanisms generally thought of as internal to the SM system read the CI interface and its structuring by syntax.

In this section, besides presenting the main phenomena as seen in Italo-Romance and neighbouring (Occitan) varieties, we will argue that existing treatments are only partially adequate, opening the way to the search for alternative accounts. In each subsection we present first the main data and empirical generalizations, then we go on to possible approaches to them and further empirical refinements.

1.1 l- *allomorphy*

In the Corsican variety in (2), vocalic 3rd person proclitics in declarative sentences, as in (2a), alternate with syllabic enclitics in imperative sentences, as in (2b)[1].

(2) a. **u/a/i** ˈcammani
him/her/them they.call
'They call him/her/them'

b. ˈcamma- **lu/la/li**
call- him/her/them
'Call him/her/them!' *Zonza* (Corsica)

A similar alternation is found with subject clitics in the Northern Italian (Piedmont) dialect in (3), where vocalic forms in proclisis (declaratives) in (3a) alternate with syllabic forms in enclisis (interrogatives) in (3b).

[1] We use a broad transcription for the dialectal data. Word stress is indicated only when it occurs on the antepenultimate syllable or on the last syllable of polysyllabic words. For the sake of clarity we indicate stress also in cases where it is realized by enclitics.

(3) a. **u/a** drømɑ
he/she sleeps
'S/he sleeps'

b. **u/a** drøm- **lu/lɑ**
he/she sleeps- he/she
'Does s/he sleep?' *Montaldo* (Piedmont)

Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008) consider subject clitics allomorphies in other varieties. For them, there is a single lexical series corresponding to both proclitics and enclitics. Surface alternations depend on one of two possibilities. First, the alternation may be phonological. Though this may be correct in other cases, it cannot be for the alternations in (3). In (3b) substituting the syllabic clitic with a vocalic one yields a final CV syllable, which is of course allowed by the phonology of the language. Vice versa there is no prosodic or segmental reason why the proclitic couldn't take a CV syllabic form. The data in (2) further strengthen this conclusion. It is difficult to think of a phonological condition (in an Italian-like variety) which would prevent the syllabic allomorph from being inserted in (2a). Indeed Ordóñez and Repetti (2014) agree that allomorphies are involved. A second possibility is considered by Cardinaletti and Repetti in relation to Paduan proclitic *a* (Benincà 1983), alternating with zero in enclisis. They reserve the label of subject clitics for elements originating in thematic position which are associated by movement with dedicated clitic positions located immediately above T and labelled by Person features. Elements that do not move from thematic position are not subject clitics but "subject-field vowels", i.e. the "realization of the functional head that hosts the features of … person" (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2004: 31). Paduan *a* is such a subject-field vowel.

However, some of the characteristics of vocalic proclitics in (3) make them very different from Paduan *a*. In particular, *u/a* of *Montaldo* are clearly inflected for nominal class (i.e. gender, namely masculine *u* vs. feminine *a*) and for number (plural *i,* not shown). It seems very difficult to deny the status of full referential clitics to forms with these characteristics. In (4) we exemplify a further dialect which has vocalic vs. syllabic clitic alternations in part of the paradigm. Due to the fact that *Forni* has sigmatic plurals, the feminine plural is *as* in proclitic position. This again could not be one of those 'vocalic' clitics that are not subject clitics according to Cardinaletti and Repetti. In fact, though we have described the relevant alternations as involving vocalic proclitics vs. syllabic enclitics, in *Forni* proclitic feminine plural *as* and enclitic *las* are both syllabic. In addition, the *a* clitic of *Forni* alternates with *il-a* in enclisis, confirming that *a* is a bona fide nominal class

vowel. Incidentally, *Forni* has simple enclisis, therefore there is nothing special about the fact that Piedmontese varieti*es,* like *Montaldo* in (3), double the subject clitic in proclisis and in enclisis.

(4) a. **al/ a/ i/ as** duarm
he/she/they.m/f sleep
'He/she/they sleeps/sleep'

b. ˈduarm- **ilu/ila/iu/ilas**
sleep he/she/they.m/f
'Is s/he sleeping?'/'Are they sleeping?' *Forni di Sopra* (Friuli)

In short, the alternation between proclitics and enclitics in (2)-(4) is a true instance of a lexical alternation, between different series of clitic pronouns. Phonology and/or different syntactic categories, as invoked by Cardinaletti and Repetti are not sufficient to explain it. More specifically, what the data in (2)-(4) show is that the enclitic realizes an *l-* segment absent in the proclitic. In turn, morphological analysis of the Romance clitic system reveals that *l-* is the exponent for definiteness properties, whereas vocalic morphology lexicalizes nominal class (gender) as well as number in varieties (like Italian) without plural *–s*, cf. Harris (1994), Manzini and Savoia (2007). Therefore 3rd person clitics alternate between forms endowed only with nominal class specifications and forms endowed with *l-* definiteness specifications.

l-allomorphies are fairly pervasive in Romance and are descriptively well-known. Precisely because of this, it is worth spending a few extra words clarifying our conclusion that they are not phonological. Since there is no process of *l-* insertion or *l-* deletion in Romance other than with clitics, *l-* alternations must obviously involve allomorphies. As far as we can tell, the stronger conclusion holds that the alternations in (2)-(4) do not depend on phonological conditions either. In other words, there is no independently known condition of syllabification that forces the observed distribution.

We are aware that other *l-* alternations are phonologically conditioned; for instance, in *Zonza* vocalic proclitics, as in (2a), precede only consonantal onsets; vocalic onsets are preceded by an *l* form, as in (5). This condition is phonological, involving presumably the risyllabification of the *l* segment with the following nucleus.

(5) **l** ani camat-u/a/i
him/her/them they.have called-msg/fsg/pl
'They called him/her/them' *Zonza*

At the same time, morphosyntactic conditioning is more pervasive than is generally recognized. In *Montaldo* only preconsonantal subject proclitics are vocalic, as in (3a), while they acquire a final *l* segment (here, phonetically [ɾ]) in front of vowel, as in (6a). However only auxiliaries trigger the relevant allomorphy, and not lexical verbs which also begin by vowels, as in (6b). Thus consonantal vs. vocalic initials point to a phonological context, auxiliaries vs. main verbs point to a semantico-syntactic context.

(6) a. **uɾ/aɾ** ɑ dɾøˈmi
he/she has slept
'S/he has slept'

b. **u/a** ausɑ kadregɑ
he/she lifts the chair
'S/he lifts the chair' *Montaldo*

Lucanian varieties display even more complex proclitic alternations. Vocalic clitics are inserted in contexts preceding lexical verbs, while in front of the auxiliary, the 3rd person object clitic is not lexicalized (Lausberg 1939), as in (7b), (8b). Lexical verbs beginning by vowel elide the initial vowel, as in (7a), or insert a consonantal onset, as in (8a), so that all lexical verbs come to begin by consonant. With main verb *have*, the same strategy can be applied as with lexical verbs beginning by vowel, as in (7c); alternatively this seems to be the only context which can display an *l* proclitic, as in (7d).

(7) a. **u/a/i** ffɛnnə
him/her/them I.offend
'I offend him/ her/ them'

b. ædʤə camæ:tə
I.have called
'I called him/her/them'

c. **u/a/i** ɣæddʒə
it.m/it.f/them I.have
'I've got it/them'

d. **l** ædʤə
it I.have

'I have it' *Senise* (Lucania)

(8) a. **u/a/i** ɣɔatsə
it.m/it.f/them I.lift
'I lift it/them'

b. addʒə vistə
I.have seen
'I saw him/her/them' *Terranova* (Lucania)

In the rest of the article we concentrate on enclisis/proclisis alternations; for a recent treatment of the allomorphies connected with auxiliary/main verb alternations we refer to Savoia and Manzini (2010). In short, what needs to be retained for present purposes is that the widespread *l-* allomorphies of Romance cannot be reduced to a phonological explanation, but require two (or more) distinct allomorphs in the lexicon. Contexts of insertion of the allomorphs may be dictated by phonological conditions (adjacent vocalic or consonantal segment) – but more often than not, syntactic categorization (e.g. auxiliaries vs. main verbs) plays an important part. As far as we can tell, in enclisis/proclisis alternations of the type considered here, the trigger of *l-* allomorphies must be syntactic, since it is difficult to isolate segmental or prosodic triggers.

1.2 Stress allomorphy

In some Romance varieties, enclitics differ from proclitics in that they are stressed. Because traditionally, the term clitic bears a phonological connotation of lack of stress, this appears to be a contradictory description. Yet generative work on clitics characterizes them in purely syntactic terms. While full pronouns are DPs, with the same distribution as other (lexical) DPs, the name of clitic is reserved for elements with a special distribution, special internal order and special mutual exclusion patterns, generally taken to correspond to D heads. We will therefore keep using the term stressed clitic, meaning a stressed D pronoun.

In (9) we exemplify an Occitan variety, *Pomaretto*, which has *l-* object clitics both in preverbal and postverbal position; postverbal clitics (9a') bear stress unlike preverbal ones (9a). 1st and 2nd person clitics as well as oblique clitics (locatives, partitives) participate in stress alternations, as in (9b-c).

(9) a. **lu/la/li/la:** mandu

him/her/them.m/f I.call

'I call him/her/them'

a'. mandɔ- **ˈlu/ˈlɔ/ˈli/ˈla:**

call- him/her/them.m/f

'Call him/her/them!'

b. mandɔ- **ˈme**

call- me

'Call me!'

c. mandɔ- **ˈnəŋ** yŋ

call- of.them one

'Call one of them!' *Pomaretto*

Pomaretto is also a subject clitic language, and the same alternation in stress patterns is found with subject clitics, where it also combines with *l-* allomorphy, as in (10).

(10) a. **i/(l)a:** dørməŋ

they.m/f. sleep

'They sleep'

b. dørmɛn- **ˈli:/ˈla:**

sleep- they.m/f.

'Do they sleep?' *Pomaretto*

In Southern Italian varieties, the postverbal clitic does not take stress, but determines stress on the syllable that precedes it. The examples in (11) illustrate the proclitic forms of a Lucanian variety, coinciding in the singular with the vocalic inflection for nominal class (gender).

(11) a. **u/ a/ lə** cə:mə

him/her/them I.call

'I call him/her/them'

b. **m u** ðə:jə

to.me it he.gives

'He gives it to me' *Accettura* (Lucania)

In the same Lucanian variety, stress shift and *l-* allomorphy takes place in enclisis. Special

distributions often attach to these stress shifts, but not in the variety we are exemplifying (on the segmentation of the examples see fn. 5). Stress shift characterizes both *l-* and other clitics, for instance the 1P clitic in (12b).[2] Stress shift further occurs with simple enclitics, as in (12a-b) and with clitic clusters, as in (12c). In (12a-b) the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb, where it is not found otherwise; in (12c) the stress falls internally to the clitic group.[3]

(12) a. ca:ˈmə:- **lə**
call- him/her/them
'Call him/her/them!'

b. caˈmə**:-** **mə**
call- me
'Call me!'

c. dana- **ˈm/dˈd-** **ə:lə**
give- to.me/to.him it
'Give me/him it!' *Accettura* (Lucania)

Furthermore, the stress shift pattern in the language under consideration is oblivious to whether a 2nd singular imperative is involved or a 1st/2nd plural imperative, as in (13); in this second instance the stress falls on the 1/2P inflection of the verb.[4]

(13) a. cama:-ˈmə- **:lə**
call-1pl- him/her

2 This is not always the case. For instance, in the Lucanian variety of *Senise*, 1/2P clitics do not shift stress, as in (i), though *l*-clitics do, as in (14b) in the text.
(i) ˈpuərtə- **mə**
bring- me
'Take me (there)!' *Senise* (Lucania)

3 In some varieties, postverbal clitics are stressed only when they occur in clitic groups. In other words, there is no stress shift in (i) with a simple enclitic, but the stress falls inside the clitic group in (ii).
(i) ˈcama**-** **lu/la/lə/mə**
call- him/her/them/me
'Call him/her/them/me!'
(ii) ra- **mˈm-** **illu/illa/illə**
give- me- it.m/it.f/them
'Give it/them to me!' *Belmonte Mezzagno* (Sicily)

4 In some varieties stress shift characterizes the 2nd person singular, but not the 1st/2nd person plural, for instance *Senise* as can be seen in the comparison between (14b) in the text and (i)-(ii) here.
(i) purˈtæ-mə**-** **lə**
bring-1pl- it
'Let us bring it!'
(ii) purˈtæ-tə- **lə**
bring-2pl- it
'Bring(pl) it!' *Senise* (Lucania)

'Let us call him/her'

b. cama:-ˈtə- **:lə**
call-2pl- him/her
'Call(pl) him/ her' *Accettura* (Lucania)

The Lucanian varieties of *Senise* and *Terranova*, whose proclitic pattern is displayed in (7)-(8) above, have much the same stress allomorphies as *Accettura* (but see fn. 2, 4) as illustrated with single enclitics in (14a)-(15a), and with clitic groups in (14b)-(15b).[5]

(14) a. caːˈmæː **-lə**
call- him/her/them
'Call him/her/them!'

b. ra- ˈ**m/dˈd-** **iːlə**
give to.me/to.him it
'Give me/him it' *Senise* (Lucania)

(15) a. ɣwarˈda **-llə**
look.at him/her
'Look at him/her!'

b. dɔna- **mˈm/nˈn-** **illə**
give to.me/to.him it
'Give me/ him it' *Terranova Pollino* (Lucania)

Now, the alternations in Occitan (9)-(10) and in Lucanian (12)-(15) cannot be accounted for in phonological terms, but are to be understood as allomorphies, in which an unstressed proclitic alternates with a stressed enclitic. This is obvious in *Pomaretto*, where stress is directly associated with the vocalic nucleus of the clitic syllable. Therefore one may safely infer that there are two

5 In segmenting, we attribute the stressed vowel of clitic groups to the final clitic, which is therefore bisyllabic. In other words, in (14)-(15) we assume an ˈ*iːləˈillə* 3P enclitic form which surfaces in the (b) clusters, though its initial elides in the (a) examples, presumably to preserve the final vowel of the verb. We extend the same convention to dialects like *Accettura* in the text where phonological neutralization leaves us with little evidence in this matter. That this is the correct segmentation is confirmed by a number of independent clues. For instance in the variety in (i) the stressed vowel undergoes metaphony, surfacing as *i* in the masculine and as *e* in the feminine, and therefore reproducing full pronominal forms like the demonstrative *kuʎʎə/kella/kiʎʎə/kellə* in all relevant respects.

(i) da- tˈʧ- iʎʎə/ella/iʎʎə/ell□
Give- him- it.m/it.f/them.m/them.f
'Give it/them to him!' *Guardiaregia* (Molise)

Similar data to (i) are attested in diachrony. Thus in Old Neapolitan "masculine singular [-num] is distinguished from its plural counterpart [+num] because of the lack of metaphony, producing alternations such as *–mello/-millo*" (Ledgeway 2009:306).

series of clitics, segmentally identical, but differing as to whether they do or do not bear stress. In Lucanian (12)-(15) the metrical structure of the language and its stress assignment parameters also provide no grounds for the observed stress shifts. To take just one example, (12a-b) cannot be imputed to the unavailability of antepenultimate stress, which Italian variets generally admit. Therefore the stress shift must be due to lexical properties of the enclitic, not present on the proclitic – effectively an allomorphy.

We take the stress patterns in (12a-b), in (13) and in (14a)-(15a), i.e. stress on the verb, to be a phonological effect of the fact that a floating stress specification ultimately borne by the clitic, homes in for the closest available nucleus able to form a trochaic word-final foot, in this instance the final nucleus of the verb. In the groups, stress is group-final, even in (13c), where we know that both clitics could in principle bear stress; this suggests a cyclic mechanism for stress (re)assignment, so that the most external clitic gets stress prominence.[6] Therefore it is evident that phonology plays an important role in stress allomorphies. However it is a lexical property of the enclitics to come associated with a stress. Phonology alone cannot explain the phenomenon – nor are the reasons that trigger the allomorphy phonological, since perfectly wellformed metrical structures can be obtained by keeping the main verb stress where it normally is.

That the alternating forms present in preverbal and postverbal position are bona fide allomorphs, not phonological alternants is proposed by Laenzlinger (1994) for French, Ordoñez and Repetti (2014) for Italian dialects. Both adopt Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) classification of pronouns into clitic, weak and strong. Manzini (2014) argues that the strong-weak-clitic tripartion is not supported in Romance. Yet we need to consider whether the analysis of Laenzlinger or Ordoñez and Repetti may ultimately motivate it. We will postpone discussion of Laenzlinger till we consider (re)ordering, which represents the empirical focus of his analysis.

The key phenomenon considered by Ordóñez and Repetti is stress shift, which they take to be a diagnostic for weak pronoun status. They propose that "in some languages [C] will not be available as a probe at all. In that case we assume that a lower probe is made available…this probe is v" checked by weak pronouns, i.e. stressed clitics. This proposal may be problematic for empirical reasons. There is a considerable amount of syntactic space between the C position taken by the verb in imperatives and the *v* position, checked by the weak pronoun under Ordoñez and Repetti's proposal. Therefore we expect material to intervene between them. This is pointedly not

6 On the phonology of stress alternations, see Bafile (1993, 1994) within a generative framework. As for the parameters we observed, recall that languages of the type in fn. 3 do not allow for stress to shift on the final vowel of the verb (whether part of the stem or of the inflection), varieties of the type in fn. 4 do not allow for it to shift on the inflection (1/2plural). Again, the relevant conditions appear to depend on morphosyntactic notions involving the internal structure of the verb. See Manzini and Savoia (2011b) for syntactic differences between the verbal base of the imperative and its 1/2P inflections, presumably relevant for the varieties in fn. 4

the case.

On the contrary it is well-known that some Romance languages allow adverbs to intervene between proclitics and the verb, as exemplified in (16)-(17) with the Lucanian varieties of *Terranova* and *Senise*. Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005) working within the framework of Cinque (1999), in fact argue that orders such as (16a), (17a-c) depend on the verb moving to a slightly lower position than in, say, Italian – namely a position within the adverbial hierarchy; the clitic on the other hand targets a higher position (say T). No parallel data are available with postverbal clitics, as in (16b), (17d).

(16) a. **u** **sɛmbə** ˈcæmənə
him always they.call
'They always call him'

b. camæ-(*sɛmbə)**-lə**
call-him/her/them
'Call him/her/them! *Senise*

(17) a. **u** **sɛmbə** viɣə pə nnandə
him always I.see in front
'I always see him in front'

b. **u** **ddʒa** viɣə kundɛndə
him already I.see happy
'I see him happy already'

c. ɔn **tə** **mai** viɣə
not you ever I.see
'I never see you'

d. cama-(*ddʒa/*sɛmbə)**-llə**
call-him/her/them
'Call him/her/them! *Terranova Pollino*

In short, in view of the available evidence, we conclude that Romance languages have two series of pronouns, DPs (full pronouns) and Ds (clitics) – and that D pronouns (clitics) are compatible with stress (as indeed syntactic heads normally are), alternating in some varieties between stress-less and stressed forms according to the context. We see no obvious advantage in identifying stressed clitics with the category of weak pronouns. Putting together this conclusion with those of section 1.1, the form of the allomorphy that we are considering involves either

definiteness specifications (in the 3rd person) or stress.

1.3 Order of clitics

A third set of phenomena correlate with *l-* and stress allomorphy. In many Romance languages the order of clitics, preverbal or postverbal, is the mirror image of the order of lexical DPs, as illustrated in (18) for Italian. Otherwise stated, the V and its complements display the normal order expected in a head-initial language (like English), as in (18a). However clitics, independently of the position of the verb, have the order expected in head final languages, as in (18b-c) (cf. German … *dem Kind das Buch zu geben* 'to the child the book to give').

(18) a. Do **il libro** **a Paolo**
I.give the book to Paolo

b. **Glielo** do
to.him-it I.give
'I give it to him'

c. Da**glielo**
give-to.him-it
'Give it to him'

In other Romance languages, the preverbal order of clitics matches that of postverbal DPs; Corsican varieties are among those (Savoia and Manzini to appear and reference quoted there). In (19a) the 3rd person Acc (henceforth Acc) precedes both the 3rd person dative (henceforth Dat) and the 1/2Person form (henceforth 1/2P). We will use the notation x>y for 'x precedes y'; hence in (19a), we find Acc>Dat and Acc>1/2P. In postverbal position, the order of clitics is reversed, as in (19b).[7]

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7 The Acc>Dat order displayed by Corsica varieties is not to be connected to contact with French but rather to the order attested in Medieval Italo-Romance, for instance in Old Florentine texts (Melander 1929, Lombard 1934, Rohlfs 1968 [1949]), as in (i). Note that in (ii) the order is preserved in postverbal position. Nevertheless Dat>Acc appears early on both in Tuscan texts, in (iii), and in other Old Italian varieties, e.g. Neapolitan in (iv) and Sardinian in (v), both in proclisis (iii)-(iv) and in enclisis (v). For Neapolitan Ledgeway (2009:345) states that the order 1/2P/Dat>Acc is "characterized by extraordinary diachronic stability".

(i) **la mi** diero (*Libro di Gentile de' Sassetti e figli*, 1274-1310, Castellani 1952: 286)
it to.me they.gave ('They gave it to me')

(ii) da- **l-** **mi** (*Decameron* VI *Concl.* 45, Stussi 1995: 209)
s/he.gives it to.me ('S/he gives it to me')

(iii) …. sì **glile** disse (*Disciplina clericalis*, end of XIII century, 81, 8; Schiaffini 1954)
so to.him.it he.said ('So he told him it')

(19) a. **u/a/i** **mmi/ ɖɖi** ðani
it.m/it.f/them to.me/to.him they.give
'They give it/them to me/him'

b. ˈda- **mmi-/ɖɖi-** **llu/lla/lli**
give to.me/to.him it.m/it.f/them
'Give it/them to me/him!' *Zonza*

Recall that the variety of *Zonza* also has *l*-allomorphy, as illustrated in (2) above. That *l*-allomorphy and reordering correlate can be seen in the Corsican variety in (20). Reordered Acc in cluster final position requires the *l*-form, as in (20a); non reordered Acc is compatible with the *l*- and the *l*-less form, as in (20b-c).

(20) a. ˈda- **mmi/ɖɖi-** **llu/-lla/-lli**
give- to.me/to.him it.m/it.f/them
'Give it/them to me/him!'

b. ˈda- **lu/la/li-** **ɖɖi**
give- it.m/it.f/them to.him
'Give it/them to him!'

c. ˈpɔrt- **u/i-** **ɖɖi**
bring- it/them-to.him
'Bring it/them to him!' *Munacia d'Auddè* (Corsica)

The Liguria variety in (21) (on the Provencal border), has *l*-allomorphy, stress allomorphy and reordering, since the preverbal Acc>Dat order of clitics as in (21a), alternates with the postverbal Dat>Acc order in (21b) (cf. Ronjat 1937). Reordering correlates with allomorphy, since in (21c), in the absence of reordering, the accusative clitics take the *l*-less, stressless form.

(21) a. el **u/a/i/e** **i/mə** duna
he it.m/it.f/them.m/them.f to.him/to.me gives
'He gives it/them to him/me'

(iv) lo re **le** **lo** levao de mano (Loise De Rosa, *Ricordi* 21r.4; Formentin 1998: 567)
the king to.him it took.away from hand ('The king took it away from his hands')

(v) dono- **lis-** **lu** (Dettori 1994)
I.give- to.them-it ('I give it to them')

b. duna- **i-** **ˈri/ˈre/ˈra/ˈru**
give- to.him it.m/it.f/them.m/them.f
'Give it/them to him!'

c. duna- **u/a/i-** **ˈme/ˈji**
give- it.m/it.f/them to.me/to.him
'Give it/them to me/him!' *Olivetta S. Michele* (Liguria)

The reordering of clitics under enclisis has been studied in the generative literature for French, in particular by Laenzlinger (1994), whose data we reproduce here. In preverbal position the 1/2P clitic precedes the clitics with which it combines, yielding the order 1/2P>Acc, as in (22a). The Acc clitic precedes all clitics but the P clitic, yielding the order Acc>Dat, as in (22b). When two obliques combine, the basic order has Dat/Loc(ative) preceding Part(itive), as in (22c).

(22) a. Il **me** **le/en/y** donne/mets
he to.me it/of.it/there gives/puts
'He gives (some of) it to me/He puts me there'

b. Il **le** **lui/y** donne/mets
he it to.him/there gives/puts
'He gives/puts it to him'

c. Il **y/lui** **en** donne/mets plusieurs
He there/to.him of.them gives/puts several
'He gives/puts several of them to him/ there'

In enclisis, normative French has the Acc clitic preceding all clitics that it combines with, including the P clitic; this reverses the proclitic order, as in (23a). Similarly, the 1/2P clitic precedes all clitics it cooccurs with except the accusative; nevertheless non-normative varieties allow also for the order 1/2P>Acc, as in (23b). Among two oblique clitics, the order Dat/Loc>Part remains unchanged, as in (23c). In French, allomorphy and reordering are also connected, since stressless allomorphs like *me* cannot reorder and appear group finally; on the contrary, their stressed counterparts, e.g. *moi,* can reorder, as (23a), or eventually not reorder (non standardly), as in (23b').

(23) a. Donne/mets- **le-** **lui/moi/y**
give/put it to.him/to.me/there
'Give/put it to me/to him/there'

b. Donne/mets- **m-** **y/en/le**
give/put me there/of.it/it
'Give (some of) it to me/Put me there'

b'. Donne - **moi-** **[z]en/le**
Give me of.it/it
'Give me (some of) it'

c. Donne/mets- **lui-/y-** **en**
give/put to.him/there of.it
'Give/put some of it to him/there'

Proposals by Laenzlinger (1994) and Pescarini (to appear) aim at explaining specifically the connection between allomorphy and order. For Laenzliger the basic order of clitics is Dat/1/2P>Acc, but this order is interfered with by weak pronouns. In enclisis *moi/toi* are weak pronouns hence XPs; because of this, they never make the last step of clitic movement reserved for heads, i.e. clitics proper, and are found string-finally. The same holds of weak pronoun *lui* in both proclisis and enclisis. Vice versa for Pescarini the basic order is Acc>Dat/1/2P. This order, corresponding to the basic order of argument within the VP, is derived when clitics are sequenced as independent heads. The reverse order is derived when the Dat/P clitic is adjoined to the Acc clitic. This is constrained by Kayne's (1994) LCA, under which one of the two clitics being adjoined must not non-branching. Thus French *me le* corresponding to *me* adjoining to *le* is possible because it involves a simplex clitic (*me*), while the branching clitic *lui* forces the base order *le lui*.

Comparison with the other Romance varieties reported here is quite useful in assessing these proposals. In the *u i* cluster of *Olivetta* in (21a), it would be very difficult to construe the Dat clitic *i* as a weak pronoun, consisting as it does of a simple nominal class vowel. Therefore contra Laenzlinger it cannot be claimed that a weak pronoun Dat is necessary for the Acc>Dat order. As for Pescarini, the simplex nature of a clitic is not sufficient to determine adjunction; thus *Zonza* displays the order *u ḍi* in (19a) though both clitics are simplex for Pescarini. Vice versa, there are reasons to doubt that the *ḍi* clitic is simplex; rather history and crosslinguistic comparison strongly suggest that *–i* is a bona fide oblique inflection, in fact the very same *–i* that inflects *lu-i* (Manzini and Savoia 2011a, 2014). If so, simplex internal structure is not necessary for adjunction, as seen in *ḍ-i l-u* of *Zonza* in (19b).

It seems therefore that we have another set of questions to be answered. Not only clitics alternate between stress-less forms endowed in the 3rd person only with nominal class specifications – and forms endowed with *l-* definiteness specifications in the 3rd person and/or with stress. The

same contexts that trigger the relevant allomorphies, namely preverbal vs. postverbal position, also trigger a reordering of clitics with respect to one another. Thus first, we need to determine the internal mechanisms of (re)ordering; as we just saw, in reviewing Laenzlinger and Pescarini, there is not even a consensus as to what the basic order of the clitic string is (if any). Second, we need to know why allomorphy and reordering occur in the same contexts. In the next section, we will consider specifically what the relevant contexts are.

As a help in processing the data so far, we provide two summary tables. Table (A) shows the allomorphy patterns. As a help to memory, we individuate dialects with the name of their dialectological area. Northern Italian dialects (NID) are only partially exemplified above, but their values are indicated on the basis of Manzini and Savoia's (2005) corpus. Stress allomorphy and *l*-allomorphy are fully independent, since either occurs without the other, cf. Occitan (stress only) and Corsican (*l*- only).

(A)

	l-allom:subj	stress-allom:subj	*l*-allom:obj	stress-allom:obj
Italian			-	-
French	-	-	-	+
NID (Montaldo,Forni)	+	-	-	-
Occitan (Pomaretto)	+	+	-	+
W.Ligurian (Olivetta)			+	+
Lucanian (Accettura,Terranova Senise)			+	+
Corsican (Zonza,Munacia)			+	-

Table (B) summarizes the relation between allomorphies (of whatever type) and reordering either leading to a reversed Acc>P order (French) or to a reversed Dat>Acc order (Corsican). There seems to be a connection between the two, in the sense that reordering is not found without allomorphy, though of course allomorphy is found without reordering in Lucanian. Nevertheless this seems to be a property of Romance languages (or of the Central Romance sample at our

disposal). Data on enclitic reordering are independently available for Greek, where the reordering yields Acc>Dat (Terzi 1999); Mavrogiorgos (2010), who ends up accepting a weak pronoun solution, nevertheless explicitly excludes the presence of overt allomorphies.

(B)		allomorphy	reorder>Acc-Dat	reorder>Dat-Acc
Italian/NID/Occitan		-	-	
Lucanian		+	-	
French	i)	+	+	
	ii)	-	-	
Corsican (Zonza)		+		+
W.Ligurian (Olivetta)/	i)	+		+
/Corsican (Munacia)	ii)	-		-

1.4 Negative contexts and modality

In the presentation of the data so far we have addressed allomorphies and reordering in terms of proclitic vs. enclitic contexts or preverbal and postverbal contexts. The phonological characterization implied by reference to proclisis and enclisis is inadequate, but reference to the positioning of the verb is also insufficient. For, in some, though not in all varieties, object clitic allomorphies also characterize negative contexts.

In *Terranova* in (24) the position preceding the verb but immediately following the negation activates *l*-allomorphy. There are various points to be noted about these data. First, under negation, the asymmetries noted in (8) between lexical verbs and auxiliaries disappear, in that the negation triggers the *l* segment throughout, as exemplified in (24a) for lexical verbs and in (24b) for auxiliaries. Furthermore, in negative imperative contexts there is no movement of the verb to C (Rivero 1994), recreating conditions similar to those of declarative sentences, with V in T and pronominal clitics ordered between the negation and the verb, as in (24c); this also triggers *l*-

allomorphy in *Terranova*.[8] There is no stress allomorphy, which is found in postverbal position only. On another matter, in clitic sequences Dat/1/2P>Acc, as in (24d), the vocalic form of the clitic is inserted, coinciding with the nominal class inflection *u/ a/ i* which also occurs in positive preverbal contexts like (8).

(24) a. ɔ **llu** vi:ɣə
not him I.see
'I don't see him'

b. ɔ **ll** addʒə vistə
not him/her/them I.have seen
'I did not see him/her/them'

c. ɔ- **llu** spətˈta:ðə
not him wait.for
'Do not wait for him!'

d. ɔ- **mm/nn-** **u** ðɔʁðə
not to.me/to.him it give
'Do not give it to me/to him!' *Terranova Pollino*

Other Lucanian varieties with *l-* allomorphies in postverbal contexts treat all preverbal clitics alike, independently of whether a negation is present or not. This is illustrated with *Accettura* and *Senise* in (25)-(26). The clitic following the negation is characterized by the ordinary preverbal allomorph in the declaratives (25a), (26a), with the imperative (25c), (26b), and in groups (25d), (26c). It is not externalized with the auxiliary in (25b) replicating (7) in this respect, as in others.

(25) a. nɔn **u** ˈcæmə:mə
not him we.call
'We don't call him'

b. nunn æddʒə camæ:tə
not .have called
'I did not call him/her/them'

c. nunn **u** ɣwardæ:tə
not him look.at

8 The form seen in the 2nd singular imperative in (24c-d) is morphologically an infinitive. Imperatives are generally licenced only in C forcing suppletion in T, often by the infinitive (Zanuttini 1997, Manzini and Savoia 2005).

‘Don’t(pl) look at him!’

d. num- **m-** **u** purtæ:tə
not to.me it bring.2pl
‘Don’t(pl) bring it to me!’ *Senise*

(26) a. nɔn **u** camə:mə
not him we.call
‘We don’t call him’

b. nɔn **u** caˈma
not him call
‘Do not call him!’

b.’ nɔ **mm** **u** da
not to.me it give’
‘Do not give it to me!’ *Accettura*

Similar parametrization in the context of negation can be observed in Corsican varieties. In *Zonza* we find both allomorphy and reordering of the clitic string between the negation and the verb. This distribution again concerns both declaratives, as in (27a-b), and imperative contexts, in (27c-d). Comparison between the Corsican data in (27) and the South Italian data in (24) shows that in *Zonza* the *l* allomorph is not restricted to the position immediately adjacent the negation, unlike in *Terranova*’s (24d).

(27) a. un **lu/la/li** ˈcammani
not him/her/them they.call
‘They do not call him/her/them’

b. um **mi/ḍi** **llu/la/li** ðani mikka
not to.me/to.him it.m/it.f/them give not
‘They don’t give it/them to me/him’

c. un **lu/la/li** camˈma
not him/her/them call
‘Do not call him/her/them!’

d. um **mi** **llu** ða
not to.me it give’
‘Do not give it to me!’ *Zonza*

In the Corsican dialects of *Munacia* *l*-allomorphy takes place once again between the negation and the verb both in declaratives (28a) and in imperatives (28b-c) – and both with simple clitics (28b) and in clitic groups (28a, c). The point of interest is that nevertheless reordering does not take place in (28a), (28c) – though it is at least possible in postverbal position, as in (20a).

(28) a. un **lu/la/li** **mmi/ ɖɖi** ðani mikka
not it.m/it.f/them to.me/him they.give not
'They don't give it/them to him/me'

b. un **lu** camˈma
no him call
'Do not call him!'

c. un **lu** **ddi** da mikka
not it to.him give
'Do not give ite to him/ her/ them!' *Munacia*

Leaving aside internal parametrization, the data so far show that postverbal position displays allomorphies and reordering in a more robust way than post-negation contexts. Yet in a subset of varieties post-negation contexts trigger the same effects as postverbal ones, for instance in *Zonza* in (27). This raises the crucial question of what post-negation contexts have in common with postverbal contexts, i.e. imperatives for object clitics, and questions for subject clitics (in sections 1.1-1.2). The C position of the verb cannot be involved, for the simple reason that other correlates of the high positioning of verbs, including in primis the postverbal position of clitics, are lacking in the negative examples. On the other hand, the contexts just listed (negation, imperatives, questions) are modal contexts – in the sense that they imply the evaluation of the propositional content they embed not just against the actual world, but against a set of possible worlds. Thus the negation introduces a set of worlds which are the complement to the actual one. The imperative introduces one of the two basic modal operators, namely necessity or possibility (in the two possible readings of an imperative, namely 'you must do it' or 'you are allowed to do it', cf. Iatridou 2010). The denotation of questions is again a set of state of affairs (propositions), among which the hearer is invited to choose.

The correlation with modal contexts indicates that allomorphy and reordering, which are in themselves externalization phenomena (Berwick and Chomsky 2011), are sensitive to properties of the CI interface, that is, they externalize modal information belonging to CI. The traditional characterization of allomorphy and reordering as determined wholly at the SM interface is therefore

insufficient – though it is true that the SM and CI interfaces interact to determine the exact distribution of the phenomena. Thus the allomorphies and reordering considered so far require not only the presence of a modal operator, but more specifically configurations where the modal exponent (verb or negation) externalizes a position higher than the clitic and hence preceding it.

As an illustration, consider a language like *Olivetta* (West Ligurian) which has *l-* and stress allomorphies with object clitics, as in (21) – and also has subject clitics. In interrogatives, *Olivetta* does not position V in C, but rather in T, as in (29). This means that the context for subject clitics allomorphies to arise (i.e. subject clitic inversion) is not defined in *Olivetta*, and subject clitics surface as vocalic allomorphs.

(29) hɔ k a fai
what that she does
'What does she do?' *Olivetta*

As a further case in point, consider *Pomaretto* (Occitan). The logical operator negation is externalized via a negation adverb merged in the aspectual domain of the sentence, *pa* in (30), rather than by a negation clitic in the inflectional domain. The resulting configuration does not define a context for allomorphy because the exponent for negation is lower than the clitic field and follows it.

(30) a drøm pa
he sleeps not
'He doesn't sleep' *Pomaretto*

That surface (SM) configurations (including word order) enter into the definition of clitic allomorphies (and clitic reordering) is well understood both in descriptive and formal approaches – and we do not insist further on this point. Our point is that verbal and Neg contexts can only be unified by recourse to the CI notion of modality. Apparent alternatives to this conclusion ultimately revert to it. For instance, one may assume that negation triggers allomorphies and reordering in that it is itself associated with the C position. Yet there must be a common property that licences either verbs or negations in C – leading us back to modality.

Before providing a summary table of the data, infinitives must be briefly reviewed. Based on the evidence regarding clitic positioning after the verb, Kayne (1991) concludes that in several Romance languages, infinitives are in the C position. Indeed at least a subset of infinitives are

known to have a modal, irrealis interpretation (what Stowell 1982 calls a future infinitive, cf. Wurmbrand 2014).[9] With Corsican varieties, which have the infinitive in C, clitics behave as predicted, displaying *l-* allomorphy and reordering, as in *Zonza*'s (31a); in *Munacia*, reordering is optional as expected, as in (31b).

(31) a. t aɟɟu ðittu ði ˈda- **ddi-** **llu**
to.you I.have said to give- to.him it
'I have told you to give it to him' *Zonza*

b. t aɟɟu ðittu ði ˈða- **ɖɖi-** **lu**/da- **lu-** **ɖɖi**
to.you I.have said to give- to.him it/give it to.him
'I have told you to give it to him' *Munacia d'Auddè*

The Lucanian variety of *Accettura* also has enclisis in the infinitive and again displays the expected *l-* allomorphy; stress allomorphy cannot be checked because the (truncated) infinitive bears last syllable stress anyway. Finally enclisis is optionally attested in the variety of *Pomaretto*, where we find *l-* allomorphy and also stress allomorphy, at least in clitic clusters, as in (33).

(32) sɔ vənə:tə a/ kə vədɛr- **lə**
I.am come to/ for see him/her
'I came to/ in order to see him/her' *Accettura*

(33) seu vəŋˈgy pɛr duna- **li-** **ˈlu**
I. am come to give to.him it
'I came to give it to him' *Pomaretto*

Other varieties reported in tables (A)-(B) have proclisis in the infinitives – namely the Lucanian varieties of *Senise* and *Terranova* and the West Ligurian variety of *Olivetta*. Therefore the infinitive is positioned in T and the context for allomorphies and reordering is not defined. We summarize the data regarding modal contexts in table (C). The gaps do not correspond to unattested

9 Not all infinitives have a modal irrealis interpretation, for instance complements of verbs of propositional attitude do not. Non-irrealis infinitives raise a problem not only for the present characterization of allomorphies and reordering, but more generally for the idea that C is a modal position. In fact, if anything, the problem is worse in Romance than in English, since Romance allows the episodic readings excluded by Wurmbrand (2014) for English. Here we can only suggest a direction for analysis. Temporal reference is pronominal-like according to Partee (1984) – i.e. tensed events are closed by definite temporal arguments. Untensed events are closed by quantifications (aspectual, i.e. over events, or modal, i.e. over situations/possible worlds). Therefore V-in-C is not strictly speaking responsive to the notion of modality, but more broadly to modality/aspectuality, *qua* quantificational closure. This also would go some way in explaining why aspectual forms like absolute participles (Belletti 1990) or gerunds also display enclisis (for instance in Italian).

data (notated by 0) – rather to the lack of relevant contexts (for instance absence of subject clitics, or absence of V in C). In some varieties allomorphy and/or reordering does not take place after the negation, though it does after a verb in C; the reverse is not attested. To reiterate the main point, the negation context shows that preverbal and postverbal position are not sufficient to characterize the environments where allomorphies and reordering are observed. Rather appeal to the CI notion of a modal operator appears to be necessary to unify all contexts.

(C)	MainQuestion		Imperative		Infinitive		Negation	
	allom	order	allom	order	allom	order	allom	order
Occitan (Pomaretto)	+		+	-	+	-		
W.Ligurian (Olivetta)			+	+			-	-
Lucanian (Accettura)			+	-	+	-	-	-
Lucanian (Senise)			+	-			-	-
Lucanian (Terranova)			+	-			+	-
Corsican (Zonza, Macà)			+	+	+	+	+	+
Corsican (Munacia)			+	+/-	+	0	+	-

2. Allomorphy

Our key conclusion so far is that the internal constituency (allomorphy) and order of clitics depends on modal contexts, as externalized by V in C or negation clitics. Another way to put the same conclusion is that the internal constituency (allomorphy) and order of clitics concurs with the order of verbs (and of negation) to the externalization of modal properties. In this section we propose an implementation of this conclusion as it concerns allomorphy – we return to order in section 3.

2.1 Internal structure of clitics

Before we consider *l-* allomorphies, it is useful to briefly review our assumptions about the internal structure of clitics, which the allomorphies affect. Some of the assumptions that we introduce will play a role in the discussion of (re)ordering as well. Following in essence Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz 1993), we assume that the lexicon lists elementary units corresponding to morphemes and that the same rule of Merge responsible for syntactic constituent structure also yields word formation from elementary morphemes. At the same time, we assume with the minimalist programme (Chomsky 1995) that SM labels are attached to CI content at the interface between the CI systems and the syntactic processor. This bars recourse to standard devices of DM such as Impoverishment, Fission, Fusion and other rules of Morphological Structure whose working depends on Late Insertion.

We exemplify just one clitic set, that of *Zonza*, given that the relevant phenomena are particularly robust in this variety. The full set of *Zonza*'s clitics is listed in (34).

(34)

	pre-V	post-V/Neg
Accusative	**u, a, i**	**ɖɖ-u, ɖɖ-a, ɖɖ-i**
Dative	**l-i** (alone)/**ɖɖ-i** (clusters)	
1/2P	**m-i, t-i, tʃ-i, v-i**	
Genitive	**n-i**	
Locative/Instrumental	**tʃ-i**	
Middle-passive	**s-i**	

Zonza

The clitics *u, a* and *i* coincide with the nominal inflections of *Zonza*, externalizing masculine N(ominal) class, as in (35a), feminine N class, as in (35b), and plural, as in (35a'-b').

(35)

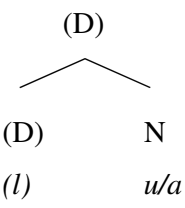
a.	tsiteɖ**-u**	a'.	tsiteɖ**-i**
	'boy-msg'		'boy-pl'
b.	rot**-a**	b'.	rot**-i**
	'wheel-fsg'		'wheel-pl'

Zonza

Therefore in the appropriate context, mere N class (gender) and number specifications are sufficient to externalize reference to the 3rd person. In the contexts that we have characterized as modal, exponents for N class and number must be supported by the *ɖ-* lexical base (an *l-* allophone/allomorph), as schematized in (36) for the singular. This is also the structure proposed by

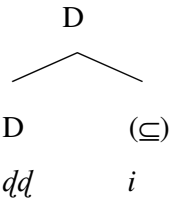
Kratzer (2009: 221) for full pronouns: "the alleged ''3rd person'' features are in fact gender features, a variety of descriptive feature ... If [a descriptive feature] is to grow into a pronoun, it has to combine with a feature [def] that turns it into a definite description. If [def] is the familiar feature that can also be pronounced as a definite determiner in certain configurations, it should head its own functional projection, hence be a D. It would then not originate in the same feature set as descriptive features, which are nominal, hence Ns".[10]

(36)



(36) leaves out one form in the 3rd person, namely *ḍḍ-i* which can either be the plural accusative or the dative. Dative complements of ditransitive verbs can be characterized as entertaining a possessor relation to the theme of the verb, as proposed by Kayne (1984). Following Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2014), we characterize possession in terms of a part-whole or inclusion relation, which we notate (⊆), assigning it to dative *ḍḍ-i*, as in (37).

(37)



In sentence (19a), repeated as (38a), the *–i* inflection, with content (⊆), says that the defineteness specifications to which it attaches must be understood as possessors (or wholes) with respect to the theme argument (the part or possessum), as in (38b).

(38) a. u ḍḍ⊆i] ðani
it.m to.him they.give
'They give it to him'

b. they give [it ⊆ him] *Zonza*

10 Kihm (2005), Ferrari-Bridgers (2008) construe nominal class as a different kind of N, namely an instantiation of Marantz's (1997) *n* category.

For Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2014), the syncretism between oblique and plural is not accidental – rather it is due to the fact that the same part-whole operator is involved in both environments. As a plural, *-i* takes in its scope the set of individuals denoted by the lexical base to which it attaches and says roughly that it is possible to split subsets (including singletons) off it. [11] Thus *rot-i* 'wheels' in (35b') has the interpretation in (31b).

(39) a. rot [$_{(\subseteq)}$i]

b. $\exists$ x ($\subseteq$) {wheel}

there is an x such that x is a subset of the set of individuals with the property 'wheel'

Other clitics in (34) can also be analysed as consisting of a consonantal lexical base and of a vocalic inflection. If we associate the vocalic inflection *-i* with ($\subseteq$) content in the obliques *n-i* (genitive) and *tf-i* (locative), this amounts to say that all obliques involve the ($\subseteq$) relation. Thus *tf-i* is inclusion by a location, with deictic ('here, there') reference; *n-i* is inclusion between by a DP (as is genitive in general).

As for 1/2P arguments such as *m-i, t-i*, the *–i* inflection is expected in dative contexts. The lack of a separate dative and accusative forms for 1/2P may be seen as an accidental syncretism; however Manzini and Savoia (2011a, 2014), whom we are following here, view it as a reflex of the fact that Differential Object Marking (DOM) applies to 1/2P clitics. Recall that DOM in Romance treats direct object as datives introduced by the preposition *a* (in Ibero-Romance, Central and Southern Italian varieties, and in fact in Corsican). Therefore 1/2P clitics show up in the dative even as direct objects. There is evidence from doubling that this is the correct analysis, since *mi* and *ti* in Italo-Romance are systematically doubled by the full PPs *a me* 'to me', *a te* 'to you' as objects of transitives– even in Northern Italian dialects (Cordin 1993) which do not otherwise display DOM.

2.2 D and stress allomorphy

In terms of the structure in (36), the alternation between vocalic forms and *l-* forms of a clitic is an alternation between forms including a D constituent and forms not including it – in other words it is a D allomorphy. As we saw in section 1, D forms are required in the context of V in C or of the clitic negation, in other words they are required by the presence of modal operators externalized higher than the clitic, hence to its left. When D forms are not required, the non-D short forms are

11 If we understand it correctly, Borer's (2005) Div(ider) conception of plural is compatible with ($\subseteq$).

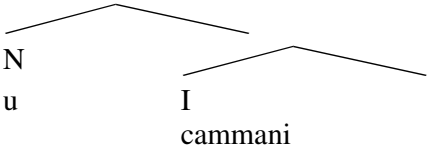
inserted. The overall schema for allomorphies that emerges from this analysis is as in (40).[12]

(40)

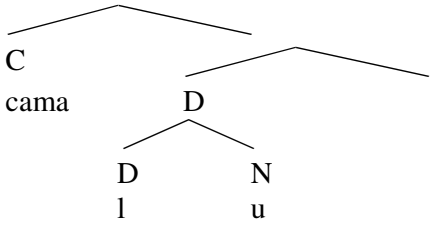
	-higher modal	+higher modal
+D clitic	no	yes
-D clitic	yes	no

The attested cells of the schema in (40) are depicted in structure (41) for *Zonza*'s (2a) and in structure (41b) for *Zonza*'s (2b). In the context in (41a), in the absence of either V in C or negation, the clitics *u/a* are inserted, bearing nominal class properties (or number in the case of *i*). In the context in (41b), with V in C, a different clitic structure is inserted, joining the nominal class/number morphemes *u/a* to the definiteness morpheme *l*.

(41) a. cf. (2a)



b. cf. (2b)

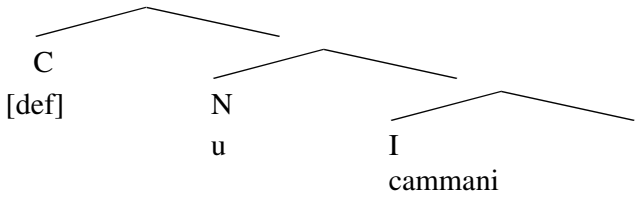


The crucial question is whether we can account for the correlation between the presence/absence of a D segment in the clitics and the presence/absence of modal properties externalized above it in (41). Noticing the link between D and modality, Manzini and Savoia (2005: §7.3.1) propose that "the verb in a modal position within the C field, is associated with an indefinite event and therefore requires that the definiteness properties of the object are lexicalized by *l*-". According to this line of explanation, nominal class and number specifications are sufficient for argument realization, in so far as definiteness is supplied by the context, i.e. by the verb in T. This is idea is implemented in (42) by associating the position C with the definiteness property; in other

12 Though (40) depicts a situation observed in a subset of Romance languages, it is not without crosslinguistic correlates. A D alternation conditioned by TMA categories characterizes for instance Blackfoot (Algonquian) clitics, as described by Bliss and Gruber (2011). Blackfoot has short clitics *n-* (1st person), *k-* (2nd person) and *w-* (3rd person) as well as longer allomorphs formed with the suffix *–it*. Bliss and Gruber treat the *–it* morphology entering the long clitic allomorphs as a lexicalization of D – and specifically impute to it the ability to restrict the reference of the N(P) to which they attach (i.e. the set of individuals that match the NP description) to "a contextually salient subset". As a consequence long form proclitics are "temporally restricted; they refer to a stage of a person" – and only occur with certain forms of the verb.

words (irrealis) modality and def are alternative realizations of C.

(42)



However [def] in C is at best sufficient, not necessary, to licence vocalic forms. The reason is that not all modality requires the lexicalization of the *l-* morphology, but only those modal forms that are externalized in C. We therefore account for the generalization in (40) starting from a slightly different angle. We begin with the observation that the *l-* segment in contexts like (41b) finds itself within the c-command domain of the externalized modal operator, while it is logically evaluated outside its scope. Seen from this perspective the definiteness specification *l-* insures not so much that the definitess reading is overtly lexicalized in a modal context – rather it insures that definiteness is overtly lexicalized in those contexts where the surface scope relations, i.e. D lower than the modal, do not correspond to the interpreted scope relations, definites being read outside the scope of modals. The analysis is applicable to negation contexts as well. Thus the overt lexicalization of the D operator is required when Neg is externalized in a higher position (to its left), D being read outside its scope.

Let us repeat our analysis. The *l-* morpheme externalizes the interpretable content D. Its selection is conditioned by the interpretive context, in the sense that it is lexicalized in the presence of modality. More specifically, it is conditioned by the overt positioning of the clitic in the scope of the modal verb in C, or of the negation in the clitic field of the sentence. According to Chomsky (2001) the surface position of verbs is itself determined by what he calls PF movement. We take this to mean that while syntax regulates abstract relations between V and its functional projections, the pronunciation of the verb in one or the other of its extended projections is an externalization choice. The positioning of the verb in C in (41b) externalizes modal properties in the position ~~with which~~ they are associated with in abstract syntax. The *l–* allomorphy externalizes D just in case modality is externalized in C. In other words, D and Mod (conventionally C) are either both externalized or neither is in the relevant domain, i.e. the C-T phase. Essentially the same applies to the negation. We read this requirement as a device to optimize visibility at the SM interface of two key operators (D and Mod/Neg) interacting at the CI interface.

Thus the point to be retained is that lexicalization of the *l-* segment strengthens the visibility of D properties in those contexts where D properties must be read outside the scope of some modal

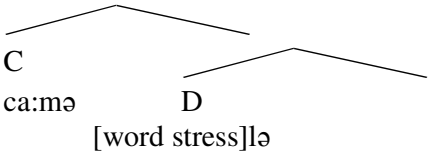
operator that is nevertheless externalized higher. The general picture we obtain is far from the idea that allomorphies and other devices traditionally considered to be morphological simply disrupt the underlying regularity of syntactico-semantic structure. On the contrary they are seen to concur to the externalization of complex CI information, here the relative scope of modality and definiteness. In fact, it seems to us that the true contours of morphological *l-* alternations in so-called enclisi/proclisis contexts in Romance only emerge when they are considered against the CI interface structures they externalize. Otherwise they reduce simply to a list of idiosyncratic rules and constraints, as seen in more conventional approaches insulating morphophonology from the rest of grammar.

The question that we must ask next is whether stress allomorphies, i.e. the alternations between unstressed and stressed forms of a clitic, can be reduced to the same schema of explanation. We expect the answer to be positive, because of the existence of Lucanian varieties where D and stress allomorphy co-occur in the same contexts. Another reason is the patterns of parametrization seen in Table (A). It is possible for a language to have *l*-allomorphy and no stress allomorphy, like the Corsican dialects in (41); it is also possible to have stress allomorphy in the absence of *l-* allomorphy, as in the object clitic series of *Pomaretto*, where stress is added in enclisis to *l-* forms present in proclisis as well. However there is no variety where stress is added to vocalic clitics. In other words, a one way implication relates stress allomorphies to D allomorphies, in the sense that in the 3rd person stress implies the presence of a D constituent within the clitic.

Consider then *Accettura*'s (12a) with the structure in (43). We analyze stress allomorphy along the same lines as *l-* allomorphy in (41). In fact, we take it that both are instantiations of the same fundamental D allomorphy. In other words, in Lucanian varieties, clitics in the context of higher modal operators not only must include an *l-* segment; it must also be the case that the *l-* segment is immediately preceded by a stress prominence mark. For instance, in (43), the modal V-in-C contexts require D properties to be externalized both by an *l-* segment and by prosodic prominence associated with the tonic nucleus immediately preceding *l-*. Alternatively, in Occitan/West Ligurian varieties (*Pomaretto, Olivetta*) stress prominence is associated directly with the nucleus of the clitic.[13]

(43) (cf. (12a))

13 Negation contexts do not present stress allomorphy, even in Lucanian varieties like *Terranova*, where they trigger *l-* allomorphy, cf. (24). We conclude that stress is associated with the clitic only when it is on the right edge of the prosodic domain, in keeping with the normal prosodic rules of the language, where main stress falls on the rightmost strong foot.



In the 1st/2nd person, clitics have an invariant segmental content in enclisis and in proclisis, including a consonantal base with 1/2P denotation (*m-, t-*). Person clitics do not therefore undergo segmental allomorphies, but they do undergo stress allomorphies. We still construe the latter as D allomorphies, understanding now D as connected to Deixis (pronominal reference) rather than Definiteness (demonstrative reference, 3rd person). In the presence of an invariant segmental content, stress on the clitic or on the immediately preceding nucleus provides SM salience for the deictic properties that need to be read outside the scope of syntactically higher modal operators.[14]

3. Order

The analysis of clitic reordering depends on what we take the basic clitic order to be, which in turn depends on the analysis of cliticization. According to Kayne (1991), clitics move from argument positions to the I field of the sentence. However we have seen that the order of clitics is sometime specular to that of phrasal complements, as in Italian – and sometimes it matches it, as in Corsican. Therefore the surface order of clitics cannot be regulated solely by locality constraints on movement, which are expected to determine similar conditions in languages as close as Italian and Corsican.

This leads us to the other major theory of cliticization, namely that clitics are base generated as inflectional heads, eventually connected to full DPs in argumental position (Sportiche 1996). In this conception, the order of clitics corresponds to the sequence of functional positions that host them. There are general conceptual issues with this solution, to the extent that the clitic hierarchy is stipulated rather than derived from independent principles. There are also empirical problems. In our brief review of the literature on order in section 1.3, we saw that Laenzlinger (1994) takes the basic order of clitics to be Dat>Acc; Pescarini takes it to be the opposite. Manzini and Savoia (2005) argue that there is a single template underlying the different possible orders in Romance. The main parameter, i.e. accusative last (as in Italian) or accusative first (as in Corsican and

14 The fact that all clitic forms participate in D allomorphies is useful in understanding a fine grained parameter noted in connection with *Terranova*'s (24d), where an *l-* alternant is present in post-negation position only if it is alone; in clitic groups the vocalic alternant is present. Evidently, in the environment defined by Neg, the presence of a dectic 1/2P/Dat clitic suffices to externalize deixis properties for the whole group so that the *l-* segmental content need not be lexicalized on the Acc clitic.

partially in French) depends on whether the accusative is associated with the lowest N position or with the highest R(eferential) position in the sequence. In other words, precisely because the clitic hierarchy is stipulated, it is compatible with any order.

Our main goal in this section is to argue that clitics can be sequenced without resort to stipulated hierarchies. This will provide the necessary basis for a discussion of reordering in enclisis. Syntactic work of the last decades has been deeply influenced by Kayne's (1994) proposals on the relation between constituent structure and linear order. Specifically Kayne proposes that classical X' theory can be derived via the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), since no other organization of constituent structure is amenable to linear ordering under the LCA. From Kayne's approach it follows in particular that variations in superficial word order must be determined by movement, leading to the proliferation of movement types beyond A and A' movement.

By contrast, for Chomsky (2005, 2013) the order of constituents depends on externalization procedures, not on core syntax. Merge yields non-ordered couples (sets) of the type {X, Y}. At the same time "one asymmetry imposed by the phonetic interface is that the syntactic object derived must be linearized. Optimally, linearization should be restricted to the mapping of the object to the SM interface, where it is required for language-external reasons. If so, then no order is introduced in the rest of the syntactic computation: the narrow syntax and the mapping to the C-I interface… If linear order is restricted to the mapping to the phonetic interface, then it gives no reason to require the basic operation Merge to depart from the simplest form … unstructured Merge, forming a set" (Chomsky 2005:15).

Chomsky's (2013) revision of phrase structure grammar (PSG) further undermines Kayne's LCA, which derives order on the basis of rigid X' theory. Thus "under PSG and its offshoots, labeling is part of the process of forming a syntactic object SO. But that is no longer true when the stipulations of these systems are eliminated in the simpler Merge-based conception of UG. We assume, then, that there is a fixed labeling algorithm LA that licenses SOs". In practice, "the simplest assumption is that LA is just minimal search, presumably appropriating a third factor principle … In the best case, the relevant information about SO will be provided by a single designated element within it: a computational atom, to first approximation a lexical item LI, a head" (Chomsky 2013: 35).[15] In other instances, however, labelling depends on the sharing of certain

15 The "third factor principle" appropriated by the labelling algorithm seems to be the one discussed by Hawkins (1994:57): "words and constituents occur in the orders they do so that syntactic groupings and their immediate constituents (ICs) can be recognized (and produced) as rapidly and efficiently as possible in language performance". Rapidity and efficiency in recognizing sequences of words are specifically defined by the principle of Early Immediate Constituent whereby "the human parser prefers linear orders that maximize the IC-to-non-IC ratios of constituent recognition domains" (Hawkins 1994: 77). This and other principles, like the Constituent Recognition Domain, tend to minimize the number of terminal and non-terminal nodes which need to be processed to reach the complete recognition of the sequence.

features (Agr features) between the two immediate constituents of a phrasal node – leading to abandonment of the endocentricity postulate of X' theory.

This theoretical debate has important empirical consequences. For instance, Cinque (2005) working in a strict Kaynian framework, derives possible word orders within the DP from a rigidly right branching structure supplemented with a rich movement inventory. Abels and Neeleman (2012) derive the same data in a different framework, in which the N head and its modifiers are ordered by dominance and sisterhood relations – while their relative order is parametrized, allowing both for prenominal and postnominal orders of modifiers to mirror each other (additional prenominal orders are derived via the constraint that movement is only leftward).

For present purposes, we adopt the view that linear order of terminals, like lexical alternations (allomorphies) and prosodic patterns (stress shifts) belong to the externalization procedure for syntax. From the standpoint of enclisis/proclisis alternations in Romance, we gain an immediate insight as to why allomorphies and reordering co-occur in the same contexts and respond to same syntactico-semantic generalization about modality. In essence, the definiteness properties of pronouns are important enough to be externalized in three different ways: by segmental content (*l-* alternations), by prosody (stress alternations) and by linearization (order of clitics). What is especially interesting to us about this cluster of data is that phenomena generally thought of as morphology or phonology internal (allomorphies) in reality respond to the CI interface, which they help externalize, no less than the apparently more abstract precedence (linear order) relations.

3.1 The internal order of clitics

In the light of the remarks that precede, we will begin by settling the fundamental order of clitics in Romance. In many Romance languages, the order of proclitics is the mirror image of the order of complements; this order remains fixed in enclisis in many languages, as in Italian (44); (44a) illustrates the Acc>Dat order of complements and (44b) the Dat>Acc order of clitics, cf. (18) above.

(44) a. Do il libro a Paolo
I.give the book to Paul

b. Glielo do
him-it I.give
'I give it to him'

We impute the order of non-clitic constituents in (44a) to the combination of two factors. In core syntax, the verb merges first with the internal argument, and then with the oblique argument, yielding {{*do, il libro*}, *a Paolo*}, where the set notation corresponds to the presence of simple sisterhood relations. Next, an externalization parameter chooses the head-initial order, whereby the head (i.e. the labelling item) and the constituents including the head are ordered before complements.

The order of clitics in (44b) is reversed with respect to that of phrasal complements in (44a) – but so is the order of the verb. While the predicative domain of Romance sentences has the verb initial order, the inflectional area of the sentence ordinarily presents argumental elements before the verbal head supporting them. It is tempting therefore to recognize in the order of clitics in (44b) the application of a different externalization parameter, i.e. a head final one, to the same fundamental order of merger (sisterhood) already postulated for the predicative domain. Thus the merger structure in (45a) yields the linearized structure (45b), corresponding to sentence (44b). The discussion in this section is essentially a prolonged argument that the conclusions in (45) are correct, namely that the Dat>Acc sequence reflects the basic order of merger of the relevant constituents, when arguments are linearized to the left of their heads.

(45) a. {{do, lo}, gli} cf. (44b)

b. [gli [lo do]]

In several languages something like (45) pretty much exhausts whatever there is to be said about clitic order, for instance Albanian in (46). Dat precedes Acc, as in (46a), 1/2P clitics are ordered before the 3P accusative clitic when functioning as datives, as in (46b), while the combination of 1/2P clitics functioning as accusatives with a 3P dative is independently blocked by the Person Case Constraint (PCC). Albanian also has the equivalent of the Romance *si* clitic, with the same range of middle-passive readings, namely *u*. In the cluster where it appears *u* follows datives, as in (46c); we assume that *u* homes in for the internal argument position, leaving any oblique higher than it, hence to its left. Indeed *u* and accusative clitics are in complementary distribution.

(46) a. **j a** ðɑ:ʃ burr-it Dat >Acc

to.him it I.gave man-Obl.Def

'I gave it to the man'

b. **m/ n a** japin mu/ne 1/2P >Acc

to.me/to.us it they.give to.me/to.us

'They give it to me/to us'

c. **i/ m u** θy: gota Dat>-Acc

to.him/to.me MP broke the.glass

'The glass broke on me/him' *Shkodër*

Other clitic systems are even more elementary. Greek lacks a middle-passive clitic (since middle-passive morphology is inflectional) and therefore only has dative and accusative clitics – which appear to have the fundamental order Dat>Acc once again. The same order holds in the Southern Slavic languages which have clitics adjacent to the verb, i.e. Macedonian and Bulgarian (Franks and Holloway King 2000; Fici et al. 1999 on Macedonian from a Romance perspective); these languages have a middle-passive clitic, inflected for accusative and dative case, whose order follows the Dat>Acc schema. In the Germanic languages which have clitics (Haegeman 1991 on West Flemish, Zwart 1996 on Dutch), there is just one object clitic form for each person, number and gender of the pronominal paradigm; indirect objects again precede direct objects. Since the relevant languages are not pro-drop, subject clitics are also present, opening the clitic series, which takes the expected form Nom>Dat>Acc.

On the other hand, Italian and Italian dialects are noted for their rich clitic structures, being endowed with at least two extra obliques, namely a partitive and a locative – besides 3P accusatives and datives, 1/2P forms, *si/se* and finally subject clitics (in Northern Italian dialects). A close comparison is with some Bantu languages, which provide ~~for~~ comparably complex 'object marker' strings, including more than one oblique (dative, benefactive, locative) – cf. Cocchi (2000), Labelle (2008) for Bantu in a Romance perspective. The question we need to ask is: can the simple hypothesis in (45) account for this observed complexity?

Consider the middle-passive voice clitic *si*. In Italian, when the *si* clitic reflexivizes/passivizes an indirect object, it precedes the accusative clitic, as in (47a) – which is what we expect on the basis of *si*=Dat. When *si* reflexivizes (or passivizes) the direct object, we further expect the order Dat>*si*=Acc, as in (47b). Yet in more complex strings, like (47c), *si* has a string-medial position which a mere equation with Dat or Acc does not explain. Note that in the right-hand column schemas we have suggested that the Partitive is connected to the Internal Argument (IA) slot – as is independently concluded by Burzio (1986). This justifies the fact that it appears to be ordered more or less like Acc.

(47) a. Se lo compra Dat>Acc

M-P it he.buys

'He buys it to himself'

b. Gli si compra — Dat>MP

him M-P buys

'It is bought to him'

c. Gli se ne compra — Dat>MP>Part(IA)

him M-P of.it buys

'Some of it is bought to him'

In several Italian dialects, including *Agliano* in (48), the order *si*>Dat holds, both in strings consisting of two clitics like (48a) and in more complex strings (48b), defining a further parameter of clitic order.

(48) a. si ɟi ða kweʃtə — MP>Dat

M-P him gives this

'This is given to him'

b. sə ɟə nə da trəppə — MP>Dat>Part

M-P him of.it gives too.much

'Too much of it is given to him' — *Agliano* (North Tuscany)

If we compile together the right hand columns in (47)-(48), we deduce the order of the clitic string in (49a). The interesting point for present purposes is that this directly translates into the normally assumed order of merger of constituents with V, as in (49b) – at least by adopting the idea that *si* connects to the EA (External Argument) or in any event to transitivity. As expected the IA (Part, Acc) merges before the EA (MP); furthermore we know that obliques can occur at different points of the syntactic tree, for instance as low and high Appls in the sense of Pylkkänen (2008).

(49) a. (Dat) > MP > (Dat) > Part/Acc

b. [Appl [EA/Trans [Appl [IA [V

When we add 1/2P clitics to the picture, we observe that they pattern with Dat, preceding *si* if Dat does; this is true not only when they correspond to the dative argument as in Italian (50b), but also when they correspond to the internal argument, as in Italian (50a). Recall that in section 2.1, in detailing the clitic system of *Zonza*, we proposed that the invariant *–i* morphology of 1/2P clitics is

an oblique (⊆) inflection, in other words 1/2P systematically undergo DOM, where DOM implies oblique case at least in Romance. This automatically leads to the same positioning for 1/2P as for Dat. Finally Italian has a locative oblique, which also distributes like Dat with respect to *si*, preceding it, as in (50c).

(50) a. ti si vede 1/2P>EA
you M-P sees
'You are seen'

b. ti se ne compra 1/2P>EA>Part
you M-P of.it buys
'Some of it is bought to you'

c. ci se ne mette poco Loc>EA>Part
there M-P of.it puts little
'One puts a little of it in there'

In *Agliano*, given the overall reordering of obliques with respect to *si*, Loc is expected to follow *si*, as it does in (51a). In addition, subject clitics occur at the beginning of the string as illustrated in (51b).

(51) a. sə tʃə nə metta pɔɣə EA>Loc>Part
M-P there of.it puts little
'One puts a little of it in there'

b. (tu) əl/la/mə cami EPP>1/2P, Acc
you him/her/me call
'You call him/her/me' *Agliano*

Everything considered, Italian and its dialects present the order in (52a). This is essentially the same order as in (49a), though we have now seen that Obl in (52a) should be read as encompassing obliques proper (Dat, Loc) and 1/2P pronouns. The parentheses around the Obl category mean that languages choose one of the two Obl positions (or set of positions). Crucially, the sequence of clitics in (52a) simply replicates the sequence of functional projections of the verb to which non-clitic arguments are attached, as in (52b). At the same time it has an almost one-to-one correspondence with the sequence proposed by Manzini and Savoia (2005), as in (52c), which they stipulated as a cartographic functional sequence.

(52)	a.	EPP >	(Obl) >	EA/Trans>	(Obl) >	Acc/Part
	b.	[TP	[ApplP	[vP	[ApplP	[VP
	c.	D	R	Q	P Loc	N

The correspondence between (52a) and (52b) is worth illustrating briefly point by point. The rightmost position of accusatives and partitives corresponds to the merger of internal arguments within the VP. ApplP in (52b) is meant essentially as a mnemonics for the fact that at least one oblique position is available within the VP-shell before insertion of the EA. Insertion of the EA closes the core predicative domain, corresponding in current generative frameworks to vP (Chomsky 1995). The second oblique position in the string corresponds to the assumption that obliques (as circumstantial modifiers) are available outside the core predicative structure (we use ApplP again as a mnemonic label); the EPP argument, hence the subject/nominative clitic, closes off the sequence in TP.

In short, the clitic hierarchy in (52a) reproduces the order of merger of arguments within the extended projection of the verb in (52b). The other crucial ingredient of the present proposal is that the order of clitics is the mirror image of the order of phrasal constituents merged in these projections. Phrasal constituents are ordered to the right of the verb in a head-initial structure. Clitics however are ordered before the verb, realized in T, yielding a head-final structure. In other words, the Dat/1/2P>Acc>V order, characteristic of most Italian varieties, implies the same set {{V, Acc} Dat as the [[V DP] PP] linearization of full complements; only externalization procedures differ. In historical terms, clitic order preserves the OV linearization characteristic of Latin complementation, while phrasal complemental changes it to VO.[16]

3.2 The order of clitics in the sentence

At this point we have grounds for assuming that Dat>Acc is a basic order of clitics (in Romance) – and that it need not be stipulated as part of a functional sequence. Yet the conclusions in (52) contains an implicit problem, namely how come Romance languages can have two different points

[16] According to Zamboni (2000: 101-102) "the so-called free word order of Latin, which is preferentially anchored to an (S)OV complementation schema, i.e. a leftward oriented one, evolves towards a rightward oriented linearization of the VO type, prospectively rigid", Zamboni argues that this order emerges in the earliest documentation of Latin (Plautus); in the first centuries CE, VO is prevalent in contexts where a complex DP follows. This latter observation is in reality consistent with the OV status of Latin, since it is well-known that the postverbal position of complements emerges under Heavy NP Shift (e.g. Kayne 1994). A recent discussion of these issues from a generative perspective is provided by Ledgeway (2012). Ledgeway connects the Romance clitic innovation to a shift towards a head marking syntax.

of merger for arguments, namely within the predicative core of the sentences for phrasal arguments and within the T domain for clitic pronouns. In this section, we will briefly show that the problem is largely an apparent one. We assume, as is standardly done, that merger of V with its arguments is dictated by the need for open argument slots to be satisfied. In Romance languages (and other clitic languages) this result can in principle be achieved by merging arguments at the v-V phase, associated to the organization of the event, or at the C-T phase; the latter however is restricted to pronominal (deictic) elements. If there are two different domains of argument insertion, we expect them to potentially double one another – which is what happens under clitic doubling, possible (to a lesser or larger extent) in all clitic languages. Thus the two domains of insertion are not problematic in themselves.

Furthermore, some Piedmontese varieties with generalized enclisis in declarative non-modal sentences show that clitics can be merged at the v-V phase as well. Some core distributions are seen in (53)-(54). In the relevant varieties, clitics may follow the verb, as in (54a), (54b'), but also the negation adverb, as in (53a), other adverbs, as in (53b), and locatives, as in (53c), (54b-c).

(53) a. iɐ dai mi- **ɐt/jj-** **ɐn**
I give not to.you/to.him of.it
'I don't give any of it to you/to him'

b. iɐ vɔg not- **ɐt** admɐŋ/ notɐ admɐn- **ɐt**
I see not- you tomorrow/not tomorrow- you
'I am not seeing you tomorrow'

c. iɐ mɐt kilo- **ɣɐ/** a pɔst- **ɐɣ**
I put here- it/ in place-it
'I put it here/in its place' *Quarna Sotto* (Piedmont)

(54) a. a da- **v-** **ru/ra/ja**
he gives- to.him-it.m/it.f/them
'He gives it/them to him'

b. i bytu (mia) dɔs- **am-** **ru** (mia)
they put not on- me- it not
'They don't put it on me'

b'. i byta- **v-** **ru** (mia) dɔs
they put- there- it not on
'They (don't) put it on there'

c. i pɔrtu ka- **m-** **ru**

they bring home- me- it

'They bring it home to me' *Trecate* (Piedmont)

Keeping the position of the finite Romance verb constant in T, Tortora (2002: 741, 751; 2014), Manzini and Savoia (2005) account for the position of generalized enclitics by positing that they merge lower than T, hence at the v-V phase. According to Tortora (2002, 2014), the relative order of clitics with respect to adverbs and locatives provides evidence that the clitics intermix with an adverbial/locative hierarchy of the type in Cinque (1999). However some of the data in Manzini and Savoia (2005: §7.4) show that the clitic can intermix with full phrasal complements, as in (55) – which means that the adverbial hierarchy is not involved in the phenomenon in an essential way.[17]

(55) a. iɐ dai əu libər- **ɐt**
I give the book- to.you
'I give the book to you'

b. iɐ dai a lyj- **ɐɣ**
I give to him-it
'I give it to him' *Quarna Sotto*

What is important for present purposes is that clitics are merged at the v-V phase. Therefore in principle, clitics can be merged at any phase; in other Romance languages they are merged at the C-T phase only as a matter of parametric choice. If clitics merge at the v-V phase, they surface after the verb in T, as in (56). At the same time, clitics in (56) display the internal order Dat>Acc, specular to that of phrasal complements. We assume that clitics and phrasal complement share the same structure of merger, namely {{V, Acc} Obl}. At externalization, clitics in these varieties, as in other Romance varieties, are linearized to the left of the head they are merged with (here V/v); phrasal complements are linearized to the right.

(56) i $[_T$ byta $[_{(\subseteq)}$ v $[_N$ ru [v/V (cf. (54b')

In the light of data like (55) it is tempting to speculate that clitics may not form a dedicated sequence within the v-V phase, but rather intermix with phrasal material, yielding merger structures like {{V DP} cl} or {{V cl} PP} which may in fact undergo linearization on the same side of the verb. In other words, it is not a defining characteristic of clitics that they lexicalize specialized

17 A different matter is whether it is involved in some aspects of it.

argument series – eliminating the very last piece of cartographic precompiling from their analysis. This point however requires further research.

3.3 The Acc>Dat order

In section 1.4 we illustrated three (groups of) languages where the Obl>Acc order predicted by the schema in (52) does not hold in ordinary proclitic contexts – namely French, Corsican and (Provencal-like) West Ligurian. We must now show that the order Acc>Obl of these varieties can be accounted for – before finally returning to reordering in enclisis.

Consider Corsican varieties. Despite the fact that Acc clitics are ordered before Dat and 1/2P clitics, we observe that other aspects of the string are still regulated by the hierarchy in (52). Oblique clitics precede *si*, as in (57b), (57d), and both obliques and *si* precede partitive objects, as in (57c-d), though as a consequence of the Dat>Acc order, Acc clitics appear before *si* as well, as in (57a). The data therefore are compatible with the hypothesis that no overall modification of the model is involved, but just a rearrangement of the position of Acc. In turn, once we renounce the idea that functional orders are precompiled, we expect the Acc>Dat/1/2P order to result from some structural configuration attested independently of clitics, in particular by phrasal complements.

(57) a. iḍu **a** **z** a llawata — Acc>EA
he it M-P has washed
'He has washed it for himself'

b. a iḍu **li** **zi** pɔ ddi kkusˈsi — Dat>EA
to him to.him M-P can say so
'One can say so to him'

c. **si** **nni** kɔmpra ðui — EA>Part
M-P of.them he.buys two
'He buys himself two of them'

d. **li** **ssi** **nni** ða ttrɔppu — Dat>EA>Part
to.him M-P of.thi gives too much
'Too much of this is given to him' *Zonza*

French is like *Agliano* in section 3.1 in presenting *se* first in the string, preceding accusative and partitive clitics, as in (58a), as well as the obliques with which it combines, in practice the

locative, as in (58b). The evidence presented in (22) shows that the 1/2P clitic and the Dat clitic appear on the left and on the right of Acc respectively; indeed the three clitics can combine in biclausal (causative) structures yielding the sequence in (58c).

(58) a. Jean **s'** **en/** **se** **l'** achète EA>Part/Acc
Jean M-P of.it/ M-P it buys
'Jean buys (some of) it for himself'

b. Jean **s'** **y** achète la viande EA>Loc
Jean M-P there buys the meat
'Jean buys his meat there'

c. Jean **me** **le** **lui** fera porter 1/2P>Acc>Dat
Jean to.me it to.him will.make bring
'Jean will make me bring it to him'

On the evidence of the positioning of *se*, the clitic string of French is comprised between what in (52a) we have called the EA position (*se*) and the final Part position. This space hosts obliques, which undergo a Person split, so that 1/2P clitics precede Dat. The position of Acc that needs to be explained can be seen to be localized immediately to the left of Dat and to the right of 1/2P as schematized in (59a). If the IA is a Part clitic, then the canonical alignment in (52) is recreated, as shown in (59b). What is interesting about (59a) is that the Dat>Acc order is revealed to be just a local reordering of the clitic sequence (namely of the portion shaded). Vice versa, the expected order is preserved when the IA is Part, as in (59b).

(59) a. EA > 1/2P > Acc > Dat cf. (58c)
b. EA > 1/2P > Dat > Part cf. (22c)

The order of Merge required by (59a) is {Acc {Dat, V}}with Dat closer to the verb than Acc. The question we need to ask, is whether this order can be independently justified in the phrasal domain.[18] Let us go back once again to ditransitive sentences. As briefly discussed in section 2.1, the line of analysis initiated by Kayne (1984) takes the complement of a ditransitive verb like 'give' to be a possession relation between the Acc direct object (the possessum) and the Dat goal (the possessor). In terms of our characterization of dative case in section 2.1, the preposition *a* 'to' that

18 Historically, according to Oniga (2007), the order *direct object–oblique–V* is normally admitted in Latin; this is indeed the order we find in clitic sequences of the French type.

mediates this relation is a P(⊆) element saying that its complement includes/possesses the theme of the verb. So far we have assumed that the structure for, say, French (60a) is as in (60b), where Acc is merged with the verb first and Dat is merged with the resulting predicate. Yet Kayne's original treatment *involves* a structure like (60c) where Acc is the subject of Dat in a predicative small clause (cf. *le livre est à Paul* lit: 'the book is to Paul'). Structure (60c) is compatible with the surface order in (60a) if we consider that subjects (here the subject of the small clause) are ordered to the left.

(60) a. Je donne le livre à Paul
I give the book to Paul
b. [[donne le livre] à Paul]
c. donne [le livre [$_{PP(\subseteq)}$ à Paul]]

What we are interested in is what happens when the structure of merger in (60c) is linearized leftward. The complement of the verb, i.e. the small clause predication as a whole is linearized to its left and within the small clause the lowest merged argument, i.e. Dat is linearized closest to the verb, as in (61) – corresponding to the observed surface order of clitics in French.

(61) [le [lu [$_{(\subseteq)}$i]]] donne

The point to be retained is that the Italian linearization in (52), which we have taken as basic so far, and the French linearization in (61) both reflect structures that can be posited independently of clitics. Thus both orders of clitics can be considered basic – in other words, the Italian order in (52) is basic (underived), as we have maintained so far, but so is the French order. Note that we do not imply that Italian and French phrasal syntaxes differ along the lines of (60b) vs. (60c). –In a nutshell, ad hoc parameters specialized for clitic order should be considered as a last resort. Any model has access to them, and we can also in principle fall back on them. However the main order parameter in Romance is very local, involving only Acc and Dat, as can be seen in Romance languages which have several additional obliques (besides a partitive object). We have interpreted this parameter as a reflex within the clitic string of the richness of structuring available to Dat arguments in phrasal syntax as well. Needless to say, language particular complexities can be added in any given language. In French the complexity is the person split, whereby 1/2P datives (possessors) are ordered differently from 3P ones.

With this much background, let us then briefly go back to Corsican. The data in (57) at the

beginning of this section show that in the absence of Acc clitics, the clitic sequence responds to the basic generalization in (52), obeying in particular the order Obl>EA>Part, as in (62b). On the other hand, as in French, Obl and Acc reorder with respect to one another, as schematized in (62a). Under (62a), Acc will precede Obl, as in (19a), but it will also precede EA (*si*) when *si* reflexivizes an indirect object, as in (57a). Importantly, as in French, the sequence in (62a) reflects an independently possible order of merger in which Obl (i.e. the possessor) is more deeply embedded than Acc (i.e. the possessum).

(62)	a.	Acc	>	EA	/	Obl	cf. (19a), (57a)
	b.	Obl	>	EA	>	Part	cf. (57d)

In general, precompiling the clitic string as a functional sequence has the problem that any order is possible; if a given order is prevalent, or inexistent, then this is simply stipulated as part of the functional sequence. Here we have kept to the idea that the order of clitics reflects the order of merger of arguments. Specifically, clitics mirror phrasal complements in Romance, because phrasal complements are linearized after the head they merge with, while clitics are linearized before it. The reordering of Acc and Dat reflects independently available ways of structuring these arguments in phrasal syntax.

3.4 Reordering in enclisis

We have so far not addressed the fact that originally prompted us to look at clitic order – namely the fact that proclitic order is not necessarily preserved in enclisis. We are faced with several problems. First, the data reviewed in section 1 appear to go in two opposite directions. In French the Acc>1/2P/Dat order is generalized in enclisis. On the other hand Corsican aligns itself in enclisis with the 1/2P/Dat>Acc order. Second, if the approach set up in section 2 for *l-* and stress allomorphies is on the right track, the different order of enclitics should respond to the presence of a higher modal and concur with other lexicalization devices to optimize the legibility of the relative scope of the clitics and the modal.

Consider French first, where the observed enclitic order has the advantage of generalizing (at least in the normative language) one of the possible orders already attested in proclisis. By reference to the schema in (59a), the split between 1/2P to the left of Acc, and Dat to its right is simplified, yielding a clitic string where all Obl follow Acc. The externalization procedure orders

clitics leftward as in structure (61) yielding Acc>Obl. However if we are to connect this structural analysis with the conclusions of section 2, we also need to know how linearization, like the allomorphies considered in section 2, contributes to externalizing modality or to be more precise, the relation of definite/deictic denotation to modality. Now, we note that the overall result of the reordering, is to make the accusative clitic adjacent to the verb, whenever it occurs, for instance in (23a), *donne-le-lui/moi* 'give it me/him!'.

In the spirit of section 2, we can take the adjacency of Acc to the verb, as yet another means by which the grammar makes the D properties of clitics easily recognizable in the presence of a higher modal, which D must scope out of. The mixing of internal and processing (external or 'third factor') principles in this analysis is in keeping with Chomsky's (2005, 2013) recent work, summarized at the beginning of section 3 (cf. in particular fn. 15). Clitics are governed by core syntactic constraints, notably concerning the order of Merge of predicate-argument structures. At the same time, externalization is charged with facilitating the recognition of core syntax and CI relations at the SM interface. The allomorphies considered above are SM devices enlisted to insure the readability of the relative scope of D and modals within the C-T phase – and so are the reorderings considered here.

Because of the language-particular nature of externalization procedures, we are not necessarily surprised to find that reordering in Corsican varieties proceeds in the opposite direction with respect to French (or Greek, Terzi 1999), yielding the enclitic order Dat/P>Acc. Yet there is some evidence that reordering may be the surface effect of an independent phenomenon in Corsican. Savoia and Manzini (to appear) note that in the Corsican variety of *Sartè* in (63), negative contexts can either maintain the ordinary proclitic order Acc>Dat/1/2P, as in (63a-b) or reverse it. However reversal depends on the negation being doubled, as in (63c-d).

(63) a. unn **a/u** **mmi** rani mikka
not it.f/m to.me they.give not
'They don't give it to me'

b. unn **i** **ddi** rani mikka
not them to.him they give not
'They don't give them to him'

c. um **mi** nn **u/a/i** rani mikka
not to.me not it.m/it.f/them they.give not
'They don't give it/them to me'

d. un **di** nn **u/a** pur'ta mmikka

not to.him not it.m/f bring not

'Don't bring it to him' *Sartè* (Corsica)

The splitting of the clitic group in (63c-d) recalls similar splits in modal domains, affecting some of the Lucanian dialects considered above. Thus in 1/2P plural imperatives the clitic group of *Senise* divides into two; higher clitics are found in mesoclisis between the verb stem and the verb inflection, while lower clitics follow the verb inflection, as in (64a) (see fn. 4 for examples involving a single enclitic). Manzini and Savoia (2011b) propose that the clitic that follows the inflection is in the T domain, but the clitic in mesoclisis is in the C domain, as schematized in (64b), (cf. Kayne 2010 for a different syntactic account, Harris and Halle 2005 for a DM account). The two clitics are therefore divided by the C head, while the verb is in a higher $C_{I(mperative)}$ position.

(64) a. tʃirka- **dˈdi/mˈmi-** tə - **lə**

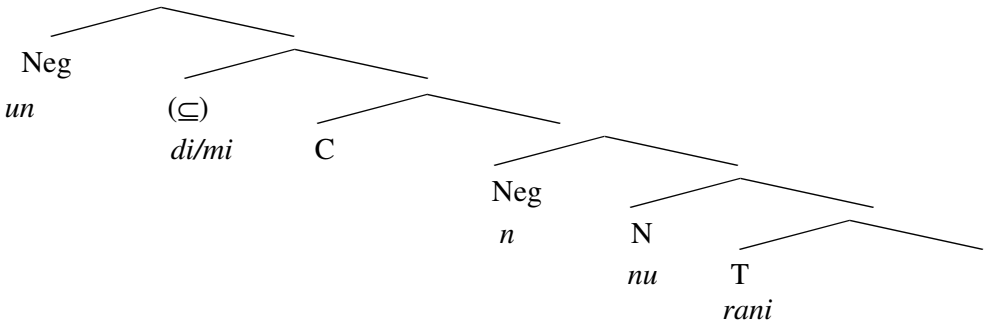
ask- to.him/to.me- 2pl- it

'Ask(pl) it to him/me' *Senise*

b. $[_{CI}$ tʃirka $[_{(\subseteq)}$ ddi/mmi [C $[_{C}$ tə $[_{N}$ lə [T

The split observed in *Sartè*'s clitics in (63c-d) is like the mesoclisis split in (64), in that only 1/2P or Obl clitics surface between the two copies of the negation; by contrast, Acc clitics must appear after the second negation. Proceeding by analogy with (64b) we are led to assume that in (63c-d) the 1/2P/Dat clitic is in the C domain, while the Acc clitics is in the T domain; in turn the two negations are merged in the two different syntactic domains, T and C, as in (65).

(65)



The splitting of the negation into a C-related and a T-related copy is itself a particular type of externalization procedure for modality and so is the splitting of the clitic group. Thus Manzini and Savoia (2011b), discussing mesoclisis structures like (64b), conclude that "the fundamental clitic split is between discourse-anchored/quantificational denotations in mesoclisis … and event-

anchored denotations (in enclisis). But mesoclisis and enclisis are just descriptive terms which theoretically correspond to the positioning of clitics in the I inflectional domain and in its C modal domain. Taken together, these two generalizations imply a correlation between event-anchored clitics and the inflectional I domain on the one hand (enclisis) and between discourse-anchored/quantificational clitics and the modal C domain on the other". In their terms, 1/2P arguments are discourse-anchored in that the denotational properties of speaker and hearer are represented in the universe of discourse; 3P arguments are event-anchored in that 3P reference is solely represented in the participants to the event (Manzini and Savoia 2005: §5.6).

Recent literature supports the connection between 1/2P reference and the C area of the sentence. For Zanuttini (2008) the imperative is the head of a JussiveP projection. This JussiveP "has an operator in its specifier that... takes as input a proposition, consisting of the predicate saturated by the subject, and yields as output a property. This property has a presupposition that its argument, corresponding to the subject, refers to the addressee(s)". In other words, the imperative involves a modal operator which connects the predicative content of the sentence in its scope to the 2P referent, i.e. the hearer. Giorgi (2010:7) proposes that "there is a syntactic position in the left-most periphery of the clause, and precisely in the Complementizer-layer, that encodes the temporal – and presumably spatial as well – coordinates of the speaker". Thus for Giorgi (2010: 48-49) the C head in an embedded indicative sentence (of Italian) bears an index Σ understood as "a pointer to the context, interpreted at the interface as the speaker's temporal coordinate". Giorgi motivates her conclusions on the basis of the temporal reference of embedded sentences. Delfitto and Fiorin (2011) consider an altogether different set of phenomena, namely shifting indexical, but come to similar conclusions namely that "first person pronouns must move to the specifier of a dedicated functional head" that they identify with Force, i.e. the higher C position in Rizzi's (1997) hierarchy.

If Manzini and Savoia (2011b) are correct, when the imperative verb externalizes the modal properties of (the highest) C, the connection of 1/2P reference to C's interpretive properties becomes overtly visible, via the lexicalization of the 1/2P clitic in the C domain. Other clitics that share oblique (⊆) properties with 1/2P clitics are attracted to the same domain. On the other hand, Acc clitics are found in the domain of the event/situation (TP), which exhausts their referential relevance. Recall that the *l-* definiteness base of the event anchored clitics is inserted, insuring a lexical content rich enough to fix their wide scope with respect to the syntactically higher modal.

Thus, schematizing, in *Sartè*'s (65), there is no reordering per se; rather, reordering is the surface effect of the splitting of the clitic cluster when two copies of the negation are instantiated, one in the T domain and one in the C domain. The doubling of the negation in (65) may be seen as

an externalization procedure for modality in turn; in the presence of a single negation, as in (63a-b), the clitic group does not split and the same order Acc>1/2P/Dat is observed as in proclisis.

Importantly, we can extend the treatment in (65), with overt splitting of the clitic group to the other examples of *Sartè* which share with (65) the lexicalization of modal properties of the C domain – namely by the imperative verb, as in (66a) or by the infinitive, as in (66b). No splitting of the clitic group on either side of extraneous material is visible in (66); yet on grounds of continuity with (65), we conclude that the order Dat/1/2P>Acc reflects the splitting of the clitic cluster. The latter follows from the different denotational properties of the clitics involved, namely 1/2P and Obl clitics (i.e. clitics with a (⊆) content) vs. bare D-N clitics (Acc clitics).

(66) a. ˈpɔrta- **mi/ddi-** **lu/la/li**
bring me/him it.m/it.f/them
'Bring it/them to me/him !'

b. t aɟɟu rittu ri ˈða- **ddi-** **lu**
you I.have told to give him it
'I told you to give it to him' *Sartè*

By the same token, this analysis can be extended to other Corsican varieties, for instance *Zonza*, that display reordering in enclisis. In other words, we can assume that the activation of the interpretive properties of C domain by modal forms of the verb (or by the negation) implies a split clitic cluster – though lack of intervening categories means that the split is not overtly visible. In a crosslinguistic (or cross-Romance) perspective, we therefore suggest that the Corsican reordering is an epiphenomenon of the splitting between different types of clitics endowed with different referential content. The only actual enclitic reordering is the one observed in French, leading to generalized Acc>Dat/1/2P and hence to adjacency of Acc to the verb.

4. Conclusions

In this article we discussed phenomena concerning the lexical form and order of clitics, i.e.:

i. Allomorphs: *l-* vs. vocalic (3rd person) and stressed vs. unstressed.
ii. Clitic orders: Dat > Acc vs. Acc>Dat
iii. Reordering in enclisis

Romance varieties present all three alternations though not necessarily all three of them in the same variety, see tables (A)-(C). The three phenomena correlate, in the sense that they take place in the syntactic scope of a modal verb or negation. We have proposed that the modal operator requires the lexicalization of the *l-* base and/or of word stress, as an externalization procedure for the required interpretation of these contexts, with the definite/deictic referent escaping the scope of the modal operator.

Clitic orders in turn are a classical testing ground for cartographic approaches in that they have been taken to suggest the existence of an abstract precompiled functional hierarchy. Here we have argued that the fundamental order of clitics, as seen in a particularly perspicuous way in languages with a rich series of clitics like Italian varieties, reduces to the order that is expected of arguments in verb final configurations. If the approach is correct, we obtain the result of eliminating an important residue of functional precompiling in grammar. On the other hand, we need to account for the variation that arises specifically between different Romance varieties. Of particular relevance here are attestations of both the order Obl>Acc, predominant in modern day Romance languages, and the order Acc>Obl, which to this day characterizes Corsican and West Ligurian (cf. Occitan) varieties as well as French (in part); it is well-known that the latter order has a much wider diffusion in medieval Romance. We have proposed that Acc>Obl and Obl>Acc are both basic orders, reflecting two different ways of structuring oblique complements of ditransitive (and other triargumental) verbs.

The positioning of the clitic string in enclisis, i.e. within the syntactic domain of modal operators triggers alternations between the two orders in many languages, including French and Corsican. In French the reversal in order generalizes the Acc>Dat order – while in Corsican the effect is the reverse, namely of introducing the Dat>Acc order. We have argued that the latter alternation in word order is the reflex of cluster splitting phenomena most clearly seen in mesoclisis. Adjacency of Acc to V (French) can be picked by the procedure aimed at optimizing the externalization of definite referents in the domain of modal properties. The splitting of modals and hence of the clitic cluster into different (C/ discourse-related and T/ event-related) positions – corresponding to their degree of connection with the universe of discourse (1/2P, Obl) and the event (Acc) – is itself naturally construed as a particular type of externalization procedure for modality.

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